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THE ROLE OF DIALECTOLOGY IN ORAL AND WRITTEN EXPRESSION OF EFL STUDENTS: FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF BrE VERSUS AmE USAGE

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Abstract

Language is a reflection of the dialogic or social phenomenon that sets humans apart from the animals. People interact and share information via cultural transmission from one person to the other. The purpose of this research was to determine the perceptions of English/language arts teachers concerning British English versus American English usage in students' oral and written expression. Using an ethnographic survey research approach, findings indicated that there was a difference between English/language arts teachers' nationality and their perceptions across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding which dialect of English, (b) challenge of teaching Standard English to non-native EFL speakers, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage. In the sample of the study, differences were also detected between English/language arts teachers' years of experience as an educator and their perceptions across the three clusters already cited. As well, there was a difference between English/language arts teachers' academic training in nonstandard English dialects and their perceptions across the same three clusters. Pedagogical implications with regard to teaching which dialect students are required to speak or write in Standard English and whether professional development would help English/language arts teachers and students for teaching and learning Standard English.

Keywords

dialectology, British English (BE) dialect, American English dialect, standard English, students' oral and written expression, communicative competence, non-native English teachers, teacher's attitudes, perceptions

EL PAPEL DE LA DIALECTOLOGIA EN LA EXPRESIÓN ORAL Y ESCRITA EN ESTUDIANTES DE INGLÉS COMO LENGUA EXTRANJERA: PERCEPCIONES SOBRE EL INGLÉS BRITÁNICO VERSUS EL INGLÉS AMERICANO

Resumen

La lengua es un reflejo del fenómeno dialógico o social que diferencia a los humanos de los animales. Las personas interactúan y comparten información a través de la transmisión cultural de una persona a otra. El propósito de esta investigación ha sido determinar las percepciones de profesores de inglés sobre el inglés británico versus el inglés americano en la expresión oral y escrita de los alumnos. Utilizando un cuestionario de investigación etnográfico, los resultados han indicado que hay una diferencia entre la nacionalidad de los profesores de inglés y sus percepciones a través de tres grupos: (a) la competencia comunicativa con respecto a qué dialecto del inglés, (b) el reto de enseñar inglés estándar a estudiantes no nativos de inglés como lengua extranjera, y (c) la importancia de la corrección constante en el uso del inglés no estándar. En la muestra del estudio también se detectaron diferencias entre profesores de inglés con años de experiencia y sus percepciones a través de los tres grupos ya citados. Además, hay una diferencia entre la formación académica de los profesores de inglés en dialectos ingleses no estándar y su percepción a través de los mismos tres grupos. Existen implicaciones pedagógicas respecto a la enseñanza del inglés en estudiantes que están obligados dialectales a hablar o a escribir en inglés estándar y se plantea si el desarrollo profesional ayudaría a los profesores y estudiantes para la enseñanza y el aprendizaje del inglés estándar.

Palabras clave

dialectología, inglés británico (BE), inglés americano, inglés estándar, expresión oral y escrita de los alumnos, competencia comunicativa, profesores no nativos de inglés, actitudes de los profesores, percepciones

1. Introduction

Language diversity exists not only with respect to different distinct languages but also in terms of variation within particular languages. Inherent in these varied modes of interaction are opportune moments for effective communication or sometimes unintended occasions of vast confusion (Reagan 2005). Consequently, EFL educators are faced with greater challenges in meeting the needs of EFL students (Ball 1992; Baugh 2000; Smith 2003).

Ball (1994) recommended that one of the fundamental duties of the education system should be to teach all students to effectively communicate across contexts. In

order to function well economically, socially, and professionally in mainstream society, an individual needs to be able to correctly and easily use standard English (Pride 1979; Smitherman 2000). However, some researchers agreed that British English, the dialect that the students of EFL in numerous countries learn as the mother language of all Englishes, may enhance access to important social networks in the larger outer circle of the English speaking communities (Craig & Washington 2002; Delpit 1995).

Over the past five decades, William Labov (1970) emphasized that the fundamental goal of the school was to teach reading and writing of Standard English. In a seminal study of language variation, Labov (1972) provided a sociolinguistic theory of language that underscored the importance of teachers recognizing English dialects, such as American English and its vernaculars (e.g., Black English) or the British dialect and its indigenous vernaculars in the old British colonies (e.g., Australian or Indian Englishes) as variations of standard English. He disputed the claim of Bereiter & Engelmann (1966), who suggested that nonstandard English was a verbal deprivation. Labov maintained that verbal deprivation theory, also known as linguistic deficit theory, caused detrimental effects to our educational system, thus precluding schools from fully realizing their goal.

2. Problem of the study

One of the most challenging issues for English/language arts (ELA) teachers is their responsibility to students who speak nonstandard English (Christenbury 2000). Research enveloping the British English (BE) dialect has focused primarily on the overall structure of British English as the standard language for English teachers and learners around the world, as well as BE speakers' use of the language in social contexts (Baugh 2000; Green 1999; Labov 1972; Mufwene 1999; Smitherman 2000). Although advocates of British English have attempted to promote the authenticity of the language (Green 2002; Labov 1972; Mufwene 1999; Smitherman 2000), others have tried to denounce the dialect as having any legitimacy as the standard language for the English curriculum (Bereiter & Englemann 1966; Machan & Scott 1992).

Despite numerous studies on British English, Green (2002) asserted that limited linguistic studies have focused on the effect of language use of English as a foreign language learners on achievement in language arts. Reagan (2005) explained that any sociolinguistic debate surrounding British versus American English is an educational concern, essentially focused on the most appropriate means of meeting the academic needs of its learners. The study augmented this research base by exploring the perceptions of English/language arts teachers who are confronted daily with the intricacies of the main English dialects and the language's cultural and linguistic differences as perceived by EFL learners and teachers.

3. Purpose of the study

The purpose of this research was to determine the perceptions of English/language arts teachers concerning BrE versus AmE usage in EFL students' oral and written expression.

4. Research questions

Specific research questions guided the study included the following:

1. Is there a difference between English/language arts teachers' nationality and their perceptions across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding American versus British English, (b) challenge of teaching Standard British English to Saudi EFL learners, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage?
2. Is there a difference between English/language arts teachers' level of education and their perceptions across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding American versus British English, (b) challenge of teaching standard British English to Saudi EFL learners, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage?

3. Is there a difference between English/language arts teachers' years of experience as an educator and their perceptions across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding American versus British English, (b) challenge of teaching Standard British English to Saudi EFL learners, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage?

4. Is there a difference between English/language arts teachers' academic training in nonstandard English dialects and their perceptions across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding American versus British English, (b) challenge of teaching Standard British English to Saudi EFL learners, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage?

5. What do English/language arts teachers perceive to be the three most frequent American versus British English features evidenced in Saudi EFL students' writing?

5. Significance of the study

This study sought to investigate English/language arts teachers' perceptions regarding standard British versus American English usage in students' oral and written expression. This research may be significant in that it revisited the language arts classroom after over 50 years of sociolinguistic discourse. The research was designed to assist EFL educators in better meeting the needs of teaching Standard English to EFL students and other Standard English language learners.

Results from the study may raise the level of awareness of how English/language arts teachers perceive nonstandard English dialects, British or American, to impact students' oral and written expression in the English/language arts classroom. Educators and policymakers may be able to use findings from the study to expand their knowledge base concerning EFL teachers' overall perceptions of American versus English standard and nonstandard usage as well as specific concerns and recommendations with regard to teaching Standard English to EFL learners.

6. Methodology

The researcher employed descriptive research methodology using a survey for examining *EFL teachers' Perceptions of American versus British English Dialects Usage*. Based on a synthesis of the research literature covering British versus American English usage, the researcher formulated 28 items that examined EFL teachers' perceptions of BrE/AmE English usage in students' oral and written expression. The questionnaire consisted of quantitative questions that included three major sections or clusters collapsible to glean both responses to: (a) demographic information, (b) Likert type questions, and qualitative data gleaned via open-ended comments by the informants in the study.

7. Review of literature

Proficiency in oral and written language represents a vital contributor to academic success. One of the goals of the public Saudi educational system with regard to foreign language learning is to train young people to communicate in the standard vernaculars of the major English-speaking communities, the British Isles and the United States of America. In these major English-speaking societies, public school educators encourage students to become literate and develop academic language proficiency (Wong-Fillmore & Snow 2000). English educators teach students to become adequately trained both orally (speaking and understanding oral speech) and in writing (reading and understanding the written word) (Crawford 2005). However, communicating with other human beings is nearly always challenging; and this task is even more complicated when communicating with people of diverse cultures and languages (Novick 1996; Salend 2001).

In this regard, Reagan (2005) stated that language symbolizes one of the most crucial elements of understanding and responding appropriately to diversity in educational settings. Language performance is closely connected to academic success (Coelho 2004; Delpit 1995; Green 2002; Langdon 1989; Tikunoff 1987). Language is

important for basic interpersonal communication as well as self-directed language tasks including speaking, reading, and writing (Ball & Farr 2003; Green 2002; Jax 1988). Ball & Farr (2003) referred to language as the abstract system underlying the entire speech and writing behavior of a community. Smitherman (2000: 119) stated that language represents the “foundation stone [sic] of education and the medium of instruction in all subjects and disciplines throughout schooling.” Yet, not all students enter the educational environment with the same linguistic backgrounds (Ball 1994; Craig & Washington 2002; Spring 2004). Cazden (1996), Labov (1970), and Smitherman (2000) maintained that in order for teachers to understand their nonstandard English-speaking students and achieve the basic goals of education, they must first gain an understanding of the students’ nonstandard language.

Scott & Machan (1992) maintained that language variation refers to the reality that individual speakers modify their language patterns according to factors such as topic discourse, social relationships, written or spoken communication, and the size and nature of the audience and setting. Research clearly supported the position that variation in language is a natural reflection of cultural and community differences (Ball & Farr 2003; Labov 1972, 2001; Smitherman & Baugh 2002).

Ball and Farr (2003) stated that within each community, a variety of language codes and ways of speaking vary according to the levels of different languages, regional and social dialects, registers, and channels of communication.

Linguists maintained that the many varieties of English, or nonstandard English dialects, consisted of logical and highly structured linguistic systems (Bland-Stewart 2005; Green 2002). Likewise, linguists characterized American English with its indigenous vernaculars, such as Black English or the standard North American vernacular, as a distinct dialect with a fully developed, rule-governed structure (Green 2002; Koch, Gross & Kolts 2001; Labov 1972; Mufwene 1999). However, many Standard English speakers’ concomitant views of inferiority often challenged linguists’ assertions (Ball 1992; Ball & Farr 2003; Hoffman 1997; Smitherman 2000).

8. History of the development of BrE and AmE

The English language was first introduced to America by the British colonists, beginning in 1607 in Jamestown, Virginia. By the same token, the language spread to various other regions of the world as a result of British trade and colonization elsewhere and the spread of the former British Empire, which, by 1921, held sway over a population of 470-570 million people, approximately a quarter of the world's population at that time.

Over the past four centuries, the form of the language used in North America and Canada – especially in the United States – and that used in the United Kingdom have diverged in a few minor ways, conduced to the production of the dialects now occasionally referred to as American English (AmE) and British English (BrE). Differences between the two dialects include pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary (lexis), spelling, punctuation, idioms, formatting of dates and numbers, although the differences in written and most spoken grammar structure tend to be much less than those of other aspects of the language in terms of mutual intelligibility. A small number of words have completely different meanings in the two dialects or are even unknown or not used in one of the dialects. One particular contribution towards formalizing these differences came from Noah Webster, who wrote the first American dictionary (published 1828) with the intention of showing that people in the United States spoke a different dialect from Britain, much like a regional accent.

According to Svartvik & Leech (2006), the most apparent differences between British English and General American can be detected in vocabulary as well as in pronunciation. Approximately 4000 words differ in British English and General American. For instance, in General American one uses the word cell phone, whilst the British English equivalent is mobile phone (Svartvik & Leech 2006: 153). In terms of the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ – i.e. the /r/ sound after a vowel in words like store, car and father – there is an additional obvious difference between British English and General American. People who speak British English do not pronounce the /r/, while people speaking General American do (Modiano 1996: 15).

This divergence between American English and British English once caused George Bernard Shaw to say that the United States and United Kingdom are “two countries divided by a common language” (Krueger, Stade & Karbiener 2009: 309); a similar comment is ascribed to Winston Churchill. Similarly, Oscar Wilde wrote, “We have really everything in common with America nowadays, except, of course, the language” (*The Canterville Ghost* 1888). Henry Sweet incorrectly predicted in 1877 that within a century American English, Australian English and British English would be mutually unintelligible. It may be the case that increased worldwide communication through radio, television, the Internet and globalization has reduced the tendency to regional variation. This can result either in some variations becoming extinct (for instance, the wireless, superseded by the radio) or in the acceptance of wide variations as “perfectly good English” everywhere. Often at the core of the dialect though, the idiosyncrasies remain.

Nevertheless it remains the case that, although spoken American and British English are generally mutually intelligible, there are enough differences to cause occasional misunderstandings or at times embarrassment – for example some words that are quite innocent in one dialect may be considered vulgar in the other.

9. Teaching English dialects to EFL learners

The goal of enhancing teacher awareness and understanding of the sociolinguistic and historical roots of English dialectology in colleges that prepare EFL teachers is ultimately to improve the classroom situation for students (Oubre 1997). EFL Educators agreed that in order to improve the academic performance of EFL students, teacher education programs geared towards teaching the English language should ensure that teachers acquire an elevated level of authentic knowledge of American and/or British cultures. These programs should provide a deep understanding of the impact that the British/American culture has on behavior, learning styles, and preferred teaching styles (Berry 2003; Ogbu 2003; Smitherman 2000).

Some researchers observed in their survey studies that British English was the most general variety of English used when teaching English in Swedish secondary schools (Hurtig 2006). According to the study by Hurtig (2006), teachers thought that British English was more “formal”, “correct” and “strict”, etcetera than General American. General American was seen as “softer” and “friendlier” than British English. When asking the teachers what their views were on the students’ use of British English and General American, the results show that the majority of the teachers thought that it was essential for the students to be familiar with the differences of the two dialects. These findings are seen resounding in relevant research by others (Östlund 2005; Thörnstrand 2008; Trudgill & Hannah 1994; Rönnerdal & Johansson 2005)

Ball & Farr (2003) noted that effective language arts teaching may contribute to positive long-term change if teacher education programs work to combat cultural conflicts. According to Reagan (2005), students in EFL educational institutions who were taught English in a nonstandard dialect continued to be disproportionately misdiagnosed and mislabeled with respect to both cognitive and speech or language problems. Reagan argued that this fact alone constituted a justification for additional teacher preparation with respect to language differences.

Some linguists have cited English/language arts teachers as lacking linguistic competence, frequently mistaking dialect miscues as grammatical errors (Baugh 2000; Delpit 1995; Green 2002). Still, language learning institutions infrequently hired linguists and native speakers to teach EFL where English is a foreign language, and provisioned EFL teacher training programs where they seldom offered linguistics courses geared towards teaching the sociolinguistic and cultural aspects of dialects (Baugh 1998; Cullinan 1974; Matsuda 2006).

Research on students learning English as a second or foreign language has shown that these students frequently achieve at lower levels than native English-speaking children, especially in language-related areas (Jax 1988; Valdez-Pierce 2003).

The typical solution proposed to improve non-native students’ proficiency in Standard English has centered on second-language teaching techniques (Mufwene 1999; Smitherman 2000). Wong-Fillmore & Snow (2000) asserted that in order to effectively teach language proficiency, EFL teachers need to become educational linguists who

possess a solid knowledge-base and the skills related to language learning and success in school.

Delpit (1995, 1998) recommended constructive ways of teaching Standard English to non-native EFL learners. Delpit encouraged such techniques as role-playing, which teaches students that there are many ways to say the same thing, and that certain contexts require particular kinds of linguistic performances. Smitherman (2000) recommended that English/language arts teachers allow EFL students to substitute much written work with activities such as improvisational drama, panel discussions, debates, and short speeches.

LeMoine (2001: 176-177) recommended six principles for teachers of EFL in order to enhance the learners' awareness of dialectal differences between standard and nonstandard English:

1. Building their knowledge and understanding of nonstandard language and the students who speak them.
2. Integrating linguistic knowledge about the different dialects of English, especially British and American English, into instruction.
3. Using second language acquisition methods to support student learning of mainstream school language and literacy.
4. Employing a balanced instructional approach to literacy that incorporates language experience, whole language/access to books, and phonics.
5. Infusing the history and culture of British and American dialects into the curriculum, and
6. Considering the learning styles and strengths of the main dialects of English in designing language curriculum and instruction.

10. Teacher perceptions and student learning

For years, teacher attitudes have been recognized as being vital contributors to children's academic success or failure (Labov 1970; Weinstein 2002). Studies of social

support provided evidence that perceptions of supportive teachers were interconnected with student outcomes in important ways (Valdés 2001; Wentzel 1997).

Valdés (2001) found that attitudinal assessment was important because teachers' attitudes and beliefs about language-minority children played a crucial role in determining the educational outcomes for this student population. Teachers who held negative views toward language-minority students, or who upheld fallacies surrounding their education, often failed to meet the students' academic needs (Valdés 2001; Youngs & Youngs 2001). Rickford (1999) explained that teachers who lacked knowledge of their students' cultural background imposed detrimental effects on their achievement.

Attitudes toward language consisted of teachers viewing a student's dialect as either a deficit or difference (Baugh 2000; Smitherman & Baugh 2002). In a study of how Black English and teacher attitudes influenced classrooms, Edwards (1997) found that the teachers failed to support the students' home language and held low expectations for the students' achievement.

Consequently, the students failed to reach their fullest academic potential. Smitherman & Baugh (2002) argued that negative perceptions of nonstandard speech reflected the belief that vernacular dialects were linguistically inferior to Standard English. Smitherman & Baugh suggested that harboring low expectations for children was deleterious because it conveyed a sense that the children were inadequate. Researchers of linguistics and language variation attributed pathological views of American English and its vernaculars to the dearth of linguistic understanding among educators (Baugh 2000; Bland-Stewart 2005; Smitherman 2000).

11. Findings

As indicated, the participants for this study reflected a purposive sample of 88 ($N = 88$) EFL instructors in the language skills in a Saudi college of language and translation. The demographic variables for the study included nationality of teachers, highest level of education, and the number of years of experience as an EFL educator, academic

training in nonstandard English dialects. Frequency tables provided the frequency by percent of occurrences for these independent variables. Tables 1-4 show the frequencies and percentages according to the study participants' demographic variables.

11. 1 Nationality

Study participants' demographic data included diverse nationalities. However, the non-proportionality of the nationality variable resulted in the collapsing of data into two groups: natives and non-native speakers of English. The nationality demographic variable showed that 88.6% of the respondents were non-natives, whereas 11.4% were native speaker teachers of EFL. Table 1 displays the frequencies and percentages for the nationality variable.

Nationality	Frequency	Percent
Non-native speakers	78	88.6
Native speakers	10	11.4
Total	88	100.0

Table 1. Frequencies of nationality (N = 88)

11. 2 Highest level of education

The highest level of education variable included two levels: the MA degree and the doctoral degree. The highest level of education variable showed that 15.9% of respondents obtained MA degree only, whereas 84.1 % of respondents earned doctoral degrees. Table 2 provides the frequencies and percentages for the highest level of education variable.

Highest level of education	Frequency	Percent
MA	14	15.9
PhD	74	84.1
Total	88	100.0

Table 2. Frequencies for highest level of education (N = 88)

11.3 Years of experience as an EFL educator

The years of experience as an educator variable consisted of two levels: 1-15 years' experience as an educator and 16 or more years' experience as an educator. The years of experience as an educator variable indicated that most respondents (55.7%) had 16 or more years of experience, whereas the remaining respondents (44.3%) had 1-15 years' experience. Table 3 shows frequencies and percentages for the years of experience as an educator variable.

Years of experience	Frequency	Percent
1-15 years	39	44.3
16+ years	49	55.7
Total	88	100.0

Table 3. Frequencies for years of experience as an educator (N = 88)

11. 4 Academic training in nonstandard English dialects

The academic training in nonstandard English dialects variable included two levels: Yes response and No response. The academic training in nonstandard English dialects variable showed that the majority of the respondents (59.1 %) received no training, whereas 40.9% of the respondents had received training. Table 4 displays frequencies and percentages for the academic training in nonstandard English dialects variable.

Academic training	Frequency	Percent
Training	36	40.9
No training	52	59.1
Total	88	100.0

Table 4. Frequencies for academic training in nonstandard English dialects (N = 88)

11. 5 Survey items and cluster analyses

Cluster analyses revealed the five highest and five lowest survey items of importance to participants, based on their mean responses. The mean responses on the

cluster items are shown in Table 5 (highest five) and Table 6 (lowest five). Table 7 supplies the means for each of the dependent variables, or clusters.

Survey items	n	M	SD
8. I am familiar with the differences between BrE and AmE, standard and nonstandard dialects.	87	2.43	1.06
19. I correct my EFL students' writing each time they use nonstandard English in their writing pieces.	87	2.63	1.25
13. I clearly understand my EFL students' colloquial syntax in their everyday conversations.	88	2.68	1.01
12. I am very familiar with AmE that I prefer to teach this dialect to my EFL students.	88	2.98	0.91
11. I am able to communicate well with my EFL students, no matter what dialect they use or learn.	87	3.07	0.97

Table 5. Five highest ranked survey items (N = 88)

As shown in the table above, the highest ranked item of importance focused on the teachers' ability to recognise the differences between BrE and AmE, standard and nonstandard dialects, with which approximately 70% of the participants agreed. The remaining four highest ranked items of importance (in descending order) included participants' perceptions regarding their: (a) strong rapport with the AmE dialect, (b) comprehension of EFL students' colloquial syntax, (c) constant correction of EFL students' use of nonstandard English in writing, and (d) familiarity with American English dialect.

Survey items	n	M	SD
16. I feel it is necessary to constantly correct EFL students' use of dialect during class discussions.	88	0.95	1.02
14. I often correct EFL students' use of dialect during informal discussions.	88	1.10	1.09
18. It is important to correct EFL students each time they mispronounce a word during reading time.	86	1.13	1.17
22. EFL students should be encouraged to use only Standard British or American English at and away from the class.	88	1.48	1.21
20. EFL students become frustrated when corrected for incorrect use of standard English in reading or writing.	86	1.71	0.99

Table 6. Five lowest ranked survey items (N = 88)

As indicated in the table above, the five lowest ranked areas of importance included participants' perceptions regarding (a) constant correction of EFL students during class discussions, (b) constant correction of EFL students' speech during informal discussions (outside of class), (c) constant correction of EFL students' mispronunciation of words during reading time, (d) reinforcement of only Standard English usage at and away from the class, and (e) EFL students' tendency to become frustrated when corrected for incorrect use of standard English in reading or writing. 70% of the sample participants disagreed with three survey items in particular (items 14, 16, and 18, respectively): (a) constant correction of EFL students' speech during informal discussions (outside of class), (b) constant correction of EFL students during class discussions, and (c) correction of BE-speaking students each time they mispronounced a word during reading or writing time.

12. Results in response to the research questions

The researcher formulated a few research questions which examined English/language arts teachers' perceptions of BrE and AmE usage in students' oral and written expression. The parametric one-way ANOVA, Tukey's HSD Post Hoc, and non-parametric Mann-Whitney U statistics were used for inferential data analyses. Data reduction through measures such as coding and categorization allowed for the analyses of qualitative data to identify emergent themes.

In this study, demographic or independent variables were analysed across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding American versus British English, (b) challenge of teaching Standard British English to Saudi EFL learners, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage. Survey items 8, 11, 12, and 13 comprised cluster one, Communicative Competence Regarding Dialectal Use of English. Cluster two, Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL students, included survey items 9, 10, 20, and 21. The final cluster, Importance o/Constant Correction of Dialectal English Usage, contained survey items 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 22.

Research question 1. Is there a difference between English/language arts teachers' nationality and their perceptions across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding American versus British English, (b) challenge of teaching Standard British English to Saudi EFL learners, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage?

The Mann-Whitney U analysis was employed to analyse native versus non-native speakers amongst EFL teachers in the study sample for comparison across each cluster. The Mann-Whitney U test examined central tendency comparisons of the two nationality groups because these groups were non-proportional and violated the normal distribution and homogeneous variance assumptions for the ANOVA. Tables 7-12 provide the mean ranks and Mann-Whitney U results for nationality across each cluster.

The Mann-Whitney U analysis revealed no statistically significant difference ($z = -1.08$, $p = .28$, two-tailed) in the Communicative Competence Regarding Dialectal Use of English (American versus British English), ranking between the non-native-speakers ($M_{rank} = 43.46$) and native speakers ($M_{rank} = 52.65$) groups. Tables 7-8 provide the mean ranks and Mann-Whitney U results for nationality across each cluster.

Nationality	n	Mean Rank
Nonnatives	78	43.46
natives	10	52.65

Table 7. Mean ranks for nationality by communicative competence regarding dialectal English (N = 88)

Source	Value
Mann-Whitney U	308.50
Wilcoxon W	3389.50
Z	-1.08
Asymmetrical significance (two-tailed)	.28

Table 8. Mann-Whitney U for nationality by Communicative Competence regarding dialectal use of English (N = 88)

The Mann-Whitney U analysis depicted no statistically significant difference ($z = -.87$, $p = .39$, two-tailed) in the Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL students ranking between the non-native speakers ($M_{rank} = 45.34$) and native speakers ($M_{rank} = 37.95$) groups. Tables 9-10 provide the mean ranks and Mann-Whitney U results for

non-native and native speakers who responded to the survey according to the Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL students cluster.

Nationality	n	Mean Rank
Non-natives	78	45.34
Natives	10	37.95

Table 9. Mean ranks for nationality by Challenge of Teaching standard English to EFL students (N = 88)

Source	Value
Mann-Whitney U	324.50
Wilcoxon W	379.50
Z	-.87
Asymmetrical significance (two-tailed)	.39

Table 10. Mann-Whitney U for nationality by Challenge of Teaching standard English to EFL students (N = 88)

The Mann-Whitney U analysis showed no statistically significant difference ($z = -1.28$, $P = .20$, two-tailed) in the Importance of Constant Correction of nonstandard English Usage cluster, ranking between the non-native speakers ($M_{rank} = 43.26$) and native-speakers ($M_{rank} = 53.20$) groups. Tables 11-12 show the mean ranks and Mann-Whitney U results for non-native and native speakers with respect to the Importance of Constant Correction of Dialectal English Usage cluster.

Nationality	n	Mean Rank
Non-natives	78	43.26
Natives	10	54.20

Table 11. Mean ranks for the importance of Constant Correction of dialectal English usage (N = 88)

Source	Value
Mann-Whitney U	293.00
Wilcoxon W	3374.00
Z	-1.28
Asymmetrical significance (two-tailed)	.20

Table 12. Mann-Whitney U for nationality by importance of Constant Correction of dialectal English usage (N = 88)

The Mann-Whitney U analysis indicated no statistically significant difference regarding nationality. However, certain trends emerged from the data. Native speaker respondents ($M_{rank} = 52.65$) rated the Communicative Competence Regarding

Dialectal English usage cluster higher than non-native speaker respondents ($M_{rank} = 43.46$). Native-speaker respondents ($M_{rank} = 54.20$) also rated the Importance of Constant Correction of Dialectal English Usage cluster higher than native-speaker respondents ($M_{rank} = 43.26$). These trends suggested that native speaker EFL teachers were more likely than non-native speaker EFL teachers to agree with possessing communicative competence when communicating with EFL English learners. In addition, native speaker respondents were more favourable of constant correction of the English usage of EFL students more than non-native speaker teacher respondents.

Research question 2. Is there a difference between English/language arts teachers' level of education and their perceptions across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding American versus British English, (b) challenge of teaching Standard British English to Saudi EFL learners, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage?

The Mann-Whitney U analysis used MA and PhD groups for comparison across each cluster. The Mann-Whitney U test examined central tendency comparisons of the two levels of education groups because these groups were non-proportional and violated the normal distribution and homogeneous variance assumptions for the ANOVA. Tables 13-18 show the mean ranks and Mann-Whitney U test results for highest level of education of respondents with regard to each cluster.

The Mann-Whitney U analysis showed no statistically significant difference ($z = -.75$, $p = .45$, two-tailed) in the Communicative Competence Regarding Dialectal Use of English (American versus British English), ranking between the MA group ($M_{rank} = 39.82$) and Doctoral ($M_{rank} = 45.39$) group. Tables 13-14 show the mean ranks and Mann-Whitney U results for MA and PhD groups with respect to the Communicative Competence Regarding Dialectal Use of English cluster.

Education	n	Mean Rank
PhD	14	45.39
MA	74	39.82

Table 13. Mean ranks for highest level of education by Communicative Competence regarding dialectal English (N = 88)

Source	Value
Mann-Whitney U	452.50
Wilcoxon W	557.50
Z	-.75
Asymmetrical significance (two-tailed)	.45

Table 14. Mann-Whitney U for highest level of education by Communicative Competence regarding dialectal use of English (N = 88)

The Mann-Whitney U analysis depicted no statistically significant difference ($z = -1.00$, $p = .32$, two-tailed) in the Challenge of Teaching Standard English to Dialectal English Usage, ranking between the bachelor's ($M_{rank} = 50.71$) and graduate ($M_{rank} = 43.32$) groups. Tables 15-16 provide the mean ranks and Mann-Whitney U results for MA and PhD groups with respect to the Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL Learners cluster.

Education	n	Mean Rank
PhD	14	50.71
MA	74	43.32

Table 15. Mean ranks for highest level of education by Challenge of Teaching standard English to EFL learners (N = 88)

Source	Value
Mann-Whitney U	431.00
Wilcoxon W	3206.00
Z	-1.00
Asymmetrical significance (two-tailed)	.32

Table 16. Mann-Whitney U for highest level of education by Challenge of Teaching standard English to EFL learners (N = 88)

The Mann-Whitney U analysis displayed no statistically significant difference ($z = -1.42$, $p = .16$, two-tailed) in the Importance of Constant Correction of English Usage ranking between the MA ($M_{rank} = 53.39$) and PhD ($M_{rank} = 42.82$) groups. Tables 17-18 show the mean ranks and Mann-Whitney U results for MA and PhD groups for the Importance of Constant Correction of English Usage cluster.

Education	n	Mean Rank
PhD	14	53.39
MA	74	42.82

Table 17. Mean ranks for highest level of education by importance of Constant Correction of English usage (N = 88)

Source	Value
Mann-Whitney U	393.50
Wilcoxon W	3168.50
Z	-1.42
Asymmetrical significance (two-tailed)	.16

Table 18. Mann-Whitney U for highest level of education by importance of Constant Correction of English usage (N = 88)

Although the Mann-Whitney U results indicated no statistical significance regarding highest level of education, certain trends emerged from the data. MA group ($M_{rank} = 50.71$) reflected a higher mean rank than the PhD group ($M_{rank} = 53.39$) on the cluster, Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL Learners. The MA group of teachers ($M_{rank} = 53.39$) also showed a higher mean rank than the PhD group ($M_{rank} = 42.82$) on the Importance of Constant Correction of Dialectal English Usage cluster. These trends suggested that EFL teachers possessing only the MA degree tended to agree at a higher rate than teachers with graduate degrees that teaching Standard English to EFL students is a challenging task. In addition, teachers possessing only the MA degree were more likely than teachers with PhD degrees to favour constant correction of dialectal English usage.

Research question 3. Is there a difference between English/language arts teachers' years of experience as an educator and their perceptions across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding American versus British English, (b) challenge of teaching Standard British English to Saudi EFL learners, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage?

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) tested the difference in sample means for participants' years of experience as an EFL educator. Results from the ANOVA analysis showed no statistical significance in the sample means for years of experience as an EFL educator on the cluster, Communicative Competence Regarding Dialectal English, F (2,

$F(1, 87) = 1.30$, $p = .26$. Tables 19-20 display the ANOVA results for teacher's years of experience as an EFL educator across the Communicative Competence Regarding Dialectal English cluster.

Teaching experience	n	M	SD
1-15 yrs.	39	2.68	.80
16+ yrs.	49	2.87	.80
Total	88	2.79	.80

Table 19. Means and standard deviations for years of experience as an EFL educator by Communicative Competence regarding dialectal English usage ($N = 88$)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	.82	1	.82	1.30	.26
Within groups	54.32	86	.63		
Total	55.14	87			

Table 20. Analysis of variance for years of experience as an EFL educator by Communicative Competence regarding dialectal English usage ($N = 88$)

Results from the ANOVA analysis exhibited no statistical significance in the sample means for years of experience as an educator on the cluster, Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL Learners, $F(1, 87) = 1.56$, $p = .21$. Tables 21-22 show the ANOVA results for teacher's years of experience as an EFL educator across the Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL Learners cluster.

Teaching Experience	n	M	SD
1-15 yrs.	39	2.02	.77
16+ yrs.	49	1.82	.76
Total	88	1.91	.77

Table 21. Means and standard deviations for years of experience as an EFL educator by Challenge of Teaching standard English to EFL learners ($N = 88$)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	.91	1	.91	1.30	.21
Within groups	50.19	86	.58	1.56	
Total	51.10	87			

Table 22. Analysis of variance for years of experience as an EFL educator by Challenge of Teaching standard English to EFL learners ($N = 88$)

Results from the ANOVA analysis showed no statistical significance in the sample means for years of experience on the cluster, Importance of Constant Correction of English Usage, $F (1, 87) = 1.60$, $p = .21$. Tables 23-24 show the ANOVA results for teacher's years of experience as an EFL educator across the Importance of Constant Correction of English Usage cluster.

Teaching Experience	n	M	SD
1-15 yrs.	39	1.75	.95
16+ yrs.	49	1.52	.77
Total	88	1.62	.86

Table 23. Means and standard deviations for the importance of Constant Correction of English usage cluster ($N = 88$)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	1.17	1	1.17	1.30	.21
Within groups	62.70	86	.73	1.60	
Total	63.86	87			

Table 24. Analysis of variance for the importance of Constant Correction of English usage cluster ($N = 88$)

Although the one-way ANOVA results indicated no statistically significant difference in respondents' means for the years of experience as an EFL educator variable, specific trends emerged from the data. EFL teachers with 1-15 years' experience had a higher mean ($M = 2.02$) than EFL teachers with 16 or more years' experience ($M = 1.82$) on the Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL Learners cluster. This finding suggested that EFL teachers with the least experience were more apt to agree that teaching Standard English to EFL learners is a challenging task. EFL teachers with 1-15 years' experience also had a higher mean ($M = 1.75$) than EFL teachers with 16 or more years' experience ($M = 1.52$) on the Importance of Constant Correction of Dialectal English Usage cluster. This finding suggested that EFL teachers with the least experience were more inclined to favour constant correction of English usage.

Research question 4. Is there a difference between English/language arts teachers' academic training in nonstandard English dialects and their perceptions across the three clusters: (a) communicative competence regarding dialectal English usage (American

(versus British English), (b) challenge of teaching Standard British English to Saudi EFL learners, and (c) importance of constant correction of nonstandard English usage?

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) tested the difference in sample means for academic training in nonstandard English dialects. Tables 25-26 show the means, standard deviations, and ANOVA results for academic training in nonstandard English dialects with respect to each cluster.

Results from the ANOVA analysis displayed no statistical significance in the sample means for teachers' academic training in nonstandard English dialects on the cluster, Communicative Competence Regarding Dialectal English, $F(1, 87) = .14$, $p = .71$. Tables 25-26 provide the ANOVA results for teachers' academic training in nonstandard English dialects on the Communicative Competence Regarding Dialectal English cluster.

Academic training	n	M	SD
Training	36	2.83	.89
No training	52	2.76	.73
Total	88	2.79	.80

Table 25. Means and standard deviations for academic training in nonstandard English dialects by Communicative Competence regarding dialectal English usage ($N = 88$)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	.09	1	.09	.14	.71
Within groups	55.05	86	.64		
Total	55.14	87			

Table 26. Analysis of variance for academic training in nonstandard English dialects by Communicative Competence regarding dialectal English usage ($N = 88$)

Results from the ANOVA analysis exhibited no statistical significance in the sample means for teachers' academic training in nonstandard English dialects on the cluster, Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL Learners, $F(1, 87) = .88$, $p = .35$. Tables 27-28 display the ANOVA results for teachers' academic training in nonstandard English dialects relative to the Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL Learners cluster.

Academic training	n	M	SD
Training	36	1.81	.80
No training	52	1.97	.74
Total	88	1.91	.77

Table 27. Means and standard deviations for academic training in nonstandard English dialects by Challenge of Teaching Standard English to EFL learners (N = 88)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	.52	1	.52	.88	.35
Within groups	50.58	86	.59		
Total	51.10	87			

Table 28. Analysis of variance for academic training in nonstandard English dialects by Challenge of Teaching standard English to EFL learners (N = 88)

Results from the ANOVA analysis presented no statistical significance in the sample means for teachers' academic training in nonstandard English dialects on the cluster, Importance of Constant Correction of English Usage, $F(1, 87) = .94$, $p = .34$. Tables 29-30 show the ANOVA results for teachers' academic training in nonstandard English dialects relative to the Importance of Constant Correction of English Usage cluster.

Academic training	n	M	SD
Training	36	1.73	.83
No training	52	1.55	.88
Total	88	1.62	.86

Table 29. Means and standard deviations for academic training in nonstandard English dialects by importance of Constant Correction of English usage (N = 88)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	.69	1	.69	.94	.34
Within groups	63.17	86	.74		
Total	63.86	87			

Table 30. Analysis of variance for academic training in nonstandard English dialects by importance of Constant Correction of English usage (N = 88)

Although the one-way ANOVA results showed no statistically significant differences in respondents' means for the academic training in nonstandard English

dialects variable, trends emerged from the data. EFL teachers with academic training in nonstandard English dialects had a higher mean ($M = 2.83$) than EFL teachers with no academic training ($M = 2.76$), on the Communicative Competence Regarding Dialectal English cluster. This finding suggested that EFL teachers who had been trained in nonstandard English dialects were more inclined to agree that they possessed communicative competence with regard to communicating with EFL learners.

EFL teachers with academic training in nonstandard English dialects as well as EFL teachers with no academic training tended to disagree with constant correction of Dialectal English usage. However, EFL teachers with training ($M = 1.73$) rated the Constant Correction of English Usage cluster higher than EFL teachers with no training ($M = 1.55$). This result suggested that EFL teachers who had been trained in nonstandard English dialects were slightly more likely than EFL teachers with no training to favour constant correction of dialectal English usage.

Research question 5. What do English/language arts teachers perceive to be the three most frequent American versus British English features evidenced in Saudi EFL students' writing?

Survey participants offered specific comments relating to their concerns about teaching Standard English to BE-speaking students. Three major themes emerged from the data.

The most cited concern involved the need for EFL learners to recognize the relevance of having a sense of audience and purpose in spoken and written discourse in order to become successful in using English in the mainstream society where the language is used for its communicative purposes. One teacher expressed this need in his comment as follows, "I tried to impress upon all my students the need for a sense of audience... Correct use of Standard English is necessary in college applications, job interviews, conversations."

Another respondent noted, "A concern I have is that EFL students are not given equal consideration and training as to when to shift language register for purpose and audience."

A different participant aptly observed: "I stress the importance of considering the audience when speaking and writing. I encourage my EFL students to speak in the best

way to communicate with a particular audience. With friends at the mall - speak informally. At a job interview - speak formally. They need to understand that language is a tool that we manipulate for specific purposes."

Another teacher commented: "My concern is for their success, or lack of success, in the workforce due to their need to learn standard English for formal language use situations in their jobs when they graduate."

Other responses included concerns with EFL students being "expected to have control of Standard English" and having "code-switching" abilities, or being "able to move comfortably back and forth between Standard English and nonstandard English, whether the dialect is British or American".

A second concern that surfaced was the EFL teachers' frustration resulting from their learners' inability to recognize the need for dialectal English instruction. One respondent noted that the EFL learners "don't understand why it matters." Some teachers revealed the frustration that results from trying to persuade EFL to use Standard British English where American English is more prevalent in Saudi Arabia. One participant explained that "as a white teacher, it is difficult to persuade EFL students to use standard British English in formal writing/settings because one dialect is superior or older than the other". A teacher emphasized that "EF students often write the way they talk. This frustrates me at times because when we go over or review their writing, they can often pick out their mistakes, but not until they re-read it several times."

Other respondents were concerned with the idea that "they speak informal, nonstandard American English at home and with friends so they feel it is acceptable everywhere." One teacher summarized this concern: "In conversational English, outside the classroom, the use of informal American English continues to be reinforced in their home and peer groups. I try to emphasize that the written aspect of language must be 'standard' and that they should work hard on the oral use of language as well, since many first impressions are made from someone's speech. It is frustrating...".

Finally, EFL teachers expressed the need to find a balance between enforcing Standard English and being linguistically responsive to diverse language needs of EFL learners. Another teacher noted that a "concern when teaching EFL students, or other

ESL students, is how to find the balance between their own spoken language and standard English in writing."

13. Discussion and conclusion

Participants in the present study had approximately two decades of teaching experience and no training in nonstandard English dialects. EFL teachers tended to disagree with constant correction of English usage by dialect, although younger, less experienced teachers were more compelled to favour constant correction of the dialect to be the standard British English. Participants expressed a desire to find a balance between enforcing Standard British English and maintaining cultural sensitivity and the language needs of EFL learners who pick up the language mostly via American movies. They indicated a need for EFL teachers to receive professional development training in English dialect variations and cultural awareness in order to more effectively teach Standard English, be it British or American, to non-native EFL students.

In addition, the majority of these teachers possessed doctoral degrees and approximately two decades of teaching experience. Results showed that these teachers lacked training in nonstandard English dialects, however, supporting the assertion of Baugh (2000), Matsuda (2006) and Smitherman (2000) concerning the dearth of linguistic training among teachers.

Based on the findings of the present study, EFL teachers should value students, remaining patient and culturally as well as linguistically sensitive when teaching Standard English. In addition, they should correct linguistic differences gradually and with diplomacy. These findings supported Delpit (1998), Coelho (2004), and Smitherman (2000) assertion that teachers should use constructive methods for teaching Standard English to EFL learners, avoiding humiliating situations resulting from constant correction.

14. Implications for educational practice

1. A need seems to exist for English/language arts EFL teachers to familiarize themselves with the variations among the diverse English dialects, mainly American and British standard dialects in order to effectively communicate with and teach standard English to non-native EFL learners.

2. Universities and graduate teacher preparation programs may need to provide more linguistic courses in nonstandard English dialects to adequately prepare prospective teachers of English in EFL settings.

3. English departments may benefit by assessing the extent to which EFL teachers have been trained in nonstandard English dialects and providing opportunities for professional development training in this area.

4. The findings from this study suggested that constant correction of standard English dialects inhibits student learning. In addition to the research literature which supports these findings, statistical significance surfaced between younger and older teachers regarding their tendency to disagree with constant correction of standard English usage. Therefore, it is recommended that teachers avoid constant correction of dialectal English usage altogether.

5. Based on the research findings, EFL teachers should particularly focus on effective means of teaching correct uses of oral and written English according to both BrE and AmE dialects by employing instructional methods such as contrastive analysis and code switching techniques in which students are able to compare correct uses of Standard English and its correct dialectal English features both in BrE and AmE dialects (Ball & Farr 2003; Green 2002; Smitherman 2000).

6. Based on the findings and research literature, it is recommended that future teacher preparation programs target research-based practices that will assist beginning English/language arts teachers in teaching dialectal variations in standard language use. These programs may benefit by specifically focusing on achieving a balanced approach to language arts instruction through cultural sensitivity and linguistic competence.

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EL AVANCE DE LA PLURALIZACIÓN DEL VERBO IMPERSONAL *HABER* EN CORPUS ORALES PUERTORRIQUEÑOS

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Resumen

Esta investigación tiene por objeto un estudio contrastivo del uso del verbo *haber* existencial en dos corpus orales puertorriqueños que corresponden a dos generaciones distintas, con el fin de analizar las diferencias en las frecuencias de las variantes documentadas (formas impersonales ~ formas pluralizadas) con un sintagma nominal en plural y determinar qué factores condicionan o influyen en la pluralización del verbo impersonal *haber* en cada corpus. La comparación de los resultados de ambos materiales muestran claramente un importante avance del fenómeno de la pluralización en el habla de la generación joven, ya que los ejemplos de *haber* con forma impersonal disminuyen considerablemente en todos los casos y se impone la regularización del verbo.

Palabras clave

haber impersonal, variación, pluralización, español de Puerto Rico, corpus orales

ADVANCING PLURALIZATION OF IMPERSONAL VERB *HABER* IN PUERTO RICAN ORAL CORPUS

Abstract

This research aims to carry out a contrastive study of the use of the existential verb *haber* in two Puerto Rico's oral corpora in two different generations. The aim of this study is to analyze the differences in the frequencies of documented variants (impersonal forms ~ pluralized forms) with a plural noun phrase and decide which factors determine or favour the pluralization of the impersonal verb in each corpus. The comparison of the results of both corpora clearly shows a significant advance of the phenomenon of

pluralization in the speech of the younger generation, since the examples of impersonal *haber* have decreased considerably in all cases and the regularization of the verb is imposed.

Keywords

impersonal *haber*, variation, plural form, Puerto Rican Spanish, oral corpus

1. Introducción

1.1 Objetivos

Esta investigación tiene por objeto el estudio del uso del verbo impersonal *haber* y de los posibles factores que contribuyen a la pluralización de este verbo existencial en dos corpus de la ciudad de San Juan de Puerto Rico (grabaciones de hablantes cultos de generaciones diferentes y cuyas encuestas se realizaron en distintos períodos temporales):

a) Los materiales de San Juan del *Macrocorpus de la norma lingüística culta de las principales ciudades del mundo hispánico* (1998) (Samper, Hernández & Troya, eds.).

b) *El habla culta de la generación joven de San Juan, Puerto Rico. Materiales para su estudio* (2001),¹ tomo de la obra completa: *El habla culta de la generación joven de San Juan, La Habana y Santo Domingo. Materiales para su estudio* (ed. por Iris Y. Reyes).

Los dos corpus analizados son el resultado de entrevistas orales realizadas en las mencionadas capitales (las grabaciones de los jóvenes estudiantes se realizaron en los años noventa). El objetivo final es el de realizar un estudio contrastivo y poder determinar los factores que podrían estar propiciando la concordancia del verbo con el complemento. Como se verá, en el primer corpus, predomina considerablemente el uso impersonal, mientras que en el segundo (el de la generación joven) se muestra claramente la tendencia general de los jóvenes a la concordancia.²

¹ Las grabaciones de San Juan corresponden a estudiantes de nuevo ingreso de la Facultad de Estudios Generales (Recinto Universitario de Río Piedras) y de la Escuela Superior de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. El corpus fue presentado por la editora en varias publicaciones anteriores (Reyes Benítez 2000 y 2003).

² Una primera aproximación se realizó en el trabajo de Aleza (2012), en el que se trató únicamente el factor de los tiempos verbales.

El uso, muy frecuente actualmente, de hacer concordar el verbo *haber* existencial (*había casas* vs. *habían casas*) con sintagmas o frases nominales en plural (FN), aunque restringido a determinadas formas verbales (como el imperfecto de indicativo, sobre todo), en todos los niveles socioculturales de gran parte del dominio hispánico, pone en evidencia una tendencia a la regularización del verbo impersonal *haber* cada vez más en aumento, en paralelo al mantenimiento de la impersonalidad. Tradicionalmente el verbo *haber* existencial y la construcción que genera como tal (heredera del latín tardío *habet* impersonal + acusativo)³ han sido clasificados como impersonales y la FN ha sido considerada como un objeto directo que, como el resto de elementos que pueden cumplir esta función, pronominaliza mediante los clíticos *lo*, *la*, *los*, *las*.⁴ Por otra parte, se ha señalado también que el hecho de que *haber* pueda alternar con otros verbos existenciales como *existir* o *estar* (*había tres personas en la reunión* / *estaban tres personas en la reunión*) puede contribuir a asimilarlo al resto de verbos existenciales que sí tienen un sujeto, y a que los hablantes, lejos de la presión normativa, tiendan a priorizar el auténtico valor existencial del verbo y se produzca la concordancia (Luque Moreno 1978: 133 y 147).⁵ De hecho, la *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (vol. 2, 3063, 41.6a-c) explica que la concordancia entre el verbo impersonal *haber* y su objeto

³ Luque (1978: 144-145) explica que, en realidad, se trata de un sintagma híbrido (fossilizado) resultado de la contaminación de dos construcciones del verbo *habeo*: la construcción transitiva del verbo de posesión y la construcción intransitiva en cuanto verbo de estado. Al respecto, véase también García Yebra (1983: 67 y 70), quien destaca que el uso del acusativo pronominal con *haber* “puede explicarse como resto fossilizado del uso primitivo de *haber* fundamentalmente transitivo y equivalente al actual *tener*” (p. 67). Sobre la evolución de los usos de *haber* en español antiguo, véase González Calvo (2002: 645-656).

⁴ No obstante, es considerada una construcción muy especial, debido a ciertas propiedades del sintagma nominal que lo diferencian de los objetos directos de verbos transitivos regulares (Fernández Soriano & Táboas Baylín 1999: 1755): la imposibilidad de transformación en pasiva (**libros son habidos*), el carácter necesariamente indefinido si es léxico (*había unos/cuatro/algunos libros*, pero no **hay todos los libros*), así como la imposibilidad de que el sintagma nominal referido a personas lleve la preposición *a* (*había algunas personas*, pero no **había a algunas personas*). No obstante, estas peculiaridades no son privativas de *haber* existencial, sino que se producen con otros verbos transitivos. De hecho, determinados verbos se ven sometidos a ciertas restricciones que hacen que la transformación en pasiva resulte forzada o imposible (**tres casas son tenidas*, verbo *tener* con sentido de posesión). Como señala González Calvo (2002: 649) “muchos predicados transitivos, por las características sintácticas y semánticas del verbo y del predicado, impiden o restringen el paso a pasiva”. Por otra parte el aspecto de la raíz verbal y el de la forma flexiva son determinantes para que un predicado verbal pueda generar una estructura pasiva (De Miguel 1999). Por último, es la ausencia de un sujeto semántico lo que la incapacita para que aparezca el complemento directo con preposición (Torrejo 1999: 1785), dado que no se puede producir ninguna confusión de funciones con entes animados (González Calvo 2002: 649).

⁵ Sobre las concomitancias entre *haber* y *ser*, que arrancan desde el latín, véase Luque (1978: 138-142).

directo se debe a la asimilación de *haber* al grupo de verbos que expresan presencia, existencia y acontecimiento, fenómeno que ya se documenta en la lengua antigua.⁶

En el español de América, cada vez es más intenso el fenómeno de la pluralización, ya señalada por Kany (1976: 255-260), especialmente en el imperfecto de indicativo (*había ~ *habían*). La información de la existencia y avance de las formas concordadas es suficiente para que el fenómeno resulte de gran interés en los estudios sobre el español de muchos países. Las investigaciones actuales así lo confirman, sobre todo en el habla de ciudades y países hispanoamericanos (aunque también está presente en zonas de España), lo que ha llevado a algunos investigadores a plantear la posibilidad de que se pueda estar produciendo un cambio en marcha hacia la concordancia y la regularización del verbo *haber* existencial (ver *infra*).⁷ Lo que sí parece evidente es que, en el uso del verbo *haber* existencial, se está produciendo una convivencia de dos *normas* (entendido este concepto como uso generalizado): el uso impersonal y el uso regulador (concordancia extendida en mayor o menor medida según zonas) condicionado por una serie de factores que son objeto de investigaciones actuales. Para el presente estudio, partimos de los datos aportados por trabajos previos, especialmente los referidos a zonas americanas.

1.2 Estudios previos (ciudades hispanoamericanas)

DeMello (1991) se ocupó del estudio del fenómeno en el habla culta de once ciudades⁸ (materiales para el estudio coordinado del habla culta). En relación con las ciudades hispanoamericanas, sus datos señalan que la concordancia del impersonal *haber* es un fenómeno común en las ciudades de Lima, La Paz, Caracas, San Juan y Santiago de Chile. Se establece un porcentaje mediano en Bogotá y La Habana; y se hace constar que dicha concordancia resulta rara en Ciudad de México y Buenos Aires (aunque se da en sociolectos bajos). Egido & Morala (2009) documentan el fenómeno en grabaciones

⁶ A pesar de la intensidad y de la antigüedad del fenómeno, la obra académica recomienda el uso canónico (no concordado).

⁷ Para una revisión crítica de los criterios sintácticos y semánticos utilizados en el debate sobre el verbo *haber* existencial y locativo, véase el análisis de la situación en González Calvo (2007).

⁸ Bogotá, Buenos Aires, Caracas, La Habana, La Paz, Lima, Madrid, Ciudad de México, San Juan de Puerto Rico, Santiago de Chile y Sevilla. Hay que señalar que en las ciudades españolas (Madrid, Sevilla) no se documentaron casos de pluralización.

orales de diversas ciudades y países. Los autores observan que la pluralización se produce en todos los niveles de habla en los materiales estudiados por los autores que corresponden a Venezuela, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, Bolivia y Paraguay. También documentan la pluralización en el nivel culto de Puerto Rico y en el nivel no culto de la República Dominicana y de Chile. No parece de uso general en el caso del corpus de México estudiado por Egido & Morala (2009: 41-46). Montes (1982: 384 y 1992: 533-534) considera la concordancia como un fenómeno de uso general en Bogotá que alcanza la lengua escrita, incluso en el presente de indicativo (*haen, hayn*) en algunas zonas colombianas. En la misma línea, se informa de la existencia del fenómeno en Centroamérica (Quesada 1996: 110; Quilis & Graell 2003: 372, en el caso de Panamá; Quintanilla-Aguilar 2009, sobre El Salvador). También hay información de la concordancia en el castellano andino de Bolivia (Mendoza 1992), en el español peruano (Caravedo 1996; Hildebrandt 2000; Moscol 2010; Arrizabalaga 2011), tanto en la lengua escrita como en la oral, y en el español chileno (Rabanales 1992: 578 y 581). De hecho, Oyanedel & Samaniego (1999) señalan el avance del fenómeno en el habla culta de Santiago de Chile. Sobre Ecuador, Quilis (1992: 604) afirma que *haber* (al igual que *hacer*) como impersonal se comporta de manera heterogénea. Otros estudios de muestran que la pluralización se desarrolla en las ciudades mexicanas, como la de Mérida, Yucatán (Castillo-Trelles 2007) y la de México (Montes de Oca 1994; Lope Blanch 1996: 83; Moreno de Alba 2006), aunque en el corpus analizado por Egido & Morala (2009) no resulta ser de uso general. Los estudios de Venezuela, que son los más numerosos, se han centrado en investigaciones sobre el español hablado en las ciudades de Caracas (Obediente 1987; Bentivoglio & Sedano 1989; Sedano & Bentivoglio 1996: 124; Malaver 1999; D'Aquino 2004 y 2008; Díaz Campos 1999-2000 y 2003), Valencia (Navarro Correa 1991), Mérida (Domínguez *et alii* 1998), Táchira (Freites 2001-2002, 2003, 2004 y 2008).⁹

⁹ Obediente (1987) presentó el primer estudio de la pluralización de *haber* basado en el corpus de *El habla culta de Caracas* (hablantes de clase media-alta y clase alta). Bentivoglio & Sedano (1989) estudiaron el fenómeno en dos corpus: *Estudio Sociolingüístico de Caracas* (1977) y *El habla culta de Caracas* (1977). D'Aquino (2004) realizó un estudio basado en el corpus sociolingüístico del habla de Caracas, recogido entre 1987 y 1988. En un estudio posterior (2008), la autora documenta un elevado incremento de la pluralización en los distintos niveles socioculturales y generacionales. En consecuencia, se apunta a una posible cambio lingüístico en marcha que se encuentra en el proceso avanzado (D'Aquino 2008: 120). Por su parte, Díaz Campos (1999-2000) realizó un estudio contrastivo entre Caracas y Santiago de Chile. En un trabajo posterior Díaz Campos (2003) se basó en las encuestas del corpus del *Estudio Sociolingüístico del*

La pluralización es también común en los países caribeños (ver Claes 2010). Existen noticias del avance del fenómeno en la República Dominicana (Henríquez Ureña 1982: 224; Jiménez Sabater 1984: 165; Alba 2000: 23 y 2004: 323; Alvar 2000: 338; Fernández 1982: 93) y en Cuba (Padrón 1949: 166; García Riverón 1991; Domínguez 2007: 22; Aleza 2011; además del estudio de DeMello).

En cuanto a Puerto Rico, país que nos interesa especialmente por los dos corpus de San Juan objeto de estudio, se ha documentado el fenómeno en hablantes de todos los niveles socioculturales (Vaquero 1978 y 1996: 64; DeMello 1991 y 1994; López Morales 1992: 309).¹⁰ Vaquero (1978: 135-140), en un estudio sobre encuestas a estudiantes universitarios de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, señalaba que estos aceptan el uso de *habían, hubieron y habemos*, siendo este último el que presenta una mayor porcentaje de uso en sus resultados (56 %), lo que supone un salto importante en la extensión de la concordancia del verbo *haber* en el habla culta puertorriqueña. Estos datos contrastan con los de Carrillo de Carle (1974), sobre el español de Vieques (Puerto Rico), que apuntaban al nivel sociocultural de los hablantes, dado que el nivel de pluralización era bajo en el caso de los hablantes cultos (21 %). Por su parte, los datos obtenidos por DeMello (1991 y 1994), centrados sobre la norma culta, sitúan a San Juan entre las ciudades con un nivel de pluralización más alto (31 %), superado por La Paz (60 %), Lima (40 %), Santiago de Chile (39 %) y Caracas (36 %). En un trabajo reciente, centrado en el estudio de un corpus oral puertorriqueño, Rivas & Brown (2012) muestran que la frecuencia de la construcción impersonal-existencial es favorecida, principalmente, por dos factores lingüísticos: la referencia humana del *presentatum* (o frase nominal) y la flexión del verbo en imperfecto de indicativo. Los autores concluyen que en la variedad

habla de Caracas (1987). Navarro Correa (1991) se centró en un corpus correspondiente a 484 informantes de la ciudad venezolana de Valencia, distribuidos por edad, sexo, escolaridad e ingreso. Las entrevistas se realizaron durante los años 1984 y 1985. La investigación de Domínguez *et alii* (1998) se basó en una muestra estratificada de grabaciones realizadas en la ciudad de Mérida (Venezuela). Los autores señalan que para la mayoría de los hablantes este verbo se ha regularizado como un verbo personal intransitivo. Freites (2008) llevó a cabo un trabajo descriptivo y probabilístico, en el que se analizan los factores que contribuyen a la pluralización en 128 entrevistas cuyos hablantes son de distinta procedencia (rural y urbana), edad y sexo (en la zona venezolana andina de Táchira). Comparando sus datos con los obtenidos previamente en los estudios sobre ciudades venezolanas, realizados por otros investigadores, el autor concluye que en la zona de Táchira la pluralización es superior a la de las otras localidades.

¹⁰ A pesar de que Navarro Tomás (1948) indicaba en su tiempo que la concordancia era rechazada en el habla culta.

puertorriqueña el imperfecto de indicativo parece ser el tiempo verbal promotor del cambio lingüístico.¹¹

Para terminar, añadimos que, aunque este trabajo se centra en el contexto hispanoamericano, es interesante señalar que el fenómeno también se está desarrollando en España.¹²

2. Metodología

En la presente investigación se han documentado las ocurrencias en las que el verbo *haber* impersonal aparece en cada corpus y se han contabilizado los casos en los que la frase nominal complemento está en plural (incluidas las oraciones con FN colectiva), independientemente de que el verbo se use concordado o en su forma canónica. Se ha eliminado de la estadística la forma *hay*, ya que finalmente se ha dejado al margen por no existir una variante concordada en nuestros textos estudiados. Se ha analizado cada corpus teniendo en cuenta una serie de variables, tanto lingüísticas como sociolingüísticas. Al estar constituidos ambos corpus por entrevistas a informantes de un mismo nivel sociocultural, las únicas variables sociolingüísticas que se ha podido contemplar, lógicamente, han sido la del sexo (dentro del mismo corpus) y la de la generación (al comparar ambos corpus).

¹¹ Debido a dos razones: “*había* posee un equivalente en plural en uso en el sistema del español (frente a *hay*, el cual es una forma irregular, o *hubo*, dado que *hubieron* está en franco retroceso en español actual) y, además, el imperfecto es el tiempo pasado que presenta una frecuencia textual mayor en lo que respecta a su uso con el verbo *haber* existencial” (Rivas & Brown 2012: 115). Los resultados de este estudio se encuentran en la línea de los datos de DeMello (1991), en cuanto a Puerto Rico, y están en sintonía con los expuestos en investigaciones como las de los trabajos venezolanos (Bentivoglio & Sedano 1989; Domínguez *et al.* 1998 y Díaz Campos 1999-2000).

¹² Véase Gómez Torrego (2011: 455-458). Algunas investigaciones realizadas sobre corpus orales señalan la extensión del fenómeno en Canarias (entre otros, Almeida & Díaz Alayón 1989: 127; Pérez Martín 2007, sobre la isla de El Hierro); aunque en los datos de Samper & Hernández (2012) el porcentaje de pluralización que obtienen los autores en su estudio de un corpus de informantes de nivel de instrucción universitaria de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria es tan solo del 20,5 % del total de las ocurrencias. También se han detectado importantes porcentajes de pluralización en Valencia, España (Blas 1993: 53, 1995-1996, 1999; Gómez Molina 2013). Véase también Ramos (2013). Por limitaciones de espacio, no podemos extendernos mucho más en estos trabajos. Para una actualización sobre los estudios del fenómeno en el español de Canarias, remitimos al reciente trabajo de Samper & Hernández (2012: 746-748).

En cuanto a los factores lingüísticos, se ha aplicado una serie de criterios que enumeramos a continuación:¹³

1. Estructura verbal, tiempo y modo verbal. Partimos de la base de que la forma del imperfecto *había(n)* es la más empleada y la más pluralizada.¹⁴ Las perifrasis verbales han sido consideradas un caso especial, en cuanto que podrían favorecer la concordancia del verbo *haber* cuando actúa como integrante de una perifrasis verbal (verbo auxiliado, por tanto, no flexionado): *debe/deben de haber muchos problemas*. El hecho de que el auxiliado (infinitivo del verbo *haber*) determine la morfología, pero no la marque formalmente porque es el auxiliar el que se conjuga (auxiliares como *deber*, *poder*, *soler...*), podría favorecer la pluralización al desplazar el hablante la idea de pluralidad al elemento conjugado (verbo auxiliar).¹⁵ Lo mismo se podría aplicar a los tiempos compuestos (D'Aquino 2004: 10).¹⁶

2. Frase nominal con referencia +humana o –humana. Investigaciones anteriores han puesto en evidencia la relación entre el rasgo +humano de la FN y la pluralización del verbo *haber*; hecho que no sorprende, dado que, en definitiva, la concordancia responde a un proceso de regularización del paradigma del verbo *haber*, que deja de interpretarse

¹³ Hemos tenido en cuenta los criterios utilizados por los trabajos anteriores. También hemos consultado los incluidos (aunque no aplicamos todos) en la propuesta de codificación dirigida a los equipos de PRESEA, presentada en el XVI Congreso Internacional de la ALFAL (Universidad de Alcalá, 2011) y publicada en <<http://presea.lingua.net/Metodolog%C3%ADA.aspx>>.

¹⁴ Así se observa en estudios previos como los de Bentivoglio & Sedano (1989), DeMello (1991 y 1994), Domínguez *et al.* (1998), Malaver (1999), Díaz Campos (1999-2000 y 2003), Quintanilla-Aguilar (2009), Castillo-Trelles (2007), Pérez Martín (2007), Freites (2008), Rivas y Brown (2012), Aleza (2012), Rivas & Brown (2012), Gómez Molina (2013), etc. Sin embargo, otras formas no gozan de tanta aceptación, e incluso algunas podrían sufrir cierto rechazo por estar estigmatizadas en mayor o menor medida, como ocurre en el habla de algunos países pluralizadores donde la forma *hubieron* es asociada a un nivel sociocultural bajo (Bentivoglio & Sedano 1989; Malaver 1999, por ejemplo) y es rechazada por muchos hablantes (Freites 2004), a pesar de la fuerza de la regularización del paradigma verbal. Esta situación es muy distinta a la que describe Vaquero (1978: 135-140), ya que, como se ha señalado anteriormente, los estudiantes puertorriqueños de su corpus aceptan tanto el uso de *habían* como de *hubieron* y *habemos*. De hecho, hasta las formas de primera persona del plural *habemos* y *habíamos* parecen estar totalmente integradas en el habla de ciertas zonas peruanas. La idea de inclusión del hablante en la referencia de la FN podría potenciar el uso de estas formas y su aceptabilidad (Hildebrandt 2000). En el caso de México, Montes de Oca destaca un alto índice de frecuencia de la forma *habemos*. En los datos de DeMello, aunque la forma más pluralizada es *habían*, aparece con frecuencia la forma *habíamos* (de uso menor).

¹⁵ En este caso, la concordancia podría ser más habitual (D'Aquino 2004: 9). De hecho, se ha observado una frecuencia importante de personalización del verbo *haber* en las perifrasis verbales en El salvador (Quintanilla-Aguilar 2009) y en el habla de la ciudad de México, según las conclusiones de Montes de Oca; aunque en otros estudios no ha sido un factor relevante (Castillo-Trelles 2007; Díaz Campos 1991-2000; etc.).

¹⁶ En los que el auxiliar (*haber*) se conjuga determinado por la morfología del participio de *haber* existencial, lo que podría contribuir a formas como *han habido*, *haya habido*, *habrá habido*, etc.

como impersonal y se le atribuye un sujeto gramatical, lo que lo equipara toralmente al resto de los verbos existenciales, por lo que un referente humano se asocia fácilmente a la idea de sujeto.¹⁷

3. Carácter definido o indefinido de la frase nominal (FN). Una FN definida (nombres propios, pronombres personales, demostrativos y núcleo nominal precedido de determinante: artículo, adjetivo demostrativo o posesivo) o especificada se puede asociar fácilmente a la idea de sujeto y favorecer, por tanto, la concordancia. Por el contrario, una FN indefinida (indefinidos, sustantivo sin determinante y núcleo nominal precedido de artículo indeterminado, etc.) o no especificada podría retener la impersonalidad y el estatus de complemento directo. Sin embargo, los datos son un tanto contradictorios.¹⁸

4. Clase de palabra o forma léxica de la FN (sustantiva, pronominal o elidida). Se determinará si la pluralización está relacionada con el hecho de que la FN sea de carácter sustantivo o nominal, pronominal o si no está explícita en la oración. Algunos autores señalan en sus trabajos que quizás la aparición de una forma pronominal de CD afiance la percepción de la oración como transitiva y se inhiba la pluralización.¹⁹

¹⁷ Rivas & Brown (2012: 111) explican que en el paso de la construcción impersonal-existencial a la construcción intransitiva-existencial, las frases nominales que tienden a favorecer la concordancia son “aquellas que se asocian prototípicamente con la función sintáctica de sujeto, es decir, aquellas cuyo referente es un ser humano”. De hecho, se ha constatado que la presencia de un referente +humano aumenta las posibilidades de pluralización en varias ciudades de Venezuela (según datos de Bentivoglio & Sedano 1989: 73-74; DeMello 1994: 85; Díaz-Campos 1999-2000: 224 y 227 –todos ellos sobre Caracas–, Freites 2008 –sobre Táchira– y Domínguez *et al.* 1998: 29-30, en cuanto a la ciudad de Mérida) y en San Juan de Puerto Rico (DeMello 1994:85; Rivas & Brown 2012: 110-111). También se ha señalado esta relación en México (Montes de Oca 1994), en el habla de Santiago de Chile, La Paz, Lima y en menor grado en Bogotá (DeMello 1994: 85-86). En España, Pérez (2007) lo destaca en su estudio sobre el habla de la isla canaria de El Hierro.

¹⁸ Se ha detectado que la presencia de cuantificadores en la frase nominal, numerales o indefinidos, aumenta las posibilidades de pluralización en Caracas (según datos de Bentivoglio & Sedano 1989). De hecho, el carácter no específico del SN presenta una porcentaje importante de pluralización en la zona de Táchira (Freites 2008: 51, 52, 54 y 55). No tiene relevancia en los datos de Mérida (Domínguez *et al.* 1998: 29) y en los resultados sobre San Juan (Rivas & Brown 2012: 110), ni tampoco influye en los resultados del estudio de Díaz Campos (1999-2000: 225) sobre Santiago de Chile y Caracas (tampoco en el trabajo de 2003: 8, sobre Caracas). Caso especial es el de Yucatán, dado que este factor funciona en sentido contrario, es decir, disminuye la pluralización en el español yucateco de México (Castillo-Trelles 2007: 81-82). En el caso de México, Montes de Oca (1994: 27) considera una variable favorecedora de la concordancia el rasgo +determinado de la FN.

¹⁹ Véanse D'Aquino (2004: 9), Domínguez *et al.* (1998), etc.; si bien en la mayoría de los estudios (incluidos los mencionados previamente) no ha resultado relevante este factor en los resultados finales (o los datos obtenidos no ha permitido sacar conclusiones firmes al respecto). Sin embargo, en la investigación de Freites (2008) sobre el habla en la zona de Táchira (Venezuela), se observa un porcentaje importante de pluralización (84 %) en los casos en los que es un nombre el núcleo de la frase nominal. Por su parte,

5. Posición de la frase nominal respecto del verbo en la oración (antepuesta, pospuesta o elidida). Se plantea la posibilidad de que el orden de la FN en relación con el verbo *haber* pueda influir en la pluralización. Al respecto, se establecen ciertas matizaciones: la frecuencia de la aparición de un sujeto en español, orden S-V (*los niños comen*) es diferente en los verbos existenciales, los cuales presentan una posición diferente a la general al anteceder, normalmente, al sujeto: *existen casas*.²⁰

6. Forma en que la FN marca la pluralidad. En este criterio se considerará si la frase nominal lleva o no modificadores, adyacentes y sintagmas coordinados.²¹

7. Entidad colectiva o no colectiva de la FN. Aunque este criterio podría estar incluido en el anterior, creemos que merece un apartado específico por los resultados del corpus, con el fin de hacer algunas apreciaciones.

En cuanto a los puntos 6 y 7, se parte de los supuestos siguientes: a) Las FN plurales con refuerzo de dicha pluralidad (mediante modificadores, adyacentes y sintagmas coordinados) podrían contribuir a la pluralización del verbo.²² b) Las FN colectivas no especificadas (*había un grupo en el aula*) podrían favorecer el mantenimiento de la impersonalidad, ya que se presentan como entidades singulares, al contrario que las FN

Montes de Oca destaca la baja frecuencia a concordar en contextos con clítico en el habla de México, aunque sí existen casos de pluralización.

²⁰ A pesar de que este factor se ha aplicado en los estudios previos (D'Aquino 2004; Domínguez *et al.* 1998; Bentivoglio & Sedano 1989; Castillo-Trelles 2007; Freites 2008; Rivas & Brown 2012; Gómez Molina 2013), los resultados finales han demostrado que en los materiales analizados por estos autores el orden es irrelevante, en cuanto que no ha resultado un factor determinante para la concordancia o no concordancia de la FN con el verbo; ni siquiera en la variedad puertorriqueña, en la que la mayoría de los sujetos son preverbales (Rivas & Brown 2012: 108).

²¹ En el trabajo de Bentivoglio & Sedano se destaca (además de la fuerza del factor [\pm humano] del núcleo de la FN) la presencia de un componente que amplía la idea de la pluralidad (especialmente las FFNN coordinadas en este caso). La presencia de algún modificador reiterativo de la pluralidad también resulta favorecedor de la regularización del verbo en los resultados de Freites (2008), D'Aquino (2004) y Pérez Martín (2007).

²² Aunque se ha tenido en cuenta en muchas investigaciones, solamente en algunas se han obtenido resultados positivos o suficientemente relevantes. Por ejemplo, en el estudio de Freites (2008: 49) sobre el habla de Táchira, el refuerzo de la idea de pluralidad obtiene unos porcentajes muy elevados de pluralización (89 %). También Pérez Martín (2007) en su trabajo centrado en la isla de El Hierro (Canarias) lo destaca. Gómez Molina (2013: 141), en los resultados sobre el habla de Valencia (España), incluye la FN con entidad colectiva en el grupo de factores lingüísticos (aunque estos no aportan resultados estadísticamente significativos, según el propio autor) que inciden en cierta medida en la personalización (50 %). Los datos de D'Aquino (2008: 121), sobre la variedad caraqueña, señalan que las FN con un sustantivo cuantificativo de grupo (SGC) especificado (*y había un grupo ya grande de muchachos*) retienen considerablemente la impersonalidad del verbo.

que especifiquen los elementos del conjunto (*un grupo considerable de personas*), que refuerzan la idea de pluralidad (D'Aquino 2004: 12-13).²³

8. Intercalación o no de elementos lingüísticos entre FN y el verbo. Se codificará esta variable con el objeto de comprobar si produce algún cambio en el uso de la estructura impersonal. Quizá la presencia de elementos entre el verbo y la FN (como adverbios, locuciones adverbiales o complementos circunstanciales, por ejemplo) favorezca el mantenimiento de la impersonalidad, y, por el contrario, la ausencia de estos fomente la pluralización al estar unidos verbo y FN.²⁴

9. Modalidad de la oración (afirmativa o negativa). Se incluirá esta variable para comprobar si tiene alguna relación con la concordancia entre la FN y el verbo. Se consideran también negativas las oraciones con adverbios o partículas de negación: *nunca, nadie, nada...* (Bosque 1980: 26).²⁵

En cuanto a los factores sociales, los estudios han destacado como relevantes la edad de los hablantes: los jóvenes son los hablantes más propensos a la pluralización (Obediente 1987; Bentivoglio & Sedano, 1989; D'Aquino 2008; Domínguez *et al.* 1998, Gómez Molina 2013) y el sexo (los hombres en los resultados de Obediente (1987) y de Gómez Molina (2013), en cierta medida; con diferencias apenas significativas en los resultados de Navarro Correa (1991: 308), aunque supera el porcentaje de las mujeres). En cambio, la concordancia se asocia a las mujeres (dado que los porcentajes de pluralización en los hombres son mucho más bajos) en algunos estudios como el de Bentivoglio & Sedano (1989), Díaz Campos (1999-2000: 226, en cuanto a Santiago de Chile y Caracas), Castillo-Trelles (2007). Aunque los niveles de pluralización son altos en todos los niveles socioculturales y de escolarización, parece ser que en algunas zonas es todavía más intenso en el discurso de los hablantes de los niveles más bajos (Bentivoglio & Sedano 1989; Díaz Campos 2003; Navarro Correa 1991, en cuanto al nivel de

²³ La autora parte de esta hipótesis, pero en los resultados finales no se confirma. Los datos de D'Aquino (2004: 21) sobre la variedad caraqueña ya indicaban que en estos casos las FN con un sustantivo cuantificativo de grupo (SGC) especificado mantienen la impersonalidad del verbo.

²⁴ Por el momento, no tenemos noticia de que esta variable haya tenido ninguna transcendencia en los estudios previos que la han aplicado.

²⁵ Muy poca información existe sobre los resultados de ese factor y los pocos que hay son divergentes: la polaridad positiva contribuye a la concordancia en Venezuela (D'Aquino 2004: 20) y la negativa en Valencia, España (Gómez Molina 2013). En el nivel de habla escrita elevada, Quintanilla-Aguilar (2009: 195) señala que la pluralización aumenta en contextos afirmativos.

escolaridad), niveles socioeconómicos medio bajo y bajo (D'Aquino 2004, medio bajo en D'Aquino 2008) e incluso en los del nivel medio (Gómez Molina 2013), aunque aumenta en todos los niveles (incluso en el alto, D'Aquino 2008, entre otros).

3. Factores y resultados

3.1 Estructura verbal, tiempos y modos: formas simples, compuestas y perífrasis

La muestra de Puerto Rico del *Macrocorpus* incluye catorce encuestas de hablantes cultos de la ciudad de San Juan (siete hombres y siete mujeres). Once informantes utilizan en su discurso oraciones con el verbo *haber* existencial,²⁶ que en su mayoría conserva su uso impersonal. En total se registran 33 oraciones con *haber* impersonal y complemento en plural (con excepción de la forma *hay*). La concordancia entre verbo y complemento directo (11 casos) se produce solamente en el texto de cinco personas.

La forma invariable *había* es la forma que mayor frecuencia presenta (catorce ocurrencias):

1. ... **había** pocas personas, y allí fue el... el incidente grande (PR1: párrafo 285).
2. ... porque entonces era cuando en los salones de clases **había** alrededor de cincuenta muchachos (PR14: párrafo 50).

El imperfecto de indicativo en plural *habían* aparece ocho veces y consta en la entrevista de cuatro informantes:

3. **Habían** muchas personas de las Antillas (PR2: párrafo 25).
4. Como **habían** estudiantes de bachillerato pues **habían** que adaptar un poco para ellos (PR3: párrafo 310).

Por tanto, el imperfecto de indicativo es el tiempo que más se emplea en esta estructura (veintidós casos, sin contar los de *habíamos*).

²⁶ Se registra el uso del verbo *haber* impersonal en los siguientes informantes: PR1 (34 años), PR2 (31 años), PR3 (24 años), PR4 (29 años), PR7 (54 años), PR8 (37 años), PR9 (37 años), PR11 (57 años), PR12 (57 años), PR13 (57 años) y PR14 (3.^a gener.).

La forma correspondiente a la primera persona del plural del imperfecto de indicativo, *habíamos*, se documenta únicamente en dos ocasiones, en el mismo informante:

5. Entonces **habíamos** un... un grupo de profesores que... que decíamos: "Esto hay que pararlo" (PR1: párrafo 165).
6. Entonces lo más interesante era la reacción de la gente, la mayoría de la gente que **habíamos**... fue un grupo pequeño el que lo hizo (PR1: párrafo 215).

Solamente se documenta una oración con la forma en futuro simple *habrá* y otra con la forma del imperfecto de subjuntivo *hubiera*:

7. ... un Departamento de Antropología en el cual no **habrá** prerequisitos, ni cursos introductorios (PR1: párrafo 55).
8. ... eso hizo que la calidad de las comidas mejorara, que **hubiera** unos cambios en la administración de la cafetería (PR8: párrafo 155).

En tres ocasiones consta la forma de indefinido *hubo* (perfecto simple). Dos de ellos se producen en el habla del mismo informante:

9. **Hubo** algunos muy buenos pero tomaron esta actitud, un tanto negativa, hacia el arte del momento (PR2: párrafo 220).
- 10.... en que hay unas constantes, igual que las **hubo** en la dramaturgia griega (PR7: párrafo 215).
- 11.... y al igual que las **hubo** en la dramaturgia isabelina (PR7: párrafo 215).

Las tres formas compuestas documentadas son las canónicas: *ha habido*, *había habido*, *haya habido* (que pertenecen al mismo informante); no están pluralizadas, por tanto:

12. **Ha habido** excavaciones... (PR4: párrafo 80).
- 13.... no porque no **haya habido** pintores (PR4: párrafo 205).

14. Aquí **había habido...** personas del país que habían tenido un interés en... en... en este tipo de cosas (PR4: párrafo 110).

En todo el corpus ha aparecido únicamente una forma perifrástica (*pueden haber*), que se realiza concordada:

15.... hay un nivel medio latinoamericano, que **pueden haber** acentos... en la pronunciación (PR11: párrafo 85).

En resumen, los datos en cuanto a los informantes de San Juan del *Macrocorpus* que utilizan estas formas verbales son los siguientes:

Encuesta	<i>había</i>	<i>habían</i>	<i>habíamos</i>	<i>habrá</i>	<i>hubiera</i>	<i>hubo</i>	<i>Ha habido</i>	<i>había habido</i>	<i>haya habido</i>	<i>pueden haber</i>
PR1 hombre	4	3	2	1						
PR2 hombre	4	2				1				
PR3 mujer		2								
PR4 mujer							1	1	1	
PR7 hombre						2				
PR8 mujer	1				1					
PR9 mujer	1									
PR11 hombre	1									1
PR12 hombre		1								
PR13 mujer	2									
PR14 mujer	1									
TOTAL 33	14	8	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	1

Tabla 1. Ocurrencias y formas verbales (San Juan. *Macrocorpus*)

Situación muy diferente es la que presenta el corpus de la generación joven. En total se registran 38 oraciones con *haber* existencial y complemento en plural. En este

material, utilizan las formas del verbo *haber* existencial (excepto la forma *hay*) con FN plural quince informantes (de un total de veinte encuestados). El esquema es el siguiente:

El tiempo verbal más ocurrente es el del imperfecto de indicativo. La forma con mayor frecuencia de aparición es la pluralizada *habían*, que se documenta en dieciocho ocasiones (frente a las ocho veces que se da la forma singular) y es empleada por diez informantes, por ejemplo:

16. ... y no **habían** negros en esa escuela (SJ-4: 82).
17. Pues yo en el colegio, **habían** alrededor de ocho organizaciones extracurriculares (SJ-7: 153).

Dado que *había* aparece solamente en ocho ocasiones, su porcentaje es mucho menor que en el corpus de la otra generación:

18. ... **había**... como una tercera parte de esos maestros sin Salones Hogares (SJ-18: 453).
19. **Había** muchas muchachas que iban los sábados (SJ-6: 115).

En definitiva, se puede afirmar que casi todos los informantes pluralizan, ya que solamente tres informantes no pluralizan la forma *había*. Utiliza también la forma *había* una informante, es decir, en su discurso alternan ambas formas (la impersonal y la personalizada):²⁷

20. **Había** maestros con Salones Hogares (SJ-18: 453).
21. ... **habían** cinco maestros para Educación Física (SJ-18: 453).

Además de *había/habían* se han documentado en el corpus de los jóvenes puertorriqueños otras formas, aunque son escasas. Las simples registradas son muy pocas: *Hayan* se documenta una sola vez, *hubieran* aparece dos veces (en dos encuestados) y se han encontrado dos casos de pluralización en la primera persona del plural *habemos* en un mismo informante:

²⁷ Estos ejemplos contrastan con la pluralización (*habían*) que realizan de forma exclusiva nueve informantes, que se suman a la persona que vacila entre ambas formas.

22. No para que **hayan** edificios (SJ-6: 121).
23. ... pues no le gustaba eso que **hubieran** unos líderes allí (SJ-1: 13).
24. No es porque no **hubieran** profesores, es que no los querían dar (SJ-17: 412).
25. ... mi hermana cumple quince, pues **habemos** de todas las edades (SJ-9: 199).

La única forma compuesta (pretérito perfecto) presenta tanto la forma canónica (en una ocasión) como la concordada (dos casos):

26. ... **ha habido** dos clases (SJ17: 410).
27. Pero se **han habido** muchas cositas (SJ-9: 183).
28. Y ... es que **han habido** varios coros y ... se disuelven y vuelven (SJ-16: 395).

En cuanto a las perifrásicas, se documentan ambas realizaciones: la forma singular (*debe haber*) y la pluralización (*pueden haber* y *van a haber*):

29. **Debe haber** por ahí, de, de cuarenta a cincuenta (primos) (SJ-12: 271).
30. ... mira si hay tres **pueden haber** cuatro (SJ-6: 121).
31. Pero le hacemos la salvedad de que **pueden haber** unos riesgos (SJ-7: 140).
32. ... no se van a casar porque entonces sí que **van a haber** pelea' (SJ-10: 231).

El resumen de todas las ocurrencias en la GJSJ es el siguiente:

Encuesta	<i>había</i>	<i>habían</i>	<i>habemos</i>	<i>hayan</i>	<i>hubieran</i>	<i>Ha habido</i>	<i>Han habido</i>	<i>Debe haber</i>	<i>Pueden haber</i>	<i>Van a haber</i>
SJ-1 hombre		1			1					
SJ-4 hombre		2								
SJ-6 mujer	2			1					1	
SJ-7 mujer		3							1	
SJ-8 mujer		1								
SJ-9 mujer	1		2				1			
SJ-10 hombre										1

SJ-11 hombre		1								
SJ-12 mujer								1		
SJ-15 hombre		1								
SJ-16 hombre	1						1			
SJ-17 hombre		1			1	1				
SJ-18 mujer	4	6								
SJ-19 mujer		1								
SJ-20 hombre		1								
TOTAL 38	8	18	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1

Tabla 2. Ocurrencias y formas verbales (*Generación Joven*)

3.2 Rasgo semántico de la FN

Documentamos en este apartado las oraciones con verbo existencial *haber* y frase nominal con referencia + humana y con referencia inanimada. Ejemplos:

- 33. ... **había** pocas personas, y allí fue el... el incidente grande (PR1: párrafo 285).
- 34. **Había** maestros con Salones Hogares (SJ-18: 453).
- 35. Como **habían** estudiantes de bachillerato pues habían que adaptar un poco para ellos (PR3: párrafo 310).
- 36. ... **habían** cinco maestros para Educación Física (SJ-18: 453).
- 37. ... porque no **habían** profesores que quisieran dar esos otros dos cursos (SJ-17: 412).

Todas las referencias no humanas son inanimadas, es decir, no existen referencias relativas a seres vivientes como animales, por lo que procede utilizar la denominación de *inanimado*.

38. En aquel momento no **había** problemas ni de droga, ni de nada de esas cosas (PR9: párrafo 130).
39. ... parece que **había** ... problemas de dinero y todo eso (SJ-16: 393).
40. ... cuando una ola los arrastró, y **habían** unas corrientes submarinas allí, y se ahogaron los tres (PR12: párrafo 105).
41. Porque no **habían** fondos (SJ-15: 349).

MACROCORPUS

<i>Rasgo FN</i>	<i>Ocurrencias impersonal</i>	porcentaje	<i>Ocurrencias concordancia</i>	porcentaje
33 ocurrencias				
+humano. Total: 16	7	43,75 %	9	56,25 %
-humano. Total: 17	15	88,23 %	2	11,77 %

GENERACIÓN JOVEN

<i>Rasgo FN</i>	<i>Ocurrencias impersonal</i>	porcentaje	<i>Ocurrencias concordancia</i>	porcentaje
38 ocurrencias				
+humano. Total: 24	5	20,8 %	19	79,2 %
-humano. Total: 14	5	35,7 %	9	64,3 %

Los hablantes de San Juan del *Macrocosmus* prefieren las formas concordadas cuando el FN tiene el rasgo +humano, aunque de forma moderada, ya que el porcentaje es muy similar al de las formas impersonales. En el caso de oraciones con FN inanimadas, la pluralización es mucho menor. En el corpus de los hablantes jóvenes, los porcentajes de pluralización son elevados en ambos casos, sobre todo en el caso de las humanas (que comprende el 63,15 % de las ocurrencias registradas).

3.3 Carácter definido o indefinido de la FN

Se ha clasificado el corpus en varios grupos en función del carácter definido o indefinido de la FN.

Se han incluido los casos de *habemos* que se refieren verdaderamente a la primera persona (*nosotros*) entre los definidos. Ejemplos:

42. Entonces, también, no **había** en Río Piedras las casas de hospedaje tan buenas que hay hoy día (PR13: 65).

43. Con mis profesoras cubanas, adoradas que **habían** allá (SJ-19: 483).
44. ... **había** pocas personas, y allí fue el... el incidente grande (PR1: párrafo 285)
45. Y **había** unas actividades extracurriculares muy buenas (SJ-18: 456).
46. ... porque en la marcha **habían** como setenta y cinco personas (PR1: párrafo 120).
47. **Habían** doscientos, per... doscientas personas (SJ-20: 513).

MACROCORPUS

<i>FN definido o no definido</i> 33 ocurrencias	<i>Ocurrencias impersonal</i>	porcentaje	<i>Ocurrencias concordancia</i>	porcentaje
+ definido. Total: 1	1	100 %	0	0 %
-definido. Total: 32	21	65,63 %	11	34,37 %

GENERACIÓN JOVEN

<i>FN definido o no definido</i> 38 ocurrencias	<i>Ocurrencias impersonal</i>	porcentaje	<i>Ocurrencias concordancia</i>	porcentaje
+ definido. Total: 3	0	0 %	3	100 %
-definido. Total: 35	10	28,5 %	25	71,5 %

En la muestra del *Macrocorpus* casi todas las oraciones llevan un FN no definido (96,97 % del total). La única oración con FN definida mantiene la impersonalidad. En las FN indefinidas, predominan las formas impersonales. En la generación joven también casi todas las oraciones poseen una FN indefinida (el 92,1 % del total). En estas oraciones el porcentaje de formas impersonales ha disminuido considerablemente y ha aumentado el de la concordancia. Solamente dos oraciones con *habemos* y una oración con relativo se han incluido en el grupo +definido (las tres concordadas) (3 = 100 %).

3.4 Forma léxica de la FN

Distinguimos entre FN pronombre (clíticos y relativo), FN implícita y FN sustantivo.

Ejemplos:

48. ... en que hay unas constantes, igual que **las hubo** en la dramaturgia griega (PR7: párrafo 215).
49. ... y al igual que **las hubo** en la dramaturgia isabelina (PR7: párrafo 215).
50. Con mis profesoras cubanas, adoradas **que habían** allá (SJ-19: 483).

51. Al otro día, a las siete de la mañana, apareció... **habían**... frente a la universidad (PR1: párrafo 130).
52. ... porque **habemos** de todas las edades (SJ-9: 199).
53. Aquí **había habido**... personas del país que habían tenido un interés en... (PR4: párrafo 110).
54. ... **ha habido** dos clases (SJ17: 410).
55. ... **habían** muchas personas de la... de las Guayanas (PR2: párrafo 25).
56. Pero se **han habido** muchas cositas (SJ-9: 183).

MACROCORPUS

<i>Forma léxica de la FN</i>	<i>Ocurrencias impersonal</i>	porcentaje	<i>Ocurrencias concordancia</i>	porcentaje
Total: 33 ocurrencias				
Pronombre implícito (clíticos). Total: 2	2	100 %	0	0 %
Implícito. Total: 1	0	0 %	1	100 %
Sustantivo. Total: 30	20	66,67 %	10	33,33 %

GENERACIÓN JOVEN

<i>Forma léxica de la FN</i>	<i>Ocurrencias impersonal</i>	porcentaje	<i>Ocurrencias concordancia</i>	porcentaje
Total: 38 ocurrencias				
Pronominal. Total: 1	0	0 %	1	100 %
Implícito. Total: 4	1	25 %	3	75 %
Sustantivo (33 = 87 %)	9	27,27 %	24	72,73 %

En el *Macrocorpus* los dos clíticos (mismo informante) mantienen la estructura impersonal. En la única oración con FN implícita se da la concordancia. En cuanto al resto, (FN sustantiva) predomina el mantenimiento de la impersonalidad. Sin embargo, entre los jóvenes (*GJSJ*) aumenta la pluralización en todos los casos. Con FN sustantivo el porcentaje de pluralización es muy alto. Los datos sobre la FN implícita muestran el predominio de la concordancia. El único ejemplo con FN pronominal presenta la forma verbal concordada.

3.5 Posición FN respecto del verbo

Para esta variable clasificaremos las oraciones en función de la ubicación antepuesta o pospuesta de la FN en relación con la posición del verbo, además de

considerar las FN elididas en grupo aparte. No incluyo en el grupo de elididas las FN cuyo núcleo nominal no está explícito si constan los adyacentes o modificadores. Según la posición de estos se distribuyen entre las otras dos categorías. Ejemplos:

57. ... en que hay unas constantes, igual que las **hubo** en la dramaturgia griega (PR7: párrafo 215).
58. No fuimos a ninguna de las Fiestas así grandes que **había** (SJ-9: 183).
59. la mayoría de la gente que **habíamos...** (PR1: párrafo 215).
60. ... todos los estudiantes que **habían** pues eran nuevos para mí (SJ-7: 134).
61. ... y **había** veces que eran las nueve de la noche y no había tenido oportunidad de subir a mi cuarto a cambiarme de ropa (PR13: 40).
62. ... parece que **había** ... problemas de dinero y todo eso (SJ-16: 393).
63. **habían** miles de estudiantes (PR1: párrafo 130).
64. Porque no **habían** fondos (SJ-15: 349).
65. Al otro día, a las siete de la mañana, apareció... **habían...** frente a la universidad (PR1: párrafo 130).

MACROCORPUS

Posición FN (total 33)	<i>impersonal</i>	porcentaje	<i>concordancia</i>	porcentaje
FN elidida	0	0 %	1	100 %
FN antepuesta	2	66,67 %	1	33,33 %
FN pospuesta (78,79 %)	20	68,97 %	9	31,03 %

GENERACIÓN JOVEN

Posición FN (total 38)	<i>impersonal</i>	porcentaje	<i>concordancia</i>	porcentaje
FN elidida	0	0 %	0	0 %
FN antepuesta	1	25 %	3	75 %
FN pospuesta (89,47 %)	9	26,47 %	25	73,53 %

En el *Macrocorpus* se documenta 1 caso de FN elidida (verbo concordado), 3 oraciones con FN antepuesta (2 con formas impersonales vs. 1 forma concordada) y el resto presenta el orden V + FN (pospuesta al verbo). La mayoría de estas FN pospuestas no concuerdan. En el corpus de los jóvenes, en el que la proporción de posición pospuesta es casi la misma, los resultados de las variantes elegidas son los contrarios: la

mayoría de estas FN concuerdan con el verbo *haber*. En los 4 casos de anteposición de la FN se dan ambas formas, aunque la concordada presenta un porcentaje mayor.

3.6 Marcas de pluralidad

En este apartado se distingue entre la FN sin y con modificadores, adyacentes y sintagmas coordinados:

66. ... no porque no **haya habido** pintores (PR4: párrafo 205).
67. No es porque no **hubieran** profesores, es que no los querían dar (SJ-17: 412).
68. ... **había** pocas personas (PR1: párrafo 285).
69. Aquí **había habido**... personas del país que habían tenido un interés en... en... en este tipo de cosas (PR4: párrafo 110).
70. Como **habían** estudiantes de bachillerato pues habían que adaptar un poco para ellos (PR3: párrafo 310).
71. ... no **habrá** requisitos, ni cursos introductorios (PR1: párrafo 55).

MACROCORPUS

Marcas pluralidad	impersonal	porcentaje	concordancia	porcentaje
Sin modificadores	4	83,33 %	2	16,67 %
Con modificadores (81,82 %)	18	66,67 %	9	33,33 %

GENERACIÓN JOVEN

Marcas pluralidad	impersonal	porcentaje	concordancia	porcentaje
Sin modificadores	0	0 %	6	100 %
Con modificadores (84,21 %)	10	31,25 %	22	68,75 %

En el *Macrocorpus*, en ambos tipos, la mayoría de las formas no están pluralizadas. En el corpus de la generación joven sucede lo contrario: un porcentaje alto pluraliza en oraciones con FN con modificadores y en todos los casos sin modificadores.

3.7 FN entidad colectiva/no colectiva

Hemos dedicado un apartado especial a esta variable por los resultados obtenidos, que muestran una tendencia a la pluralización en FN no colectivas en el corpus de la generación joven. Hemos distribuido las oraciones en dos grupos: ocurrencias con FN colectivas (*un grupo de..., una tercera parte de..., un montón de..., la mayoría de...*), y ocurrencias con FN no colectivas:

72. ... **había un montón de** señoritos alemanes que no querían trabajar y se dedicaban a la búsqueda arqueológica del arte (PR2: párrafo 200).
73. y **había...** como **una tercera parte** de esos maestros sin Salones Hogares (SJ-18: 453).
74. Entonces **habíamos un... un grupo de profesores** que... que decíamos: "Esto hay que pararlo" (PR1: párrafo 165).
75. ... vieron que **había** posibilidades de una carrera en las artes (PR2: párrafo 120).
76. parece que **había ...** problemas de dinero y todo eso (SJ-16: 393).
77. **habían** algunos de Enfermería que querían ampliar su cultura (PR3: párrafo 315).
78. Pero le hacemos la salvedad de que **pueden haber** unos riesgos (SJ-7: 140).
79. Pero se **han habido** muchas cositas (SJ-9: 183).
80. Porque no **habían** fondos (SJ-15: 349).

MACROCORPUS

FN colectiva o no (33)	<i>impersonal</i>	porcentaje	concordancia	porcentaje
colectiva	2	50 %	2	50 %
No colectiva	20	68,97 %	9	31,03 %

GENERACIÓN JOVEN

FN colectiva o no	<i>impersonal</i>	porcentaje	concordancia	porcentaje
colectiva	1	100 %	0	0 %
No colectiva	9	24,32 %	28	75,68 %

En las encuestas puertorriqueñas del *Macrocorpus* las FN que tiene una entidad colectiva presentan en la misma proporción las formas canónicas y las formas concordadas, pero se observa el predominio de las formas canónicas en los casos de FN no

colectiva, al contrario de los jóvenes, que prefieren las formas concordadas en este segundo tipo (la única FN que tiene una entidad colectiva mantiene la impersonalidad).

3.8 Intercalación de elementos entre FN y verbo

- a) No intercalación de elementos lingüísticos entre FN y el verbo.
 - b) Intercalación de elementos lingüísticos entre FN y el verbo.
81. ... aunque **había** grupos que se oponían a la huelga de hambre (PR1: párrafo 230).
82. Pero le hacemos la salvedad de que **pueden haber** unos riesgos (SJ-7: 140).
83. ... porque entonces era cuando en los salones de clases **había** alrededor de cincuenta muchachos (PR14: 50).
84. ... **había** hasta siete salones (SJ-18: 456).
85. ... porque en la marcha **habían** como setenta y cinco personas (PR1: párrafo 120).
86. **Habían**...pues, de todas las áreas (SJ-18: 453).

MACROCORPUS

<i>Intercalación elementos entre FN y verbo</i>	<i>impersonal</i>	<i>porcentaje</i>	<i>concordancia</i>	<i>porcentaje</i>
presencia	2	50 %	2	50 %
Ausencia (87,88 %)	20	69 %	9	31 %

GENERACIÓN JOVEN

<i>Intercalación elementos entre FN y verbo</i>	<i>impersonal</i>	<i>porcentaje</i>	<i>concordancia</i>	<i>porcentaje</i>
presencia	3	50 %	3	50 %
Ausencia (81,58 %)	7	21,88 %	25	78,12 %

Si bien en ambos corpus se mantiene un equilibrio entre ambas variantes cuando existen elementos intercalados entre el verbo y la FN, en el *Macrocorpus* las formas impersonales se mantienen considerablemente en el caso contrario, es decir, cuando ambos componentes se encuentran contiguos; en cambio, en el corpus de los jóvenes las formas pluralizadas ascienden considerablemente.

3.9 Modalidad oracional

Negativa o positiva:

87. ... porque no **había** fraternidades en término medio (PR8: párrafo 5).
88. ... porque no **habían** profesores que quisieran dar esos otros dos cursos (SJ-17: 412).
89. ... que **hubiera** unos cambios en la administración de la cafetería (PR8: párrafo 155).
90. **Debe haber** por ahí, de, de cuarenta a cincuenta (primos) (SJ-12: 271).
91. En todos los grupos **habían** estudiantes de A, de B de C (SJ-18: 453).

MACROCORPUS

Modalidad oracional	impersonal	porcentaje	concordancia	porcentaje
negativas	5	100 %	0	0 %
afirmativas	17	60,71 %	11	39,29 %

GENERACIÓN JOVEN

Modalidad oracional	impersonal	porcentaje	concordancia	porcentaje
negativas	0	0 %	5	100 %
afirmativas	10	30,30 %	23	69,70 %

Hay cinco oraciones negativas en el *Macrocorpus* y responden al modelo canónico de la impersonalidad. En las afirmativas es más elevado el porcentaje de la NO concordancia. En las encuestas de los jóvenes (*GJSJ*), las cinco oraciones negativas presentan todas las formas concordadas (lo contrario que en el corpus de los mayores). Las afirmativas siguen ambas variantes, aunque predominan la formas concordadas en un porcentaje superior.

3.10 Factor extralingüístico: sexo

En las encuestas de San Juan del *Macrocorpus* el 80 % de los informantes que utilizan el verbo *haber* existencial concordado (de un total de 5 informantes) son hombres y el 20 % mujeres. El porcentaje de pluralización aumenta en la generación joven (*GJSJ*) en cuanto que se iguala (de los 12 informantes, el 58,33 % son hombres y el 41,67 % son mujeres). Por

tanto, el factor sexo parece tener importancia en los datos del *Macrocorpus* (los hombres pluralizan más que las mujeres), pero resulta irrelevante en los jóvenes, en cuyas grabaciones se constata una frecuencia similar en ambos sexos, aunque levemente superada por los hombres.

4. Conclusiones

Dentro de un contexto general de mantenimiento de las formas impersonales en el primer corpus estudiado (San Juan del *Macrocorpus*), podemos afirmar que los hablantes de San Juan del *Macrocorpus*, cuando pluralizan el verbo *haber* existencial, lo hacen en porcentajes más bajos que los del uso no concordado, por tanto, los porcentajes de mantenimiento de la estructura impersonal son superiores; por ejemplo, con FN no definido se mantiene la impersonalidad en el 65,63 %, porcentaje similar al de los casos con FN sustantiva (66,67 %). La posición de la FN que presenta mayor frecuencia es la pospuesta al verbo. La mayoría de estas FN no concuerdan con el verbo *haber* (68,97 %). En ambos corpus predominan las FN plural con modificadores, por lo que nos centramos en estos casos. En el *Macrocorpus*, en el 66,67 % no se pluraliza. Se observa la tendencia a la impersonalidad en los casos de FN no colectiva (68,97 %). Cuando existen elementos intercalados entre el verbo y la FN, en el corpus del *Macrocorpus* las formas impersonales son las preferidas (69 %). Hay cinco oraciones negativas en ambos corpus: el del *Macrocorpus* presenta el modelo canónico de la impersonalidad (100 %). Aunque las afirmativas presentan ambas variantes, es más elevado el porcentaje de la forma singular (60,71 %). En cambio, los porcentajes se nivelan en el caso de las oraciones con FN con rasgo +humano, en el que aumenta la pluralización (56,25 %), con un porcentaje próximo al de las formas impersonales (43,75 %). Ahora bien, las diferencias se incrementan en el caso de las FN inanimadas, en favor del mantenimiento de la impersonalidad (88,23 %).

Por el contrario, los jóvenes (*GJSJ*) se inclinan considerablemente hacia las formas concordadas con una FN con el rasgo +humano (79,2 %), frente a las ocurrencias impersonales (20,8 %). También es mayoritaria la pluralización en el caso de las FN inanimadas (64,3 %), en contraste con las formas impersonales (35,7 %). Por tanto, ambas

FN tienen altos porcentajes de pluralización, sobre todo en el caso de las humanas (que comprende el 63,15 % de las ocurrencias registradas). Por todo ello, parece ser que el rasgo +humano influye en el aumento de la concordancia (en consonancia con los datos de otras investigaciones). En cuanto a las oraciones que poseen una FN indefinida en la *GJSJ* (el 92,1 % del total), el 71,5 % son formas concordadas, por lo que el porcentaje de formas impersonales desciende (28,5 %). En cuanto a los casos con FN sustantiva, entre los jóvenes aumenta la pluralización (72,73 %). En la generación joven, la posición de la FN es pospuesta al verbo en el 89,47 % (del total de ocurrencias), como en el otro corpus. La concordancia es la opción favorita (73,53 %). En cuanto a las FN plural con modificadores (tipo predominante), en el corpus de la generación joven disminuye el porcentaje del mantenimiento de la impersonalidad (31,25 %), con relación al otro corpus, y aumenta el de la concordancia (68,75 %). En el caso de las FN no colectivas, los datos también son distintos en el corpus de la generación joven, cuyo índice de pluralización se eleva considerablemente: 75,68 %. La única FN que con entidad colectiva no presenta la concordancia. Si bien en los dos corpus los porcentajes son los mismos (50 %) cuando existen elementos intercalados entre el verbo y la FN, a diferencia del *Macrocorpus*, las formas pluralizadas ascienden en la muestra de la generación joven (78,12 %) cuando ambos componentes se encuentran contiguos. Las cinco oraciones negativas presentan formas concordadas en la *GJSJ* (100 % de concordancia). Aunque en las dos muestras las afirmativas presentan ambas variantes, a diferencia del *Macrocorpus*, los jóvenes pluralizan mucho más: 69,70 % de formas concordadas vs. 30,30 % de formas impersonales.

En las encuestas de San Juan del *Macrocorpus* son los hombres los que más pluralizan (el 80 % de los informantes que utilizan el verbo *haber* existencial concordado). El factor sexo parece tener cierta importancia, pero parece resultar intranscendente en los jóvenes, dado que en la *GJSJ* se documentan porcentajes similares en ambos sexos (aunque levemente favorecida la concordancia por los hombres).

Por tanto, podemos concluir, al comparar ambos corpus, que ha habido un considerable proceso de extensión de las formas pluralizadas en el corpus de la generación joven en todos los criterios estudiados (frente a la tendencia a la impersonalidad del otro corpus). Uno de los factores que se destaca especialmente es el

de la FN con rasgo +humano, ya que este ya cuenta con un porcentaje notorio en el corpus de los hablantes del *Macrocorpus* si lo comparamos con los otros rasgos, y se observa que se consolida en la generación joven. La forma más pluraliza es la del imperfecto de indicativo, como en los otros estudios. Se puede añadir que el factor sexo (que tiene cierta importancia en el *Macrocorpus*, al ser los hombres los que más pluralizan) deja de tener relevancia en la generación joven, ya que ambos sexos presentan altos porcentajes de concordancia, tal como ya se ha expuesto.

Por último, creemos interesante señalar que la posición V *haber* + FN es la que predomina casi de una forma exclusiva en ambos corpus, independientemente de la forma elegida, al igual que la naturaleza indefinida de la FN, el carácter sustantivo de la misma, la existencia de marcas de pluralidad (FN con modificadores) y FN no colectivas.

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FORGING THIRD-WAVE DIALECTOLOGY

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Abstract

After 50 years of scholarship, variationist methods have been expanded to accomplish a wider diversity of goals, yet early approaches developed from 20th century dialectology and served dialectological goals. After the 1990, the broader field of sociolinguistics began to shift its focus from the correlation of demographic categories with sociolinguistic variables at the level of the speech community to the explanation of social meaning as created by individuals' use of language variation patterns, designated as a shift to a third-wave of sociolinguistics. In this shift, there is less focus on dialects as geographically anchored entities, but there is also an opportunity to foster dialectology to account for individuals' patterns within dialects. This paper illustrates how the traditional dialectology methods can be used to establish "third-wave dialectology".

Keywords

dialectology, first-wave variation studies, third-wave variation studies, Appalachian English, sociolinguistics, language variation and change

FORJANDO LA TERCERA ÉPOCA DE LA DIALECTOLOGÍA

Resumen

Después de cincuenta años de investigación, los métodos variacionistas se han ampliado hasta lograr una mayor diversidad de objetivos; incluso las primeras aproximaciones se desarrollaron des de la dialectología del siglo 20 y tuvieron objetivos dialectales. A partir de 1990, el campo más amplio de la sociolingüística comenzó a cambiar su enfoque desde la correlación de las categorías demográficas con variables sociolingüísticas a nivel de la comunidad de habla a la explicación del significado social como creado por el uso de los individuos de patrones de variación del lenguaje, designado como un cambio a una tercera época de la sociolingüística. En este cambio, se pone menos énfasis en los dialectos considerados entidades geográficamente ancladas, y más en fomentar la dialectología para dar cuenta de los patrones individuales dentro de dialectos. En este trabajo se muestra cómo los métodos tradicionales de la dialectología se pueden utilizar para situar "la tercera época de la dialectología".

Palabras clave

dialectología, primera época de los estudios sobre la variación, tercera época de los estudios sobre la variación, el inglés de los Apalaches, sociolingüística, variación lingüística y cambio

1. Introduction: The concurrent approaches of first-wave and third-wave variationist analysis

This paper focuses on the utility of combining first-wave and third-wave sociolinguistic variationist studies to achieve a “third-wave dialectology”. When assessing any two different methodological paradigms, some preliminary points of focus need to be kept in mind as researchers consider combining first- and third-wave goals for their own projects.

The terms *first-wave sociolinguistics* and *third-wave sociolinguistics* come from Eckert’s analysis of sociolinguistics development (Eckert 2014 and www.stanford.edu/~eckert/thirdwave.html). First-wave sociolinguistic work was a branch of linguistics with close methodological connections to dialectology, predominantly correlating language variation with demographic social descriptors. Studies such as Labov (1966 [2006]) and Wolfram (1969) are foundational examples of such combinations of dialectology and linguistics. Second-wave sociolinguistics began to ask questions related

to the fields of anthropology and social psychology. For example, Milroy & Margrain (1980) expanded the search for language change by developing methods of social network analysis in data of Belfast neighborhoods. Third-wave sociolinguistics focuses on style and construction of identity. Researchers in this approach assume that social categories—such as gender, sexual orientation, and ethnicity—are co-constructed by participants: In the speech of Michigan teenagers, Eckert (2000) examined the social meaning of vowel variation rather than just examining vowel variation and its social correlates.

As a preliminary point, we need to keep in focus the object of study. Does the research project answer questions about the individual in society or about language? Certainly, sociolinguistic projects can do both, but usually one is more of a central focus than the other. Linguistics is the science of language, but social constructionist and identity approaches are studies of humanities, anthropology, sociology, and social psychology. These approaches form the basis of third-wave sociolinguistics (Eckert 2000, 2008). From the first-wave variationist front, one of Labov's innovations was that he assumed proper study of linguistic and language variation could not be done without social information or without individuals who propagate changes, but Labovian variationist analysis is still a linguistic enterprise (Hazen, 2011b).

Second, we need to consider the locus of the object under study. In the Labovian tradition, the speech community, at the level of language termed dialect, is where the structure and patterns of variation play out. As Labov has said, in terms of language variation and change, there are no individuals since they all get their patterns from the community grammar (Gordon 2006: 341). In studies of social meaning, individuals are integrated into the social landscape. This landscape is unspecified as to *where* the language variation in question is taking place, but usually the theoretical work deals with society outside the mind of any one individual. Although not a direct argument for this paper, I would suggest that sociolinguists of all stripes consider the mental implications of their theories and connect the search for social meaning more directly with models of the mental grammar.

Third, we should predetermine if the methodology of a study is qualitative only or quantitative also. The path to quantitative study is through qualitative analysis, yet the

qualitative analysis is a worthy goal unto itself. Labovian tradition has been quantitative, and its success results from the methodological power of quantitative evidence. The subject matter, social or linguistic, does not restrict which type of method to adopt, but the qualitative approach does restrict the kinds of claims which can be made.

In this paper, I quickly touch upon the history of variationist work with an eye to dialectology and sociolinguistics, including the modern third-wave variationist approach. I next highlight a 12-year study of English in Appalachia and reveal the limits of what the dialectological demographic grouping of first-wave methods can reveal. Yet within those limits, I show how first-wave results should lead to third-wave studies. I further discuss how a third-wave focus on the linguistics of language variation provides the means to properly assess social meaning. Lastly, I provide a detailed example of how first-wave methods can open up rich topics for third-wave analysis, with the end goal of building third-wave dialectology.

2. A historical glance at variationist work with an eye to the modern

Although a wide variety of arguments have been made in variationist linguistics, they generally adhere to some basic tenets. Jones and Tagliamonte enumerate these “lines of evidence: (1) Which of the following factors is statistically significant? (2) What is the relative contribution of the linguistic features selected? Is it strong or weak? (3) What is the constraint ranking of the categories within each factor? (4) Finally, does this order reflect the direction reported in the literature?” (2004: 110). This approach incorporates the essence of variationist language analysis: quantitative empirical elucidation contributing towards a descriptive and explanatory analysis. Most often social and linguistic factors are considered, in line with variationists’ sociolinguistic roots, but the social factors have not traditionally been the object of study.

As Chambers (2002: 6) perceptively remarks, “The relationship between traditional dialectology and sociolinguistics is oblique rather than direct, but both in the broadest sense are dialectologies (studies of language variation). In terms of intellectual history it is plausible to view sociolinguistics as a refocusing of traditional dialectology”.

From dialectology, the conceptual field was fertile for the growth of the linguistic variable and its methodology; yet with variationist methodology, the focus of study became detached from strictly *regional dialects*. At times variationist sociolinguistics has focused on social dialects, but more rarely on the social meaning of language variation patterns created by individual speakers.

Early variationist work was a branch of linguistics with close methodological connections to earlier dialectology. The initial variationist projects were tied to sociology projects and took up demographic social descriptors. The focus was on larger sociological categories and the speech community in order to model how languages change; this focus was not on meaning in the reference sense, because meaning had been largely abandoned by phonologists and Chomskyan syntacticians. Over the last few decades, researchers have asked what language variation patterns mean for individuals, and the answers from percentages and linear-regressions of demographic categories and phonological conditioning environments did not have much to say. Some scholars turned to different kinds of sociolinguistic research questions related to the fields of anthropology and social psychology. From those research questions and their related study, third-wave variationist analysis began. This does not mean that first-wave analysis disappeared. The two kinds of variationist analysis ask different research questions to find out different kinds of answers.

The bridge between quantitative variationist study and the examination of social meaning has been most successfully built by Eckert (2000). Whereas many previous and subsequent studies focus on a single variable to elicit social meaning out of a community, Eckert (2000: 213) argues:

While the individual variables available in a dialect may correlate with various aspects of social membership and practice, most of them take on interpretable social meaning only in the context of the broader linguistic styles to which they contribute, including both the inventory of variables and their use. When we view each variable in isolation, thinking of speakers as leading or lagging in the use of advanced variants, we miss the overall effect of speaker's choices.

Social meaning from this perspective is a result of the creative process of style from all speakers and not a static entity attached to any one (or set of) variables (see also Coupland 2007, 2014).

In the third-wave approach, the question is how meaning, including identity, is composed and negotiated by individuals. In the dialectological, first-wave approach, the focus is on the dialect as separate from the holders of the dialect and on how language changes alter the reified object (the dialect). In the generative and perhaps diachronic approaches, the concern is the language and the linguistic factors which influence its operation (production or perception). All of these approaches to language study have used variationist methodology to advance their academic ends; however, their goals are not the same and the emphasis on variationist analysis is often different.

The third wave of variationist analysis focuses on *how* individuals construct social meaning. Moore (2011: 221) writes, "... sociolinguists in the third wave attempt to answer the question of *how* it is that a variable might come to mean 'upper-class New Yorker' or 'rebellious adolescent girl' ...this entails analyzing meaning at a level which is different from the social groups or categories considered in first- or second-wave research". Moore (2011: 220) contrasts that approach with first-wave sociolinguists who focus on "correlating broad demographic categories such as gender, class, ethnicity and age with language use in geographically delimited speech communities". Also different from third-wave approaches, the second-wave approach "...attempts to redefine the concept of 'social group' to account for more localised taxonomies" (Moore 2011: 220).

The third-wave draws from fields such as sociology, social psychology, and anthropology in order to analyze how individuals construct their persona/identity through the social meanings developed in the deployment of style. Moore (2011: 222) writes:

Meaning will shift and adapt dependent upon the wider style in which social and linguistic resources are used, and we will interpret identities based upon our understanding of the whole style. As Eckert has argued, to understand identity, then, we need to understand 'style'; this has been a major goal of the third wave of variationist sociolinguistics.

This description of research changes the object of study from linguistic analysis of how language variation and change works to a social analysis of how sociolinguistic style and personal identities are created.

3. The WVDP plan to incorporate first-wave results into third-wave studies

The West Virginia Dialect Project (WVDP) began a 12-year project in 2007 to investigate the sociolinguistic qualities of English in Appalachia. The overall project comprises three stages:

1. A Sociolinguistic Baseline for English in Appalachia: NSF BCS-0743489
2. Phonetic Variation in Appalachia: NSF BCS-1120156
3. Community Studies of Social Change in Appalachia (2016)

The primary goal for the overall project is to conduct quantitative sociolinguistic analysis on English in West Virginia (WV) to determine its status, including its regional affiliations, its relative degree of vernacularity, its sociolinguistic divisions, the social meanings attached to its vernacular forms, and its current direction of change. I argue here that all of the first-wave goals can be used for a third-wave analysis of how Appalachians deploy their language to construct style and identity.

Stage 1 included analysis of ten sociolinguistic variables for a thorough study of English in Appalachia. From the research accomplished to date, it is clear that many of the traditional vernacular features of English in Appalachia are fading from West Virginia. For example, *a*-prefixing (e.g. *She was a-fishing*) has been a classic feature for decades, but WVDP results concur with work from the early 1970s that indicates the dialect feature is quickly fading from nonperformance usage (Hazen, Butcher & King 2010). In contrast, the vernacular language variation patterns of alveolar -ING (e.g. *walkin'*) and -t/-d deletion (e.g. *bes' apple*) remain a stable part of English in Appalachia (Hazen 2008, Hazen 2011a). For those dialect features that remain robustly variable, only some mark social boundaries. Increased rates of alveolar *-ing* correlate strongly

with lowered social class and origins in the Southern half of WV, but -t/-d deletion shows weak social marking.

Stage 2 involves phonetic analysis of consonants and vowels in order to enhance the description of the WV region provided in the *Atlas of North American English*. Differences in phonetic qualities of consonants and vowel systems do mark the dialect regions of WV, but increasingly these regional characteristics are being adopted as social markers of rural/nonrural. The Northern and Southern halves of WV generally have both the front-lax merger (e.g. *pin~pen*) and the low-back merger (e.g. *cot~caught*), but the Northern Panhandle has the *cot~caught* merger only (Hazen 2005). Parts of the Southern region of West Virginia are distinct by participating in the Southern Shift (Fridland 2000; Labov 2001). The extent and progression of the Southern Vowel Shift is assessed in Stage 2: How complete is the shift in the socioculturally Southern parts of the state? Geographically, how far north does the Southern Vowel Shift stretch? In preparation for Stage 3, do rural areas demonstrate more advanced characteristics of the Southern Vowel Shift? In addition for Stage 2, several consonant variables will be analyzed and contrasted, including L-vocalization, WH/W merger, H-lenition, and S~Z voicing contrasts. Some of these consonants are changing for speakers; for example L-vocalization is decreasing across apparent time. Others show innovative patterns: Numerous speakers have more voiceless Ws in words such as *wet*, *witch*, and *wail* than they do in the word-class of WHs, namely *whet*, *which*, and *whale*.

In Stage 3 of the project, the knowledge gained from the first two stages is applied in an analysis of changing WV communities. As the United States transitions away from rural communities towards ever-larger suburban communities (Ching & Creed, 1997), the WV sociolinguistic landscape is changing, and along with it, English in Appalachia. The first two studies provide a view of demographic groups and dialectological regions. Stage 3 tracks how those linguistic features develop and change within the flow of local identities. Following Eckert (2000) and Hazen (2002), within a community, do regionally or demographically marked sociolinguistic features become reinterpreted for local identities? Two overlapping studies are planned: a comparison between a rural and suburban high school in the same county for both the Northern and Southern dialect region (four high schools total); a comparison between a rural small town and a

suburban community for both the Northern and Southern dialect region. With a thorough knowledge of the diagnostic sociolinguistic variables garnered from the first two stages, changes to local sociolinguistic boundaries can be discovered and our knowledge of how people form their sociolinguistic identity can be enhanced.

Here, I discuss an exposition of findings on the demographic category of speaker's sex with five quantifiably analyzed variables drawn from Stage 1 of this project. A terminological note from Eckert's discussion above: The first stage of this project focused on *variables* rather than *styles*. Speakers use language variation to create styles, but variables and styles are quite different things. These five variables are shared with many other English-speaking communities:

(ING) (e.g. *she was walkin'*)

Was leveling (e.g. *We was out late*)

Coronal Stop Deletion (e.g. *nest* --> *nes'*)

Demonstrative *them* (e.g. *How about them apples?*)

Quotative *like* (e.g. *She was like*, "I'm not going.")

Each of these variables was correlated with social categories, and following first-wave methodology, those categories are mostly demographically based. These were primarily divided by sex, age, and region. The resulting West Virginia Corpus of English in Appalachia was constructed to balance out these three criteria and provide updated sociolinguistic information, as the data on English in West Virginia had not previously been updated since the early 1970s. Additionally, the social categories of social class, ethnicity, and education were also correlated for the variants under investigation.

For this project, the WVDP designated social class on the basis of occupation (or occupation of the parents, if the subject was a minor), housing conditions, self-discussion of high school cliques, and living conditions (whether they had to work while in high school, their hobbies, etc.). These designations were used in addition to a host of other factors, including the speakers' own perceptions of their social class standings, their extracurricular activity choices, and their explanations of their belongings. This study uses divisions of working class, a lower-middle class, and an upper-middle class.

Ethnicity was divided into self-identifying African American speakers and European American speakers. Educational experience was developed from former studies of local

identity (Hazen 2002) and divided into two categories: those speakers with no post-secondary school experience and those with any educational experience after high school (even a single community college class). With this social division, the intent was to check for orientation to a larger community's norms and to see if the speaker's identity was directed away from their local community.

The social findings generally reinforce the legitimacy of using such broad categories as a first assessment of sociolinguistic practice: Each of them was found to be significant for some kind of social variation, even if the correlation was weak. But as they are general categories, they provide only the broadest outlines of answers, not the specific details of how speakers use the language variation patterns in question to make meaning. As we review the social findings of each variable, it is important to keep in mind that first-wave studies focus on the speech-community level of language variation.

For the social division of sex, a few results appeared which would not have been predicted by previous literature. For example, with the [in] variant of (ING), it has been found in many communities that males use it more often; the vernacular status of the variant has most often been cited as the motivation for this difference. Within WVCEA, the females had a rate of 53% [in] (N=3,299) and the males had a rate of 51% (N=3,683) (Hazen 2008). For a third-wave study, this slight yet significant difference in the unexpected direction might be a good area to investigate for the construction of personal identity (e.g. following Campbell-Kibler, 2008). For the other four variables, the expected results occurred for the sex divisions. Both leveled *was* and demonstrative *them* are stigmatized within West Virginia, although demonstrative *them* is much more stigmatized (Hazen, Hamilton & Vacovsky 2011). Females have lower rates of both stigmatized variants. For demonstrative *them*, females only have 9% *them* (N=253) where as males have 18% (N=281). For leveled *was*, the feature was common throughout the 20th century and remained at high rates in the 1970s (Wolfram & Christian, 1975), but rates declined rapidly after this point. A divide by sex of the speaker was not present in the oldest speakers: The oldest females had a rate of 56% leveled *was* (N=282) while the males had a rate of 51% (N=224). For the youngest speakers (born after 1980), a striking difference appears: Females only had a rate of 2% (N=262) while the males had a rate of 19% (N=120).

With the coronal stop deletion (also known as -t/-d deletion), social differences were not that influential, as has been found in most other communities (Hazen 2011a). Yet a significant difference remained for sex, with females having a higher rate of deletion, with a rate of 63% (N=4,577), than males did at 57% (N=4,977). It is hard to generalize to the entire population from such a sample, but at least within the sample, it seems that the females have higher vernacular rates than the literature would predict.

One of the widest divides by sex is for quotatives. For the oldest speakers, quotative *be like* was not an available token, but the middle-aged and youngest speakers picked it up rapidly after it spread from the west coast at the start of the 1980s. For middle-aged speakers, the divide between females and males is substantial, with females having *be like* 54% of the time quotatives are used (N=240) and males only having a rate of 30% (N=209). The youngest speakers widen out that divide, with females having 73% *be like* (N=623) and males having 45% (N=222).

This kind of demographic category comparison can be done across the available spectrum of categories for multiple variables, and general insights about which category of speakers produce more or less of a variant can be determined from the data. These first-wave examinations provide suggestions for creating and conducting third-wave studies in variationist linguistics. Certainly, these first-wave results do not answer global questions (e.g. How do people construct their gender through language use?). These results only give the barest hint at how people in Appalachia construct their gendered identities through language variation, but they do provide details about what kinds of socially significant language variation patterns are available and how linguistic constraints operate on those patterns. To answer the third-wave questions, the community-level analysis must be carefully paired with detailed quantitative description of how speakers use styled constellations of language variation patterns in the construction of social meaning.

One of the best points of connection for first-wave studies to enhance third-wave research projects is at the boundaries of vernacular variants. How are they used? By whom? And under what linguistic conditions? Third-wave projects would then investigate how speakers deploy the variants, examining in what social contexts they are

used and what social meanings they produce. On the perceptual side, the question would be what social meanings, if any, the listeners connect to the variants.

As an example of how first-wave data can be a helpful point of entry for a third-wave study, consider the overlap between two variables in West Virginia: /aj/ ungliding and quotative *be like*. The phonological process of /aj/ ungliding is widely distributed in the US South and has been a socially noted part of West Virginia throughout the 20th century. The unglided variant is generally restricted to Southern areas of West Virginia and follows several phonological conditioning patterns. These include syllabic constraints for some West Virginia speakers and following phonological environments for most: In general, more sonorant, tautosyllabic following consonants favor /aj/ ungliding (Hazen 2000). The vernacular point of interest for third-wave studies is specifically /aj/ ungliding before voiceless obstruents, as in *wife*, *pipe*, or *bike*. This pattern is more geographically restricted and is much more highly stigmatized in West Virginia, resulting in reduced rates across the generations. Early on in this project, it became apparent that /aj/ ungliding before voiceless obstruents was an important sociolinguistic feature for speakers: For example, in one of my first interviews for WVCEA, a middle-aged woman from Charleston, WV, asked me why her father said *wife* [wa:f] and *knife* [na:f] but she said *wife* [wajf] and *knife* [najf].

Within the normal first-wave data dissection of quotative *be like* (Buchstaller 2013), the WVDP research team found one family with nearly categorical rates of /aj/ ungliding before voiceless obstruents. The odd speaker out in this family was a younger female speaker, Lisa, who had some college experience. Her rates of /aj/ ungliding in other environments are all high, as shown in Table 1. Yet her overall rate for /aj/ ungliding drops to 63%. This drop was odd to WVDP researchers as we perceived her to be one of our premier younger speakers with /aj/ ungliding before voiceless obstruents. Following variationist methodology (Tagliamonte 2012), we checked the data to assess whether we had missed an important subcategory that would provide two different distributions whose effects were confounding the sociolinguistic analysis. Indeed, a subset of the /aj/ tokens, those within quotative *be like* and discourse *like*, were quite different than other prevoiceless tokens.

Lisa breaks with her pattern of nearly categorical ungliding before voiceless obstruents. Within Appalachia and other US regions, quotative *be like* is popularly perceived to be either Californian or Mall Speak; certainly, no one perceives it to be a traditional Southern feature. In adopting a frequent use of quotative *be like* and discourse *like*, Lisa clearly has adopted the non-Appalachian, fully-glided version of /aj/ as part of the sociocultural package. As a pointed illustration, during one section of her interview, she has a string of fully-glided likes but follows directly with an unglided *unlikely*. It is clear that the phonological environment is not the predominant factor for her fully-glided /aj/ production.

Speaker	Liquids	Nasals	Vd. obstr.	VL. obstr.	Total
Lisa	5/5 100%	55/55 100%	35/38 92%	10/104 (like) 9.6%	152/253 (+like) 63%
				47/51 (other) 92%	142/149 (-like) 96%

Table 1. /aj/ ungliding by phonological environment for one young WV speaker

In essence, there are two different distributions for Lisa's /aj/ ungliding: one for discourse *like*/quotative *be like* and a different one for all other prevoiceless /aj/ vowels. A much richer stylistic analysis is possible for Lisa within this intersection of socially-meaningful language variation patterns. By knowing the available language variation patterns for speakers, variationists can better construct research questions on how speakers deploy them for stylistic repertoires. The possible palate of language variation patterns must first be assiduously described to ensure the best possible stylistic investigation.

4. Conclusion

The progress gained from the study of language variation since the 1960s should continue in the future, and with broad enough perspectives on the goals and methods for language variation studies, it can produce benefits throughout the 21st century. Its goals and progress must, however, be regularly reassessed to provide the best possible scholarship for the two main focus areas: the sociolinguistics of society and the sociolinguistics of language (following Fasold 1987, 1990). This paper focuses on the utility of combining first-wave and third-wave variationist studies to achieve third-wave dialectology where social meaning becomes part of the dialectological focus on language variation patterns in geographic and social space.

Language variation patterns are used in a wide array of sociolinguistic investigations. As Trudgill notes (1978: 2), the term *sociolinguistics* applies to three different disciplines, each containing different methodologies and objectives: "... those where the objectives are purely sociological or social-scientific; those where they are partly sociological and partly linguistic; and those where the objectives are wholly linguistic". Because of the diverse methodologies available to scholars of language variation, it is of primary importance to keep in focus the object of study; language or society. Third-wave dialectology could inform both areas of scholarship.

The creation of a third-wave dialectology does not mean the end of traditional dialectological goals. Yet to create third-wave dialectological methods, a shift in focus must take place within the methods. As Eckert writes on her website about third-wave variationist analysis:

It views styles, rather than variables, as directly associated with identity categories, and explores the contributions of variables to styles. In so doing, it departs from the dialect-based approach of the first two waves, and views variables as located in layered communities. Since it takes social meaning as primary, it examines not just variables that are of prior interest to linguists (e.g. changes in progress) but any linguistic material that serves a social/stylistic purpose. And in shifting the focus from dialects to styles, it shifts the focus from speaker categories to the construction of personae.

Over its 50 year history, variationist methodology has not created a unified sociolinguistics or merged previously separate fields such as dialectology and linguistic anthropology. Linguists focused on anthropological and sociological concerns attend and publish in the venues most germane to their purposes. The same is true for dialectology. To resolve this divide, and best present ourselves to funding agencies yearning for interdisciplinary proposals and the general public, I strongly suggest that diverse scholars use teams of researchers on sociolinguistic projects to fulfill third-wave goals with the study of language variation. Those teams should include scholars focused on purely linguistic questions and those focused on purely social and anthropological questions. With the combined knowledge and goals, third-wave methods will benefit many fields involved in the study of language variation.

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SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF ILAMI KURDISH VERBS OF MOTION

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Abstract

In this paper, we aim to analyze some of the most common Ilami motion verbs taken from Ilami native individuals to represent the semantic features of such verbs. In pursuit of this goal, we analyze Ilami dialect data through Slobin's (2000) theoretical framework which definitely concentrates on Manner in motion verbs. Results reveal that Ilami Kurdish enjoys a wide range of verbs describing different motion events. Interestingly, some of these verbs are solely used to describe human movements, while others describe animals or other entities motions. It can be said that Slobin's (2000) classification of motion verbs is to a great extent applicable to Ilami motion verbs, however there are still novel classes seen in Ilami, as "Continual motions", "Falling motions" and "Rolling motions", not found in the aforementioned classification.

Keywords

semantics, human motion, animal motion, manner, Ilami Kurdish

CLASIFICACIÓN SEMÁNTICA DE LOS VERBOS DE MOVIMIENTO EN KURDO ILAMI

Resumen

En este trabajo nos proponemos analizar algunos de los verbos más comunes de movimiento en Ilami extraídos de individuos nativos para representar los rasgos semánticos de tales verbos. En pos de este objetivo, se analizan los datos dialectales del Ilami a partir del marco teórico de Slobin (2000), el cual se centra en el modo de los verbos de movimiento. Los resultados revelan que el kurdo Ilami tiene una amplia gama de verbos que describen diferentes clases de movimiento. Curiosamente, algunos de estos verbos

son exclusivamente utilizados para describir los movimientos humanos, mientras que otros describen los de los animales u otras entidades. Se puede decir que la clasificación de Slobin (2000) de los verbos de movimiento se puede aplicar en gran medida a los verbos de movimiento del llami, sin embargo todavía se han observado clases nuevas en este dialecto, como "movimientos continuos", "movimientos de caída" y "movimientos rondantes", que no se han encontrado en la clasificación antes mencionada.

Palabras clave

semántica, movimiento humano, movimiento animal, modo, kurdo llami

1. Introduction

Motion verbs make a rather high portion of every language verbal lexicon. This is due to the world and its dynamic nature. Although many languages devote a percentage of their verbs to this kind of verbs, speakers of different languages often have different concept of motions (and motion verbs) in their mind, which is well reflected in their language. A motion event, according to Talmy (2000: 25), is “a situation containing motion and continuation of stationary location alike”. Talmy (1985, 2000) proposed six conceptual elements of motion events: the fact of motion; the moving object (Figure); the reference object (Ground); the trajectory (Path); the way the Figure moves (Manner); and the situation that brought about the event (Cause). A basic motion event is constituted by the first four elements while the final two make potential co-events (Talmy 2000).

Kudrnáčová (2008: 33) offers a sample sentence *John ran to the house* where *John* represents the Figure, *the house* represents the Ground, *to* expresses the Path, and *walk* presents the Motion and Manner. Kudrnáčová (2008: 33) further states, that deixis embodied in verb roots (as in *come* and *go*) is termed ‘Direction’. “The path may also be expressed in particles (called ‘satellites’) such as in *John went off*” (Kudrnáčová 2008: 33).

Motion verbs are also discussed by Frawley (1992). He describes a motion as a displacement of an entity. However, even though his work is based on Talmy’s characterization of motion events, he does not use entirely the same semantic factors as Talmy to describe the displacement. He uses such terms as Theme, Source, Goal, Path, Site, Cause, Manner, and Conveyance (Frawley 1992: 170). The Theme, the displaced entity, corresponds with Talmy’s Figure (1985). The Source represents the origin of the

movement and the Goal represents its destination, the Site denotes the location of the movement, and the Conveyance represents the means by which the motion is carried out.

Dragan (2011) reviews the important classification of motion verbs. He makes a distinction between verbs of inherently directed motion and manner of motion verbs regarding their semantics. The author then challenges these assumptions and proposes that motion verbs in English form a continuum along which they range from those that always express directed motion to those that never do so.

Cifuentes (2007) in her article concentrates on an important sub-domain of motion, i.e., human locomotion, and examines the way Spanish and English lexicalize it in verbs. The first part of the paper focuses on the semantics of human locomotion verbs with special attention to the sort of fine-grained manner information that each language encodes. In the second section, an empirical study on how Spanish and English monolinguals categorize human locomotion verbs (walk, run and jump) is analyzed.

Feist (2010) examines the interplay between the meaning encoded in the motion verb itself and the meaning encoded in the motion description construction then she explores the implications of this argument for research on possible language effects on thought in this domain.

Feiz (2007) presents an inventory of motion verbs located in the English and Persian datasets. The author examines the similarities and differences in the types and number of motion verbs habitually used by native speakers of English and Persian in the description of the events of the same story. There are finally conclusions about English and Persian motion verbal systems in terms of S-framing and V-framing features.

Another work done by Fialová (2011) is divided into two parts, the first part includes the theoretical explanations of verb, motion verb, manner of motion verb, etc.; the second part contains the practical analysis of the corpus data acquired from the BNC and the COCA.

Kurdish as a new western Iranian language has speakers dispersed within broad regions of Iran, from west (Kurdistan, Kermanshah and Ilam) to the east (Khurasan), (Gunter 2004: xxv-xxvi). The central Kurdish dialects embrace *Mukri*, which is spoken in Iran, to the south of Lake Urmiya, and *Sorani*, to the west of Mukri, in the province of

Erbil, in Iraq. The southern Kurdish dialect group includes *Kermanshahi*, *Ardalani*, *Laki* (and also *Ilami*) (Mackenzie 1963: 163; Oranskij 1979: 35-36; Asatrian 2009: 12).

Ilami, a less studied dialect, is one of the Kurdish varieties, which is widely spoken in Ilam, a small mountainous city located in the west of Iran. *Ilami* shares some features with *Kermanshahi* and *Kalhori*, but shows some idiosyncratic characteristics too. For example unlike most Kurdish varieties, this dialect has no ergative system (Kalbassi 2010).

2. Theoretical framework

In this article, we are to categorize different types of motion verbs in *Ilami* Kurdish on the basis of the classification for Manner of Motion proposed by Slobin (2000) (and also Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2006), Özçalışkan (2004)). We try to find out how variously *Ilami* employs motion verbs and to figure out whether a rational categorization is possible for these verbs. In order to collect our data, we requested *Ilami* native speakers to provide us with *Ilami* verbs in general. When gathered, examples were checked¹ to select the most related ones. In others words, we preferably include purely *Ilami* dialect verbs (and exclude other varieties'). The Collection, idealization and selection process of 'motion' verbs was scheduled in about one month altogether. Finally, out of 240 verbs, 91 entries were listed as motion verbs and in order to analyze the semantic components of the chosen verbs more accurately, we gained advantage of the linguistic intuition of native individuals too. Based on Slobin's (2000), the different Manners of motion are listed as follows:

- 'Mottor- Pattern' (mp): basic locomotive abilities
- Ways of walking (mp- walk)
- Ways of running (mp- run)
- Ways of jumping (mp- jump)
- 'Forced motion': motion requires an effort to be performed; e.g. *drag*, *trudge*
- 'Furtive motion': hidden purpose or secretive motion; e.g. *crawl*, *creep*, *sneak*

¹ As a native speaker of *Ilami*, one of the authors uses his linguistic intuition to check and analyze the examples.

- ‘Obstructed motion’: there is some impediment or obstacle; e.g. *stumble, trip*
 - ‘Smooth motion’: motion flows, no obstacle; e.g. *glide, slide*
 - ‘Leisurely motion’: motion for pleasure; e.g. *hike, trek*
 - ‘No aim in motion’: no special purpose; e.g. *roam, saunter*
 - ‘Joyful, playful motion’: e.g. *scamper, frolic*
 - ‘Violent motion’: e.g. *charge, dash*
 - ‘Unsteady motion’: unbalanced motion; e.g. *totter, stagger*
 - ‘Rate’: speed of motion; e.g. *hurry, dash, zoom*
 - ‘State of Figure’: physical or psychological state; e.g. *limp, traipse, stroll, swagger*
 - ‘Length of Steps’: information about the steps the Figure takes; e.g. *Stride* (long steps), *scurry* (small short steps)
 - ‘Shape of Legs’: information about the Figure’s legs; e.g. *goosestep*
- ‘Use of Figure’s Hands’: whether the Figure’s hands are also involved in the motion; e.g. *crawl, climb, vault.*

3. Data analysis

In this section, through examining the different aspects of conceptualization, we will give a categorization of Ilami motion verbs. As we will see, Ilami motion verbs may be divided into three main categories (in terms of Figure/Theme). 1) Some motion verbs are often used to describe human motions while 2) others are more specifically used to depict animal movements and 3) there are common motion verbs which can be used to depict both animal and human motions simultaneously. In addition to the mentioned classification, we also categorize motion verbs according to Manner components throughout the section mainly based on Slobin’s (2000) classification.

3.1. Verbs for human motions

We know that human is a dynamic creature dealing with motion events repeatedly. Clearly, language has to describe these movements based on speakers’ culture and

mental images. Since, in Ilami Kurdish there are several types (as far as Manner is concerned) of motion verbs, we propose different sub-classes as follows:

3.1.1 Rate

Here are verbs of motion, conceptualizing a sense of “rate” in their semantics. Regarding to this component, we classify related examples in “speedy” and “slow” motion verbs accordingly.

3.1.1.1 Speedy motion verbs²

Like other languages (as English), Ilami Kurdish uses many words to describe different kinds of ‘going’ in terms of ‘rate’ or ‘speed’. There is an Ilami verb expressing “going” which is pronounced “tʃəgən”. This word has the neutral (i.e. lacking specific manner of motion) semantic notion of movement which is starting a motion from one point (source) and potentially unlimited time to stop in another (goal).³ Examples (1) through (8) show different kinds of conceptualization of speed in some motion verbs.

In example (1), “färte hat” is a verb depicting a motion, where “Figure” goes/runs with a high speed (=Manner). Assume that a woman obliges her daughter to wash the dishes, but she slackers and prefers to leave the home quickly. This way of leaving is expressed by “färte hat”. The “Cause” of this motion would be traced either explicitly or implicitly, on the other hand the concept of Path (here “forward”) always conflates with the Motion.

(1) färte hat

(An onomatopic sound expressing speed)- GEN 3rd PER PRO come- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past
S/he went quickly.

² DEF[inite], GEN[itive], GER[und], IMPER[ative], INDEF[initive], PASS[ive], PER[son], PL[ural], PRO[noun], PRES[ent], S[in]G[ular], SUBJ[unctive].

³ In other words, some of the spatiotemporal components of this verb depend on a given context.

(2) ta wətəme hadʒætelæ bəjur fərt-e hat (ta næʃurəgejan)

Manner-Figure-Path Implied Cause

As soon as I told her to wash the dishes, she fled (not to wash them).

(3) ta wətəme hadʒætelæ bəjur fərt-e hat ta næʃurəgejan

Manner-Figure-Path Explicit Cause

In the next example, we are dealing with another motion verb “pa ælxəsən”. This motion verb may be used where Figure passes a Path (perhaps a mental one) to the end quickly. Ground is deictic, because we can add “from there” to the end of sentence.

(4) pa ælxə, tʃu dijarəge.

leg fall- 2nd PER, goes (and) takes it.

s/he fetches it quickly

A metaphorical expression, describing human motion as a shot bullet is “bijæ tire”/ “dʒurə gwəlæ dær tʃəg”. Obviously, the common semantic feature of a person running and a shot bullet is (+ extraordinary high speed). Again, Figure (“jæ” appeared as a clitic attached to the verb) starts a motion, which conflates with Manner (in a speedy fashion) and Path (implicitly “forward”).

(5) bijæ tire

become- 3rd PER/SG- simple past bullet- Indef

To run like a shot bullet.

(6) dʒurə gwəlæ dær tʃəgən.

like buller- Indef run- 3rd PER/ SG- simple past

To run like a shot bullet.

We continue with two other motion verbs “wæ tən hətən/ wæ tən tʃəgən”. In these examples Manner (= wætən) is attached to Motion and gives us the way the Figure carries

the motion out. It should be said that, Causes of motions are “calling him” and “understanding (a fact)” respectively.

(7) ta zæng dam e wæ tən hat.

as soon as call- 1st PER- SG/ simple past 3rd PER- PRO with speed come- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past
As soon as I called (him), he came fast.

(8) ta fæməs wæ tən tʃəg.

as soon as understand- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past with speed go-3rd PER- SG/ simple past
As soon as he understood, he went fast.

3.1.1.2 Slow motion verbs

We elaborated some of the examples related to “high speed” motion events thus far. Let us have a look at the examples (9), (10), (11), (12) and (13), all depicting slow motion verbs in Ilami.

“wæ kukæ tʃæmi hat” is the first example used for a special manner of walking: “Figure came like a humpback”. In example (9), Figure commences a motion (=hatən) to which, Manner (=wæ kukæ tʃæmi) is attached. The Ground seems to be deictic and “(to) here” and “(to) there” can always be inferred.

(9) wæ kukæ tʃæmi hat

with hunched (shoulders) come- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

To come with hunched shoulders.

“wæ jæləgæ jæli” and “wæ qomtæ qomt” are two other manner of motion used when Figure moves lamely, and regarding to the context of use both convey the same meaning, therefore can be used interchangeably.

In example (10), Figure (=I) starts a Motion (=comes and arrives) and as it can be seen, Ground (=məl) is also overtly mentioned in the example. Figure, in (11), moves lamely but the Ground is not explicitly mentioned and “here” could be inferred.

(10) wæ ſælægæ ſæli/ wæ qomtæ qomt xwæm ræſanəmæ maſ.

with lame (legs) myself arrive- 1st PER- SG/ simple past- SUBJ to home.

I could reach home while I was tired and unable to walk.

(11) wæ qomtæ qomt/ wæ ſælægæ ſæli hæm hat.

with lame (legs) again come- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

S/he is coming to us limply and lamely, as if she wants something.

As slow manners of motion, “wæ kərtʃæ kərtʃ” and “wæ qəngæ xəʃi” are joined to the verbs (and made compound verbs) to describe different manners of walking. As it can be seen, a reduplicative compound is often used to express the Manner of motion. Example (12) describes a motion in which Figures moves in a lame and stealthy fashion, and the Ground is not explicitly mentioned but “there” is inferable through the neighboring terms.

Example (13), on the other hand, describes a given motion which is carried out when Figure moves through his/her hips because of lacking enough energy or having painful legs.

(12) wæ kərtʃæ kərtʃ tʃəg.

with lame (legs) again go- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

S/he went with lame legs.

(13) wæ qəngæ xəʃi hawərde.

with ass dragging bring- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past it.

S/he brought it when sitting.

These idiomatic expressions are often used for elders or patients (always) with a humiliating intent; therefore “state (physical and/or psychological) of Figure” is depicted along with the “rate” component.

3.1.2 Continual motion verbs

The examples mentioned so far connotates a horizontal locomotion, but here we deal with verbs which describe a vertical direction. In examples (14) and (15), Figure starts a continual motion. It can be said that in these examples Motion, Manner and Path conflated all together, thus “motion event” (=jumping), “Manner” (=continuousness) and “Path” (= (jumping) up) can be inferred through a single unit. Since the concept of Ilami dance and joyfulness are closely interrelated, examples (14) and (15) can be called “joyful, playful motions” too.

(14) ælpærəgæ⁴

jump- GER

To jump continually.

(15) xəndʒəgæ

jump-GER

To jump continually.

As a horizontal motion verb, example (16) illustrates that Figure has started a continual (=Manner) motion but the Ground (i.e. goal) is not mentioned in the example, namely, it seems unclear where the motion ends.

(16) hæ hə hælkæ dəw.

always be- 3rd PER- SG/ simple PRES continuous run.

Used when a person runs or works round the clock (for ex. in a job).

3.1.3 Furtive motion verbs

In this part, we deal with a different sub-class of human motion verbs. When the Figure intends to move furtively, manner is pivotal to be mentioned along side of motion.

⁴ It is worthwhile pointing that “ælpærəgæ” depicting a continual jumping is nowadays used to refer to an Ilami local dance. “xəndʒəgæ” can be considered as a synonym for “ælpærəgæ”.

A general description of the following examples is that, Figure is involved in a stealthy motion, and is careful to move in a manner not to be seen (or heard as in example (18)) by others. In all cases, Manner component is expressed externally.

- (17) wæ ko|æ pəs pəsi hætən
with (an onomatopia) come- GER
To come furtively.

The above example represents a motion which is carried out in a stealthy manner. We can see that an onomatopoeic sound (as the manner) is used in the construction of the motion verb which helps the motion to be conceptualized as furtive and silent.

- (18) wæ dəzijaw (or jæwəʃegaw) tʃəgəm.
with stealth go- 1st PER- SG/ simple PRES.
I went furtively.

This example depicts a situation where Figure moves furtively, therefore it seems that examples (17) and (18) can be used in similar environmental contexts.

- (19) (wæ) be dæŋ tʃəgəm.
with no sound go- 1st PER- SG/ simple PRES.
I went silently.

In this example, the most prominent way of furtiveness is conceptualized through “moving silently” and unlike the above examples which were semantically more general, here a specific way of furtiveness (moving silently) has been conceptualized.

3.2 Verbs for animal motions

In this section we give examples describing different animal motion verbs. As we will see, some animal (like wild boar, squirrel or donkey) motions are more frequently

lexicalized in Ilami dialect. This is due to Ilam environmental and ecological condition where these animals exist and not surprisingly their behaviors (and motions) are more attentively reflexed in language than other less familiar animals.

3.2.1 Violent motion verbs

In this part, we concentrate on verbs of motion which are violent in nature. There are motion verbs in Ilami, specifically used to describe “boar” motions: “puz xe”, “puz ælgære”, “sök xe”.

(20) puz xe

snout hit- 3rd PER- SG/ simple PRES.

Used when a hog snouts.

As a distinctive motion verb “puz xe” is used when a wild boar “attacks on human/ animals by its snout”. Compared with those of other animals, a boar head and neck are remarkably less flexible to turn and consequently there are few specific verbs for boar motions; this helps the related verbs to lexicalize Manner and direction much more economically. In other words, in example (19) motion is directed straight forward and no one thinks of any other path to chase the direction.

(21) puz ælgære

snout up move- 3rd PER- SG/ simple PRES.

Used when a hog is ready to attack by its rostrum.

In example (20) “æl”, as a prefix attached to “gære”, helps the listener recognizing snout is moved upward. Due to that mentioned inflexibility, there is no more motion verb specialized for a boar to carry out through its head.

(21) sök xe

shoulder hit- 3rd PER- SG/ simple PRES.

Used when a hog attacks by its shoulder.

In example (21), wild boar involves its shoulder to carry out the motion. It should be said that Ilami people believe these behaviors/motions are only observed in wild boars and if seen in other animals, the meaning can be extended to describe that behavior too.

(22) *tʃəngæ* həri kərdən

claw- GER

To attack with claw.

The last two examples, (21) and (22), could be categorized as motions in which “Figure’s hands are used”. In the above example, used to conceptualize animals (like squirrel, dog, etc) violent motions, “claw” is engaged. It should be said all of these motions are innate in nature, and they can be considered as the result of anger, fear, ferocity and so forth.

3.2.2 Jumping motion verbs

Examples (23), (24) and (25) illustrate that Figure (animal) starts a motion (jumping) for different purposes. In the first, Figure (a hunting animal like an eagle) jumps to hunt and take a raven.

(23) *da gəʒejaw.*

(suddenly) take- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

Used when a hunting animal (like an eagle) hunts a raven.

Example (24) can point to a simple jumping, when Figure (a tiger for ex.) jumps, or it can be used when Figure chases a raven through quick jumping(s). More about this example, we should add that for this motion “shape of legs” and “length of steps” are well conceptualized. This type of motion depicts a long steps and wide-open legs.

(24) gæl taf gært.

jump- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

To jump like a tiger.

Example (25) is a more general motion verb used when animals like goat, horse, donkey and similar animals jump and stand (on two legs) in a point for seconds. This is an innate motion and sometimes happens to gain an edible material. So in this example “shape of legs” is also conceptualized.

(25) gəndʒ gært

Jump- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

Used when an animal like a goat, jumps off.

3.3 Verbs depicting birds motions

There are Ilami verbs depicting different bird innate motions. Like above animal motions, these examples are also totally innate in nature and thus the causes of motions would be biologically justified. In the first only “flying” and in the second “landing” can be inferred and it does not matter what kind of flying bird the Figure is.

(26) bał gært

fly- 3rd PER-SG/simple past.

It flew.

(27) niſtæ zæmin

sit- 3rd PER-SG/simple past land.

It landed.

As far as domestic birds (like hen, rooster or chicken) are concerned, the following motion verb can be used. Indeed, these birds, as Figures, reach their aviary when it gets dark and this type of returning is expressed by “lez gærtæn”.

(28) lez gært

aviary reach- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

It reached aviary.

As intranslational (=self-contained) motion verbs, “bałæ tæpæ”, “xakæ puzæ” and “nökejaw berdæn” are used when birds spread their wings, dig a shallow hole to find food and sleep, respectively.

(29) bałæ tæpæ

wing (an onomatopia expressing wings' sounds when moved by birds).

Used when birds spread their wings.

(30) xakæ puzi

soil bill

Used when a chicken scratches the ground and dig a shallow hole for worm.

Regarding to example (31), it should be pointed that when a bird sleeps, its head (and its bill) usually hangs down and up and this hanging can be counted as a motion.

(31) nökejaw be.

Bill- GEN PRO go- 3rd PER- SG/ simple PRES

Used when a bird is sleeping and its bill moves down and up.

As far as manner is concerned, as compared to human motion verbs, this feature is often lexicalized in animal motion verbs. In other words we seldom saw external manners to add manner information to animal motion verbs because Manner usually conflates with motion verbs, while it commonly occurs in human motive components.

3.4 Common motion verbs

Regardless of the Figure (whether it's a human or an animal), there are still common motion verbs that can be used to describe human, animal and even inanimate motions. “kæftæ re” or “tjæg” are amongst these neutral motion verbs.

As we can see “kæftæ re” is a motion verb which can be used to describe an inanimate thing (a car), an animal (a donkey) and a human (a boy) motion regularly:

(32) maʃinæ dərəsaw bi, kæftæ re.

car- DEF repair- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past- PASS, move- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

The car well works after that repair.

(33) tænəfæ wazaw bi, xæræ kæftæ re.

rope- DEF open- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past- PASS, donkey- DEF move- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

The donkey is fleeing, because the rope is torn.

(34) koræ kæftæ re.

boy- DEF walk- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

The boy started walking.

Although there is a common verb used for different Figures, in each example manner is differently conceptualized. In the first, Figure can “move” after a repair, in the second Figure “goes” or “flees” aimlessly, because rope is torn and in the third, the boy starts “walking”. Ignoring the similar concepts of motion lexicalized in all examples, which is involving in a motion, on a semantic continuum we can consider the Figure in the first example as the lacking volition one, where Figure of motion is as passive and inactive as possible, on the other pole, we place the motion carried out by human (example (35)) which requires the highest level of volitionality.

3.4.1 Falling motion verbs

“rəmijan” is another common motion verb used when animals (like donkey, dog and caw) “lie down” or when a person falls down (in wrestling for ex.). It is also used when a construction (for ex. a house) ruins and collapses. Although here we are talking about “falling motion verbs”, we should not forget that in each case, a different manner of motion is conceptualized.

Example (35) represents a motion in which a donkey lies down and the motion is carried out in a vertical direction. Importantly, the verb of motion is used in a passive voice, this shows that the Figure's engagement in the motion is expressed in a passive manner, the Cause of motion could be "tiredness" or similar reasons.

(35) xæræ rəmija.

donkey- DEF fall- 3rd PER- SG/ PASS- simple past.

The donkey fell.

Example (36) also depicts a motion where Figure, a human, is passively involved in the motion. Unlike the above example, here we can think of a certain Cause (being forced to fall by another person).

(36) axəre ej rəmija.

end- GEN PRO that fall- 3rd PER- SG/ PASS- simple past.

Finally, he fell down.

As hinted at the beginning, inanimate things can also be depicted by the same verb of motion. Example (37) shows that a "wall" can also be engaged in a falling motion. Like the above examples, verb is used in passive form and the Cause would be an external force leading to a sudden falling.

(37) diwaræ rəmija.

wall- DEF fall- 3rd PER- SG/ PASS- simple past.

The wall collapsed.

3.4.2 Rolling motions

There is also another type of motion verb in which an inanimate thing, an animal or a human may be involved. "bijaw gəl" is a state that one of the mentioned Figures falls/rolls from the top (of a hill for ex.) towards the foot (=Ground). Since in this motion,

Figure loses balance, it can also be categorized as “Steady motion”. Needless to say, in this motion verb Figure is unwontedly engaged in the action. Originally, this verb has been used to describe “stone” motion, and then semantically extended to describe animal and human similar motions as well. This claim is on the basis that “san” meaning “stone” is used in “san gəl” which means “rolling of stone”.

In the following example, Figure suddenly starts rolling from the top of hill because of losing his/her balance. Though the Figure is unwontedly involved in the motion, a concept of “struggling to gain control” is implicitly inferable from the sentence.

- (38) dæ banə köjæ bimaw gəl
 from tip of hill- DEF start- 1st PER- SG/ simple past roll
From the top of the hill I was rolling down.

Since this sort of motion needs no specific volition, the same concept would be inferred in the next example. In other words we cannot make a clear-cut distinction between examples (38) and (39) in this respect, except that in the first Figure is a human and in the latter is a cow.

- (39) məngagæ bijaw gəl
 cow- DEF become- 3rd PER- SG/ simple PRES- PASS roll.
The cow is rolling down.

Example (40) depicts a motion in which a stone rolls down. Comparing this example with the last two, Figure is totally passive because of lacking any meaningful volition neither in starting nor in stopping the motion.

- (40) kwətʃægæ bijaw gəl
 Stone- DEF become- 3rd PER- SG/ simple PRES- PASS roll.
The stone is rolling down.

3.5 Forced motion verbs

As its name indicates, this sort of motion is carried out forcibly. Clearly, Figure of this kind of motion is reluctant to move. Here are given two Ilami forced motion verbs which are “kərənən” and “(wær) dælæk dəjən”:

(41) wæ bædbæxti kərənəme.

with force drag- 1st PER- SG/ simple past.

Since resisting to come, I dragged him/it.

(42) ta særə kötjæ dælæke da.

to tip of alley- DEF push- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past- OBJ PRO (2nd PER- SG)

He pushed him/it to the end of alley.

In these examples, which are commonly used for human/ animal/ inanimate motions, the concept of forcing the Figure to move is inferred in both cases, there is a difference in the manner through which the forced motion takes place. In the first example, Figure is forced to move, because of being “dragged” by someone else (who is positioned in front of the Figure), while in the second, Figure is pushed forward and is forced from back. It should be said that the type of Figure (whether it is a human, animal or inanimate) is not clear in the above examples and for detecting the Figure, one needs more awareness regarding the contextual components.

3.6 Animal motion verbs extended to human movements

It was discussed that some of human and animal motion verbs are normally distinguishable. Nevertheless most animal motion verbs can be used for human movements too. Look at the following examples:

(43) dæ ətəqæ rəmijagæ.

In room-DEF lie- 3rd PER-SG/PRES progressive.

He reposes in the room.

(44) bǣt̄selæ dæ n̄mə xakæ gawzæ kerdən.

children-DEF in soil-DEF roll-3rd PER-PL/simple past.

The children played in the soil.

(45) w̄t n̄jam, s̄m̄gæ w̄r̄n̄gæsæ zæmin.

Say- 3rd PER-SG/simple past not come-1st PER-SG/simple PRES, hoof- 3rd PER-SG/simple PRES.

S/he said I do not come with you; we cannot change his/her mind.

In these examples, “r̄emijagæ”, “gawzæ kerdən”, “s̄m̄gæ w̄r̄n̄gæsæ zæmin” attribute some of animal innate behaviors to human. Not surprisingly, almost all the animal loco/motion verbs have a negative sense when used for a man. It can be concluded that Ilami speakers express their disgust at someone's behavior through using an animal motion verb for a specific addressee. In the above examples “r̄emijagæ” is used to express that someone has laid down like an animal (a dog for ex.), “gawzæ ke” is used when someone is rolling on the soil like a dog, and “s̄m̄gæ w̄r̄n̄gæsæ zæmin” is used when Figure resists against a compulsory movement (like a donkey).

Recall that, “gǣl taf gærtən” was classified as a jumping animal motion verb. When this motion verb is extended to depict human motion, again a negative sense is added to its semantics which is “ferocity”, though to a low degree “bravery” or “agility” could be also conceptualized.

(46) gǣl taf gært

jump- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past.

To jump like a tiger.

“s̄elijan” and “p̄l xwardən” are definitely used for two of snake motions. The first is used when a snake creeps into a hole silently and rapidly and the latter when an injured snake rolls (on the soil) due to a severe pain.

Example (47) represents that a snake motion verb has been used to describe a human motion. In addition to “creeping like a snake”, the concepts of “lacking courage” and “fearfulness” are also inferable in this case.

(47) dæ tawe næwirəs səlja wæ kɔna.

from fear of him not can- 3rd PER-SG/ simple past creep- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past into hole
S/he feared and hid.

It is worthwhile mentioning that in the following example, Figure is resembled to a rolling snake. We should know that “suffering an intolerable painful situation not allowing sleep” is well reflected in this case.

(48) dijæʃæw ta ſuwækɪ pəl xwardəgæ.

last night to morning roll- 3rd PER_ SG/ past progressive.

Due to pain, he could not sleep last night.

Regarding to the bird motion verbs, it is worth to hint to “lez gərt” and “nökejaw be”. These two may be extended to refer to human movements. Example (49) represents a motion verb (=lez gərt) figuratively used to refer to “an idle person” returned to home after a long absence, and in this sense the Figure (=idle person) is resembled to a “hen” or “rooster” returning (motion) to its aviary.

(49) əxəre lez gərt.

Finally aviary reach- 3rd PER- SG/ simple past

After a long time, (S/he) came back to home.

The next example is also a metaphorical component used when a sitting person sleeps (and his/her head and nose move downwards (and upwards), then this motion verb could be sarcastically used.

(50) hæ nökejaw be.

Always bill go- 3rd PER- SG/ simple PRES

S/he is sleeping.

4. Conclusion

In this article, we analyzed Ilami motion verbs in terms of different aspects of their conceptualization. Based on the analyzed data, it was figured out that a main classification could be related to the Figure (or agent) of the verb (whether it is a human or an animal). Based on this criterion, we concluded that some of Ilami Kurdish motion verbs are specifically used to describe human movements, while some others are definitely used for animal motions.

As far as frequency is concerned, based on checked Ilami verbs, it was recognized that out of 240 verbs, 91 entries (meaning 37.91%) were listed as motion verbs, and when agent was considered, human, animal (sum of animal motions) and common motion verbs were calculated 38.46%, 25.27%, and 36.26%, respectively. It is believed that human is more dynamic and creative than animals; consequently a man deals with motions (of any kinds) remarkably more than animal (a snake for ex.). Comparing quadrupeds with birds, we found out that birds are not engaged in those complex/frequent motion verbs. Hence birds motion verbs are not variously observed in Ilami Kurdish.

Although motion verbs are usually specialized for human or animals, it does not mean that all motion verbs fall into these classes, as there are Ilami verbs which can be commonly used for both human and animal movements. In other words, there are neutral (in terms of doer) motion verbs which can be used to describe a human or an animal motion. Should someone use the verb “xər xwegæ dawrə xwejaw” to refer to a man or an animal motion, it sounds acceptable because in both cases “confusion” can be naturally inferred.

As far as Manner is considered, we saw that we could have different sub-classes like “speedy motion”, “slow motion”... and some other classes not seen in Slobin’s categorization but found in Ilami Kurdish, like, “continual motion”, “falling motion” and “rolling motion” which were discussed separately. We should remember that it is common to face with motion verbs classified in different categories simultaneously. As an example, “xəndʒəgæ” which was first fell into “Continual motion” class, could also be a member of “Joyful, playful motion” class. Indeed, due to the multifunctional nature of

motion verbs, a linguist has to prioritize the concepts in order to classify the verbs accordingly, and then describes other conceptualized notions peripherally. On the other hand, such classes as “Smooth motion” or “No aim in motion” were not seen in Ilami.

It was also concluded that most animal motion verbs can be used for human too. We should remember that these interchangeably used motion verbs are semantically specialized (often with a negative sense), when they are attributed to a man. The opposite way rarely occurs in Ilami, because it sounds strange to employ human motion verbs to animals. It may be the result of the volitional nature of human motion events which cannot be extended to animal motions which are innate in nature.

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PRESENTACIÓN DE UN CASO DE ALTERNANCIA VOSEO-USTEDEO COMO FORMA DE TRATAMIENTO VIGENTE EN LA VARIEDAD CULTA DEL ESPAÑOL RIOPLATENSE

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Resumen

Este trabajo presenta un caso de alternancia del *voseo dialectal americano* con la forma de tratamiento formal empleada en la norma culta de América y de España *usted*. Este caso otorgará ocasión de reflexionar acerca del peso que ejercen hoy, en la zona occidental del Río de la Plata, variables como la pertenencia generacional del interlocutor, la edad y origen de los participantes así como el contexto situacional de enunciación a la hora de escoger una u otra forma de tratamiento.

Palabras clave

vigencia general, vigencia parcial, voseo, ustedeo, criterios de corrección

A CASE OF ALTERNATION OF VOSEO AND USTEDEO AS A TYPE OF TREATMENT IN THE CULTURED VARIETY OF SPANISH RIVER PLATE

Abstract

This paper presents a case of alternation of the dialectal Latin-American *voseo* and the formal treatment used in Latin America and Spain *usted*. This case will give an opportunity to reflect upon the current importance, in the west side of the Río de la Plata, of variables such as the generational range of the interlocutor, the age and origin of participants as well as the situational context of enunciation.

Keywords

general validity, partial validity, *voseo*, *ustedeo*, correction criteria

Con *vigencia general* el filósofo y lingüista vallisoletano Julián Marías se refirió a aquellos usos lingüísticos extendidos a la totalidad del área definida por una lengua, mientras con *vigencia parcial* aludía a los usos lingüísticos originados en un segmento de los hablantes (Marías 1967). Podemos incluir dentro de esta segunda taxonomía la adopción del *voseo* como forma de tratamiento que ha penetrado todas las esferas socioculturales del área rioplatense –cuyo prestigio se extiende tanto a la lengua coloquial como a la literaria– así como verificar un paulatino ascenso en la elección de este tratamiento que aún se alterna con la adopción del “usted” en directa correlación con algunas variables que explicaré aquí.

Leemos en el *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (2005) que el *voseo* es el empleo de la forma pronominal *vos* para dirigirse al interlocutor y que se distinguen dos tipos: el *voseo reverencial*, fórmula de tratamiento de tono elevado, que se emplea hoy con algunos grados y títulos en actos solemnes, y el *voseo dialectal americano*, que contrariamente al *voseo reverencial*, implica acercamiento y familiaridad. Por su parte, el *voseo verbal* –asociado al *dialectal americano*– consiste en el uso de las desinencias verbales propias de la segunda persona del plural. En Argentina, Paraguay y Uruguay las formas del *voseo* son aceptadas sin reserva por todas las clases sociales y la modalidad más generalizada es la que combina el *voseo pronominal* con el *verbal*, por ejemplo, en la alocución “*vos llegás*” (DPD, 2005).

En el marco de la lengua hablada, la vigencia está con frecuencia restringida a un estado de la sociedad, a veces a una clase, otras a un grupo de edad. “Hay palabras, giros, modismos, entonaciones, modos de pronunciación aristocráticos, intelectuales, populares, campesinos, juveniles” (Marías 1967). Propongo analizar el fenómeno de alternancia *voseo-ustedeo* poniendo en correlación las siguientes variables:

- Variable edad
- Variable socioeconómica
- Variable situacional
- Variable +/- respeto (confianza, familiaridad)

La *variable edad* se vincula con la idea de que “la temporalidad de las formas lingüísticas se manifiesta [entre otras posibilidades] *de acuerdo a las generaciones*. Cada generación representa un nivel de vigencia (...) además de las formas comunes a toda la sociedad de un momento del tiempo” (Marías 1967). Esto significa que la alterancia de formas puede deberse a las diferentes costumbres que cada generación tiene *de llamar al otro*.

La *variable socioeconómica* se vincula con la pertenencia de los hablantes a determinado contexto social –regional, étnico– y económico, mientras la *variable situacional* se relaciona estrechamente con la “*familiaridad*”, en tanto las relaciones de proximidad afectiva pueden matizar la vigencia de una u otra forma teniendo en cuenta los diferentes tonos o registros del lenguaje. Por ejemplo, el habla familiar es afectiva por naturaleza y “no puede obedecer a una norma regularizadora” (Rosenblat 1997). Existen formas más y menos adecuadas para la situación en que se concreta la enunciación; formas más o menos coloquiales, aunque también tendríamos que tomar en consideración las excepciones individuales.

En el caso que presentaremos intervienen siete personas de diferentes procedencias geográficas y edades diversas. Focalizaremos la atención en el rastreo de las formas de tratamiento que se emplean para dirigirse a una misma persona, una mujer de aproximadamente cincuenta años, llamada Susana. El evento que nuclea a los siete participantes es la fiesta de Bautismo de la nieta de Susana.

Las siete personas que intervienen son: Susana (A), su hijo (B), su nuera (C), uno de los yernos de Susana (D), un amigo de la familia (E), la pareja de este amigo (F) y una observadora participante (G).

El primer elemento llamativo es la coexistencia de diferentes formas de tratamiento para dirigirse a la misma persona.

Su nuera, C, la trata de usted (“Susana le parece...”, “Me ayudaría...”).

F, a pesar de la escasa familiaridad, la trata de vos. Es una mujer de 20 años. Su pareja, E, de la misma edad, también la tutea.

G aprovecha para preguntar a Susana si le molesta que F la trate de vos, dado el escaso conocimiento mutuo. Responde efusivamente que “no, que la gente no se da

cuenta de lo bien que a uno le hace que la traten de vos, que te hace sentir más joven, que uno se siente cerca de la persona con la que habla”.

G pregunta a C, su nuera –de aproximadamente 30 años–, por qué no tutea a la suegra, y esta responde que “nunca la tuteó porque le parece una falta de respeto” dado que “por su edad debe estar acostumbrada a que la traten de usted” y entonces hacerlo “le daría vergüenza”.

B (de treinta años) sí la tutea, mientras que D (de cuarenta años) no lo hace.

G pregunta a B por qué tutea a Susana y este contesta “porque es mi mamá y yo tuteo a toda la familia, pero en algunos casos a las personas mayores desconocidas las trato de usted”.

F, a la misma pregunta, responde que la tutea “porque le cae bien”, porque “piensa que no le va a molestar” y porque “tutea a casi toda la gente”.

Teniendo en cuenta las variables expuestas con anterioridad, a la luz de la información presentada consideramos que las tres condiciones que determinan la predilección por la forma de tratamiento *usted* en este caso son respectivamente: + generacional, - pertenencia social, - familiaridad y - situacional. Es decir: las personas que no la tutean consideran que, por la pertenencia generacional de Susana, es adecuado tratarla de “usted” (en estrecha relación con el factor +respeto). La pertenencia social no influye en el tratamiento porque es idéntica en todos los casos, y la variable familiaridad tampoco, puesto que se da la alternancia en la adopción de voseo y ustedeo incluso entre parientes cercanos.

En el caso del voseo, se trataría de una consideración -generacional, + pertenencia social, - familiaridad y + situacional. Aquí la variable edad de uno de los interlocutores cobra relevancia: las personas que tutean a A son más jóvenes que aquellas que no la tutean. Además, es necesario considerar la variable *pertenencia regional* que podría influir en la predilección por el voseo: E y F viven en la provincia de Buenos Aires, a quince kilómetros de la capital del país, mientras que Susana y su familia viven en el centro (exceptuando el caso de su hijo, que se trataría de una elección por confianza y familiaridad).

No podría determinarse qué tratamiento es más o menos correcto. Según Ángel Rosenblat “es injusto aplicar al habla de una comunidad un criterio de corrección exterior

a ella. Pero nos encontramos que en el seno mismo de esa comunidad hay un *criterio interno de corrección*" (Rosenblat 1997: 89) que determinaría, por ejemplo, el rechazo de formas expresivas que no cumplan debidamente la función comunicativa o que sean producidas por niveles sociales menoscambiados o incultos. Esta "invisible" corrección social entrecruza un *criterio intralingüístico de corrección* con un *criterio extralingüístico o social*.

Para José Pedro Rona la tarea del dialectólogo no es la de juzgar la casticidad o corrección de ciertas modalidades del habla popular; frecuentemente se confunde el concepto de *corrección* con el de *ejemplaridad* (Rona 1958). En realidad, lo correcto puede juzgarse solo con respecto a la tradición específica de cada uno de los modos de hablar considerados, y no desde el punto de vista de su correspondencia con la norma literaria. Cada modo es *correcto* si está de acuerdo con el sistema usual de la comunidad –en su variedad culta– y con el momento expresivo de su uso.

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A SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS OF SELECTED YORÙBÁ ANTHROPOONYMS

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Abstract

This work employs a speech act approach to the analysis of Yorùbá indigenous names to emphasize that they are not mere labels. Thirty-eight Yorùbá indigenous names were classified into eight different groups, using factors like relationship to royalty, acknowledging the greatness of Islamic, Christian or traditional deities, circumstances or events at birth, family vocation or profession, infantile mortality, importance of children to the family, ‘natural’ names and admonitions. From the analysis carried out, Yorùbá indigenous names were shown to perform speech acts like ‘assertive’, ‘directive’, ‘commissive’, ‘expressive’ and ‘declaration’, together with varying sub-acts. This shows them to be utterances that derive their meanings from the cultural beliefs of the Yorùbá people, rather than being mere labels. Thus their understanding will help in understanding aspects of the cultural practices of the Yorùbá people and, consequently, the people themselves.

Keywords

speech act, indigenous, anthroponyms, ethno- pragmatic, speech community.

ANÁLISIS DEL DISCURSO DE UNA SELECCIÓN DE ANTROPÓNIMOS DEL YORUBA

Resumen

Este trabajo utiliza un enfoque basado en el análisis de los actos de habla en nombres indígenas del yoruba para resaltar que no se trata de meras etiquetas. Se han clasificado treinta y ocho nombres indígenas del yoruba en ocho grupos diferentes, utilizando factores como la relación con la realeza, reconocimiento de la grandeza de lo islámico, lo cristiano o las deidades tradicionales, las circunstancias o eventos en el

nacimiento, la vocación de la familia o la profesión, la mortalidad infantil, la importancia de los niños en la familia, los nombres "naturales" y las admoniciones. A partir del análisis realizado, se ha demostrado como los nombres indígenas del Yoruba ejecutaban actos de habla de tipo assertivo, directivo, comisivo, expresivo y declarativo, junto con diferentes sub-actos. Esto muestra que son expresiones que derivan su significado de las creencias culturales del pueblo yoruba, en lugar de ser meras etiquetas. Por lo tanto su comprensión ayudará a entender los aspectos de las prácticas culturales del pueblo yoruba y, en consecuencia, la gente misma.

Palabras clave

acto de habla, indígena, antropónimos, etnopragmática, comunidad de habla

1. Introduction

This paper uses a speech act approach to analyze some selected Yorùbá indigenous names to complement existing studies on African anthroponyms, which look at indigenous African names from historical, socio-cultural and syntactic perspectives. The goal of the paper is therefore to harness historical, socio-cultural and syntactic perspectives on Yorùbá personal names in carrying out a speech act study of such names. This will show, among other things that it is not only for translators and translatologists that syntactic values and sociolinguistic import of names present rich opportunities of study, as Bariki (2009) points out, but they are also of value in a speech act analysis of Yorùbá indigenous personal names.

As rightly observed by Bariki, "in many African languages, personal names have a strong historical, socio-cultural and ethnopragnostic bearing that go beyond mere identity or referentiality" (Bariki 2009: 46). In fact, Yorùbá indigenous names are not arbitrary, as they are loaded with meanings and perform diverse speech acts which include appreciating a deity, expressing a wish, requesting a favour, asserting a position or viewpoint, etc. These functions can be very well captured and expressed through a speech act analysis of such names. Not only this, Yorùbá indigenous personal names are normally in sentences that vary in length and complexity, properties which make them appropriate data for a speech act study.

The data for this study are an assortment of randomly selected thirty-eight Yorùbá indigenous names which we classify into different groups that explain why the names were chosen in the first place. The classification cuts across those done by Agyekum (2006), as cited in Bariki (2009), for Akan personal names, Oseni (2004) for Muslim names in Nigeria and Babalola & Alaba (2003) for Yorùbá personal names. While these classifications overlap in some instances, they have some peculiarities which are informed by the research focus of the respective authors. The names that will feature in this study are Yoruba indigenous names. They exclude Muslim or Christian names, as well as cognomens (*oríkì- orúkø*). We regard as indigenous or traditional names those names that are usually referred to as middle names, which are given, together with other names, at a child's naming ceremony. In other words, the data for this study exclude such cognomens as *Àjàgbé*, *Àdígún*, *Àbíké*, etc, but include such names as *Olóruntémi*, *Ògúnbùnmi*, *Èyítáyò*, *Oládiméjì*, *Adégbijà* etc. Because our data exclude cognomens and names of foreign origin, we have decided to refer to them as traditional or indigenous names rather than personal names, which will include any name that a person is called and recognized by.

The thirty-eight names in this work and their meanings are obtained largely from our intuition as native speakers of Yorùbá language and from Babalola & Alaba (2003). The format we have adopted is to classify the names into eight groups that give the backgrounds to the choice of the names. Since Yorùbá indigenous names are usually sentences that are nominalized, in our analysis, the nominalized forms are presented first, followed by the sentences from which they are derived. The sentence-names are glossed, followed by the direct and indirect speech acts that they express, respectively.

2. Objective of the study

The objective of this study is to show the communicative import of Yorùbá indigenous names through a speech act analysis. This will further show how deeply rooted in culture Yorùbá indigenous names are and reiterate the close relationship between language and culture. It will also buttress the fact that Yorùbá indigenous names are not just labels, titles or appendages, but different forms of speech acts that situate their

bearers properly within their cultural milieu, and express their essence holistically as rational beings within their cultural and traditional practices. The study will show that Yorùbá indigenous names constitute a distinct speech repertoire within the Yorùbá communication system and can shed light on the Yorùbá people's belief systems and cultural practices, as a step towards understanding the people themselves.

3. Names and naming practices in the Yorùbá Speech Community

As pointed out by Coggin (2010), naming traditions in Africa is region based and most names refer to the details surrounding a child's birth, such as the season, day of the week, number of family members, or the emotional state of the family during birth. Yorùbá indigenous names in particular, are deeply rooted in the cultural practices and belief systems of the Yorùbá people. They express diverse meanings which reveal a lot about the historical, social, psychological and cultural backgrounds of the Yorùbá people. In effect, a Yorùbá person's indigenous name can shed some light on the bearer's family backgrounds, e.g. family occupation, religion, emotional state (particularly regarding child-bearing) and the importance of children to the family, etc. It can, therefore, be asserted that a Yorùbá indigenous name is an embodiment of a lot of stories about the bearer's family. Thus, in the words of Bariki (2009), African names (indeed Yorùbá names) have a strikingly semantic and semiotic load that has communicative functions despite their mono-referential status.

Classification of Yorùbá names

Oseni (2004) notes that it is customary among Nigerians to classify names into two: foreign and indigenous. He, however, prefers to classify Nigerian names into three, the first being based on the meaning of such names, the second on hero-worship and the third on the circumstances surrounding the birth or life of the child. On the meaning of names, Oseni (2004) observes that many people all over the world give certain names to their children because of the special meaning that such names have. However, since our

position is that all Yorùbá names are of great semantic import, we will not use meaning as an independent index for classifying Yorùbá indigenous names. Indeed, all our classifications are possible because the names have semantic interpretation.

The second index used by Oseni is hero-worshiping. By this, he means names that are given after a particular hero who “might have immortalized her/his name in the opinion of the people by their bravery, morality, righteousness, courage, kindness, sincerity, chastity and what have you” (Oseni 2004: 3). Unfortunately, Oseni’s examples of such names are all foreign names. Yorùbá names that may fall under this class of names are those given in appreciation or anticipation of some good turns from Islamic, Christian or traditional deities. They are not names given to hero-worship the original bearers. No Yorùbá would, for instance, name her/his child Ṣàngo, Qya or Ọsun, neither would a Yorùbá name her/his child Ḍògèdèngbé, Àfọnjá, Gbònkà etc, to hero-worship those that first bore such names. To do so may be considered an affront to the initial bearers of the names, as it is evidenced by the fact that children named after their grandparents or parents are rarely called by such names in deference to those grandparents and parents. Instead the children are addressed as *Olóókọ-bàbá* (*Father’s namesake*) or *Olóókọ-iyá* (*Mother’s namesake*) or ‘Junior’. Our observation is that names that fall under Oseni’s hero-worship are generally foreign names of Islamic or Christian background, and are largely names specific to prophets, their companions or angels. The conclusion that can be drawn from this observation is that no Yorùbá name would fit into Oseni’s hero-worship class.

As observed by Oseni (2004), most names are determined by circumstances surrounding the birth (or the entire lives) of the people who bear them. This must have informed his third class of names- those relating to circumstances surrounding the life of a person. He then gives a list of such circumstances as historical, social, economic, geographical, professional, traditional or “derogation of certain traits (real or imaginary) found in a person so named” (Oseni 2004: 5), making a total of seven circumstantial names. Our view on Oseni’s third class of names is that instead of bringing all the seven sub-classes of “circumstances surrounding the life of a person” under one umbrella, each sub-class can be treated as a bona-fide class of names, including “circumstances at birth” itself, as we shall do in our own classification.

On the basis of the patterns which are discernible from a semantic analysis of Yorùbá names, Babalola & Alaba (2003) classify them into sixteen, eight of which are praise names, which fall outside the purview of this study, leaving eight others, which are: (i) chieftaincy title that persists as a personal name; (ii) name reflecting an event anticipated by the family at the time of the child's birth; (iii) name that reflects the child's inevitable participation in a cult or the child's coincidental arrival during a festival or some other special event; (iv) name that reflects the specific spatial location of the child's birth; (v) name reflecting an important family tradition, circumstances, possession or mood that the child found, or did not find, on arriving in the home; (vi) name that reflects parents' or grand-parents' estimation of the child's excellence and/or the child's role in the family; (vii) name that constitutes a declaration made or comment passed by the father or grandfather or other elder on the child's birth; (viii) name reflecting the child's presumed comment on the family, uttered soon after the child's arrival into that family. Our own classification over-laps with and is distinct from Babalola & Alaba's in some specific areas, as we shall show shortly.

Adopting a socio-cultural interpretation of names, Agyekum (2006), as cited in Bariki (2009), classifies Akan names into the following: (i) Day names; (ii) Family names; (iii) Circumstantial names (iv) Theophorous names; (v) Flora and Fauna; (vi) Weird and reincarnate names; (vii) Achievement names; stool (i.e. royal) names, religion, occupational); (viii) Insinuating and Proverbial names; (ix) Bodily structure and (x) Kinship, among others. As in the case of the other classifications, our classification incorporates aspects of Agyekum's typologies, while it excludes some. For example, our classification does not have day names, as such names do not fall within our corpus of data. Agyekum's achievement names are given separate classifications in our own study. For instance, we have names relating to royalty, reverence for deities and occupational names. Agyekum's insinuating and proverbial names are classified under admonition, while names under his bodily structure fall in the class of names generally referred to as 'inagije' (pen names) in Yorùbá and, therefore, do not form part of the data for this study. The same applies to names under flora and fauna (which will be regarded as pen names in Yorùbá) and kinship names, which fall under Babalola & Alaba's (2003) praise names. Agyekum's weird and reincarnate names form part of the names in our own natural and infantile mortality classes.

In summary, our classification of Yorùbá indigenous personal names are eight and are based on factors such as Royalty, Deities, Circumstances or events at birth, Vocation or Profession, Infantile mortality, Importance of children in the family, “Natural” names, and names that are admonitions. All these names have cultural, social, historical and psychological bases in the Yorùbá speech community as a whole and can be captured in a speech act analysis.

4. Theoretical background: the speech act theory

Speech acts are “the actions speakers perform in uttering sentences including informing, promising, requesting, questioning, commanding, warning, preaching, congratulating, laying bets, swearing and exclaming” (McGregor 2009: 142). Since Austin’s (1962) pioneering work on speech acts, quite a lot has been done on speech act analysis. In its original formulation, Austin (1962) draws a distinction between constative and performative utterances, the former referring to statements whose function is to describe some event, process or state of affairs and has the property of being either true or false (Lyons 1977). Performative utterances on the other hand, have no truth-value, as “they are used to do something rather than to say that something is or is not the case” (Lyons 1977: 726). Thus, Austin draws a distinction between saying something (constative) and doing something (performative) by means of language and by so doing, he emphasizes the importance of relating the functions of language to the social contexts in which language operates (Lyons 1977). Yorùbá indigenous names, generally fall under Austin’s performatives, as they have semantic content that relate them to the socio-cultural, traditional and historical contexts that give rise to them, rather than function as constative utterances.

Austin also distinguishes between primary and explicit performatives, the former containing performative verbs like promise, warn, direct, etc. while the latter do not. Yorùbá indigenous names generally contain performative verbs and can therefore be classified as explicit performative utterances. He also made a distinction among locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts (Lyons 1977: 730). A locutionary act

refers to the act of saying. It is the production of a meaningful utterance. Yorùbá indigenous names, as we earlier said, are meaningful sentences that can be semantically analyzed.

On the other hand, an illocutionary act is an act performed in saying something. Here, saying amounts to doing. Thus, one can make a statement, a promise, issue a threat or assert a proposition etc. A perlocutionary act is the effect produced by what is said on the listener/hearer. It is the consequential effect of an utterance on the listener/hearer. Thus, we agree with Lyons (1977) that the meaning of an utterance involves, of necessity, the sender's communicative intention and that understanding an utterance necessarily involves the receiver's recognition of the sender's communicative intention. To the extent that the Yorùbá believe that the name given to a child has divinatory effects on her/his life, we can say that Yorùbá indigenous names generate perlocutionary effects in their bearers. Also, as Lyons points out, "in all languages, sentences are systematically associated with the illocutionary acts that may be performed in uttering them" (Lyons 1977: 733). Yorùbá indigenous names are made up of different sentences which predetermine their illocutionary act potentials.

According to Austin, for an illocutionary act to generate the desired force, it must abide by what he refers to as felicity conditions, which include the existence of an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, the procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons on certain circumstances (Jaworski & Coupland (1999), as cited in Ọmolòṣó (2006)). Felicity condition thus requires that an utterance must be produced by the appropriate person, on an appropriate occasion and in an appropriate context, if it is to have the desired communicative effect. Thus, a teacher, while teaching in the class, cannot, for example, legitimately join a male student and a female student in his class in marriage by saying, "I hereby pronounce you husband and wife". The utterance will not generate the effect of making the affected students truly husband and wife. For Yorùbá indigenous names to qualify as illocutionary acts that will generate the desired force, all the conditions necessary to make naming conform with the naming practices in Yorùbá culture must be upheld.

Searle (1969), as cited in Leech & Thomas (1990), agrees with Austin that meaning amounts to a kind of doing, but proposes what he calls essential conditions or rules that

should be followed for a given speech act to be effectively performed. These are propositional content condition or rules which specify the kind of meaning that the propositional part of an utterance expresses; preparatory conditions which are prerequisite to the performance of the speech act; sincerity conditions that specify the conditions that should obtain for the speech act to be sincerely performed; and essential conditions which specify what the speech act is with reference to convention.

The naming practices in the Yorùbá speech community fulfill all of the four essential conditions highlighted by Searle. For instance, the name that is given to a child must be propositionally meaningful, thus fulfilling Searle's propositional content condition. Secondly, the norms that govern naming practices within the Yorùbá speech community constitute the preparatory conditions for giving a child a name. Such conditions must include the birth of a child and the fact that the child survives till the date traditionally set aside for naming a new-born baby. Parts of the sincerity conditions for naming a child are that there is a child to be named, the naming is done by a person or persons designated conventionally to do so, and the members of the family of the baby to be named, particularly the baby's parents (in normal circumstances) are present etc. Essential condition is fulfilled once the name given to the child is meaningful and can be associated with specific aspects of the Yorùbá people's cultural practices and beliefs.

One aspect of Austin's speech act theory that has been the focus of diverse comments is his classification of speech acts, which, according to Lyons (1977), raises the question of whether there is a limit to the number of illocutionary acts that should be recognized in a semantic analysis of human language. This question is pertinent because of the fact that languages, particularly the Yorùbá language, have a rather limitless number of performative verbs. Do we assign a speech act to every performative verb or can we combine the performative verbs to form a relatively small number? Searle (1969), cited in Leech & Thomas (1990) appears to have answered this question by classifying all possible speech acts in human languages into five. His classification, which we shall adopt for our analysis in this study, is as follows:

- (a) Assertives, which commit the speaker to the truth of some proposition. Such include, for example, stating, claiming, reporting, informing, noticing etc.

- (b) Directives, which refer to an attempt to bring about some effect through the action of the hearer, e.g. ordering, requesting, demanding, begging, appealing, etc.
- (c) Commissives, which commit the speaker to some future action like promising, offering, swearing to do something, vowing, pledging.
- (d) Expressives: These refer to the expressions of some psychological state like thanking, congratulating, apologizing, admonishing, eulogizing, etc.
- (e) Declarations: They refer to speech acts whose successful performance brings about a correspondence between the propositional content and reality, like, for example, naming a ship, or a child, sentencing, resigning, condemning etc.

As we shall point out in our analysis later, all the Yorùbá indigenous names that constitute our corpus of data can be captured under Searle's five classes of speech acts. This shows, as Ọdébùnmi (2006), cited in Friday-Ọtun (2010) remarks, that Searle's (1969) classification has relevance in cross-cultural pragmatics.

An area of the speech act theory that is very important to the speech act analysis of Yorùbá indigenous names is the concept of implicature. Implicature refers to what is implied but not entailed (Grice 1975). Implicature plays a crucial role in assigning Yorùbá indigenous names to specific speech acts. For example, *Olúwadámiláre* (God has vindicated me) which, using Searle's classification, is Assertive, implies that the arrival of the child relieves the parents of some earlier burden, or malicious insinuation. The same can be said of *Ògúnṛèmílékún* (the god of iron has comforted me), which implies that prior to the arrival of the new child, the family whose members are worshippers of ògún (god of iron) or hunters by profession, were in one form of grief or the other. The relevant implicature here is conversational implicature, a situation where the speaker means more than what she/he has expressed. Context thus plays a major role in conversational implicature, unlike in conventional implicature, where what is meant is implied by the meaning of what is expressed. However, meaning is very crucial in both conventional and conversational implicatures, because, as Lyons (1977) states, illocutionary acts are governed and determined by a general condition of meaningfulness. This implies that an utterance cannot be assigned to any speech act unless it satisfies the general condition of meaningfulness. Applied to Yorùbá indigenous names, a Yorùbá indigenous name must

first of all have propositional and semantic contents to qualify for classification into any specific speech act.

The issue of the meaningfulness of an utterance brings into focus the relevance of context in the determination of utterance meaning and the assignment of utterances into specific speech acts. According to Leckie-Tarry (1995), all meaning is determined by contextualization. Mey describes context as all the factors that play a role in producing and understanding utterances. It is dynamic in nature, as it is “in steady development, prompted by the continuous interaction of the people engaged in language use” (Mey 2001: 14). According to Mey (2001), an utterance makes no sense until it is placed in its human context — the language user’s world — which is the speaker’s linguistic, social, cultural and general life contexts. In the view of Bilmes (1986), cited in Mey (2001), “the meaning of an utterance is determined, to a great extent, by how it responds and how it is responded to, by its place in an interactional sequence, which is a context of use” Bilmes (2001: 30). Context is user-oriented, so, it is dynamic, and it differs from user to user, from user group to user group and therefore, from language to language. Context is, therefore, what gives utterances their speech acts. Yorùbá indigenous names are meaningful only when related to the socio-cultural and traditional contexts that give rise to them in the first place, as it is within these socio-cultural and traditional contexts that they constitute different speech acts.

Following Mey’s (2001) observation that since language is a product of a social context, its use is governed by society rather than by the individual speakers, we can infer that all speech acts are “ritual” acts, particularly since context determines what one can say and what one cannot say. This then brings us to what Lyons (1977) refers to as the universality of particular speech acts. According to him, certain basic illocutionary acts like making statements, asking questions, issuing commands or making requests are universal, in the sense that they are acts “that all human societies perform, though there are certain speech acts that would seem to be dependent upon legal or moral concepts institutionalized in particular societies” (Lyons (1977: 737). Among such acts would be acts of swearing on oath in a court of law, Austin’s (1962) naming a ship, giving a child a name in an appropriate social context, acts which, according to Lyons (1977), are conventional and culture specific. Based on the foregoing observations, we propose a basic typology of

speech acts. Our proposal incorporates what Lyons (1977) refers to as universal acts and acts that are “dependent upon legal or moral concepts institutionalized in particular societies” (Lyons 1977: 73).

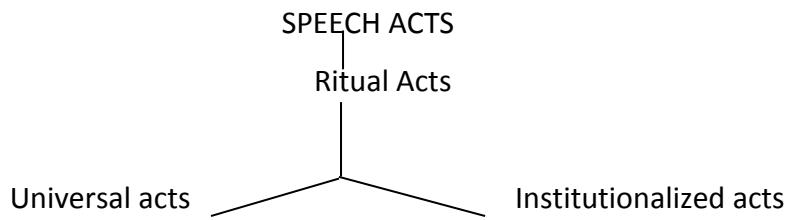


Figure 1. A model of basic speech act typologies

Our proposal is that all speech acts are ritual in nature, as all forms of language use are constrained by contextual variables which condition the speaker to conduct her/his language use in certain ways. That is, no matter the domain of use, there are general universal constraints placed on language use, the observance of which qualifies one as being communicatively competent in that language. Ritual acts could be universal or institutional. Universal acts would cover language use in all contexts apart from institutionalized domains. Thus, language use in all informal contexts like the home, market, street, etc. will come under universal acts. Speech acts performed in these domains will contain sub-acts which will further distinguish speech acts performed in the family from those performed in the market place or street. On the other hand, institutionalized acts will cover all forms of language use in such formal contexts like the court-room, marriage registry, government/official functions, mosque/church, naming ceremonies, ordination ceremonies, commissioning ceremonies, etc. Ritual acts can be regarded as abstract acts, or tokens, just like entries in a general purpose dictionary, which are assigned “abstract” meanings that often change in real contexts. Thus when a ritual act is confronted with specific contexts, it may become an institutionalized act or a universal act.

In the following section, we shall present and analyze our data, which, following the model presented above, come under institutionalized speech acts. Searle’s five classes of speech acts will be used for our analysis.

5. Presentation and analysis of data

The data for this study are made up of thirty-eight randomly selected Yorùbá indigenous names classified into eight groups, viz.: Royalty, Deities, Circumstances or events at birth, Family's vocation or profession, Infantile mortality, Importance of children in the family, "Natural" names, and Admonitions. Our analysis indicates the direct and indirect speech acts that the names belong to, relying on the structure and meaning of the sentence-names. Direct speech acts are those overtly suggested by the structures of the sentence-names, e.g. declarative, imperative or interrogative (Allan 1986). Indirect speech acts are inferred from a combination of the structure of the sentence - names and the knowledge of the socio-cultural, traditional and historical contexts from which the names originate. In the data that follow, the nominalized forms of the names are first presented, followed by the sentences from which the nominalized forms are derived. The sentence-names are then glossed, followed by their direct and indirect speech acts. The sub-acts performed by the speech acts are given in brackets after the speech acts.

Yorùbá indigenous names and their direct and indirect speech acts

A.	Royalty-related names			Direct	Indirect
S/N	Indigenous Name	Sentence from which name is derived	English translation of sentence-name	Speech act of sentence-name	
1.	Adéyémí	Adé yé mí.	Crown fits me	Declarative	Assertive (Claiming)
2.	Adéyímiká	Adé yí mi ká	I am surrounded by crowns	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)
3.	Jókòótadé	Jókòó ti adé	Sit with the crown/Stay with the crown	Imperative	Directive/Requestive (Begging, Pleading)
4.	Gbádégésin	Gbé adé gun ἑsin.	Put crown on horse-back	Imperative	Directive/Requestive (Requesting)
5.	Oyèbámijí	Oyè bá mi jí	a) Chieftaincy/Royalty wakes up with me. b) I wake up with royalty/chieftaincy.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)
6.	(Omo)gbádébò wálé	(Omo) gbé adé bò wá ilé.	(Child) brings the crown back home.	Declarative	Assertive (Stating, Reporting)
7.	Jéjéloyè	Jéjé ni oyè.	Royalty is filled with dignity/patience.	Declarative	Assertive (Stating)

B.	Deity-related names			Direct	Indirect
S/N	Indigenous Name	Sentence from which name is derived	English translation of sentence-name	Speech act of sentence-name	
8.	(Mo)fólóunṣó/fólórunṣó	Mo fún Ọlórun (ní èyi) só.	I give (this) to God to watch over.	Declarative	Declaration (offering)
9.	Ògúnwándé	Ògún wá mi dé.	God of iron has located me	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)
10.	Qşúnbùnmi	Qşun bùn mi.	Goddess of River Osun gives (this) to me.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)
11.	Ifáwólé	Ifá wọ ilé.	God of divination has entered the house.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)
12.	Qyatóögùn	Qya tó oògùn.	a) The goddess of River Niger is enough as medication.	Declarative	Assertive (Claiming)
13.	Olúwarèmílékún	Olúwa rẹ mí ní ẹkún.	a) God has consoled me. b) God has stopped my crying. c) God has wiped my tears for me.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)
14.	Àánúolúwapò	Àánú Olúwa pò.	a) God's mercy is plenty. a) God is full of mercy.	Declarative	Assertive (Stating)
15.	Modúpéolúwa	Mo dúpé, Olúwa.	a) I thank you, God.	Declarative	Expressive (Thanking, Eulogising)

C.	Names related to circumstances/events at birth			Direct	Indirect
S/N	Indigenous Name	Sentence from which name is derived	English translation of sentence-name	Speech act of sentence-name	
16.	Morénikéjì	Mo rí éni şe ikejì.	I have a supporter.	Declarative	Assertive (Claiming, Stating, Reporting)
17.	Qmobólárlé	Qmö bá ọlá ní ilé.	Child meets wealth at home.	Declarative	Assertive (Claiming)
18.	Májééyàógbé /Májìyàgbé	a) Má jè kí ìyà mi ó gbé. b) Má jé ìyà gbé.	a) Don't let (my) suffering be for nothing/in vain. b) Don't suffer in vain.	Imperative	Directive (Pleading)
19.	Ekúndayò	Ekún (mi) di ayò.	(My) weeping/crying has turned to joy.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting, Stating)
20.	Ìyábòwálé	Ìyá padà bò wá ilé.	Mother has come back home.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)

D.	Vocation/Profession-related names			Direct	Indirect
S/N	Indigenous Name	Sentence from which name is derived	English translation of sentence-name	Speech act of sentence-name	
21.	Qdébùnmi	Qdé bùn mi.	Hunting/Hunter gives me.	Declarative	Assertive (Stating, Reporting)
22.	Àyàntúndé	Àyàn tún dé.	The drummer has come back again. Another drummer has come.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting, Stating)

23.	Ọdẹwùmí	Ọdẹ wù mí.	Hunting appeals to me	Declarative	Assertive (Stating)
24.	Kéwúgbèmí	Kéwú gbè mí.	The Qur'an suits me. Learning of the Qur'an suits me.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)

E.	Infantile Mortality-related names			Direct	Indirect
S/N	Indigenous Name	Sentence from which name is derived	English translation of sentence-name	Speech act of sentence-name	
25.	Dúróríkéé	Dúró kí o rí iké.	Stay alive and be pampered.	Imperative	Commissive (promising)
26.	Dúrójayé	Dúró kí o jẹ ayé.	Stay alive and enjoy life/the world.	Imperative	Commissive (promising)
27.	Níhìnínłoláwà	Ní ibí yíí ni ọlá wà.	It is here (in the world) that wealth is.	Declarative	Assertive (Requesting/Pleading)
28.	Kòsókó	Kò sí ọkó.	There is no hoe.	Declarative	Assertive (Requesting, Pleading)
29.	Ìgbékòyíí	Ìgbé kọ èyí	The bush has rejected this one.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting, Stating)

F.	Names indicating importance of children			Direct	Indirect
S/N	Indigenous Name	Sentence from which name is derived	English translation of sentence-name	Speech act of sentence-name	
30.	Qmolòşó	Qmolòşó	Child is wealth/treasure	Declarative	Assertive (Claiming)
31.	Qmotóşòó	Qmotóşòó	Child is valuable enough as treasure/wealth.	Declarative	Assertive (Claiming)
32.	Qmóyélé	Qmóyélé	Child fits home.	Declarative	Assertive (Stating)
33.	Qmódùnúnní	Qmódùnúnní	Child is good to have.	Declarative	Assertive (Stating)

G.	"Natural" names			Direct	Indirect
S/N	Indigenous Name	Sentence from which name is derived	English translation of sentence-name	Speech act of sentence-name	
34.	Qmotáyéwò	Qmotáyéwò	The child tastes/samples the world.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)
35.	Qmókéyìndé	Qmókéyìndé	Child comes last.	Declarative	Assertive (Reporting)

H.	Admonitions			Direct	Indirect
S/N	Indigenous Name	Sentence from which name is derived	English translation of sentence-name	Speech act of sentence-name	
36.	Ìjàòdòlà	Ìjà kò di ọlà	Quarreling does not bring salvation/wealth.	Declarative	Assertive (Admonishing)
37.	Máfikúyómí	Má fi ikú (ọkó/ayá etc) yò mí.	Don't mock me on account of (my husband's/wife's etc) death.	Imperative	Directive (admonishing)
38.	Tanímòla	Ta ni ó mó ọla?	Who is it that knows tomorrow	Interrogative	Requestive (Warning)

6. Observations on data analysis

Our corpus of data consists of seven royalty-related indigenous names, eight deity-related names, five names that are based on the circumstances at the child's birth, four family's vocation/profession-related names and five names based on infantile immortality. Others are those based on the importance of children to the family (four), natural circumstances (two) and admonitions, (three), making a total of thirty-eight Yorùbá indigenous names.

It is observed that the direct speech act of most of our selected names is declarative (thirty-one out of thirty-eight names), six are imperative, while only one is interrogative (a rhetorical question). Out of the thirty-one names whose direct speech act is declarative, twenty-seven have Assertive as their indirect speech act, two are Requestives, and one is Expressive, while one is Declaration. Out of the six imperatives, four are Directives/Requestives, while two are Commissives. The only interrogative in the data has Requestive indirect speech act.

We note that each of the indirect speech acts has what Friday-Otun (2010) refers to as sub-acts. For example, the Assertives have sub-acts which are claiming, reporting, stating, or admonishing. The Requestive/ Directive acts are requesting, begging or admonishing. Similarly, the only Expressive act in the corpus of data has thanking or eulogizing as sub-acts, while the Declaration act has a sub-act of offering.

It is also noted that while the direct speech act of each of the sentence-names helps to give an insight into the type of indirect speech act it performs, the meanings of the sentence-names do not. For example, declaratives are generally Assertive, though there

may be different sub-acts under Assertive, based on contexts. Imperatives have Directives, Requestives or Commissives as indirect speech acts, with varying sub-acts, also as imposed by contexts. Interrogatives have Directive or Requestive speech act, with context-determined sub-acts. However, the semantic contents of the sentence-names differ, in the sense that sentence-names with different meanings end up having the same indirect speech acts. For instance, *Àyàntúndé* (The drummer has come back again or Another drummer has come) and *Qdékumí* (Hunting appeals to me) have different meanings, yet they have the same direct speech act (declarative) and the same indirect speech act (Assertive). They also have similar sub-acts (stating or reporting). This, however, does not demean the relevance and importance of utterance meaning to a speech act analysis of utterances, as all utterances must abide by what Searle (1969), cited in Leach and Thomas (1990), calls propositional content conditions or rules that specify the kind of meaning that the propositional part of an utterance expresses. Rather, it goes to show that context plays a major role, in addition to meaning, in assigning utterances to their respective speech acts. In other words, utterance meaning and the context where the utterance features complement each other in a speech act analysis of an utterance.

7. Summary and conclusion

This work is a speech act analysis of thirty-eight Yorùbá indigenous names, classified into eight different sub-groups that tell why the Yorùbá speech community likes the names in the first instance. The goal of the study is to shed light on the relationship between the Yorùbá indigenous names and the Yorùbá socio-cultural and traditional beliefs. Earlier works on Yorùbá indigenous names have adopted historical, socio-cultural and syntactic perspectives. The current approach aims at complementing such works with a view to strengthening the fact that Yorùbá indigenous names are not just labels or identification marks, but are rooted in the cultural, social, historical, psychological, spiritual and the general traditional beliefs of the Yorùbá people, and are therefore believed to shape the bearer's journey through life. From our analysis, we have been able to show that Yorùbá indigenous names can be assigned to direct and indirect speech acts. Direct speech acts

are revealed through the overt functions of the sentence-names, either as declarative, imperative or interrogative. The indirect speech acts are arrived at through an interaction of functions of the sentence names and an understanding of the cultural practices and beliefs of the Yorùbá speech community. Based on these cultural practices and beliefs, and adopting Searle's (1969) five speech act types, we discover that Yorùbá indigenous names perform Assertive, Expressive, Declaration, Directive/Requestive and Commissive acts, which have different sub-acts. Thus, the question as to whether Yorùbá indigenous names are classifiable into direct and indirect speech acts has been answered. We are also able to infer that the classifications relate to the culture and traditions of the Yorùbá people, thereby shedding light on the understanding of the Yorùbá socio-cultural practices, an understanding that we believe can enrich people's understanding of the Yorùbá speech community generally.

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NASALITY AND VOICING IN NON-STANDARD DIALECT OF MALAY

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Abstract

This study discusses nasality and voicing in non-standard dialect of Malay i.e. Perak dialect (PD). As is widely claimed in previous Malay scholars, nasal substitution applies when there is a sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruent by no means to avoid the cluster from emerging in the surface representation. In this analysis, I argue that nasal substitution is not always applied in PD when there is a sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruent. The sequence is permitted to emerge root-internally in the dialect. In this analysis, I will also argue that nasal substitution is not only applied to voiceless obstruents, but it also applies to voiced obstruents after nasal segments. I suggest that the application of nasal substitution in both voiced and voiceless obstruents as occurred in the dialect is to satisfy CRISP-EDGE[s] which rules out candidates with both nasal and voiceless/voiced obstruent clusters in the surface representation.

Keywords

nasality and voicing, voiced obstruents nasal substitution, Malay, Optimality theory

NASALIDAD Y SONORIDAD EN UN DIALECTO NO ESTÁNDAR DEL MALAYO

Resumen

Este estudio analiza la nasalidad y sonoridad en un dialecto no estándar del malayo, el dialecto Perak. Como es ampliamente reivindicado por previos estudios sobre el malayo, la sustitución nasal se aplica cuando hay una secuencia de nasal y obstruyente sorda que no evita de ningún modo el clúster emergente en la representación superficial. En este análisis, se argumenta que la sustitución nasal no siempre se aplica en el dialecto Perak cuando hay una secuencia de nasal y obstruyente sorda, la cual se permite que

aparezca en el radical subyacente del dialecto. En este análisis, también se argumentará que la sustitución nasal no sólo se aplica a las obstruyentes sordas sino también a las sonoras después de segmentos nasales. Se sugiere que la aplicación de la sustitución nasal en obstruyentes sonoras y en sordas como ocurre en el dialecto es para satisfacer CRISP-EDGE[s], cuyas reglas descarta candidatos con clústers de nasal y de obstruyente sorda/sonora en la representación superficial.

Palabras clave

nasalidad y sonoridad, substitución de obstruentes nasales sonoras, Malayo, Teoría de la Optimidad

1. Introduction

As is widely claimed in Malay literatures (e.g.: Hassan, 1974, 1987; Omar, 1975; Karim, 1995; Onn, 1980), voiceless obstruents following nasal segments in standard Malay (henceforth SM) have to undergo nasal substitution. This is because the language does not permit nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters in the surface representation. The clusters therefore undergo nasal substitution for example, /məŋ+tolaʔ/ → [mənolaʔ]. This phonological strategy however does not apply to voiced obstruents. In Malay, nasal and voiced obstruent clusters undergo nasal assimilation only, whereby the nasal segment in the prefix assimilates to the place of articulation with the following consonant, as in /məŋ+dapat/ → [məndapat]. The claim made by those previous studies however could not account for nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters root-internally. Differ from nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters at prefix-root juncture, the clusters within the roots are allowed to emerge in the surface representation, as in /simpan/ → [simpan] and /kamponŋ/ → [kamponŋ].

The situation mentioned above however is slightly different when we consider a non-standard dialect of Malay i.e. Perak dialect (henceforth PD). This dialect presents a different form in the surface representation from SM when treating nasality and voicing at prefix-root juncture. At a prefix-root juncture in the PD, a sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruents is resolved in the same way as in SM, where this cluster undergoes nasal substitution, for example: /ŋ+puji/ → [muji] ‘to praise’ and /mŋ+pilih/ → [mmilih] ‘to choose’. It worth mentioning that in the dialect, nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters in root-internally are not resolved by nasal substitution, as occurred in SM. Words like

/simpan/ and /ləmbap/ are pronounced as [simpan] and [ləmbap], respectively. In this analysis, the blocking of nasal substitution in root-internally in the PD will also be taken into account. It ought to be mentioned that the reverse state occurs in the PD if the obstruent is voiced. In Perak, voiced obstruents following nasals undergo nasal substitution for instance, /ŋ+bagi/ → [magi]. Such a process of nasal substitution between nasal and voiced obstruents in Perak never occurs in SM. This raises the question of how this phonological process can be resolved in OT analysis.

To deal with this, it is necessary to posit a constraint that is able to rule out a nasal plus a voiced obstruent cluster, so that a candidate with nasal substitution can emerge as the optimal output. Therefore, I suggest that CRISP-EDGE[s] should be added to the constraint ranking of PD. However, obedience to CRISP-EDGE [s] leads to a violation of another constraint that bans a voiced obstruent from undergoing nasal substitution, that is IDENT[PHAREXP]. Thus, to account for voiced obstruent nasal substitution, as in Perak, these constraints should be ranked in the following order: CRISP-EDGE [s] >> IDENT [PHAREXP].

2. Data

Data for this study were based on secondary data from previous studies of Malay. For this, the work of Ahmad (1991) was referred to. Work by Ahmad (1991) was used to analyse the phenomenon of nasality and voicing in PD.

As well as the data from Ahmad, an interview method was also used for the analysis to supplement data from the previous study. The data obtained from the previous study was not sufficient for the analysis. More data were needed in order to see how nasal and voiced/voiceless obstruent clusters really behave in the dialect. In order to get more data, five native speakers of Perak were interviewed.

3. Proposed Analysis: constraint-based analysis

This section discusses how nasality and voicing are treated in PD. AS was mentioned above, nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters are not prohibited root-internally in PD. We begin the discussion of nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters within roots by first observing the data listed in the following table:

SM	Perak	
teŋkat	teŋkat	'level'
tɔŋkat	tɔŋkat	'walking stick'
kamponj	kamponj	'village'
təmpat	təmpat	'place'
simpan	simpan	'to keep'
lambat	lambat	'late'
pintu	pintu	'door'

Table 1. Nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters in Perak (Ahmad, 1991).

As illustrated in the above data, nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters within the roots appear in the surface representations of PD, the same as in SM. Observe that words such as [teŋ.kat], [kam.ponj] and [təm.pat] in Perak do not undergo any phonological processes that serve to eliminate nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters, such as nasal substitution, nasal deletion or epenthesis. The above data obviously show that, despite the fact of nasal substitution, which is normally applied in SM to rid the language of nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters, it is however blocked within the roots in PD.

It is worth mentioning that the situation discussed above is also found in other languages that do not allow a sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruents, but that they emerge in the surface representation within the roots. One of those languages is Indonesian. The nasal substitution that is generally applied in Indonesian, to eliminate nasal and voiceless obstruent sequences at prefix-root junctures, is blocked at root-internal level as well. The consequence of blocking nasal substitution in Indonesian results in a sequence of homorganic nasal and voiceless obstruents in the surface representation, as exemplified below:

/əmpat/	[əmpat]	'four'
/untuk/	[untuk]	'for'
/muŋkin/	[muŋkin]	'maybe'

Table 2. Root-internal occurrences of N_C in Indonesian (from Pater 1999: 75; 2001)

Such a problem occurring in Indonesian has received much attention among theoretical linguists, particularly within OT (e.g. Pater 1999, 2001), as to why nasal substitution is blocked within roots. This poses a challenge to the theory when explaining the blocking of nasal substitution at root-internal position. In explaining the lack of nasal substitution at root-internal position, McCarthy and Prince (1994b, cited in Pater 1996) claim that 'a large number of disparate phonological phenomena for instance, reduplicative and otherwise, result in a stricter faithfulness requirement within the root than elsewhere in the word, that is the relative markedness of roots' (see also Urbanczyk, 1996). In OT, this situation is accounted for as faithfulness requirements are more strictly applied within the root than in non-root morphemes, such as affixes (McCarthy and Prince 1995, cited in Kager 1999: 75). To capture this situation, McCarthy and Prince (1994a) proposed a general ranking schema where root-specific versions of faithfulness constraints are ranked higher than the general version of these constraints: Root-Faithfulness >> Faithfulness.

Returning to our discussion of PD, since nasal substitution is also blocked within roots in the dialect, a root-specific constraint, which bans root-internal nasal substitution, is needed for the analysis of Perak. The relevance constraint of faithfulness that is able to capture the blocking of nasal substitution is UNIFORMITY, as defined below:

UNIFORMITY ('No Coalescence') (McCarthy and Prince, 1999: 296)

No element of S₂ has multiple correspondents in S₁.

For x, y ∈ S₁ and z ∈ S₂: if x R z and y R z, then x=y.

We will see then, that UNIFORMITY, which is the general version of the faithfulness constraint, is ranked beneath the root-specific version of this constraint, i.e.

UNIFORMITY-ROOT, in the constraint ranking of PD. The root specific constraint, UNIFORMITY-ROOT is defined below:

UNIFORMITY-ROOT

The output reflects the precedence structure of the input segments of the roots, and vice versa.

In the case where nasal substitution is blocked root-internally, UNIFORMITY-ROOT is ranked high so as to allow output containing a sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruents. There is a functional explanation of why nasal and voiceless obstruent sequences are allowed to be present root-internally. As asserted in Pater (1999), root-internal segments are more resistant to phonological processes than segments in other positions (cited in Kager 1999: 75). In some of the morphological literature (e.g.: Mascaró 1976; Kiparsky 1982, 1993b; cf. Kager 1999) it is said that ‘there is a well-known class of processes that apply only across morphemes but fail to apply within the roots’ (cf. Kager 1999: 75). That is the reason why sequences of nasal and voiceless obstruents function root-internally in Perak and thus do not undergo the regular process, nasal substitution.

Before we proceed to the analysis of how UNIFORMITY-ROOT prevents root-internal segments from undergoing nasal substitution, we consider first what has been discussed in the relevant literature about this constraint. Pater (1999, 2001), for example, captured the case of the blocking of nasal substitution in Indonesian by applying the idea of McCarthy and Prince (1994b). Two root-specific constraints, LINEARITY-ROOT and UNIFORMITY-ROOT were used.¹ I exemplify in the following tableaux how Pater makes use of these two root-specific constraints to analyse the lack of nasal substitution in Indonesian:

/əm ₁ p ₂ at/	LINEARITY-ROOT	*N _ç	LINEARITY
a. əm ₁₂ at	*!		*
b. ə m ₁ p ₂ at		*	

Tableau 1. Root-internal N_ç tolerance: ROOTLIN >> *N_ç (adapted from Pater 1999: 275).

¹ Pater’s analysis concerning nasal substitution in Indonesian applied two constraints: LINEARITY is used in his earlier analysis, but UNIFORMITY in the revisited analysis on nasal substitution in Austronesian. According to McCarthy (1995), LINEARITY and UNIFORMITY are used to ban metathesis and coalescence, respectively.

/əm ₁ p ₂ at/	UNIFORM ROOT	*N _ç	UNIFORM
a. əm ₁₂ at	*!		
b. ↗əm ₁ p ₂ at		*	*

Tableau 2. Root-internal N_ç tolerance: UNIFORMITY-ROOT >> *N_ç >> UNIFORMITY (adapted from Pater 2001: 162)

The above tableaux clearly show that the root-specific constraints, LINEARITY-ROOT and UNIFORMITY-ROOT, play important roles in accounting for the blocking of nasal substitution root-internally in Indonesian. According to Pater (2001), by ranking the root-specific constraints UNIFORMITY-ROOT or LINEARITY-ROOT above *N_ç, nasal substitution can certainly be blocked from occurring within roots in Indonesian. To ensure nasal substitution is not blocked at prefix junctures, *N_ç must outrank UNIFORMITY or LINEARITY, so that nasal substitution would continue to apply, as exemplified in the tableau below.

/məŋ ₁ p ₂ aksa/	UNIFORMROOT	*N _ç	UNIFORM
a. ↗məm ₁₂ aksa			*
b. məm ₁ p ₂ aksa		*!	

Tableau 3. Nasal substitution is unblocked at prefix junctures in Indonesian: UNIFORMROOT >> *N_ç >> UNIFORM (adapted from Pater, 2001: 161).

As we can see in the above tableau, nasal substitution continues to apply at prefix junctures by employing the constraint ranking: UNIFORM-ROOT >> *N_ç >> UNIFORM. Since the root-specific constraint is able to block nasal substitution only within a root, so this constraint is not violated by candidate (a), which undergoes nasal substitution. This candidate, however, violates UNIFORMITY, since the sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruents at the prefix juncture in the input is substituted into a single segment in the output. Considering the case under discussion, I am going to make use of Pater's analysis (2001) in order to capture the blocking of nasal substitution within roots in Perak, where a root-specific constraint, UNIFORMITY-ROOT, will be used in this analysis.

Since root-internal nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters in Perak are not resolved by nasal substitution, we need a root-specific faithfulness constraint, as discussed above,

i.e. UNIFORMITY-ROOT, which is able to block the cluster from undergoing nasal substitution. By considering UNIFORMITY-ROOT in the ranking, a candidate without nasal substitution is preferred, i.e. [kam₁p₂on] is preferred over *[kam₁₂on], and thus emerges as the optimal output, as exemplified in the following tableau:

/kam ₁ p ₂ on/	UNIFORMITY-ROOT	UNIFORMITY
a. kam₁p₂on		
b. kam ₁₂ on	*!	

Tableau 4. Constraints interaction: UNIFORMITY-ROOT >> UNIFORMITY

In the process of prefixation to monosyllabic words, schwa is epenthesized to break up the sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruents, since the voiceless obstruent is not deleted, even though the nasal final prefix is attached to it for example, /məŋ+pam/ → [məŋəpam]. This solution of epenthesizing a schwa can also be applied to eliminate a sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruents within a root. Thus, the potential candidate if schwa epenthesis were to apply is *[kaməpon]. This candidate involves an additional correspondent in the output. Under Correspondence Theory, the constraint that this candidate violates is DEP-IO. This constraint can formally be defined below.

DEP-IO

Every segment in the input must have a correspondent in the output.

For this constraint, DEP-IO, and the other two faithfulness constraints, UNIFORMITY and UNIFORMITY-ROOT, discussed above, I establish the following constraint ranking for PD.

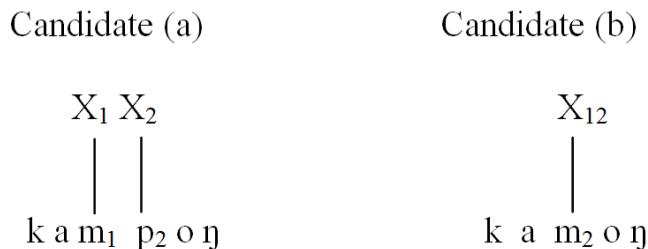
DEP-IO >> UNIFORMITY-ROOT >> UNIFORMITY

/kam ₁ p ₂ on/	DEP-IO	UNIFORMITY-ROOT	UNIFORMITY
a. kam₁p₂on			
b. kam ₁₂ on		*!	
c. kam ₁ əp ₂ on	*!		

Tableau 5. [Constraint ranking: DEP-IO >> UNIFORMITY-ROOT >> UNIFORMITY]

Here we see that epenthesis is not a better way to break up the cluster as DEP-IO is highly ranked, as in candidate (c). The root-specific constraint, UNIFORM-ROOT, blocks candidate (a) from undergoing nasal substitution. Therefore it is chosen as the winner. However, candidate (b) with nasal substitution violates UNIFORMITY-ROOT. I illustrate below the difference between [kam₁p₂on] and [kam₁₂on], as in candidates (a) and (b), respectively. Candidate (b) with nasal substitution violates the root-faithfulness constraint, UNIFORMITY-ROOT. The subscripted number is used to indicate the correspondence relationship.

Correspondent diagram of UNIFORMITY-ROOT violation



As well as the above candidates, we shall consider other potential candidates that might be generated. Another potential candidate that must be taken into consideration is *[kapon]. In *[kapon], the nasal segment is deleted and this has resulted in one segment in the input having no correspondent in the output. The relation between input and output is called Faithfulness-IO, where faithfulness to the input and output identity is a type of requirement in which a pair of representations must be identical, as stated in Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince, 1995, cited in Kager, 1999: 24). In this case, the Faithfulness-IO constraint that is crucial to account for nasal deletion is MAX-IO:

MAX-IO (Kager, 1999: 24)

Every segment in the input must have a correspondent in the output.

The constraint above requires every element in the input to have a correspondent in the output. The violation of MAX-IO in the suboptimal candidate *[kapon] is illustrated in the correspondence diagram, below:

Correspondence diagram for nasal deletion: [kampon] → *[kapon].



The deletion of the nasal segment in the above candidate, *[kapon] results in the obedience of a constraint named CRISP-EDGE [s] which can be defined below:

CRISP-EDGE [s]

No element belonging to a syllable may be linked to an adjacent syllable.

Considering the potential candidate *[kapon] in the tableau, I establish the following part of the constraint ranking: DEP-IO >> MAX-IO >> UNIFORM-ROOT >> CRISP-EDGE [s] >> UNIFORM. Now we have two relevant faithfulness constraints, DEP-IO and MAX-IO, in the ranking for further evaluation.

DEP-IO >> MAX-IO >> UNIFORM-ROOT >> UNIFORMITY

/kam ₁ p ₂ on/	DEP-IO	MAX-IO	UNIFORMITY-ROOT	CRISP-EDGE [s]	UNI
a. kam₁p₂on				*	
b. kam ₁₂ on			*!		
c. kam ₁ əp ₂ on	*!				
d. kap ₂ on		*!			

Tableau 6. [Constraint ranking: DEP-IO >> MAXFIO >> UNIFORM-ROOT >> UNIFORMITY

As can be seen, candidates (c) and (d), which undergo schwa epenthesis and nasal deletion respectively, to eliminate nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters, are ruled out because the candidates incur violation of DEP-IO and MAX-IO, respectively. Candidate (b), which undergoes nasal substitution, violates UNIFORMITY-ROOT. Although nasal substitution is a process of merging two segments in the input into a single segment in the output, which results in one segment less in the output, it does not however violate the faithfulness constraint, MAX-IO, as with candidate (b). Indeed, MAX-IO requires every

segment in the input to have a correspondent in the output; in nasal substitution however, the two [mp] segments share a single output correspondent (Pater, 2001: 167). Therefore, candidate (a) with lack of nasal substitution is chosen as the optimal output as this candidate violates none of the constraints.

We saw from the above discussion that in order for a candidate without nasal substitution to emerge as the optimal output, the root-specific faithfulness constraint, UNIFORMITY-ROOT, is high in the ranking. This constraint is able to rule out any candidate with nasal substitution as it requires the output segments to be as faithful as possible to the input segments. As /kam₁p₂onj/ is a root word, the output must be faithful to the input which is a root.

We now should move on to the next discussion of nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters at prefix-root junctures in Perak. The same as in SM, PD disfavours nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters in the surface representation at this morphological domain.

As stated in Ahmad (1991: 54), there are two prefixes ending with a final nasal in Perak: /ŋ+/, a verb forming prefix, and a noun forming a prefix, /pəŋ+/. The verb forming prefixes, i.e. the velar nasal /ŋ+/, has two allomorphs, /ŋ+/ and /məŋ+/. These two allomorphs can be used interchangeably in the dialect. Thus, he claims that words like /ŋ-tɔŋɛh/ ACT.PRF-tap → [nɔŋɛh] ‘to tap’ and /ŋ-nadi/ ACT.PRF-be → [nadi] ‘to be’ can also be pronounced as [məŋɔŋɛh] and [məŋadi], respectively (Ahmad 1991: 55). However, the form with velar nasal /ŋ+/ is used more prominently in Perak compared to the other one which has a sound more like SM.

Those prefixes, /ŋ+/, /məŋ+/ and /pəŋ+/, exhibit the same phonological behaviour where the nasal segments in the prefixes undergo phonological alternation, as can be seen in the following data:

- | | | |
|-------|---|------------|
| (i) | /ŋ-pudʒi/
ACT.PRF-praise ‘to praise’ | [muji] |
| (ii) | /ŋ-taŋkap/
ACT.PRF-catch ‘to catch’ | [naŋkap] |
| (iii) | /ŋ-kutɛt/
ACT.PRF-pick up ‘to pick up’ | [ŋutɛt] |
| (iv) | /pəŋ-taŋkap/
NOM-catch ‘catcher’ | [pənaŋkap] |

(v)	/pəŋ-kajh/	[pəŋajoh]
	NOM-ride 'rider'	
(vi)	/ŋ-tɔŋh/	[ŋɔŋh]
	ACT.PRF-tap 'to tap'	

Table 3. Nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters in Perak

It is clear, from the above list, that a sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruents undergoes nasal substitution in Perak. Since nasal substitution at a prefix-root juncture is used to break up the cluster, UNIFORMITY is violated, as the two segments in the input are mapped to a single segment in the output. Hence, UNIFORMITY must be ranked beneath the other faithfulness constraints in the hierarchy. From this, the output undergoes nasal substitution and can emerge as a winner.

*NC in Pater's analysis is ranked beneath the root-specific constraint, UNIFORMITY-ROOT, mainly to ensure that a sequence of root-internal nasal and voiceless obstruents does not undergo nasal substitution. An important point that must be addressed here is that, in this analysis, CRISP-EDGE, which bans any element linked to a prosodic word and may be linked to a prosodic category external to that prosodic word, will be used. Besides that, CRISP-EDGE is also crucial to rule out nasal and voiced obstruent clusters in the surface representation. In order to account for voiced obstruent nasal substitution in the Perak, which allow voiced obstruents to undergo nasal substitution, I will make use of the constraint CRISP-EDGE [s], which has been used by Pater (2001) to analyse the same sequence in Muna when undergoing nasal substitution. As we shall see later in this section, CRISP-EDGE [s] becomes more crucial in accounting for nasal and voiced obstruent clusters at prefix-root junctures in PD. As I will demonstrate, this constraint is able to rule out candidates with a sequence of nasal and voiced obstruents in the surface representation at prefix junctures.

As just mentioned above, CRISP-EDGE [s] rules out candidates with both nasal and voiceless/voiced obstruent clusters in the surface representation. This means this constraint will prevent *[m₁p₂udʒi] from emerging as a winner. The only candidate that this constraint prefers is a candidate with nasal substitution, i.e. a candidate without a nasal and voiceless obstruent cluster. The potential candidate is [m₁₂udʒi]. Although this candidate obeys CRISP-EDGE [s], it does violate another constraint which bans nasal substitution i.e. UNIFORMITY.

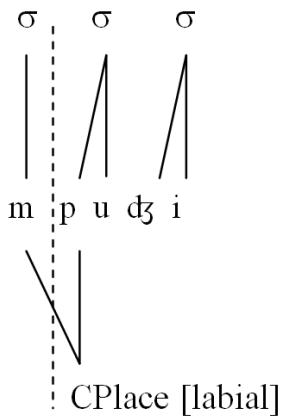
Putting together all the constraints we have discussed thus far, I establish the following part of the constraint hierarchy for PD: DEP-IO >> MAX-IO >> UNIFORM-ROOT >> CRISP-EDGE [s] >> EDGE-INTEG >> UNIFORM.

/ŋ₁+p₂udʒi/	DEP- IO	MAX-IO	UNI- ROOT	CRISP-EDGE[s]	UNI
a. m₁₂udʒi					*
b. m₁p₂udʒi				*!	
c. m₁əp₂udʒi	*!				
d. p₂udʒi		*!			

Tableau 7. Nasal and voiceless obstruent sequences at prefix-root junctures in Perak.

All candidates in the above tableau satisfy PROSODIC STEM, as the stem contains two syllables. In order to eliminate nasal and voiceless obstruent sequences at prefix junctures, schwa is epenthized between the two segments, as in candidate (c), and the nasal prefix is deleted, as in candidate (d). This evaluation reveals that the epenthesis of schwa and nasal deletion in candidates (c) and (d), respectively, can never be optimal, because these candidates disobey DEP-IO and MAX-IO, respectively, which are ranked higher in the hierarchy. The competing candidates, (a) and (b), do not violate these constraints. Without undergoing nasal substitution, candidate (b) obeys UNIFORM, because this constraint works against segmental fusion or coalescence (McCarthy & Prince 1999). This candidate, however, violates CRISP-EDGE [s], as the two segments are doubled-linked. The diagram for CRISP-EDGE [s] violation of this candidate is illustrated below. Since CRISP-EDGE [s] is ranked above UNIFORMITY, so candidate (b) is ruled out. Therefore, candidate (a), with nasal substitution, is the winner, as it only violates the latter.

Diagram of CRISP-EDGE [s] violation: [m₁p₂udʒi] with multiple linking.



Another potential candidate that must be taken into consideration is *[ŋ₁p₂udʒi]. The nasal segment in this potential candidate is not homorganic to the following voiceless obstruent. Thus it violates a constraint named NAS ASSIMILATION, as defined below:

NAS ASS

A nasal must share place features with a following consonant.

Following the above analysis, the potential candidate *[ŋ₁p₂udʒi] and the constraint NAS ASS will be added into the constraint ranking of Perak for further evaluation. The relevant constraint ranking is now as follows: DEP-IO >> NAS ASS >> MAX-IO >> UNIFORM-ROOT >> CRISP-EDGE [s] >> UNIFORM.

/ŋ ₁ +p ₂ udʒi/	DEP-IO	NAS ASS	MAX-IO	UNI -ROOT	CRISP-EDGE[s]	UNI
a. ↗m ₁₂ udʒi						*
b. m ₁ p ₂ udʒi					*!	
c. m ₁ əp ₂ udʒi	*!					
d. p ₂ udʒi			*!			
e. ŋ ₁ p ₂ udʒi		*!				

Tableau 8. Constraint ranking for Perak

From the above discussion, we note that nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters are disfavoured at prefix-root junctures in the PD. But what about the occurrence of the same cluster at prefix-prefix root junctures in the dialect? Are nasal and voiceless obstruent

clusters also banned? This merits a question since the cluster can also occur at prefix-prefix root junctures, as in SM. As Ahmad (1991: 80) says, most derived words in Perak have only one layer of prefixation or suffixation. Roots can only be attached to one prefix or suffix, or a combination of both, but not a sequence of the two. From this, it means that PD cannot receive more than one prefix in prefixed words as in SM. Thus, multiple prefixes cannot possibly be found in the vocabulary of Perak.

Now we see how voiced obstruents in the dialect undergo nasal substitution. Why does a sequence of nasal and voiced obstruent not need to undergo nasal substitution? This is because phonetically, the sequence allows a more leisurely rising of the velum than nasal and voiceless obstruents (Huffman 1993: 310, cited in Pater 1999). Thus, there is no need for a voiced obstruent following a nasal segment to undergo nasal substitution. Perak dialect of Malay, however, proves the fact that a voiced obstruent following a nasal segment will also undergo nasal substitution. This interesting process that occurs in a non-standard Malay dialect cannot be found in SM. Based on evidence from the data for Perak, I claim that nasal and voiced obstruent clusters also undergo nasal substitution. Thus this analysis will be discussing this issue further, using apparatus available within OT. Before we proceed to the analysis, let us first observe the Perak data.

(i)	/ŋ-bagi/	[magɪ]
	ACT.PRF-give 'to give'	
(ii)	/ŋ-dapat/	[napat]
	ACT.PRF-obtain 'to obtain'	
(iii)	/ŋ-gosok/	[ŋoso?]
	ACT.PRF-brush 'to brush'	
(iv)	/ŋ-basuh/	[masoh]
	ACT.PRF-wash 'to wash'	

Table 4. Nasal and voiced obstruent clusters in Perak

The above data reveal that voiced obstruents after nasals also undergo substitution. The question to be addressed in this subsection is why the initial voiced obstruent of the root needs to be substituted since the language does licence nasal-voiced obstruent clusters in a word. What argument in OT can be offered to explain the phenomenon of substituting a voiced obstruent following a nasal segment?

In Pater's analysis (2001), a voiced obstruent can be blocked from undergoing nasal substitution by ranking IDENT [PHAREXP] above CRISP-EDGE [PrWD]² (Pater 2001: 176). The following tableau demonstrates how this ranking blocks a voiced obstruent from undergoing nasal substitution, but not a voiceless obstruent.

/məŋ ₁ +b ₂ əli/	IDENT[PHAREXP]	CRISP-EDGE[PrWD]
a. Fməm ₁ b ₂ əli		*
b. məm ₁₂ əli	*!	
/məŋ ₁ +p ₂ ilih/		
c. Fməm ₁₂ ilih	*	
d. məm ₁ p ₂ ilih		*!

Tableau 9. IDENT [PHAREXP] >> CRISP-EDGE [PrWD] (Pater 2001: 176)

We can see in the above tableaux that a voiced obstruent following a nasal segment can be blocked from undergoing nasal substitution by the constraint ranking: IDENT [PHAREXP] >> CRISP-EDGE [PrWD]. However, with the ranking reversed, CRISP-EDGE [PrWD] >> IDENT [PHAREXP], both voiceless and voiced obstruents are subject to fusion (Pater 2001: 176), as the following tableau demonstrates:

/məŋ ₁ +b ₂ əli/	CRISP-EDGE[PrWD]	IDENT[PHAREXP]
a. məm ₁ b ₂ əli	*!	
b. ↗məm ₁₂ əli		*
/məŋ ₁ +p ₂ ilih/		
c. ↗məm ₁₂ ilih		*
d. məm ₁ p ₂ ilih	*!	

Tableau 10. CRISP-EDGE [s] >> IDENT [PHAREXP] (Pater 2001)

Considering the ranking CRISP-EDGE[PrWD] >> IDENT[PHAREXP], as in the above tableau, as well as a voiceless obstruent, a voiced obstruent following a nasal segment at a prefix-root juncture can also undergo nasal substitution. To account for the case in

² Please refer to Pater (2001) for more details.

Perak, nasal substitution with voiced obstruents can be attributed to the ranking of IDENT [PHAREXP] beneath CRISP-EDGE [s], as demonstrated in the following tableau:

/ŋ₁+b₂agi/	CRISP-EDGE[s]	IDENT [PHAREXP]
a. m ₁₂agi		*
b. m₁b₂agi	*!	

Tableau 11. Nasal substitution with voiced obstruents in Perak: CRISP-EDGE [s] >> IDENT [PHAREXP]

By considering the constraint ranking CRISP-EDGE [s] >> IDENT [PHAREXP] above, I establish a new hierarchy of constraint ranking for PD to account for voiced obstruent nasal substitution.

/ŋ₁+b₂agi/	DEP IO	NAS ASS	MAX -IO	UNI-ROOT	CRISP-EDGE[s]	IDENT [PHAREXP]	UNI
a. m ₁₂agi						*	*
b. m₁b₂agi					*!		
c. ŋ₁b₂agi		*!					

Tableau 12. Voiced obstruent nasal substitution in PD

The failed candidate, (c), violates NAS ASS as the nasal segment in the prefix does not assimilate to the place of articulation to the following onset consonant. Since the NAS ASS constraint is ranked higher in the hierarchy, candidate (c) is ruled out. The competing candidates now are (a) and (b). As we see, by ranking CRISP-EDGE [s] above IDENT [PHAREXP], the candidate with a nasal and voiced obstruent cluster, candidate (b), is ruled out. Thus candidate (a) emerges as the winner as it only violates the latter constraint, IDENT [PHAREXP], which bans voiced obstruents from undergoing nasal substitution. It is now apparent from the above tableau that the CRISP-EDGE [s] constraint cannot limit voiced obstruents from undergoing nasal substitution in Perak.

4. Conclusion

The discussion above has discussed the issue of nasality and voicing focusing on non-standard dialect of Malay i.e. in Perak dialect. As we have seen in the analysis, nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters are not entirely prohibited from emerging in the surface representation. The clusters are allowed root-internally. In the process of prefixation to a nasal final prefix, nasal substitution violates UNIFORMITY as the constraint works against segmental fusion or coalescence (McCarthy & Prince 1999). This constraint leads to a straightforward account of the lack of nasal substitution root-internally in Perak by employing UNIFORMITY-ROOT. As mentioned, such cases are captured, by McCarthy and Prince (1995b), by a general ranking schema in which a root-specific version of the faithfulness constraints must be ranked higher than the general version of these constraints, (cited in Kager 1999: 76). By ranking UNIFORMITY-ROOT above UNIFORMITY, a sequence of nasal and voiceless obstruents can be prevented from undergoing nasal substitution within a root. The preservation of this cluster within roots, as in PD, is the consequence of a candidate's output best satisfying the root-specific constraint UNIFORMITY-ROOT in the hierarchy.

The occurrence of nasal and voiceless obstruent clusters at prefix-root junctures is, on the other hand, completely banned in the dialect. As discussed, nasal substitution is also the way to break up clusters at prefix-root junctures. The other cluster discussed in this analysis is nasal and voiced obstruents. As was discussed, nasal and voiced obstruent clusters are allowed in the surface representation in SM. Therefore, the clusters do not have to undergo nasal substitution, as nasal and voiceless obstruent do. In contrast, nasal and voiced obstruent clusters also undergo nasal substitution as occurs in the Perak dialect. By employing the constraint of faithfulness to obstruent voicing IDENT[PHAREXP], the case where voiced obstruents following nasals at prefix junctures in Perak undergo nasal substitution is an explainable phenomenon. IDENT[PHAREXP] is ranked above CRISP-EDGE[s] to stop a voiced obstruent from undergoing nasal substitution in Indonesian (Pater 2001). However, in this study, IDENT[PHAREXP] is ranked beneath CRISP-EDGE[s], so that nasal substitution is not limited to voiceless obstruents. In other

words, the ranking CRISP-EDGE[s] >> IDENT[PHAREXP] allows both voiced and voiceless obstruents following a nasal segment to undergo nasal substitution.

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REVIEW

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CARDOSO, Suzana Alice Marcelino da Silva, Jacyra ANDRADE MOTA, Vanderci DE ANDRADE AGUILERA, Maria do Socorro SILVA DE ARAGÃO, Aparecida NEGRI ISQUERDO, Abdelhak RAZKY & Felício WESSLING MARGOTTI (2014) *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil*, Londrina: Eduel. Vol. 1, 210 pp.; vol. 2, 368 pp.

In October 2014, during the celebration in Londrina of the III Congresso Internacional de Dialetologia e Geolinguística (III CIDS), the first two volumes of the *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil* (*ALiB*) were presented. Until now, there have been ten regional linguistic atlases published¹ in Brazil, which were crucial for the realisation of the *ALiB* project in a country where the large territorial expanse made the production of a national atlas difficult. In fact, the dedication of the introductory volume comments on how we are before a prodigious project: "To our 1100 informants scattered over the 8.515.767 km² of Brazilian lands", as well as the list of universities and researchers included in the final appendix.

Volume 1, introductory in nature, comprises six chapters covering the historical background of the *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil*, and presents the methodology applied (locations network, questionnaire and informants) and the system of mapped data. Moreover, in the final part the questionnaire, worksheets, locations network and the framework of participating

¹ *Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos* (1963), *Esboço de um Atlas Linguístico de Minas Gerais* (1977), *Atlas Linguístico da Paraíba* (1984), *Atlas Linguístico de Sergipe* (1987), *Atlas Linguístico do Paraná* (1990), *Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico da Região Sul do Brasil* (2002), *Atlas Linguístico Sonoro do Pará* (2004), *Atlas Linguístico de Sergipe II* (2005), *Atlas Linguístico de Mato Grosso do Sul* (2007) and *Atlas Linguístico do Estado do Ceará* (2010). Several other state atlases are in development, to which successful doctoral and masters theses should be added.

institutions and researchers can be consulted. Volume 2 registers the data gathered in the 25 Brazilian capitals which were the focus of the study on 159 phonetic, semantic-lexical and morphosyntactic maps.

Suzana Alice Cardoso opens Volume 1 with a chapter focussing upon the history of *ALiB*, which begins in the first half of the XX century and is associated with names which are crucial in the history of Brazilian linguistics, such as Antenor Nascentes, Serafim da Silva Neto, Celso Cunha and Nelson Rossi. The first of these published *Bases para a elaboração do atlas linguístico do Brasil* (1958 and 1961) in two volumes, where the bases for the beginning of the geolinguistic fieldwork are established. In fact, for the development of the *ALiB*, all of Nascentes' indications were taken into account, although only those regarded as relevant were retained.

The project to construct an atlas was not only promoted by the Brazilian academic community, but also attained official status when, in 1952, the Brazilian government passed a decree with which the development of Brazil's linguistic atlas was identified as the principal objective of the Rui Barbosa House Philological Commission. However, as Cardoso points out, the conditions that were conducive to the completion of a task of these dimensions did not exist in the 1950s, as 63% of the population lived in the countryside in a country which was continental in size and whose communications network was precarious. Nevertheless, Brazil has experienced significant social, economic and political changes over the last sixty years on account of the increase in population concentrated in urban centres, rural depopulation (in 2010 almost one hundred and seventy-one million people lived in urban centres, as opposed to thirty million in rural areas) and intense internal migration, to which the improvement of the transport network and means of communication must be added. As a result, the language began to undergo considerable changes at a rapid pace, with which the need to describe Brazilian linguistic reality became necessary before features, uses and forms which were still unidentified were lost, and for this reason the idea of the construction of the atlas was once again adopted by researchers from different parts of Brazil, who were able rely on the guidance of Michel Contini during the initial steps.

Cardoso concludes by offering data related to the development of the project. It is interesting to point out that owing to Brazil's large territory, it was decided to present the results in two blocks: in the first, the results of the state capitals and, in the second, those of remaining locations. In 2001, the different teams began data collection work in the 25 capitals, managing to carry out 1100 inquiries by 2013.

In the second chapter, Maria do Socorro Aragão situates *ALiB* in the framework of Brazilian geolinguistics and underlines four phases for geolinguistic studies in Brazil. The first begins in 1826 with the contribution of Domingos Borges de Barros, and is characterised by the production of glossaries, vocabularies, regional dictionaries and studies of a lexical nature. The publication of *O dialeto caipira* (1920) by Amadeu Amaral, which offers a new framework for dialectal studies (given that it employs techniques and methods which were innovative at the time), ushers in a second period. In 1952, with the passing of the aforementioned decree, the third phase begins, and is characterised by the implantation and implementation of geolinguistic studies itself. The work of Antenor Nascentes, Serafim da Silva Neto, Celso Cunha and Nelson Rossi, who published in 1963 the *Atlas prévio dos falares baianos*, Brazil's first linguistic atlas and the model for those which followed, including the *ALiB*, is carried out during this period. The fourth phase, at the end of the XX century, begins with the *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil* project, and represents the moment of greatest activity for Brazilian geolinguistics, with the production of regional atlases and small domains multiplying.

In the third chapter, Aparecida Isquierdo analyses the locations network, one of the great challenges of *ALiB*. In contrast to the previous atlases, it includes urban centres and, in being an atlas of considerable scope, the network is less dense (250 locations). The author underlines the criteria followed in order to establish the locations of the survey in each state: a) locations selected by Antenor Nascentes; b) demographic density; c) spacial distribution of locations and d) the importance of location for the study of bilingualism and diglossia in border areas. Furthermore, it analyses the different economic cycles which frame the social history of Brazil, and which were decisive in the population of the country's large regions and which caused migratory movements favourable to interethnic and linguistic contacts.

Jacyra Mota dedicates the fourth chapter to the questionnaire and informants. The teacher places the *ALiB* in the methodological framework of contemporary multidimensional geolinguistics, although a brief introduction to this discipline and the reference to key authors such as H. Khun is missing. The *ALiB* includes, in addition to the diatopical parameter, other variational parameters (diastratic, diagenerational, diaphasic, diasexual or diageneric). In fact, the corpus comprises not only matters of a phonetic, phonological, semantic, lexical and morphosyntactic nature, but also matters relating to pragmatics, metalinguistics, themes for semi-directed speech and a text to be read. In its construction, the questionnaires of the published regional Brazilian atlases, as well as the *Atlas linguístico-etnográfico de Portugal e da Galiza*, were taken into account.

Regarding the informants, Mota points out that the profile is at a remove from what Chambers and Trudgill identify as NORM (non-mobile, older, rural male) in order to allow the inclusion of variables beyond the diatopical. In the selection of informants, variables such as gender and age band, and in the capitals, the level of schooling, were taken into account, although they were not always able to include the diastratic variable on account of the difficulties encountered in finding informants who fulfilled the required requisites. It is a pity, as the author herself recognises, that they were not able to carry out interviews in the group comprising 31-50 year olds, because of operational reasons in spite of the importance that is given to this group by studies in the sociolinguistic field, as well as it being the group which retains the most conservative variants, as well as that which promotes the most innovative ones.

In the fifth chapter, Vanderci Aguilera discusses methodology and its application in the field, and highlights some of the problems encountered when carrying out interviews, as well as advancing some conclusions regarding the obtaining of inadequate responses or none at all. The author analyses the crucial role of the interviewer, given that at times the problems derive from their unfamiliarity with local linguistic and, I would add, socio-cultural reality, from the difficulty in rephrasing the question before a lack of response or before an inadequate response, and from the acceptance of any response provided by the informant without being asked any question. The author also focuses on the informants and their level of productivity, and points out three factors which determine the number of responses: the level of schooling, age and region of origin.

In the final chapter, Ana Regina Teles and Silvana Ribeiro offer a brief guide of a general nature to the history of cartography and some of its basic concepts. The authors point out that in the *ALiB* the data is georeferenced; that is, each point is identified by its geographical coordinates, which avoids problems when identifying locations, unlike what occurred in previous atlases. This system of cartography will enable the presentation of the digital version of maps in the future. Moreover, and with this being a multidimensional atlas, a suitable methodology for the representation of data had to be constructed, using graphs, charts and maps in those cases where it was necessary to introduce diagenerational, diageneric and diastratic parameters.

Volume 2 contains the results, represented in 159 maps, of the 25 Brazilian capitals surveyed. Previously Jacyra Mota and Ana Regina Teles explain the criteria of the presentation of maps and their typology. Following this, Aparecida Isquierdo offers a brief study of the social history of 25 capitals which make up the locations network and analyzes their toponomy. The

same author, together with Marcela Paim and Valter Romano, explains the profile of the informants of the capitals (100 women and 100 men, distributed equally in two age bands and with different levels of schooling, were interviewed) in another chapter. Subsequently, information relating to the researchers and informants is provided, as well as 10 introductory maps which show the regional division of Brazil on a geographical and political level, existing transport networks and locations network.

The majority of the volume consists of 46 phonetic maps, 106 semantic-lexical maps and, finally, 7 morphosyntactic maps, which are presented in sequence with the alphabetic indications F, L and M beside the number of each map. It should be pointed out that for the same phenomenon or concept represented, different maps can be found; in the first, a diatopic variation is offered and in the following ones (when considered relevant), the diagenetic, diaphasic and/or diastratic variation, identified after the number of the map by the letters S, G and E, respectively. Moreover, when representing the lexical data, diatopical letters of a general nature and others of a regional nature can be found, which offer in a detailed manner the data from a specific region, identified by the letters a (north), b (northeast), c (southeast), d (south) and e (centre-west).

All the maps are accompanied by a title, situated in the top-right margin, and a caption, in the lower-right margin. The questionnaire enquiry related to the cartographical data and examples (when these are pertinent) of phonetic phenomena are displayed on the lower-left side. The representation of data on the map is realised through circular graphs or bars, which offer percentage information on each representation or shape. A bar representation was chosen for phonetic maps, some morphosyntactic maps, for the circular graphic on lexical maps and on the remaining morphosyntactic maps. A note on the reverse of the majority of maps, which lists, when these are available, single responses considered to be ideolectical variants, information which helps to understand the cartographical data and fragments of the interviews of the informants with sociolinguistic or ethnolinguistic information of interest, can be found.

Finally, a table of contents, which registers all the variants of the semantic-lexical letters and the respective notes next to the map or maps number in which they appear, and the number of the questionnaire query with which they are associated, are provided. This index is of great help when attempting to locate a specific denomination and consult its distribution.

The *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil* constitutes a fundamental work which inaugurates a new period in the history of Brazilian geolinguistics, and which is configured as a reference work for

Portuguese and Galician linguistics, as well as for Romance linguistics in general. For the first time, a vision of the entirety of the Portuguese language in Brazil has been provided, which until now has been represented by regional atlases which did not cover the extensive territory of Brazil, although as has been previously stated, these were essential in the construction process of the national atlas. Furthermore, the *ALiB* is a good display of how the methods of traditional dialectology can be complemented with those of sociolinguistics, thereby overcoming the concept which presented these two kinds of analysis as incompatible. It can be said that with the publication of the *ALiB*, the dream of Antenor Nascentes and Serafim da Silva Neto is gradually being realised.

FIRST DIALECTOLOGISTS



MANUEL ALVAR (1923-2001)

«El reconocimiento de la dignidad de los dialectos y de su estudio se debe en parte al nacimiento de la lingüística como ciencia histórica. Viose que en el descuido del habla viva se perdían las posibilidades de crear una historia lingüística de carácter científico por falta o desprecio de materiales; era cierto, por tanto, el pensamiento de un poeta, Nodier, cuando proponía el conocimiento de los dialectos para mejor saber la propia lengua (*Manual de dialectología hispánica: el español de España: “¿Qué es un dialecto?”*)¹ (Barcelona: Ariel, 1996, 5-6).

¹ «The recognition of the dignity of dialects and their study is partly due to the birth of linguistics as a historical science. It was seen that in the neglect of living speech the possibilities of creating a scientific historical linguistics were lost because of lack or scorn of materials; the poet Nodier was right therefore when he proposed the knowledge of the dialects as a way of better knowing one's own language».



- Professor at the Universidad de Granada (1948).
- Professor at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (1968).
- Professor at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid.
- Member of the Royal Spanish Academy (since 1974).
- Director of the Royal Spanish Academy (between 1988 and 1991).



Dialectal works (a selection)

- 1948: *El habla del Campo de Jaca*, Premio «Menéndez Pelayo» del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (1946), Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
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- 1961-1973: *Atlas Lingüístico-Etnográfico de Andalucía*, 6 vols., (with A. Llorente & G. Salvador), Granada: Universidad de Granada-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- 1968: *Estudios Canarios*, I, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria.
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Manuel Alvar came from an Aragonese family, although he happened to be born in Benicarló (Castellón) on 8 July 1923. He died on 18 August 2001 in Madrid.

After the publication of the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* by Tomás Navarro Tomás in 1962, Alvar introduced dialectal studies in Spain and Hispanic America. His *Manual de dialectología hispánica* was projected in a set of linguistic atlases such as the *Atlas lingüístico y Etnográfico de Andalucía*, the *Atlas lingüístico y Etnográfico de las Islas Canarias*, the *Atlas lingüístico y Etnográfico de Aragón, Navarra y la Rioja*, the *Atlas lingüístico y Etnográfico de Santander* and the *Léxico de los marineros peninsulares*.

His great effort was to make the *Atlas de América*, which he only outlined and could not see it to completion.

In addition to several atlases, Manuel Alvar's work did not stop and his huge production reached 170 books and many articles. He worked on the fate of the Spanish language, medieval texts, ballads and traditional poetry, the fate of Sephardic and he published studies on the contemporary Spanish novel, and wrote about Manuel Delibes' fictional world of (*El mundo novelesco de Manuel Delibes*, Madrid: Gredos, 1987). The most important works are *El habla del campo de Jaca* (1948), *Estudios sobre el dialecto aragonés* (Madrid: CSIC, 1987), *El dialecto riojano* (Madrid: Gredos, 1976). He also wrote a *Manual de dialectología hispánica: el español de América* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1996) and a *Manual de dialectología hispánica: el español de España* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1996).

I was honoured to witness some surveys by Manuel Alvar on the Aragonese language and I admired his great skill as dialectologist.

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