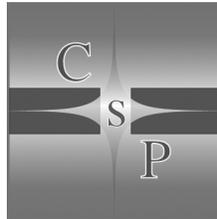# Linguistics in the Twenty First Century

Linguistics in the Twenty First Century

Edited by

Eloína Miyares Bermúdez and Leonel Ruiz Miyares

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Preface

The Centre for Applied Linguistics of the Ministry of Science, Technology and the Environment of Santiago de Cuba is very honoured with the *Cambridge Scholars Press* publishing of a selection of the best papers written in English that were presented at the *9th International Symposium on Social Communication* (Santiago de Cuba, January 24 – 28, 2005).

The symposiums are held by the Santiago-based institution every two years. Since their inception in 1987, these meetings have provided an excellent opportunity for scientific exchange among scholars from all continents, through the presentation of papers, keynote speeches, and workshops focusing on the most current and recent results of Linguistics and other related disciplines that are also invited to the event.

In its most recent editions, national and international attendance has substantially grown, in what we consider to be a demonstration of the interest these events elicit. In the last 9 symposiums more than 2000 Cubans and some 600 foreign scholars from more than 40 countries have come to Santiago de Cuba to participate.

One of the main features of our *International Symposiums on Social Communication* is the platform it provides for the debate of scientific papers on language usage from different approaches, for this reason, it is easy to find a dissertation delving into Linguistics, or another evaluating a linguistic-related software which has proven to be very useful in language statistics, which is why several commissions are set up to debate the paper according to the specific field of study.

This especial volume published by *Cambridge Scholar Press*, in cooperation with the Centre for Applied Linguistics, includes 34 papers subdivided in eight sections: General Linguistics (8), Phonetics (5), Lexicology (3), Corpus Linguistics (2), Natural Language Processing (9), Foreign Languages (3), Mass Media (2) and Art, Ethnology and Folklore (2).

These articles sum up interesting and up-to-date research results from scholars of different universities and scientific institutions hailing from Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Cuba, France, Greek, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom and United States.

It is important to highlight the presence in this book of papers by prestigious international researchers, such as Prof. Dr. Anton Nijholt, from Twente University,

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Enschede, The Netherlands, renowned specialist in machine-human beings communication; Prof. Dr. Nicoletta Calzolari, director of the prestigious Institute of Computational Linguistics of Pisa, Italy, who has delved into the development of language resources; Prof. Dr. Michael Zock, from the Scientific Research Center of France; Prof. Dr. Dieter Fensel, from the Digital Enterprise Research Institute of Leopold-Franzens University, Innsbruck, Austria; Prof Dr. Gloria Corpas Pastor from the University of Malaga, Spain, a noted researcher on Hispanic translations and phraseology; and the doctors Iñaki Alegria, Xabier Arregi and Xabier Artola, from the IXA Group of the Basque Country University, known for their work on electronic dictionaries and taggers.

Included in this compilation the keynote speeches presented at the *9th International Symposium on Social Communication*:

- Anton Nijholt
  Human and virtual agents interacting in the virtuality continuum

- Michael Zock
  Needles in a haystack and how to find them? The case of lexical access

- Dieter Fensel
  Semantic Web powered portal infrastructure

- Sylviane Cardey and Peter Greenfield
  Systemic Linguistics with applications

- Xabier Artola and Leonel Ruiz Miyares
  Building an electronic version of the Cuban Basic School Dictionary

We hope that the printing of this special volume will further boost the scientific relationship among the scholars of Linguistics and other disciplines associated to it.

We would like to take this opportunity to annex to this publication the call for the *10th International Symposium on Social Communication* slated for January of 2007, when we will be celebrating two decades of the event.

Eloína Miyares Bermudez and Leonel Ruiz Miyares

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GENERAL LINGUISTICS

LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PRACTICE IN OFFICIAL ADMINISTRATIONS IN 19TH CENTURY FLANDERS

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1. Introduction

This article deals with language choice in the transcriptions of town council meetings from more than 20 different Flemish towns during the 19th century. It is based on the results of a recent large-scale data collection by students of ours in Flemish archives, carried out in the context of the ongoing research programme of the Centre for Linguistics at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel on the sociolinguistic situation in 19th century Flanders.[1] Just like in our presentation at the 2003 symposium (cf. Vandenbussche 2003), these innovative results force us to reconsider a number of generally accepted views in yet another domain of the historiography of language policy and language use in Flanders.[2]

2. Historical background[3]

The Dutch language territory is made up of the Netherlands and Flanders, the so-called Northern and Southern Low Countries.[4] Both areas had a very different political history from 1585 onwards. In that year the Netherlands became (and remained ± ever after) an independent state. Flanders was ruled by Spanish (1585-

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[1] Wim Vandenbussche led the seminar during which the data was collected. The data was analysed by Eline Vanhecke for her Ph.D. project on chancery language in 19th century Flanders. The theoretical background on language planning and policy at the time is based on the substantial discussion of these issues in Jetje de Groof's (2004) Ph.D. thesis. Roland Willemyns is in charge of the overall supervision of the project.

[2] For a recent extensive overview of our research results since 1995, cf. Vandenbussche, De Groof, Vanhecke & Willemyns 2004.

[3] For an introduction to the history of the Dutch language, cf. De Vries, Willemyns & Burger 2004 (in Dutch) or Willemyns 2003b (in English, mainly focused on standardisation issues).

[4] The Dutch-speaking island Surinam is not relevant in the context of this article.

1714), Austrian (1714-1794) and French (1794-1815) occupiers and, eventually, reunited with the Northern Low Countries from 1815 to 1830. In 1830 Flanders became a part of the new and independent state of Belgium.

The distinct political evolution in the North and the South of the Dutch language territory had far-reaching consequences for the status and the elaboration of Dutch in both areas. In the Netherlands the standardisation of Dutch gradually took shape from the 'Golden' 17th century onwards; by 1800 it had both the standing and the structural elaboration required to function as a prestige language in all domains of everyday life. In Flanders, however, the foreign rulers after 1585 preferred French as their language of government and prestige. Although no explicit status planning measures were imposed by the Spanish and Austrian occupiers (i.e. until 1794), their *de facto* choice for French had the consequence that a supra-regional prestige variety of Dutch never developed in the South until the 19th century. Up until that date, the Dutch language in Flanders (spoken by the large majority of the population) remained a collection of regional varieties and local dialects to a large extent. The numerically small but powerful upper social classes and gentry, meanwhile, were (or became ever more) Frenchified (Willemyns 2003).

The French annexation of Flanders (1794-1814) marked the beginning of a period of explicit language planning, aimed at a radical and complete Frenchification of the Southern Low Countries. From 1804 onwards it was determined by law that all public and private official documents were to be made up in French only. Although this official policy most certainly caused and reinforced further prestige loss for the Dutch language, the attempt at total Frenchification did not succeed. Apart from the social elite, the majority of the Flemish population simply did not master the French language. As such, many small town chanceries and administrations continued to function in Dutch to a certain extent (Deneckere 1975) whereas in other cases the language laws were never put into practice at all (de Groof 2004). It is to be noted, moreover, that many primary schools continued to teach in Dutch because both pupils and teachers had no French.

After the conquest by the Dutch King Willem I in 1814, the Southern Low Countries were reunited with the Northern Dutch provinces and incorporated in the 'United Kingdom of the Netherlands'. Much like the previous French rulers, the Dutch occupiers tried to put the nationalist 'one state, one language' principle into practice in the South. This time, however, Dutch was to become the lingua franca in the entire United Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1819, a law was announced that made Dutch the only official administrative language of the state. After a four-year transition period the law took effect from 1823 onwards. In 1830, however, Willem I had to succumb to the growing Southern opposition against his rule and he turned back a number of his linguistic decisions, admitting once again more

rights for the French language in the South. This change came too late to save his political power, however; the Belgian revolution from 1830 sealed his fate.

In the new state of Belgium, French was *de facto* the prestige language of administration, court, school and army from the very onset. Although the only specification given about language matters in the new constitution (article 23) stated that "the use of languages is free", this liberal principle was used and abused to secure the dominant position of French. A decree from November 1830 made French the only official language of Belgium and, consequently, both Dutch and German were degraded to second-rate languages. The rehabilitation of Dutch only came as late as 1898 with the passing of the 'Equality Law', a decree that made both Dutch and French the official languages of Belgium. It took 70 years of social, political, cultural and economical struggle to attain this goal; these actions (and those that followed until well into the 20th century) are commonly referred to as the 'Flemish Movement'.[5] It is impossible to do justice to the full scope of this Flemish Movement in this article but it is fair to say that its basic aim was 'lifting up' the Flemish population and its language from its second-rank position. Education played a major, perhaps the most crucial role in this challenge: the majority of the Flemish people was uneducated and poor, the level of education in (Dutch) pauper schools was abominable and all higher and professional education was exclusively organised in French (Ruys 1981: 46).

3. Analysis of the data

This article discusses the way in which the successive (and often conflicting) language policies mentioned above were put into practice in the town and village chanceries of 19th century Flanders. Preliminary studies carried out (or supervised) by members of our research group in the town archives of Willebroek (Vanhecke 1998) and Grembergen (Van Meersche 2003) indicated that there may have been a discrepancy between the harshness of the official language regulations and the lenient application thereof in practice. Both case studies revealed, for example, that a lot of official documents continued to be written in Dutch during the French period, despite the radical Frenchification policy (cf. also de Groof 2004). The subsequent Dutchification under Willem I, on the other hand, was already achieved in both villages before the official 1823 deadline (Willemyns & de Groof 2004). The language freedom after 1830 caused a radical switch to French in both Grembergen and Willebroek, be it that Dutch gradually continued to reappear after

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[5] The state-of-the-art reference work on the Flemish Movement is the *Nieuwe Encyclopedie van de Vlaamse Beweging* (NEVB 1998), containing detailed articles on virtually every aspect of this movement.

1838 and, eventually, took over entirely from French during the 1860s, more than 30 years before the Equality Law. Further research revealed a sharp contrast between language preference in larger or smaller towns: the administration of the bigger provincial capitals of Antwerp and Bruges clearly interpreted the constitutional language freedom in favour of French, smaller villages like Grembergen and Willebroek opted for Dutch.[6]

In order to confirm and refine the general validity of our preliminary case studies, we organised a further series of spot checks in more than 20 different chancery archives across Flanders. The towns and villages included in this data collection are: Aalst, Lebbeke, Liedekerke, Oudenaarde and Zele (in the province of East-Flanders); Brussel (comprising Diegem, Etterbeek, Evere, Haacht, Jette, Ganshoren, Ruisbroek, Vorst), Grimbergen, Halle, Machelen, Meise, Overijse, Tervuren, Tildonk and Wezembeek-Oppem (in the province of Brabant); Bornem, Diest, Geel, Keerbergen, Mechelen, Mol and Turnhout (in the province of Antwerp); Borgloon, Hasselt and Tongeren (in the province of Limburg).[7]

In every town we checked for each year between 1794 and 1900 which language was used in the written reports of the town council (or, if unavailable, in the reports of the college of aldermen or the registrar's office). This information was brought together in an Excel spreadsheet and in a series of coloured maps. Unfortunately, due to space and printing restrictions, we are not able to include these maps in the present article. The reader will find this information, however, in Willemyns, Vanhecke & Vandenbussche 2005. A selection of the spreadsheet as well as a map of the towns included in the survey are included as an annex to this article and give the reader a clear overview of the balance between Dutch and French in Flemish administrations at nine crucial moments during the 'long 19th century'.

The third column on the spreadsheet shows the situation in the year 1804, 10 years after the French had conquered the Southern Low Countries. This is also the year in which the use of French was made obligatory by law for all official documents. One can see that the Dutch language had completely lost its function of chancery language in all towns as far as the reports of the town council are concerned, apart from one exception (Grembergen). While other documents may occasionally still have been written in Dutch, these data prompt us to reconsider

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[6] An important (though puzzling) fact is that the transition from Dutch to French (or reverse) seems to have posed no problem at all to the scribes in our archive material (de Groof & Vanhecke 2004). Both their linguistic competence and the functional value (and 'acceptability') of Dutch as a language of administration must have been much bigger than has commonly been assumed, so far (Willemyns & Vanhecke 2003).

[7] Data from the province of West-Flanders (apart from Bruges) was still being collected at the time this article was written.

the commonly accepted opinion that many Flemings (including administrative employees) were unable to write or understand French.

The attestations from 1814 (column 4, the end of the French rule) in our archive sources confirm this total dominance of French.

Five years after the reunification with the Northern Low Countries (1819, column 5), the dominant position of French remains impressive. This is the year in which the intended total Dutchification of the Flemish administrations was announced. While Dutch was occasionally used as a secondary language in two villages (Turnhout, Lebbeke) and the Brussels town council issued bilingual documents, there is no town which exclusively used the Dutch language for its town council reports.

The results from 1823 (column 6) present the reader with the complete opposite of the situation described above. In all villages only Dutch is used in the town council reports and French has disappeared almost completely, also in those villages with a fully Frenchified administration 4 years earlier. It appears that the 'one state, one language' legislation was respected and implemented as soon as it had been decreed. One further needs to consider the fact that the town clerks must have made the switch to Dutch before the actual obligation to use that language. Two exceptions appear in our data: the town council in Brussels continued to issue bilingual reports (the language legislation may only have been implemented at a later time in Brussels) whereas Zele was still French-dominant during the first months of 1823 and only switched to Dutch towards the end of that year. In sum: by the end of 1823 Dutch had become the exclusive administrative language in Flanders.

Column 7 describes the situation in September 1830, just after the 'retreat' of King Willem's strict language policy. Administrations in the Southern Low Countries were once again free to choose between Dutch and French for their official documents but, and this is remarkable, hardly any town or village seems to have felt the need to drop their use of Dutch and to revert to French. The Dutch king was still in power and Dutch continued to be the prime and dominant chancery language. Three exceptions to this rule were Oudenaarde (where the scribes immediately reverted to French), Lebbeke (French dominant, Dutch secondary language) and Zele (Dutch dominant but French did reappear).

Less than two months later (November 1830, column 8) the Dutch occupiers had been overthrown and the Belgian temporary government overtly expressed its preference for French as the language of prestige and administration. It is striking to see how fast certain towns were (especially the bigger provincial centres like Bruges, Antwerp, Tongeren) to conform to the language choice of the new regime and to reinstall French as their language of local government. Smaller villages would soon follow that example during the first decade of the Belgian

independence, especially once the 'freedom of language choice' had been decreed in the new constitution.

The impact of the growing Frenchification during the 1830s is clearly visible in column 9. 1840 was the apogee of French as the language of administration in Flanders, although Dutch had not been banned entirely from the chanceries. In seven smaller towns it was still the dominant administrative language, next to French. Cases like Zele and Turnhout in which the administration had remained 'Dutch territory' were exceptional, however. French had clearly regained its dominant position in the official local administration.

The data from 1880 and 1900 (columns 10 and 11) illustrate the slow but growing success of the Flemish Movement's aim to 'lift up' the Dutch language to the level of a fully functional standard language. Its actions in favour of a Dutchification of Flemish chanceries were far from over on the brink of the 20th century, although the archive data do show that the dramatic situation in 1840 was gradually giving way to a Dutch-dominant picture. One cannot underestimate the importance of the language legislation from 1878 onwards in this process (cf. Willemyns 2003 for more details).

4. Conclusions

Contrary to what is commonly believed and taught, the language policy of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands did not fail. It was successfully implemented and accepted throughout Flanders from the very onset in 1823 (cf. also Willemyns & de Groof 2004).

Political loyalty appears to have been an important element in the official reactions of the town chanceries towards the successive language policies discussed above. Both under the Dutch rule and immediately after the Belgian independence, the chanceries fully conformed to the preferences of the national government.

Next to political correctness, the linguistic preferences of the scribes may also have played a role. Whereas scribes anticipated the Dutch language policy, they only slowly adopted to the French language laws. During the first years of the Belgian independence there was a massive shift from Dutch to French, despite the absence of a clear prescriptive language policy. We believe that the return to the formerly forbidden French language may be explained by the general revolutionary climate at the time. The use of Dutch may have been interpreted as a sign of ongoing loyalty to the former Dutch King. Once this connotation of 'political treason' had disappeared (this was especially so after the peace treaty between Belgium and Holland had been signed in 1839), Dutch gradually reappeared in the local administrations. In our contribution to the 2003 Symposium, we have shown

that the ongoing use of French in certain bigger towns like Bruges –and the accompanying refusal to accept Dutch as the language of local government- was not related to political loyalty, but to the wish to exclude the lower social classes from the political scene (Vandenbussche 2003).

It remains astounding that the chancery scribes were able conform to new language legislation from one day to another. Our archive data prove that they must have had an elaborated linguistic competence in both French and Dutch that defeats all common assumptions about the deplorable language skills of the Flemings during the long 19th century. We are yet unable to explain or clarify this 'mystery', mainly because of our very limited knowledge of the educational system in 19th century Flanders, so far. Especially where language education is concerned, it is fair to speak of the 'black box' of historical pedagogy. On sure thing, however, is that the level of the education in Dutch must have been superior to what is commonly assumed.[8] We draw further support for the latter claim from the observation that chancery scribes were able to adapt almost immediately to new spelling systems for Dutch during the nineteenth century. Both de Groof 2003 and Willemyns & Vanhecke 2003 contain detailed illustrations of the 'ease' with which town officials could switch between up to 5 different orthographical systems. This is a fascinating challenge for scholars of historical pedagogy. We, for one, have tried to provide historical-sociolinguistic elements that contribute to a better understanding of this research topic (Vandenbussche 1999, de Groof 2004).

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[8] Willemyns 2005, for example, illustrates that scribes from the Northwestern area of French-Flanders wrote high quality Dutch during the first years of the 19th century.

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Annex 1
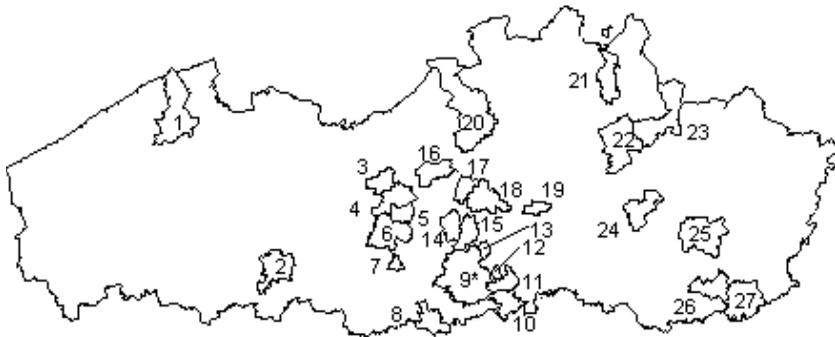
1	Brugge	10	Overijse	19	Keerbergen
2	Oudenaarde	11	Tervuren	20	Antwerpen
3	Zele	12	Wezembeek-Oppem	21	Turnhout
4	Grembergen (Dendermonde)	13	Machelen	22	Geel
5	Lebbeke	14	Meise	23	Mol
6	Aalst	15	Grimbergen	24	Diest
7	Liedekerke	16	Bornem	25	Hasselt
8	Halle	17	Willebroek	26	Borgloon
9*	Brussel + randgemeenten:	18	Mechelen	27	Tongeren
	Diegem, Etterbeek, Evere, Haacht,				
	Jette-Ganshoren, Ruisbroek, Vorst,				
	St.Martens-Latem, Tildonk				

Annex 2

Province	Town	1804	1814	1819	1823	Sept. 1830	Nov. 1830	1840	1880	1900
Antwerpen	Willebroek	F	F	F	N	N	N	N/F	N	N
	Antwerpen	F	F	F	N	N	F*	F	N	N
	Bornem			F*	N	N	F*	N/F	NA?	NA?
	Mechelen	F*	F	F	N	N	F	F	F	N/F
	Turnhout	F	F	F/N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Mol	F	F	(N) NB	(N) NB	(N) NB	(N) NB	F/N	N	(N) NB
	Geel	F	F	F*	N	N	N	N/F	N	N
Limburg	Hasselt	F	F	F	N*	N	N	F	N	N
	Tongeren				(N)	N	F*	F	F	F
	Borgloon				N	N	F*	F	F	N
	Leopoldsburg								F	
Oost-Vlaan.	Oudenaarde	F	F	F	N	F!	F	F	F	F/N
	Aalst	F	NA	F*	(N)	N	N/F	F	N/F	N/F
	Aalst	F	F	F	N	N	N	F	N*	N
	Grembergen	N/F	NA	NA	N	N*	N*	N/F	N	N
	Grembergen				N	N*	N*	N/F	N	N
	Zele		F	F	F/N	N/F	N/F	N	N*	N
	Lebbeke		F	F/N	N*	F/N	F/N	F/N	N	N
West-Vlaan.	Brugge				N	N*	F*	F	F	N
Vl. Brabant	Brussel			N+F	N+F	NA	NA	F	F	F
	Meise	F*	F	F	NA	N	N	F	F	F
	Grimbergen	F	F	F	N	N	F	F	F	F
	Asse									N
	Vorst			F	N	N	F	F	F	F
	Ruisbroek				N	N	N/F	F*	N*	
	Liedekerke				N	N	F*	F	N	
	Tervuren		F	F	N	N	N	F	F	F
	Wezemb.-Oppem		F	F	N	(N)NA	(N)NA	(F)NA	F	N/F
	Overijse				N	N	N	F	F	
	Evere					N*	N*	F/N	N/F	N
	Schaarbeek								F*	F
	Keerbergen	F	F	F	N	N	N	N/F!	N	N
	Diest	F	F	F	N	N	N	F	F	F
	Halle	F	F	F	N/F	N	F	F	F	
	St.-Mart. Bodegem				N	N	F*	F	F	
	Etterbeek					N	N/F	F/N	F	
	Jette-Ganshoren		F	F	N	N	N	F	F/N	N/F
	Haacht			F	N	N	N	F/N	F	N
	Tildonk			F	N	N	N	F/N	N	N
	Diegem-Machelen				N	N	F	N/F	N	
	Landen					F	F	F	F	F

F = French, N = Dutch
F/N = both French and Dutch, but French is dominant
N/F = both Dutch and French, but Dutch is dominant
N+F = bilingual documents
NA = not present in archive, NB= not available in archive
F* of N* = French or Dutch, except for 3 texts or less

EVALUATIVE ACTION AND THE NARRATIVIZATION OF MORALITY IN THE COMMUNITY OF BULLFIGHT AFICIONADOS

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1. Introduction

From Labov & Waletzki (1967)'s model of narrative analysis, important work has been done to define the notion and functions of *Evaluation* (Labov 1972; Polanyi 1982; Linde 1993). There is a general agreement on assigning sense-making, emotional, and point-of-view properties (Gülich & Quasthoff, in VanDjick 1985, Shuman 1986; Bernstein 1990) to this section of a narrative. Such elements are part of, and depend on, a series of cultural common-understandings, that is, the sharing of beliefs and values having to do with social behaviour and acceptance. In this sense, the community of bullfight *aficionados* has proved to be a cultural group, perfectly defined by ideologies, values, and institutions, that counts on narrative discourse as a major communicative genre through which common understandings are conveyed. An exploration of the narrative activity within this particular community intends to contribute to a deeper knowledge of the functional and linguistic nature of *evaluation*. The current work is a discussion on the analysis of one narrative of vicarious experience, where the conveyance of morality is a main issue. It is shown how various evaluative devices are managed in order to validate and legitimize the narrator's moral authority to narrate certain events, the relevance and the content of the narration, and the narrative itself.

2. Evaluation

Four basic, complimentary to each other, definitions of evaluation are being considered for the current analysis:

a) A "process of assigning prominence" (Polanyi 1985: 14);
b) "That part of the narrative that reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others" (Labov & Waletzky 1967:32);
c) "The general, moral communication of what kind of a person this is, and what kinds of actions these are" (Linde 1993:21);

   d) "The place in the narrative where the narrator provides the most
      important information in the story" (Torres 1997:94).

Linde (1993:21)'s distinction between two types of evaluative point is also useful at understanding the *narrativization of morality*: a) It illustrates something about the character of the speaker; b) It illustrates one of the ways that the world is. Particular actions are evaluated by means of the first; and evaluation comes in the form of moral/conclusion/colophon in the second.

Evaluation might be perceived as an *action* in itself, as something done, accomplished at a certain point or stage in the story world or the storytelling world. On the other hand, evaluation can also be regarded as a *process*; as a gradual change towards a particular result; as a continuing activity or function; as a series of actions or operations towards and end, namely the determination of significance, worth or condition of events, characters, situations, and objects. In short, for the present work we can define evaluation as the action or process of determining significance/meaning and/or importance/relevance about events, characters, situations, and objects within the narrative.

3. Evaluation and Morality

Aficionados' discourse, especially the narrative discourse, is particularly intended to determine the worth, condition or significance of the events, situations, people or objects being referred to, directly or indirectly; that is to say it is intended to evaluate.

In the philosophic ground, evaluation and morality are essentially bound in that the latter, either at sociological or psychological level, is said to have to do with evaluation, specifically the evaluation of "the actions of rational beings" (Warnock 1971:12). Linde (1993:21) states that evaluation calls for "The general, moral communication of what kind of a person this is, and what kinds of actions these are". Thus, for the purpose of the present paper, morality can be basically defined at the two levels mentioned above:

1. *Sociological*: "a set or system of beliefs or rules about conduct" (Wallace & Walker 1970:4); "morality consists in habitual voluntary conformity with the conventions" (Whiteley, in Wallace & Walker 1970:22);
2. *Psychological*: "my morality consists, not in what other people insist that I should do, but in what I insist that I should do" (Whiteley, in Wallace & Walker 1970:22).

The current narrative is about the way the actions of the characters in the story world either comply or not with what is morally desirable within the community of

bullfight *aficionados*, although, the narrating action and the narrative itself are also evaluated. By means of multiple linguistic and discourse strategies, the speakers provide information that highlights morality as a primary quality in *toreros* as well as in any other *aficionado*. Such strategies are part of the essential nature of norms, principles and qualities that distinguish this community from others, and that distinguish even particular members from each other.

4. Narratives in the community of bullfight *aficionados*

An inherent awareness about "certain commonalities" among bullfight *aficionados*, namely "certain shared habits, social activities, ways of interacting and interpreting social acts" (Duranti 1997:88), as well as repertoires and common goals, where language plays a central role, allows considering them as a *community*, more over, as a *linguistic community* (LC) (see Gumperz 1971; Wardhaugh 2002), as a *speech community* (SpCom) (see Hudson 1996; Labov 1972; Romaine 1982, 2000; Wardhaugh 2002; Patrick 2002) or/and as a *community of practice* (CofP) (see Wenger 1998; Eckert & McConnell Ginnet 1998; Meyerhoff 2002).

Within the community of bullfight *aficionados,* shared habits, social activities, repertoires, goals, and ways of interacting and interpreting social acts are importantly embodied by narratives. In fact, the telling of stories is, in itself, all of these at once. For instance, *aficionados*, in general, show a particularly high propensity to produce narratives in any kind of setting, and such a characteristic has historically been recognized as a major practice in their communicative process; storytelling is, in Hymes's terms, a *speech event*, namely an activity that is "directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech" (Hymes 1972), which takes place within certain social situations; narratives, as a resource for negotiating meaning, represent a salient part of the everyday discourse repertoire in the pursuit of a common enterprise, namely speaking about bullfight; oral narrative, when it occurs in face-to-face situations, and whether viewed as an on-going process of multiple negotiations or as a final, structurally defined product of verbal discourse, represents a means to understand "the interaction order" (Goffman 1983, cited in Malone 1997:5) that prevails in this particular community, as well as a source of interpretation of social acts for both the members of the community and the researcher.

Narratives, as a final product of verbal discourse, can be taken as either "units of formal linguistic structure" or "functional units of functional interaction" (Linde 1993:62). I adopt the first view since my interest is in how linguistic and narrative-discourse structure represents events and reflects socio-cultural identity. The present case, is a good example of a structural unit with "defined boundaries and a describable internal structure" (Linde 1993:66), spontaneously produced, which depicts an intense evaluative negotiation between the primary speaker and the other

interlocutors, and shows morality as both a shared value and a set of actions that are being communicated and discussed about.

5. The Data

The Narrative: The current vicarious-experience narrative comes from a social gathering recording and was produced spontaneously while speakers were widely discussing on the greatness of the *Bienvenida Dynasty* (a legendary Spanish family whose most of members, during the last three generations, became famous bullfighters). Marino –the main narrator– is praising the family by depicting its members as holders of the highest moral qualities expected from all individuals, either belonging to the bullfight community or not. At the end of the narrative, he reduces all such qualities to the term *torería*. The family members brought into action as characters are 6: Papa Negro, Doña Carmen, Antonio, Manolo, Pepote, la vaquilla (the little cow), being Papa Negro and Antonio the main ones.

    The Narrative Structure: It counts on the elements of a fully formed narrative proposed by Labov &Waletzki (1967) and updated by Labov (1972, and 1997): Abstract (AB), Orientation (OR), Complicating Action (CA), Evaluation (EV), Resolution (RE), and Coda (CO). Although EV may take place at various levels of communication (gestural, phonologic, linguistic, and discourse –in this respect, see also Ochs & Capps 1996:26), I am specifically interested in the linguistic and discourse embodiment of such a notion.

    At the linguistic level, EV lies specifically on lexical items like the kind of figurative language (metaphor, and hyperbole) and adverbs. The discourse level holds the highest evaluative activity: repetition, negation, interjection, idiom, reported speech, flashback, commentary of the action of the story (confirmation, clarification, eulogy), and generalization drawn from a specific to a general case.

6. The discussion

Morality, as a set of beliefs or rules about conduct, underlies all other values in play in the narrative since those values represent some kind of worth or significance of what is socially acceptable, conventional (social morality) or what is individually thought that "should" be done (psychological morality). Nevertheless, such view becomes less clear when what is being evaluated (events, situations, people, objects, etc) does not directly refer to "the actions of rational beings" (Warnock 1971). For instance, in clause **cc** (below) the narrator gives "prominence" (Polanyi 1985) to the behavioural characteristics of the little cow: a "very difficult" little cow is, all *aficionados* are expected to know this, the one which presents a rather nervous, unpredictable mobility, and a highly, unusually

developed sense of *el engaño* (the cape or the muleta) and the *torero* (bullfighter)
so that it cannot be easily deceived, representing a risk greater than usual. One
cannot say that this irrational being (the little cow) is acting immorally since it is
not, and could not be subjected to any kind of conformity with social conventions.
What makes this appreciation being part of a moral judgement is what comes next
in the same clause: "which Manolo could not cope with". This negative statement
manifests what was socially expected, demanded to have been done, but was not,
by Manolo, which was already a professional *matador* and whose high expertise
and capacity would supposedly allow him to dominate the "very difficult little
cow". The hyperbolic description of the little cow (*dificilísima* = very, very
difficult) acquires moral importance when we realize that Manolo, the experienced
torero, was not able to cope with it satisfactorily. By strongly evaluating the little
cow, the narrator is intensifying his feelings as well as his attitude towards
Manolo's compliance with what was socially expected.

cc	*Marino*: Sale una vaquilla dificilísima que a Manolo no pudo con ella. *There comes out a little cow, a very difficult one, which Manolo could not cope with.*

All the rest of the evaluative clauses in the narrative clearly have to do with
more or less conformity to ideals of *right* human conduct either in the story world
or in the storytelling world. Let us take, for example, clauses **c**, **d**, **e**, whose
evaluative function takes place in the storytelling world:

c	*Marino:* Yo soy un enamorado de Antonio Bienvenida *I am a lover (fanatic) of Antonio Bienvenida*
d	y lo sabe bien todo el mundo ¿no? *And everyone knows about it very well, don't they?*
e	entonces yo-de lo que he leído y de lo que hablo, *So, I-from what I've read and what I speak of,*

They make altogether a section of auto-validation and legitimation. In **c**, the
narrator is basing his moral authority to tell the story on his degree of fanaticism
about Antonio Bienvenida, a main character, and resorts to a supposed popular
acknowledgement of it (**d**). He even makes a picture of himself as a well informed
and cultivated person who is acting honestly by stating that all he is about to
narrate is knowledge acquired by means of readings (**e**). Figurative language
(hyperbole) is being used in (**c**) to enhance his status as admirer: being "*un
enamorado de*" (whose literal translation would be "a lover of") is just a resource
to increase his condition beyond the normal. "*Todo el mundo*" (literal translation:
the entire world), in (**d**), is a Spanish idiom that enlarges a truth beyond bounds.

Clause (**e**) is a commentary that attempts to free him from any possible moral weakness; it is to say, from any possible fault about telling the truth.

Another interesting case of the narrativization of morality can be found in the use of reported speech. All clauses containing direct reported speech convey the narrator's point of view as being the same as that of the characters speaking, whereas the only case of indirect reported speech (**m**, shown below) projects a distance between the content of the message being reported and the narrator's actual stance. In general, the narrator's ultimate goal is to express a favourable judgement of the main characters, namely the Papa Negro and Antonio Bienvenida; consequently, he dramatizes their speeches in order to make them appear more realistic and convincing. Clause (**b**, below) depicts a lively Papa Negro lecturing his children about particular rules of conduct which are typically demanded from *toreros*: i.e. "*salir con torería*" means, in the context of the narrative, to leave, to withdraw from the bull apparently controlling any kind of fear, suppressing the natural instinct of preservation either by excluding it from consciousness or by keeping it from public knowledge; thus, "*salir con torería*" means to run away with elegance and dignity. It is also noticeable that the narrator chose the term *salir* (to leave, to withdraw from in a rather orderly, calm way) instead of *huir* (to run away agitatedly) in order to minimize any possible negative sense of the action evoked.

b	*Marino:* "Cuando el toro te chucha" decía "si os achucha tenéis que salir con torería". *"When the bull harasses you" he said "if it harasses you have to run away with* torería *(dignity and elegance)".*

In (**m**), "the one many say has been the best *torero* of the dynasty", the narrator is not interested in heightening any possible value of what is being reported. He just does not approve the saying and manifests that by using indirect reported speech.

m	*Marino:* cuando su hermano Manolo, que muchos dicen que ha sido el mejor torero de la dinastía. *When his brother Manolo, the one many say has been the best torero of the dynasty.*

Javier, the querier co-narrator, decisively contributes to validate the storytelling and the notion of morality that is being configured through the events recounted, by precisely disagreeing on Antonio's morality. Clause (**n**) consists of three different evaluative devices (negation, repetition, hyperbole) that, as a whole,

intend to delimit Javier's position in contrast with that of Marino; to praise Manolo; and to prepare the ground for putting Antonio down.

n	*Javier:* El mejor no, el único. Eeh eh eh El mejor no, el único.
	Not the best, the unique. Ee-e-e-Not the best, the only one.

He has noticed Marino's restraint at accepting that Manolo is the best *torero* (in **m**), thus he throws a diatribe against Antonio (**p**, **q**, **r**) in order to denounce incongruence between the moral principles he has been taught as a child and his supposedly acceptable conduct as an adult.

p	*Javier:* -con siete años había que defender a los compañeros,
	-at the age of seven one had to defend the colleagues,
q	con treinta y siete se les ataca para denunciar una afeitado porque a él no le dejan participar de la tarta del afeitado *At thirty seven one attacks them in order to denounce 'a shaving' (the arranging of the horns) because he was not allowed to take a piece of the cake of 'the shaving'*
r	y se saca de la carta de la manga lo del afeitado. *And he pulls this thing about 'the shaving' out of his hat.*

A brief commentary containing the depersonalization of the situation is made by the speaker –through the 'impersonal' pronoun *se*– in order to remark incongruence (defending the colleagues vs. attacking them: **p**, **q**), although the character's personal identity is immediately brought back into sight along with a metaphor (*la tarta del afeitado* = the cake of the *shaving*) and an idiom (*sacarse algo de la manga* = to pull something out of one's hat) by means of which he continues to be charged with negative qualities, namely vengeance and dishonesty. Javier is clearly not expressing disapproval about the telling of the story neither objecting the conception of morality that is being conveyed. He is rather contributing to the narration by providing an alternative picture of Antonio; also, he implicitly manifests acceptance of an ideal of conduct by describing a supposed violation of that very ideal.

José María, on his part, makes an indirect validation of the storytelling by censuring Javier's query and by challenging him to discuss the issue some other time, so as to let the narration go on:

v	*José María:* -Eso te lo rebato yo un día tú y yo, punto. Ahora no.
	-I'll refute that some other day, you and me, period. Not now.

The lexical choice he is making clearly projects his disagreement on Javier's stance ("*eso te lo rebato*" = "I'll refute that") and let us assume two things: a) he possesses powerful knowledge on the matter as to decidedly call for a one-to-one joust; b) he shares Marino's point of view about Antonio's conduct. Also, while proposing a reply for "some other day", he implicitly, but firmly, asks Javier to stop his argument ("*punto. Ahora no*" = "period. Not now").

7. Conclusion

Along the current narrative, various evaluative devices are deployed in order to show the way things *are* and the way things *ought to be* in both the story world and the storytelling world. Their immediate function is to establish validity and legitimacy on three different aspects of the narrative: a) the narrator's moral authority to narrate events; b) the relevance and veracity of what is being narrated; c) the narrative itself as a speech event worthy to be sustained until it reaches an end. A common notion of morality is being brought forth by the narrators, despite certain disagreement about whether characters or speakers comply with it or not. For instance, the idea of running away from the bull with *torería* (with elegance and dignity), when being in a situation of imminent danger (clause **b**), is never questioned, thus, it is assumed that such an attitude is a common belief within the social group at issue; the fact of being taught principles such as "in order to be a good *torero* you ought to be a good man, a good person, never feel hatred towards one's colleagues, and help them" (not analysed in the present paper, although included in the original transcript) is not questioned either, but Antonio's compliance with these principles is in doubt (clauses **p**, **q**, **r**).

What outstands is that the respect/violation of a set of socially accepted rules is in question: Marino's acting as a narrator is indirectly queried by Javier on the basis of a supposed lack of veracity of the events recounted, although still aspects such as a deep admiration, a social acknowledgement of it, and certain knowledge acquired from readings might be enough as to be morally authorized to tell the story, as tacitly accepted and supported by José María (**v**); Javier was keen at criticizing one of the character's conduct and at invalidating Marino's positive appreciations of this character's qualities (clauses **p**, **q**, **r**), but did not really stand against the recounting of events on the basis of the elements brought forth by Marino in clauses **c**, **d**, and **e**; moreover, José María highlights the narration as worthy to be continued and finished (clause **v**).

We have seen, thus, that the narrators are not negotiating morality as a value in itself but the moral understanding of specific actions embodied by what they call *Torería*; therefore, the various evaluative devices are being deployed in such a way as to emphasize both an individual and a collective direction of thought concerning bullfight *aficionados'* moral values.