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'BETTER A WITTY FOOL THAN A FOOLISH WIT': ON PUNNING STYLES OF SHAKESPEARE'S PEDANTS AND JESTERS[1]

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ABSTRACT. *One of the hallmarks of Shakespeare's stylistic uniqueness is undoubtedly his dexterous use of puns. Besides being skilfully woven into the dramatic texture of his plays, their great strength lies also in the fact that they are carefully tailored to cater for both dramatic and conversational needs of individual characters. The paper attempts to zoom in on two distinctive punning styles of Shakespeare's* dramatis personae, *as developed by pedants (here represented by Holofernes from* Love's Labour's Lost*) and jesters (exemplified by Feste from* Twelfth Night*). By way of examining the peculiarities of their punning in terms of its amount, semantics, conversational dynamics and participant configuration, the study demonstrates that the two figures represent the opposite poles of the punning art. Whereas the jester proves a virtuoso punster trading witty repartees whenever opportunity offers, the pedant's puns, being overly sophisticated and erudite, appear highly impenetrable and flat in effect.*

Keywords: Pun, wordplay, Elizabethan English, Shakespeare's comedy, jester, pedant.

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'BETTER A WITTY FOOL THAN A FOOLISH WIT' (MEJOR UN TONTO INGENIOSO QUE NO UN INGENIO TONTO): SOBRE LOS JUEGOS DE PALABRAS EN LOS PEDANTES Y BUFONES DE SHAKESPEARE

RESUMEN. *Uno de los distintivos de la singularidad del estilo de Shakespeare es sin duda su hábil uso de los juegos de palabras. Además de estar hábilmente entrelazados en la textura dramática de sus obras, su gran fuerza también descansa en el hecho de que están cuidadosamente confeccionadas para satisfacer tanto las necesidades dramáticas como conversacionales de cada personaje. Este artículo pretende poner el foco en dos estilos diferentes de juegos de palabras de los personajes dramáticos de Shakespeare tal y como los desarrollan los pedantes (representados aquí por Holofernes en* Trabajos de amor perdidos*) y los bufones (ejemplificados por Feste en* La Duodécima noche o Noche de Reyes*). Al examinar las peculiaridades de los dobles sentidos en términos de la cantidad, la semántica, la dinámica conversacional y la configuración de los participantes, este estudio demuestra que los dos personajes representan los polos opuestos del arte del doble sentido. Mientras que el bufón se muestra como un virtuoso creador de juegos de palabras proporcionando conversaciones ingeniosas cada vez que se da la ocasión, los juegos de palabras del pedante son excesivamente sofisticados y eruditos y así resultan altamente incomprensibles y de efecto plano.*

Palabras clave: Lenguaje con doble sentido, juegos de palabras, inglés de la época de Isabel, comedias de Shakespeare, bufón, pedante.

1. PRELIMINARIES

1.1. A NOTE ON A PUN

The phenomenon under investigation presents a lot of closely interlaced definitional, terminological and typological difficulties. In the growing body of critical literature on the subject it is discussed under a broad array of, more or less capacious, names. Some of these include 'play on words', 'wordplay', 'word games', 'pun', 'play with words', 'language game', 'play of language' in English, 'Wortspiel', 'Sprachspiel', 'Spiel mit der Sprache' in German, 'jeux de mots', 'jeux avec les mots', 'jeux sur les mots', 'jeux de langage' in French or 'igra słow', 'jazykowaja igra' in Russian (Szczerbowski 1998: 34). By and large, the extent of terminological rigour depends on the overarching research perspective adopted in individual studies as well as their principal objectives, and so, for instance,

literary scholars tend to favour a more relaxed approach to the nomenclature in the field than linguistically-oriented academics.

Another problem area appears to be taxonomy which fuels a major controversy over the legitimacy and feasibility of categorising language-based humour into well-defined types. A firm belief that it lends itself readily to scrupulous pigeon-holing, where the boundaries of individual classes are delineated without unwelcome overlap, can be found in Wurth (1895) and, much later, in Heibert (1993). Other typological attempts worth mentioning include Freidhof's (1984), where a binary (either/or) approach to the classification of puns is likened to the description of phonemes in terms of clusters of distinctive features, and Heller's (1974), where altogether eleven criteria are deemed indispensable for a reliable taxonomic account of the phenomenon. In contrast, a deep scepticism about the value of a painstaking categorisation of puns is voiced, among others, by Esar (1954), Mahood (1957), Redfern (1984) and Culler (1988), who consider drawing sharp, often over-subtle, distinctions between individual classes to be counterproductive.

Refocusing the attention back onto terminology, in the present study the above mentioned English labels are regarded as synonymous and used interchangeably, yet a slight numerical preference is given to the name 'pun' which, comparatively speaking, appears to be defined more rigidly in the relevant academic publications. Following Delabastita, the phenomenon is assumed to involve a "(near-)simultaneous confrontation of at least two linguistic structures with more or less dissimilar meanings (signifieds) and more or less similar forms (signifiers)" (1993: 57). Formally, then, the linguistic trigger mechanisms for a pun include those of homonymy, homophony, homography and paronymy, while the semantic criterion for its emergence is met by an appreciable distance between the meaning components at play.[2]

1.2. ELIZABETHAN ENGLISH AS A PUN-FRIENDLY LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

Shakespeare's predilection for experimenting with the interplay of forms and meanings in words makes him a man of his times. Indeed, in the Elizabethan era wordplay enjoyed such a high status that "it was almost *de rigueur* in the conversation of English courtly society, in the jest-books, ballads, and broadsides

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[2]   a. See also section 1.2. for a brief comment on the impossibility of generating homographic puns in the disorderly 16th-century orthographic system.

   b. Numerous synchronic and diachronic difficulties inherent in the description of a highly gradable nature of semantic contrast in the homonymic variety of puns are discussed at length in Delabastita (1993) and Hausmann (1974).

of popular literature, and even, according to Addison, in much more serious language" (Ellis 1973: 12).[3]

Presumably, besides echoing the spirit of the day, the vogue was, at least to some extent, a corollary of massive changes in 16th-century English, which unlocked its considerable punning potential. The developments which remodelled the existing linguistic system occurred on two distinct planes of language, *viz.* lexis and pronunciation. The lexical innovations, which affected quantitatively the homonymic type of puns alone, were concerned with a large-scale importation of foreign words from a number of languages (modern and ancient) via educational channels or, otherwise, through close trade and colonial contacts. This wide-ranging borrowing process, which was in fact a sequel of an analogous one operating already in the Middle English period (though essentially confined to Romance loan words), immediately met with a strong disfavour among language purists, who would rather have seen English cleansed of a foreign element, and was to spark off heated debates long after. Irrespective of the response these lexical changes elicited, they undoubtedly led to a rapid emergence of synonyms. This, in turn, "brought with it an unceasing differentiation in usage as well as in meaning and connotation, which was eminently favourable to punning and other forms of conscious or unconscious verbal ambiguity […]" (Kökeritz 1953: 54).[4]

On the phonological plane, the changes which proved to be most conducive to a vast increase in puns, yielding a true wealth of homophonic forms, were predominantly pre-Elizabethan and took the form of what is routinely referred to as the Great Vowel Shift (GVS), initiated in all likelihood in the latter half of the 13th century and completed two hundred years later. In the wake of these revolutionary changes, which upset the entire Middle English system of long vocalic and diphthongal phonemes, the English language built up an impressive collection of new homophonic forms, and while some of them were, as a result of further sound evolution, irretrievably lost shortly after, a number of subsequent systemic transformations came about, which were soon to successfully redress the quantitative balance (Kökeritz 1953: 54; Kohl 1966: 68).[5]

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[3] Aside from Shakespeare, the leading punsters on the 16th-century literary arena were Lyly, Spenser, Green, Lodge, Nash and Kyd (cf. Wurth 1895 and Kohl 1966).

[4] Cf. also Kohl: "[D]ie Latinisierung der englischen Sprache im 16. Jahrhundert und das Eindringen von französischen und gemeinromanischen Wörtern [...] [begründeten] den enormen Wortreichtum, der sich vor allem in den Synonymen zeigt [...] Dadurch eröffneten sich vorher nicht gekannte stilistische Möglichkeiten der sprachlichen Differenzierung und Nuancierung" (1966: 69).

[5] It should not go unrecognised at this point that the potential of Elizabethan English for homophonic punning might have been in addition appreciably boosted by a strong presence of phonetic doublets

Interestingly enough, the 16th-century English orthographic system emerges as "full of irrationalities and inconsistencies" (Schlauch 1959: 81), which can be chalked up to a number of factors, including, most notably, the sloppiness of language users, the introduction of stylish, pseudo-learned spellings modelled on Greek, Latin and French (turning, for instance, the native *rime* into *rhyme*, *saume* into *psalm*, etc.) and the erroneous extension of Germanic-like spelling to Romance loan-words (yielding *delight* in lieu of *delite* or *spight* in preference to *spite*) (Schlauch 1959: 81-82). The unwieldy disorderliness of the system stimulated the leading intellects of the day (chiefly John Hart, William Bullokar and Richard Mulcaster) to make a valiant and long overdue effort to conventionalise English spelling (Schlauch 1959: 82-83). Sadly, none of these attempts proved successful in the long run, all but marginally improving on the original system. It is, therefore, reasonably safe to assume that in Shakespeare's times "people still spelled very much as they pleased" (Kökeritz 1953: 20). This, quite expectedly, had a direct bearing on punning practices in that it altogether dismissed the possibility of the emergence of homographic forms, capable of surfacing only in a perfectly codified spelling system (cf. Hill 1988: 67). As regards Shakespeare's language specifically, Kökeritz observes that "no Shakespearean pun was ever based upon the spelling of a word; either meaning or pronunciation is involved, but never orthography" (1953: 87).

2. THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES, METHOD AND DATA

The study sets out to juxtapose two individual punning idioms, as evolved by the Shakespearean pedants and jesters[6] (represented respectively by Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* (henceforth *LLL*) and Feste in *Twelfth Night* (hereafter *TN*)), by virtue of examining the features that make up their

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(e.g. a diagraph *ea* standing, in an alternating fashion, both for [i:], as evidenced by the rhyme *beseech* : *teach*, and [e:] or [e]) as well as by the practice of skilful phonetic manipulation, where regular pronunciations of the day were supplanted with substandard varieties of dialectal or vulgar parentage (Kökeritz 1953: 21, 65-66; Delabastita 1993: 85). Similarly, Schlauch argues that in 16th-century English "there were still a number of possibilities of choice among equally 'correct' forms, because conservative and advanced pronunciations could be heard side by side, as well as competing dialect forms and even vulgarisms which were beginning to be accepted" (1959: 85).

[6]   In the Elizabethan times a licensed joker at courts or in large households was also labelled 'clown' and 'fool'. For the sake of terminological clarity, however, in the present paper the term 'clown', which was more commonly used with reference to 'an unsophisticated countryman or rustic', is applied solely in the latter sense of the word to country bumpkins, whereas 'fool', risky due to a potential confusion between its two meanings (i.e. 'a principal comedian' and 'a simpleton'), is essentially avoided, unless necessary or unequivocal.

idiosyncratic character.[7] One of the central methodological tenets is that the characters of Shakespeare's comedies, as incumbents of professional and private roles, function as social types rather than individuals, and as such come equipped with a common set of characteristics (also linguistic) in different plays. Accordingly, generalising from the behaviour of a single personage to that of an entire group of characters representing a single stock figure, as sometimes done in the paper, is believed to be in line with the rules of methodological rigour.[8] Another fundamental assumption underpinning the study is that, in order to neatly capture the dynamics of punning as defined by its contextual embeddedness, it is not so much isolated instances of puns as more sizeable chunks of wordplay-dependent interactions that should come under especially careful scrutiny, which is the practice followed in the study.

One significant feature of a dramatic text that should not pass unnoticed when discussing the employed research method is that it is a written-to-be-spoken mode of communication, inexorably lacking the spontaneity of natural speech. Yet, in Herman's opinion, "[t]he principles, norms and conventions of use which underlie spontaneous communication in everyday life are precisely those which are exploited and manipulated by dramatists in their constructions of speech types and forms in plays" (1995: 6). Following this belief, the examined puns, despite being a product of Shakespeare's deliberate effort and informed choices, are treated as elements of naturally occurring communication rather than as any artificial formations.

Last but not least, the process of retrieving the data and interpreting their complex semantic content was not entirely free from difficulties arising from the fact that some of the meanings which were the building blocks of Shakespeare's play of language are now obsolete, and others tightly interlaced and hard to disentangle. Forcing the way through this labyrinthine network of, often outdated, meanings was significantly aided by explanations found in the dictionaries and lexicons of Shakespeare's language in general and wordplay in particular (chiefly Onions 1919 and West 1998), as well as in insightful editorial and critical comments on his plays.

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[7] Since the present study is part of a larger research project, where a wider sample of punsters cast in a broader range of social roles was collected and analysed, occasional references to their punning practices are made for comparison throughout the paper.
[8] At the same time due care is taken to avoid similar generalisations to real-life figures, which might lead to an unwelcome distortion of the historical reality (cf. also Calvo (1991: 5) who, discussing Shakespeare's fools specifically, cautions against drawing a direct parallel between these characters as fictitious figures and real domestic jesters).

3. THE STUDY

3.1. *AN ENQUIRY INTO PUNNING PRACTICES OF THE SHAKESPEAREAN PEDANT: THE CASE OF HOLOFERNES IN* LLL

Given Holofernes' frequent stage appearance, the total number of his puns, equalling 25 instances, can be described as relatively small or mean, which surely does not make him the leading representative of the category of heavy punsters.[9] At the same time, these few examples suffice to notice that the pedant's wordplay constitutes a distinctive variety and, as such, deserves a separate treatment.

In order to fully understand its uniqueness, at least a fleeting glance at the schoolmaster's approach to and use of language seems indispensable. Without a shadow of doubt Holofernes' speech style is the most stilted and ornate in the entire play, and it is an extremely daunting task to force one's way through it. Next to stiff syntax, the gravest difficulties are presented by sophisticated lexis, as seen in a heavy (yet often erroneous) use of complex Latinate and Latin vocabulary as well as of numerous rhetorical devices (principally synonymy, metaphor, alliteration and assonance). Overloading language in this way, regarded by the Elizabethans as a hallmark of brilliancy, is an inevitable consequence of the 16th-century educational training policy biased towards teaching rhetoric, the cornerstone of erudition, apparently valued more than wisdom. Equally intriguing is Holofernes' orthodox approach to the phonological aspect of language, where alternative, modernised pronunciations, though prevalent in spontaneous speech, are strongly disfavoured and traditional ones considered, accordingly, the only acceptable choices. The following is believed to be a fairly representative sample of the pedant's verbal excesses:

> (1) *Holofernes:* "Most barbarous intimation! Yet a kind of insinu-
> ation, as it were *in via*, in way of explication;
> *facere*, as it were replication, or, rather, *ostentare*, to
> show, as it were, his inclination, – after his
> undressed, unpolished, uneducated, unpruned,
> untrained, or rather unlettered, or ratherest,
> unconfirmed fashion – to insert again my *haud
> credo* for a deer. (*LLL*, IV.II.13-20)

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[9] The pun count in the paper is kept on the basis of the number of tokens rather than types of puns produced by individual characters (however, cf. also Adamczyk (2010: 186-187) for a brief synopsis of potential hazards of representing Shakespeare's play on words quantitatively).

All this builds up a bleak picture of Holofernes' language which turns out to be not only syntactically and lexically intricate but, most importantly, permanently fixed, blocking any reform of its internal structure. As might be predicted, it is at the same time deeply hostile to any spontaneous linguistic phenomena such as wordplay, which rests on twisted meanings and, not infrequently, manipulated pronunciations, i.e. chaos rather than order. Given Holofernes' attitude towards language, tracing as many as 25 occurrences of puns in his speech may seem surprising on the surface of it. It remains to be positively evidenced, however, that the schoolmaster's playing with words is essentially not at odds with his vision of the use of language, though, in a way, it constitutes the exception to the rule. It seems that the simplest explanation for this curious paradox lies in Holofernes' careful choice of punning strategies as well as contextual settings for his word games.

The most spectacular punning effected by the tutor appears to be the following monologue – "an extemporal epitaph on the death of the deer" (IV.II.49-50) killed by the Princess:

(2) *Holofernes:* I will something affect the letter; for it argues
facility.
The preyful princess pierc'd and *PRICK'D* a pretty pleasing *PRICKET*;
Some say a *SORE*; but not a *SORE*, till now made *SORE* with shooting.
The dogs did *YELL*; put *'ELL* to *SORE*, then *SOREL* jumps from thicket;
Or *PRICKET SORE*, or else *SORE'LL* the people fall a-hooting.
If *SORE* be *SORE*, then *'ELL* to *SORE* makes fifty *SORES* – O – *SOREL*!
Of one *SORE* I an hundred make, by adding but one more *L*.
Nathaniel: A rare *TALENT*!
Dull: If a *TALENT* be a *CLAW*, look how he *CLAWS* him with a *TALENT*.
(*LLL*, IV.II.55-65)

[The following meanings lay the groundwork for the above punning interaction: *PRICK'D/PRICKET* (s1 (*sense 1*) = stabbed, wounded / s2 (*sense 2*) = a two-year-old red deer), *SORE* (s1 = a four-year-old deer; s2 = irritation, wound, ulcer; irritated, wounded), *YELL/ELL [L]* (s1 = cry, howl / s2 = (spoken form of) the letter of the alphabet), *SORE+ELL [L]/SOREL* (s1 = a deer of four years + (spoken form of) the letter of the alphabet / s2 = a male deer in its third year; s3 = sorrel, a perennial herb with acidic-tasting leaves used in cookery (sorrel soup/stew is commonly found in recipe collections from the EMod period) and for medicinal purposes (e.g. to alleviate the pain caused by an insect or plant sting); s4 = (also spelt 'sorrel') a popular name for a specific type of character in pastoral literature of the late 16th century), *ELL [L]/L* (s1 = (spoken form of) the letter of the alphabet / s2 = the Roman numeral for 50), *TALENT* (s1 = a gift, flair; s2 = a talon (common old form)), *CLAW/CLAWS* (s1 = a talent / s2 = flatters (3rd pers. sing.)).[10]]

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[10] The adopted method of presenting the interplay of meanings follows Delabastita's (1993) convention.

The reconciliation of Holofernes' radical approach to language with a pretty liberal use of puns in this passage is possible upon recognising the fact that the verbal play practiced by the pedant is as ornamental and impenetrable to his recipients (i.e. his devotee, Nathaniel –a hedge-priest and Dull– a constable) as his language in general. With this end in view, the tutor not only embellishes his puns with alliterative style but also makes the proper understanding of them dependent on, at least a rudimentary, knowledge of Latin (namely, the ability to recognise the letter a *L* as the Roman numeral for fifty) as well as of an intricate system of names given at that time to various kinds of deer, depending on their maturity (see the explanatory note below example 2). Despite all Holofernes' efforts, his puns turn out to be forced and their overall effect fairly insipid. Pedantically pre-arranged, they do not compare to impromptu punning exchanges of the Shakespearean pages, and it seems that even the punning commentary on Holofernes' verbal show made by Dull (after Costard, surely the least brainy figure in the play) proves more riveting. This qualitative judgement on the schoolmaster's wordplay tallies nicely with Wurth's (1895) critical appraisal of the so-called 'Cyklonenspiele' (i.e. semantically concatenated puns piled on top of one another), of which the above puns are a prime example.[11] Somewhat counter-intuitively, but apparently rightly, Wurth finds this type of puns relatively weak, referring to them as "weniger gute Spiele" (1895: 146).

Even though Holofernes succeeds in making his language game unique, he does not seem to feel comfortable about the very fact of indulging in the lowest kind of verbal wit, for which he, accordingly, needs some rational justification. The following is his own desperate attempt to provide one:

> (3) *Holofernes:* This is a gift that I have, simple, simple; a foolish
> extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes,
> objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions:
> these are begot in the ventricle of memory, nour-
> ished in the womb of *pia mater*, and delivered upon
> the mellowing of occasion. *But the gift is good in*
> *those in whom it is acute, and I am thankful for it.* (*LLL*, IV.II.66-72;
> italics on the last sentence added)

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[11] Under Wurth's definition, "[b]ei diesen wird mittelst einer Reihe von Wortspielen um einen Begriff im Kreise herumgegangen" (1895: 147). In fact, 'Cyklonenspiele' belong to the sub-category of 'Gruppenspiele' which "lassen sich meist in die einfachen Spiele zerlegen [...] sie sollen wenigstens durch den Sinn so innig verbunden sein, dass eine Trennung ohne Schaden für das Ganze nicht stattfinden kann. Als äußeres Bindemittel der Einzelspiele wird zuweilen die Alliteration etc. angewendet" (1895: 146).

Another exception to Holofernes' normally non-punning use of language is the following passage:

> (4) *Jaquenetta:* God give you good morrow, master *PERSON*.
>   *Holofernes:* Master *PERSON*, *quasi PIERCE-ONE*. An if one should
>   be *PIERCED*, which is the one?
>   *Costard:* Marry, master schoolmaster, he that is likest to a
>   *HOGSHEAD*.
>   *Holofernes:* Of *PIERCING* a *HOGSHEAD*! A good lustre of conceit
>   in a turf of earth; fire enough for a flint, pearl
>   enough for a swine: 'tis pretty; it is well. (*LLL*, IV.II.81-88)

> [The above punning exchange pivots on the following meaning components: *PERSON/PIERCE-ONE* (s1 = (obsolete spelling of *parson*) a clergyman, preacher / s2 = (possibly spelt 'pers-on' by the Elizabethans) to sting, hurt, offend someone), *PIERCE/PIERCED/PIERCING* (s1 = (also spelt 'Piers') a traditional literary name in English (cf. Piers in *Piers Plowman*); in pastoral literature, for instance, the name normally given to one particular type of character / s2 = stung, hurt, offended / s3 = part of the phrase *piercing a hogshead*, i.e. 'getting drunk'), *HOGSHEAD* (s1 = a thick-witted person; s2 = part of the phrase *to pierce a hogshead*, i.e. 'to get drunk').]

With a single exception, the above is the only example of the schoolmaster's interactional punning.[12] The feature which distinguishes it from his previous attempt at a playful use of language, and its strength at the same time, is its spontaneity and unpretentiousness. This marked shift in punning style, resulting mostly from the decision to engage in a dialogical play on words, is hardly fortuitous and seems to be closely related to the specificity of the participant configuration, Holofernes' recipients being his social inferiors, i.e. Jaquenetta (a country wench) and Costard (a country bumpkin). The very fact of stooping to punning with such low-ranking characters is apparently an attempt to socialise with them. Accordingly, making his puns more readily accessible and down-to-earth (as seen especially in the use of the 16th –and 17th– century idiomatic slang expression *to pierce a hogshead* meaning 'to get drunk') can be regarded as the pedant's strategy towards tailoring his language to intellectual abilities of his

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[12] The following is the exceptional case:
> (5) *Nathaniel:* Sir, you have done this in the fear of God, very
>   religiously; and, as a certain *FATHER* saith, –
>   *Holofernes:* Sir, tell not me of the *FATHER*;
>   I do fear *COLOURABLE COLOURS*. […] (*LLL*, IV.II.146-149)

[The semantic composition of the above puns is the following: *FATHER* (s1 = a priest, parson (used as a title); s2 = a begetter, male parent), *COLOURABLE/COLOURS* (s1 = plausible, specious / s2 = pretexts, pretences, the appearance of right; s3 = (as in the stock phrase *fear no colours* 'fear no enemy') military (enemy's) ensigns, standards).]

addressees, which is both generous and strategic (i.e. intended to make communication between them effective). The sole reason why a similar strategy was not pursued in the passage quoted in example 2 is, in all likelihood, the fact that the entire verbal show was meant to impress Nathaniel, Dull being, from Holofernes' point of view, a virtually redundant recipient. Finally, an alternative explanation for the schoolmaster's more carefree punning in interactions with his social inferiors (which, paradoxically, produces better results than his stilted wordplay) may emerge from the fact that it is only in the company of such participants that he can momentarily stop parading his sophisticated language.

Exceptionally, the final example presents Holofernes as an outpunned party rather than a punster, providing tangible evidence that he miserably fails to cope with the type of punning which develops into a battle of wits. The pedant is here cast in the role of actor playing Judas in the Pageant of the Nine Worthies:

(6)	*Holofernes:*	[…] Judas I am, –
	Dumain:	A Judas!
	Holofernes:	Not Iscariot, sir.
		Judas I am, *YCLEPED* Maccabæus.
	Dumain:	Judas Maccabæus *CLIPT* is plain Judas.
	Berowne:	A kissing traitor. How, art thou prov'd Judas? […]
	Holofernes:	What mean you, sir?
	Boyet:	To make Judas hang himself.
	Holofernes:	Begin, sir; you are my *ELDER*.
	Berowne:	Well follow'd: Judas was hang'd on an *ELDER*.
	Holofernes:	I will not be put out of *COUNTENANCE*.
	Berowne:	Because thou hast no *FACE*.
	Holofernes:	What is this?
	Boyet:	A cittern-head.
	Dumain:	The head of a bodkin.
	Berowne:	The death's *FACE* in a ring.
	Longaville:	The *FACE* of an old Roman coin, scarce seen. […]
	Berowne:	And now, forward; for we have put thee in *COUNTENANCE*.
	Holofernes:	You have put me out of *COUNTENANCE*.
	Berowne:	False: we have given thee *FACES*.
	Holofernes:	But you have *OUTFACED* them all.
	Berowne:	An thou wert a lion, we would do so.
	Boyet:	Therefore, *AS* he is, an *ASS*, let him go.
		And so *ADIEU*, sweet *JUDE*! nay, why dost thou stay?
	Dumain:	For the latter end of his name.
	Berowne:	For the *ASS* to the *JUDE*? give it him: – *JUD-AS*, away!

> Holofernes: This is not generous, not gentle, not humble. (*LLL*, V.II.588-593; 596-606; 612-621)

[The meanings brought to the fore in the above interaction include the following: *YCLEPED/CLIPT* (s1 = called, named / s2 = sheared, abbreviated, curtailed; s3 = embraced, surrounded), *ELDER* (s1 = older; s2 = a small tree with pithy stems; (in the Christian tradition) the type of tree from which Judas hanged himself), *COUNTENANCE* (s1 = as in the phrase *out of countenance* 'disconcerted, distracted, unsettled'; s2 = a person's face or facial expression), *FACE* (s1 = physiognomy; s2 = the front side of coins, flasks, rings, brooches, etc., presented to the view), *FACES/OUTFACED* (s1 = the plural of s2 in the previous entry / s2 = intimidated, browbeaten, put out of countenance), *AS/ASS* (s1 = since, because / s2 = a foolish, stupid person), *ADIEU/(A JEW)//JUDE* (s1 = a farewell / s2 = a representative of the Jewish nation // s3 = an Apostle (also known as *Judas*)), *JUDE+ASS/JUD-AS* (s1 = s3 in the previous entry + a foolish, stupid person / s2 = an Apostle; someone who betrays a comrade).]

As in any punning duel, puns made here by the victimising parties, i.e. lords, are all classic examples of overt Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) intended against their discourse partner, i.e. Holofernes. As evident from the final sentence, which is the schoolmaster's (indirect) admission to having been outmanoeuvred, they turn out hugely successful. To be sure, the insurmountable difficulty in repelling the lords' attack is caused by his failure to use their own weapon against them. Outwitting his rivals, however, proves impossible, as it requires agile mind and spontaneity which Holofernes, who values only sophisticated foreign vocabulary and erudition, apparently lacks.

3.2. AN ENQUIRY INTO PUNNING PRACTICES OF THE SHAKESPEAREAN JESTER: THE CASE OF FESTE IN TN

While, terminologically, Feste's role in the play may be easily confused with Costard's, for instance, or Lance's in *TGV* (*The Two Gentlemen Of Verona*), all these characters being routinely referred to as 'clowns' or 'fools' (see also footnote 5), the evidence of puns shows clearly that he shares little common ground with these figures. In fact, the most fitting description of his professional duty as jester is provided by himself in one of his punning interactions with Viola, disguised as a male:

> (7) *Viola:* Art not thou the Lady Olivia's *FOOL*?
> *Feste:* No, indeed, sir. The Lady Olivia has no folly. She will keep no *FOOL*, sir, till she be married, and *FOOLS* are as like husbands as pilchards are to herrings – the husband's the bigger. I am indeed not her *FOOL* but her *corrupter of words*. (*TN*, III.I.26-30; italics on the non-capitalised words added)

[The above pun on *FOOL* rests on the following interplay of meanings: s1 = a jester (especially one retained in a great household); s2 = a simpleton, ass, dullard.]

One may gain the impression that Feste, with his 65 puns, fits into the category of fairly prolific punsters. However, given that it is the province of jesters to deliberately twist meanings just for the fun of it, Feste could be expected to have a big lead over the rest of the punning figures, which is not the case. The explanation for this lies, most probably, in the fact that in *TN*, a late comedy, Shakespeare is no longer obsessed with the idea of punning whenever opportunity offers. Accordingly, the jester is not only cast in the role of punster, the "corrupter of words" (*TN*, III.I.30), as he chooses to label himself (cf. example 7 above), but he also frequently practices the wit of ideas.

Unlike other punsters, Feste does not select suitable partners to pun with, but he practices verbal play with all his interlocutors (i.e., in order of entry, Maria, Olivia, Sir Andrew, Viola, Sebastian, Sir Toby, Malvolio, Fabian and Orsino), irrespective of their social standing. Accordingly, it comes as little surprise that he does not hesitate to pun even with the highest-ranking figure in the play, Duke Orsino, as illustrated below:

(8) *Orsino:* Thou shalt not be the worse for me; there's gold.
    Feste: But that it would be *DOUBLE-DEALING*, sir, I would you could make it another.
    Orsino: O you give me ill counsel.
    Feste: Put your *GRACE* in your pocket, sir, for this once, and let your flesh and blood obey it.
    Orsino: Well, I will be so much a sinner to be a *DOUBLE-DEALER*; there's another.
    Feste: *Primo, secundo, tertio* is a good play, and the old saying is 'The third pays for all'; the *TRIPLEX*, sir, is a good *TRIPPING* measure; or the bells of St Bennet, sir, may put you in mind – one, two, three.
    Orsino: You can *FOOL* no more money out of me at this *THROW*. If you will let your lady know I am here to speak with her, and bring her along with you, it may awake my bounty further. (*TN*, V.I.21-34)

[The meanings toyed with above include the following: *DOUBLE-DEALING* (s1 = duplicity, trickery; s2 = double-giving, giving twice over), *GRACE* (s1 = a favour; s2 = a form of address for a duke/duchess), *TRIPLEX/TRIPPING* (s1 = triple time in music / s2 = dancing or walking with quick light steps), *FOOL* (s1 = to trick, make a fool of someone; s2 = a jester (especially one retained in a great household)), *THROW* (s1 = a venture, occasion; s2 = a cast of the dice).]

To be sure, the most conspicuous peculiarity about Feste's wordplay, and more specifically its semantic composition, is his frequent playing on the meaning 'fool', which takes on a self-referential character as a commentary on

the profession of jester. The exchanges quoted below, where he interacts with Olivia (his lady) and Malvolio (her steward), are all intended as an illustration of this idiosyncrasy (see also example 7 above):

(9a) *Malvolio:* Ay, good *FOOL.*
    Feste: Alas, sir, how fell you besides your five wits?
    Malvolio: *FOOL,* there was never man so notoriously abused. I am as
        well in my wits, *FOOL,* as thou art.
    Feste: But as well? Then you are mad indeed, if you be no better in
        your wits than a *FOOL.* (*TN,* IV.II.71-76)

(9b) *Olivia:* What's a drunken man like, *FOOL?*
    Feste: Like a drowned man, a *FOOL,* and a madman: one draught above
        heat makes him a *FOOL,* the second mads him, and a third drowns
        him. (*TN,* I.V.107-110)

(9c) *Feste:* […] God bless thee, lady.
    Olivia: Take the *FOOL* away.
    Feste: Do you not hear, fellows? Take away the lady.
    Olivia: Go to, y'are a *DRY FOOL:* I'll no more of you; besides, you grow
        dishonest.
    Feste: Two faults, Madonna, that drink and good counsel will *AMEND*:
        for give the *DRY FOOL* drink, then is the *FOOL* not *DRY*; bid the
        dishonest
        man *MEND* himself; if he *MEND,* he is no longer dishonest; if he
        cannot, let the botcher *MEND* him. Anything that's *MENDED* is but
        patched: virtue that transgresses is but patched with sin, and sin
        that *AMENDS* is but patched with virtue. […] (*TN,* I.V.30-40)

[The meanings at play in examples 9a, 9b and 9c can be elucidated as follows: *FOOL* (s1 = a jester (especially one retained in a great household); s2 = a simpleton, ass, dullard), *DRY* (s1 = (of a jest) dull, flat or caustic; s2 = thirsty), *(A)MEND* (*mend* being an aphetic form of *amend*) (s1 = to repair, fix; s2 = to improve in moral standards, reform).]

While it is little surprising that the jester unlocks the assaultive potential of the word *fool* in exchanges with Malvolio (example 9a), his bitter foe, and with Olivia (example 9b), where in fact a third party, Sir Toby (a kinsman of Olivia's), is being fooled, his direct attack on the lady in the last example is somewhat astonishing. Apparently, punning as a professional duty, primarily intended to entertain (if only on the surface), does not have to be finely adjusted to the type of interlocutor. At the same time, even though the jester's assaults are first and foremost designed to arouse laughter, his wordplay rarely seems all innocent and devoid of some additional function in the play. It is probably not coincidental, though surely ironic, that each of Feste's addressees is at least once called 'a fool' by the leading representative of the category of fools himself. This seems to

point to the conclusion that the jester's wordplay has a reflexive character in that it provides a foil for human folly, even though no particular kind thereof is being ridiculed.[13] Accordingly, there may be at least a modicum of justification for his conviction that he "wear[s] not motley in the brain" (I.V.46) and some logic in the following philosophy which he adopts:

> (10) *Feste:*   Wit, and't be thy will, put me into good fooling! Those wits that think they have thee do very oft prove fools, and I that am sure I lack thee may pass for a wise man. For what says Quinapalus? 'Better a witty fool than a foolish wit' […]. (*TN*, I.V.27-30)

It needs to be highlighted finally that Feste's wordplay never assumes the form of spectacular 'ping-pong punning'.[14] This can be attributed to the fact that none of his interlocutors seem capable of keeping pace with him, save for Maria, a waiting-woman, who for some reason misses the opportunity to do that, but is still the only character to twist the jester's meanings at all, which is done once in the whole play:

> (11) *Feste:*   […] I am resolved on two *POINTS* –
> *Maria:*   That if one break, the other will hold, or if both break, your gaskins faill. (*TN*, I.V.19-21)

[The above pun on *POINTS* pivots around the following senses: s1 = matters, issues, topics; s2 = tagged laces used for attaching breeches to a doublet.]

An attempt to respond to Feste's wordplay in a punning mode is also made by Viola but, unlike in Maria's case, it proves clumsy, which is made crystal-clear by the jester himself:

> (12) *Viola:*   Save thee, friend, and thy music! Dost thou *LIVE BY* thy tabor?
> *Feste:*   No, sir, I *LIVE BY* the church.
> *Viola:*   Art thou a churchman?
> *Feste:*   No such matter, sir. I do *LIVE BY* the church; for I do live at my house, and my house doth *STAND BY* the church.
> *Viola:*   So thou mayst say the king *LIES BY* a beggar, if a beggar dwell near him; or the church *STANDS BY* thy tabor if thy tabor *STAND BY* the church.

> *Feste:* You have said, sir. To see this age! A sentence is but a cheveril
> glove to a good wit – how quickly the wrong side may be turned
> outward!
> *Viola:* Nay, that's certain: they that dally nicely with words may
> quickly make them *WANTON*.
> *Feste:* I would therefore my sister had had no name, sir.
> *Viola:* Why, man?
> *Feste:* Why, sir, her name's a word, and to dally with that word might
> make my sister *WANTON*; but, indeed, words are very rascals, since
> bonds disgraced them. (*TN*, III.I.1-18)

[The following meanings are brought into play in the above puns: *LIVE BY* (s1 = to make a living by; s2 = to dwell nearby, beside), *LIES BY* (s1 = s2 in the previous entry (3rd pers. sing.); s2 = lies with, i.e. has sexual intercourse with), *STAND BY* (s1 = to be located nearby; s2 = to be maintained by), *WANTON/(WANT ONE)* (s1 = wayward, unrestrained, capricious; s2 = licentious, promiscuous, lecherous / s3 = to desire somebody/something).]

In all likelihood, the role of an active punning partner of jester would be best played by page, given that a close parallel (quantitative and qualitative alike) can be drawn between the types of wordplay practiced by the two categories of punsters. In the plot line of *TN*, however, no room is left for this stock figure.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Bringing the discussion to an end, the most relevant facts about Holofernes' idiosyncratic punning style can be reiterated in summary form as follows:

a. Essentially, the pedant's orthodox approach to language leaves little room for puns, which are regarded as phenomena upsetting the desired stability and predictability therein.

b. The only brand of verbal humour acceptable to the schoolmaster appears to be that which involves scrupulously pre-arranged, sophisticated and inaccessible puns; these, however, turn out to produce rather a vapid effect.

c. While more common-or-garden, interactional punning appears sporadically in Holofernes' exchanges with socially low-ranking characters, it is normally looked down upon by the pedant as a simplistic verbal exercise. The fact which he fails to realise is that lively punning exchanges are, at the same time, beyond his intellectual capabilities, requiring open mind rather than flowery language.

d. Holofernes' play with words, rare as it is, seems to offer firm evidence that he is a stock example of the Shakespearean pedant, for whom the

knowledge (often superficial) of sophisticated words appears to be primary to a clever use of them.

e. More generally, a close look at the schoolmaster's punning style makes it possible to hypothesise that the cumulative use of puns, as seen in example 2 above, produces more spectacular results in interactive, impromptu speech than in monologues.

Even though punning on words is not the only province of jester, he is beyond a shadow of doubt one of the key figures in the humorous discourse of Shakespeare's comedies. The most essential facets of his use of wordplay are recapitulated below:

a. Feste is responsible for generating altogether 65 puns, which are distributed among 46 out of a total of 100 entries he makes into the stage. Accordingly, punning passages, many of which contain more than a single instance of wordplay, account for almost 50% of the jester's entire dramatic text, which appears to make him a habitual punster and his play with words a character-defining feature.[15]

b. Feste pits his wits against all central characters in *TN*, yet playful responses to his wordplay are sporadic.

c. As far as the subject-matter of his punning is concerned, the only recurring play is that on the word *fool* which, carrying a double meaning (namely 'a jester' and 'a simpleton'), appears to be intended not only as a meta-commentary on the profession of jester but also as a foil for human folly. The two meanings are put to playful use altogether 14 times by Feste, and their interplay assumes mostly the form of highly elaborate punning patterns.

d. An assaultive use of puns on the word *fool* in all participant configurations evidences firmly that the jester does not attempt to carefully tailor his wordplay to the type of interacting party, and is, in effect, as impertinent in exchanges with low characters as in those with his betters.

e. The jester rarely engages in lengthy punning interactions; instead, his wordplay assumes for the most part the form of short, brilliant repartees scattered throughout the play.

While, due to lack of terminological rigour, Feste's role may be confused with Costard's (*LLL*) and Lance's (*TGV*), country rustics, the wordplay practiced

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[15] Interestingly, Feste's non-punning lines involve various wordplay-related phenomena (e.g. rhyme) as well as frequent manifestations of extra-linguistic humour, principally the wit of ideas.

by the two categories of characters is substantially different in that the jester puns consciously, purposefully and caustically. At the same time, a close parallel can be drawn between his punning and a playful use of language by pages (e.g. Moth in *LLL* and Speed in *TGV*), whose wit is equally sparkling.

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BOYZ OUT THE HOOD? GEOGRAPHICAL, LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN JOHN SINGLETON'S *BOYZ N THE HOOD*[1]

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ABSTRACT. *In contrast with many of the films said to belong to the 'hood films' cycle of the nineties, John Singleton's* Boyz N the Hood *(1991) sober and realistically portrays the hardships of blacks' existence in the Los Angeles' neighbourhood of South Central. For the film, as this paper aims to demonstrate, the inability of the 'hood residents to escape the geographical and social constrains of their environment is a direct outcome of the long-distance control that the mainly white dominant elites exert over their existence. Through the confronting lifestyles that the characters embody, the film exemplifies the different possible attitudes towards the place/race-biased identities that the life in the 'hood motivates. In order to contest the social determinism that seems to dominate the life of the residents of the 'hood, Tre's character stands out as epitome of the film's ideology in favour of education and respect, and not violence, as the way to survive this social-political scheme.*

Keywords: Identity, film, mobility, race, representation, Socio-Pragmatics.

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¿CHICOS FUERA DEL BARRIO? MOVILIDAD GEOGRÁFICA, LINGÜÍSTICA Y SOCIAL EN *LOS CHICOS DEL BARRIO* DE JOHN SINGLETON

RESUMEN. *A diferencia de muchas de las películas norteamericanas pertenecientes a lo que hoy es conocido como el ciclo de "películas de barrio" de los noventa,* Los Chicos del Barrio *(1991) de John Singleton representa de una manera sobria y realista las dificultades y conflictos resultantes de la convivencia diaria de la comunidad negra en el barrio angelino de South Central. Para dicha película, como intenta demostrar este trabajo, la incapacidad de los habitantes negros del barrio a la hora de escapar de las limitaciones geográficas y sociales de su entorno, no es sino un resultado directo del control ejercido sobre su existencia por las distantes, y mayoritariamente blancas, élites en el poder. A través de los antagónicos estilos de vida que los diferentes personajes representan, la película ejemplifica las diferentes posibles actitudes hacia las identidades predefinidas en términos de raza y residencia, y mayoritariamente abocadas al desastre, que la vida en el barrio favorece. Con el objetivo de combatir el determinismo social que parece dominar la vida de los residentes en el barrio, el personaje de Tre se erige como epítome de la ideología de la película, a favor de la educación, el respeto mutuo y el rechazo a la violencia como vehículos para trascender, y sobrevivir, este esquema social.*

Palabras clave: Identidad, cine, movilidad, raza, representación, Socio-Pragmática.

At the beginning of the nineties, a cycle of films, later described by critics as "Hood Films",[2] brought to the surface of the mainstream North American cinema the situation and living conditions of contemporary black urban communities. Mainly focused on the poorest and more conflictive neighbourhoods of big North American metropolitan areas, especially New York and Los Angeles, films like *New Jack City* (Mario Van Peebles 1991), *Menace II Society* (Albert and Allen Hughes 1993), *Juice* (Ernest R. Dickinson 1993) or *Fresh* (Boaz Yakin 1994) depicted a life surrounded by incessant insecurity, drug trades, prostitution, crime and violence. Most of these films were in fact directed by newcomer black directors, obtaining a public relevance never seen before. Fuelled by Hip-Hop lyrics, and sometimes with rappers in the lead roles, these films along with their

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[2]   This term is used to refer to films that portray the difficult coming of age of their black protagonists, placing the narrative always within the geographical boundaries of the low-class black neighborhood (Massood 1996: 85).

soundtracks gained great popularity as a whole, and their representation of black youth had an immense, but not necessarily constructive, social and cultural repercussion. While at first they were regarded positively as signal of an outburst of black relevance and creativity within the North American society, it was not long before they were criticized for their sometimes one-dimensional portrayal of black communities as poor and violent, perpetuating this way negative stereotypical images of blacknesss in the US.[3]

Of the myriad of films said to belong to the aforementioned cycle, none got (or still gets) the critical, spectatorial or academic response that *Boyz 'N' the Hood* (John Singleton 1991) did. Described as much more "subtle and complex" than other contemporary black-on-black representations (Michael Eric Dyson 1993: 91), the film portrays the lives of Tre Styles (Desi Arnez Hines II/Cuba Gooding Jr.), a young black man, his friends and family, who live in the conflictive neighbourhood of South Central Los Angeles. Under the tight guidance and discipline of his father Furious (Lawrence Fishbourne), Tre will be able to get a proper education and to avoid being trapped in the self-destructive vicious circle of verbal and physical violence characteristic of the 'hood, a jungle-like society that will not be so benevolent with many of his friends.

Harsh and unsweetened at times, the film's realistic representation of the black neighbourhood's everyday life deliberately avoids both the stylized romantization in which many "hood films" had fallen, as well as the degraded stereotypification of previous white-dominated representations of blackness.[4] Although present at certain points, neither drugs nor prostitution or guns are dominant motifs within the picture, and when their images appear, they are addressed from a completely non-glorifying perspective as the main liabilities of the lower class black experience. Seemingly aware of the immense ideological power of mainstream popular representations, the film not only avoids any kind of possible exaltation of violence and confrontation as a basic living condition in the 'hood, but also openly traces and criticizes the reasons for the reproduction of this existing social scheme.[5]

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[3] As pointed out by Miles Hewstone and Howard Giles (1997), stereotypes are not negative by definition. Positive stereotypes may serve to highlight or bring to the front the aspects of their identities by which a group or a person wants to be seen and differentiated from others.

[4] Within the first group we can find films ranging from *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (Melvin Van Peebles 1971) to more recent ones like *xXx: State of the Union* (Lee Tamahori 2005). Of the second, I reckon that there is no need for specific examples, although one might think about *The Birth Of a Nation* (D.W. Griffith 1915) or *Gone With the Wind* (Victor Flemming, George Cukor, Sam Wood 1939) as classic examples.

[5] As Robyn Wiegman points out, despite the cautious approach of the film towards violence it could not avoid being blamed for "instigating audience violence" (1993: 182).

With all this in mind, and from a socio-pragmatic perspective, this paper will aim to, first: deconstruct the constellation of reasons that are behind the constant climate of violence prevailing in this kind of neighbourhood and second, the role the control over the mobility of its inhabitants fulfils in the perpetuation of the system. A system that, as will be developed, relies on the prevailingly hierarchical asymmetrical relationship between whites and blacks, and the self-destructive confrontation among the latter. As a final statement, this paper will present the character of Tre as a viable departure from this conflictual scheme and as the desirable role model that embodies the film's demythologising ideology around social relations between blacks.

Even before the opening credits of the film appear on the screen, we can hear the voices of a group of black youngsters (as they repeatedly address themselves as "niggas") preparing to assault and kill another group of blacks for some previous affront we do not get to know about. The film's anxiety around this situation, apparently commonplace in the life in the 'hood, is clearly stated in the words that appear right after written over a black screen which reads "One out of 21 black American males will be murdered in their lifetime. Most will die at the hands of another black male". After the sound of the gunshots the police sirens fade out, the first shot of the film shows the image of a stop traffic-sign while, in the background, a plane flies above the rooftops of the 'hood.

By means of this simple symbol, the film not only demonstrates its ideology around the black-on-black violence as something to be stopped once and for all (Wiegman 1993: 183), but it also brings up the apparently insurmountable distance between their everyday lives in the 'hood and the world outside. Following Manthia Diawara's statement that "signs play an important role in limiting the movement of people in South Central Los Angeles" (1993: 22), I agree that the rest of the traffic signs in the film's prologue can become significantly noteworthy. The introductory scene, in which a group of ten year old boys (including an infantile version of Tre) go to a murder scene while they talk about a past night shooting, can be said to reveal the film's vision of this enclosed trapping environment as a definitory element in the formation of the 'hood individuals' present and future identities. While two successive "one way" traffic signs seem to direct the children's route around the 'hood towards the crime scene, a big red sign that reads "wrong way" warns the spectator about the undesirable likelihood that following the 'hood ways' may end up with the boys' own death.

As Zigmut Bauman states in his book *Liquid Modernity,*[6] it is a paramount aspect of nowadays' social structures that the elites in power hold a tight

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[6] Bauman's theories are, in turn, based on Michel Foucault's works, especially *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977).

command over the mobility of the rest of the population. While the general population is denied the possibility of evading its own environment, these elites (in control of the means of transportation) are able to move freely across borders and exert their dominance invisibly from a safe distance (2000: 14-20). Whites and their remarkable nonattendance in the film can easily fulfil the role of those elites that Bauman called "absent landlords" (10). Deliberately omitted during most of the film, the visual representations of significant whites and their agency in the state of affairs that defines blacks' existence in the 'hood are foregrounded in some selected moments. For instance, all over the wall at the murder scene around which the children gather, gunned electoral posters of smiling Ronald Reagan wearing a cowboy hat remain impassive witnesses of black self-destruction. At the same time, Reagan's representation in the guise of the United States iconically over-reproduced glorious past relates to the primal source of the glorification of violence in US American culture. The incongruous relation that the United States maintains with its own violent past, and the effect it bears on the current state-of-affairs, is again textually reinforced in the history class scene, when the children are taught the story behind Thanksgiving Day. Although the teacher presents the occasion as a symbol of communion between different races, and even rushes to correct herself and use the politically correct expression "Native Americans" instead of "Indians" in order to demonstrate certain diversity awareness, her speech seems to be historically and contextually unsound. The children's drawings that the camera focuses on while the teacher speaks are full of police officers and dead bodies, not only reflecting the incongruence between the black children's experience and the teacher's Eurocentric curriculum (Dyson 1993: 94), but also implicitly associate the violence of both, as the teacher, in an exercise of dominant reading of History, overlooks the eventual violent outcome of the clash between the Anglo-Saxon settlers and the native Americans.

Later, in one of the most judgemental scenes of the film, Furious, fulfilling the role of father and leader for the community[7], is shown to give a speech about the importance for blacks to own their own houses, businesses and land if they are to fight the degradation of their life in the neighbourhood. With the objective of 'gentrifying' the neighbourhood, and instead of simply raising the standards of living and favouring in this way the upward mobility of their inhabitants, as Furious explains, the whites lower down the value of the houses through the omnipresence of guns, liquor, drugs and the lack of real resources

[7] Furious' role in the film in fact, and specially enhanced in this scene, seems to resonate the figure of Martin Luther King Jr. as spiritual and ideological leader of the black community.

to make a living in the hood. Then, their banks and firms buy the properties to speculate with them, selling the houses at a higher price to the whites when their original underprivileged inhabitants have been evicted (Smith, 2002: 438).[8] The degradation of the standards of living in the 'hood is, according to Furious' resisting reading, just means for the whites' superstructures to make a profit out of their control over the mobility and reterritorialization of blacks and their eventual self-destruction[9]. Once these "inner city communities are cut off from sources of moral authority and legitimate work" (Dyson 1993: 97), crime turns to be a viable and accessible way of living that most do not even consider questioning, even if it means to be constantly surrounded by delinquency and death.

As Bauman (2000: 13) explains, the implemented role for non-elite, forcedly sedentary individuals is plain demise at the service of a power which, clearly stated at the beginning of the film, does not even need to get its hands dirty. Moreover, the white-owned means of transportation that could fulfil the residents' desire for mobility are instead used to degrade even more their existence in the 'hood (ships and planes bringing drugs) or to ensure that they never get to leave their premises (surveillance police helicopters), reinforcing this way the hierarchical power relation they entail. As a postmodern version of Foucault's modern Panopticon,[10] which Bauman also used in his argumentation, the constant sound of the invisible helicopters over the 'hood "works to keep the community in its place through the awareness and internalization of surveillance and perceived criminality" (Massood 1996: 91). The attendance to Furious' "sermon-on-the mount" speech (Wiegman 1993: 185) is in fact the only time, and already as adults, when the protagonists will be shown leaving the confines of their own surrounding, but only to visit the even more dangerous neighbourhood (of similar idiosyncrasy) of Comptom. This "dispute over agency

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8   Socio-demographical researches on the development of postmodern city-scapes, carried out by authors like Mike Davis (2006) and Saskia Sassen (2006), pointed out the reversal migration that took place in LA in the second half of the 20th century, by which the downtown became the home of the poorer neighbourhoods of the city, while the richer strata of society and the work moved to the suburbs at the outskirts of the city. However, as Smith (2002) explains, in later phases of the urban reterritorialization of big cities all around the world, gentrification has become the main way of "retaking the city for the middle classes" (443), evicting any kind of minority or under privileged group, and transforming whole areas along with their social character.

9   Here, the term 'superstructure' is used in line with Louis Althusser's understanding of it. According to him, capitalist societies are structured on two levels, an economic base, called infrastructure, and an ideological top, called superstructure, dominated by the economic elites in power (1971).

10   The idea of the 'Panopticon' that Foucault (1977) used to define modern power consists, in short terms, of a prison-like fortress in which the inmates are tied to the place and barred from all movement under the tight and constant surveillance of the guards above them.

and control over the community" as Diawara (1993: 22) describes it, is portrayed to have an immense repercussion on the character's mobility in different realms. As it will be shown throughout the second part of the film, when the 'hood's children have already become young adults, it is not a mere issue of their geographical mobility that is at stake when agency is concerned, but a whole sense of socio-identitarian self determination and upward mobility.

The different levels of compliance with the idiosyncrasy of the life in the neighbourhood, and the personalities attached to it, are represented in a gradient and embodied by the different characters that surround the protagonist's life. At the negative end of the gradient Tre's friends, the 'boyz' stand. If we could see Doughboy (Baha Jackson/Ice Cube) being taken resignedly to the reformatory at the close of the first part of the film, then the first images in the second part depict a party in celebration for his return from jail, from where he seems to have been coming and going. This way, we are shown that the boyz' identities as delinquents, only hypothetically latent as children, have crystallized over the years without any apparent measure of resistance against it having been taken either by society or by themselves. Not only out of sheer carelessness, society's discourse seems to have done nothing but to force them into adjusting to that negative stereotypical pattern of action expected from them. All throughout their lives, even when not committing an offence, black males are represented as being violently harassed and insulted by the police; as children, disrespected and undermined by their own parents; as youngsters, attacked by elder gangs; and, as citizens, ignored completely by the media. With no other alternatives offered by society, delinquency becomes their only possible self-identificatory reality, "[their] world par excellence" (Berger and Luckman 1967: 36). Even going to the Army, the single option that the system seems to offer them outside of their neighbourhood, means just leaving proper society completely at a side and exchanging the violence of the 'hood for the violence of the state.

In Foucauldian terms, black males in the film, can be said to be "excluded" from proper society and from the agency over the discourse that defines it.[11] Constantly seeing themselves through the eyes of others and their discourses, they epitomize the process that Erich Fromm defined as "authoritarian conformity", by which "the individual ceases to be himself; he adopts entirely the kind of personality offered to him by cultural patterns; and he therefore becomes exactly as all others expect him to be" (as cited in Penas Ibáñez 2006: 236). Their acceptance and identification with these patterns, attached to the

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[11] In Foucault's "The order of Discourse", exclusion is one of the main procedures, along with limitation and appropriation, by which dominant discourses are controlled and function (1981: 61-70).

idiosyncrasy of their environment, means also the acceptance of their neighbourhood as a geographical and identitarian ghetto of which there seems to be no possible entrance or exit. Lies repeated often enough become truths, and the system's reliance on stereotypes works no differently. In their article "Social Groups and Social Stereotypes", Hewstone and Giles point out that stereotypes are always harder to contravene than to accept, even neurologically (1997: 280), and that even if part of fallacious representations, commonly shared stereotypes will eventually end up becoming real in their social consequences (270).

In this sense, several authors have noted the disrespectful, stereotypical and objectifying way in which Doughboy and the boyz address black women as 'bitch', 'ho' or 'hootchie', using them as scapegoats for their own frustrations (Wiegman 1993: 183; Dyson 1993: 93). However, they have overlooked first, the fact that black females are also portrayed using those terms between them, and second, that black males use a similar kind of language to refer to other black males. It has been demonstrated that context, race, gender, age and class have a huge impact on the threshold for what can be defined as verbal aggressiveness (Jay 2000: 160-161), and that blacks in particular engage in much more verbal play and bantering than whites. However, it is difficult to interpret their sub-standard African-American vernacular's preference for appellatives such as 'nigger', 'punk', 'fool', 'stupid' or 'motherfucker', terms by which the members of the gang refer to each other, as a case of in-group bonding. In fact, several instances can be found in the film in which these terms become what has come to be known as 'fighting words', that is, "personally provocative epithets spoken face-to-face to an individual that lead to immediate violence" (Jay 2000: 216). Verbal aggressiveness is portrayed in the film as the origin for the fight at the school, for the constant arguing between girls and boys in the 'hood, for the shooting at the Creenshaw Party and for Ricky's (Morris Chestnut) fighting his brother Doughboy, leaving his house and being eventually killed in a nearby alley. Especially remarkable is in this sense the pragmatics of the word 'nigger'. Co-opted from the way in which whites referred to their black slaves in the past, the term is used carelessly by the gang for in-group communication, and very pejoratively by the harassing black police officer that patrols the 'hood. These different cases of linguistic "accommodation", as Howard Giles and Peter F. Powesland denominate it (1997), are said to also affect all levels of behaviour and entail an inevitable degree of identity-change (Penas Ibáñez 2006: 232). Language forces individuals into its patterns and presents the subject with a prefabricated understanding of the reality surrounding him (Berger and

Luckman 1967: 53). I find likeable to think then, that black males addressing themselves as 'niggers', and black females referring to themselves as 'ho's', do nothing but accept and reproduce the autocratical and violent ideological standards that gave birth to them in the first place. Language, therefore, becomes not so much a "blueprint" of the character's identity (Penas Ibáñez 2006: 237), but a stigma signalling and perpetuating their role within the hierarchy of power.

However, language is not the only external sign of their conformity with the patterns that society's discourse has ready for them, but a part of the whole re-enactment of their prearranged identities. Becoming what Ervin Goffman calls a "performative team" (1959: 79), the boyz in the 'hood carry out an almost dramaturgical interaction by which they stage their identities as gangsters constantly, especially in the presence of other 'teams'. As Goffman points out, performative interaction is always based on a "two-team interplay" (1959: 92) by which the other team fulfils the role of an audience, and whose opposition as outsiders enhances even more the first teams' representation of reality. Whether their audience is the other gang, their more successful friends and brothers, or the girls of the neighbourhood, the boyz' constant and antagonical opposition with other teams, becomes a direct projection of the same disdain they suffer in their own everyday lives. Inexorably permeated by society's discourse, the social interactions that these youngsters carry out, represent, reproduce and reinforce the stereotypical identities that they were expected to fulfil in the first place as inhabitants of the 'hood.

At the positive end of the spectrum of agency applied to geographical, social and linguistic mobility, we can find Tre's mother, Reva (Angela Basset). Assumedly divorced from Furious, middle-high class and educated, her apparent success seems to be a direct outcome of her leaving the 'hood. However, the nuanced representation that her ideals have in the film is far from utterly univocal. At the beginning of the film, right after Tre gets into a fight in class, she immediately sends him to live with his father in the neighborhood with no apparent regret. For the rest of the film, she will be another absent figure, with no visible interest in the development of her son's life until he is old enough to go to college. This rejection of not only her son, but her whole community and origins stays very much in tune with what Anthony Elliot and Charles Lemert define as "The New Individualism" and the disengagement between the individual and the collective that sustains it. Product of today's postmodern globalized and capitalistic society, this mentality is defined by an anxious search for self-fulfilment and a detachment from any interpersonal obstacles that could get in the way of the person's egocentric designs (2006: 3). Institutions like the

neighbourhood, the family or the nation, already defined as "zombie institutions" by Beck (as cited in Bauman 2000: 12), are but impediments for the fulfilment of personal freedom. However, Elliot and Lemert (2006: 10) also point out, as Bauman had done, that this supposed freedom is only available to people of means, while poor people are just left behind under the stereotypical impression that "the poor simply do not know how to behave" (ibid). Reva not only fulfils this late modern capitalistic pattern by distancing herself from collective ideals to take the *route* of private success, but also in feeling the emotional hollowness that these practices entail. As much as could be said against the boyz, at least they demonstrate a sense of *rooted* belonging and a mentality of standing by and defending each other if necessary.[12]

As Stuart Hall points out, the complete overturning of a stereotype may simply mean an implicit acceptance of the categorical understanding of reality that gave way to it in the first place (1997: 272). Reva, in her complete rejection of the black community, and her ore-like adoption of the whites' ways, does not escape this way "the contradictions of the binary structure of racial stereotyping" (ibid) and the relation of assymentrical power and domination that they entail. Under this perspective, and even if his discourse may sound contradictory at times, Furious' character emerges as an oasis in-between extremes and as embodiment of the ideological liminality that the film wants to enhance. Breaking with the opposing positions that Reva and the 'boyz' symbolize, and through the saliency of Furious as a successful guide for the young, the film rejects the Kierkegaardian understanding of reality as a world of either/or, in favour of "an Afroncentric world of both/and" (Dyson 1993: 95). Furious works outside the neighbourhood, but remains living in it; rejects violence, but does not hesitate to protect what is his by any means necessary; is greatly educated, but his language sometimes deviates to less polished varieties and vocabulary. Even as father of Tre, "he is disciplined but loving, firm but humorous, demanding but sympathetic" (Dyson 1993: 96). Tre, under his father's guidance is taught to be responsible and hard-working and seems to follow the same path. He lives and has his friends in the neighbourhood, but works outside at the mall. By no means is he shown using the terms 'bitch' or nigger', but he does

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[12] The opposition between 'roots' and 'routes' as definitory elements of the individual's identity is constantly foregrounded in the film. While Reva clearly breaks with her origins in the community, her roots, in order to become a subject in her own terms, the boyz openly embrace them as the core of their identity. However, Furious and, by extension, Tre are shown trying to maintain certain equilibrium between both, rejecting a completely essentialist nature of black identity, but at the same time, respecting the relations background and traditions within which they grew up.

swear when angry. And, although he feels the necessity of avenging Ricky's death, which would mean reproducing the prevailing vicious circle of violence, he is rational enough to reject that possibility.

The film's epilogue, in which Doughboy and Tre converse about their lives after the death of Ricky while we hear a surveillance helicopter flying above, very suitably serves to contrast both identities and approaches to black existence. Doughboy, after watching the news, seems to realize for the first time how little value their lives have for the elites in control of the media. In keeping with the mentality of the privileged in power, more concerned about global than local issues, the media do not mention even once the death of his brother. Violence, for them, seems to be an international problem, but apparently not an issue within their own national frontiers. As Doughboy states "either they don't know, don't show or don't care". At this point, Doughboy not only rejects bragging about having killed his brother's murderers, but he is shown digressing from his usual full-of-cursing variety of language, and actually speaking from the heart for the first time. However, his self-reflexive momentum also reveals how much of society's discourse has permeated Doughboy's identity when he carelessly states that "Shit just goes on and on… Next thing you know, somebody might try to smoke me. Don't matter though, we all gota go sometime uh?" Tre, facing Doughboys' resigned acceptance of his prearranged destiny, demonstrates his belief in the unity of the community by telling Doughboy that he still has a brother in him. Two weeks later, as the film tells us, Doughboy will actually be killed, and by fading his image out from the background, the films reveals how little relevance his life has had even for the overall social scheme of the 'hood. On the other hand, Tre will go to the university in Atlanta with his girlfriend. However, this escape from the neighbourhood's constrains, to which it could be arguably said that he is not coming back, also implies that, as long as things do not change, there is no real future for the black people remaining in the 'hood for good.

As its final statement and morals, the film uses Ice Cube's song "How to Survive in South Central", especially written for the film, to dismount violence as the solution to the 'hood's problems. Full of radical remarks such as "Rule number one: get yourself a gun", "you can't find shit in a handbook" or "Rule number two: don't trust nobody. Especially a bitch, with a hooker's body", the lyrics conspicuously contravene the film's ideology. By means of this contrast, the film contests the stereotypical images that Ice Cube's persona brings up as epitome of the black's experience in the 'hood. As we know by the end of the film, his profligate lifestyle, violent attitude and language, does not represent the way to actually survive in the 'hood, but mostly the opposite. In contrast, the film, through

the character of Tre, enhances a "more culturally productive black masculinity" (Wiegman 1993: 182). In this aspect, the omniscient presence of the father figure of Furious, which finds no equivalence in the rest of the 'hood's families, is critical for Tre's development. While all the other youngster's fathers are conspicuously absent, as if reproducing the white dominant patterns within the black family, Furious' determination to remain with his son and in the neighbourhood is a fundamental element of his ideology. Defined by education, respect for each other, community spirit, responsibility and hard work, Tre's point of view is shown to be the only one capable of fighting social determinism and the place-biased criminal identities that every black subject is expected to fulfil within this system. In Singleton's film, as Dyson points out, "choice itself is not a property of autonomous moral agents acting in an existential vacuum, but rather something that is created and exercised within the interaction of social, psychic, political and economic forces of everyday experience" (1993: 95). Geographical, social and linguistic mobility are this way intermingled in the shaping of the black subject's identity, and only individuals willing, and allowed, to gain agency and control over them can overcome the stereotypes attached to their in-group and out-group image and achieve a certain degree of identitarian self-determination and freedom.

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TEACHING REFUSAL STRATEGIES IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM: A FOCUS ON INDUCTIVE-DEDUCTIVE TREATMENTS

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ABSTRACT. *The present paper attempts to present a pedagogical model for the integration of pragmatic competence in the foreign language classroom by following an inductive-deductive approach. For the sake of the current article, the pragmatic feature that has been chosen is the speech act of refusals. The rationale behind this selection is based on the fact that refusals are seen as a face-threatening act which may confront listeners' expectations (Eslami 2010: 217). Hence, learners should obtain a particular pragmatic expertise to outperform refusals successfully and that is the reason why the teaching of this speech act should be integrated in foreign language settings.*

Keywords: Pragmatic competence, instruction, inductive-deductive approach, speech acts, refusals, foreign language classroom.

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INSTRUCCIÓN DE ESTRATEGIAS DE RECHAZO EN EL AULA DE LENGUA EXTRANJERA CENTRADO EN TRATAMIENTOS INDUCTIVOS Y DEDUCTIVOS

RESUMEN. *El siguiente trabajo presenta una propuesta pedagógica siguiendo un enfoque inductivo-deductivo cuyo objetivo es fomentar la competencia pragmática en el aula de lenguas extrajeras. En este caso en particular, el aspecto pragmático elegido es el acto de habla del rechazo. Dicha selección se basa en el hecho de que el acto de habla del rechazo puede confrontar las expectaciones del otro interlocutor (Eslami 2010: 217). Por esto, los aprendices deben obtener un cierto nivel de competencia pragmática para poder refutar de manera apropiada y por lo tanto es necesario integrar este acto de habla en contextos de lenguas extranjeras.*

Palabras clave: competencia pragmática, instrucción, enfoque inductivo-deductivo, actos de habla, rechazos, aula de lenguas extranjeras.

1. INTRODUCTION

In order to communicate accurately in a given second/foreign language (SL/FL) learners should master not only grammatical aspects of the target language, but also pragmatic aspects (Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2006: 15-19). Particularly, learners are expected to acquire a specific pragmatic competence which allows them to succeed in their social interactions. This specific competence can be defined as the ability to use and understand language appropriately in different social interactions (Crystal 1997: 301). It has been highlighted that developing learners' pragmatic competence in the target language is crucial since they might be able to succeed in communication (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell 1995: 5-35; Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2006: 3-25). For this particular reason, it seems necessary for learners to achieve a particular command of pragmatic expertise to interact successfully. Reaching to that end, however, appears to be rather complex unless accurate language teaching practises are appropriately implemented (see Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2010a: 423-442; 2010b: 3-20 for a review).

Considering the aforementioned aspects, the present paper attempts to present a pedagogical model for the integration of pragmatic competence in the FL context by following a deductive-inductive approach. For the sake of the current article, the instructional pragmatic feature that has been selected is the speech act of refusals based on the fact that refusals are seen as a face-

threatening act which may confront listeners' expectations (Eslami 2010: 217). Hence, learners should obtain a particular pragmatic expertise to outperform refusals successfully and that is the reason why the teaching of this speech act should be integrated in formal instructed settings.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. *TEACHING PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE: INDUCTIVE-DEDUCTIVE APPROACHES*

It has been suggested that developing learners' pragmatic competence should be incorporated in the instructed setting, especially in FL contexts where the opportunities for being exposed to the target language and employing it purposefully are rather limited (Martínez-Flor 2007: 245). It seems that the context in which the target language is acquired might have an effect on the quantity and quality of input to which learners might be exposed to as well as on the type of output produced (Barron 2003: 57). On this account, research has shown that traditional materials such as English language textbooks do not include sufficient pragmatic input (Boxer and Pickering 1995: 44-58; Usó-Juan 2007: 223-243; 2008: 65-90; Yagiz 2009: 217-225; Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2010a: 424-427; Beltrán-Palanques 2012a: 125-138) and this particular fact is not exclusively related to the scant number of occurrences but also to the quality of the examples identified (Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2010a: 424-427; Beltrán-Palanques 2012a: 125-138). In order to overcome this problem, some authors consider that audiovisual material might be useful for providing learners with more contextualised examples of language (Grant and Starks 2001: 39-50; Alcón 2005: 417-475; Martínez-Flor 2007: 245-280; Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2010a: 427-429; 2010b: 11-12; Beltrán-Palanques 2011: 70-84; Mohammad, Alireza and Shirin 2013: 49-63).

Apart from the quantity and quality of the pragmatic input that might be presented to language learners, other aspects such as output opportunities and feedback on performance should also be taken into account (Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2010b: 12-15). In line with this, several instructional approaches have been developed so as to help language teachers to integrate speech acts in the language classroom (see for example Félix-Brasdefer 2006: 165-197; Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2010c: 3-274; Beltrán-Palanques 2012b: 85-100). Broadly speaking, researchers developing speech act instructional approaches consider that language learners should be provided with (1) input which should be rich and contextualised; (2) appropriate communicative and purposeful activities; and (3) feedback on language use. The integration of pragmatics in

instructed settings has therefore been typically designed by adopting two types of pedagogical treatments, namely those of explicit and implicit instruction (Tateyama, Kasper, Mui, Tay and Thananart 1997: 163-177; Fukuya and Zhang 2002: 1-47; Alcón 2005: 417-475; Fordyce 2013: 1-24). On the one hand, explicit teaching involves directing learners' attention towards the target forms with the aim of discussing those forms (Doughty 2003: 265). In contrast, an implicit pedagogical approach aims to attract learner's attention while avoiding any type of metalinguistic explanation and minimising the interruption of the communicative situation. Thus, the main difference between the two types of instruction concerns the provision or absence of rules. However, given the fact that these two types of treatments have been the most commonly employed in interventional pragmatic studies, Kasper and Roever (2005: 323-324) argue for the need to conduct more research adopting other types of interventional approaches, such as inductive and deductive treatments. Following DeKeyser (2003: 314), we can get a detailed description of what inductive and deductive teaching approaches involve by understanding their relationship with the explicit-implicit dichotomy previously explained (see Table 1).

Table 1. The inductive/deductive and implicit/explicit dimensions (DeKeyser, 2003: 314).

	Deductive	**Inductive**
Explicit	Traditional teaching	Rule discovery
Implicit	Using parameters	Learning L1 from input

Hence, according to DeKeyser (2003: 314), explicit learning can be done both (1) deductively following either an explicit approach which involves traditional teaching or an implicit approach by using specific parameters; and (2) inductively by adopting either an explicit perspective, thereby based on rule discovery, or from an implicit one by learning L1 from input. Considering those aspects, DeKeyser (2003: 335) argues that the combination of implicit and inductive is clear-cut if we think of children acquiring their first language as they are not aware of this particular process. Nonetheless, the author also states that the categories of implicit and deductive learning are not always evident. For the sake of this study, the distinction presented by DeKeyser (2003: 314) is considered in its application to the learning of pragmatics. Then, we assume that both inductive and deductive teaching approaches are examples of explicit instruction. That is, in an inductive approach to language teaching, learners are not taught rules directly, but are left to discover those rules from various

examples and their experience of using the language. The deductive approach, on the other hand, provides learners first with a detailed explanation of the rules and then with examples and exercises in which to practise those rules.

As matter of fact, the paradigm of inductive-deductive approaches in pragmatic teaching has called the attention of several researchers (Kubota 1995: 35-67; Shaw and Trosborg 2000: 204-214; Rose and Kwai-fun 2001: 145-170; Martínez-Flor 2008: 191-225, 2012: 243-274; Takimoto 2008a: 31-51; 2008b: 369-386). The study conducted by Kubota (1995: 35-67) explored the ability to understand implicature in English. Participants of this investigation were formed by a group of intermediate Japanese EFL students who were distributed into three different teaching approaches, namely (1) an inductive approach, in which participants worked in groups in order to figure out how implicatures work in English; (2) a teacher-directed deductive approach involving rule explanation, and (3) zero instruction in implicature. Results from the post-test that was administered after the 20-minute treatment indicated that the students who received either deductive or inductive instruction had an advantage over the uninstructed group, and they also showed a greater effect for the inductive approach when both treatment groups were compared.

Rose and Kwai-fun (2001: 145-170) examined the two types of instructional treatments by focusing on the speech acts of compliments and responses to compliments of learners of English in Hong Kong as compared to a control group. The learners' production after having received instruction during six 30-minute lesson was measured by means of a self-assessment questionnaire, a metapragmatic assessment questionnaire and a discourse completion test (DCT). Findings from the first two measurement instruments did not reveal differences among the three groups. However, the responses obtained through the DCTs showed that learners who received instruction outperformed those from the control group. Hence, both treatment groups increased their syntactic formulae appropriateness for compliments, even though a positive effect was only found in the deductive group concerning compliment responses. In light of these findings, the authors suggested that both instructional treatments demonstrated effectiveness in the case of pragmalinguistics, whereas only the deductive approach involving metapragmatic discussion proved a positive effect regarding learners' sociopragmatic proficiency.

As reported by Trosborg (2003: 265-267), a similar study to that of Rose and Kwai-fun (2001: 145-170) was conducted by Shaw and Trosborg (2000: 204-214). The focus of this study was to compare the effect of deductive and inductive approaches as regards the speech act of complaints, particularly, a set of telephoned complaints. This investigation involved fifteen students who were

distributed into two different treatment groups that received three short teaching sessions. On the one hand, the group which received deductive approach was characterised by rule presentation and discussion. On the other hand, the other group was assigned to an inductive approach which involved different activities, such as reading dialogues, watching TV comedies or listening to a model containing the target items and repeating the sentences employed. Results from the comparison of the role-plays employed for the pre-test and post-test indicated that no major differences between the deductive and inductive groups were found. However, the authors reported that the former type of instruction was slightly more effective than the latter.

Considering the results obtained in the studies which examined the effectiveness of the two instructional approaches (Shaw and Trosborg 2000: 204-214; Rose and Kwai-fun 2001: 145-170), Trosborg (2003: 269) proposed the use of both of them by including various steps which could activate each type of reasoning, inductive and deductive, in turn. Taking into account Trosborg's (2003: 269) contention towards the combination of both types of approaches, Martínez-Flor's (2008: 191-225) study analysed the effectiveness of an inductive-deductive teaching approach. Specifically, the author explored learners' production of the modification devices that accompany the speech act of requesting in order to mitigate its impositive pragmatic force. The instructional approach adopted was based on Martínez-Flor's (2007: 274-276) study in which the author proposed the use of film excerpts as a source for providing learners with appropriate and contextualised pragmatic input. Participants of this investigation consisted of 38 students of elementary proficiency level. In order to carry out this investigation, both a pre-test and post-test design was followed. The pre-test was administered at the beginning of the semester and four weeks before the treatment started, and the post-test was distributed four weeks after the treatment had finished. Results of this study revealed that, after having participated in the instructional treatment, learners (1) used a greater number of request modifiers, (2) employed a higher number of internal and external modifiers, and (3) made use of different subtypes of internal and external modifiers which meant that learners included a rich variety of mitigating devices in their requestive production.

Focusing also on the speech act of requesting, Takimoto's (2008a: 31-51) study dealt with the effects of various form-focused instruction approaches on learners' ability to both comprehend and produce polite requests. Participants of this study were made up of a total of 60 Japanese learners of English who were assigned to three different groups. Each group received a different instructional approach, specifically (1) deductive instruction; (2) inductive

instruction with problem-solving tasks; and (3) inductive instruction with structured input tasks. The tasks incorporated explicit input-based instruction and they were designed to test differences across deductive and inductive approaches. In the study, the author employed pre-tests (i.e. two to three days before the instruction), post-tests (i.e. eight to nine days after instruction) and follow-up tests (i.e. in the fourth week following instruction). The tests involved two output-based tests, including an open-ended discourse completion test and a role-play test; and two input-based consisting of a listening test and an acceptability judgement test. Findings revealed that the three treatment groups outperformed the control group, thereby indicating that the explicit input-based instruction was effective in both teaching approaches, that is to say, deductively and inductively. Moreover, Takimoto (2008a: 31) also reported that the inductive treatment might be somehow superior in the long term.

Likewise, Takimoto (2008b: 369-386) conducted a study which attempted to investigate the effects of deductive and inductive teaching approaches. However, differently to Takimoto (2008a: 31-51), the purpose was now to teach learners how to use lexical and phrasal downgraders and syntactic downgraders when performing requests. Participants of this study were 60 Japanese learners of English of intermediate proficiency level and four groups consisting of three treatment groups plus the control group were established. In so doing, in each treatment group the following types of instruction were provided, (1) deductive with explicit input-based instruction; (2) inductive with problem-solving and explicit input-based instruction; and (3) inductive instruction with structured input tasks. Participants of this study completed a pre-test, a post-test as well as a follow-up test. Moreover, each of the different tests involved two receptive judgement tasks and two production tasks. Results indicated that all the three groups appeared to outperform the control group. Nevertheless, regarding the listening test it was identified a reduction in the positive effects of the instructional period between the post-test and follow up test.

More recently, Martínez-Flor (2012: 243-274) conducted a study which explored the long-term effects of pragmatic instruction by following an inductive-deductive teaching approach. The purpose of the treatment was to foster learners' ability to mitigate requests not only concerning the immediate effects of instruction, but also taking into consideration the impact of the instructional period after four months. Participants of this investigation consisted of 22 Spanish learners of English whose proficiency level was upper-intermediate. The study involved a pre-test, post-test and a delayed post-test design. Specifically, the participants took a pre-test at the beginning of the semester and four weeks before the starting of the instructional treatment in

order to examine whether request mitigators were performed. The week after the instructional treatment had finished, the post-test was administered. The situations employed in the latter were the same than the ones used in the pre-test. However, the two tests did not follow the same arrangement. Finally, four months after the completion of the post-test, a delayed post-test containing the same arrangement as the pre-test was done. Findings from this study indicated that learners employed a greater number of appropriate request modifiers and that they used all the different subtypes of internal and external modifiers both immediately after receiving the instruction as well as four months later. In light of these results, the author suggested that the positive effects of the treatment might be related to the particular characteristics of the instructional approach being taken, namely those of (1) learners' exposure to authentic-like pragmatic input; (2) the elaboration of different pragmatic-oriented activities (e.g. awareness-raising and communicative activities); (3) the focus on pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatics features; (4) the operationalisation of deductive-inductive approaches; and (5) the duration of the teaching approach (i.e. three two-hour sessions).

Taking into account the findings of the aforementioned studies as regard the effectiveness of using an inductive-deductive approach for the teaching of speech acts, we aim at presenting a particular pedagogical model for its implementation in the FL classroom setting. Before doing so, however, we provide a description of the particular pragmatic aspect being selected as the instructional target feature, namely the speech act of refusals, in the next subsection.

2.2. THE SPEECH ACT OF REFUSALS

The speech act of refusals might be seen as one of the most face-threatening speech acts (FTAs) as the use of them might confront the expectations of the other participant involved in the conversation (Esmali 2010: 217). In fact, Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1995: 56) argue that refusals have been seen as a "major cross-cultural *sticking point* for many nonnative speakers". It is because their face-threatening nature as well as the lack of acceptance to a particular initiating proposition that they are subjected somehow to breakdowns in communication. Specifically, the speech act of refusal involves a denial of particular proposition initiated by an interlocutor and it might serve as a response to other speech acts such as requests, offers, invitations and suggestions (Gass and Houck 1999: 3). Therefore, a refusal is provided as a response to another speech act which is initiated by another participant and it might threaten the listeners' face. This particular speech act, however, may be performed by means

of indirect strategies as an attempt to avoid communication failure (Gass and Houck 1999: 7-19; Félix-Brasdefer 2008a: 74-82; 2008b: 196). Moreover, when refusing, several turns can be employed to negotiate refusal strategies in order to reduce the negative impact that they might have on the other interlocutor (Martínez-Flor 2013). However, performing indirect refusals could be seen as a challenge for the speakers as it might necessarily involve the use of various linguistic resources in order to mitigate the negative effect of a refusal (Félix-Brasdefer 2008b: 196). Furthermore, it is important to note that the level of directness or indirectness appears to be directly related to the contextual conditions in which such speech act events are uttered. (Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz 1990: 57-60). Particularly, the three major aspects to consider when refusing are those proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987: 74) which include social distance, power and rank of imposition. Nevertheless, other aspects such as gender and age might also influence the speakers' refusal behaviour (Fraser 1990; Smith 1998 cited in Wannaruk 2008: 319). In this regard, interlocutors' knowledge of pragmalinguistic, sociopragmatic features and politeness issues play a paramount role when communicating.

In order to describe the different pragmatic realisations that can be used to perform this speech act, several taxonomies have been developed (Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz 1990: 55-73; Salazar, Safont and Codina 2009: 139-150, among others). One of the pioneering taxonomies and most widely employed to code the speech act of refusals was advanced by Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990: 55-73). The authors categorised the different speech act realisations into direct, indirect and adjuncts to refusals. This particular classification was further developed by Gass and Houck (1999: 52) who noted that it should also account for three different responses such as confirmation, request for clarification and agreement The taxonomy proposed by Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990: 55-73) was also complemented by Félix-Brasdefer (2003: 220-251) who included the category of solidarity politeness strategies. More recently, based on the classification advanced by Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990: 55-73) and by adopting a conversational perspective (see Kasper 2006a: 83-99 for a review), Salazar, Safont and Codina (2009: 139-150) presented a taxonomy for the examination of refusal strategies, which is classified into direct and indirect semantic formulas and its adjuncts.

On the one hand, in the group of direct strategies, two main subtypes are considered, namely those of *bluntness* and *negation of proposition*. The former refers to the use of a flat *no* or the performative verb *I refuse*. The latter entails expressions which imply negations such as *I can't* or *I don't think so*. On the other hand, indirect strategies involve seven different types, more specifically:

(1) *plain indirect*, which encapsulates the different expressions that can be utilised to mitigate the refusal (e.g. "It looks I won't be able to go"); (2) *reason or explanation*, in which the speaker explains the reason why the proposition is refused (e.g. "I have a doctor's appointment"); (3) *regret or apology*, in which the speaker can express that he/she feels bad for declining the proposition (e.g. "I'm so sorry"); (4) *alternative,* which entails two different subtypes, *change opinion* in which the speaker can suggest another option (e.g. "I would join you if you choose another restaurant") and *change time* in which the acceptance of the proposition is postponed (e.g. "I can't go right now, but I could next week"); (5) *disagreement/ dissuasion/ criticism,* in which the speaker can emphasise the negative effect that a given proposition might have on the other interlocutor (e.g. "Under the current economic circumstances, you should not be asking for a rise right now!"); (6) *statement of principle/ philosophy,* in which the speaker may resort to moral issues in order to turn down the proposition (e.g. "I can't. It goes against my beliefs!"); and finally (7) *avoidance* which is made up of *non-verbal* such as *ignoring* by means of silence and *verbal* like *hedging* (e.g. "Well, I'll see if I can"), *change topic*, *joking*, and *sarcasm.*

Additionally, five main types of adjuncts to refusals are included. Adjuncts, albeit they accompany the refusal strategy they do not constitute the speech act as such. They involve five different subtypes, namely (1) *positive* opinion, in which the speaker can express that the request is a good idea albeit he/she will not accede to it (e.g. "This is a great idea, but…"); (2) *willingness,* in which the speaker might refuse the proposition by uttering expressions such as "I'd love to go, but…"; (3) g*ratitude* can be used by the speaker in combination with a refusal to thank the other interlocutor's proposition (e.g. "Thanks so much, but..."); (4) *agreement*, in which the speaker can express consent before performing the refusal (e.g. "Fine, but..."); and finally (5) *solidarity or empathy* which can be employed by the speaker to ask the interlocutor for sympathy (e.g. "I'm sure you will understand, but...").

To sum up, the speech act of refusals is one of the most face-threatening speech acts which require a particular level of pragmatic expertise so as to perform them appropriately and succeed in communication. As mentioned above, the level of directness or indirectness may vary according to the contextual factors involved in the social encounter, specifically those of social distance, power and rank of imposition (Levinson and Brown 1987: 74) as well as gender and age (Fraser 1990; Smith 1998 cited in Wannaruk 2008: 319). There is, however, a tendency to employ indirect realisations in order to mitigate the face-threatening aspect and reduce the negative effect that refusals might evoke (Martínez-Flor, 2013). Nevertheless, unless learners achieve sufficient pragmatic

knowledge involving both knowledge of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics, learners might take the risk of breaking the communicative event. In this sense, and although different studies have been conducted to examine the effectiveness of integrating this speech act in instructed settings (see for example Bacelar Da Silva 2003: 55-106; Kondo 2008: 153-177; Martínez-Flor 2011: 357-363), more attention should be given to the teaching of refusals from a communicative perspective and particularly by adopting an inductive-deductive approach. With that in mind, the following section presents a pedagogical model that incorporates these two types of reasoning, namely inductive and deductive, for the integration of the speech act of refusals in the FL classroom.

3. THE PROPOSED INDUCTIVE-DEDUCTIVE TEACHING APPROACH

The main aim of the pedagogical model developed in this section is that of making learners reflect on the sociopragmatic aspects that may affect an appropriate use of refusals in the FL and how the pragmalinguistic realisations chosen can influence this performance. Hence, the suggested instructional approach attempts to foster learners' pragmatic competence by tackling with the sociopragmatic (i.e. rules that govern linguistic realisation) and pragmalinguistic (i.e. linguistic resources) features that might affect refusals' performance. In order to design it, three main conditions for the learning of speech acts in instructed settings have been considered, particularly exposure to pertinent input, opportunities for communicative practice and feedback (Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2010b: 10-5). Regarding the type of input selected, we have considered the value of audiovisual input as its use when teaching different speech acts in FL contexts has already been praised in previous investigations (Rose and Kwai-fun 2001: 145-170; Bacelar Da Silva 2003: 55-106; Alcón 2005: 417-475; Martínez-Flor 2008: 191-225; 2012: 243-274). More specifically, we advocate for the use of films as a source for presenting authentic-like instances of contextualised refusals together with practical activities that allow learners to use the refusal strategies being taught in different communicative situations.

The instructional approach proposed below has been adapted from Martínez-Flor (2007: 274-275; 2008: 201) and Beltrán-Palanques (2011: 82) and provides two reasoning models (i.e. inductive and deductive) for developing the speech act of refusals in the FL context. Specifically, it involves four different phases which range from language awareness to language production and feedback on performance. The first phase focuses on the pragmalinguistic features of the speech act under study; the second phase deals with the sociopragmatic aspects which might affect language production, thereby how the pragmalinguistic realisation could be determined by the context of interaction; the third phase is devoted to learners'

pragmatic production, that is to say, the opportunities for output; and finally the fourth phase involves learners' feedback.

3.1. FIRST PHASE: PRAGMALINGUISTIC AWARENESS

The first phase (i.e. *Pragmalinguistic Awareness*) of this instructional approach focuses on the learners' pragmalinguistic awareness (see Figure 1 for a schematic representation of the steps to be followed in this first phase). In order to do so, the teacher should first select two different film scenes (step 1) which represent situations in which the speech act of refusals is at work. Drawing on them, two written situations can be elaborated in order to be later completed by learners (step 2). Specifically, in the inductive reasoning model, learners are provided with the two written situations in which a refusal response is expected to be elicited by them (step 3), and later, the corresponding transcript with the actual speech act should be given (step 4). In so doing, learners compare their own production with the refusal elicited in the film scene. It is important to note that at this stage, any explanation concerning pragmalinguistic forms is provided. After this, learners are involved in the deductive approach. In this case, the teacher explains the use of refusal strategies by showing learners the different forms that this speech act can take (step 5). To do so, the taxonomy proposed by Salazar, Safont and Codina (2009: 139-150) can be employed. Nevertheless, emphasis should be only given to the forms rather than to the use of them since this is the purpose of the second phase.

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1. Select two different scenes (see Appendix A).
2. Prepare two written situations which reflect the situations of the chosen scenes
Inductive approach:
3. Provide learners with different situations in which they are asked to produce their own response. (see Appendix B).
4. Transcripts are given to learners so that they can reflect on their initial responses and draw some comparisons between what is said in the given examples and their own responses (see Appendix C).
Deductive approach:
5. Teacher's exposition and a whole class discussion about the speech act employed in the given situations, more specifically, that of refusal. Hence, pragmalinguistic aspects of that particular speech act are described (i.e. direct and indirect forms).

Figure 1. First phase: Pragmalinguistic awareness.

3.2. SECOND PHASE: SOCIOPRAGMATIC AWARENESS

The purpose of the second phase, *Sociopragmatic Awareness*, is to make language learners become aware of the importance of the context and how this might affect pragmalinguistic performance (see Figure 2). In this case, the teacher should visualise the film scenes which are employed in the first phase (step 6). In so doing, learners recall what is done in the previous session. Moreover, the teacher might distribute a worksheet (step 7) which should be completed by learners. Hence, in completing this particular activity, learners are engaged in an inductive learning approach which encourages them to reason and reflect on the various aspects which affect language production. More precisely, sociopragmatic features such as context, participants' role, gender, age, as well as politeness aspects (i.e. social distance, power, and rank of imposition) are considered. Having performed this individual activity, learners should be divided into small groups in order to compare their responses. After this, the teacher prepares an exposition in which the topic of sociopragmatics is tackled (step 8). By doing so, learners are engaged in a whole class discussion as an attempt to comment and justify the responses given in the worksheet. Then, the teacher should provide further information about the appropriate use of refusal strategies according to the sociopragmatic features involved in each situation.

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6. Present and visualise the two different scenes.

Inductive approach:

7. Provide learners with a worksheet in which they can reflect on the situational context, the relationship between the participants, the social distance and the rank of imposition Transcripts are given to learners so that they can reflect on their initial responses and draw some comparisons between what is said in the given examples and their own responses (see Appendix D).

Deductive approach:

8. Teacher's exposition and a whole class discussion in order to tackle sociopragmatic features.

Figure 2. Second phase: Sociopragmatic awareness.

3.3. THIRD PHASE: PRAGMATIC PRODUCTION

Once learners have become familiar with the basic pragmalinguistic realisations and how the sociopragmatics condition might affect language use, they are ready

to work on the third phase, that of *Pragmatic Production* (see Figure 3). In this particular phase, learners are encouraged to participate actively in order to put into practise the aspects covered in the two previous phases. Specifically, the teacher selects two new film scenes (step 9) and, without showing them to the students, elaborates a set of role-play activities which reflect the similar situations to those appearing in the audiovisual source (step 10). Learners are provided with sufficient contextual information about the scenarios in order to prepare and perform the role-play activities. These role-plays are acted out only in front of the teacher and after the completion of each one, learners should be involved in a short oral interview with the teacher (step 11). This particular interview, which can be done in the form of retrospective verbal reports, might serve to obtain information concerning learners' pragmatic performance. After this, the teacher initiates a discussion with each pair in order to comment on the pragmalinguistic forms and sociopragmatic features involved in the performed role-plays. Then, the teacher also visualises the different scenes and encourages each pair to compare their realisations with the actual ones and discuss the different sociopragmatic aspects that influence language use (step 13). Hence, in order to better help learners to understand the appropriate use of refusal strategies, steps 11, 12 and 13 are made with the teacher rather than with the whole group in the language classroom.

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9. Choose two different scenes (see Appendix E).

Inductive approach:

10. Organise role-play activities reflecting similar situations as those selected.

11. After performing the role-play activities, learners respond to a short oral interview (see Appendix F).

Deductive approach:

12. Initiate a discussion about each pair's performance in which the focus is pragmalinguistic forms and sociopragmatic features involved in its role-play acted out.

13. Present the selected scenes to each pair in order to establish some comparisons between their own production and that shown in the extracts.

Figure 3. Third phase: Pragmatic production.

3.4. FOURTH PHASE: FEEDBACK ON PRAGMATIC PRODUCTION

Having dealt with the previous communicative activities, learners move to the fourth and final phase of the approach, that of *Feedback on pragmatic*

production (see Figure 4), in which they receive feedback from the teacher and their peers. To do so, learners are given opportunities to examine critically from a pragmatic approach their spoken production. Learners are involved in a process of inductive feedback (i.e. example-based) in which they first pay attention to their own performance (step 14). Once they have commented the aspects observed in their data, the teacher provides further feedback related to their own production from a rule-based approach, that is to say, deductively (step 15) and organises individual meetings with learners in order to provide individualised feedback (step 16).

Inductive approach:
14. Have a class discussion with feedback on their production in order to make them reflect on the use and the variety of refusal strategies.
Deductive approach:
15. The teacher clarifies doubts related to learners' production of refusal strategies by focusing on the rules that govern speech act performance.
16. Individual feedback in order to explore learners' pragmatic realisation by paying attention to their pragmalinguistic choice and their perception of the sociopragmatic factors that affect such a choice.

Figure 4. Fourth phase: Feedback on pragmatic production.

The above described instructional approach suggests a set of phases which could be followed in order to integrate the speech act of refusals by adopting two types of reasoning, namely inductive and deductive, and it presents activities which range from language awareness to language production. In this model, in an attempt to provide learners with authentic examples, audiovisual input is employed to present learners with contextualised situations in which refusals are performed. The awareness-raising activities focus first on the pragmalinguistic features of the speech act of refusals while the second set of activities explores the sociopragmatic aspects that affect pragmatic production. Concerning the language production activities, learners are given opportunities to perform refusals in a communicative and purposefully way in different contextualised situations. The last phase involves feedback on performance not only from the teacher but also from peers as we consider that collaboration between equals should be fostered in the language classroom. Finally, it is worth pointing out that this instructional approach might serve to integrate the speech act of refusals in the language classroom from a discursive perspective as it

focuses on the production of speech act sequences through social interaction (see Kasper 2006b: 281-314; González-Lloret 2010: 57-73 for a review). Thereby, attention is paid not only to the performance of single utterances, but also to the sequences which are involved when communicating and negotiating speech act events.

4. FINAL REMARKS

The present paper has suggested a particular inductive-deductive instructional approach for the integration of the speech act of refusals in the FL classroom. The proposed approach has considered providing learners with the three necessary conditions for pragmatics learning, namely exposure to appropriate and contextualised input, opportunities for communicative practice as well as feedback on their refusal performance. Specifically, it consists of four different phases in which inductive and deductive types of reasoning have been activated in turn. The purpose of the first phase is to develop learners' awareness of the pragmalinguistic realisations that can be employed when refusing. The focus of the second phase is to raise learners' awareness of sociopragmatic issues (i.e. social distance, power, rank of imposition, gender and age) and how these aspects influence an appropriate language use. In order to implement the aforementioned phases, audiovisual input has been selected due to its potential when integrating speech acts in the FL classroom. The third phase provides communicative activities (i.e. role-plays) in which learners have the opportunity to put into practice the knowledge acquired in the previous phases. Finally, the aim of the last phase is to offer feedback on learners' performance when making refusals in different communicative situations.

Summarising, the proposed instructional approach tries to incorporate the aforementioned activities to help language learners develop their pragmatic expertise. Thereby, in designing them, special attention has been paid not only to the pragmalinguistic features that are available for learners, but also, to the sociopragmatic conditions which might affect an appropriate use of language. In fact, developing learners' pragmatic expertise is seen as one of the most important aspects to be taken into account when teaching a given FL/SL in order to help them communicate successfully in the target language, avoid communication breakdowns or make learners appear rude or uncooperative. Moreover, we consider that it is teachers' responsibility to engage learners in a pedagogical instructional model, such as the one presented in this paper, which raises their awareness of the politeness and sociocultural aspects that may affect communication. Indeed, the value of the approach here suggested lies on the fact

that any language teacher could adapt it by integrating other pragmatic aspects (i.e. other speech acts, implicature or pragmatic formulas) to meet the particular needs of his/her group of learners. By so doing, learners will have more chances of becoming better communicators in a SL/FL.

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APPENDIX A

Film scenes taken from *Crash*.[1]

Situation 1: This is a conversation between the officer Ryan and Shaniquia Johnson who is an assistant at the network health. Ryan goes to the medical centre to talk to the assistance about a problem that his father has.

  1. Assistant: Mr. Ryan.
  2 Ryan: Yeah.
  3. Assistant: My name is Shaniquia Johnson. I believed we spoke last night.
  4. Ryan: Oh, yeah. I wanted to apologize about that. I haven't been sleeping much. My father's in a lot of pain.
  5. Assistant: Oh, I'm sorry to hear that.
  6. Ryan: This doctor says he's got a urinary tract infection. But he's been taken medicine for a month and keeps getting worse.
  7. Assistant: And he's been back to see Dr. Robertson?
  8. Ryan: Yeah. Between you and me, the man's an idiot.
  9. Assistant: Really?
 10. Ryan: No offense. But he sees 100 patients an hour. His nurses are doing his work.
 11. Assistant: If you're unhappy your father's welcome to see a doctor outside the network.
 12. Ryan: And if this new doctor says it's not an infection, and it needs to be operated on, is that gonna be covered?
 13. Assistant: Not unless Dr. Robertson authorizes…
 14. Ryan: What good is that gonna do?
 15. Assistant: I'm sorry. There's nothing else I can do.
 16. Ryan: You know what I can't do?
 17. Ryan: […] I can't help thinking on the white men who didn't get your job.
 18. Assistant: It's time for you to go.
 19. Ryan: And I'm hoping that I'm wrong about you. I'm hoping that someone like yourself, someone who may have been given a helping hand, might have a little compassion.
 20. Assistant: Carol, I need security in my office!

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[1] In all the film scenes included in the Appendices, refusal semantic formulae are in italics for reader's quick identification.

21. Ryan:	You don't like me, that's fine. I'm a prick. My father doesn't deserve to suffer like this. He was a janitor. He struggled his whole life. He saved enough to start his own company: 23 employees, all of them black. Paid'em equal ways when no one else was doing that. […] I'm not asking you to help me. I'm asking that you do this for a man who lost everything, so people like yourself could reap the benefits. And you know what it'sgonna cost you? Nothing. Just a flick of your pen.
22. Assistant:	*Your father sounds like a good man. And if he'd come in here today, I probably would've approved this request. But he didn't come in. You did. And for his sake, it's a real shame.*

Situation 2: Jane and Rick, a married couple, have been attacked in the street by two Afro-American guys who have stolen their car. Later, at home, they report to the police what has happened. For security reasons, they also change the door locks.

1.	Jane:	I need to talk to you for a sec.
1.	Rick:	(*To his college*) Give me a minute right? Find Flanagan, will you? Now.
3.	Assistant:	Yes, sir.
4.	Rick:	Yes, honey?
5.	Jane:	I want the locks changed again.
6.	Rick:	*Why don't you just go lie down? Have you checked on James?*

APPENDIX B

Film scene taken from *Crash*.

Situation 1: Farhad is having a telephone conversation with the secretary of the store in which Daniel works repairing locks. He replaces Farhad's lock and suggests him fixing the door. However, Farhad does not believe in him. Then, Farhad's store is destroyed and he believes that Daniel is the responsible.

1. Secretary: Sir, I spoke to our employee and he told you, you needed to repair the door.
2. Farhad: He say he fix the lock. You come here and see how fixed it is! [Farhad daughter is entering into the shop. Her mother is also there trying to clean a wall since some people broke into the shop and destroyed almost everything.]
3. Secretary: You're yelling again.
4   Farhad: I am not yelling! I'm upset! Yes I am. Yes. I want his name. Yes. I want his name! Give me his name!
5   Secretary: _____
6   Farhad: I want his name!
7   Secretary: _____

Film scene taken from *Prime*.

Situation 2: Dave is smarten up when he sees Q-tips and starts to use them to clean his ears. His girlfriend tries to joke about that fact.

1. Dave: Hey, I'm not trying to freak you out here…but these Q-tips are amazing.
2. Rafi: Guess what? You're freaking me out. What are you talking about?
3. Dave: We never had these growing up. I saw them in my mom's bathroom, but we never used them.
4. Rafi: How did you clean your ears?
5. Dave: Didn't. Just towel-dried them, I guess.
6. Rafi: Let me see the Q-tip.
7. Dave: _____

APPENDIX C

Refusal responses in each situation from the two film scenes presented in Appendix B.

Situation 1

1. Secretary: *I'm not giving you his name.*
2. Secretary: I*'m gonna hang up now, sir.*

Situation 2

1. Dave: *No. You have to get out of here.*

APPENDIX D

Data-collection sheet for examining refusal strategies, (adapted from Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2006: 52).

Film data-collection sheet

Answer the following questions
1. Which strategies are employed?
2. Describe the participants in terms of gender and age.
3. Where are they?
4. Which is the role play by each participant?
5. Which status is represented by each participant?
6. How would you describe their relationship?
7. Which are participants' intentions?

Select the option you think is suitable
1. Speakers' social distance: stranger, acquaintance and intimate
2. Speakers' power: S*>H**   S=H   S<H
3. Speakers' rank of imposition: low, equal and high

Recapitulating
1. How sociopragmatic features might affect pragmalinguistic realisations?
2. To which extend communicative purposes might not be achieved if pragmalinguistic features are not realised accordingly to sociopragmatic conditions?

Note: *S= Speaker and **H=Hearer

APPENDIX E

Film scene taken from *The Constant Gardener*.

Situation 1: Tessa and Justin are going home after having been in the hospital. While they are on the road, Tessa sees a woman carrying a new-born baby, accompanied only by another child. They were also in the hospital and the mother of the baby died after having given birth.

1.	Tessa:	Justin, stop the car.
2.	Justin:	Why? What is it?
3.	Tessa:	Stop, stop, stop.
		[Justin stops the car and sees from the side mirror that there is an African woman with a baby and a child]
4.	Justin:	*Tessa.*
5.	Tessa:	It's 40 kilometres to Miluri. It's gonna take them all night.
6.	Justin:	*We shouldn't get involved in their lives, Tessa.*
7.	Tessa:	Why?
		[The car is locked, so she unlocks opens the doors since she wants to give them a lift to their place.]
8.	Justin:	*Be reasonable. There are millions of people. They all need help. That's what the agencies are here for.*
9.	Tessa:	Yeah, but these are three people that we can help.
10.	Justin:	*Please.*
11.	Tessa:	Justin.
12.	Justin:	*I'm sorry, Tessa. I have to put you first. I have to get you home.*

Film scene taken from *Prime*.

Situation 2: Dave and Morris are at Rafi's place having some beers when Dave hears the lift door. Rafi does not like having visitors at home. Dave tries to hide his friend in a closet.

1.	Morris:	Seriously, I barely even see you anymore. I mean, you even said it. I'm only here right now because she's not at home.
		[Dave realises that the lift is opening.]
2.	Dave:	Oh, shit. It's her. Come on. You got to hide.
3.	Morris:	*Are you serious? I really can't be here?*
4.	Dave:	Yeah. No. Get in the closet. Get in the closet. Get in the closet.
5.	Morris:	*The closet? Man, what's…?*

6.	Dave:	She doesn't like people in her living space.
		[Dave takes him and accompanies Morris to the closet.]
7.	Morris:	*Living space? What the hell's living space? All right, is the kitchen part of it?*
8.	Dave:	Just get in the closet.
9.	Morris:	Jesus Christ.
		[He gets into the closet.]
		[Rafi is at home.]
10.	Dave:	Hey. What are you doing home already?
11.	Rafi:	Oh, I'm sorry. Would you like me to leave?
		I thought you were hanging out with Morris today?

APPENDIX F

Retrospective verbal probe (adapted from Félix-Brasdefer 2008a: 71-72; 2008b: 200).

Interview with participants
Participant A
Which aspects did you pay attention to when performing this situation?
Did you find any difficulties when performing the situation?
Was your performance influenced by any aspect of the context?
Interview with participants
Participant B
Which aspects did you pay attention to when performing this situation?
Did you find any difficulties when performing the situation?
Was your performance influenced by any aspect of the context?

"SO THIS WAS A MARRIAGE!": INTERSECTIONS OF NATURAL IMAGERY AND THE SEMIOTICS OF SPACE IN ZORA NEALE HURSTON'S *THEIR EYES WERE WATCHING GOD*[1]

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ABSTRACT. *Zora Neale Hurston's* Their Eyes Were Watching God *narrates a black woman's flight for liberation from patriarchal control, in search of her own physical and inner space in a society of men who impose their views and exert their power over women. In her journey towards self-knowledge, Janie interacts with different spaces which represent the dominant culture's models of selfhood, which can be effectively related to the use of natural imagery. As Janie becomes more of her 'natural' self and less a victim of patriarchy and the whims of others, the setting of the novel moves closer to the natural world. Through the use of natural imagery and symbolism, Hurston not only represents the African American valuing of the natural and spiritual world, but also portrays the development of an African American woman in search of her own voice.*

Keywords: Zora Neale Hurston, African American identity, female identity, nature, symbolism, space semiotics.

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"SO THIS WAS A MARRIAGE!": INTERSECCIONES ENTRE IMÁGENES NATURALES Y LA SEMIÓTICA DEL ESPACIO EN *SUS OJOS MIRABAN A DIOS*, DE ZORA NEALE HURSTON

RESUMEN. Sus ojos miraban a Dios*, de Zora Neale Hurston, narra la huida de una mujer negra en busca de liberación del control patriarcal y de su propio espacio físico e intelectual en una sociedad de hombres que imponen su visión y ejercen su poder sobre las mujeres. En su camino para conocerse a sí misma, Janie interactúa con diferentes espacios que representan los modelos de individualidad de la cultura dominante, que se pueden relacionar de forma eficaz con el uso de imágenes naturales. A medida que Janie se acerca a su propia identidad natural y se aleja del modelo victimizante del patriarcado y del sometimiento a los caprichos de otros, el marco de la novela se desplaza hacia el mundo de la naturaleza. Por medio del uso de imágenes y símbolos naturales, Hurston no sólo representa el valor que la cultura afroamericana le da al mundo natural y espiritual, sino también el desarrollo personal de una mujer afroamericana en busca de una voz propia.*

Palabras clave: Zora Neale Hurston, identidad afroamericana, identidad femenina, naturaleza, simbolismo, semiótica del espacio.

Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* is the story of a black woman in search of her own physical and inner space. The account of her journey toward self-actualization comprises the narrative. In her flight for liberation from patriarchal control, to be an autonomous woman in a society of men who insist on defining her reality in their selfish terms, Janie interacts with different spaces which represent the dominant culture's models of selfhood. The main focus in this essay will be on the complex interrelation between space and the models of selfhood which Janie tries out (as well as her rejection of space as a means of domination) in relation to natural imagery. In presenting a succession of three marriages, the first wholly unsuccessful, the second mostly unsuccessful, and the third successful but for the outrages of fortune, Hurston invites a reading of Janie's predicament in terms of the quest motif (Miller 2004: 77).[2] Over the

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[2]   *Their Eyes Were Watching God* has often been seen in terms of the quest motif: Janie on two occasions leaves established social positions for a more adventurous life, experiences the underworld of the hurricane, is taken to court after shooting her third husband in self-defence and returns home in Eatonville with the knowledge and the experience that she acquired the hard way.

course of the novel we see Janie moving through different houses, each of them representing some experience of confinement of consciousness, with the exception of the place she shares with Tea Cake in the Everglades. In the novel's frame we meet Janie back in Eatonville, where she lives as an artist figure that can enrich the life of the community around her with stories about her quest for self-discovery and self-definition. Thus the novel establishes a prolific tension between an individual and a communal dimension –as the community benefits from the story of the woman who has been "tuh the horizon and back" (Hurston 2007: 257)– between the impulse for adventure and the return to the homeplace.[3]

The tension between these two impulses is effectively articulated through the symbolic dimension of the Horizon, one of Janie's favourite metaphors, which stands for exploring life to the fullest. Janie's desire for self-knowledge gained through experience is expressed in opening and recurrent references to the Horizon. Moreover, Janie wants to express herself in a way that feels natural and organic; to do so, she must resist others' attempts to impose their own visions for her life. The reliance on the strength of natural imagery to sustain significance is a distinct characteristic of black American women writers; as Sivils has put it, in southern literature, trees often "function as connecting points between human experience and the natural world, as anchors in time, place, and human spiritual consciousness" and "serve as semiotic platforms, dynamic frameworks upon which writers place a seemingly endless variation of symbols or meanings" (2006: 91). Thus, Hurston's use of trees and other natural images throughout the novel help to shore up her overall depiction of Janie as "a woman in touch with nature on an elemental, organic level, and for whom the desire for the sexual and other experiences that will shape her identity is as natural as the trees, flowers, and even the hurricane she experiences in the Everglades" (King 2008: 60), where she undergoes the most intense aspect of her transformation.

The most crucial episode in Janie's search for selfhood is when, at the age of sixteen, she awakens to passion in the 'pear tree scene'. It occurs during the spring, and the narrator uses explicit sexual imagery to express her discovery of sexual desire:

> She was stretched on her back beneath the pear tree soaking in the alto chant of
> the visiting bees, the gold of the sun and the panting breath of the breeze when the
> inaudible voice of it all came to her. She saw a dust-bearing bee sink into the sanctum

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[3] I will be using the abbreviated form *TEWWG* to quote from the novel hereafter. All quotes have been taken from the Virago edition referenced in the final bibliographical list.

of a bloom; the thousand sister-calyxes arch to meet the love embrace and the ecstatic shiver of the tree from root to tiniest branch creaming in every blossom and frothing with delight. So this was a marriage! She had been summoned to behold a revelation. Then Janie felt a pain remorseless sweet that left her limp and languid.

> After a while she got up from where she was and went over the little garden field entire. She was seeking confirmation of the voice and vision, and everywhere she found and acknowledged answers. A personal answer for all other creations except herself. She felt an answer seeking her, but where? When? How? She found herself at the kitchen door and stumbled inside. In the air of the room were flies tumbling and singing, marrying and giving in marriage. When she reached the narrow hallway she was reminded that her grandmother was home with a sick headache. She was lying across the bed asleep so Janie tipped on out of the front door. Oh to be a pear tree – *any* tree in bloom! With kissing bees singing of the beginning of the world! She was sixteen. She had glossy leaves and bursting buds and she wanted to struggle with life but it seemed to elude her. (*TEWWG*: 14-15).

Janie's awakening to romance and sexual desire constitutes a powerful antithesis to her grandmother Nanny's metaphors of the black woman as the mule of the world and the spit-cup of men, with all their suggestion of dehumanization and sexual exploitation. Replete with the promise of fecundity, the pear tree argues against the tyranny of control that Nanny unwisely, perhaps unwittingly, chooses. Janie's dream is of a sexuality without hierarchies or domination, a relationship of reciprocity and mutual consent in which the "sister-calyxes" gladly "meet the love embrace" of the "dust-bearing bee". Moreover, as González-Groba has put it, her dream is "not just one of sexual fulfilment, but also of creativity and self-expression, as suggested by the idea of pollination" (2008: 118). From this moment of epiphany on, Janie's existence will become a continuous struggle to bring her own experience into harmony with her initial vision of the pear tree. As the novel progresses, this connection becomes "fleshed out" as she experiences marriage with Logan Killicks, Jody Starks, and Tea Cake (Dilbeck 2008: 103); the men in her life will be repeatedly described in terms of how they compare to this vision.

After her epiphany, Janie becomes acutely aware of the confinement and limitation of her life with Nanny:

> Where were the singing bees for her? Nothing on the place nor in her grandma's house answered her. She searched as much of the world as she could from the top of the front steps and then went on down to the front gate and leaned over to gaze up and down the road. Looking, waiting, breathing short with impatience. Waiting for the world to be made. (*TEWWG*: 15-16).

Back outside she wonders where the associations of the pear tree are in her life, but she is unable to find them in her grandma's house. The final lines in the passage juxtapose that small part of the world which Janie can see "from the top of the front steps" with the vast possibilities suggested by the open road that Janie "gaze[s] up and down", the open road of the life whose many difficult bends and intersections she will have to overcome. This is the first of several instances in the novel in which we see Janie breaking free from the confinement of restricted spaces and onto the open road, in search of both outer and inner experience. Her life, in fact, is going to constitute a succession of confinements which she will have to resist, break out of, or in some way accommodate to until she finds a space in which she can be queen.

At the sight of "Johnny Taylor lacerating her Janie with a kiss" (*TEWWG*: 16) over the front gate, Nanny realizes that neither her house nor her fence can protect her granddaughter. Now that Janie has entered the first blossom of womanhood, Nanny wants to prevent her from becoming a space for shiftless and unscrupulous men to foul up. More concerned about Janie's survival than her self-possession, Nanny insists that Janie should marry against her will: she sees in marriage the potential for Janie to have both the protection and the respectability that neither she nor her disgraced daughter had. Her candidate is Logan Killicks, who owns sixty acres of land. Nanny's mentality is the product of her experience as a slave woman, when she had no house of her own and was thus prevented from achieving what the dominant culture defines as selfhood. As a slave, Nanny owned neither her cabin nor her body, and her white master could break into both at will. Nanny explains her "dreams" as "whut a woman oughta be and to do" (*TEWWG*: 17). As Fulmer puts it, this includes "translating her ideal of setting an African American woman 'on high' into a narrow and literal application of marrying Janie off" (2007: 54) to a man with the only "organ in town" and "a parlor" (*TEWWG*: 31). She is convinced that without the "protection" of a male-owned home (*TEWWG*: 20), her Janie will face a future of physical and spiritual destruction: "And Ah can't die easy thinkin' maybe de menfolks white or black is makin' a spit cup outa you" (*TEWWG*: 27).

Despite the vivid and sympathetic description of Nanny's struggles and her good intentions (she only wishes that Janie could have what she could not achieve), Hurston plants the seed of Janie's later rejection of her grandmother's worldview (Fulmer 2007: 54). In a "biblical allusion to a promised land that Nanny has hoped but failed to provide" (Weathers 2005: 205), she tells Janie that she had intended to "throw up a highway through de wilderness" (*TEWWG*: 15). However, in the trajectory of Hurston's plot, the implication is that setting up such narrow criteria to what a woman "ought" to be and do leads to

suffering. Nanny's conception of the black woman as the mule of the world and the spit cup of men leaves Janie no room for independent thought or action, and militates against her dream of ecstatic union as symbolized by the blossoming pear tree. In fact, during the conversation on Janie's upcoming marriage, the narrator states that "the vision of Logan Killicks was desecrating the pear tree, but Janie didn't know how to tell Nanny that" (*TEWWG*: 18-19). The vision of Logan Killicks imposed by Nanny is incompatible with Janie's idealized vision of marriage as a pear tree. Understanding that life with Logan represented neither the Horizon (possibility) not the sexual expression associated with life, spring and the pear tree in bloom, Janie tried to make the best of an unhappy situation. Moreover, to Janie's vision of herself as a blossoming pear tree, Nanny opposes one which identifies Janie and herself with a lifeless variant of the vegetal image: "us colored folks is branches without roots and that makes things come round in queer ways" (*TEWWG*: 21). Janie ultimately rejects Nanny's ideas, and as a result, just before she throws off the supposedly privileged life gained from Joe Starks, which she had been trained by Nanny to want, she makes a startling statement: "Nanny had taken the biggest thing God ever made, the horizon [...] and pinched it in to such a little bit of a thing that she could tie it about her granddaughter's neck tight enough to choke her. She hated the old woman who had twisted her so in the name of love" (*TEWWG*: 120). Nanny becomes in Janie's eyes the great transgressor against her granddaughter's space.

Logan Killicks gives Janie the economic security and the marital legitimacy at the heart of Nanny's obsession, but no joy, no understanding, no imagination or creativity, and, most significantly, no means of connection with the world outside his fenced-in property. In Killicks's secluded farm, Janie, rather than protected, feels intolerably isolated: "It was a lonesome place like a stump in the middle of the woods where nobody had ever been" (*TEWWG*: 29). In the oppressive and lonely rural space through which he defines himself (and tries to define his young wife) Janie will never be able to explore the questions about life posed during her sensuous encounter with the pear tree. Killicks acts like a slave master with his insults and threats of violence when Janie refuses to obey him, so rather than a means of protection, the walls of his house and the fence around his sixty acres are barriers to the sense of self that Janie discovered under Nanny's pear tree, a self connected sexually and spiritually with the world around her.

After Nanny's death, Janie prepares for a new phase in her quest, far from the restricted notion of selfhood imposed by her grandmother and represented by Killicks's fenced property. Jody Starks appears in Janie's life as an ambitious, glamorous, virile stranger: "It was a citified, stylish dressed man with his hat set

at an angle that didn't belong in these parts […] He whistled, mopped his face and walked like he knew where he was going […] He didn't look her way nor in other way except straight ahead" (*TEWWG*: 37). Trees act as "launching points for stages of Janie's life" (Sivils 2006: 95), and it is no accident that she is sitting under an oak when Joe Starks, her soon to be second husband, first walks into her life; Janie and Joe first talk under a tree and later meet daily "in the scrub oaks across the road" (*TEWWG*: 39). Though Jody does not represent the pear tree in bloom for Janie any more than Logan does, he represents the Horizon and possibility, an escape from the secluded space she occupies with Killicks:

> Every day after that they managed to meet in the scrub oaks across the road and talk about when he would be a big ruler of things with her reaping the benefits. Janie pulled back a long time because he did not represent sun-up and pollen and blooming trees, but he spoke for far horizon. He spoke for change and chance. (*TEWWG*: 39).

The journey away from Killicks's farm is her first voluntary movement in space, unlike her two previous moves: from the white folks' yard to Nanny's house and from there to Killicks's place. On the morning when she discards the apron that marks her as Killicks's slaving wife, she experiences a feeling of "sudden newness and change" with echoes of the pear tree image:

> The morning road air was like a new dress. That made her feel the apron tied around her waist. She untied it and flung it on a low bush beside the road and walked on, picking flowers and making a bouquet. After that she came to where Joe Starks was waiting for her with a hired rig. He was very solemn and helped her to the seat beside him. With him on it, it sat like some high, ruling chair. From now on until death she was going to have flower dust and springtime sprinkled over everything. A bee for her bloom. (*TEWWG*: 43-44).

If Jody Starks is ever the "bee for her bloom", it is only in the initial stages of the marriage. Janie's initial happiness with Jody recedes when she understands that his plans for her preclude her from expressing herself naturally in the world. From the very beginning of his courtship he never hides his self-centeredness and his hunger for power. He confines Janie too, by limiting her life to the inside of his store and his white house, which resembles that of a slave master (West 2005: 99). He wanted Janie to sit on the pedestal –the black equivalent of the southern lady, beautiful, pure and submissive– without the least concern for her individual wants or needs. She must speak only when spoken to, dress as modestly as he indicates, and stay inside his premises as he dictates; as he states, "she's uh woman and her place is in de home" (*TEWWG*: 59). Jody never allows Janie any space of her own: she has to live in his space, within the sound of his own voice. He allows Janie to

express only his views, not herself, as he attempts to colonize her psychological space with his thoughts: "Somebody got to think for women and chillum and chickens and cows" (*TEWWG*: 100). Forcing her to work in the store gives him the opportunity to humiliate her in public. Thus imprisoned, Janie is wholly excluded from the organic, natural world in which she had her vision of sexual and spiritual power; the marriage thus stifled Janie's natural way of being in the world. Her existence with Jody becomes as lifeless as the virgin trees he cut down to build his house and store, and Janie's response to her silencing is, appropriately, expressed through tree imagery: "It must have been the way Joe spoke out without giving her a chance to say anything one way or another that took the bloom off things" (*TEWWG*: 60). Both Killicks and Starks desecrate Janie's pear tree vision not only because they fail to arouse or sustain her desire, but also because they try to prevent her from expressing herself, in a novel which undoubtedly establishes a connection between sexual desire and the female voice.

Janie finds her high place on the pedestal dreamed by Nanny too suffocating, and she begins to resist the domination that it represents. In terms of her psychological growth, Janie takes a giant step forward in the well-known scene when she discovers duality and self-division, conveyed in terms of movements in space: "The spirit of the marriage left the bedroom and took to living in the parlor. It was there to shake hands whenever company came to visit, but it never went back inside the bedroom again" (*TEWWG*: 101). The spirit of the marriage is displaced from the private space of the bedroom to the public domestic space of the parlor, and is replaced with an image of virginity. This contrasts heavily with the conjugal bond as symbolized by the open petal pollinated by the bee: "The bed was no longer a daisy-field for her and Joe to play in" (*TEWWG*: 101). Spatial metaphors occur later in the same chapter, conveying Janie's reflections after Jody slaps her:

> She wasn't petal-open anymore with him. She was twenty-four and seven years married when she knew. She found that out one day when he slapped her face in the kitchen … Janie stood where he left her for unmeasured time and thought. She stood there until something fell off the shelf inside her. Then she went inside there to see what it was. It was her image of Jody tumbled down and shattered. But looking at it she saw that it never was the flesh and blood figure of her dreams. Just something she had grabbed up to drape her dreams over. In a way she turned her back upon the image where it lay and looked further. She had no more blossomy openings dusting pollen over her man, neither any glistening young fruit where the petals used to be. She found that she had a host of thoughts she had never expressed to him, and numerous emotions she had never let Jody know about. Things packed up and put away in parts of her heart where he could never find them. She was saving up feelings

for some man she had never seen. She had an inside and an outside now and suddenly she knew how not to mix them. (*TEWWG*: 96-97).

After this, Janie and Jody are destined to move in opposite directions, and she begins to find her voice. Her newly acquired double consciousness gives Janie the power to transcend the limitations of space, as we see on the day when "she sat and watched the shadow of herself going about tending store and prostrating itself before Jody, while all the time she herself sat under a shady tree with the wind blowing through her hair and her clothes" (*TEWWG*: 109). The passage emphasizes the persistent conflict between domestic interiors, where Janie is oppressed and denied a voice (Nanny's, Killicks's and Starks's houses), and the open spaces connected to her dreams of ideal union and sexual fulfilment.

The fact that the conflict between Janie and Jody culminates in an act of speech underlines the strategic importance of language for survival in the novel: such self-expression has been "the project of the male cultural subject, and men have effectively usurped it as their exclusive prerogative through the very gendering of the roles of speaking and listening" (Johnson 1998: 48). When Janie asserts her own voice, she reappropriates her self and her world; Jody dies of this shame inflicted on him by Janie's words, which expose his lack of sexual power. This reveals how, rather than the bourgeois security and wealth represented by Jody Starks, Janie needs freedom to explore herself and the world.

Although Jody Starks constituted a considerable improvement for Janie with respect to the isolated rural world of Logan Killicks, it is not until the beginning of her relationship with Tea Cake that she is allowed to explore new physical and psychological spaces. Jody initially spoke to Janie "for far horizon" (*TEWWG*: 39), but he soon subjected her to confinement. The upward movement involved in placing Janie on the pedestal "alienated her from her cultural roots and delayed her need to answer the call of adventure" (González-Groba 2008: 128). She feels more in touch with her authentic self than ever before during the downward movement in 'the muck', in the agricultural community of the Everglades. Tea Cake, the man who embodies her dreams more fully than any other, makes it possible for Janie to abandon the vertical space of the two-storey house at the centre of Eatonville in favour of truly horizontal space, as the horizon is the world of possibility, of inspiring journeys, of meeting new people and the acquisition of new values, of the rejection of boundaries and limitations placed on the self.

Tea Cake represents the fusion that Janie desires between the creative sexual impulse of the pear tree vision and the immensity of the far horizon, her two

favourite metaphors, for so long forced from her consciousness by the oppression she has experienced. He is in touch with his natural and organic self, and thus becomes the life partner Janie has been looking for. He follows the land and its cycles as a migrant worker, letting nature and its seasons direct him. With Tea Cake's entrance, the pear blossom imagery that signifies her sexual awakening returns, and Janie's relationship with him fulfils the promise of real marriage Janie had witnessed in her adolescence, in a process of "rewriting black female sexuality" (Harris 1996: 28):[4]

> He looked like the love thoughts of women. He could be a bee to a blossom –a pear tree blossom in the spring. He seemed to be crushing scent out of the world with his footsteps. Crushing aromatic herbs with every step he took. Spices hung about him. He was a glance from God. (*TEWWG*: 151).

The house that Janie shares with Tea Cake in the Everglades is considerably different from the house in which Jody Starks imprisons Janie: it is a modest one-storey building which becomes central to the community, but is on the same physical and social level as those around it. Both Tea Cake and Janie participate in the communal activities. Tea Cake's masculine identity is not threatened by Janie's move into the public space of traditional male rituals like hunting or fishing, or the porch gatherings. He liberates Janie from her previous confined social position, and becomes the "bee" to her "blossom" in more than just one sense. Her blossoming is not just the discovery of her desire for life and connection, but ultimately her fruitful participation in the oral tradition of black culture.

Janie has crossed lines of class and colour to marry Tea Cake –as he is a "black nigger" (*TEWWG*: 200) and she is a mulatto girl– and in her movement has found space to breathe in a way of life which resisted hierarchical demarcations: he shows her the Horizon. As González-Groba has put it, "the physical and social descent of Janie to the farming area of 'the muck' is ultimately an ascent to higher and more authentic layers of being" (2008: 131). Janie is situated in "the least oppressive social structure afforded by the world of the narrative" (Gaál-Szabó 2001: 89). Down on the muck, an area "in de Everglades round Clewiston and Belle Glade where dey raise all dat cane and string-beans and tomatuhs" (*TEWWG*: 27), Janie's horizons are expanded by the love and respect she shares with Tea Cake. When Tea Cake asks Janie to work in the fields with him and all the others, he invites her to do something she in fact enjoys, and in no way coerces her to work without a sense of community, as Killicks and Starks did. Both Janie and Tea Cake find happiness picking string

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[4]   Moveover, his real surname, Woods, evokes his connection to the natural world. Not only is he Janie's pear tree, but her whole wood of trees.

beans on the muck; in such an environment, Janie finds a "new" landscape, an ecological and social "tropical sublime" (Lowe 2011: 91) that, "rather than iterating and enforcing inequalities of power, creates spaces of opportunity and redefinition" (Hicks 2009: 79). As Mesa-El Ashmawi highlights, Hurston treats the muck as "an ideal, pastoral place where Tea Cake and Janie can wander through the fields, singing, flirting, and, in general, being in love" (2009: 204).

When recounting her experiences to Pheoby, Janie shows no regret for the life she has lived, and proves that the love she experienced with Tea Cake has given her strength and integrity. The tragic death of Tea Cake has left her with the spiritual excitement of having fulfilled at least part of her dream of opening her blossoms to a receptive bee. The death of Tea Cake has put an end to Janie's wanderings in physical space, although not in time or spirit, and she has come to understand the meaning of the horizon:

> 'Now, dat's how everything wuz, Pheoby, jus' lak Ah told yuh. So Ah'm back home again and Ah'm satisfied tuh be heah. Ah done been tuh de horizon and back and now Ah kin set heah in mah house and live by comparisons. Dis house ain't so absent of things lak it used tuh be befo' Tea Cake come along. It's full uh thoughts, 'specially dat bedroom'. (*TEWWG*: 256-257).

This is the first time she refers to her house as "home", a space which is no longer oppressive because it is hers and she has been liberated. Its walls are no longer dead and silent, but alive with her experiences of the people and the world without:

> The day of the gun, and the bloody body, and the courthouse came and commenced to sing a sobbing sigh out of every corner in the room; out of each and every chair and thing. Commenced to sing, commenced to sob and sigh, singing and sobbing. Then Tea Cake came prancing around her where she was and the song of the sigh flew out of the window and lit in the top of the pine trees. Tea Cake, with the sun for a shawl. Of course he wasn't dead. He could never be dead until she herself had finished feeling and thinking. The kiss of his memory made pictures of love and light against the wall. Here was peace. She pulled in her horizon like a great fish-net. Pulled it from around the waist of the world and draped it over her shoulder. So much of life in its meshes! She called in her soul to come and see. (*TEWWG*: 258-259).

Though she is in an apparent situation of stasis, Janie's imagination and desire are most active: she has not finished "feeling and thinking", and continues to feel the "kiss of [Tea Cake's] memory". Not defeated by the tragedy of her life, Janie actually transforms it as "the creative artist, endowed with patterns of metaphorical thought which allow her to move freely between the past and the present, the inside and the outside, the dream and the reality" (González-Groba 2008: 132). Her

imagination transforms the horizon from the object of longing and of genuine exploration into a metaphorical fishnet which she can pull in at will. Her imaginative power retains the horizon in a process that highlights the empowerment of women articulated in the novel's opening: "women forget all those things they don't want to remember, and remember everything they don't want to forget" (*TEWWG*: 1). Janie seems to be open to the possibilities of the future, as when she pulls in her horizon she finds "so much of life in its meshes". Janie is surrounded with imagery that evokes light and brightness. Natural symbols like the pine tree point toward the universe, and although she is enclosed in the protective warmth of her home, we understand that "within its walls is a place that shines with her own awakening and is brightened by the poetry of her spirit" (Holloway 1987: 73).

The use of natural imagery develops throughout the novel as Janie evolves and attains self-empowerment and voice; she finds her developing maturity symbolically imaged in the blossoming of a pear tree. Though her first two marriages end in failure, she learns something valuable about herself from each of them so that by the time she meets the love of her life she becomes able to express her natural, organic self with confidence. The symbolic importance of the pear tree, which resonates throughout the novel, contrasts with middle-aged Janie's use of the tree image while recounting her story to Pheoby: "Janie saw her life like a great tree in leaf with the things suffered, things enjoyed, things done and undone. Dawn and doom was in the branches" (*TEWWG*: 11). At this point Janie sees her life "like a great tree in leaf", not in bloom as at sixteen, but representing both positive and negative aspects of her experience. The metaphor symbolizes "a life full of the comic and the tragic, a life full of learning experiences" (King 2008: 59), and serves as a fulfilment of the adolescent wish expressed in the pear tree image. The tree, in this context, is not a symbol of marriage but a balance of opposites, of "things done and undone", which appropriately reflects her newly-developed patterns of metaphorical thought.

Natural imagery becomes a means to convey the idea that Janie has become the artist in the community, as the garden seeds from Tea Cake that she kept and means to plant "for remembrance" (*TEWWG*: 274) promise a future of growth –a world in which black women are not the mules of the world and are allowed the space they need to speak and to be themselves–.[5] By means of Tea Cake's seeds, a notion of marriage as a liberating contract between two equal individuals

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[5]   Hurston's reliability on oral forms –including folktales, sermons, songs, proverbs and so on– is in keeping with the organic nature of the novel. *Their Eyes Were Watching God* proceeds from Janie's telling of her own story to Pheoby, and the narrative contains numerous other examples of speechmaking and storytelling which often incorporate elements of the oral tradition.

is defended at the end of the novel (Frías 1998: 92), and a link is established between the community and nature, as Hurston writes of nature as a "physical or spiritual force, one that can or cannot be affected by human forces" (Holloway 1987: 54). For Hurston it is critical for characters to acknowledge the potential of nature, to recognize its role in their communities and to accord it due respect: as Janie becomes more of her 'natural' self and less a victim of the whims of others, the setting of the novel moves closer to the natural world. Janie undertakes "a pastoral retreat into the wilds of her inner nature (which actually corresponds to her actual journey) only to return and reform the self, which has been made less authentic by a male-dominated culture" (Rieger 2009: 92). Through her use of natural imagery, therefore, Hurston represents the African American valuing of the natural and spiritual world, and portrays the development of an African American woman in search of her own voice.

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URBAN REPRESENTATIONS OF AFRICAN NOVA SCOTIA: THE RECONQUEST OF SPACE IN GEORGE ELLIOTT CLARKE'S *RED*

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ABSTRACT. *This paper explores a series of five poems from the collection* Red *(2011) by Nova Scotian writer George Elliott Clarke. It focuses on the central role that place, and more specifically, urban space, plays in the construction of the region he significantly renames "Africadia", from the perspective of the black community. Although people of African descent have lived in the island since the seventeenth century –forming the vastest African community in Canada– this presence tends to be unacknowledged or deliberately erased –as is the case of the razing of the neighbourhood of Africville–. In these poems, Clarke vindicates this denied space, imbuing it with the lives and experiences of its Africadian inhabitants.*

Keywords: Space, Africadia, George Elliott Clarke, Africville, identity, representation.

REPRESENTACIONES URBANAS DE LA NUEVA ESCOCIA AFRICANA: LA RECONQUISTA DEL LUGAR EN *RED*, DE GEORGE ELLIOTT CLARKE

RESUMEN. *Este artículo explora un conjunto de cinco poemas de la colección* Red *(2011) del escritor de Nueva Escocia George Elliott Clarke. Se centra en el relevante papel que el espacio, más específicamente, el espacio urbano, juega a la hora de construir la región que él significativamente re-bautiza como "Africadia", desde la perspectiva de la comunidad africana. Aunque haya habido gente de ascendencia africana viviendo en la isla desde el siglo diecisiete, esta presencia suele pasar desapercibida e incluso llega a ser destruida intencionadamente —como es el caso de la demolición del barrio de Africville—. En estos poemas, Clarke reivindica este espacio negado, incluyendo en él las vidas y experiencias de sus habitantes africadianos.*

Palabras clave: Espacio, Africadia, George Elliott Clarke, Africville, identidad, representación.

1. INTRODUCTION

George Elliott Clarke is one of Nova Scotia's most relevant contemporary authors and intellectual figures. He has published several collections of poetry, plays, critical theory and one novel. Some of his most outstanding titles include *Execution Poems*, for which he was awarded the Governor General's Award for poetry in 2001, and his collection of poems *Whylah Falls*, shortlisted for the 2002 edition of Canada Reads. He devotes a great part of his work to explore and promote the presence of black intellectual and cultural life in Canada, as reflected in his collection of critical essays *Odysseys Home*, published in 2002, which includes an extensive bibliography of black authors from all over Canada; or his anthology of black Nova Scotian literature, *Fire on the Water* —consisting of two volumes, published in 1991 and 1992—. In this article I am focusing on the representation of urban space in a group of five poems from his book *Red*. Published in 2011, *Red* is the third of his "colouring" books, following *Blue* (2001) and *Black* (2006). These five poems appear in a section of the book called "Red Sea", and they deal, as the subheading in the index points out, with the region of Nova Scotia. I will explore the relevance of explicitly reconstructing a strong sense of the local and, more specifically, the urban context for the displaced community of black Nova Scotians. Absence, rejection, and the distance that comes with them, are all palpable in the contents of the poems in

"Red Sea". This distance I am referring to is the enforced distance blacks have been subjected to on racial grounds. It is distance in the literal sense of the word, that is, spatial and physical, but it is also distance from the literary and social centre of Canada and particularly of Nova Scotia. The positioning of the black subject at the centre of a spatial redefinition of a regional consciousness and experience is revealed as a key element in the process of counteracting and shortening these distances.

As I mentioned earlier, during his career, Clarke has been and still is struggling to recover the obliterated history of black people in Canada, focusing on his native region. It is essential to emphasise the national character of Clarke's quest, even though he develops this fight within a diasporic, and quite paradoxically transnational context. For his battle against invisibility operates at two levels: on the one hand, he denounces the marginalisation that black people suffer from the mainstream of society. On the other, within the African diaspora itself, black Canadians are often neglected, not recognised as a single, separate entity, but engulfed in the overarching ethnic designation of Afro-Americans or Afro-Caribbeans. As he explains in *Odysseys Home*: "I also came to recognize that African America *is* its own pseudo-nation, not a 'sub-culture,' but a *sub-civilization* of the United States, and that it is, like the American mainstream, solely self-absorbed. To be 'Black' and Canadian in that setting was to suffer the erasure of *Canadian* as a legitimate expression of black identity" (2002: 5, italics in the original). There is no place for a distinct Canadian blackness in the African diaspora as it is commonly understood and promoted, according to Clarke, by the works of critics such as Paul Gilroy. Gilroy supposedly aims at incorporating different aspects of the African diaspora under the transnational perspective of the unifying Black Atlantic. However, Clarke argues that he is actually providing a corpus of cultural referents in which black figures from the United States are over-represented. In doing so, he is projecting yet another discourse that places this nation's cultural production at the centre around which all black identity revolves, making it impossible for a black Canadian consciousness to flourish. It is due to these diverse trajectories of displacement that Clarke coins the term "Africadia", a combination between Africa and Acadia, which he defines as "an ethnocultural archipelago consisting of several dozen Black Loyalist –and Black Refugee– settled communities (including some in and about the Halifax-Dartmouth metropolitan region), whose foundings date back to 1783 and 1815 respectively" (2002: 107). The re-naming of this geographical area has strong nationalist implications in that it constitutes the definition and appropriation of place in terms of African-Canadian identity and culture.

2. "NORTH IS FREEDOM"

Clarke's efforts are, therefore, markedly nation and even region-oriented, in contrast with the trans- and even anti-nationalist tendencies of many African diaspora discourses today. This approach is reflected in the group of five poems analysed in this article. The first poem of the section is a brief, introductory poem entitled "North is Freedom", and although "north" probably refers to Nova Scotia, it could be applied to Canada as a whole. The "north" would be more specifically Canada in opposition to the United States, in the sense that Canada has been traditionally understood as a place of freedom, destination of slaves and refugees of the African diaspora, in stark contrast with the less tolerant and oppressive United States. This idea is sustained even today by widely acknowledged though inaccurate notions about Canada's open-mindedness, such as the fact that slavery was never practiced there, or the utter success of its official policy of multiculturalism. In actuality, slavery was practiced in Canada, even though most slaves were employed in household activities, as there were no extensive plantations; and the fact that the policy of multiculturalism has overcome discrimination is far from the truth. In fact, critics such as Naomi Pabst suggest that "this same multiculturalism fosters perceptions of blacks as having non-Canadian origins, a form of displacement, alienation, and expatriation (or repatriation) from the imagined community that is Canada" (2006: 119). In this short poem, however, there is no trace of such contradictions.

3. "GOING TO HALIFAX"

The statement "north is freedom" does not come across as ironic until it is confronted with the remaining poems of the section. The second one is entitled "Going to Halifax" and it is written "*à la manière de Gregory Frankson*" (2011: 62), a young black Canadian poet, performer and activist. In the first two lines of this poem Clarke establishes a parallelism between Halifax and hell, which is the first image that contrasts the "freedom" he previously alludes to: "If you are going to Hell,/I, I am going to Halifax" (62). In the following lines, an atmosphere of chaos, violence and overt sexuality prevails, especially in the last part of the poem, where even suicide is referenced as a sound option for the city inhabitants. These crude depictions are splattered with strokes of ironic humour, which gives the whole poem an almost satirical quality: "where cars giggle at accidents along vermicelli streets"; "or undertake tearful screws in homemade brothels,/moms and dads looking on, clapping";

and when talking about the "sailor's syphilis": 'because them idiots think ya can't get it/ if ya can't spell it, eh?'" (62, 63). Clarke establishes here a brutal contrast between cheerful –"giggle", "clapping", a jocular phrase– and tragic or non-humorous –"accidents", "tearful screws", syphilis– concepts, and thus utilises the ironic oppositions to problematise the dramatic impressions conveyed by an otherwise disturbing cityscape.

Clarke is very consciously working to consolidate a Nova Scotian context, and he achieves this by including very markedly regional elements such as "*Schwartz* spices" or *"Minard's* liniment", –Nova Scotian products–, so that the poem could not be set anywhere but in Halifax. He creates this unmistakable sense of the local through rough and aggressive language. Even the presence of the sea, so inherent to Nova Scotian literature, is treated here in a demythified and almost obscene way: "and newspaper pages slathered/ with mackerel guts and blood", "in my sea-chocked, Venetian-venereal city,/ pearly gulls skirt purling waves", the gulls paralleled to the "purring girls go[ing] click click click/ in tiny skirts" (62, 63). The poem thus departs from the kind of pastoral poetry that has been traditionally associated to the Maritimes region. There is no trace in its lines of an idealised city or urban experience, even though the poet palliates the victimising effect of a fully negative or apocalyptic account by introducing the element of satire in his narrative.

4. "ADDRESS TO TOMORROW'S NEGRO HALIGONIANS"

"Going to Halifax" speaks of frenzy and chaos in the city using a burlesque, acid tone, but there is no specific mention of its black inhabitants so far. The next poem is clearly directed at the black community of Nova Scotia: "Address to Tomorrow's Negro Haligonians". Here, the poet talks to future black readers and once again establishes a spatial context that is specific to Halifax, obviously in the title, but also by including names of places that can actually be located in the city, like "Gotti'gen Street"; names of local bars, such as "the Derby and the Tap"; or again Nova Scotian brands such as "*Alexander Keith's*", a brewery or "Sobey", a supermarket (64). All these landmarks are familiar to anyone from Halifax, but, unlike in the previous narrative, in this case race issues transpire throughout the poem.

At this point, Clarke's urgency to speak to his community becomes very apparent: as he states in an interview, "My horror is to be a writer who is not read by his own community. I like to think that I am giving back too" (1998: 158). This poem is infused with the kind of intimacy and familial emotion that

comes from belonging to the same community. This sense of a shared background is reflected in the introduction of elements related to oral communication, such as the way to approach his audience as his "belovèd readers", those "who still call me 'Georgie'", and whom he later asks if they "remember my big, buck-toothed smile" (64). Clarke mentions events and commonplace practices from the past and present, and others which will probably still be relevant in the future, particularly related to the black community of the city. Such is the case of everyday experiences such as the reference to "brown kids" making "snow angels in that empty Sobey's lot" (64). His preoccupation with race and the possibility that racism will persist in the future is reflected in the line "Does my pigment still bleed through my poems?" (64). Other speculations about the future of black people in Halifax include their possible relocation to "Africa –or wherever" (64). His uncertainty about the future of blacks translates also into an uncertainty about the future of Halifax. He writes that "Maybe Halifax has been long sunken under the waves"; and further ventures to predict America's conquest of the whole world in the line "And the Yankee flag's single star represents every human" (64). The threat that the United States poses as having the power to potentially erase distinct subjectivities through globalisation –or, rather, Americanisation– is ever-present in the case of Canada. It is especially difficult for Canadians to assert their identity in the shadow of the dominant hegemony of the United Sates, which thus exerts a new form of imperialism. This merging of identities into a single American one is yet to come, but today, the British Imperialism of the past may still be perceived in the "ebon queens of the Ladies Auxiliary" who "put on kilts" (64) although not overtly criticised or rejected, rather, appropriated.

This poem reveals the anxieties and doubts of the persona about the transformations that accompany the passing of time. The voice of the poet is given especial relevance and strength; his aesthetic and narrative work empowers it to travel through the years and reach people even amidst the unavoidable changes or the seemingly uncontrollable oppression: "I thought my poems should be boisterous/ So the shouts would reach you,/[…]/ Through the centuries of dust and lies (64). As the title suggests, it is the black community of future Nova Scotia with whom the poet establishes this dialectic relationship and the city of Halifax becomes the scenario for the various conjectures and insecurities about the fate of this community. What is most important, though, is that Clarke is representing the lives and experiences of blacks as inherent to the city's past and future history; he is coupling Canadianness, or rather Nova Scotianness, with black people's identity.

5. "FOUR UNKNOWN WOMEN"

The presence of Africans in Nova Scotia can be traced back to the eighteenth century, with the arrival of slaves and Loyalists from the United States after the American Revolution, and several communities have developed in the island since then, with the subsequent influx of slave refugees through the 'Underground Railroad', Maroons from Jamaica, and, more recently, immigrants from different parts of the world. Clarke himself is a 7th generation African Nova Scotian. It is on the grounds of this primeval tradition that he legitimises their claim to place and vindicates the African heritage as part of the cultural foundations of the island. As I have mentioned earlier, this presence tends to be overlooked, or even completely ignored, if not deliberately erased. Race has been a crucial factor in the division and structuring of space since the beginning of the settlement of African people in Nova Scotia. After the American Revolution, the British government offered farming land from the territories of what was then British North America to both black and white Loyalists in exchange for their allegiance. However, black Loyalists relocated in Nova Scotia received substantially less acres of land than white Loyalists, thereby impeding their economic expansion on even terms. Thus relegated to less advantageous locations, black people were soon considered a hindrance to the development of the colony and they became the objects of segregation and discrimination (Winks 1997, Mensah 2002).

Another, more recent example of this process of obliteration is the history of the settlement of Africville in Halifax: originally established in 1812 by former American slaves, it was destroyed in 1960s as part of an urban restructuring plan when the neighbourhood housed almost 400 people from 80 families, to build a bridge in its place. The community was thus dissolved, its inhabitants evicted and relocated in different parts of the region. The City of Halifax based the razing of Africville on the improvement and renewal of slums. The neighbourhood was considered a dangerous, filthy and decaying area; however, as Jennifer Nelson points out, "the City's responsibility for Africville's poor conditions through decades of neglect" (2011: 121) is often denied or ignored. It was the city council that placed a dump and a slaughterhouse in its surroundings and denied the settlement proper electricity and sewage systems and police and fire services. Africville was thus downgraded and constructed as a marginal focus of criminality and violence, clearly incongruous with the proper standards of the city. Nelson explains that "White ideologies about Black community, race, the poor, and otherness

shaped the political climate in the era preceding, accompanying, and following the destruction of Africville" (126). This unwanted racialised space is therefore disposed of; stigmatised, it is not bettered or promoted, but disintegrated. There are some inconsistencies as to the community's response to this manoeuvre. Some critics, such as Angel D. Nieves sustain that its inhabitants did oppose resistance, but that it was ignored (2007: 90); George Elliott Clarke himself suggests that perhaps people should have taken more action when he says that Africville "has become a symbol of what happens to a culture which does not vigorously assert its right to exist" (1991: 11); finally, Maureen Moynagh explains that people in Africville initially agreed to its label of slum, and their efforts were directed at obtaining satisfactory conditions of relocation (1998: 29). Be that as it may, what is indisputable is that African Nova Scotians living in Africville did not have access to the institutional spheres and, therefore, they did not have the opportunity to be politically involved in the decision making process. Only recently, in 2010, an apology was offered from the mayor of Halifax for the loss of the community. This apology, which has taken forty years and a shift in the political strategies and ideological focus of the country, was issued to compensate for the loss of "opportunities for the young people who never were nurtured in the rich traditions, culture and heritage of Africville" (CBCnews, web); and it may be read in positive terms in that it reflects an inclusive attitude and an interest in rectifying and acknowledging certain mistakes committed in the past, at least in a representational or institutional level.

This historical background is relevant for the next poem, "Four Unknown Women". Again, Clarke provides the reader with an evident chronotope, this time a terrible explosion that took place in the harbour of Halifax in 1917 after the collision of two ships, one of which was loaded with explosives, which severely damaged the city. The poem is structurally divided in two stylistically asymmetric parts. The first part is formed by eighteen anaphoric lines, all of them starting with the word "as", and it contains all the objective, retrievable data from the accident: "As the maps declared, 'Halifax, Nova Scotia,'/as the calendar read, 'December 6, 1917,'/ as the clock ticked off, '9:06 a.m.,'" (65); as well as more subjective impressions or the perception of what must have been like for the inhabitants of the city to be involved in a disaster of such dimensions: "as the ocean moved in its bed and blanketed land,/ as the telegraphs fell to jabberwocky,/ as the schoolchildren wept and the churches collapsed" (65). This uniformly portrayed section is followed by a disengaged set of two lines –"after the thunderclap of devastation –/ after

the slaughter of the city" (65)– that both separates and introduces the second part, in which the unrecorded experience of the "unknown women" is told:

> four unknown women –
> black women from the flattened shantytown –
> no, village –
> Africville –
> "for coloureds only,"
> stranded behind tracks,
> donned winter clothes and shoes and huge black overcoats
> and went out into the snuffing-out snow,
> looking over their losses –
> ten of us,
> the Seaview African Baptist Church –
> and kept on stepping, unbent,
> strong-willed,
>
> to rebuild (65,66).

The settlement of Africville, from which the four protagonists of the poem come, was not directly hit by the explosion, though it was considerably damaged due to the poor quality of the houses, and the area was not reconstructed nor did it receive as much assistance as other parts of the town. The poem captures the act of survival of four women whose steps would have probably gone unnoticed, as the neglect of Africville during this episode, and its obliteration later on show.

It is interesting, however, to notice that the chasm produced by the isolated couplet might be more than just a formalistic gap. It is possible to read the action of this last part of the poem as not occurring at the same time as the first one, a conjecture that is first suggested in the repeated word of the introductory lines, "after". Later on, in the description of the women, Clarke mentions that they belong to the "flattened shantytown –/ no, village –/ Africville"; and that they are contemplating what they have lost, "ten of us,/the Seaview African Baptist Church" (66). Since the explosion takes place in 1917, and Africville was not "flattened", nor was its church destroyed until the 1960s, these references play with chronology and fragment the simultaneity between both actions, so that the image of the onward movement of the women may be ambiguously interpreted both as a consequence of the explosion and as a consequence of the razing of Africville fifty years later. The ambivalence of the women's temporality is further reinforced with the last line of the poem, two words that significantly appear separated from the rest, "to rebuild" (66). The poem projects first a systemically depicted tragic panorama, and continues with another disheartening description

of the women's surroundings, to finish with a contrasting and powerful series of images: "and kept on stepping, unbent/ strong-willed/ to rebuild" (66). This emphasis on the women's physical and emotional re-emergence stands as a symbol for the rebirth that the destruction of Africville meant in cultural terms to the black community of Nova Scotia.

There is indeed a post-Africville awakening, an assertion and a claim to identity that is catalysed by the erasure of the community. Clarke affirms that, after a long period in which Africadian literature was dominated by religious texts, there is a Renaissance which comes primarily from the razing of Africville:

> The issuance of so few texts between 1798 and 1974 indicates that Africadia endured a protracted cataclysm, one that required, not the generic modes of expression, but rather a Church-sponsored corpus of non-fiction and spiritual writings. The era posed a quintet of emergencies, of which the fifth –the doom of Africville (a historic Africadian community) in the late 1960s– precipitated the rebirth of Africadian literature (2002: 109-110).

This recent self-awareness is reflected in specifically anti-modern and nationalist cultural manifestations, such as the works of David Wood, Charles Saunders, Maxine Tynes or Frederick Ward (Moynagh 1998: 21, 24, 25). It is no coincidence that, in "Four Unknown Women", Clarke parallels two post-industrial events, one accidental, the other purposeful, but both charged with the threats of modernity. Progress, modernity, and the racialised de-centring of a collective are internalised as the factors which provoked the severing of affective ties for the black community of the city of Halifax. For even though living conditions in Africville might have been poor, the settlement had a tremendous importance for its inhabitants in emotional terms. As Nieves explains, Africville was "the heart of their community life, their circle of support, and the place where they had a strong sense of belonging" (2007: 91). Clarke's work, as that of many black Nova Scotian artists, constitutes a response to centuries of oppression, and to the devastating effects of progress, which find their greatest exponent in the destruction of this neighbourhood.

6. "TAXI"

The last poem of the section, "Taxi", lacks the spatial landmarks and referents that closely tie the previous poems to Halifax. Nevertheless, being again set in an urban context, and preceded by examples of such overt locality, it is safe to assume that this poem takes place either in Halifax, or, at least, in a Nova Scotian city. It addresses prejudice and assumptions about black people living in the

city, more specifically, the foregone conclusion that a black man, the son of a taxi driver, cannot be a poet. Although Clarke's father was not a taxi driver –he worked as a railway employee–, there are indications in the poem and through the book which suggest that the protagonists of "Taxi", father and son, may, to a certain extent, coincide with George Elliott Clarke and his father, William Clarke. First of all, Clarke dedicates *Red* to his father, whom he describes as an "*Artist, Motorcyclist, Intellectual, Liberal, Idealist, Actor, Romantic*" (2011: 6, italics in the original). Later, in the acknowledgements, he mentions him again, and tells how, apart from working for the railway company, he devoted part of his life to painting. The cover of the book, as well as all the paintings and photographs included inside –except for one– were made or taken by his father. In this choice of images, as well as in the dedication and acknowledgements, Clarke expresses deep admiration for his father's artistic and intellectual inclinations. In the poem, the taxi driver is described as "Courteous, cordial, proper, politic," and as a man who "lavished wit impeccably impish/ Encyclopedia-posh, and polished –/ With scholarly asides and rhymester's timing," (67). On these grounds, it is easy to see how both figures, Clarke's father and the father in "Taxi", can be paralleled, as they share the same type of job, and similar intellectual aptitudes.

The poem portrays two passengers, "blonde mother, blonde daughter", in contrasted with the "dark driver", who, after engaging in an amusing conversation with them hoping for a generous tip, goes as far as to tell them that his son is a poet. The women do not transmit their incredulity directly to the driver, rather they "were polite enough/ To transmute their blithe doubt to nods and smiles" (67). The patronising attitude is most clearly recorded in the lines "To expect *them* to credit *him* […]/ with fathering a son/ Who could credibly be crowned a *poet*" (67, emphasis in the original). Here, class and race constitute the basis for what is expectable or even acceptable from a black taxi driver. Art and intellectual life, in the eyes of the blonde women, who stand for mainstream society in a Nova Scotian urban context, do not belong in the world of "black chaps/ Delivering white ladies and luggage" (67), thus condescendingly categorised as irrevocably ignorant or uncultivated.

Once again, as he does in "Address to Tomorrow's Negro Haligonians", Clarke reasserts here the influential role of the poet's voice. In this case, his poetry is writing back to these acts of discrimination on class and racial grounds, which are not necessarily of an overt or obvious quality but, precisely because of their evasiveness, are more commonly endured by the Africadian community and more difficult to assault. In the acknowledgements, when he tells about his father's paintings, Clarke reiterates the power of art as a liberating tool, when he

wonders whether or not his father knew "that art could free an Africadian from the genial humiliations of a reluctantly bestowed, strictly stereotyped, and poorly remunerated j-o-b" (153). The last part of the poem reads:

> I heard their apology for this apt
> Assumption, almost tearful, but tactful,
> As I taxi'd a book into their hands,
> And spoke almost as graciously, graceful,
> As my unparalleled father would have. (67)

It is here that the correspondence between the poem's persona and the author can be most clearly recognised. These lines reflect an authoritative, reasserting voice which answers back and receives an apology for those "genial humiliations" and stereotypes Clarke alludes to in the last pages of the book.

7. CONCLUSION

Clarke's poems bring back to life historical events that have been relevant for the city of Halifax, including in them the representation and point of view of the black community. He re-constructs the urban space with its regional, distinctive elements to unequivocally address a Haligonian audience; but this space is lived through the bodies and voices of those who are often invisibilised, and he even carries these experiences into the future. By making reference to Africville, he alludes to the discrimination and literal displacement of black people in the city, and palliates its effects by positioning them at the centre of his fiction.

Regionalism and a very localised sense of place are essential in these five "Nova Scotia" poems. McKittrick and Woods have suggested that "identifying the 'where' of blackness in positivist terms can reduce black lives to essential measurable 'facts' rather than presenting communities that have struggled, resisted, and significantly contributed to the production of space" (2007: 6). In Clarke's work, however, this identification proves not to be restrictive. Rather, it is precisely the "where" of black experience that needs to be explored and revisited in order to be redefined. The specific geography of Africadia forms the basis for a recently born nationalism that is nevertheless deeply rooted in the history of the region. Throughout his poetry and much of his critical work, Clarke deals with the double –or, rather, triple– marginalisation of black Nova Scotian cultural productions: first, within Canada, the Maritimes region are often regarded as provincial and ex-centric; within Nova Scotia blacks have experienced rejection and the obliteration of their historical presence; lastly,

even within the broader context of the African diaspora, there is an under-representation of African Canada, in favour of more outstanding African American figures. However, Clarke's work is not merely a critique against these factors. He captures all the elements coming from the various sources that have modified and helped shaping a unique black identity in Nova Scotia, be it elements from the region itself, from the rest of Canada, from Britain or the United States. As he explains, "African-Canadian culture and literature have domesticated –nationalized– their influences enough to create an aboriginal *blackness*, even if this mode of being remains difficult to define or categorize" (2002: 12-13). Even when he denounces discrimination, not only is he exposing a unilateral internalisation of its effects: just as "Four Unknown Women" does not stop at the point of mourning the loss of Africville, and its protagonists head on to a new horizon, there is a persevering dialogical response in his poetry, uttered with an empowered voice that aims at recovering visibility. In order to create an Africadian consciousness he strategically positions the black subject in a local geography that in these poems materialises into, but is not limited to, an urban context. This way Clarke reconstructs the regional experience with an Africadian glance, reversing and shortening the imposed distance that has removed African Nova Scotians from their place in Canadian identity, history and culture.

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'FORETELLING THE JUDGEMENTS OF GOD': AUTHORSHIP AND THE PROPHETIC VOICE IN ELIZABETH POOLE'S *A VISION* (1648)

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ABSTRACT. A Vision: Wherein is Manifested the Disease and Cure of the Kingdome *(1648) is Elizabeth Poole's account of the prophecies she delivered before Cromwell and the Puritan Army's General Council as they debated the regicide of Charles I at the end of the first English Civil War in 1648-49. This article discusses the prophetic voice in Elizabeth Poole's texts as she uses strategies of 'self' and 'others' to establish her authority before her audience and her own sectarian group. While the circumstances surrounding Poole's participation in the Whitehall deliberations are unclear, her appearance represents a rare case of a woman's direct involvement in the mid-seventeenth-century discussions of the scope and legitimacy of government. With her defying anti regicidal speech, Poole builds her authorial voice beyond the divine mandate of her prophetic identity.*

Keywords: Early Modern women's writing, authorship, prophetic writing, Seventeenth-century.

'PRESAGIO DEL JUICIO DE DIOS': AUTORÍA Y LA VOZ PROFÉTICA EN *A VISION* (1648) DE ELIZABETH POOL

RESUMEN. A Vision: Wherein is Manifested the Disease and Cure of the Kingdome *(1648) es el relato de Elizabeth Poole de las profecías que comunicó ante Cromwell y el Consejo General del Ejército puritano mientras debatía el regicidio de Carlos I de Inglaterra al término de la primera Guerra Civil en 1648-49. Este artículo aborda la voz profética de los textos de Elizabeth Poole en el uso que ella hace de las estrategias del "yo" y los "demás" cuando intenta establecer su autoridad ante el público y el grupo sectario al que ella representa. Aunque las circunstancias que rodearon la participación de Poole en las deliberaciones de Whitehall son poco claras, su comparecencia supone un caso único de implicación directa de una mujer en los debates sobre el alcance y la legitimidad del gobierno a mediados del siglo XVII. Con su desafiante discurso anti regicida, Poole construye su voz de autora más allá del mandato divino que le otorga su identidad profética.*

Palabras clave: Escritoras del Renacimiento, autoría, escritura profética, siglo XVII.

The work and public exposure of prophetess Elizabeth Poole (c.1622-1668) was circumscribed to a momentous, transcendent occasion in the history of England: the intervening weeks of December 1648 and January 1649 in which the Army Council debated the possible execution of Charles I. The English biographer and translator Lucy Hutchinson, while writing her husband's biography *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, captures the intensity of this historical episode:

> In January 1649, the court sat, the king was brought to his trial, and a charge drawn up against him for levying war against the Parliament and people of England [...] The gentlemen that were appointed his judges, and divers others, saw in him a disposition so bent on the ruin of all that opposed him, and of all the righteous and just things they had contended for, that it was upon the consciences of many of them, that if they did not execute justice upon him, God would require at their hands all the blood and desolation which should ensure by their suffering him to escape, when God had brought him into their hands". (Hutchinson 1808: 193).

Hutchinson was a Baptist like her husband, a co-signatory of the death warrant of Charles I, and she does not hesitate in criticising the king for having breached the trust of his people and emphasising the accountability of the king's

judges before their own consciousness and even before God. Elizabeth Poole had the unique opportunity of intervening in these specific circumstances, of making her opinions heard and of contributing actively to the debate concerning the execution of the king –from a perspective that was starkly opposed to Lucy Hutchinson's–, even though Poole was also partial to the revolutionary process. Poole was able to do so by assuming a prophetic role and exert it as a basis for a complex, serious political discourse. The fact that a woman should have been able to intervene in such a grave historical juncture, and to do so in an open manner, with a small but significant series of publications sustaining her intervention, is evidence to the fact that that Seventeenth-century prophecy was one of the few discourses that could play an enabling, empowering function for women; one that could allow them to break through the strictly defined boundaries of the private and the public and reach towards political debate and discussion.

Elizabeth Poole described and interpreted her prophecies before Oliver Cromwell and the Army Council in December 1648, precisely when the Council had started its deliberations on the convenience of carrying forward the regicide. Even though consistent efforts had been made to force a compromise between the imprisoned Charles I, the Parliamentarians and the Army Council in order to maintain a constitutional monarchy, by the end of 1648 the situation was coming to a halt. The army General Thomas Ireton was already convinced of the futility of reasoning with the king and had supported the second *Agreement of the People* published on December 10, 1648, which insisted on a thorough parliamentary reform[1]. It was shortly after this that Elizabeth Poole was summoned to appear before the Army Council, where, on December 29, she explained and commented on the vision she had received concerning the future of England; a version of her speech on that day, and of her short debate with the army grandees, was published in December 1648 under her own name and the long title *A Vision: Wherein is Manifested the Disease and Cure of the Kingdome, Being the Summe of what was delivered to the General Councel of the Army, December.29, 1648, Together with a Copie of what was delivered in writing (the fifth of this present January)*. Her subsequent intervention earned Poole a harsh reprimand from the Baptist leader William Kiffin and a whole discredit campaign from Henry Ireton, in which several references were made to her past "sins" and against her reliability as a prophet.

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[1]   "That to prevent the many inconveniences apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in authority, this present Parliament be dissolved upon or before the last day of April, in the year of our Lord 1649" (art. I).

Poole's friend Thomasina Pendarves tried to defend her in a letter emphasising the prophetic nature of her message, published in 1649 along with a reprint of the original *Vision* in another short tract entitled *An Alarum of War Given to the Army*. Poole found herself writing another tract interpreting the actual meaning of her prophecy, also published in 1649 as *Another Alarum of War given to the Army* in which she adds a long subtitle specifying that she is "foretelling the judgements of God". The text of the *Vision*, together with part of the material contained in the two subsequent *Alarums*, are all the actual printed material that can be credited to Poole as an author: an extremely brief corpus, but nevertheless essential to any serious approach to seventeenth-century prophecy by women.

A significant aspect of Poole's writing is her tendency to accommodate her prophetic personality to the political situation at hand. In both tracts written by Poole, the visionary material on which her discourse is based is succinct and contained, summarised only in a few short lines: in strict quantitative terms, the purely visionary is short compared to her development and political elaboration of it; in the case of the *Another Alarum*, moreover, the central image that she describes as having "seen" is not even openly described by her as a vision, as it was the case in the first tract. This can be partly explained as a result of the urgency of the issues at hand, and of the intricacy and relevance of the political subject that Poole was handling. Even her contemporary audience understood that her "messages from the Lord" were concentrating too heavily on the political and social repercussions of regicide; this emphasis on politics over spirituality raised suspicious remarks from some of her readers and listeners, who came to question the prophetic or transcendent status of her message.

Speaking from a post-Habermasian perspective, Catharine Gray has pointed out that the public activity of women as political agents was particularly relevant in the mid-seventeenth century when "women's public identities flourished in the loose voluntary associations of religious radicals, political moderates, and even royalists" (2007: 25); this led in specific occasions to direct action, since they might be "active in collective politics during this period: women petitioners directly addressed Parliament during the mid-seventeenth-century on a number of issues" (Gray 2007: 25). The importance of these interventions cannot be diminished: women were allowed to participate in the creation of public opinion and articulate points of view that were not directly controlled or harnessed by the state. These cannot be regarded as being equivalent to the formation of a "sense of the people" or a "public spirit" as opposed to governmental policies that Jürgen Habermas

located as occurring in the eighteenth century,[2] but it is certainly a precedent for it. It signals the entrance of women in an area of public debate and political confrontation: a moment in which, due to the upheavals brought about by the English Revolution, they were able to voice their own views and those of the groups they belonged to outside of the control of the state. It is from this perspective that I will now approach the brief prophetic corpus authored by Elizabeth Poole.

A PROPHETIC VOCABULARY OF HER OWN

Elizabeth Poole's work has begun to attract scholarly attention in the last ten years, although an edition or facsimile transcription of her tracts is not yet available, and her critical assessment still depends on readings from the original sources in folio (or sexto, in the case of *Another Alarum*). Critics such as Marcus Nevitt (2006) and Manfred Brod (1999), each of them devoting a monograph article on Elizabeth Poole, have focused on her use of the trope of the body politic. While Nevitt surveys her adept use of the metaphors of divorce to justify an anti-regicidal discourse, his emphasis is put on her contribution to the political debate rather than her authority as a prophet or a writer. Brod's approach leans towards archival research, since he pays considerable scholarly attention to Poole's biographical details and the circumstances of her appearances at Whitehall. Susan Wiseman (2006) and Katherine Gillespie (2004) respectively have expanded on Brod's line of inquiry, and have concentrated on elucidating who was pulling the strings behind Poole's public interventions so as to relate them to wider considerations on women's voice and political authority in the seventeenth century. All of these studies take Poole's corpus as a whole and pay close-reading attention to *A Vision*, but they largely ignore the rest of Poole's bibliography, *An Alarum of War* and, very especially, *Another Alarum of War*. While *An Alarum* offers a reprint of *A Vision*, complemented by copy from other writers, the latter is an essential text for the study of Poole's articulation of her own authority in print and in public speech. Poole's value as a writer cultivating the prophetic genre –who at the same time emancipates

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2 "From the early part of eighteenth century on, it became usual to distinguish what was then called 'the sense of the people' from the official election results. The average results of the county elections were taken to provide an approximate measure of the former. The 'sense of the people', 'the common voice', 'the general cry of the people', and finally 'the public spirit' denoted from this time onward an entity to which the opposition could appeal" (Habermas 1989: 64-65).

herself from it– rests heavily on this final tract, where she recreates and develops her anti-regicide standpoint.

Elizabeth Poole often referred to the prophecies she delivered to the Army Council as her "message" and the title page of *An Alarum of War* states that the tract's contents had been "by the will of God; revealed in Elizabeth Pooll, sometimes a Messenger of the Lord to the Generall Councell, concerning the Cure of the Land, and the manner thereof". By stating her prophetic status in print, Poole could identify herself as a legitimate representative of her church, a member of an "elect" who could exercise influence within the public political sphere. The issue of whether Poole was acting on behalf of someone else, and especially of whom, has been an object of speculation.[3]

Membership within the Baptist "house of spirit" offered the possibility that a person could be elected to represent the congregation before an official gathering of a Particular Baptist group. Each of these congregations elected delegates (or "messengers") that were sent to periodic gatherings, otherwise known as "general meetings" (White 1996: 67). According to Patricia Crawford, "no women were ever sent as messengers when the church wanted to resolve vital policy" (1998: 144), but it is worth noting that Apart from "granting access to a public discourse" (Gillespie 2004: 137) and earning the capacity to represent the particular Baptist congregation, Baptists could perform a spiritual "cure" through rebaptism and the "laying on of hands". Men and women considered to have the gift of purgation of past evils took part in these rituals, since appointment and acceptance to the congregation was ritualistically displayed when an "elder" laid hands on the new member after Baptism. Since healing was akin to saving, there was a fine line between a woman's assisting a male minister in his practice and her assuming the ministerial function of acting as a vehicle for another's salvation. Curing was synonymous with an inner transformation of the spirit, and hence Poole could defend the notion that through divine intermediation a person could purify his "head" if he wanted to.

An additional power that was conferred through Baptist affiliation was the ability to divorce an "unregenerate" spouse on the grounds of free will in relation to baptism. If a person preferred not to be baptised, the regenerate spouse was entitled to mend his mistake and to leave her –even if that "spouse" was a king–.

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[3] Teresa Feroli (2006: 68) suggests that Poole may have been brought before the Council by either Colonel Rich or General Fairfax, since both men were interested in preserving the king's life. Ian Gentles (1994: 301) marks the same point. Manfred Brod (1999: 398) supports this view drawing from the facts that Colonel Rich interrogated Poole after her second vision. David Underdown (1985:183) and Marcus Nevitt (2002: 235ff.) point at either Cromwell or Ireton as sponsors of Poole's appearance, although evidence of this is not conclusive.

The wife could also seek that dissolution because men and women were equals "in the Lord".

These elements of seventeenth-century Baptist practice play a major role in Poole's visions and bear an influence on the fashioning of her prophetic speech. Through her elaborated metaphor of "curing" and "divorcing" the body politic, Poole fashions herself as a concerned individual who is restoring the "health" of an ailing nation whose leaders have severed a sacred contract with their people. The central images that Poole presented as being the core of her visions, and also on those that she developed apart from her visions and as a commentary on them are closely interrelated. Nevertheless, a distinction must be established from the outset between the content of the initial transcendent experience and the political discourse that developed from it. Their visionary content is relatively small and the vision itself is only introduced; from this initial, concentrated set of images comes a longer and articulated political discourse, where Poole clarifies her message and addresses the central issues concerning regicide. This applies to both of the tracts that she authored, but especially to *Another Alarum of War*, in which her "vision" is not even presented openly as such, but where the political discourse is maintained and even enhanced. The opening of her speech, according to the title page of the tract, "was delivered to the councel of War" by Poole:

> I have been (by the pleasure of the most High) made sensible of the distresses of this Land, and also a sympathizer with you in your labours: for having sometimes read your Remonstrance, I was for many daies made a sad mourner for her. (Poole 1648: a2r).

The beginning of Poole's address is startling in the directness with which it immediately links the political and the spiritual. In the very first sentence, she presents herself as having become conscious of the difficulties of England by the grace of God: by dint of His will she has gained political awareness. She has entered a new situation of solidarity with the members of the Army: she can now "sympathize" with them; she has been able to understand their troubles and share them. The visionary experience does not precede the political: on the contrary, it seems to be entirely framed by it, even motivated by it. We are not only facing an interaction between the political and the spiritual, but a precedent, both thematic and chronological, of the former over the latter.

Even more significant and surprising, perhaps, is the fact that the speaker reacts to an experience of reading: she has become "a sad mourner" for England because she has been reading the "Remonstrance" for some time. Here Poole is referring to *A Remonstrance of Fairfax and the Council of Officers*, a formal statement of grievances on the state of the kingdom, similar to the one that had been produced by the House of Commons and addressed

to the Crown in 1641[4]. This is a remarkable detail, since *A Remonstrance* had been only recently released; Poole might have been able to get a copy of it through the network of booksellers and radical activists that she befriended, even though this tract had been issued as an internal political document: whether Poole was aware of this or not, it may well be the case that she had access to privileged insider information, probably from the connections between her immediate environment and John Lilburne's circle of *Levellers*. The opening of *A Vision* performs, therefore, two functions: it establishes a firm political context for the spiritual experience that will be described, and it acts a particular *captatio benevolentiae* in front of the specific audience before whom her speech is delivered.

Having set the vision in its particular political context, Poole proceeds to describe her own personal state as she was about to receive it:

> I was for many daies made a sad mourner for her; the pangs of a travelling woman was upon mee, and the pangs of death oft-times panging mee, being a member in her body, of whose dying state I was made purely sensible (Poole 1648: a2r).

The reiteration of the central word here ("pangs") is intended to focalise the experience of suffering that affects the whole nation on Poole herself. These "pangs" can be understood either as literal or as metaphoric: it was customary for prophetic visions to be heralded, or physically announced, by the appearance of different forms of suffering which manifest themselves unexpectedly in the body of the seer, thus preparing her for the transcendent experience at hand. But it is quite characteristic of Poole's approach to prophecy that she does not put too much emphasis on these sufferings: she does not make any further reference to them after this in the whole of the *Vision* (and there are no references to them at all in the text of *Another Alarum*, where she explains the second vision that she had, after the execution of the king had taken place). The function of these references to her sufferings is another: they identify the person of Poole as an integral part of the suffering body of England, so as to further her own identification with the country. In this way Poole acquires a strong authority even before her vision: she is able to speak about the state of England because she is deeply identified with its troubles; her own body thus concentrates, synecdochally, the "pangs" of the whole country, thus expressing

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[4] For the whole Remonstrance, see *Puritanism and Liberty, being the Army Debates (1647-9) from the Clarke Manuscripts with Supplementary Documents,* selected and edited with an Introduction by A.S.P. Woodhouse. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.

her intimate connection to that wider, superior body. It is only at this point that the vision begins; and its content is delivered briefly in the following lines:

> And after many daies mourning, a vision was set before me, to shew her cure, and the manner of it, by this similitude: A man who is a member of the Army, having sometimes much bewailed her state, saying He could gladly be a sacrifice for her, ...was set before me, presenting the body of the Army; and on the other hand, a woman crooked, sick, weak, and imperfect in body, to present unto me, the weak and imperfect state of the Kingdom: I having the gift of faith upon me for her cure, was thus to appeal to the person on the other hand, that he should improve his faith in fullnesse to the kingdome, by using a diligence for the cure of this woman, as I by the gift of faith on me should direct him. (Poole 1648: A2r).

It is important to notice the key function of terms such as "similitude" and "presenting" in this fragment. These are specifically meant to underline the metaphoric content of the images that are presented to Poole in her vision; Poole herself specifies that the "cure" of England was revealed to her "by this similitude", and that the figures that appeared to her actually "presented" ("represented" is the term we would use today) or signified something beyond themselves: the soldier represented the army, and the crooked woman represented the land. This is a very basic metaphoric vocabulary, just as the vision is rather simple in its content and structure; what is relevant here is that Poole understands that the images she has received are signs, not objects in themselves, and she explains and defines them as such. She does not specify that she understood these images afterwards or that she had to work them out on her own, when the visionary experience was over: she seems to have understood from the outset that the persons she was seeing were staging a "similitude" that could clarify the means to restore England to peace. This awareness of the figural content of the prophecy seems to tone down the intensity that we would associate with a spiritual ecstasy, while it increases the didactic purpose of the prophet and it emphasises the fact that her words are aimed towards practical application.

The vision itself is already interpreted for us by the prophet, and its content appears to be, initially, quite simple. The soldier that Poole has seen ("a man who was a member of the army") was lamenting loudly for the state of a sick and infirm woman ("a woman crooked, sick, weak, and imperfect in body") that embodies, as Poole herself quickly clarifies, the deficient and sad state of the country. England, like a sick and crooked woman, is in need of a cleansing cure, and the army is her rescuing attendant spirit; curing her is its responsibility, and this cure is to be brought about by using due diligence and fulfilling the advice that Poole herself has received "by the gift of faith" (in the lines immediately following these, Poole will clarify that this diligence entails, for the army,

retaining the "kingly power" in its own "godly" hands and preserving the life of the monarch, rather than betraying its function by "giving up" the power entirely to the people). It is worth noticing that the bodily metaphor that had been used at the very beginning of the text is revisited here, and employed to refer to the army officer that appears before Poole, just as Poole herself was presented as "a member" of the body of England: both of them are "members" of bodies that are bigger than themselves. This sense of inclusion is at the heart of Poole's political ideology: the tropes of the body politic are, for her, an instrument through which she can speak about participation and membership, values that can only be upheld if the army continues to act without worldly care for their own ambition, and with the sole desire to contribute to the nation's definitive cure.

The metaphors centred on images of bodily ties are extended in the next paragraphs of *A Vision*, and it is there that, for the first time, the theme of the relationship between the king and his subjects is resumed and explored:

> The King is your Father and husband, which you were and are to obey in the Lord, & no other way, for when he forgot his Subordination to divine Faith hood and headship, thinking he had begotten you a generation to his own pleasure, and taking you a wife for his own lusts, thereby is the yoake taken from your necks…You have all that you have and are, and also in Subordination you owe him all that you have and are, and although he would not be your Father and husband, Subordinate, but absolute, yet know that you are for the Lords sake to honour his person. For he is the Father and husband of your bodies, as unto men, and therefore your right cannot be without him. (Poole 1648: 4).

Interestingly enough, the content of this passage seems to bear an implicit paradox that concerns the conceptual distribution of gender roles. Poole's language involves traditional connotations of masculinity and loyalty, and harnesses them to the specific political situation at hand; but, by doing so, the army itself is conceptually re-sexed as female, which immediately projects upon it a strong sense of subordination and dependence upon its metaphoric "father and husband". The message that Poole is offering, like the vision that she received, appeals to well-established, ancient notions of contract and patriarchy in order to draw the limits that the revolutionary process must not trespass, and to insist upon the idea that the king's person is sacred; for Poole, the king's deep transgressions require fair punishment, but at the same time, the army must secure and respect his person and refrain from executing him. Poole is tapping into a political language that comes from a well-established tradition harnessed before in the various debates concerning the role of the monarchy – even before the start of the Revolution–. Her use of this political vocabulary is

one essential aspect of her appropriation of previously existing elements in order to intervene actively in the public sphere.

If *A Vision* tries to prevent the regicide, the tract entitled *Another Alarum of War* relates Poole's own experiences and opinions in the spring of 1649, after the execution of Charles I. The prophet's perspective has changed in this work, because her advice has gone unheeded, but also because of what she sees as a further step downwards in the degeneration of her original audience, the members of the Army Council. There is also a moment in this tract in which a kind of prophetic vision is experienced (even though the term "vision" is not used). It shapes the ideological core of the text, since the central images of the passage are presented to the reader before the key to their meaning is clarified by Poole herself. It occurs shortly after the beginning of the text, in its second page, immediately after the author voices her complaint against the army due to the recent execution of the king:

> For I have seen your carcasses slain upon the grounds, and whilst I was mourning over them, because of that spirit of justice, judgement, and equity, which had sometime appeared in you; there stood up a young man, a man of strength in whom they appeared, and I, seeing they had their resurrection in anther, was comforted, as also this word I received, their carcasses fell in the wildernesse though unbeliefe; thereby I saw it was but your carcasses, or he body of your confederacy or combination, wherein ye were for your selves. (Poole 16492: 2).

In this case there is no reference to the "pangs" that prepare the prophet for her transcendent experience, and the phrase "a vision was set before me", which had played an essential role in the first tract, is completely absent here: what Poole presents here has actually been witnessed by her ("for I have seen…"), but it may have been experienced as an image created by herself, as an allegory, out of her own meditations; at any rate, its status remains ambiguous, and it cannot be firmly seen as the result of a visionary experience or a trance. The description of what Poole "saw" or imagined in this occasion is, in itself, quite simple again; it is articulated in two parts, the first one offering an image of death, and the second presenting one of resurrection. In the first moment, the dead bodies or carcasses of the members of the Army Council are strewn on the ground before Poole, who immediately recognises them (there is no doubt at all about whose corpses are those she sees). Her immediate reaction is to weep and mourn, not so much because of the recent behaviour of the army, but because of its past glory, that is, "because of that spirit of justice, judgement and equity which had sometime appeared in you". That moment of mourning is followed by a glimpse of hope: before Poole appears a young man, whom she

immediately identifies as the resurrected body of the army itself; there is a brief aural element in the whole situation, as she hears a voice that tells her: "Their carcasses fell in the wilderness through unbeliefe". Poole immediately offers the interpretation of the whole scene (still without defining it as "vision") to her readers: the carcasses represent the army insofar as it has responded only to its own material interests, being only "wise for your selves… that is, your wisdoms, councels, devotions, humiliations and religious consultations", where they would "inquire of God (as you call it) though it were grounded in your hearts what to doe". The accusation is severe, and the metaphoric language is also powerful, though simple; it is also strongly linked to the images of the bodily that we have seen articulated in the early *Vision*. The imagery in that text was related to notions of integration, belonging, sharing, all of them expressed through imagery that laid its emphasis on the restoration of an ill body (the body of the nation) to its full health and vigour. Here, the imagery also plays on notions of corporeal life, but this time the metaphoric game has intensified, just as the political situation that triggers it has become more dramatic: there is now a sense of the irrevocable in Poole's discourse, which is expressed in the images of death and grieving; the possibility of recovery, however, is still present, and it is metaphorically expressed by images of resurrection. Elizabeth Poole herself still appears here, as she did in the *Vision*, as the best interpreter and commentator of her own prophecy, and therefore as a valid (though self-appointed) moral guide for the Army Council.

There is yet another key image in the *Alarum*, one which is obsessively repeated throughout the text: the image of the destruction of idols, which Poole develops in multiple directions. This image is not part of the short vision that is at the core of the *Alarum*, and even though it is thematically linked to it, it is developed in a relatively independent direction. Its first appearance occurs after Poole has concluded her revision and re-enactment of her original *Vision*, in order to reprimand the Army Council; the following fragment introduces the second part of the text, in which she warns the members of the Council of the possible temptations (or icons) that still may tempt them further away from the fulfilment of their duties:

> In the day that the Lord shall shake terribly the Earth, then shall yee take the images of Gold and silver which every man hath made unto himselfe, and cast them to the Mouls and to the Bars, for yee have formed glorious, glittering Images of State policies, religious ordinances, Orders, Faiths, Lights, Knowledges, and these are drawne over them very beautiful pretences, curiously wrought over with needle worke, very costly (when I say Images, that is to say, as if every man hath imagined to himselfe something more desirable

than another), whereas all things are to be knowne in God, with the like estimation, for old things shall be done away, and behold all things shall become new. (16492: 12).

This fragment showcases Poole's appropriation of an image that had been central in the discourses, not only of the English Revolution, but of the confronted and opposed traditions of European Protestantism. Practically every Protestant group, since the origins of Lutheranism, had insisted on the importance of casting down idols, and this insistence had acquired a major urgency in the various radical discourses that emerged all through the early seventeenth century, and especially in the 1630s. These various appropriations of iconoclasm responded to different programs and agendas, but the subject itself had become deeply charged with meaning on all sides; it had even played a strong part in the debates concerning regicide (most notably, in the royalist pamphlet *Eikon Basilike* and John Milton's *Eikonoklastes*). In this specific fragment, Poole presents the casting down of idols with strong apocalyptic overtones, warning her audience of the day when "the images of Gold and Silver that every man hath made" will be thrown to "the Mouls and the Bars": the army is being accused of having built their own idols, to have taken their own ambition in various areas of political and civil life and having turned them into images of desire, projections of their own wishes. There is yet another aspect worth highlighting in the fragment above: once again, Poole insists on the figural, metaphoric nature of her discourse. She herself makes clear that, when she speaks of the "Images" that are being worshipped, she is using a figural expression ("that is to say") in order to refer to unlawful desires, those that "every man hath imagined to himselfe". In the second *Alarum*, as in *A Vision*, Poole's intention remains firmly didactic, and the clarification of her message takes precedence over the transcendence of her visionary experience.

PROPHETIC PERSONALITY

The fact that Poole should be actually trying to influence the army on such a dramatic and serious question as the possibility of regicide does not contradict her need to be persuasive and seek this sense of well-meaning, considered advice; on the contrary, it is precisely the transcendent significance of the historical moment that necessitates this kind of presentation: well-meaning and considered, even while it is serious and firm in trying to guide the addressees to a specific kind of "action". This action would perhaps appear as passivity in a different context: because the army is required not to execute the king, but to refrain from taking revenge on him, and to place themselves in the hands and the will of God so as to complete the salvation of the country without further

bloodshed. It is especially important to observe that the iconoclastic discourse that dominates the last part of *Another Alarum* includes and develops, as well, a special emphasis on the prophet's own authority. While insisting on the different kinds of idol-worship that the army has displayed, she constantly contrasts the idols that they have built to her own position as their adviser, thus suggesting that their attention has been misdirected: they should have heeded her words, rather than their own interest.

Thus Poole cleverly reasserts her role and her prophetic personality as a counselor that is motivated by the same ideals as those of her audience: however, her advice has been ignored and the disaster she warned against has come to occur, but the moral failure of the army shows, after the event, the importance of heeding the advice of those who may appear more marginal or humble (such as herself), but who, in strict Christian logic, may also be those through whose mouth God speaks. At no point does Poole suggest that her womanhood makes her inferior, or that she has not been listened to because she is a woman; this aspect is kept out of her self-vindication in *Another Alarum*, just as it was kept out of *A Vision*: for her, being a prophet seems to be, in itself, a condition that immediately undoes all the connotations of inferiority that might be attributed to her genre.

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pleasure concerning the King in reference to his being brought to triall, what they are therein to do, and what not, both concerning his office and person. London: [n.p.].

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THE IMPACT OF ADDITIONAL CLIL EXPOSURE ON ORAL ENGLISH PRODUCTION

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ABSTRACT. *This study aims at testing the effectiveness of additional CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) exposure on the oral production of secondary school learners of English as a Foreign Language. CLIL learners, who had received a 30% increase in exposure by means of using English as a vehicular language, were compared to mainstream English students in a story-telling task. Analyses indicated that CLIL learners' productions were holistically perceived to exhibit better fluency, lexis and grammar while no differences were found as regards content and pronunciation. Besides, although Non-CLIL learners' productions were larger in quantity and longer in time, CLIL learners produced denser and more fluent narrations, as attested by their higher number of different words over total number of words, of words over turn, and of utterances over turn. Additionally, CLIL learners resorted to their first language to a lesser extent and demanded fewer vocabulary clarifications. Our findings thus go along with previous research which has revealed advantages of additional CLIL exposure on oral English production.*

Keywords: CLIL, oral production, English as a Foreign Language.

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EL IMPACTO DE LA EXPOSICIÓN ADICIONAL MEDIANTE AICLE SOBRE LA PRODUCCIÓN ORAL EN INGLÉS

RESUMEN. *Este estudio investiga la efectividad de la exposición adicional mediante AICLE (Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenido y Extranjera) sobre la producción oral de los estudiantes de Inglés como Lengua Extranjera en Educación Secundaria. Los estudiantes AICLE, que habían recibido un incremento de un 30% de exposición por medio del uso del inglés como lengua vehicular, fueron comparados con estudiantes convencionales de inglés en una tarea de narración oral. Los análisis holisticos indicaron que las producciones de los estudiantes AICLE mostraban una mejor fluidez, gramática y vocabulario mientras que no se encontraron diferencias con respecto al contenido y la pronunciación. Además, aunque las producciones de los estudiantes convencionales eran más extensas en cantidad y más largas en el tiempo, los estudiantes AICLE produjeron unas narraciones más fluidas y más densas, como se deriva de su número más alto de palabras diferentes sobre el número total de palabras, de palabras por turno y de frases por turno. Por otro lado, los estudiantes AICLE recurrieron a su primera lengua en menor medida y solicitaron menos aclaraciones léxicas. Nuestros resultados, por tanto, están en consonancia con los de las investigaciones previas que han revelado las ventajas de la exposición adicional mediante AICLE en la producción oral en inglés.*

Palabras clave: AICLE, producción oral, Inglés como Lengua Extranjera.

1. INTRODUCTION

Many schools in Spain are currently incorporating Foreign Language (FL) teaching programmes where English is used as a vehicular language, the so-called Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes, to teach other school disciplines[1]. This type of exposure aims at developing both subject and language knowledge (Marsh 1994) driven by the need to accommodate European Commission requirements on multilingual education with the purpose of facilitating communication and social cohesion amongst European citizens.

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[1]   An incipient and preliminary version of this study was presented at the *7ʰ International Conference of Bilingualism* (ISB) in Utrecht (Netherlands), July 8-11, 2009.

However, prior to CLIL implementation in Spain, probably on the basis of attested benefits in language learning at early stages in naturalistic acquisition (Lenneberg 1967; Scovel 1988; Long 1990), the first measure adopted in schools, which generally devoted no more than three hours a week to the FL, was to extend the amount of exposure in time by starting at an earlier age. Nonetheless, studies on early school FL instruction carried out in the last decade in Spain have revealed that the early introduction of English in the curriculum has not been as effective as expected, since when time of exposure is controlled early learners consistently exhibit lower linguistic proficiency than late learners (Gallardo del Puerto 2007; García Mayo and García Lecumberri, 2003; Muñoz, 2006).

In the light of these unsatisfactory results, a further approach was adopted – CLIL–, which aims at intensifying exposure, rather than extending it in time, and which uses the FL as a means of instruction, rather than as an object of instruction. These programmes have also been referred to as pseudo-immersion since they are based on immersion programmes as those of French in Canada (Genesee 1987; Snow 1990; Met 1994) or minority languages such as Basque or Catalan in Spain (Arzamendi and Genesse 1997; Muñoz 2003). This teaching approach has been defined as 'dual' (Marsh 1994) since it aims at developing both the subject content (science, mathematics, etc.) and the FL, hence its name, Content and Language Integrated Learning. CLIL, like immersion, is characterised by using the FL for real communicative purposes (Snow 1990). However, an important difference between CLIL and immersion programmes is the fact that the target language (almost always English) is not present in the community where CLIL is being implemented.

The CLIL educational approach has been recently receiving a paramount interest in the scientific community. Research on both content and language outcomes is developing at a fast rate with selected publications (Dalton Puffer, Nikula and Smit 2010; Lasagabaster and Ruiz de Zarobe 2010; Marsh *et al.* 2009; Ruiz de Zarobe and Jimenez Catalán 2009; Ruiz de Zarobe, Sierra and Gallardo del Puerto 2011), specific journals (i.e: *International CLIL Research Journal*), and international meetings (Vienna English Working Papers on CLIL –Austria 2006 and 2007–; CLIL Fusion –Estonia 2008 and Utrecht 2012–; I International Round Table on CLIL Programmes –Spain 2009–; Symposium on Content and Language Integrated Learning –Spain 2009–). However, as Marsh (2009) and Smit (2007) point out, CLIL comes in all shapes and sizes given the diversity in educational policies, curricula, etc., in the communities where it is being applied. These authors also acknowledge that there is still hard and intense work to be done in order to i) elucidate the benefits of this educational approach in terms

of language and content outcomes and ii) establish a consolidated educational approach based on CLIL tenets, namely intense exposure and real communication.

Regarding language outcomes (see Dalton-Puffer 2011; Ruiz de Zarobe 2011 for an extensive description), several comparative studies have been conducted so as to investigate how CLIL and traditional FL courses compare to each other in terms of FL proficiency achievement. Researches such as those of Sylvén (2004, 2006) in Sweden, Bürgi (2007) in Swizerland, Xanthou (2007) in Cyprus, or Jimenez Catalán, Ruiz de Zarobe and Cenoz (2006), Jiménez Catalán and Ojeda (2009), Jiménez Catalán and Ruiz de Zarobe (2009) and Moreno Espinosa (2009) in Spain have pointed out to the supremacy of students enrolled in CLIL settings over traditional EFL ones as far as vocabulary is concerned. The development of morphosyntactic skills has also been explored in CLIL vs. traditional FL environments, where significantly better outcomes have been attested for CLIL groups in countries such as Austria (Ackerl 2007; Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann 2007) and Spain (Villarreal and García Mayo 2009; Martinez Adrián and Gutierrez Mangado 2009). Studies on writing skills in Spain (Navés 2011; Ruiz de Zarobe 2010) also show positive results on the part of CLIL learners.

More relevant to the present work are those studies which have explored CLIL outcomes as regards oral skills. In fact, oral production has been acknowledged to be one of the linguistic aspects which may benefit most from the methods which foster the use of the language in meaningful contexts (Block 2003), and CLIL is undoubtedly one of these. However, some authors point out that CLIL leads to "erratic results as far as speaking is concerned"(Van de Craen *et al.* 2007: 71). The still few studies conducted in these lines have used diverse perspectives in the examination of oral production skills. Some studies have analysed overall oral proficiency by means of holistic methods (Lasagabaster 2008; Ruiz de Zarobe 2008), other studies have measured discourse production (Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann 2007; Whittaker and Llinares 2009) while others have focused on pronunciation (Gallardo del Puerto *et al.* 2009, Rallo Fabra and Juan-Garau 2010).

Lasagabaster (2008) conducted a holistic comparative analysis between CLIL and traditional FL groups of oral (and written) production in English by 198 secondary school students in the Basque Country. In this study the CLIL group outscored those subjects in the traditional programme significantly in all the variables analysed: pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, fluency and content. Similar results were also obtained by Ruiz de Zarobe (2008) using the same instrument, though in a previous study Ruiz de Zarobe (2007) found no statistical significant

differences between judges' holistic evaluations of CLIL and non CLILs' oral productions. However, it should be noted that all these studies do not specify whether extra-curricular exposure to the FL was controlled.

Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann (2007) also investigated the effect of CLIL on oral narrative competence in a comparative study with 44 secondary students in Vienna. This study examined the narrative aptitudes in an analysis of the content development in the actions depicted. This study revealed that the CLIL group outperformed their Non-CLIL counterparts, as they referred to all plot elements and textualise conceptually complex elements to a slightly greater extent. However, this study poses some limitations such as the fact that differences between groups were not supported statistically and affective variables such as motivation were not controlled. In fact, it is important to note that affective variables may play a role, as CLIL learners have been purported to show lower inhibition levels when speaking (Dalton-Puffer, Hüettner, Schindelegger and Smit 2009), to exhibit less angst in the classroom (Dalton-Puffer 2009), and to have better attitudes towards FL learning and multilingualism (Lasagabaster 2009; Lasagabaster and Sierra 2009).

Whittaker and Llinares (2009) conducted some preliminary work on oral production in the CLIL classroom in first-year secondary students. Although the authors claim that their data await to be statistically analysed against a control group, they report they noticed a rise in oral fluency by the end of the year (these data are not provided, though) and comment that, as indicated by the number of words and error-free clauses, CLIL productions were as rich as those produced by traditional EFL learners in late secondary levels.

As for pronunciation, Gallardo del Puerto, Gómez Lacabex and García Lecumberri (2009) compared the degree of foreign accent of teenage students that were learning English through traditional classroom instruction with those learning in CLIL environments. Additionally, they tested the communicative effects of foreign accent, specifically the intelligibility and irritation produced by learners' accent in a narration task as perceived by a group of naïve native speakers of English. This study concluded that CLIL students' accent was judged to be more intelligible and less irritating than that of the students engaged in traditional FL lessons. However, and surprisingly, no differences in terms of degree of foreign accent itself were discovered. In the same vein, Rallo Fabra and Juan-Garau (2010) have recently conducted a study in which intelligibility and accentedness differences between CLIL and FL students were also explored longitudinally. This study analysed differences between the two groups over a year and also added a comparison to a group of English monolingual speakers matched in age. Preliminary results in a reading aloud

task also read that CLIL students were more intelligible than the FL ones and that differences in accentedness were slight. Interestingly, no differences between the two testing times (1 year apart) were found in the CLIL group, indicating that one year of CLIL instruction may not be sufficient to improve aspects such as intelligibility or accentedness. The authors also suggest that, in fact, these aspects may not improve unless specific attention is driven towards them (see also Garcia Lecumberri and Gallardo del Puerto 2003; Fullana 2006).

Given that existing research has produced arbitrary results on the effects of CLIL on oral skills (Van de Craen *et al.* 2007; Ruiz de Zarobe 2007) and that potential positive outcomes have been suggested to be less evident in secondary school students (Van de Craen *et al.* 2007), the present study aims at exploring the oral production on the part of two secondary education groups which, having started learning English as a FL at the same age and presenting similar motivation rates, differ in the methodological approach and in amount of exposure, since one of the groups has received CLIL instruction for 3-4 years in addition to traditional FL lessons.

2. PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this study were 28 Basque-Spanish bilingual children attending secondary school in 3rd and 4th grades with a mean age: 14.6 (see table 1). Exposure to the foreign language outside school was controlled and, hence, the sample was selected by eliminating those learners who attended extra lessons or had stayed abroad in English-speaking countries. Participants received school instruction in Basque (the minority language in the community), whereas Spanish (the majority language in the Basque Country) and English (a foreign language in the community) were school subjects to which 4 and 3 hours per week were devoted respectively. All participants had started learning English when they were 8 years old. Learners were divided into two groups (CLIL group and Non-CLIL group) of 14 students each according to whether they were/not receiving extra exposure to English by means of CLIL. Both groups were made up of 10 students in their 6th year of English learning (3rd graders) and 4 subjects in their 7th year of English instruction (4th graders).

By the time of testing, the Non-CLIL group had received around 720 hours of traditional EFL teaching while the CLIL group had received this same exposure in addition to an average of 250 hours in the CLIL fashion, including subjects such as science, biology or geography/history (see table 1). The CLIL programme had

been implemented in secondary school so the CLIL learners had been receiving content-based instruction in English for 3-4 years.

Table 1. Distribution of sample into testing groups, age, exposure and motivation.

Group	N	Age	Exposure (hours)	Motivation % (SD)	
				Test1	Test2
Non-CLIL group	14	14.6	720	66 (23.8)	72 (14.2)
CLIL group	14	14.6	952	61 (12.6)	77 (10.2)

3. INSTRUMENTS

The participants were enrolled in a story-telling activity in which they were individually presented a series of wordless black and white vignettes: *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1969). Students had to look at the pictures and tell the interviewer the story in English. Productions were recorded in a digital audio tape recorder (TCD-D100) in a quiet room. Participants' productions were assessed holistically by 2 trained listeners involving the following variables: *pronunciation, use of vocabulary, grammatical correctness, fluency* and *content development* in a 1 to 10 scale (Cenoz 1991). The assessment sheets were facilitated with instructions/guidelines which the judges could access whenever needed. The two assessors (aged 30-35) were Spanish-natives postgraduates in English Studies and experienced language judges. A second analysis was also computed so as to explore the productions quantitatively. The full outputs were transcribed and codified in Childes and a frequency count was computed for the following variables: *total no. of words, total no. of words- L1/s transfer,* (total number of words used in English only), *total no. of different words, total no. of utterances, total no. of turns* as well as for *no. of different words over no. of words, no. of utterances over turn* and *no. of words over turn.* The time the students used to narrate the complete story was also controlled for (*narration time*) as well as *those* Basque and Spanish words uttered by the student (*L1/s transfer*) and, finally, the number of interventions on the part of the person interviewing (*interviewer turns*). With regard to this variable, instructions for interviewers read that these were only to intervene should the subject explicitly ask for lexicon clarification. All these variables will be clustered in the results section in three main frameworks: variables which elucidate 'amount of production': *total no. of words, total no. of words- L1/s transfer, total no. of*

different words, total no. of utterances, total no. of turns and narration time (table 3); variables which reveal the density of production: *no. of different words over no. of words, no. of utterances over turn* and *no. of words over turn* (table 4); and variables which reveal strategies which the students may use to compensate for lack of L2 resources, namely native language transfer (*L1/s transfer*) and appeal for vocabulary assistance (*interviewer turns*) (table 5).

Motivation towards the English language and the English lessons was controlled for by means of two tests which examined attitudes towards the English language in a 7-point Likert scale (*Motivation test 1*) and a 13-question test which tested mainly instrumental motivation or the practicality of the language for their future careers (*Motivation test 2*). Neither of these two variables (in percentages-% and standard deviations-SD in Table 1) reported significant differences between the CLIL and Non-CLIL groups indicating that the groups exhibited a similar and rather positive motivation rate towards the English language.

4. RESULTS

4.1. HOLISTIC ASSESSMENT

A first and necessary analysis explored the reliability of the holistic assessment by correlating the data provided by the two judges for the two groups. Moderate to high correlational indexes were found in all variables assessed (*pronunciation*: r(26) = .63, p < .001; *use of vocabulary*: r(26) = .84, p < .001; *grammar correctness*: r(26) = .93, p < .001; *fluency*: r(26) = .93, p < .001; *content development*: r(26) = .78, p < .001), indicating that both judges employed similar criteria in the evaluation.

Table 2. Mean scores, standard deviation (*SD*) and significance on variables in holistic assessment.

	CLIL		Non-CLIL		*p-value*
	Mean	*(SD)*	Mean	*(SD)*	
Pronunciation	4.89	*.76*	4.86	*1.70*	
Vocabulary	5.71	*1.24*	4.54	*2.10*	<.09
Grammar	6.29	*1.20*	4.32	*2.19*	<.05
Fluency	6.21	*1.64*	4.68	*2.19*	<.05
Content	6.29	*1.37*	5.21	*2.00*	
Total	5.88	*1.07*	4.72	*1.96*	<.09

T-Test analyses were computed so as to establish comparisons between the means (range: 1-10) of the 5 variables assessed by the two judges in the holistic evaluation of students' oral productions according to the instruction received (CLIL and Non-CLIL). As can be seen in Table 2, the CLIL group outscored the Non-CLIL group in all variables analysed. The CLIL group significantly outscored the Non-CLIL group in *grammar* and *fluency* (t(26)=2.94, p<.05 and t(26)=2.10, p<.05 respectively), which assessed grammatical accuracy and communicative effect and continuity and speed of speech respectively. Along the same lines, CLIL superiority turned out to be marginally significant (p=0.84) in *vocabulary*.

4.2. QUANTITATIVE ASSESSMENT

The T-tests computed in the quantitative evaluation revealed significantly more abundant productions on the part of the Non-CLIL group in all variables analysed as can be observed in Table 3: *total no. of words* t(26) = -2.96, p < .05, *total no. of words-L1s transfer* t(26) = -2.31, p < .05; *total no. of different words* t(26) = -3.22, p <.005; *total no. utterances,* t(26) = -3.65, p < .005; *total no. of turns,* t(26) = -2.69, p <.05. This was also the trend in *narration time*, t(26) = -2.30, p < .05.

Table 3. *Amount of production:* mean scores, standard deviation (*SD*) and significance.

	CLIL		Non-CLIL		*p-value*
	Mean	*(SD)*	Mean	*(SD)*	
Total no. words	268.93	*107.72*	383.79	*97.64*	<.05
Total no. words-L1s transfer	260.29	*94.84*	333.40	*70.63*	<.05
Total no. different words	80.86	*22.08*	104.71	*16.80*	<.005
Total no. utterances	30.64	*15.69*	55.86	*20.57*	<.005
Total no. turns	9.36	*12.35*	24.86	*17.63*	<.05
Narration time	4'19''	*3'58*	7'05''	*3.40*	<.05

However, those variables which measured density of production (Table 4) revealed that the CLIL group was able to produce longer and richer turns as the variables *No. of different words over total No. of words, No. of utterances over*

turn and *No. of words over turn* show, this difference being highly significant in the last case (t(26) = 4.22, p <.0001).

Table 4. *Density of production:* mean scores, standard deviation (*SD*) and significance.

	CLIL		Non-CLIL		p-value
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	
No. different words/No. words	0.31	*0.64*	0.28	*0.53*	
No. utterances/ turn	6.88	*6.33*	3.76	*3.96*	
No. words/turn	9.12	*1.39*	7.05	*1.19*	<.0001

As for compensation strategies (Table 5), it can be observed that the CLIL group used the L1/s significantly less than the Non-CLIL group (t(25) = -3.31, p < .005). It is also observed that that interviewers interacted significantly more with the Non-CLIL group, *interviewer turns*: (t(25) = -2.69, p < .05), an indicator that these subjects demanded lexical cues more often than the CLIL group.

Table 5. *Compensation strategies:* mean scores, standard deviation (*SD*) and significance.

	CLIL		Non-CLIL		p-value
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	
L1/s transfer	9.23	*20.99*	50.43	*40.00*	< .005
Interviewer turns	8.36	*12.35*	23.86	*17.63*	<. 05

5. DISCUSSION

The present study has provided comparative data on oral output outcomes on the part of students enrolled in a CLIL programme and students engaged in traditional foreign language lessons (Non-CLIL) so as to elucidate the potential effect of additional CLIL exposure. The holistic assessment of oral production has evinced that CLIL students outscore traditional students in all variables but that this superiority is only significant in use of grammar, fluency and vocabulary. These findings go along with those studies reporting that in CLIL settings fluency and vocabulary development seem to be more benefitted areas (Dalton-Puffer,

2008) than areas such as pronunciation (Gallardo del Puerto, Gómez Lacabex and García Lecumberri 2009) or content (Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann, 2007). There are several factors which can account for the hindrance in pronunciation in these learning contexts. First, teachers are very often non-native speakers in these formal learning environments (Cenoz 2003) and we may find various levels of phonetic competence among these professionals. Second, pronunciation has been referred to as "the least useful of the basic language skills" (Quijada 1997) given that language teaching goals aim at the need to understand and be understood (intelligibility) rather than attaining a native accent (Jenkins 2000; Levis 2005). In fact, research has shown that intelligibility may not be necessarily confronted with foreign accent (Munro 2008). A third possible factor which may have contributed to the lack of advance in pronunciation is the fact that most of the English text books used in Basque secondary schools are characterised by the scarcity of exercises targeting pronunciation skills (Gallardo del Puerto 2005). Finally, a further sociolinguistic factor may be mentioned in these lines, namely the poor presence of native English in the media and entertainment given the strong present of the dubbing industry in Spanish (TV series and cartoons, films at theatres or video games).

We did not observe differences in content development between the groups. These results may be related to the type of task used in this study and the administration mode. The story telling activity guided with pictures was presented to the students so that they would access the vignettes sequentially during the task. This procedure, along with the fact that the story was the same for all the subjects, may have limited the development of the plot or further development of characters or scenes. It shall be noted that for a more efficient assessment of content development skills a less guided (maybe semi-guided) task may better explore potential differences in the contextualization and character, plot and scene development. As other authors have pointed out (Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann 2007), a further possible reason for this lack of differences in content development may be that of cognitive development, that is, the ability to extend and detail the story may progress independently of the amount of the type of instruction received.

The quantitative analysis provided in this study revealed interesting results. Unlike Whittaker and Llinares (2009), simple frequency counts showed that the Non-CLIL students produced longer outputs: more words, more different words, more utterances and more turns (Table 3). It is interesting to note that when the variable use of the L1s was controlled for, these differences were still present (*Total No. of words-L1s transfer,* in Table 3). A further important measurement taken, *narration time*, revealed that these students used significantly more time

in telling the story than the CLIL group. However, when exploring the data in terms of density in production (Table 4), measured in number of different words over number of words, number of utterances over turn and number of words over turn, and in terms of compensation strategies (Table 5), measured in amount of L1 use and number of interviewer interventions, data reveal some advantages on the part of the CLIL group. First, their outputs become more compact as they use more utterances and words in each turn, data which go along with the higher fluency on the part of the CLIL group observed in the holistic assessment and which evinces that the two analyses used in the present study (holistic and quantitative) report similar findings. Secondly, those variables which aimed at exploring compensation strategies revealed that there was a significantly higher use of words and expressions in Basque and Spanish in the Non-CLIL group, as well as many more interviewer turns, in the form of, mainly, vocabulary clarifications. This may have accounted for the advantage on the part of the Non-CLIL groups in terms of 'quantity' of production observed in Table 3 but actually reveals an advantage on the part of the CLIL group in 'quality' of production, understood in this study as revealing a more fluent and denser narration as well as a better ability to limit the access to the L1/s. This last finding could evince that CLIL students either already knew the vocabulary they needed to tell the stories or showed a decrease in the use of negotiation and repair strategies which characterise foreigner talk (Gass & Varonis 1991). In other words, it might be conceded that CLIL learners do further rely on target language-based knowledge or compensation strategies, which makes them be less dependent on both the L1 and the interviewer.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Our study supports the findings of those investigations indicating that the CLIL approach is associated with better language outcomes (Ackerl 2007; Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann 2007; Bürgi 2007; Jimenez Catalán, Ruiz de Zarobe and Cenoz 2006; Jiménez Catalán and Ojeda 2009; Jiménez Catalán and Ruiz de Zarobe 2009; Martinez Adrián and Gutierrez Mangado 2009; Moreno Espinosa 2009; Navés 2011; Ruiz de Zarobe 2010; Sylvén 2004, 2006; Villarreal and García Mayo 2009; Xanthou 2007) and more particularly the findings of research pinpointing that oral production can be enhanced by CLIL (Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann 2007; Lasagabaster 2008; Ruiz de Zarobe 2008; Whittaker and Llinares 2009). We have verified that additional CLIL exposure leads to better oral production in a story-telling task. More specifically, our CLIL learners have been found to display more fluent and denser speech characterized by better grammar and vocabulary,

as well as lesser reliance on both the L1 and the interviewer's help, all of which make CLIL learners more efficient and independent speakers of the foreign language. However, as far as pronunciation is concerned, and in agreement with previous research (Gallardo del Puerto, Gómez Lacabex and García Lecumberri 2009; Rallo Fabra and Juan-Garau 2010), the positive effect of CLIL is not so clear, which confirms Van de Craen *et al*'s (2007) conclusion regarding the controversial results of CLIL in the case of oral production.

Nonetheless, the present study is not without some limitations. First, we have been unable to gather data from groups which only differ in amount of exposure, that is, groups which may have received the same amount of English hours differing in the type of instruction (CLIL vs. traditional EFL) only. This is so given that CLIL methodologies are mainly being implemented in Spain by adding exposure to traditional English lesson rather than substituting those hours by CLIL ones. As a result, the two groups analysed in the present study not only differ in type of exposure but also in amount of exposure, the CLIL group having received more instruction hours, which may be interpreted as a factor contributing to the superiority observed. Some researchers (Lasagabaster 2008; Navés 2011; Ruiz de Zarobe 2008, 2010) have tried to rule out the effect of amount of exposure by comparing students receiving additional CLIL exposure to traditional students enrolled one or two grades above. The result of these comparisons, however, seems to indicate that, in spite of a younger age, CLIL students obtain better language outcomes than traditional students. Hence, we will try to approach/address this type of comparison in future research. Alternatively, a comparison between our CLIL students and a group of amount-of-exposure-matched Non-CLIL peers who have started to learn English at an earlier age than their CLIL counterparts would be addressed, if possible. A further limitation of our study relates to the nature of the instrument employed. We are aware that, having not given speakers a set narration time in the story-telling activity, measurements such as the type-token ratio provided by Childes may be less reliable when interpreting density of vocabulary used (McKee *et al*. 2000) as those students having taken longer to narrate the story are likely to have used a wider range of lexicon. In an attempt to control for this factor, we have provided duration of narration time as a variable and although we did not find differences in density (*No. of different words/No. of words* in table 4), we could see that the group using more narration time did have a higher ratio in this variable. The lack of significance in the present study may owe to the nature of the task: a picture-guided task, which could have hindered these effects as the pictures provided may have led the participants to access similar lexicon if compared to a free speech task or a story-telling task without guiding pictures.

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LEXICAL-CONSTRUCTIONAL INTEGRATION IN NON-PROTOTYPICAL ENGLISH MIDDLES: THE ROLE OF HIGH-LEVEL METONYMY AS A MOTIVATING FACTOR*

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ABSTRACT. *The main aim of this paper is to consider the issue of lexical-constructional integration in circumstantial English middles with instrumental and locative subjects, exemplified respectively by* Narrow tyres manoeuvre more easily *and* The tennis court plays a bit slower *(cf. Davidse and Heyvaert 2003, 2007). I will first explore the lexico-semantic mechanisms that may sanction the ascription of a verbal predicate to these extended uses of the middle construction where there is no causative element and the "affectedness" constraint needs to be ruled out. Drawing upon Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón (2007, 2011), I will also try to determine to what extent high-level metonymy may actually apply as an external motivating factor in the explanation of these non-prototypical uses of the middle, also showing how contextual and discourse-pragmatic factors cooperate with each other to enhance the metonymic interpretation of the "circumstantial" middle type.*

Keywords: Non-prototypical middle construction, lexical-constructional integration, high-level metonymy.

INTEGRACIÓN LÉXICO-CONSTRUCCIONAL EN LAS CONSTRUCCIONES MEDIAS NO PROTOTÍPICAS DEL INGLÉS: EL PAPEL DE LA METONIMIA CONCEPTUAL COMO FACTOR MOTIVADOR

RESUMEN. *El principal objetivo de este artículo es el estudio del proceso de integración léxico-construccional en las construcciones medias inglesas circunstanciales con un sujeto instrumental o locativo, ejemplificadas respectivamente por* Narrow tyres manoeuvre more easily *and* The tennis court plays a bit slower *(cfr. Davidse y Heyvaert 2003, 2007). En primer lugar se analizarán los mecanismos léxico-semánticos que pueden sancionar la adscripción de un predicado verbal a la construcción media en aquellos casos en los que no exista un elemento causativo y la restricción de "afectación" resulte por tanto invalidada. Basándome en Ruiz de Mendoza y Mairal Usón (2007, 2011), intentaré determinar en qué medida la metonimia conceptual puede actuar como un factor motivador externo que justifique estos usos no prototípicos, mostrando también cómo intervienen factores contextuales y de naturaleza pragmático-discursiva, que interactúan para potenciar la interpretación metonímica de la construcción media del tipo "circunstancial".*

Palabras clave: Construcción media no prototípica, integración léxico-construccional, metonimia conceptual.

1. INTRODUCTION

As Davidse and Heyvaert (2003: 67) point out, the existing analysis of the English middle account for a limited set of prototypical middle constructions, overlooking the importance of the circumstantial type, where the subject is not an affected entity and there is no causative element, as illustrated in (1) and (2):

(1) [of tyres:] *They handle better, brake better*, grip better.
     (Yoshimura and Taylor 2004: 295)

(2) [about a tennis court:] It is slightly coarser, so *it plays a bit slower*.
     (Davidse and Heyvaert 2007: 47)

In order to determine the semantic and discourse-pragmatic factors that contribute to the acceptability of the middle construction in these extended uses of the construction, I will examine the properties of the Subject entity in association with the properties of the verbal predicate (see Yoshimura and Taylor 2004), proposing that the acceptability of the middle construction is to a great extent determined by cognitive and discourse-pragmatic factors.

This paper is organized as follows: section 2 reviews the lexical-semantic and conceptual constraints which have been traditionally associated with the middle construction in the linguistic literature, exploring the constraints on the predicate and analyzing the role of the "conducive" subject and of the adjunct. Drawing mainly on authors like Goldberg (1995), Davidse and Heyvaert (2007), and Lemmens (1998), I will reject a lexically-based approach, assuming that the acceptability of the middle construction is determined by the semantic and pragmatic meaning of the construction as a whole. Section 3 explores the cognitive and discourse-pragmatic factors that may legitimize non-prototypical middles of the circumstantial type. Following Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón (2011: 76) I will try to determine to what extent high-level metonymy may actually apply as a "co-licensing factor" in the explanation of these extended uses of the middle construction type with verbs which do not involve a change of state. Section 4 offers some final remarks.

2. LEXICAL-SEMANTIC AND CONCEPTUAL CONSTRAINTS

2.1. *CONSTRAINTS ON THE PREDICATE: THE TRANSITIVE AND AFFECTEDNESS CONSTRAINTS*

In the literature the middle has been frequently described as being restricted to transitive verbs with affected objects (see e.g. Keyser and Roeper 1984, Fellbaum and Zribi-Herz 1989, Levin 1993).[1] The affectedness and transitive constraints are used by Levin (1993: 26) to explain the data in (3) and (4):

(3)   a. Bill *pounded* the metal.
      b. *This metal won't pound.

(4)   a. Bill *pounded* the metal *flat*.
      b. This metal won't pound flat.

The object of *pound* is not affected by the action of the verb, so this verb is compatible with the middle construction "only in the presence of a resultative phrase, which contributes a state that results from the action of pounding" (Levin 1993: 26). But the notion of affectedness does not account for all the facts, as Fagan (1992: 65) rightly points out. A verb like *photograph,* for example, forms an acceptable middle, as illustrated by the example in (5),

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[1]   According to Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz (1989: 5), "the middle is compatible only with transitive verbs that can assign the Agent role to their external argument".

where the inherent properties of the subject entity are not modified in any way by the action of photographing.[2]

(5)   She photographs well. (Fagan 1992: 65)

The main problem with a lexically-based approach like Levin's is, as argued by Lemmens (1998: 4), "that she sees the choice of constructions in which a verb may occur as wholly determined by the verb's semantics and, as a result, fails to recognize that constructions themselves are meaningful". As Goldberg (1995: 24) points out, it is not the case that constructions simply "impose" their meanings on "unsuspecting" verbs as "the meaning of constructions and verbs interact in nontrivial ways".

Non-prototypical middles of the circumstance-type, illustrated in (1) and (2) in §1, clearly invalidate the "change of state" constraint, as they are acceptable middles which include non-affected entities as subjects. Example (1), which construes an Instrument as subject, does not entail that the tyres can be handled and braked, but that the tyres will enable the potential driver to handle and brake the car better (see Yoshimura and Taylor 2004: 295; fn 5). Example (2) also rules out the transitive constraint, as *play* here profiles an intransitive process, depicted in its relation to the locative entity construed as the subject (see Davidse and Heyvaert 2007: 52).[3]

Other illustrative examples containing circumstances of instrument and location with transitive and intransitive (or predominantly intransitive) verbs are presented below:[4]

b. *Subject as Instrument*

(6)   That brush paints well. (Davidse and Heyvaert 2003: 67)

(7)   Narrow tyres manoeuvre more easily. (Davidse and Heyvaert 2003: 65)

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[2]   Contrary to this analysis, Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz (1989: 29) claim that the "process referred to by *photograph* (…) affects the subject-theme by converting it into an image". In Heyvaert's (2003) semantic typology the example *She does not photograph well* illustrates the *result-oriented* focus of the middle type (see §2.3).

[3]   The verb *play* could also receive a transitive reading. However, as Davidse and Heyvaert (2007: 47) observe, it seems clear that the implied agent in (2) is not depicted as "interacting with the court as a sort of patient".

[4]   The verb *fish* in (9) can receive both a transitive and an intransitive reading. However, as is the case of *play* in (2) (see footnote 3), *the upper river* would still be non-affected even if we assumed a transitive interpretation of the verb as in *fish the river* (see Davidse and Heyvaert 2007: 46 for further discussion of similar examples).

c. *Subject as Location*

> (8)   This surface races well. (Davidse and Heyvaert 2003: 67)
>
> (9)   The upper river fishes well in spring. (COCA)[5]

As these examples reveal, the middle construction is much more versatile in terms of verb classes and participants it accepts than has been acknowledged in the literature (see Davidse and Heyvaert 2003: 71), and it is thus difficult to constrain the class of verbs that are compatible with the construction.[6] I agree with Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón (2011: 73) that lexical class ascription can in fact be a licensing or blocking factor when it comes to lexical-constructional interaction in syntactic alternations. However, verb classes cannot be created *ad hoc* on the mere basis of constructional needs, and there are cases like the examples above which are difficult to explain.

2.2. THE ROLE OF THE "CONDUCIVE" SUBJECT

As argued above, the acceptability of the middle construction cannot be exclusively determined by the lexical specifications of the main verb. The inherent properties of the subject referent (usually enhanced by appropriate contextualization) are also essential in explaining middle formation in English. In Yoshimura and Taylor's (2004: 293) terms, the subject referent "has to be able to be construed as possessing properties which significantly facilitate, enable (or impede) the unfolding of the process in question".

Authors like Fagan (1992) and Iwata (1999) have proposed a modal analysis of the middle construction. Fagan (1992: 54) paraphrases the meaning of (10a) as in (10b), implying that the middle construction realizes the modal notions of *possibility* or *ability*:

> (10) a. [about a kind of siding:] It nails easily. It cuts easily.
>   b. It can be nailed easily. It can be cut easily.

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[5]   This example has been taken from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (Davies 2008).
[6]   Davidse and Heyvaert (2003: 65) also analyze examples such as *That whole wheat flour bakes wonderful bread* (Levin 1993: 82) and *The wood carves beautiful toys* (Levin 1993: 173) as non-prototypical middles with a circumstantial subject of Means and a transitive verb. In Levin's taxonomy, however, these sentences with unaffected subjects are not analyzed as middles but as examples of the so-called "raw material subject alternation" with verbs of creation, characterizing "the ability of the subject to be used in the action denoted by the verb" (1993: 82).

Against this analysis, which emphasizes the agent-like responsibility of the subject entity ("The siding can be nailed/cut easily *by anyone who tries*"),[7] Davidse and Heyvaert (2003: 68) propose that the modality in middles is associated with the inanimate entity, and not with the implied Agent, and that it has to be understood in terms of Talmy's (2000: 409) force-dynamic notion of "letting". As Davidse and Heyvaert's (2003: 168) paraphrase in (11b) suggests, the circumstantial middle in (11a) entails that it is normally possible to carry out the process designated by the verb because the *antagonist* (the tennis court) does not offer any resistance to the action exerted by the *agonist* (the implicit agent):[8]

(11) a. That tennis court serves fast.
      b. That tennis court "allows/enables" fast serving.

As shown in (11b), and to use Radden and Dirven's (2007: 290) terminology, sentence (11a) "generalizes on the enabling condition" of a specific location (the tennis court).

2.3. THE ROLE OF THE ADJUNCT

Middles normally require an adjunt in order to be acceptable.[9] The literature has centered on middle examples foregrounding the *facility*, *feasibility* and *quality* aspects of the relationship between the subject and the process. In Heyvaert's (2003: 133-137) typology the *facility-* *quality-* and *feasibilty-oriented* middle types,[10] exemplified respectively in (12), (13) and (14), are supplemented with two further semantic types: *destiny-*, and *result-oriented* middles, illustrated in (15) and (16). The five middle types distinguished by Heyvaert are connected to the occurrence of specific adverbial modifiers:

(12) The window opened only *with great difficulty*. (Langacker 1991: 334)

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[7]   See also Van Oosten (1986: 85).
[8]   Similarly, a patientive middle like *The ladder fixes quickly and easily under the window ledge* entails that "the ladder is designed in such a way that it *lets* one fix it quickly and easily to the window ledge" (Davidse and Heyvaert 2003: 68-69).
[9]   In English the range of adverbs is restricted to three semantic types (Dixon (2005 (1991): 449): SPEED (*slowly, fast, quickly*, etc.), VALUE (*well, badly, properly*) and DIFFICULTY (*easily, with/without difficulty*).
[10] These three types fall under Kemmer's "facilitative" situation type, in which "an event is conceived of as proceeding from the Patient by virtue of an inherent characteristic of that entity which enables the event to take place" (1993: 147). Under this type the author includes "situations involving expressions of ease/difficulty of occurrence of the event", "quality judgments", "comparisons of quality" and "expressions of intrinsic ability of an object to undergo a particular process" (147).

(13) [of a car] It handles *better*, grips *better* and has better brakes. (BNC A5H 50)[11]

(14) This dress buttons. (Fagan 1992: 57)[12]

(15) [about a children's coat] Outer flap wraps *around little hands* and secures *with Velcro*. (Heyvaert 2003: 134)

(16) She doesn't photograph *well*. (Heyvaert 2003: 68)

Examples (12), (13) and (14) illustrate process-oriented variants of the middle-type, focusing more generally on the potential unfolding of the depicted process. *Facility-oriented* middles take "facility" adverbs like *easily*; *quality-oriented* middles include adjuncts of value and comparison; and *feasiblity-oriented* middles, which "focus on whether the properties of the entity construed as Subject make a process possible" (Heyvaert 2003: 134), are typically adjunctless.

In (15) the conduciveness of the subject is evaluated in terms of "destiny", indicating "where an entity can or should be placed" (*around little hands*) or mentioning "how this can be realized" (*with Velcro*) (Heyvaert 2003: 135). Finally, the example in (16), where the adverb *well* triggers a *result-oriented* reading, focuses on what the result is when the process of photographing is carried out (Heyvaert 2003: 134).[13]

Heyvaert's (2003) semantic typology shows that the middle construction may focus on different aspects of the interaction between the non-agentive Subject and the verb, and it is the adverbial modifier which typically indicates which facet of this interaction is being focused on (see also Davidse and Heyvaert 2007: 67).

3. EXTERNAL COGNITIVE AND DISCOUSE-PRAGMATIC CONSTRAINTS

3.1. COGNITIVE FACTORS

As shown above, the great versatility of the middle construction type, not limited to patientive and facility-oriented middles, makes it difficult to generalize on the properties of the construction and to identify a class of middle-forming

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[11] Examples marked BNC are taken from the *British National Corpus* (XML edition). BNC examples have been identified by means of a three-letter code, entirely arbitrary, and the sentence number within the text where the hit was found.

[12] Fagan's example in (14) is cited by Heyvaert (2003: 134) to illustrate the *feasibility* type.

[13] Other examples of *result-oriented* middles with unaffected subjects can be found in Yoshimura and Taylor (2004: 298): *The graphics do not display at all well; Your film screens well.*

predicates in English. The affectedness and transitive constraints, frequently put forward in connection with the middle construction, are clearly unable to account for non-prototypical middles of the circumstance-type. We need to look beyond the verb and beyond the semantics of the construction in order to give a more accurate account of the the semantic and conceptual restrictions operating on middle formation in English.

According to Ruiz de Mendoza and Peña Cervel (2008: 253), "many aspects of transitivity in grammar are essentially a matter of cognitive operations on elements of a high-level propositional model" that they call the *action frame*. Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón (2007: 45) explore the inchoative and middle alternations, and argue that "they are grounded on high-level metonymy".[14] The authors postulate the double metonymy PROCESS FOR ACTION FOR RESULT as the cognitive mechanism underlying all the different cases of the middle and "instrument-subject" construction. In a prototypical patientive example of the middle construction like *The bread cuts easily*, an action (cutting bread) is presented as if it were a process (the bread cuts) that is assessed in terms of the inherent difficulty in achieving a result (the bread gets cut without difficulty).[15] The circumstantial middle *This soap washes whiter* assesses the outcome "of making use of the instrument of the action" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón 2007: 46).[16]

It should be emphazised that processes may be regarded as subdomains of the "action" frame "only to the extent that is possible to retrieve an implicit agent" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón 2007: 42). In the middle construction (as in the inchoative construction) "an action is figuratively treated as a process" and "the process becomes a subdomain of the action for which it stands" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón 2011: 76).[17] The Agent is not entirely erased from the

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[14] The notion of high-level metonymy was initially sketched in Kövecses and Radden (1998: 39) as "a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain or ICM". (See Ruiz de Mendoza 2007: 12).

[15] As Cortés Rodríguez (2009: 261; fn 9) points out, this external constraint finds a parallel internal restriction that requires the aspectual conversion of the verbal predicate "cut" from an activity to a generic state interpretation.

[16] In Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón's (2011: 74) view, it is the "agent-like" quality of the subject of middle constructions (the subject's "letting" property in Davidse and Heyvaert's analysis) which facilitates the fusion of these constructions with the intransitive variant of the so-called "characteristic property of instrument alternation" (Levin 1993: 39): *This soap washes white clothes better* (cf. *With these soap, white clothes wash better*).

[17] The authors use the labelling in Dik's (1997: 106-107) typology of States of Affairs (SoAs), defined in terms of the presence or absence of two parameters (*control* and *dynamism*). Dynamic SoAs can be subdivided into *Actions* ([+dynamic] and [+controlled] SoAs) and *Processes* ([+dynamic] and [-controlled] SoAs).

conceptualization (Yoshimura and Taylor 2004: 300) but minimized to the extent that the action is now presented *as if it were a process*.

As Langacker (1991: 334) points out, a sentence like *This ice cream scoops out quite easily* necessarily involves an Agent which does the scooping out: "we do not […] envisage the ice cream wielding a scoop and lifting itself out of the container. And while the ease or difficulty of carrying out the action is attributed to inherent properties of the subject, it can only be assessed as easy or hard in relation to the capability of an actual or potential agent."

As shown in the expanded versions of the circumstantial middles in (17) and (18) below, the deprofiled Agent may even be recovered from the surrounding discourse (see also Ruiz de Mendoza 2007: 27 in this regard):

(17) To do this **you** will need *a sturdy roof-rack that attaches to the guttering of the car* and, rather than relying on **your knot-tying ability, you can buy special straps** that make securing the board, mast and boom far easier. (BNC AT6 260)

(18) The Big Wood appeals to anglers of all abilities, and is a perfect place to polish **your skills with the help and instruction of your guide**. *This river fishes well* with dry flies, nymphs and streamers. (Google)[18]

Sentences (17) and (18) present a transitive or intransitive process in its relation to an instrument or a location, but they necessarily imply an Agent.

As stated above, middles contain a modality component. However, they do not realize the modal notions of *ability* and *possibility* (see §2.2) but involve *intrinsic modality* concerned with "a person's or thing's intrinsic disposition, which has the potential of being actualised" (Radden and Dirven 2007: 246). In view of this fact, I will argue that the "letting" property of the subject which is foregrounded in the middle construction is possibly inferred from two metonymic operations: PROCESS FOR ACTION FOR RESULT and ACTUALITY FOR POTENTIALITY –the latter instantiating the "cognitive principle" OCCURRENT OVER NON-OCCURRENT (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 66)– which would account for the fact that an "actual" (occurrent) source is used to activate a "potential" (non-occurrent) target.[19] These two cognitive mechanisms could be subsumed under the label in (19):

(19) (ACTUAL) PROCESS FOR (POTENTIAL) ACTION FOR RESULT

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18 From http://www.anglingservices.com/rivers.html (accessed 19 July 2011).
19 I owe this comment to Antonio Barcelona (p.c.).

The middle construction focalises the habitual result of a potential action, and presents this result –usually recognised as such in virtue of the implied Agent's previous experience with the subject entity– as a property of the entity which is designated as the clausal Subject.

We have seen how metonymy involves a shift in profiling within the cognitive "action" domain. However, there is another descriptive construct (also involving the focusing of attention) which is required to properly describe the semantic and cognitive import of the middle construction: this is *trajector/landmark alignment*, which Langacker (2008: 70) presents as another kind of prominence to distinguish the meanings of relational expresions. The middle construction invokes an agentive process but selects the "theme" (mover) as "trajector", i.e. "the entity construed as being located, evaluated or described" (Langacker 2008: 70).

As Davidse and Heyvaert (2007: 66) observe, the subject in middles is foregrounded in purely subjective terms, not in terms of case hierarchy. In the authors' words, "its very construal as a conducive entity in relation to the 'letting' modal involves subjective speaker-assessment". And it is the inherent "letting" properties of the Subject entity which motivate its construal as Subject by the speaker (see §2.2).

3.2. CONTEXTUAL AND DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC FACTORS

There must be some contextual and discourse-pragmatic triggers co-operating with each other to yield the double metonymy presented in (19). The metonymy will be activated in an appropiate situational context (usually contexts of product promotion, advertising campaigns, sports registers, etc.), where the positive properties of an entity are enhanced. The circumstantial middle in (20) is illustrative in this regard:

(20) […] there is still significant "recall" of such ancient slogans as "Guiness is good for you" and "*Persil washes whiter*" (BNC F9D 318)

The acceptability of the middle *Persil washes whiter* derives from the implied contrast existing between this particular brand and all the opposition (see Lemmens 1998: 78; Yoshimura and Taylor 2004: 296).

Drawing on Pustejovsky's (1991) theory of qualia structure, Yoshimura and Taylor (2004: 305-308) discuss the conceptualization of nominal referents. There are four basic roles that constitute the qualia structure for a lexical item: the *Constitutive Role*, the *Formal Role*, the *Telic Role* and the *Agentive Role*. Pustejovsky's (1991: 426-427) qualia theory is summarized in (21):

(21) a. *Constitutive Role*: the relation between an object and its constituents, or proper parts.
   b. *Formal Role*: that which distinguishes the object within a larger domain.
   c. *Telic Role*: purpose and function of the object.
   d. *Agentive Role*: factors involved in the origin or 'bringing about' of an object.

*C*onstitutive *qualia* and *telic qualia* are crucially involved in the acceptability of middle expressions. A sentence like **The car kicks easily* is not acceptable since "the kicking of a car cannot be plausibly related to any qualia which make up our conceptualization of a car" (Yoshimura and Taylor 2004: 309). Lemmens (1998: 80) makes a similar claim when he states that "the properties emphasized in the middle construction are often those for which the entity has been designed in the first place".

Contextualization, however, can favour the foregrounding of the relevant qualia, as in Yoshimura and Taylor's example in (22), where the "discourse setting enriches the construal of the corner" (2004: 312), and "legitimize" middle expressions with verbs whose semantics appears to be incompatible with that of the construction, as in (23) and (24) below:[20]

(22) [dialogue between bookshop personnel on a newly published book]
   A: Where should we display this new book?
   B: That corner over there sells well. *It sells much better than this one over here.*

(23) Reviewers may note that this disk is very heavily composed of the music of Carlos di Sarli. That is okay, because I am a Di Sarli fan. *His music dances well.* I have many of the recordings done by other orchestras of Di Sarli's work. I am a Di Sarli fan. (Google)[21]

(24) If without rain *the ground rides slower than good to firm*, then it is wrong and unfair to owners and trainers with fast ground horses. (Google)[22]

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[20] A reduced version of this example is also cited by Davidse and Heyvaert (2007: 49) to illustrate a circumstantial middle with a subject of Means and an intransitive verb.
[21] From http://www.amazon.com/Leopoldo-Federico-Sentimiento-Criollo-Blanca/dp/B000056MY3 (accessed 21 July 2011).
[22] From http://www.gerlyons.ie/blog.php?&id=25 (accessed 31 August 2011).

In (22) the discourse setting enables the speaker to foreground the enabling properties of this particular location by establishing a contrast with a different location. In (23) the speaker's construal of the situation determines the acceptability of the middle, triggering its metonymic reading (see §3.1). Finally, in (24) the speaker is clearly a specialist in horse-racing, familiar with all the technicalities. It is here assumed that "good to firm" is the kind of ground that horses enjoy and that it is normally prevalent when there hasn't been too much severe weather.

As Davidse and Heyvaert (2003: 70) point out, "the implied reference to properties of the Subject is part of the semantics of the construction, but *what* these characteristics are has to be inferred contextually and is not part of the linguistic meaning of the construction."[23]

FINAL REMARKS

This paper has attempted to reconcile Davidse and Heyvaert's (2003, 2007) and Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón's (2007, 2011) functional-cognitive approaches to the analysis of the English middle in order to offer a more satisfactory account of the complex interplay between lexico-semantic, cognitive and discourse-pragmatic factors in non-prototypical middles. It has been proposed that high-level metonymy acts a motivating factor of the English middle, whose constructional organization centres on its modal "letting" meaning and on the contextually-implied properties of the enabling subject (Davidse and Heyvaert 2007: 56-62).

It has also been argued that the speaker's selection of a non-prototypical trajector as the theme in the middle construction is strongly motivated by contextual discourse-pragmatic factors. As Hendrikse (1989: 368, 371) observes "syntactic structures are instantiations of pragmatic options" and "the actual choice of any of the options is (...) determined by the context."[24]

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[23] The conducive properties may be explicitly mentioned in the subject itself or in the surrounding discourse, but they often remain implicit. See Davidse and Heyvaert (2007: 65-66).
[24] In Hendrikse's (1989: 372) terms "(...) syntactic structures are not in themselves basic or derived, but they merely represent cognitive and pragmatic basicness together with the particular orientation or perspective which is allowed by a specific situation (...)."

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ON THIRD THOUGHTS: THE AMBIVALENCE OF BORDER CROSSING IN TOMMY LEE JONES' *THE THREE BURIALS OF MELQUIADES ESTRADA*[1]

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ABSTRACT. *The tragic story of Melquiades Estrada in Tommy Lee Jone's prize-winning 2005 film could easily be one of the case histories in Oscar Martinez's already classic* Border People *(1994), which brings together personal narratives that deal with cross-border migration, transnational interaction, irregular labor, ethnic confrontation and border control. Born and raised on the Texan-Mexican border, Jones is not unfamiliar with these dynamics taking place in border regions, which prove to be a unique human environment deeply marked by transnational processes and, yet, also signs of resistance on both sides to fully embrace or reject the other culture.* The Three Burials *is a serious attempt at incarnating the spirit of the place, documenting accurately its mixed culture, and describing the pain that most of its inhabitants suffer from. Several reviewers have rightly argued that Jones' film, like* Unforgiven *(1992) and* Lone Star *(1996), "offers another twist on the Western genre, breaking conventions and proving that there is vast unexplored territory within the traditional gun-slinging setting of the frontier." Elements such as the laconic use of language, the central role played by landscape or the paramount importance of violence and death are clearly reminiscent of a genre whose main conventions are still being fruitfully used for new purposes. Nevertheless, it would be an unpardonable critical blunder to think of Jones' film as a mere continuation of a tradition that was mainly characterized by its excessive Manichaeism and its conviction that justice will be eventually recovered. This article argues that the message that Jones eventually sends to the audience is one full of ambivalence and ambiguity, and if some degree of*

justice is established at the end of the film, as Roger Ebert (2006) has noted, it is a 'poetic justice' more than a literal one.

A VUELTAS CON NUESTRAS INTERPRETACIONES: LA AMBIVALENCIA DE LOS CRUCES DE FRONTERAS EN *LOS TRES ENTIERROS DE MELQUIADES ESTRADA* DE TOMMY LEE JONES

RESUMEN. *La trágica historia de Melquiades Estrada en la galardonada película de Tommy Lee Jones (2005) podría ser perfectamente uno de los retratos recogidos en el clásico de Oscar Martínez* Border People *(1994), que recopila testimonios personales sobre la migración transfronteriza, los intercambios transnacionales, los conflictos interétnicos y la militarización de las fronteras. Al ser natural de la frontera entre Texas y México, Jones conoce a la perfección todos estos fenómenos que ocurren a diario en su región y que generan un paisaje humano único, condicionado por estos procesos transnacionales, pero que a su vez se resiste a aceptarlos o rechazarlos por completo. En este sentido,* Los tres entierros *es un meritorio intento de encarnar el espíritu de la región, documentando con rigor su cultura híbrida y describiendo el dolor que sus habitantes padecen. Algunos críticos han afirmado que la película de Jones, al igual que* Unforgiven *(1992) y* Lone Star *(1996), "da otro giro al género del Western, al retocar sus convenciones y demostrar que queda un aún mucho territorio por explorar en estos violentos contextos fronterizos". Elementos tales como el uso lacónico de la lengua, el papel central que juega el paisaje o la importancia primordial de la violencia y la muerte son claramente reminiscentes de un género cuyos códigos fundamentales son hoy utilizados por cineastas con otros propósitos. Sin embargo, llegar a la conclusión de que la película de Jones es una mera continuación de la tradición del Western, con su visión maniqueista de la realidad, sería un imperdonable error interpretativo. Este artículo defiende que el mensaje final que Jones manda al público está repleto de ambigüedades y ambivalencias, y que si se establece cierto grado de justicia es recuperado al final de la película, como sugiere Roger Ebert (2006), se trata de una "justicia poética" más que literal.*

1. INTRODUCTION

In his well-known volume *Border People* (1994), Oscar Martínez claims that there are four or five key processes that characterize border areas nowadays and that, as a result of these processes, borderlanders are likely to deviate from the lifestyles and norms of behavior of citizens living in the central areas of the countries involved:

> The unique forces, processes, and characteristics that set borderlands apart from interior zones include transnational interaction, international conflict and accommodation, ethnic conflict and accommodation, and separateness. In their totality, these elements constitute what might be called the borderlands milieu. (Martínez 1994: 10).

Although, as this author admits, we should expect great variation in how these processes are articulated on different border areas –given the diversity of cross-border exchanges and the profound differences in their histories–, the U.S.-Mexican borderlands provide an excellent case study for the exploration of those dynamics, since, due to their age-old cultural, social, and economic interactions, one can find perfect illustrations of all those features. As a matter of fact, Martínez's book could be described as a collection of case histories from this region aimed at revealing the rich variety of experiences produced in a milieu that, "being subject to frontier forces and international influences," is bound to generate rather unusual ways of life: "Borders simultaneously divide and unite, repel and attract, separate and integrate" (25). Bearing in mind the contradictory –not to say completely schizophrenic– forces at work in this environment, it is not surprising that most literary and film representations of life on the borderlands throughout the 20th century have been mostly unflattering, with themes such as violence, lawlessness, prostitution, illegal crossings, corruption, etc., often taking centre stage in the stories (Cortés 1993: 64-65). This contribution aims to demonstrate that a significant shift may be underway in these representations at the outset of the new millennium, as Tommy Lee Jones' film *The Three Burials of Melquiades Estrada* (2005) puts forth a much more intricate and ambivalent picture of the borderlands. As the director explained in an interview for *Positif* magazine:

> L'idée a eté de faire un film qui était quelque part une étude sur les contrastes sociaux entre la rive nord et la rive sud de la rivière, comment les choses sont les mêmes et différentes, ce que sont les éléments sociaux, moraux, émotionnels, éducatifs qui créent une passeport entre les deux communautés des deux côtes. Un bon cadre auquel vous pouvez accrocher une série d'événements qui peuvent donner naissance à d'autres thémes. (Ciment and Niogret 2005: 9).

Figure 1. Film Poster of *The Three Burials of Melquiades Estrada* (2005).

Indeed, having been born and raised on the Texas-Mexico border, the director is not unfamiliar with the kinds of phenomena taking place in border regions, which combine a shared history and intense socio-cultural blending with signs of reluctance on both sides to fully embrace or reject the other culture. Lowenthal remarked over two decades ago that three traits define the bilateral relationship between the two countries in the area: "proximity, interpenetration, and asymmetry" (1987: 77), and although those characteristics may have evolved over time, they remain integral components of the border culture. Jones' prize-winning movie can be said to incorporate some of those key traits defining that culture, for one of the filmmaker's primary aims is surely to come as close as possible to capturing "the spirit of the place." In order to do so, he packs the story with elements of bilingualism, economic interdependence, transnational media, border control and interethnic tensions that give the viewer a sense of the opportunities but, also, the risks that borderlanders face on a daily basis. As a matter of fact, Jones has explained that the plot of the film is based on a real incident that occurred near the Rio Grande at the turn of the 21st century, when a young man of Mexican descent –but the holder of an American passport– was accidentally killed by three U.S. marines who were chasing some drug traffickers (Ciment and Niogret 2005: 9). Assisted by the skillful hand of scriptwriter Guillermo Arriaga, the director built a narrative that delves deep into the dual loyalties that are likely to emerge in border contexts in which daily life activities are likely to create socio-economic ties that traverse national boundaries. Yet, as will become evident in my analysis, despite Jones' fascination with transnational phenomena –be they social, cultural or economic– , there is still a strand in his work that may find its roots in the old-time tradition of the American Western (see Figure 1).

Although recast into more contemporary circumstances and globalized processes that tend to complicate some of the staple elements of the genre, *The Three Burials of Melquiades Estrada* can be said to retrieve certain basic ingredients of classical cowboy and Western movies. Lexi Feinberg notes that, like other recent films such as *Lone Star* (1996) and *Brokeback Mountain* (2005), Jones' film "offers another twist on the Western genre, breaking conventions and proving that there is a vast unexplored territory within the traditional gun-slinging setting of the frontier" (2006). This fact becomes especially clear in the

second half of the movie in which, as will be seen below, there are several themes and motifs that are remarkably reminiscent of the Western tradition. The centrality of death and violence, a very laconic use of language or the key role played by the surrounding landscape, are all elements that, as Jones has acknowledged, he borrowed from directors such as John Ford and John Huston. Referring to the movie, Zimmermann observes that "the cowboy's corpse, bones, and graves serve as an opportunity for the living –both their fellow characters and their audiences– to revisit the stories and the myths of the West. It seems obvious that the legends, the stories of the western hero are somehow intricately linked to the hero's death" (2008: 223). As this author explains, *The Three Burials* replicates many of the motifs that are characteristic of the Western hero's journey away from society and in search of justice: a manly friendship, the desire for revenge, crossing various thresholds, antagonists and helpers, and so forth. However, given the complexity of the contemporary border milieu, it would be erroneous to assume that the simple and satisfying endings often provided by classical Westerns would be possible in the case of Jones' movie. Jim Kitses rightly argues that rather than relying on the Manichaeism, super-heroism and villainous superficiality that were common in Westerns, the director strives here "to incarnate its spirit [that of the border world], document its culture and describe its pain" (2006: 18) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. A different type of Western?

Being a resident of the Texas-Mexico border, Jones is of course aware of the profound transformation undergone by the borderlands –or what Anzaldua also called "la Frontera" (1987)– in the last two decades, and of the intense debates that have arisen after border controls and the construction of the wall were intensified

after the mid-1990s. According to Habermas and other experts, international boundaries have now become much more fluid and permeable, although signs of contestation and resistance to that fluidity are still very prevalent (1992). Of course, the U.S.-Mexican border provides ample evidence of both phenomena since, after the passing of the Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the early 1990s, it has the world's greatest volume of human and commercial traffic (Içduygu and Sert 2010: 12), and has also become the scene of much crime and human rights violations. In Charles Bowden's opinion,

> Borders everywhere attract violence, violence prompts fences, and eventually fences can mutate into walls. Then everyone pays attention because a wall turns a legal distinction into a visual slap in the face. We seem to love walls, but are embarrassed by them because they say something unpleasant about the neighbors –and us. (Bowden 2007: 120).

It is no wonder that borderlanders should entertain extremely mixed feelings about the number of irregular migrants crossing the border and the often dramatic measures to try to control the flows. After all, it is difficult to establish one's position regarding these issues when a constant battle is going on between one's needs and fears. Donnan and Wilson note that "just as borders may be both bridge and barrier between these [national] spaces, so their crossing can be both enabling and disabling, can create opportunities or close them off" (1999: 107). *The Three Burials* looks closely into the problems and paradoxes that emerge when people decide, for various reasons, to cross state borders and cultural boundaries between two countries that have historically thought of each other in terms of myths and stereotypes rather than promoting a peaceful coexistence. Jones' film can be seen to combine similar doses of traditional aspects of the Western, which tend to impose an identity on a person or a place, and a more complex vision of life on the border which, in Velasco's words, "se convierte en una pesadilla en la que el espacio está preñado de desconfianzas ancestrales [...], un espacio en el que no es possible reconocer una realidad 'normal'" (2003: 25). Of course, this combination of archaic patterns and myths with troubling aspects of contemporary realities on the borderlands is bound to produce all kinds of ambivalences and contradictions that are not easily resolved.

2. ELEMENTS OF THE WESTERN TRADITION

That the legacy of the old Western tradition is immediately perceivable in *The Three Burials* is beyond any doubt for several reasons. On the one hand, most reviewers have incorporated into their discussions of the movie comparisons with such classics as John Ford's *Rio Grande* (1950), Sam Peckinpah's *Bring Me the*

Head of Alfredo García (1974) or, more recently, *The Border* (1996) directed by Tony Richardson. All these directors found great inspiration in the highly volatile, culture-clash-saturated context of border country and this fact helped their best artistic skills to emerge. Philip French noted in *The Guardian* that Jones has made an "excellent modern western" by using one of the recurrent motifs in the tradition: "a man's entitlement to the dignity of a Christian burial, either out on the plains or in a simple frontier territory" (2006). Although the title of the movie highlights the importance of this motif in the development of the plot, there are other components in *The Three Burials* that inevitably frame it within the Western tradition. There is, for instance, the desert landscape which, as is the case in most films of the genre, becomes one of the main players in the story. Cinematographer Chris Menges does a superb job of bringing alive the hostile environment of the desert north of Chihuahua and integrating it into the horseback journey of the hero(es). Ebert argues that many of the surprises and learning experiences that the two main characters go through during the journey would have been impossible outside the "kind of doomed landscapes" that Menges' camera-eye so proficiently captures (2006) (see Figure 3). Yet, the soundscape is almost as important as the visual dimension of the movie, as it very subtly reinforces the emotions and thoughts that most of the characters are unable to put into words. This is true, of course, of the friendship and devotion that flourishes between the Mexican immigrant Melquiades Estrada (Julio C. Cedillo) and the rancher Pete Perkins (Tommy Lee Jones), but also of the anger and sullen despair that assail the latter after his partner's murder. On the other hand, beyond these cinematographic strengths, there are certain thematic strands in the movie –closely related to the socio-economic dynamics in border milieus– that can easily be traced back to the Western tradition. Due to space limitations, I will refer below only to four aspects that would definitely require closer scrutiny to establish to what extent they remain faithful to that tradition and in what other regards they may be breaking new ground.

Figure 3. "Doomed landscapes".

As mentioned earlier on, *The Three Burials* is characterized by an exceedingly economical use of language that barely manages to convey to the viewer what is going on in the characters' minds. In Jane Tompkins' opinion, "Westerns distrust language. Time and again they set up situations whose message is that words are weak and misleading, only actions count; words are immaterial, only objects are real" (1992: 49). In Jones's film, we hardly hear any of the characters –be they male or female– uttering more than three or four sentences in a row and, whenever they gather the confidence to move beyond that limit, the shadow of uncertainty about whether they are not being properly understood interferes. This extremely reduced and terse use of language is linked to another common element found in movies about the American frontier: loneliness and isolation. In this regard, French observes that "most people in this big country are sad and disappointed," and they live "disconnected existences of their own" according to various legendary codes (2006). There is little doubt that Pete Perkins, the protagonist of the story, who is a foreman on a ranch, resembles the typical Western loner, with no family, few friends, and only a married woman to speak of as a lover. But if the protagonist can be seen to lead a rather vacuous life fully devoted to his trade, nothing else can be said about all the other characters in the movie who, for different reasons, seem to loathe their miserable lives in this harsh environment. Curiously, the only

character providing a bit of succor to the protagonist in this depressing social milieu is a foreign ranch hand, the title character, who, despite having abandoned his homeland and his people, appears to have the resilience to adapt to a mostly hostile place. Zimmermann notes that, due to that difference, Pete "must construct a reality around Melquiades –friend, shepherd, cowboy, innocent, other–," which sets him apart from all the other people in the border community (2008: 221) (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Melquiades Estrada (Julio C. Cedillo), friend, cowboy, and innocent.

Two other themes often appearing in cowboy stories and also retrieved in *The Three Burials* are violence and death. According to Kolodny (1984) and Tompkins (1992), the recurrence of these two topics is probably related to the genre's opposition to the "discourse of domesticity": "[…] Westerns, in a reaction that looks very much like literary gender war, privilege the male realm of public power, physical ordeal, homosociality, and the rituals of the duel" (Tompkins 1992: 42). As a matter of fact, the main victim of this violence in Jones's film is an undocumented Mexican laborer, Melquiades Estrada, who, interestingly enough, exhibits some of

the features that have often been associated with female characters in traditional Westerns. Mel is represented as a meek and soft-spoken person who is happy to work hard in order to make enough money to return to his homeland. To argue that immigrant workers, underprivileged individuals, marginal social groups, etc., are beginning to act out the role(s) that women used to play in old Westerns may sound a bit far-fetched, but sometimes the similarities are just overwhelming. One obvious parallel is that, in spite of his language difficulties, the shy and easy-going Melquiades is one of the few characters in Jones' movie who tries to verbalize his feelings, and he makes his friend understand what he really means. There are several flashbacks in the film in which Pete Perkins recalls earlier conversations with the Mexican where it becomes clear that the immigrant cowboy has developed personal ties and a confidence in his partner that the latter would never have expected from his co-ethnics. Anthony Lane claims that "only viewers with advanced sexual radar, [...] would pick up a blip of desire between Pete and his pal" (2006: 94), but the fact is that, as later developments of the story show, there must be something more spiritual linking the destinies of these two individuals. The second half of the movie, in which Pete embarks on a torturous journey of retribution across the border with the Mexican's corpse and his murderer, reveals to us the true dimension of the old-fashioned loyalty and devotion that the rancher –now turned into avenger– felt for his foreign friend. Ebert is right when he remarks that, like in old Westerns, all the characters in Jones' film "have two avenues of communication: the public and the personal," but the latter becomes evident only in their subsequent actions (2006).

To conclude this section, one last issue that clearly connects *The Three Burials* with the Western tradition is the focal importance of justice. In her book *The Legacy of Conquest*, Patricia N. Limerick states regarding the evolution of this question on the American frontier:

> The West was once the Wild West, the old image held, and then, heroically, law and order were introduced and the wilderness mastered. But the image both exaggerated the significance of lawbreaking in the past and underestimated its significance in the present. (1987: 173).

As this historian contends, even if a frontier territory or a border milieu is subjected to more rigid law enforcement and closer surveillance, there are still going to be outlaws taking advantage of the vulnerability of strangers or the opportunity for quick profit. As mentioned in the introduction to this article, borders seem to have the innate tendency to attract crimes and violence that are only occasionally punished. One could argue that the spark that sets off the intricate plot of Jones' movie is precisely an act of extreme –if unintended–

violence that is deliberately overlooked by the law, since the victim is an "illegal" immigrant without a family. As happens in many Westerns, once the "hero" realizes that the law is going to do nothing to bring the culprit(s) to court, he decides to take justice into his own hands and will do anything –often disregarding the law– to re-establish some "fair balance." This is what Pete Perkins tries to do in the second half of the movie when he kidnaps Mike Norton (Barry Pepper) during the night, the Border Patrol officer who killed his friend, commands him to disinter Melquiades, and forces him to take the body on horseback to the victim's village in Mexico. The journey to Melquiades' final grave is orchestrated as a fierce battle of wills between Perkins and Norton, during which both of them make some unexpected discoveries and, at least partly, redeem some earlier mistakes (see Figure 5). Motskin has said about this painful journey that "the violence that Pete uses [against Norton] has a purpose. It is a violence for justice. His violence doesn't excuse him, but at least he doesn't use violence to cause damage. He uses violence to try to teach someone" (2006: 28) This reading of the film would certainly be in tune with what was expected from old Westerns; however, it is unclear whether it offers a satisfactory answer to the broader questions that the film seems to pose, questions that are related to the longstanding lack of mutual understanding between the U.S. and Mexico.

Figure 5. A fierce battle of wills between Perkins and Norton.

3. CONTEMPORARY TENSIONS ON THE BORDERLANDS

As noted earlier on, despite the presence in *The Three Burials* of those aspects highly reminiscent of Western films, it would be an interpretative blunder to read Jones' movie as a mere continuation of that tradition. In fact, several specialists have remarked that, like *Unforgiven* (1992) and *Once upon a Time in Mexico* (2003), Jones' film provides an excellent example of how the genre "continues to

evolve in interesting ways," and offers significant "evidence of the Western's versatility" to accommodate contemporary issues (Kitses 2006: 18). The work manages to preserve a number of the idiosyncratic features of old Westerns, while at the same time challenging some basic conventions and expanding the genre in completely new directions. Indeed, as I have suggested above, the director and the scriptwriter Guillermo Arriaga joined efforts to portray a new border context in which universal themes such as home, loyalty, revenge and, even, justice begin to acquire all kinds of intriguing nuances. Martínez notes that "isolation, weak institutions, lax administration, and a different economic orientation prompt people on the periphery to develop homemade approaches to their problems and unconventional means of carrying on mutually beneficial relationships across an international boundary" (2006: 4). Jones' innovative –and, some would argue, postmodern– film provides evidence that border people hold a view of the boundary and the function(s) it should serve very different from that held by their compatriots in other parts of the countries. The particular economies of the region, the intense socio-cultural interaction and active hybridization, and the diverse types of mobility and transfers that borders stimulate have turned it into a unique and fascinating place to be studied through the camera-eye. As Jones put it in an interview: "C'est fascinant, ironique... et tout à fait credible. Le public adopte une autre perspective sur l'ironie de cette frontière, dont le franchissement peut causer votre mort, et le caractère illimité de l'amour que se portent ces deux cultures" (Ciment and Niogret 2005: 12) (see Figure 6).
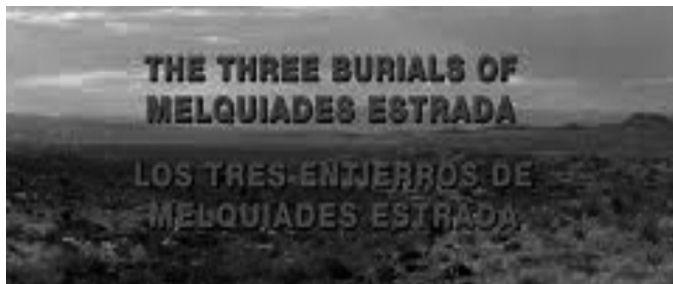
Figure 6. Biculturalism and bilingualism on the border.

A few film reviewers have complained that the first half of Jones' movie may appear a bit choppy and disorienting due to the "non-linear overlapping stories" which, in some instances, seem unnecessary and gratuitous (Feinberg 2006; Lane 2006: 94). It is true that viewers may occasionally feel confused by some leaps in the storyline when they have not managed yet to get a firm grip on the motivations of the main characters. Nevertheless, Arriaga's trademark approach to film narrative

as a highly fragmented puzzle that the audience needs to put patiently together gathering the pieces of evidence that pop up in front of their eyes seems particularly appropriate for volatile and rapidly-changing environments, such as the borderlands, which constantly call into question "the lack of fit between national culture and state sovereignty and domain" (Donnan and Wilson 1999: 12). It is no coincidence that the early stages of the film represent issues such as bilingual communication, local economies, the enforcement of the law –or the lack of it–, and internal and external migrations. All these topics, in one way or another, tend to transcend the boundaries of the single state and culture, often posing questions about the nature of what José David Saldívar calls the "*transfrontera* contact zone": "the Janus-faced border line in which peoples geopolitically forced to separate themselves now negotiate with one another and manufacture new relations, hybrid cultures, and multiple-voiced aesthetics" (Saldívar 1997: 13). *The Three Burials* seems to be aware from the start of this difficult negotiation going on among different peoples, and its disjointed structure could be interpreted as an invitation extended to the audience to take a stance regarding the conflicts represented on the screen. Jones explained to Marianne Gray in *Sight & Sound* that the main theme of the movie was to ask the question: "What is the right thing to do?" and he would like spectators to take away "the realization that it's possible to look across the river and see yourself" (2006: 18).

Manickam has noted that film images of the Mexican in Hollywood cinema have changed quite dramatically in recent times, becoming much more "realist and multidimensional," thus being more "sympathetic" than in the classic Western tradition (2009: 128). According to this author, this change could be explained by the more active participation in the industry of foreigners and border dwellers –such as Arriaga and Jones–, but also because "transnational practices," which cross national boundaries, have become an enticing theme to deal with on the screen. There is little doubt that the first half of *The Three Burials* presents a significant investment in terms of depicting the type of processes that take place in border territories and how those processes affect the lives of individuals on both sides of the boundary –in Jones' movie marked by the river–. The use of both Spanish and English, and the swiftness with which characters come and go from this "*transfrontera*" milieu, strikes the viewer as different and gets her/him ready for the unusually complex realities s/he is going to witness. Manickam observes that in Van Horn, Texas, the small town in which the early action of the movie takes place, "las dos empresas más importantes tienen que ver con los inmigrantes mexicanos –la patrulla de la frontera y los grandes ranchos" (2009: 129)–. And we soon realize that the fate of the title character is going to be inextricably linked, for various reasons, to these two

"businesses." On the one hand, there is the unexpectedly close friendship that we see developing between Melquiades and Pete Perkins, as the latter tends a helping hand to the Mexican immigrant from their very first encounter on the ranch. Not only does Perkins help the newly-arrived migrant to find employment in his country but, as several scenes convey, he is also concerned about his companion's emotional wellbeing. In turn, Melquiades shares with the rancher certain confidences and, eventually, gives him the heavy responsibility of returning his body to his homeland, should anything happen to him in the U.S. (see Figure 7). On the other hand, in the early stages of the film we are also privy to the Nortons' arrival and settlement in the small Texan town. While Mike has serious difficulties in adapting to his job as a border patroller, Lou Ann (January Jones) feels utterly alienated in a context where she feels invisible and unable to connect with the local folk. Certainly, one of the ironies in the film derives from the fact that Van Horn seems as unwelcoming and hostile to migrants as it is to nationals coming from other parts of the country, for they also see their sense of identity dislocated by the local practices. In Anzaldúa's well-known description, "a borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition. The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants" (1987: 3). Given these conditions, it is no wonder that most of the characters represented in *The Three Burials* should feel lonely and depressed, since the place displays "an appalling poverty of spirit" (Ebert 2006) (see Figure 8).

Figure 7. Sharing confidences with Pete Perkins.

Figure 8. Feeling out of place.

Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to assume that nothing beautiful and edifying could grow in this rather barren setting. Lorey, for instance, concludes his compact study of phenomena in the area by saying that "despite lingering asymmetries and conflicts over land, water, migration, the environment, and other issues, the society of the border has been remarkable in its adaptation to rapid change and in its

capacity to receive migrants seeking new opportunities" (1999: 179). Of course, it would be inaccurate to state that Jones' film offers a pleasant and positive view of the border milieu, but there are signs in the movie suggesting that traditional perceptions of the region as a place of violence and corruption are far too simplistic. To begin with, the unusually intimate friendship struck up by the protagonist and his foreign friend becomes the main driving force of the story, as the viewer observes how the kind of ethnic and class boundaries that often circumscribe human relations begin to tumble down when the characters find in each other a sort of surrogate son and father, respectively. One would even venture to compare this unlikely companionship with the close bondings –also established across racial lines– described by Leslie Fiedler in *Love and Death in the American Novel*. It is the intensity of the sentiments that develop between these two men that explains the grief that the rancher feels when he learns that his Mexican friend has been killed and his uncontrollable urge for revenge when he is told who committed the murder. As pointed out earlier on, representatives of the law not only fail to choose the right side and to protect the citizens' rights but, in fact, both the Office of the Sheriff and the Border Patrol are seen to behave in rather insidious ways: hiding the identity of the murderer and preventing Perkins from claiming his friend's body, which is dumped into a pauper's grave under the inscription: "Melquiades, Mexico." (see Figure 9). This fact, however, does not imply that everybody enlisted in these security forces is necessarily corrupt and, for instance, after Norton viciously beats up some Mexican wetbacks, he is immediately reprimanded by his superiors who, besides expressing their reprobation of gratuitous violence, also seem aware of the flaws in their control system: "Well, somebody has to pick away the strawberries." Bowden remarks on this point that "the closer one gets to the line, the more rational the talk becomes because everyone has personal ties to people on the other side. Everyone realizes that the wall is a police solution to an economic problem" (2007: 138). Likewise, although Lou Ann tends to blame her own and her husband's failure to adapt to the new context on the boredom and narrow-mindedness that seem to be inherent to the place, she finally realizes that the problem may not be so much out there but, rather, in the downturn that her marriage takes when the couple moves to Texas. Assisted by Rachel (Melissa Leo), a local waitress, the young woman begins to see that, beyond the dispiriting image initially projected by the small border town, there are all kinds of interesting human stories taking shape there that are worth her attention. Indeed, her brief date with Melquiades goes a long way in this direction, since she must realize *a fortiori* that there are other people who do not enjoy her privileges in status, language and cultural capital or economic means (see Figure 10).

Figure 9. A friend's humble grave: "Melquiades, Mexico".

Figure 10. A brief, fun date with Melquiades.

But, of course, it is Mike Norton's radical transformation during the second half of the movie that seems most arduous and proves more integral to the overall meaning of the filmic narrative. Although I have remarked above that none of the characters in Jones' *opera prima* are as flat and archetypal as those we find in old Westerns, Norton comes very close to representing the traditional villain. Besides killing good-natured Melquiades, he reacts with defiance and threats, when he is accused by Perkins of having done so. Nevertheless, their long journey through the desert and, then, in Coahuila, Mexico, provides him with a number of enlightening encounters and realizations that compel him to revise his understanding of the border and his own earlier (mis)conduct. Most importantly, he learns that the international boundary should not simply be read as something dividing people into different categories. As Manzanas puts it, "the wall or border is not the impenetrable ring of protections that creates a metaphysics of the pure, but the site of a constant crossing, of conjunction and disjunction" (2007: 22). This is the invaluable lesson that Norton gradually internalizes during the redeeming journey in which Perkins forces him to become an undocumented migrant in Mexico (see Figure 11). In the end, he tearfully recognizes that the shooting of Melquiades was a foolish accident occasioned by his own insecurity, and on his knees he asks for forgiveness in front of an old picture of the victim's alleged family. Zimmermann is probably correct when he affirms that, despite returning the body to its home and making the Border Patrol officer pay for his crime, Perkins does not succeed in achieving "a sort of father atonement, making amends for the sins and failures of his world, of his fatherland, reconciling Texas and Mexico" (2008: 221). However, it would have been highly unrealistic for the film to have ended on such an optimistic

note, since it would have meant correcting the asymmetries and solving the conflicts that have troubled the region for almost two centuries now. Lorey (1999) and Martínez (2006) conclude their explorations of the borderlands by saying that, although some advances have taken place –mainly thanks to the efforts made by the inhabitants of the region– , there are still serious obstacles (isolation, political and economic interests, etc.) that complicate "the resolution of problems stemming from domestic trends and bilateral relations" (Lorey 1999: 178). Jones' film attempts to recapitulate a number of those obstacles and reflects on the changes that would need to take place in people's mentality in order to be able to overcome, at least, some of them.

Figure 11. Becoming an undocumented, forced migrant in Mexico.

4. CLOSING REMARKS: THE AMBIVALENCE OF CROSSING THE BORDER

David Jacobson claims that phenomena such as "the economic disparities driving transnational migration [and] the competitive struggle of ethnic, business, and other groups to shape immigration policy in these equivocal circumstances" are having a profound impact on the notion of citizenship and its role as the anchor of identity (1997: 69). In this author's opinion, the legitimacy of the nation-state to set the rules in contexts where such forces are at work is being eroded because questions such as what defines a citizen or to what extent institutional decisions are applicable in these peripheral

milieus are becoming increasingly problematical. Jacobson uses several examples –the passage of Proposition 187 in California, for instance– to show that certain norms that try to solve social and political problems related to immigration have challenged not just the American Constitution but also international Human Rights Law (1997: 100-2). Needless to say, the collisions between the different legal systems can only produce a great deal of tension and dialectics, since, although states still loom large in the picture concerning issues of citizenship and sovereignty, these very concepts need to take new forms in the light of processes taking place in border territories. Whether we see the borderlands as an open wound (Anzaldúa 1987: 3) or as a zipper, whether we read it as a fault line separating different worlds or as a hinge connecting them, crossing the line seems inevitably to arouse mixed feelings. Drawing from Foucault's ideas, Manzanas notes that *convenientia* "suppresses the fine schizomorphic line that presumably separates distinct identities in order to establish a broader contact zone, [...] a porous border that both separates and communicates" (2007: 12). Jones' film provides excellent instances of how that porous border invariably fosters interactions that are going to generate bonds and resemblances between the parties. These are easily noticeable in terms of the languages spoken, the programs seen on TV or the food and drinks the characters consume. As Manickam explains, the contact and intermingling of traits becomes most apparent in the protagonist's friendship with Melquiades, which "acaba humanizando tanto al inmigrante mexicano como [...] al vaquero Americano" (2009: 130). Yet, we have also seen that security forces are one of the main presences in the movie and, in most instances, they seem to work on the premise of an impenetrable line that divides and categorizes. According to Içduygu and Sert, the increase in "funding and manpower for the Border Patrol" since the early 1990s has been part of an effort made by U.S. authorities to back up the "Prevention through Deterrence" policy (2010: 15). Although policymakers tend to justify these measures as steps taken against drug traffickers and human smugglers, the fact is that, as the film shows, those suffering the terrible consequences are usually irregular migrants whose only crime is to be in search of better opportunities. All things considered, *The Three Burials* can be said to present a sympathetic picture of those who, for legitimate reasons, decide to cross the political and cultural threshold that the border marks. Jones refrains from encoding any obvious political message in the film, but he seems to grant much more importance to human motivation than to any policy models aimed at regulating them (see Figure 12).

Figure 12. A sympathetic picture of irregular migrants.

A few commentators have contended that, despite the scriptwriter's and the director's attempt to create a more transnational and bicultural product, still the movie's final purpose is somehow threatened by its indebtedness to the Western tradition, in which there is usually little mixture and ambiguity. Zimmermann concludes on this issue that Melquiades' unstable existence is eventually destroyed by the static myth of his death: "The Mexican exists as a reflection of the Texan –the rancher's, the Border Patrol agent's, the audience's– needs. The views, values, and beliefs of the North have literally been transplanted into the South" (2008: 222-23). While we have seen that there are certainly themes and motifs –especially in the second half of the film– that are clearly reminiscent of the Hollywood genre, it would be more difficult to maintain that the ultimate effects of the movie replicate those sought by the classics in the genre. To start with, it is evident that Jones' portrayal of loyalty and justice is hued by nuances of meaning that one would never expect to find in frontier stories, and which make it less comfortable and more multilayered. David Río has noted that contemporary visions of Western borders "debunk traditional mythology, rejecting at the same time extreme reductionism to simplistic binary oppositions" (2011: xv). Indeed, *The Three Burials* brings to the foreground the difficulty of telling victors apart from victims, law-abiding citizens from transgressors, local mores from global trends. It is little wonder that some reviewers were disappointed by the film's ending in which the character we had taken to be the "hero" goes unhinged when he realizes that his dead friend's dream was just that, an impossible dream. Lane remarks that "the film's plea for old-fashioned pride and racial tolerance is muffled by a plain, unanticipated fact. Pete Perkins is out of his mind" (2006: 95). While it is a fact that those of us raised on the easy logics and tailor-made solutions of old Westerns may find the denouement of Jones' film rather troubling, it is also unquestionable that the prickly issues

covered in the work deserve this more intricate and ambivalent treatment. In a way, the director's final aim is to make us question both the myths of old and contemporary realities by presenting the border as a plural, interrelated, and unfinished space, "consisting of multiple meanings and often intercultural experiences and identities" (Río 2011: xv).

In *Border Matters*, Saldívar concludes his analysis of songs, political discourses, texts, and visual productions dealing with border experiences by stating that trying "to build a smoothed-over canon of ethno-racial wholeness" regarding these works is of little use "because they operate at other levels than those constructed by national border" (1997: 197). As this cultural critic argues, we should delve into the specific visions of the U.S.-Mexican border-crossing situations by bearing in mind the historical and socio-political conditions under which those migratory journeys have occurred. There are, of course, various ways in which artists have explored the ambivalences and fears that frequently accompany any attempts to cross that "national scar" all too plagued with myths of racial superiority and military domination. *The Three Burials of Melquiades Estrada* offers the audience an invaluable opportunity to dig deep into the motivations and consequences of people's decision to cross an international border that is still perceived by many as a "form of necessary intervention and collective security" (Jacobson 1997: 136). Jones' movie seems to tell us that while strong and beautiful human ties –across ethnic, class, national boundaries– may often emerge, all kinds of ideological and institutional resistance from other actors will also need to be overcome. Bowden rightly notes –recalling Robert Frost's famous poem– that "we think of walls as statements of foreign policy, and we forget the intricate lives of the people we wall in and out" (2007: 137). *The Three Burials* should be seen, in fact, as an effort on the part of the filmmaker to remind us of the immense barriers and tribulations faced by those that decide to view the border as an opportunity for collaboration and syncretism, rather than as a site of division and disjunction (see Figure 13).

Figure 13. Strong human ties, despite difference and boundaries.

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A SPANISH UNIVERSITY CASE STUDY: USER'S PERCEPTION OF BLENDED METHODOLOGY USED FOR ENGLISH FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

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ABSTRACT. *Blended learning at universities has emerged as a solution to address the need of fostering students' independent and life-long learning as well as foreign language acquisition. The methodology combines on-campus and on-line tuition. Existing literature has largely discussed the advantages and disadvantages about blended learning, e-learning communication tools (synchronous and asynchronous), and language learning aided by computers. However, more research is still necessary to notice how students and teachers perceive this methodology in foreign language learning. In this line, the Master's Degree in Bilingual Education at Nebrija University (Spain), which is wholly run through blended learning, has as a main aim to raise students' level of English from a B2 to a C1. During its first year of implementation, a research was carried out to analyze the participants' opinion on the benefits of the blended-learning tools used for English learning; detect possible deficiencies; and to provide recommendations for future foreign language teaching and learning.*

Keywords: Blended learning, e-learning, on-campus and on-line tuition, synchronous and asynchronous communication, CALL, foreign language teaching and learning.

UN ESTUDIO DE CASO EN LA UNIVERSIDAD ESPAÑOLA: PERCEPCIÓN DE LOS USUARIOS SOBRE LA METODOLOGÍA SEMI-PRESENCIAL PARA EL APRENDIZAJE DEL INGLÉS COMO LENGUA EXTRANJERA

RESUMEN. *La enseñanza semi-presencial en la universidad ha surgido como una solución para fomentar el aprendizaje autónomo y permanente, así como la adquisición de lenguas extranjeras. La metodología combina clases presenciales y tele-presenciales. La bibliografía existente discute sobremanera las ventajas y desventajas de la enseñanza semi-presencial, las herramientas de comunicación tele-formativas (síncronas y asíncronas), y el aprendizaje de lenguas asistidas por ordenador. Sin embargo, más investigación es necesaria para mostrar la percepción de estudiantes y profesores sobre dicha metodología para el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras. El Máster semi-presencial en Educación Bilingüe de la Universidad Nebrija (España), cuya docencia es completamente semipresencial, tiene como uno de sus principales objetivos elevar el nivel de inglés de los estudiantes de B2 a C1. En su curso inaugural se llevó a cabo una investigación para analizar la opinión de los participantes sobre la efectividad de las herramientas, detectar posibles deficiencias y aportar recomendaciones para la futura enseñanza y aprendizaje de lenguas.*

Palabras clave: Enseñanza semi-presencial, tele-formación, clases presenciales y semi-presenciales, comunicación síncrona y asíncrona, ELAO, aprendizaje y enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Bologna Process which European Higher Education Institutions are nowadays involved in affects the organisation and development of university studies, regarding students' autonomous, life-long and foreign language learning (Europen Commission 2006, 2013; Halbach *et al.* 2010, 2013). In this line, blended learning has been proposed as an educational alternative which can allow citizens acquire independent learning, by integrating on-campus classes (with face-to-face tuition) and on-line sessions (with synchronous and asynchronous computer-mediated communication tools) (Dziuban, Hartman and Moskal 2004); Carman 2005; Stacey and Gerbic 2008).

Literature regarding the possible benefits and drawbacks of blended learning being applied to higher education contexts in general can be found (Garrison and Kanuka 2004; Bonk and Graham 2004). There are also surveys carried out at higher education which now start to show interest in evaluating blended-

learning programmes through teachers and students' perceptions (Bonk, Kim and Zeng 2005; Albrecht 2006). Many other focus on the benefits and drawbacks of using synchronous and asynchronous e-learning methods (Hrastinkski 2008) or Computer-Assisted Learning tools (Hubackova and Ruzickova 2012). Furthermore, most of the empirical research at universities has studied the matter mainly from a quantitative perspective, comparing, for example, the results obtained by students and the number of university dropouts in traditional and blended modalities (McLaren, Koedinger and Scheider 2004) or focusing on the benefits of specific computer-mediated tools for subject learning (Singh 2003). However, more research is necessary in order to demonstrate the benefits of this methodology used for foreign language learning in particular, based on the opinion of teachers and students.

The Master's Degree in Bilingual Education at Nebrija University (Madrid, Spain) was launched in the academic year 2011/2012 in blended-learning modality with the aim of training prospective teachers in bilingual education; improving their communicative competence in English from a B2 entrance level to a C1 exit level; and fostering their autonomous learning.

This present research was carried out during first year of implementation of the degree to analyze the perceptions of both university teachers and students on the effectiveness of the blended-learning methodology in EFL learning.

In this article, a brief conceptual framework on foreign language learning linked to blended learning methodology will be presented first, followed by the description of the research methods, the analysis and discussion of the results obtained, and some final conclusions.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

In the last decades, foreign language learning has become a key issue in all European countries (European Commission 2006). The main aim is to improve the students' communicative competence through the adoption of a communicative approach which implies the systematic and progressive acquisition of linguistic, sociolinguistic, pragmatic, discourse and strategic competences (Ellis 2004). Communicative competence is measured according to the levels of competence or descriptors in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFRL) (Little 2011). Different techniques have been designed under the communicative approach (Harmer 2010), in which, on the one hand, the exposure to the target language must be intensive and the input needs to be varied and authentic (Richards 2001) and, on the other hand, tasks

have to be based on meaningful and real communicative activities so that students and teachers can interact, work together using the target language and cooperate (Long 2005) to progress in their interlanguage towards a better language use (Harmer 2010).

2.2. BLENDED-LEARNING METHODOLOGY

Internet and ICT tools, first introduced in educational contexts as additional material to enhance face-to-face learning, soon started to be used as learning platforms for pure on-line (distance) learning. Historically, face-to-face teaching and on-line instruction have been separated because of the media available and the instructional methods used in each instance. Digital learning is considered distributional, which means that the same information can be effectively delivered to a greater audience. These distributed learning contexts traditionally emphasized the interaction between learners and materials, whereas face-to-face settings prioritized human to human interaction (Bonk and Graham 2004). However, distributed learning environments are now increasingly taking on the place previously reserved for face-to-face, through tools like "computer-supported collaboration, virtual communities, instant messaging, blogging, etc." (Bonk and Graham 2005: 20).

As blended learning "combines the effectiveness and socialization opportunities of the classroom with the technologically enhanced active learning possibilities of the online environment" (Bonk and Graham 2005: 18), it can provide "the right learning at the right time and in the right place for every individual" (Thorne 2003: 18). It integrates the online communication resources with traditional face-to-face tuition, reorganizing the teaching and learning dynamics, in order to give solution to various different contextual needs with high levels of effectiveness (Rossett and Vaughan 2006; Garrison and Vaughan, 2008). Moreover, although blends can differ greatly from each other, some common elements can be pointed out: face-to-face sessions, independent and practical activities, evaluation tools and procedures, virtualized contents and distributed resources, group work, tutors and communicative learning tools (Alcides Parra 2008; Bartolomé 2008; Bonk and Graham 2005).

2.2.1. E-learning communicative tools

Adopting a blended-learning methodology implies the use of synchronous and asynchronous communicative learning tools (Sharma and Barrett 2007). Asynchronous tools, in which learning does not need to take place in a live event, are mainly characterized by their flexibility, as students can access learning materials when and how it is needed; their gradation, in order to help

students progressively adquire knowledge; and, their reflectivity, as learners can spend time on their own thinking about contents, tutorials, tests and practical activities (Hrastinski 2008). Synchronous learning experiences, on their part, occur simultaneously between different participants, and introduce some dynamism to traditional on-line learning. For Hrastinski (2008), these tools are featured as flexible, since online classes are usually scheduled as to permit learnes reconcile their studies with other personal and professional activities; and, interactive, because they allow real-time communication, collaboration, socialization as well as immediate response and feedback.

Andrews and Haythornwaite (2007) argue that there are three types of communication which e-learning communities can bring about: communication related to content, communication for planning tasks, and communication for providing social support. In the former, students will need to ask or answer questions related to content, share information and express their own ideas. For task planning, students will be required to communicate in order to plan and coordinate work, as well as to negotiate and solve possible conflicts. Finally, in the latter, learners will be asked to express their emotions, provide support and socialize outside class work. Face-to-face interaction, videoconferencing, instant messaging and chats (synchronous tools) can be useful to support learners in socialization and task planning whereas, for more reflective tasks, tools like e-mail, fora, blogs and wikis (asynchronous tools) can be a better choice.

2.2.2. Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) in Blended Learning

When considering bended methodology for foreign language learning, the interdisciplinary[1] Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL)[2] tools need to be taken into account as well. The use of Internet and multimedia devices allows students to engage in authentic tasks through activities in attractive and varied formats; to obtain immediate feedback and reinforcement; to adapt contents to their diversity and needs; to develop their autonomy; and to learn in a stress-free and motivational setting (Egbert and Hanson-Smith 2007).

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[1] CALL receives influences from Psychology, Second Language Acquisition and other fields like Artificial Intelligence, Computational Linguistics, Instructional Technology and Design and Human Computer Interaction (Egbert & Hanson-Smith, 1999; Gamper & Knapp, 2003).

[2] Other related acronyms are: ICALL (Intelligent Computer-Assisted Language Learning), CAI (Computer Assisted Instruction), CELL (Computer-Enhanced Language Learning), TELL (Technology Enhanced Language Learning) or WELL (Web Enhanced Language Learning. The main difference is the focus given to the computer as part of the learning process. CALL will be used here as a general term.

[3] Except for the Practicum Module to be fulfilled either in the same or in the next academic year.

2.3. *THE INFLUENCE OF CONSTRUCTIVISM & CONNECTIVISM IN BLENDED LEARNING*

Although in CALL and in blended learning we can find some behaviourist type of activities, like multimedia drills or multiple-choice exercises, constructivism and connectivism can be considered two main learning and teaching theories which have inspired blended-learning methodology (Siemens, 2004; Downes 2007; Koohang, Riley and Smith 2009). In constructivism learners take on an active and responsible role in knowledge-construction and for that reason the individual mental processes –and differences– when students interact with the medium need to be addressed.

Recently, with Virtual Learning Environments (VLE), learning has acquired a new dimension. As Siemens (2004) explains, in connectivism, knowledge is understood as a process which occurs within an ever-changing environment. For this theory, learning lies in the collectivity of individual opinions. Therefore, it considers that knowledge is within each individual and that we acquire and update this knowledge when we collaborate with other people in learning communities –or social ecologies–. In this view, learning is a process of infinite connections between different information points, from people to people, or from non-human devices (data-bases, libraries, organizations, etc.) to humans (Downes 2007).

As regards the important role of learning communities, Garrison and Kanuka (2004: 98) claim that, whether face-to-face or online, they combine "cognitive, social and teaching presence", and Hrastinski (2008) emphasizes the importance of "personal and cognitive participation" linked to e-learning, the former by increasing motivation for information exchanges, task planning and social support; and the latter by fostering reflection and discussion.

3. RESEARCH STUDY

The present research study is based on information gathered from teachers and students' surveys, interviews to teachers and discussion groups with students, as well as from the analysis of students' final grades in the different subjects. It handled quantitative data, but also extended the scope of the study to qualitative aspects, such as the students and teachers' perceptions and opinions about the different tools available and the real use they made of them. In particular, this case study intended to:

1. Show whether or not students can benefit from the use of blended-learning tools to improve their proficiency in English.

2. Notice deficiencies and provide practical recommendations to improve the future development of the programme as regards English language teaching and learning.

3.1. THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

The Master's Degree in Bilingual Education at Nebrija University, designed to be fulfilled in one academic year[3], was run for the most part in English[4]. Besides content learning in English, students also trained their linguistic skills through specific English language courses[5]. This programme is complemented with diverse activities conducted in English as well, like the attendance to a Forum in Bilingual Education, and two four-day linguistic immersion periods with attendance to foreign language teaching methodology workshops along the two terms. Therefore, the intensive use of English as the medium for learning other subjects is considered key in helping students progress from a B2 level of entrance reach a C1 exit level after successful completion of the programme.

3.2. BLENDED-LEARNING TOOLS USED AT THE PROGRAMME

The programme combined the tools of the collaborative virtual campus UNNE, based on DOKEOS[6] with real-time videoconferences and on-campus sessions. Firstly, online classes were easily accessed through the virtual campus on *Blackboard Collaborate*. These classes were two-hours long, were held three days a week, and represented the 71% of total tuition time. They were delivered in small groups of eight to nine students[7] through synchronous videoconferences. Secondly, on-campus sessions were held during five hours at weekends every fortnight. They represented the other 29% of total tuition time. These classes were delivered in a large group of twenty-one students. Finally, the Virtual Campus was the platform used for asynchronous on-line learning. The tools available were: the agenda and the bulletin boards, through which teachers communicated important dates and clarified information regarding contents, activities, additional resources, exams; the documents, where instructors uploaded syllabuses, contents, activities, annexes; the learning paths, which ordered documents and exercises to guide students through their learning process; the links section, with relevant websites related to the field of each

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[4] With the exception of the subject *Psicología e Interlengua*, taught in Spanish.
[5] Through the subjects *Communicative Skills 1*, *Communicative Skills 2* and *Communicative Skills 3* with 4 ECTS each.
[6] Nebrija University's own designed UNNE virtual campus. Demo version available.
[7] The maximum number of students per on-line group was twelve.

subject; the task boxes, where students uploaded their activities and received feedback from teachers; the self-assessment tests & exercises in different formats (multiple choice, cloze, gap-filling, relating, open-ended and interactive questions) which could be accompanied by with clarifying comments; the groupings section, where teachers and students could view names and e-mail addresses of participants in class and small group work; the fora, through which students and teachers could discuss topics, raise questions, make comments asynchronically; the chat and the instant messenger, where participants could easily communicate with each other synchronically through voice tools or written messages, or work in groups by starting a videoconference on their own like the one for on-line classes; and, the recording of videoconferences, where students could easily access and re-watch past sessions.

3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

This research study described the features of the elements implied in the teaching and learning blended methodology, and took into account the effects of the different variables in the final usage result. It focused mainly on qualitative aspects, by analyzing students and teachers' opinions about the different tools available and the real use they made of them. Qualitative information was supported by quantitative data like students' final grades in the different subjects, and other minor quantifiable aspects, also gathered through surveys: teachers and learners' age, their expertise with ICT, their location and their personal circumstances while studying/teaching at the programme[8].

The longitudinal study was carried out by collecting data from the same participants at different points of time throughout the whole academic year 2011/2012. The research was conducted firstly through teachers and students surveys; and, secondly, through interviews to teachers and group discussions with learners. The researcher also coordinated the programme and participated in the research as a teacher of one of the subjects.

3.3.1. Surveys to Students and Teachers

Surveys were chosen to collect quantifiable data from a number of teachers and students which could be representative of the whole population. A structured and standardized questionnaire was filled out by participants within

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[8] This data is not significant on its own but in relation to other main variables. Therefore, as this data was gathered through teachers and students' surveys, the results are presented at the end of the corresponding section of each survey results.

a short time. Some participants completed their surveys at home and sent them to the researcher at different times and through different means (by mail or in person).

Surveys were divided into four thematic blocks of opinion statements: virtual campus, chat and instant messenger, videoconferences and on-campus classes. Since a scale to measure attitudes was necessary, the survey was designed using a 7-levels Likert scale, ranging from "I completely agree" to "I completely disagree". Through the same surveys, participants were also asked to write short pieces of information providing explanations or comments to their asnswers. Finally, it is important to point out that all participants had attended some training and practical sessions about the use of the virtual campus and videoconferences before starting the programme.

At the end of the first term (March 2012), students were asked to fulfill a survey in Spanish. Although the number of students at the Master's course was 21, only 18 of them filled in the survey. Participating students were required to range 20 positive statements about the different blended-learning tools and the use they made of them.

Likewise, along the second term, both first and second term teachers (18 in total) were asked to fill out a 19-items survey in Spanish with similar statements to the ones in the students' survey.

3.3.2. Students' discussion groups and teachers' interviews

After having analyzed the results of the surveys, the researcher held discussion groups with 15 out of the 21 students at the end of June. The purpose was to generate spontaneous response, gain deeper understanding of the students' perspectives and clarify some unclear issues. For that purpose, a list of open-ended questions in Spanish was prepared beforehand.

For the same reasons, during the months of March and July 2012, the researcher held semi-structured interviews with 8 out of the 17 teachers, from which 4 of them were first-term instructors and the other 4 taught subjects during the second semester. The main objective was to have a clearer idea about their perceptions inferred from the surveys, and their opinion about other aspects which could not be asked previously.

3.3.3. Analysis of students' final grades

As the research intended to measure the improvement of students' proficiency in English after the use of a blended-learning methodology in foreign

language learning, an analysis of the progression of students' grades along the two semesters was also carried out.

The researcher obtained data about the grades of all students (21) in all the different subjects during the first and the second terms ordinary examination periods (February and June 2012, respectively) and during the retake examination period for both semesters (July 2012). The analysis also compared the grade range obtained at both examination periods.

Most of the students admitted into the course had a B2 entrance level (57%) or above (29%). Although the minimum level of English for entrance was a B2, a small number of students with a lower level (14%) were admitted.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the study are presented and discussed, after having analyzed the outcomes from surveys, discussion groups, interviews and students' final grades.

4.1. RESULTS OF STUDENTS' SURVEYS

As regards the virtual campus tools, generally speaking, most students (86,6%) found it easy to access the information at the virtual campus. They also thought that both the self-assessment tests and the task-boxes were useful tools for checking right or wrong answers (92% and 87,6% respectively).

With regards communication tools, the great majority also admitted not having made a correct and frequent use of the forum for communicating with other participants (45,5%). Likewise, the chat (instant messenger) seemed much neglected in the everyday running of the programme. Very few students used it for group work (32,1%) and just some of them used it for synchronous communication with teachers or classmates (41,1%). Besides, a minor group of students admitted having worked collaboratively in groups using the chat's videoconference (42,9%). Nevertheless, the great majority of students viewed the videoconference as a great improvement over traditional online distance learning (78,9%), especially as an effective tool for foreign language learning (70,6%). Through them, they argued, they could "actively practice oral skills, listening and speaking in the same way as if attending face-to-face classes", since they could "work in small groups and interact with each other in real time". Also, the option of expressing their feelings through their emoticons was considered a positive point to take into consideration (74%), as they resembled "familiar tools like Facebook and twitter". Finally, the possibility of re-watching

the recorded sessions was highly valued by learners for content and linguistic revision (92,9%), as they also "could watch them over and over again".

In general, students felt that the experience of using blended learning for studying had helped them reconcile their studies with their personal lives (69,7%) and therefore it had motivated them "to continue studying despite the hard work as we also work in the mornings". When asked about on-campus classes, students declared that attending to these sessions was essential to complement the on-line ones (96,4%).

Students' surveys also showed that students were mostly aged 20-25 (55%). The other big age group was aged 31-40 (36%) and only 9% of students were over 41. In addition, the great majority of students (81%) had previous experience in learning with ICT or used ICT in their daily lives. Only 19% had no expertise or prior experience in the use of these tools. As students were in general very young, this fact would explain why they showed such a positive view of the on-line tools. However, we cannot disregard the fact that some young learners did not show a high level of satisfaction and were not familiar with ICT tools, which would show that there is digital divide as regards ICT literacy.

In relation to students' location while studying and their working circumstances, the survey illustrated that the great majority of learners (61%) lived in the same province of the university, or in the neighbouring autonomous communities (29%). Only 10% live in a community far away from the university campus. Moreover, 67% of students were working while studying the programme, whereas 33% of them only studied. This data, together with the perceptions collected, demonstrate that students were able to accomplish other tasks while studying, as many of the classes were on-line. In this sense, blended-learning seemed to allow students conciliate their studies with other activities, bringing university closer to students regardless their location.

4.2. RESULTS OF STUDENTS' DISCUSSION GROUPS

In general, online classes were easily accessed, except for the following technical problems which students complained about: the connection sometimes shut down; some of the participants could not use the microphone or could not hear properly; at some occasions, participants could not have the microphone or webcams on at the same time; some students and teachers lacked the necessary software in their home computers; the audio and the video systems were not integrated within the on-line class presentations and thus every user started the application on their computers at different times. These problems affected interactivity and group integration in a very negative way.

About the recorded sessions, although they declared that recordings were "good to review lessons and practice listening", the movement along the recording, although possible, was very slow. Also, thy mentioned that all the elements showed in the original classes were not visible in the recordings, i.e. some internet routes, audio or video files were missing. At other times, when they appeared, they could not be reproduced until the students played them. As they argued, "you could not see which video belonged to each part of the lesson" and "sometimes you could not see the link for the video unless the teacher wrote it on the chat".

As regards the development of their English oral and written skills, students believed that they had improved much, above all, in their listening and speaking skills thanks to the on-line classes. For students, through videoconferences they could "listen to teachers, and speak in English without feeling ashamed when they made mistakes".

The attendance to on-campus classes was considered essential to supplement on-line classes as there they had the opportunity of "meeting classmates and teachers in person" and create a group feeling. These classes were considered more practical than on-line ones. Learners declared that they could "ask more questions, work in small groups and comment on each other's work". In these sessions students felt that "they had more to say than in on-line classes", where teachers mainly gave lectures.

The workshops during the two immersion periods were also very practical and students had the chance to test their real knowledge. They argued that it was a great chance for them to "practice teaching techniques" and "practice oral English".

About the use of the virtual campus tools, for students, some of the functionalities were neglected by teachers. For instance, the agenda was not used as students received the schedule of the classes through other means, and the rest of the information was updated through the bulletin board; also, about the additional links, students commented that having accessed these links would have been useful; finally, the self-assessment tests and exercises, although much appreciated, lacked in students' opinion, further explanations and comments to answers which would have helped them "work further on the topic" and address "difficult (linguistic) issues".

The forum was one of the least used tools in the virtual campus. Students reaffirmed their opinion of it not being useful for expressing their opinion or for collaborative work, as they found other ways of communicating ("Facebook, messenger, etc."). Teachers hardly opened discussion threads or fostered group work through fora. Besides, students reported that, as answers from teachers in

the forum were delayed for weeks, learners wrote an e-mail directly to the Coordinator or to the teacher instead.

The chat (instant messenger) was introduced at the university later at the beginning of the second term, so neither teachers nor students had the chance to receive formal training in this tool. This reason might explain why these tools were not very much used for real communication in English. Some used it for quick communication, but not many for tutorials or group work through videoconference. Students declared having found other ways of communicating with their classmates and with the teacher (Facebook, Tuenti, e-mail, etc.).

4.3. RESULTS OF TEACHERS' SURVEYS

Teachers' access to the virtual campus was not considered very regular (73,1%). Trainers, in general, declared that uploading documents and creating exercises was easy (77,1%) and pointed out the usefulness of self-assessment tests (91,6%) and task-boxes. However, they also admitted not having made regular use of the forum. An interesting point is that they thought they had answered regularly to the questions students asked them (84,9%) while students complained about the lack of response from teachers through the forum.

For teachers, videoconferences also represented a great innovation over traditional online distance (87,4%) for foreign language teaching and learning (89,9%). They also viewed them as good tools for the active practice of oral skills (88,2%) but some commented that "not all contents can be adapted to this type of methodology; each subject is different". Besides, some trainers argued that face-to-face interaction "provides teachers and learners with much more information and a different quality of feedback".

Many of the teachers agreed that emotions could be easily transmitted through this medium (84,9%); that classes could be very interactive (85,7%); and, that small group work was possible at breakout rooms[9] (88,9%). Nevertheless, to this regard, some teachers commented that this methodology could be "supplemented with communication through well-known social networks" and "collaborative work through web 2.0 tools". As in the case of students, the most appreciated tool was the possibility of recording and

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[9]   Breakout rooms are separated virtual spaces for small group work and discussion within whole class group videoconferences. Teachers group and allocate students separately and can freely move from one room to another, interacting with trainees. Students communicate with each other (through voice and chat) and work collaboratively on their whiteboards. The resulting presentation can be saved and shared with the whole class group afterwards.

viewing the sessions (92,4%) so that students could revise and teachers were able "'to check on learners' linguistic performance".

Teachers believed that they had not used the chat and the instant messenger for synchronous communication with students or for tutorials as much as they could have (46,3%). Regarding on-campus classes, they thought that they were a very necessary complement to on-line teaching (96,6%).

Teachers' surveys also showed that most of the instructors (64%) were aged 31-40 or below, 18% were aged 26-30, and 6% aged 20-25. Most of teachers (87%) had only experience and knowledge about the use of the virtual campus; only 12% were familiar with other ICT devices apart from ordinary virtual campus tools; and other 12% did not have any knowledge or experience at all with ICT. Regarding this point, it can be argued that most of the teachers were familiar with the use of the virtual campus but at a very basic level. Even though most teachers were aged 26-40, very few have knowledge about other ICT tools, like videoconferences, blogs, wikis, and so on, which, on the contrary, were very familiar to students.

Regarding teachers' working circumstances, the vast majority of teachers (88%) were working in other institutions or in other programmes within the same university, which would explain why they thought that blended learning allowed them to conciliate their work at the university with other activities.

4.4. RESULTS OF TEACHERS' INTERVIEWS

Teachers, in general, accessed easily online classes, but reported the same technical problems, which they believed "affected greatly interaction, the development of the session and the cohesion of the group".

Although the development of classes differed much from some subjects to others, in general, they used the structure of a presentation of key concepts on PowerPoint, interspersed with some internet routes, more or less sharing of desktops, video or sound files, some practical activities, and some collaborative work. However, very few teachers declared having made use of breakout rooms for small group work.

For some teachers, on-line classes were very interactive and allowed collaborative work ("breakout rooms have been essential for small groups discussion"); for others, online groups had to be reduced in order to ensure all the students' participation ("some students find it easy to hide and refuse to participate, stating that their microphone does not work"); for a few, some changes should be introduced to make interaction richer and foster group cohesion, in a similar way to on-campus classes ("the kind of interaction and group belonging fostered in face-to-face classes is impossible to get through

videoconferences"). To this regard, they suggested having the first in-campus class before any online session took place; meeting the students before the beginning on online teaching; having personal information from students before staring the classes; and making use of Web 2.0 tools "to increase interaction and group feeling between students and teachers and students among themselves".

For a few teachers, in on-line interaction, "some face-to-face features (body language or sound clarity) were lost" and many of the elements to improve students' communicative competence in the foreign language (pronunciation, grammatical correctness, syntax construction) were "reduced in honour of economy of language because of the medium". They believed that these were too important aspects in language proficiency which could not be disregarded "at any language level, but especially when the aim is to reach the C1-level".

Teachers, like students, considered on-campus sessions a necessary supplement to on-line classes and many admitted that they preferred them over on-line ones. Many of them argued that the personal bounds and the methodological procedures carried out during these classes "didn't take place in on-line sessions". However, unlike learners, teachers thought that both types of classes were prepared so that students could "participate as much as possible and practice their English skills all the time".

Virtual campus tools worked well for teachers too. However, some tools were found to have been neglected: the agenda was not used because teachers announced important dates or pieces of information through the bulletin board; the links section, was hardly filled in, as teachers claimed that they had no time to upload and update their links, and only a few of them wrote comments and filed them in different folders; the self-assessment tool was mainly used to create self-assessment tests, as only two teachers created classroom or reinforcement exercises using this tool. Besides, the types of exercises used were mainly of the multiple choice, cloze and open-ended questions-type, and only one teacher wrote comments to students on right and wrong answers. When asked, they admitted that students could have benefited from self-assessed reinforcement activities and comments, as well as from more exposure to linguistic input. However, they complained that the system was too rigid to allow them prepare questions in other formats at home and then import them to the virtual campus, so most of the times exercises had to be typed twice.

About the use of the forum, teachers declared that they did not use it neither for collaborative work nor for class discussion. Besides, when asked about the students' complaint about the delay in the answer to questions posted on the fora, they admitted that, due to time restrictions, it was more practical for them

to answer via e-mail, although they though that "it would have been a wonderful chance for real communication in English".

As stated before, the chat and the instant messenger were introduced at the university late at the beginning of the second term, so neither teachers nor students had the chance to receive formal training in this tool. Some teachers used it for quick communication with university mates but only one declared having used it for tutorials with students. All of them lamented the underuse of "a tool which could have fostered communication in the target language".

4.5. RESULTS OF STUDENTS' FINAL GRADES

In the first term, most of the students passed their subjects in the ordinary examination period (72%), which proved the level of English of students when entering the course. From the ones with pending subjects in the retake examination period held in July, the vast majority of them seemed to have reached the required level of English. Only 32% of them still failed some courses. However, the amount of fail courses was less than in the first semester. This fact might prove that the students who had entered the course with a lower level of English had managed to improve their linguistic English.

During the second semester, results suggested that, as learners developed further their English communicative skills, considerably less students (only 15%) failed courses on the ordinary examination period. Like in the first semester, almost the same amount of students with pending subjects during the retake examination period (33%) succeeded. This might reinforce the hypothesis that students who had entered the course with a lower level of English had improved their proficiency in English.

Regarding the pass grades range, results showed that, at the beginning of the course, the majority of pass grades were between 6.6 and 8[10], being followed by those between 8.1 and 10. However, during the retake examination period, most of the pass grades were ranged 5 and 6.6. These results could reinforce the ideas that 1) most of the students entering the course had already a high level of English, and 2) students improved their English linguistic skills, as the retake exams held in July showed the improvement in the grade range in comparison to the grades of students obtained in February.

Nevertheless, during the second term, possibly as the students communicative competence in English improved, in the ordinary examination period, the two highest ranges (6.6-8 and 8.1-10) were equalled. This fact might

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[10] Over a maximum grade of 10.

have been explained by the improvement of English competence of those students in the B2 level or below. As in the first term, the passing grades during the retake examination period were ranged from 5 to 6.5, which reinforces the hypothesis that the students with lower level of English had also improved their level.

5. CONCLUSIONS, RESTRICTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The aim of this study was to analyze the perceptions of both teachers and students on the effectiveness of the blended-learning methodology in foreign language learning used within the Master's Degree in Bilingual Education at Nebrija University. Although this research fulfilled its objectives, certain restrictions needed to be drawn. To begin with, the number of students enrolled in the course was not very high, and not all of them filled in the survey. Besides, the students attending the Master's degree were very young. For all those reasons, the results of this study could not account for the whole of students' community but only for a part of it. Further research on a larger number of students and on different age groups seemed necessary in order to provide a wider perspective on the issue.

From a pedagogical perspective, the following points show the conclusions about the perceived effectiveness of students and teachers about blended-learning methodologies being used for EFL learning.

Firstly, blended learning *can* offer students plenty of opportunities for effective and independent foreign language learning. The use of English as the vehicular language made students communicate extensive and intensively in the target language. Likewise, classes through videoconferences represent an improvement over traditional online distance learning as regards foreign language learning through the integration of synchronous modes of communication for intensive oral linguistic practice to the asynchronous virtual campus ones, typical of distance on-line learning.

The combination of on-line, on-campus classes and the use of virtual campus tools contributed to the increasing amount of exposure to the target language as well as a real and meaningful reason to communicate throught it. Also, the option of re-watching recorded sessions became a good linguistic training resource. Furthermore, the workshops during the two immersion periods represented as well a good chance for learners to practise their linguistic skills and be aware of their improvements in English proficiency which encouraged them to learn more. Nevertheless, the fact that some virtual campus and on-line classes tools were neglected or misused reduced the opportunities for a greater

exposure to English. In this respect, the introduction of familiar social networks or Web 2.0. tools might multiply the chances of real interaction in English too.

Blended-learning offers students the opportunity of becoming more autonomous FL learners. The great majority were active participants in the activities, and took full responsibility for their own learning. However, the progressive independence of students can not be considered not a process which comes on its own. Much training with students is necessary, through group work, independent research or further consultation of additional learning material, for instance.

Secondly, students *can* improve their linguistic competence in English through blended learning but some CALL core or supplementary material might be necessary in blended learning for foreign language learning. A major concern among teachers was the belief that some face-to-face features were not present or were reduced due to the immediacy of the on-line medium, and that the detailed linguistic analysis required from students at a B2-C1 level could not be easily addressed through this medium. This is not a minor issue considering the level that the students were required to reach. For that purpose, linguistic training needs to be intensive and extensive. The greater the exposure the quicker the learning, but some linguistic learning tools might have needed to be included in the programme in order to ensure the practice of isolated linguistic items at a certain linguistic level. In this sense, transforming contents into multimedia or providing hyperlinks to CALL-type of exercises could have possibly helped students improve their communicative competence in English and reinforcing the learning of English skills and subkills.

Furthermore, the right blend of synchronous and asynchronous learning and communication modes *can* optimize foreign language learning, as well as build and support e-learning communities. Asynchronous communication and learning tools need to be combined with synchronous learning experiences in order to promote personal and cognitive participation and communication. As interaction through computers is characterized by immediacy, some linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects might be lost. To this respect, foreign language studies through blended learning should try to avoid losing its main purpose, that is, to improve students' linguistic performance through communication in the target language. For that purpose, it is advisable 1) to combine and balance online-classes, on-campus classes and the use of virtual campus tools; 2) to hold on-line classes in small groups as much as possible to ensure the active participation of all students; or 3) to introduce some changes to create, raise and hold interaction and group cohesion between students and teachers, like for instance, to hold a meeting with students before the actual beginning on online teaching, or to use

Web 2.0 communication tools (blogs, wikis, etc.) or the well-known social networks (Facebook and twitter). Foreign language learning needs, as any other type of learning and even more, that students can interact in a stress-free environment in order to raise their motivation and confidence.

Finally, blended-learning tools *can* transform foreign language learning. In the introductory year of the programme, some technical problems during on-line classes hindered the high interactivity which these tools could offer. To this respect, higher education institutions need to be aware that both a higher expertise of participants and a reliable technical support are necessary in order to help these programmes succeed.

Besides, as it has been discussed above, some blended learning tools were misused or neglected. Although the blend used at the degree relied on the typical elements used in blended learning, each teacher could freely choose to use some more than others. Certain tools which could be considered ideal to foster cooperation, group work and communication in the foreign language were often neglected or misused. Therefore, the programme probably did not take advantage of all the transformative potential that blended learning can offer beyond the sheer additional flexibility or supplementary materials online. In this sense, staff and students' training in blended-learning tools is essential. On-line classes differed from some subjects to others but, in general, they were more teacher-led as many teachers felt insecure and lacked skills in this methodology.

6. FINAL REMARKS

To conclude, it can be said, that, the blended learning methodology used at the programme showed to be effective although some improvements could still be introduced in order to reach its full potential. On the one hand, the success or failure of blends used for foreign language learning lies on the faculty and institution's adoption of effective and flexible blended-learning practices which can adapt to the different learning and teaching situations. On the other, implementing blended learning, for content or foreign language learning, or for both, implies that participants (teachers and students) rethink and redesign the teaching and learning roles of methodological resources, tutors and learners into a cognitive, holistic, active and connected learning experience. Likewise, in order to create a blended-learning environment, it is necessary institutional support to train teachers in this new methodology, time to introduce changes, technical assistance and guidance when problems arise, and staff's commitment with the new method. None of them can exist without the other.

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"THOSE CRAZY KNIGHT-ERRANTS": IDEALS AND DELUSIONS IN ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE'S PORTRAIT OF A FOURTEENTH CENTURY KNIGHT

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ABSTRACT. *In* The White Company *(1891) and* Sir Nigel *(1906), Arthur Conan Doyle reconstructed the fourteenth century and explored the culture and visions of chivalry. He created many different knights with the intention of dissecting the mind and conduct of this historical type. He was concerned with his human as well as his romantic aspect, and he addressed the conflicts the divergent obligations of external duty and personal aspirations caused. Doyle's reflections focused on the dreadful and illusory game played by knights like Sir Nigel Loring, the most curious and significant representative of idealistic and delusional chivalry in his medieval fiction. His youth and adult age show the tensions between the two worlds whose paths he must tread. His life is a long struggle for virtue and honour, oscillating between the responsibilities of a nobleman in the days of Edward III and the Hundred Years War and the pursuit of chivalry.*

Keywords: Conan Doyle, chivalry, ideals, visions, delusions, duty.

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"ESOS LOCOS CABALLEROS ANDANTES": IDEALES E ILUSIONES EN EL RETRATO DE UN CABALLERO DEL SIGLO XIV REALIZADO POR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE

RESUMEN. *En* The White Company *(1891) and* Sir Nigel *(1906) Arthur Conan Doyle recreó el siglo XIV e investigó la cultura y las visiones de la caballería. Inventó caballeros diferentes para examinar la mente y la conducta del tipo histórico. Se ocupó de su faceta romántica y de la humana, y estudió los conflictos causados por las obligaciones divergentes del deber impuesto desde fuera y los deseos personales. La reflexión se centra en el juego terrible e ilusorio de caballeros como Nigel Loring, el exponente más peculiar y notable de la caballería idealista y delirante plasmada en esta ficción medieval. En la juventud y edad adulta del personaje vemos tensiones entre los dos mundos que habita. Su vida es una lucha por la virtud y el honor mientras oscila entre sus responsabilidades como noble de Eduardo III en la Guerra de los Cien Años y su afán por cumplir con la caballería.*

Palabras clave: Conan Doyle, caballería, ideales, ilusiones, delirios, obligaciones.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the 1890s, Arthur Conan Doyle pursued his literary career under the conviction that a recognizable mastery in the genre of historical fiction was not beyond his professional capacity. He was confident that, by assuming the duties of an honest historian, he would be able to cope with the task of separating myth from reality when digging into the archives and primary sources. He was aware that he must check the flights of his imagination and his powers of invention so as to meet the principles of historical accuracy when given priority in the portrayal of an epoch and his types. He felt that both his intellect and talent could tackle the challenge of blending the realms of history and the novel in such a way that not only middle-class readers but also critics would be favourable in their response.

One of the historical types that were painstakingly reconstructed by Doyle in his medieval novels –*The White Company* (1891) and *Sir Nigel* (1906)– was the knight. Although chivalry was represented by many different characters in the novels, an English knight called Nigel Loring was the author's main concern, as his personality, morals and behaviour were central to the meditated depiction

of the fourteenth century that he wanted to share. In several critical episodes, the mind and the actions of this protagonist became the focus of attention, because through them Doyle's views on key matters, such as family, education, social order, and warfare, were set forth. Such an important role deserves a sane, dependable hero, but Nigel Loring cannot be regarded as a good example of that. When the knight's psyche is subjected to close scrutiny, signs of mental disorder are detected. Conventional and romantic, yet quite peculiar and eccentric at the same time, Nigel Loring's characterization was probably intended to raise questions and provoke discussion about chivalrous masculinity both in Medieval and late Victorian times.

Nigel Loring is a mid-fourteenth century English squire (later a knight) created by Doyle in *The White Company* and *Sir Nigel*. As they comprise the central decades of his life, these novels can be viewed as a portrait of Loring's psychological development, or, more specifically, as a study of the mental peculiarities of a man driven by chivalry and romance to seek deeds of arms and glory. Although no diagnosis of his mental condition is sought, the dissection of the knight's thinking and conduct can certainly lead to insights into Doyle's construction of chivalry as a historical and contemporary ethos. This two-stage analysis of Loring's mind and behaviour first focuses on his youth, when he was a squire in his early to mid twenties eager to win his spurs, and then on his mature age, when he was a reputed knight, about twenty years later.

In the hands of Doyle, the knight is often treated with derision, as a rather ridiculous figure who enthuses over vain knightly heroics amid the gruesome realities of the Hundred Years War. Yet the novelist respects the classic tenets of chivalry and believes in the example of true knights. In the novels, readers can perceive this tension between mirth and esteem with regard to the hero, who is a man animated by chivalric ideals, loyal to the culture of his rank, and conditioned by the truths and myths of the landed gentry of basinet and blazon. The extraordinary complexities and glaring contradictions of Doyle's Nigel Loring will be the focus of interest in the following pages.

2. YOUNG NIGEL LORING

This analysis of Nigel Loring's psyche begins with an examination of his dreams and ideals as a dashing young squire who aspired to gain his lady's love and his knighthood by performing at least three deeds of arms in the wars between the Kings of England and France around the year 1350. In the first chapters of *Sir Nigel*, Doyle makes clear that for his hero traditional chivalry has become an internalised responsibility, and it is strong enough to determine his

orientation and all of his aims. The hero's moral and practical intentionality soon becomes quite plain to the reader; it is easy to perceive in the resolve and conduct which characterise him in the opening episodes of the novel. Straightforwardness could have been a good feature in Loring, but it acquires quite a weird tint as explicitness regarding what he intends to achieve and how he grows. Yet, undeterred by emerging doubts about the sensibleness and viability of classic chivalry in the mid fourteenth century, Doyle infuses coherence and assertiveness into the discourse that his hero constructs to expound his reasons and justify his ends. Although a nobleman's successful military career in the context of the Hundred Years War still implied rewards and honours coloured by the now fading and ethereal spirit of chivalry, Loring needs much more, and so he obstinately sticks to his own conception and remains faithful to all the motives and customs deriving from it. The fact that chivalry is for Loring a necessary, vital, and inherently satisfactory pursuit (which naturally leads to epic quests, tests of moral endurance, and noble, manly endeavours) does not annoy seasoned warriors like Sir John Chandos, one of the characters used by Doyle to counteract his hero's silly, idealistic, knightly drives and his delusions of romantic heroism: "You have a fashion of speech which carries me back to the old men whom I met in my boyhood [...] There were some of the real old knight-errants left in those days, and they spoke as you do. Young as you are, you belong to another age" (Doyle 1906: 61-62).

Nigel Loring's rigid adherence to the tenets of chivalry and his obsession with honour and knightly prowess cause confusion and concern as the extent of their influence upon his conduct is revealed in episodes humorously arranged by Doyle.[1] The household literature and education to which, for many years, Nigel has been exposed have given rise to fabulous visions of heroism and a strong desire for feats of arms. Doyle's personal sympathy for him does not stop criticism, and characters in the novel as well as any rational and sensible reader consider him too foolish or naive enough to think that he will encounter in reality the world of chivalry contained in ballads and legends. This twenty-year-old aspirant to the spurs of knighthood has allowed the power of illusion and fantasy, originating in epics and romance, to grow so much in his mind, that it now pervades his personal ethic and worldview. Doyle relates his hero's stubborn will and obstinate determination to shine in chivalry to a certain inability to use reason, and it all leads to numerous instances of blatant stupidity,

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[1]   This is clearly shown, for example, in chapter IX of *Sir Nigel*, where Doyle relates "How Nigel Held the Bridge at Tilford." The author often uses his ability for comic invention to check the disastrous potential of chivalric illusions.

the first one being the passage of arms next to Tilford Bridge. This comical encounter of Loring (for the first time in armour and on horseback) with the stark reality of arms and fighting existing beyond his domestic culture is not used by the writer to shatter his hero's hopes and illusions. Harder tests of confidence and courage await him across the English Channel, in the realm of war, where principles and ideals inevitably collide with the pressures of ambition, arrogance, and wrath.

Loring goes to the wars in France in search of honour, following his own free will rather than his duty to the King and England. In spite of his youth, he considers himself to be a capable, well-trained squire, with the skills and confidence necessary to survive. Dauntless and unafraid of the very hostile and perilous environment of armed conflict, he is truly anxious to taste combat; he craves for chances to prove himself as a warrior instead of shrinking back with fear, as many others would do in the face of extreme violence. This eagerness to reach the battlefield and risk his life for glory can be interpreted as a sign of insanity. Unlike Doyle, the reader may recoil at such a display of intrepidity by a man so eager to encounter the hazards of war and to expose his body to the slashes and blows of the battlefield, a man so willing to crush instinctual self-preservation while driven by ethereal ideals he allows to grow more powerful than common sense. For people nurtured in later stages of European civilization, individuals who rush headlong into warfare and feel inspired by the ethos of epic champions and Arthurian knights cannot be mentally sane. We can see Loring's strange mind in his response to the war-torn lands of France.

> But there was no sadness in the young heart of Nigel ..., nor did it seem to him that Fate had led him into an unduly arduous path. On the contrary, he blessed the good fortune which had sent him into so delightful a country, and it seemed to him as he listened to dreadful stories of robber barons, and looked around at the black scars of war which lay branded upon the fair faces of hills, that no hero or romancer or trouveur had ever journeyed through such a land of promise, with so fair a chance of knightly venture and honourable advancement. (Doyle 1906: 231).

This reaction can be deemed unnatural and aberrant and be taken as evidence of some sort of mental disorder. Its cause could be traced back to Loring's grandfather and father, who were also fanatics of chivalry and met the same fate fighting gallantly for England and the King. This insanity may be in the blood -in the noble but tragic blood of the Lorings- and it runs through Nigel's veins making him proud of his lineage and desperately keen to honour the legacy of faith and dedication to chivalry that he has inherited. The possible

parental origins of mental disorder have been explored by Doyle's biographers and it is a hypothesis worth considering.[2]

The reader will probably be perplexed by the fact that at the end of *Sir Nigel*, young Loring is not chained in a mad house but rewarded by his lord, the English Prince, with knighthood for his courage at the battle of Poitiers. Some historical figures, such as Sir John Chandos, Sir Robert Knolles, and the Black Prince himself, have been used by Doyle to embody the external control that has saved Loring from his foolhardy audacity, an inclination resulting from his blood and his chivalric convictions. Had they not urged him to comply with the rules of the army under royal command, he would have been engulfed by knightly extremism. His idealistic or romantic desires, uncontrolled by rational duty, would have propelled him into madness after crossing the border into the lands of war. However, Loring's first campaign shows that external regulations are not always imposed, but often willingly accepted, if they match personal orientation. He assimilates his discipline and function as a noble soldier hired by the English Prince in spite of the restraints that the military contract imposes upon men who, like him, are bent on the pursuit of chivalry as a personal duty and absolute priority. Having said all that, we are left to wonder to what extreme his madness would have got in his years of youthful passion, had he not adopted this behavioural regulation.

3. ADULT NIGEL LORING

In *The White Company*, Sir Nigel Loring has reached middle age and is presented as a frank, good-tempered, good-mannered husband and father who enjoys quite a harmonious and stable atmosphere at home. However, as a fanatic of chivalry he feels that he must leave his family once more in search of conflict and combat. When the princes of England and France start war again, he cannot resist the urge of leaving the domestic haven. He is so keen on arms and fighting, that the delights and comforts of family life cannot hold him. He is propelled into action by external duty, and he assumes every legal and ethical obligation. Yet, the tasks that he has to carry out as a contracted captain serving the Crown may not be compatible with the kind of actions that he still wants to perform as an unrelenting devotee of chivalry.

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[2] Dr. Andrew Norman's investigation of Doyle's psyche -*Arthur Conan Doyle: Beyond Sherlock Holmes*- is particularly recommendable. He uses the author's factual and fictional writings to explore his mental development, and he gives priority to the influence of Charles Altamont Doyle, his father.

Age and experience could have increased Loring's capability for critical introspection and self-analysis, but, instead, time seems to have confirmed him in his almost neurotic obsession to advance his individual honour serving the purposes of chivalry. He has not lost faith in its tenets, and he still keeps the strong motivation deriving from them in spite of the acute dilemmas that he must confront. Since the appeal of chivalrous challenge and adventure has not diminished in him, Loring revels in the sounds and sights of an impending war across the Pyrenees. This man, aged "six-and-forty", finds armed confrontation as exhilarating as in his youth and cannot resist a new call to arms (Doyle 1891: 132-133). Doyle lets his hero be driven by this ruling passion for war and chivalry. He craves for their trials and perils undisturbed by any moral doubts related to the origins and effects of military action. Had his sanity and sense been stronger, he would have reacted to the egotism and ambition of rival princes and to the calamities that war spreads over the poorest people. But Loring's rational powers are easily overridden by an inner compulsion to fight and excel in chivalry.

Feeling rather proud of Loring, Doyle underlines his sense of knightly honour and assures us that his dedication to patriotic duty is as strong as ever. His acceptance of the code of chivalry has not faltered, and his loyalty to England remains firm after his long struggle with reality. He is aware of the external obligations that he has to fulfil as a reputed knight. His freedom to pursue chivalry as he sees it must be curtailed by social demands and military duties which often require a postponement of his self-determined behaviours and goals. He must assume responsibility for the functions of his birth and rank even though they distract him from his devotion to the causes of chivalry. As a result of the novelist's amity towards his hero, adult Loring is an agreeable man, with noble qualities and gentle behaviour, who is respected and loved by family, peers, comrades, and subordinate people, both civil and military. But the evils of immoderate chivalry are a part of his life and personality, and Doyle decides not to change that. He can tackle the contradictions: a conscientious person, with a high sense of responsibility regarding his household, *but* who feels no obligation to remain peacefully at home when his pledge and commitment to the Crown must be honoured seizing a new opportunity to act as a brave knight; a man who knows his duties as a husband and a father, *but* who will not let them stop him from displaying his unswerving loyalty to the English monarchy and the ideals of chivalry.

Loring is portrayed as a reliable man who is trusted by his family and his subordinates, and who, without tarnishing his honour or arousing doubts about his inner stability, can temporarily abandon his feudal and domestic obligations when the troops of England march into battle again. He respects external duty, but, as a self-disciplined man, he follows his own laws, the old code of chivalry which

he learned in romances and ballads and in fireside conversation with his firm and severe grandmother, a maternal figure inspired by Mary Doyle, the author's mother (Stashower 2000: 108-109; Lycett 2008: 24-25; Miller 2008: 130). Although a high degree of independence and self-motivation as a free man can be seen in Loring, Doyle makes clear that some female figures are crucial to his attitude and goals. Besides his grandmother, his fiancée (later his wife), Lady Mary, exerts a strong moral and spiritual influence he can accommodate into his chivalric ethos (Doyle 1906: 143-145). However, he is inflexible in the sense that he will not yield to any woman's pleas to leave the profession of arms. He does not tolerate anybody trying to convince him that he has done his duty well long enough. So, Doyle first fashions his hero into a model of perseverance (adding some mad streaks), and then lets him confront difficulties arising from the fact that his perception of the world is distorted by the absurdities of his internal world, a world of illusory chivalry.

As an adult man, Loring could have been expected to thoroughly reflect upon his ideas, his feelings, and his experiences. Age and reflection could have revealed new pursuits different from the intrepid and perilous endeavours of his youth. But the truth is that he has not changed much and still prefers to rejoice in his fate tied to moral imperatives that push him toward actions which are heroic and honourable for the idealistic knight, but may be construed as signs of mental ailment by the rational judge.

4. SENSE AND ODDITIES IN LORING'S THINKING AND CONDUCT

After this succinct glimpse into the life of Nigel Loring, the crucial question must be faced: did Doyle create an individual with an abnormal mind and behaviour? Is his hero crazy or mad, or simply foolish and silly -to be treated as an object of ridicule? Can we call him a lunatic, or is he mentally retarded? Should he be rejected as deranged, dangerously insane or psychotic? The answer is not easy, probably because Doyle had the intention of thwarting any quick conclusions about his protagonist. A more meticulous examination is required to gain further insight into the peculiarities of Loring's mind and behaviour. His complex relationship with the past and present culture of chivalry must be subjected to thorough scrutiny.

There is abuse and dependency in Loring's relationship with chivalry. On the one hand, he abuses the tenets of chivalry in order to fulfil his particular desires concerning honour and love; and on the other hand, he is quite dependent upon chivalry, for without this *creed* he would lead a hollow, meaningless life. Thanks to chivalry, his life is full of truth and purpose, but it abounds in illusions

too. Loring's mind obstinately pursues dreams of noble manhood and heroism which are beyond the scope of normal judgement and conduct. After many years of intense experience with the realities of the mid fourteenth century, he still has the illusion that chivalry can exist and thrive outside literature. Doyle is not obstructive; he has no intention of inhibiting his hero from acting under the influence of legend and romance, despite the fact that a mind so filled with old chimeras must perceive the world wrongly.

Instead of yielding to more orderly perceptions of the world, adult Loring perseveres in his personal struggle for self-fulfilment as a knight, which involves indulging delusional tendencies. He fights for ideas and beliefs that most people of the same age and rank dismiss as illogical and unreasonable. Reading the first chapters of *Sir Nigel* enables us to say that as a result of cognitive schemes built up during his education at home, Loring's worldview is dominated by chivalry; and throughout his career he remains under the delusion that he is a true knight, shaped by the tenets of chivalry and destined for honour and glory in his noble vocation. In spite of opposition from individuals whom Doyle endows with finer intellectual powers and more rational judgement, the idealist maintains his stance. His delusional traits are scoffed at, but he holds firm to his faith in chivalry. Laughs and criticisms fail to make him revise his interpretation and practice of chivalry, and he persists in the delusion that he is right and England and the world need knights like him. In adulthood, Loring remains a romantic and continues to inhale almost the same delusional air that swayed his judgement when he was a squire, during the early years of his career as a soldier, when, with the natural enthusiasm of youth, he strove after knighthood in the midst of the grim wars between England and France.

Doyle shows delusional excesses in other characters, most significantly in Edward, Prince of Wales, who, both in his young and adult age, conceives himself as the ultimate crusader and the conqueror of the entire world (Doyle 1891: 292-294; Doyle 1906: 85-86). Loring follows this leader without hesitation, for he does not perceive any mental abnormality in a man who, for the sensible reader, is obviously affected by delusions of grandeur, invincibility and heroics. Both the belligerent prince and the keen knight absorb a delusional power that keeps them from forming a proper understanding of the world. They are saved from failure and shame by a model of sense, caution and intelligence that is cleverly used by Doyle to counteract knightly and epic fancy: Sir John Chandos.[3]

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[3]   This historical knight is seen by the author as the embodiment of a form of chivalry which has left behind the silly aspirations that Loring retains. Doyle needs Chandos to ensure that his hero does not go over the limit of rationality to the extent that he can bring disgrace or dishonour upon himself.

Loring's illusory and delusional streaks are often treated humorously by the writer. Both in youth and adulthood the knight plunges into episodes of curious boldness and temerity where he risks his life in the name of chivalry. The trances of audacious nerve become comic scenes in the hands of Doyle. But there is also moral concern, as, in order to alleviate the evils of war at least in his hero, he provides enough honour and gentleness for Loring to resist the frenzies of hatred and rage, which push men of a lesser moral restraint into violence and depravity. In the midst of war, chivalry infuses serenity into Doyle's hero, while others are seized with terror or cruelty.

Although young knights tend to reckless behaviour in their eagerness to perform deeds of arms, more mature pursuers of chivalry may improve their self-possession. But, if the obsession with a place in the annals of chivalry persists, even an adult, like Loring in *The White Company*, will undergo variations in his moods, his emotional states being affected by the unstable perception of his own status in the world of honour and arms to which he belongs. The individual's noble bearing and gentle manners may turn into fury and roughness when his expectations of fame and recognition are not fulfilled.

By characterising Nigel Loring as an agreeable, honest, and resolute man capable of heroic conduct following noble causes, Doyle tried to mitigate his likely psychosis. To a certain extent, Loring has lost touch with reality. He does not reject the external world entirely, but he is ready to oppose it in order to remain faithful to his own reality, shaped by an inflexible interpretation of chivalry and romance. To argue that Loring is not really out of touch with reality as a result of his mental condition, he must be seen as an individual living in two different realities: the world of the fourteenth century and the world of venerable epics and chivalric romance. It is difficult to say whether Loring is really *one* individual (a single personality or identity) living in two worlds, or a man struggling with a multiple self. Doyle shows how the acute pressure of fulfilling orders or exercising command during a military campaign causes the seasoned-captain-side to control Loring, while as soon as the situation changes and he regains full possession of his freedom, the chivalrous-knight-side emerges from the depths of his psyche to dominate body and soul. If the hero cannot be regarded as a single unified person, dramatic oscillations and switches in attitude and behaviour can be expected.

After the preceding paragraph, some people may say that the threshold of schizophrenia is not far. We have noted delusional traits in Loring inasmuch as he is devoted to an internal world, created under the influence of chivalric literature, which often collides with the rational norms of the external world. Unlike the hallucination-ridden Don Quixote, who would submerge himself

completely in his delusions, Loring can put a limit on their influence, so as to retain his role and position in the historical world. Chivalric ideals and heroic visions must have a confined space in his mind if he is to avoid the shame and dishonour of being considered unsuitable for service in the King's army, in real war.

The sensitive reader may be disturbed by the fact that the terrible realities of the medieval world do not seem to affect Loring. His strong assumptions about chivalry and his honour as a nobleman keep him from experiencing anxiety in adverse and menacing circumstances, or when he comes in contact with men whose behaviour is extremely violent. Long exposure to the hell of human degeneration in war could have made him lose sanity. Such horrors could have altered his mind and weakened his moral restraint, rendering him incapable of controlling his actions. In the proximity of the hero, other knights, without chivalry or humanity, commit crimes that their impaired conscience no longer abhors. Loring's probity remains intact after an experience which could have filled him with extreme fear with disastrous effects on his mind. He does not seem to perceive any threats to his moral stability, while around him many lose it and cease to shun evil.

Loring must represent an incomplete view of man, because he is used by Doyle to address moral issues, and particularly to prove that there are disgraceful human tendencies which can be effectively stopped when the individual possesses a firm code of conduct. As Michael Dirda says, Doyle wants the best knights from the past reconstructed in his medieval novels to inspire men like himself, decent children of the Victorian era, "to become paragons of chivalric virtue: brave, courteous, heroic, trustworthy, stoic, self-controlled, sportsmanlike" (2012: 75-76). Loring rejects aspects of human nature that contradict the principles of chivalry, and he desperately clings to this ethic and the worldview founded on it to keep sin and fault away. Reality would be bleak and unbearable for him if he had to abandon his faith in chivalry. His life is full of hope, energy, and action thanks to chivalry. However, there is a point where it ceases to be a positive force –a fair motivation, a source of noble aspirations– and becomes a real problem: when the obsession for challenge and risk prevails and jeopardises individual reputation and status.

5. HIGH AND LOW OPINIONS OF LORING

Doyle' attitude towards his hero can be explored by looking at what other characters think or say about Loring. His discourse and conduct are construed by some as symptomatic of mental illness. The opinions of Loring found in

various contexts and circumstances must be examined, for it will certainly improve our understanding of the knight and of the author's own ambivalent feelings about him. We know that Nigel's first home is dominated by his inflexible grandmother, who is responsible for the young man's education and takes pride in the success of her formative work. And later, in the adult years, Doyle makes another woman crucial for the understanding of Loring. Lady Mary, his sensible wife, disagrees with him in some respects, but does not question his mental health. Although she finds some of his ideas quite excessive, Doyle does not allow her to defy patriarchal authority. And regarding Loring's daughter, Doyle lets her praise her father as an honourable knight, brave and dedicated to duty (Doyle 1891: 152).[4]

Family support is not enough for Loring. He wants his reputation to grow among his peers. Despite his unwavering dedication to an obsolescent and rather impractical code of chivalry that often causes him to be out of touch with reality, Loring is esteemed by more worldly knights and soldiers, who tread the paths of history rather than those of romance. It should not be forgotten that the epitome of knightly and military balance, Sir John Chandos, warned young Nigel Loring that the myths of chivalry must not interfere with his duty as a soldier in the King's army. Yet, in Loring's adulthood we still find passages that illustrate how the chivalric customs that he follows may contradict common sense and reason.

> Sir Nigel bent his knee devoutly as he put foot on land, and taking a small black patch from his bosom he bound it tightly over his left eye.
> "May the blessed George and the memory of my sweet lady-love raise high my heart! And as a token I vow that I will not take this patch from my eye until I have seen something of this country of Spain, and done such a small deed as it lies in me to do. And this I swear upon the cross of my sword and upon the glove of my lady."
> "In truth, you take me back twenty years, Nigel," quoth Sir Oliver […] "After Cadsand, I deem that the French thought that we were an army of the blind, for there was scarce a man who had not closed an eye for the greater love and honour of his lady. Yet it goes hard with you that you should darken one side, when with both open you can scarce tell a horse from a mule. In truth, friend, I think that you step over the line of reason in this matter."
> "Sir Oliver Buttesthorn," said the little knight shortly, "I would have you to understand that, blind as I am, I can yet see the path of honour very clearly, and that that is the road upon which I do not crave another man's guidance." (Doyle 1891: 232-233).

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[4] Lady Maude, who is closer to her father's gallant, passionate disposition than to her mother's prudence, stresses her father's dauntlessness as a knight true to his principles and to the King. This favourable judgement has been brought about by her love of fanciful stories and her vivid imagination.

On arrival in France for a new campaign, Loring's decision of covering one of his feeble eyes prompts his fellow knight's remark that he steps over the line of reason. However, Oliver Buttesthorn is far from an example of prudence and judgement: we are told that his main reason to join the Prince's expedition is to indulge his gastronomic appetite. It is plain to see that Doyle opts for a comic madness in his treatment of some knights, like the two in this scene, which may create distance but certainly not repulsion, for there is no malevolence or ill, perverse design, but, in the case of Nigel Loring, an honest resolve to live as a true knight ought to. This is the kind of life which the seasoned knight wants his young squires to follow, and it is central to his role as an instructor for aspirants to knighthood.

> And first I would have you bear very steadfastly in mind that our setting forth is by no means for the purpose of gaining spoil or exacting ransom, though it may well happen that such may come to us also. We go to France, and from thence I trust to Spain, in humble search of a field in which we may win advancement and perchance some small share of glory. For this purpose I would have you know that it is not my wont to let any occasion pass where it is in any way possible that honour may be gained. (Doyle 1891: 180-181).

Although he is a religious man, Loring's relationship with the Church is far from perfect, particularly in his youth, when he accused the local clergy of appropriating his family's estate and offending and insulting his lineage. The Church respects knights on condition that they respect ecclesiastical law. Doyle clearly supports Loring in his conflict with the clergy, and the idea that a man who opposes an abbot's authority must be crazy or controlled by demons or evil spirits fails to convince readers. Doyle soon leaves clerical influence behind and focuses on other issues. He draws our attention to the lowborn people's judgement of chivalry and his keen defenders, and we find some expressions of disrespect towards the knight, his manners and actions, which come from the assumption that reason cannot be on their side. "Those crazy knight errants", says the man-at-arms Black Simon (Doyle 1906: 225), when he is told that Loring intends to rescue some women imprisoned on a bleak island. This uncouth man cannot understand the foolish dreams of chivalry, and he thinks that soldiers must strive for the success of the campaign unaffected by romantic visions. Doyle tolerates such coarse criticism aimed at his hero by men whose moral or mental superiority can be easily questioned. As Doyle is neither an elitist nor an uncompromising supporter of commoners, neither the aristocrat's nor the yeoman's critical comments are entirely dependable to establish the extent of Loring's chivalry-induced madness.

6. CHIVALRY AND WARFARE

The violence and crime of medieval warfare are graphically depicted in the novels. In some episodes, the implication that atrocities are committed by people suffering from mental disorders exists (Doyle 1891: 144-145).[5] Violence and crime are part of Loring's life, not because his mind is in disorder but because, due to his noble blood and knightly nurture, his occupation must be the practice of arms serving the King. Linking violence and crime to the pursuit of chivalry as he views it would be quite unfair. As a knight, he avoids indiscriminate aggression, for he abides by rules meant to restrict and modulate violence in society and at war. As a supporter of chivalry, he needs a solid moral sense to counteract the effects of the real madness reigning over the domains of war. The author's sustained involvement in the wars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is a fascinating issue that has kept scholars occupied for several decades (Symons 1979: 61-67, 102-123; Barsham 2000: 190-230; Pascal 2000: 93-104; Lycett 2008: 259-280, 378-399), and their research can certainly help us understand his outlook on medieval warfare and chivalry.

Chivalry as understood and practised by Loring is not necessarily a form of crude, harmful insanity. Aggression is not the prevailing drive in this individual, whereas in others, both higher and lower in the social order, violence might have a pathological origin or be regarded as *natural*, for it is an inherited privilege of class. Doyle wants Loring's masculinity to be governed by a fair and gentle disposition whereby the aggressive virility related to social dominance can be checked. In the lands of war, where the propensity to fighting is freely indulged by violent individuals, the strength of that disposition enables the often ridiculed hero to guard against depraved actions or outbursts of wrath. Immoral and destructive passions certainly drive Doyle's medieval tales, and he exploits the dramatic moments which men who indulge them unscrupulously can provoke. A different breed of characters is then necessary to limit the damage that unrestrained passions can cause, and Doyle believes that a moderate chivalry –conveniently purged of illusion and egotism– is the best counterbalance to cruelty, barbarism, and derangement at war.

Doyle's most chivalrous heroes are not driven by cruel violence. Young Loring in *Sir Nigel*, and adult Loring and his apprentice Alleyne Edricson in *The White*

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[5] Men like the foot soldier called Black Simon are not only used to criticise romantic chivalry, but also to expose the evils of revengeful violence, which war can exacerbate reaching the extremes of derangement. One of Doyle's main ideas is that the romantic chivalry which men without idealism find so foolish can actually restrain violent behaviour when war rages.

Company, do not enjoy brutal violence and find no pleasure in inflicting damage upon other individuals. They are not forced by violent insanity or impulsive aggressiveness to engage in offensive actions or perpetrate harmful acts. Doyle uses them to prove that men can control and channel their energies into something noble under the direction of chivalrous morality. For Doyle, the noble motivation of chivalry is stronger than the foul tendencies in the nature of man.[6] Loring needs and seeks violence to play his heroic role, but this does not reveal an authorial intention to depict the knight as a mentally ill person. Doyle prefers mental illness to be associated with crime or antisocial behaviour, but not with chivalry. However, the reader may hold the notion that Nigel Loring is violent because he is a knight, not because he is mentally ill. Doyle could refute accusations of criminality against his hero on the grounds that he uses violence correctly, complying with the law and with his rules of honour, thus setting an example of how adherence to the tenets of chivalry ensures self-control and keeps man from engaging in vile activities that may tarnish his reputation.

In the chapters devoted to war, Loring is a strangely kind combatant, who has a courteous, gentle word for *every* foe and makes no distinction between brutes and knights. He is not driven by revenge, although his father was slain by the French, and his death has been one of the causes of the decline of the house of Loring. Loring does have vengeful feelings against the local clergy, because they have ruined his house. Doyle applies one of the traditional reasons for revenge: the defence of one's family and honour. This concern reaches fabulous proportions in Loring's mind, and it shapes a sense of justice where violence is not omitted. However, young Loring's vengeful performance at the beginning of *Sir Nigel* is quite comical, for instead of wielding sword and fire against the abbey, he puts a pike in the abbot's pond to kill his favourite fish (Doyle 1906: 10-13).

Although Doyle could be criticised for his leniency with the follies of his idealistic knight, he deserves praise for his determination not to let wrath and lust for revenge dominate his mind. Loring exemplarily refuses to act in a destructive way antithetical to gaining honour. Revenge is a strong passion in other characters, in low born soldiers and in great lords too, each of them with reasons and justification that they deem perfectly acceptable. But Doyle moves

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[6] Over the years biographers have been quite competent in the study of Doyle's views on man's moral conflicts both past and present, but reading the author's own autobiography -*Memories and Adventures* (1924)- is still necessary for a more direct understanding of his works. Moreover, Doyle's letters and his interviews and recollections (published by J. Lellenberg, D. Stashower and C. Foley, and by H. Orel, respectively) also deserve reading for further insight and enlightenment.

Loring in a rather different direction, seeking the stimulation of *noble* fighting. Of course, men can respond to fierce overstimulation with emotional tension or stress, and this can lead to extreme or irrational acts in which the individual risks his life and others'. In both novels, we can see that Nigel Loring is not overwhelmed by the tremendous overstimulation of war. His enthusiasm is strong, particularly in his first campaign (in the second part of *Sir Nigel*), and his performance often verges on stupidity. However, he soon learns to enjoy fighting without rashness and lack of self-control in grim lands where others go mad or shrink back with fear. Presented as a model of chivalrous masculinity in which heroic illusions exist but are normally grappled with satisfactorily, Loring is expected to be calm and resist neurotic impulses even amid the most appalling calamities of war. Doyle does not want the reader to trust his hero completely, though; and the threat of a clash between his loyalty to the ideals of romantic chivalry and his commitment to the obligations of his external world is always near.

7. INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL WORLDS

The impending *clash* mentioned in the last lines of the previous section makes clear that the study of Doyle's knight would be incomplete without a consideration of the idea of conformity, or his readiness to change his behaviour in response to external pressure. In spite of the strength of Loring's personality and his profound convictions, he cannot deny the fact that the majority exercises pressure on the individual to behave in a certain way or to adopt certain beliefs. Loring follows self-imposed norms, but he must also respect socially or culturally determined rules. The author cannot let his hero become a fanatic, because he must be ready to sacrifice his system of ideals, marked by old traditions and tied up with an inherited worldview that determines his aims and conduct, in order to fit in the external world shaped by the dominant powers of the Crown and the Church. His commitment to chivalry and his sense of morality cannot be too radical, for they must co-exist with his compliance with external rules that he is supposed to respect. Doyle's proposition that duty to the King does not prevent his knight from feeling free to follow his own hopes and dreams is not easy to accept. Heroic illusions in his internal world must be eliminated if he is to tread the paths of acceptable behaviour. Emphasising the mature advice of men like Sir John Chandos, Doyle attempts to persuade the reader that chivalrous idealists like Nigel Loring can become more reasonable and reduce their private drives in such a way that they can conform to a more conventional perception and understanding of the world.

As we have seen, Doyle's hero perceives the world of the mid fourteenth century in a very particular way, according to an inner reality which is based on chivalric romance. Although he is susceptible to historical influences, he does not let them contradict his vision. Due to his concept of chivalry and the needs that he must fulfil, he sometimes comes to the verge of madness. He is subject to blood and tradition, whereas others consider themselves to be autonomous, free from birth or class determinism, and quite content in an illusion of individual liberty. We must bear in mind what determined Loring's personality and behaviour; they developed under the influence of a conservative grandmother, and through years of experience his mental life evolves little.

Doyle is pleased with the fact that Loring's *domestic* education determined his morality and goals, which are based on a traditional construct of chivalry. Thanks to this mental structure, he is quite sure of the kind of life he must lead. Although he has leaders to follow (many of whom are real), experience and time will turn him into a leader, capable of attracting other people to his vision. Having *a vision* and pursuing it usually characterise leaders positively. However, Loring is not entirely conscious that his vision will not come true in a world where chivalry is becoming an irksome absurdity. Yet, like Doyle himself, he tries to project his construct and vision onto other people. He is always ready to speak and act in defence of his notion of virtue and honour, which can certainly be directed towards duty to the Crown or the nation. There is sheer satisfaction in the fulfilment of this obligation, but it cannot release him from the stiff obsession of performing deeds of chivalry: he is more concerned with his personal goals than with his duties as a captain who leads troops under a royal banner. Doyle permits this in both novels, but makes sure that his hero's conduct does not really disrupt the prevalence of rationality, which is strongly represented by his most emblematic figure of military responsibility: Sir John Chandos.

8. CONCLUSIONS

Arthur Conan Doyle felt proud of *The White Company* and *Sir Nigel*, because they enabled him to share his personal reading of the Middle Ages, his reconstruction of the knight, and his views on chivalry. He was a writer of historical fiction with patriotic and moral purposes, as well as with sense of humour and a taste for virile adventure. Despite the empathetic and affectionate portrayal of Loring, the reader notices that his mind is fraught with heroic visions and romantic delusions resulting from a full internalization of the creed of

chivalry. Doyle watches soberly as his idiosyncratic knight expresses and also proves his readiness to risk his life for ideals which are feeble outside literature.

Doyle recreates a time of impoverished knightly ideals, where heroic imagination declines and the eccentricities of its last followers are either comic or bothersome rather than a serious or educative reflection on the long struggle between reason and passion in the heart of man. Nigel Loring's goals related to love, honour, and loyalty can be accepted, but the activities in which he engages to attain them are probably too close to madness for a modern audience. Loring needs to demonstrate how authentic his assimilation of chivalric culture is. This is a merit for him, but a sign of his sheer lunacy for many others. The fact that moral rather than material rewards are the main motivation for his behaviour may not be enough to tolerate it. Doyle wants his heroes to be examples of masculinity and patriotism, but in Loring the practice of chivalry raises doubts and causes derision rather than admiration or praise. This requires a careful consideration of the hero's psyche, where external obligations and personal desires pull in so different directions. The struggle for balance is probably the knight's most heroic endeavour.

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DOING GENDER IN CONFLICT TALK: AN ANALYSIS OF GENDERED DISCOURSES IN A U.S. REALITY TV SHOW

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ABSTRACT. *This paper presents an analysis of gendered discourses in conflict talk by drawing upon interactional data from the U.S. reality TV show* The Apprentice. *It explores the ways in which women professionals enact their gender identities while engaging actively in conflict talk which is stereotypically coded as 'masculine'. Specifically, I shall look at the different ways in which they construct their gendered identities by aligning themselves with different gendered discourses. It is found that these woman professionals are shown to draw upon different gendered discourses in constructing their feminine gender identities, namely the dominant discourses of femininity and resistant discourses. The paper also shows that the enactment of gendered identities in conflict talk may vary from one context to another.*

Keywords: Gendered discourses, identity, conflict talk, discourse analysis, reality TV, media.

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TRABAJAR EL GÉNERO EN CONVERSACIONES CON CONFLICTO: UN ANÁLISIS DE LOS DISCURSOS DE GÉNERO EN UN *REALITY SHOW* DE LA TELEVISIÓN ESTADOUNIDENSE

RESUMEN. *Este artículo presenta un análisis de discursos de género en conversaciones con conflicto extraídas de datos de interacción del* reality show *estadounidense* The Apprentice. *El artículo explora la manera en que las mujeres profesionales recrean sus identidades de género cuando están inmersas en conversaciones con conflicto, estereotípicamente entendidas como "masculinas". De modo específico, vamos a contemplar la forma en que ellas construyen su identidad de género usando distintos tipos de discursos de género. Pudimos observar que estas mujeres profesionales emplean diferentes discursos de género al construir sus identidades, a saber, discursos dominantes de femineidad y discursos resistentes. Este artículo también muestra cómo la representación de la identidad de género en conversaciones con conflicto varía según el contexto.*

Palabras clave: Discursos de género, identidad, conversaciones con conflicto, análisis del discursos, *reality show*, medios de comunicación.

1. INTRODUCTION

Language and gender research has been a thriving field of study over the last two decades. However, while there has been a burgeoning body of research on discourse and gender in different parts of the word, very few studies have investigated the representations of language and gendered discourses in the media and the popular culture (cf. Litosseliti 2006; Talbot 2010; García Gómez 2012). This paper aims to examine the representations of gender and workplace communication in the media by drawing upon interactional data taken from the debut season of the U.S. reality TV show *The Apprentice*. In particular, I shall look at the specific ways in which women professionals enact their feminine gender identities while engaging in conflict talk which is stereotypically coded as 'masculine' in the context of 'simulated' workplace communication.

2. CONFLICT TALK AND GENDERED DISCOURSE

According to Vuchinich (1987: 597), verbal conflict can be defined as "a form of social interaction characterized by at least two persons verbally opposing each other". It involves one person opposing another verbally by "disagreeing with,

challenging, correcting, downgrading, threatening, accusing, insulting or in some other way finding fault with another person" (Vuchinich 1987: 592). In most cases, conflict talk can be seen as a type of 'negatively affective talk' (Holmes 2006), since it tends to entail 'face threatening acts' (Brown and Levinson 1987). And since elements of confrontation, aggression and competition are likely to be involved, conflict talk is sometimes perceived as a 'masculinized' discourse (Baxter 2003).

In sociolinguistic studies on conflict talk, researchers are particularly interested in the interactive processes through which conflicts emerge and develop in order to study conflict as a skilled and differentiated communicative behavior (Farris 2000). Earlier studies emphasized gender differences in language use during conflict talk. In one study, for example, Makri-Tsilipakou (1991) reveals gender differences in expressing disagreements through the analysis of disagreements between Greek men and women by drawing upon data from couples and close friends. Her study found that men's disagreements in cross-gender conversations are strong, often without any accounts for their disagreements. On the other hand, in conversations among women, their disagreements are shaped as partial agreements through the use of agreement prefaces placed before the actual disagreement, and the disagreement component often involves intra-turn delay, including hedges, pauses, models, and accounts. In another study, Gunthner (1992) also found some interesting gender-linked discourse patterns in talks involving disagreements in Chinese-German interactions. It was discovered that whilst female speakers hardly contradict their interlocutors and tend to offer assent during conflict talk, male speakers keep on fighting back. In a more recent study, Pines *et al.* (2002) provide evidence of significant gender differences in terms of both the style and content of arguments in divorce mediation. It was found that while men's arguments tend to be more legalistic, women's arguments are likely to be more relational. In addition, women's argument style is more emotional than that of men, with women expressing more and richer emotions. In order to explain the gender differences, the authors suggest that men tend to suppress their emotion, whereas women are likely to express feelings of pain and hurt more freely during marital conflict.

However, the emphasis on gender differences in conflict talk is not without its problems, given that individual differences within each gender are likely to be greater than the differences between men and women. It is also important to consider context parameters, such as social status, institutional role, and cultural background, which may interact with gender in the construction of interlocutors' social identity. García Gómez (2000), for example, challenges the gender differences found in conflict talk as reported in earlier research. By analyzing the

gendered patterns of speaking in talk-show verbal conflict in Spain, García Gómez (2000) found that men and women use interactional patterns typical of the other gender. In particular, it is found that women adopt the discourse patterns typical of male speakers. For example, there is evidence of women constantly interrupting the speech of men, challenging men's utterances, and making face-threatening acts to men. In doing so, women seem to socialize into a competitive style of discourse and adapt to the male-dominated discourse in the public sphere. García Gómez (2000) therefore notes the instability and variability of gender identities, arguing that the discursive strategies employed by both men and women do not support the stereotypical notions of men's and women's talk.

While there have been studies on gender and conflict talk, little is known about the media representations of gender and conflict talk at work. As men have traditionally occupied key positions in many workplaces, it has been noted that workplace norms are predominantly masculine (Baxter 2010; Mullany 2007, Sung 2013a). As a result, many women professionals in the workplace face challenges in adapting to the 'masculine' workplace culture and are often perceived as deviant exceptions to the (male) norms (Holmes 2006; Schnurr 2009, 2010). In particular, it may be considered problematic for these women professionals to 'do gender' and 'do conflict talk' simultaneously, since the latter typically entails the use of stereotypically masculine discourse strategies, which may be seen as incompatible with the stereotyped expectations of women's speech style and the enactment of a feminine gendered identity (Schnurr 2010). This paper therefore aims to explore the ways in which women professionals construct their gender identity while engaging in conflict talk by looking at the 'simulated' workplace interaction in a U.S. reality TV show.

3. DATA AND FRAMEWORK

Data in the study are drawn from the debut season of *The Apprentice*, a popular reality TV show in the U.S. Filmed in 2003, the show was broadcast weekly on National Broadcasting Company, or NBC, in the United States from 8 January 2004 until 15 April 2004. It had an average viewership of 20.7 million people each week in the U.S. In the debut season of *The Apprentice*, sixteen contestants compete in an elimination-style competition, vying for the top job at one of Donald Trump's companies and an accompanying $250,000 salary. During the 15 episodes of the show, they embark upon a televised, extended job interview in order to become an apprentice of Donald Trump, a well-known American real estate magnate as well as host and executive producer of *The Apprentice* (Sung 2011, 2012, 2013b).

In *The Apprentice*, the contestants comprising eight men and eight women are split into two teams based on gender. Each week, the teams need to select a project manager to lead them in the assigned task of the week. The two teams compete against each other in a business-oriented task which is intended to test their business skills and expertise. The assigned tasks include selling lemonade on the streets of Manhattan, promoting an advertising campaign and managing a multinational company. Every week, the winning team receives a spectacular reward, while the losing team faces Donald Trump in the boardroom, where Donald Trump meets with the members of the losing team to figure out the reasons for the failure in the task and who is primarily responsible for the failure. At the end of the meeting, Donald Trump makes his final decision as to who did the worst job in the task and, as such, should be dismissed with immediate effect. In view of its popularity in the USA and around the world, *The Apprentice* is considered a valuable site for investigation.

By drawing upon the notion of 'gendered discourses', this paper pays particular attention to the gendered interactional styles that are employed by the speakers, as well as the gendered discourses they align with in negotiating their gendered identities (cf. Mullany 2007). In other words, 'discourse' is not only understood as language beyond the sentence level (Cameron 2001), but also conceptualized in a broader sense as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault 1972: 49), or as recognizable ways of seeing the world (Sunderland 2004). In the latter sense of the term, 'gendered discourses' can be seen as "a particular set of ideas about gender in some segment or segments of society" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 42). In relating gendered discourses to the construction of gendered identities, I take the position that men and women draw upon different gendered discourses in constructing their gendered identities (Sunderland 2004). As Litosseliti (2006: 58) aptly notes, "gendered discourses *position* women and men in certain ways, and at the same time, people *take up* particular gendered subject positions that constitute gender more widely". In other words, the gendered identities of men and women are dependent on the 'subject positions' created in discourse. By using the idea of 'gendered discourses', it is possible to examine the ways in which different discourses contribute to the construction of different identities or subjectivities, as different discourses position people differently in relation to the world (Coates 1996; Holmes and Marra 2010). This paper therefore examines the ways in which women professionals perform different feminine gendered identities in contexts of conflict talk by drawing upon different gendered discourses, including dominant discourses of femininity, as well as resistant discourses (cf. Coates 1996, 1999; Preece 2008).

4. DATA ANALYSIS OF GENDERED DISCOURSES

4.1. *COMPETING DISCOURSES OF FEMININITY*

In the analysis of Excerpt 1, we shall see that competing discourses are drawn upon by two female contestants, Katrina and Omarosa, in creating different gendered identities in conflict talk. While they employ a great deal of normatively masculine, adversarial discourse strategies in the conflict talk, they construct their feminine gendered identities in various ways by aligning themselves with different gendered discourses. In the excerpt below, they are engaged in a heated argument, which comes after Omarosa has become the target of the group, because she is viewed as being uncooperative with the group and unfriendly to the other members. In view of the uneasy situation, Katrina talks to Omarosa about the tension caused by Omarosa within the group, which leads to the conflict talk as shown below.

EXCERPT 1 (Episode 3)

1	KAT:	wait
2		I'm telling you this because I care +
3		and I really //want–\
4	OMA:	/but\\ I can't tell that Katrina
5		because we sleep in the same room
6		yet you couldn't say to me I had a problem with XYZ =
7	KAT:	= because I felt like you were being fake
8	OMA:	I think being fake is waiting until I'm in front of seven women
9		and then attacking //me\
10	KAT:	/no no\\ no no no no
12		I'm very nice to everybody
13		I get along with everybody here
14		//I get along\
15	OMA:	/but that's–\\
16		that's where the faking //comes in\
17	KAT:	/you know what?\\
18		you know what?
19		because <u>I am</u> a good person
20		I am true to myself =
21	OMA:	= this is where the personal attacks come in
22		I didn't come here to make friends
23		I said that from day one
24		and if you all stop being so freaking sensitive

25	KAT:	I'm not sensitive //honey\
26	OMA:	/you just\\ told me
27	KAT:	I'm not sensitive
28	OMA:	you just told me I'm a good person =
29	KAT:	= <u>I am</u> a good person
30	OMA:	I'm a good person
31		but what does that have to //do with this?\
32	KAT:	/you know what?\\
33		you know what?
34		life is too <u>short</u> to be a <u>bitch</u>
35		do you think you're gonna be successful in the business world
36		if you make enemies with //everybody that comes in front of you?\
37	OMA:	/I have– I have–\\
38		guess what?
39		I went from the projects to the White House
40		how successful was that?
41		you don't sit with the president of the United States +
42		by not being successful
43		I've been successful <u>again</u> and <u>again</u> and <u>again</u>
44		and it <u>works</u> for me
45	KAT:	Omarosa life's /not Omarosa\\
46	OMA:	//( )\
47	KAT:	I like being a good person =
48	OMA:	= you're a /good bitch\\
49	KAT:	//if that–\
50		if that makes me a bad businesswoman
51		then let it [beeps] be
52	OMA:	you're a good //businessperson\
53	KAT:	/I go\\ to sleep living with myself okay Omarosa
54	OMA:	good
55	KAT:	and you know what
56		I'm gonna be successful =
57	OMA:	= you are //successful\
58	KAT:	/no no no\\
59		and you know what?
60		//you know what Omarosa?\
61	OMA:	/you are successful\\
62	KAT:	//I'm gonna be–\

63	OMA:	/( )\\
64	KAT:	Omarosa <u>shut</u> <u>up</u>
65	OMA:	you <u>shut</u> <u>up</u>
66		don't talk to //me like that\
67	KAT:	/I'm gonna be\\ successful
68	OMA:	that's //where this conversation ends\
69	KAT:	/( )\\
70	OMA:	don't touch me
71		//don't touch me\
72	KAT:	/Omarosa Omarosa\\
73		I'm gonna be successful upholding the highest of scruples
74	*OMA:*	*of all the women*
75		*I think Katrina is a bit naïve*
76		*I feel bad for her because she really is looking to gain friends*
77		*as opposed to focusing on winning*

In the excerpt, Katrina can be seen drawing upon the dominant discourses of femininity in performing her gendered identities in conflict talk. At the beginning of the excerpt, Katrina demonstrates her explicit concern for Omarosa's positive face needs by saying *I'm telling you this because I care* + (line 2). Here, she uses the meta-statement *I'm telling you this* (line 2) in order to emphasize the importance of what she is about to tell Omarosa, and it is followed by the explanation as to why she needs to talk to Omarosa, namely, that she cares about Omarosa. By framing the conversation in Omarosa's interests and by emphasizing that explicitly, she can be said to establish solidarity and collegiality with Omarosa and orient to the traditional feminine ideals of showing others care and concern, despite the animosity of the whole group against Omarosa. However, Omarosa disagrees with Katrina rather explicitly: *but I can't tell that Katrina* (line 4), and criticizes Katrina for being fake (lines 8–9). In response, Katrina rejects Omarosa's claim that she is fake, and self–categorizes herself as a nice person by saying *I'm very nice to everybody* (line 12) and *I get along with everybody here* (line 13). Furthermore, she emphasizes that *I am a good person* twice in lines 19 and 29. In doing so, she orients to the dominant discourse of femininity, that of 'being nice', in constructing a conventional feminine gender identity (Coates 1996, 1999).

On the other hand, Omarosa challenges Katrina's orientation to the traditional discourse of femininity by rejecting its place in the competition. For instance, she questions the relevance of being a good person to the discussion (line 31). Katrina, however, responds by issuing a warning *life's too short to be a bitch* (line 34), which criticizes Omarosa for acting like a bitch. She goes on to produce a challenging question, *do you think you're gonna be successful in the business*

world if you make enemies with everybody that comes in front of you (lines 35–36), accusing Omarosa of acting not nicely and questioning her philosophy of being successful. In producing such a challenging rhetorical question, she assumes a pedagogical and didactic tone. By doing so, she takes on a 'teacherly' role, putting herself in a one-up position. In response, Omarosa counters Katrina's accusation by emphasizing the fact that she is successful (lines 39-44), directly rejecting Katrina's questioning her ability to succeed. She does so by providing evidence to prove her point: *I went from the projects to the White House* (line 39), which is immediately followed by the rhetorical question *how successful was that?* (line 40). Omarosa's response here serves to emphasize and draw attention to the degree of her success, directly challenging Katrina's accusation. In so doing, Omarosa presents herself as a successful, competent and professional individual, while at the same time realigning herself in a one-up position by challenging Katrina's accusation. Omarosa goes on to emphasize her success by repeating the word *again* three times with emphatic stress in *I've been successful again and again and again* (line 43).

It is interesting to note that Katrina aligns herself with the conventional discourses of femininity by saying *I like being a good person* (line 47), reiterating that she is a nice or good person. Again, she enacts a conventionally feminine gender identity by evoking the traditional feminine ideal of nicety (Coates 1996, 1999). However, Omarosa directly challenges Katrina's statement by producing a contradictory comment: *you're a good bitch* (line 48). By using the term of insult *bitch* (line 48), this not only seriously attacks Katrina's positive face, but also directly contradicts Katrina's categorization of herself as *a good person* (line 47). Such a negatively affective speech act could make the conflict more personal and emotional. Perhaps what is more interesting here is the collocation *good bitch* (line 48). Here, given the context, *bitch* refers to somebody who is weak, vulnerable and subservient, as opposed to a spiteful woman. By qualifying Katrina's self-assessment of *a good person* as *a good bitch*, Omarosa denigrates the importance of being a good person, at least in the competition. Rather, she sees being a nice person as equivalent to being weak and vulnerable. In so doing, she implies that being nice is not valued in the corporate world but is viewed as a sign of weakness. Here, it can be seen that Omarosa shows a certain degree of subversion of the dominant gendered discourse surrounding the nicety of women.

It is also worth noting that the conflict talk between Katrina and Omarosa is characterized by confrontational stances and competitive speech styles which are indexed for masculinity. By drawing upon a range of these adversarial discursive strategies in 'doing conflict talk', including disruptive interruptions and unmitigated directives, they present themselves as assertive women professionals

at work. For example, Katrina emphasizes that *I'm gonna be successful* (line 56), and Omarosa produces a statement of agreement by saying *you are successful* (line 57). At that point, Katrina cuts Omarosa off and makes herself heard again by uttering the disagreement particles *no no no* (line 58), followed by the phrase *you know what* (line 59), which serves to signal the importance of her upcoming statements. However, Katrina is interrupted by Omarosa, who repeats *you are successful* (line 61). Having been cut off by Omarsosa, Katrina issues a strong and direct directive in the form of an imperative, *Omarosa shut up* (line 61). Omarosa replies in kind with a similar bald-on-record and explicit directive in the form of an imperative preceded by the directive pronoun *you*: *you shut up* (line 65), which is followed by another imperative *don't talk to me like that* (line 65). Her second imperative seems to signal that Katrina's bald-on-record imperative has violated the politeness norms in the workplace, and is therefore considered negatively marked and inappropriate within such a context. However, instead of responding to Omarosa's directive, Katrina continues to repeat her statement: *I'm gonna be successful* (line 67). Having been ignored, Omarosa makes the metalinguistic comment *that's where this conversation ends* (line 68), showing her refusal to interact with Katrina anymore. Here, we can see that the ways in which they do conflict talk clearly challenge the traditional gender stereotype that women tend to use cooperative and 'feminine' speech styles (cf. Tannen 1994).

It is indeed interesting to note that Katrina and Omarosa can be viewed as constructing different kinds of femininities by drawing upon different gendered discourses which are in conflict with each other (cf. Baxter 2010). Here, we can see the existence of competing discourses of femininity in the enactment of feminine gender identities (Coates 1996, 1999). It is notable that Katrina orients to the norms of traditional femininity by emphasizing that she is a 'good' and 'nice' person in the interaction. As Coates (1999) suggests, girls are under social pressure to be nice, and doing niceness is the ideal of femininity. Coates (1999) also points out that one of the dominant discourses of femininity is that women should be 'nice'. In the conflict talk, Katrina clearly aligns herself with the traditional discourses of femininity by attempting to project a 'nice' feminine image. She does so by self-categorizing herself as *a good person* (lines 19, 29, 47) repeatedly in the conflict talk and by making the overt statement that *I'm very nice to everybody* (line 12). Notably, she also argues for the need to be 'a good person' in order to succeed in the business world, which is evident in the criticism she makes to Omarosa: *do you think you're gonna be successful in the business world if you make enemies with everybody that comes in front of you?* (lines 35-36). In other words, she believes that she needs to maintain the ideal of femininity of 'being nice' even in the workplace. In the meantime, however, she also constructs

an assertive, successful, competitive businesswoman image, which is evident in the way she argues with Omarosa, whereby she uses strong, assertive discourse strategies in stating her position.

By contrast, instead of drawing upon the traditional discourses of femininity, Omarosa articulates an alternative, resistant discourse (Coates 1999; Sunderland 2004). As seen in Excerpt 1, Omarosa openly disagrees with Katrina's philosophy of 'being nice', and questions the need to be 'a good person' in order to succeed in the business world (lines 38-44). Rather, Omarosa thinks that 'being nice' in the business world can be equivalent to 'being fake' (line 16). In other words, she resists the traditional discourses of femininity, thereby casting doubt on the necessity, and perhaps the sincerity, of 'being nice' in the business world. In supporting her view, she provides counter-evidence of how successful she is (line 38-44). In so doing, Omarosa also emphasizes precisely the way she works in the business world, which does not necessarily agree with how other women, including Katrina, work. And most importantly, she finds it perfectly appropriate for herself, which is evident in what she states emphatically: *it works for me* (line 44). This underscores that she has her own way of succeeding in the business world. Furthermore, Omarosa rejects the dominant discourses of femininity which place emphasis on valuing friendships and maintaining harmonious relationships with other women. In the excerpt, she overtly states that *I didn't come here to make friends* (line 22). And in her individual interview, she also comments that *I think Katrina is a bit naïve, I feel bad for her because she really is looking to gain friends as opposed to focusing on winning* (lines 75-77). In criticizing Katrina for being naïve, Omarosa explicitly challenges the importance of developing friendships and gaining friends. Rather, she sees winning as the priority in the business world, which is often seen as a masculine activity. Thus, in constructing her gender identity, Omarosa draws upon a resistant and subversive discourse in the context of the workplace. Here, we can see an example of doing 'a different femininity', or articulating an alternative discourse of femininity which displays resistance to the dominant androcentric discourses (see Coates 1999). 'Being nice', to Omarosa, is not relevant in her construction of gender identity.

Interestingly, the conflict talk in Excerpt 1 raises the question of whether a woman needs to be 'a nice person' in order to succeed in the business world, in view of the observation that 'being nice' may be perceived as a sign of weakness. The question here seems to tie in with the issue of 'double bind' that women often face in the workplace: when women are feminine and unassertive, they are perceived as weak; but when they adopt more masculine discourse styles, they are viewed as aggressive and confrontational (cf. Lakoff 1990; Baxter 2010). While Omarosa and Katrina have not reached a consensus over such a question in the

conflict talk, there is evidence that the dominant discourses of femininity are being challenged and resisted openly by women professionals who question the conventional ways of being 'feminine' in the workplace.

4.2. DRAWING UPON A RESISTANT DISCOURSE

I shall now move on to examine how Katrina constructs a very different gendered identity in another context. Rather than orienting to the conventional discourses of femininity, she displays resistance to the dominant gender ideology by contesting and subverting the 'dominant discourses of femininity in relation to image and sexuality' (Mullany 2007), with the aim of achieving empowerment in the workplace. In Excerpt 2, we shall see that Katrina complains to Bill that the group has ignored her opinions, and in doing so, draws upon the resistant discourse, rather than the dominant gendered discourse, in enacting her gendered identity.

EXCERPT 2 (Episode 10)

1	KAT:	they're not riding rickshaws
2		in fact they're not gonna even see the rickshaws
3	BILL:	how do you know they're not gonna see the rickshaws?
4	KAT:	cos Heidi told me
5	BILL:	really huh
6		so what else do you know?
7	KAT:	if you guys ask me I'll tell you
8		you guys haven't stopped to actually ask me my opinion on things
9	BILL:	if you guys would've asked for my opinion I mean +
10		I feel like we've asked
11	KAT:	you guys have not asked for my opinion
12		and every time I've said anything
13		you guys have shut me up +
14		I'm being honest with you
15		it's convenient for you to use me when my looks take + our–
16	BILL:	wait a minute
17		you don't use that yourself?
18		are you kidding me?
19		it's not convenient for you either?
20		we're a team
21		and we're either gonna win as a team or lose as a team

22	KAT:	I'm successful for a reason
23		and it's not solely because of my looks
24		and I feel like every idea I came up with yesterday you tossed
25		I'm sick and tired of it
26		so I'm just like not gonna get involved anymore
27	*KAT:*	*Bill doesn't listen to any of my ideas*
28		*he uses me whenever it's convenient for him*
29		*whenever we go to a sales pitch he turns to us and says*
30		*oh these beautiful women will be driving*
31		*but what about my ideas?*
32		*I'm not a pinup doll*
33	KAT:	riding a rickshaw
34		because a woman would be riding a rickshaw that looked cute
35		and that's really offensive to //me\
36	BILL:	/right\\
37	KAT:	to be honest with //you\
38	BILL:	/right\\
39	KAT:	because I'm not successful because I dress cute =
40	BILL:	= I never– I don't– I– I– I believe in a democracy
41		I would never wanna run it like + Troy =
42	KAT:	= I think– I think you believe that +
43		but your actions don't
44	BILL:	yeah well
45	KAT:	//(portray that)\
46	BILL:	/apparently\\ in your opinion they don't //and\
47	KAT:	/I just\\ don't agree with your leadership style
48	BILL*:*	*the bottom line is that*
49		*Katrina doesn't like the way I lead*
50		*my advice to her is step aside then*

In Excerpt 2, Katrina shows resistance to being constrained by the dominant world view that women professionals take advantage of their feminine appearance in their careers. Excerpt 2 begins when Bill asks Katrina how she knows everything about the other group: *so what else do you know?* (line 6). Instead of answering the question directly, she responds by saying *if you guys ask me I'll tell you* (line 7) with a smile voice, and goes on to complain that the group has not asked her opinion in the task: *you guys haven't stopped to actually ask me my opinion on things* (line 8). This is where the conflict talk emerges when she accuses the group of ignoring her and overlooking her contributions. Note that the use of the adverbial *actually* (line 8) serves as a hedge in minimizing the force

of the complaint. In response, Bill repeats her accusation and reformulates it using the conditional *if*–construction: *if you guys would've asked for my opinion I mean* + (line 9). In doing so, he also shows his surprise before challenging and rejecting her claim. He goes on to express his disagreement by contradicting her: *I feel like we've asked* (line 10). Note, however, that in his response, he employs the pragmatic particle *I mean* (line 9) and a pause (marked with +), which function as attenuating devices to soften his disagreement. He also prefaces his disagreement with the pragmatic particle *I feel like* (line 10), which indicates tentativeness and serves to hedge its illocutionary force.

In the excerpt, Katrina expresses her dissatisfaction that the group has not valued her or her ideas, in an attempt to get the group to value her abilities and contributions. For instance, she reiterates her complaint in a more forceful manner without mitigation, *you guys have not asked for my opinion* (line 11). She goes on to give details of being ignored: *and every time I've said anything you guys have shut me up* + (lines 12-13). And she uses the meta-linguistic statement *I'm being honest with you* (line 14), serving as a disclaimer. It allows her to be direct without being perceived negatively. Also, it may possibly mitigate the face threats involved in her upcoming complaint about Bill by indicating that she is just being honest, rather than antagonistic.

Furthermore, Katrina displays resistance to the use of her appearance to get things done at work, as she goes on to make another complaint that the group uses her looks when it is convenient (line 15). In response, Bill challenges her complaint by using the rhetorical question: *you don't use that yourself?* (line 17). And by saying *are you kidding me* (line 18), Bill again questions the validity of her accusation. He then goes on to emphasize that they are part of *the team* (line 20), and that they are going to win or lose *as a team* (line 21). By highlighting the concept of *the team* (lines 20 and 21) and using the inclusive pronoun *we* twice (lines 20 and 21), he attempts to build solidarity and establish an in-group identity, possibly creating alignment with Katrina. However, she insists that she is successful not because of her looks (line 23). She goes on to express her dissatisfaction, *I feel like every idea I came up with yesterday you tossed* (line 24). Note that she mitigates the force of her complaint with the pragmatic particle *I feel like* (line 24) as a softener. She also makes explicit her disappointment with Bill's rejecting of her ideas: *I'm sick and tired of it* (line 25), and her refusal to get involved in the task: *I'm just like not gonna get involved anymore* (line 26). Notice, however, that she uses the hedges *just* (line 26) and *like* (line 26), which seem to have the effect of toning down the force of her refusal to contribute, thereby possibly mitigating the potential face threat involved.

Interestingly, Katrina can be viewed as drawing upon a resistant discourse in constructing her gender identity, as opposed to adopting the dominant discourses of femininity. The enactment of feminine identity here is clearly different from the identity that she constructs in Excerpt 1. As can be seen in Excerpt 2, she expresses her resistance in using her appearance to gain success in her work, and displays her dissatisfaction that her ideas are not valued by the group. As Coates (1996) suggests, one of the dominant discourses of femininity is that women should care about their image and appearance (Coates 1996, 1998; Mullany 2007). Instead, Katrina places emphasis on her ability, ideas and opinions, as opposed to her appearance, and attempts to demonstrate her own ability to do the job. In so doing, she distances herself from the dominant discourses of femininity.

During the conflict talk, Katrina overtly states that *I'm successful for a reason and it's not solely because of my looks* (lines 22–23). In so doing, she tries to emphasize her ability and skills, while downplaying the reliance on her feminine appearance in achieving success. By making this explicit, she seems to distance herself from 'the dominant discourse of femininity surrounding feminine image in particular relation to sexual attractiveness' (Mullany 2007: 199). In effect, she also challenges and resists Bill's suggestion that she draws upon her feminine image and sexual attractiveness in getting things done in the workplace contexts; and as such, she subverts the positioning offered by the dominant discourse of femininity. In addition, by saying *because a woman would be riding a rickshaw that looked cute and that's really offensive to me* (lines 34-35), she also expresses her strong disapproval of women being used for their attractive appearance, which is seen as demeaning and insulting to women. In so doing, she resists being associated with the gender stereotype of women using manipulative feminine traits closely associated with the dominant discourses of femininity. One reason may be that such a stereotype is taken as underestimating women's abilities in the process of decision-making, thereby reducing women to merely decorative objects. Another reason may be that when women are perceived to be gaining kudos due to sexual attractiveness, they are subjected to negative evaluation in the workplace (Mullany 2007). Here, we see that Katrina is constructing a resistant and combative gender identity, displaying resistance to the dominant discourses of femininity surrounding feminine image and sexuality. And she does so by rejecting any denigration of women's abilities and resisting the use of women's looks solely in the business world. In other words, she takes on a more agentive identity through the attempt to get empowered, assume key positions in the workplace, and take up a more active role within the team.

It is also interesting to note that whilst she uses assertive speech styles in expressing her complaint and rejecting the traditional gender stereotypes, she

also utilizes hedges and other mitigating devices in voicing her dissatisfaction. In doing so, she presents herself as an assertive and self-assured professional who is eager to break through the glass ceiling through her own ability and expertise, while employing hedging devices in her discourse for the enactment of her feminine gender identity and her professional identity. Here, she can be seen to be engaged in what is called the 'balancing act' by integrating both elements of masculine and feminine stylistic features in 'doing conflict talk' (see Holmes 2006; Schnurr 2010).

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As can be seen in the analysis, different gendered discourses are being drawn upon by professional women to construct different kinds of gender identities in conflict talk. For example, the analysis of Excerpt 1 shows that these women professionals draw upon very different gendered discourses in order to create different gendered identities in the same interaction. While the alignment with the dominant discourses of femininity positions Katrina in more conventional ways, more radical and subversive discourses offer Omarosa alternative ways of doing femininity (cf. Coates 1999: 129). And instead of using 'femininity' in the singular, the pluralized 'femininities' should be used to draw attention to the different and various ways in which women construct their gendered identities through discourse (see Coates 1999). As Coates (1999) puts it, there is no single unified way of doing femininity. The analysis shows that a range of gendered subject positions are available to women in constructing their gendered identities.

In addition, the data shows that the same woman draws upon different discourses of femininity in different contexts and portrays different gendered identities at different times. In other words, the enactment of gendered identities in conflict talk is shown to vary from one context to another, thereby lending support to the claim that gendered identities are fluid and are constantly constructed in interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). As can be seen in the analysis, Katrina aligns herself with different gendered discourses in different contexts of conflict talk, depending on the aspects of identity she wants to foreground and the specific goals she wants to achieve. In Excerpt 1, she aligns herself with the dominant discourses of femininity by stressing the feminine ideal of 'being nice' in the conflict talk with Omarosa. In another context (Excerpt 2), she distances herself from the traditional discourses at other times by resisting the stereotypical feminine role of seductress with the use of her feminine image in the talk with Bill. By adopting a resistant discourse (see Excerpt 2), she attempts to achieve empowerment within the group and distance herself from traditional

gender stereotypes at work. As Holmes (1997: 197) aptly points out, when people construct their gender identities in ongoing interaction, they "may reinforce norms at one point, but challenge and contest them at others". By taking up different gendered discourses in different contexts in enacting her gendered identities, she enacts her professional identity without compromising aspects of her conventional feminine identity, which might otherwise result in negative evaluations.

It is also noteworthy that the gender representations in *The Apprentice* seem to challenge the traditional gender stereotypes that women's speech style is always polite, co-operative and other-oriented (Tannen 1994; Holmes 1995). As evident in the analysis, women professionals draw upon assertive and sometimes aggressive discursive styles which are stereotypically associated with masculinity in conflict talk. It is therefore argued that the characterization of men's and women's speech styles by the simple dichotomy of 'competitiveness' versus 'cooperativeness' is problematic, since it fails to reflect the complexity of women professionals' communicative styles. Instead, the professional women in the TV show are shown using competitive and aggressive discursive strategies, as well as displaying confrontational and aggressive stances during conflict talk. In other words, it appears that certain well-entrenched and long-established gender stereotypes are de-constructed in the reality TV show (cf. García Gómez 2000).

What is perhaps more interesting is the 'gender work' that is performed by women in conflict talk. As evident in the analysis, women professionals reconcile the competing demands of enacting their feminine gender identities and adopting stereotypically masculine ways of speaking by drawing upon different gendered discourses. As engaging in conflict talk is often conceived as a 'masculine' activity, the use of masculine discursive strategies seems to be the normative way of speaking in such contexts. However, these professional women also orient to certain norms, ideals and expectations of femininity while using elements of 'masculine' speech styles in conflict talk. In so doing, they enact different feminine gender identities either by aligning themselves with the dominant discourses of femininity or by distancing themselves from these discourses (cf. Coates 1997). In other words, 'doing gender' is still evident in conflict talk for women professionals, but attention should be drawn to the participants' orientations towards certain ideals of femininity and to the various gendered discourses which position women in different ways. As Litosseliti (2006: 61) puts it, 'we *produce* or *construct* our multiple gendered selves through the choices we make from different discourses available' (emphasis in original).

In closing, it should be acknowledged that the present paper only examined the representations of gender identities in a single reality TV show. It is still

unclear whether such diversity of gendered identities is represented in the mass media in general. And given the relative paucity of research on the media representations of gender and workplace communication, future research is needed to explore the gendered discourses that prevail in different forms of the media.

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APPENDIX: Transcription Conventions

<u>yes</u>	underscore indicates emphatic stress
[laughs]	paralinguistic features in square brackets
+	pause of up to one second
xxx // xxxxx \ xxx	
xxx / xxxxx \\ xxx	simultaneous speech
=	latching between the end of one turn to the start of the next
(3)	pause of specified number of seconds
( )	unintelligible word or phrase
(hello)	transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance
?	raising or question intonation
-	incomplete or cut-off utterance
[*comments*]	editorial comments italicized in square brackets
words in italics	commentary from behind-the-scene individual interviews

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— Suitability to the range of topics of interest for the journal

Evaluation reports will be carried out anonymously within three months from their reception. Once the evaluation process is completed, authors will receive a statement of the editorial decision together with an anonymous copy of the reports on which the decision is based. The editorial decision will be considered final.

1.4. Revision and proof-reading. Should any formal or content aspect of the contributions be improved and/or modified, it will be the authors' responsibility to return the new version within the deadline established by the Editor. Failing to do so will result in the non-publication of the contribution.

Likewise, authors are responsible for proof-reading their contributions and returning the revised versions by the deadline established by the Editor.

1.5. Copyright. Authors warrant that their contributions to *JES* are original and have neither been submitted for publication, nor have been published elsewhere.

Once published, *JES* holds the copyright of any contribution. In order to re-publish any part of a contribution in any other venue and/or format, authors must ask for written permission to the Editor.

1.6. Exchange policy. *JES* welcomes exchanges with similar publications in the field of English Studies and other related areas.

2. SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS

Proposals should be sent to:

Dr. Cristina Flores Moreno

Secretary of *JES*

E-mail: jes@unirioja.es

For further information, contact the Editor of *JES*

Dr. Mª Pilar Agustín Llach

E-mail: jes@unirioja.es

In order to be sent off for evaluation, proposals must follow the guidelines below.

3. INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONTRIBUTORS

3.1. What to send. Authors should send their proposals via e-mail, indicating the title of the proposal that is being submitted in order to be evaluated for publication in *JES*.

Attached to the message, authors should send two Word or RTF documents. In the first document, authors should include the title of the proposal (in **bold**

face), the name/s of the author/s (in Small Capitals), their institutional affiliation (in *italics*) and any other relevant information, such as e-mail and postal address and telephone and fax number.

In the case of multiple authorship, please state clearly which of the contributors will be in charge of the ensuing correspondence with *JES*.

Authors should also include here a brief biographical note of about 100 words.

The second document should include the full proposal to be sent off for evaluation. Authors should be extremely careful to avoid any kind of information which might reveal their identity.

3.2. Artwork, tables, figures and images. These should be included in the text file. Tone art, or photographic images, should be saved as JPG or TIFF files with a resolution of 300 dpi at final size.

3.3. Copyright information. If a preliminary version of the proposal has been presented at a conference, information about the name of the conference, the name of the sponsoring organization, the exact date(s) of the conference or paper presentation and the city in which the conference was held should be provided in a footnote in the first page of the document. Seeking permission for the use of copyright material is the responsibility of the author.

4. MANUSCRIPT PREPARATION

4.1. Formatting. Minimum formatting should be used. Indentation, underlining and tabulation should be avoided unless absolutely necessary.

4.2. Document. All margins in the document should be of 2.54 cms. Paragraphs should be fully justified. The main text of the proposal should be written in 12-point Garamond. Quotations will be in 11-point Garamond when they appear in an independent paragraph. Abstracts, keywords, footnotes, superscript numbers, tables and figures will appear in 10-point Garamond.

4.3. Title. The title of the proposal should be centred and written in 12-point Garamond bold. Capitals should be used for both title and subtitle.

A Spanish translation of the title of the proposal should also be included. For those contributors who do not handle Spanish, a translation will be provided by the Editor.

4.4. Abstract and keywords. Each title should be followed by a brief abstract (100-150 words each): the first one should be written in English, while the second one should be written in Spanish. For those contributors who do not handle Spanish, a translation of the abstract will be provided by the Editor. Abstracts should be single-spaced, typed in 10-point Garamond *italics* (titles of books and keywords will appear in normal characters), justified on both sides, and indented 1 cm. from the left-hand margin. Abstracts should have no footnotes. The word ABSTRACT/

RESUMEN (in normal characters and capital letters), followed by a full-stop and a single space, will precede the text of the abstract.

Abstracts will be followed by a list of six keywords, written in normal characters in the corresponding language, English or Spanish, so that contributions can be accurately classified by international reference indexes. The word *Keywords/ Palabras clave* (in italics), followed by a semi-colon and a single space, will precede the keywords.

4.5. Paragraphs. Paragraphs in the main text should not be separated by a blank line. The first line of each paragraph will be indented 1 cm. from the left-hand margin. Words will not be divided at the end of a line either. There should be only one space between words and only one space after any punctuation.

4.6. Italics. Words in a language other than English should be italicized; italics should also be used in order to emphasize some *key words*. If the word that has to be emphasized is located in a paragraph which is already in italics, the key word will appear in normal characters.

4.7. Figures, illustrations, and tables. They should be numbered consecutively with Arabic numerals and referred to by their numbers within the text (e.g. as we see in example/figure/table 1). They should be accompanied by an explanatory foot (in 10-point Garamond italics, single-spaced).

4.8. Headings. Headings of sections should be typed in Small Capitals, and separated with two blank spaces from the previous text and with one blank space from the following text. They must be preceded by Arabic numerals separated by a full stop and a blank space (e.g. 1. Introduction).

Headings of subsections should be typed in *italics*, and separated with one space from both the previous and the following text. They must be numbered as in the example (e.g. 1.1., 1.2., etc.).

Headings of inferior levels of subsections should be avoided as much as possible. If they are included, they should also be numbered with Arabic numerals (e.g. 1.1.1., 1.1.2., etc.) and they will be typed in normal characters.

4.9. Asides. For asides other than parenthetical asides, dashes (and not hyphens) should be used, preceded and followed by a blank space. For compounds use hyphens. Notice the following example:

> "Teaching in English **– as many subjects as possible –** seems to offer a **second-best** solution insofar as it entails much more exposure of the foreign language".

4.10. Punctuation. Authors are requested to make their usage of punctuation as consistent as possible. Commas, full stops, colons and semi-colons will be placed after inverted commas (";).

Capital letters will keep their natural punctuation such as accents, etc. (e.g. PUNTUACIÓN, LINGÜÍSTICA, etc.).

Apostrophes (’), not accents (´), should be used for abbreviations and the saxon genitive.

4.11. Footnotes. Footnotes should only be explanatory (references should be provided only in the main text). Footnotes will appear at the end of the page. Superscript numbers will be separated from the main text of the footnote by a blank space.

References to footnotes should be marked in the text with consecutive superscript Arabic numerals, which should be placed after all punctuation (including parenthesis and quotation marks).

4.12. Quotations. Quotations should normally appear in the body of the text, enclosed in double quotation marks. Single quotation marks will be used to locate a quotation within another quotation (e.g. “toward a unified policy that ‘natural’ English was altogether preferable”).

Quotations of four lines or longer should be set in a separate paragraph, without quotation marks, typed in 11-point Garamond and indented 1,5 cms. from the left-hand margin. They should be separated from both the previous and the following text with one blank line.

Omissions within quoted text should be indicated by means of suspension points in square brackets (e.g. […]).

4.13. In-text citations. References must be made in the text and placed within parentheses. Parentheses should contain the author’s surname followed by a space before the date of publication which, should, in turn, be followed by a colon and a space before the page number(s). Example:

> “Certainly, the conventional romance plot is a construction of the ideology of patriarchy” (Brush 1994: 238).

If the sentence includes the author’s name (example 1) or if it includes the date of publication (example 2), that information should not be repeated in the parentheses:

Example 1:

> Johnson has drawn our attention to the fact that we are aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers (1987: 21).

Example 2:

> In appearance and aspirations he is culturally androgynous like Frankie. He is sexually ambivalent and “Light Skinned” (McCullers 1962: 155) and “could talk like a white school-teacher” (48).

If the quotation includes several pages, numbers will be provided in full, as in the example:

> In the world she would create "there would be no separate coloured people […] but all human beings would be light brown colour with blue eyes and black hair. There would be no coloured people and no white people to make coloured people feel cheap and sorry all through their lives" (McCullers 1962: 114-115).

If several authors are parenthetically cited at the same time, they should be arranged chronologically and separated with a semi-colon:

> (Richards 1971: 210; Arabski 1979: 43; Selinker 1991: 16)

If there are two or more works by the same author published in the same year, a lower-case letter should be added to the year, as in the example:

> (Montrose 1986a: 332) (Montrose 1986b: 9)

Parenthetical citations should be placed immediately after each quotation, both when the quoted passage is incorporated into the text and when the passage is longer than four lines and needs to be set in a separate paragraph. Put this parenthetical citation after the quotation marks but before the comma or period when the quotation is part of your text:

> The readers being addressed are mainly white and anglophone, for, as Atwood said "survival was part of the English-Canadian cultural nationalism that peaked in about 1975" (1981: 387).

When the quotation is set off from the text in indented form, the parenthetical citation follows all punctuation:

> Even Cranny-Francis points to the subversive potential of the romance plot:
>
> > Romance is often written into texts dominated by other genres, such as SF, utopian or detective fiction, where it may operate as one of the conventions of those genres. Feminist revisions of these genres also use romance and, in dialogue with other generic conventions, it has been used successfully to interrogate the construction of masculinity and femininity and of interpersonal relationships. (1990: 190)

4.14. Bibliographical references. All (and only those) books and articles quoted or referred to in the text (those quoted in the footnotes included) should appear in a final bibliographical list of references, which completes the information provided by the in-text citations provided in the text.

The heading for this list should be REFERENCES.

Hanging or reverse indentation (i.e. indentation of all lines of a paragraph except the first one, which is a full line) of 1 cm. from the left-hand margin should be used.

This list should be arranged in alphabetical order and chronologically, when two or more works by the same author are cited. The author's full name should be repeated in all cases. Example:

Langacker, R. 1991. *Foundations of cognitive grammar 2: Descriptive application.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Wierzbicka, A. 1992. *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Books. References to books will include: author's surname and name; year of publication (first edition in parentheses, if different); title (in italics); place of publication; publisher's name. If the book is a translation, the name of the translator should be indicated at the end. Contributors are requested to pay special attention to punctuation in the following examples:

Taylor, J. R. 1995 (1989). *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Kristeva, J. 2000. *The Sense and Non-Sense of Revolt.* New York: Columbia University Press. Trans. Jeanine Herman.

Articles. Titles of articles should be given in inverted commas. Titles of journals should appear in italics. Volume, number (between parentheses) should follow. Then page numbers, separated by a colon:

Haiman, J. 1978. "Conditionals are topics". *Language* 54 (2): 564-589.

Frye, N. 1940. "The Resurgent". *Canadian Forum* 19: 357-61.

Books edited. Volumes edited by one or more authors should be referred to as follows (notice the use of abbreviations ed. and eds.):

Miller, N. C., ed. 1986. *The Poetics of Gender.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Richards, J. C. and D. Nunan, eds. 1990. *Second Language Teacher Education.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Articles in books. References to articles published in works edited by other authors or in conference proceedings should be cited as in the example:

Fowler, R. 1983. "Polyphony and Problematic in *Hard Times*". *The Changing World of Charles Dickens*. Ed. R. Giddings. London: Vision Press. 91-108.

Traugott, E. C. 1988. "Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization". *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Eds. S. Axmaker, A. Jaisser and H. Singmaster. Berkeley, Ca.: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 406-416.

Several authors. A journal article with three authors:

Golberg, H., Paradis, J. and M. Crago. 2008. "Lexical acquisition over time in minority first language children learning English as a second language". *Applied Psycholinguistics* 29: 41-65.

Magazine article in a weekly or biweekly publication:

Allen, B. 1995. "Leaving Behind Daydreams for Nightmares". *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October, A12.

A **review** in a journal:

Judie Newman. 2007. "*Fictions of America. Narratives of Global Empire*", by P. Martín Salván. *Atlantis* 31 (1): 165-170.

An **unpublished dissertation**:

Arús, J. 2003. *Towards a Computational Specification of Transitivity in Spanish: A Contrastive Study with English*. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Spain.

An **on-line** publication:

Pierce, David. "Irish Studies round the world-2007: Introduction." <http://www.estudiosirlandeses.org/Issue3/Issue3InternationalReviews/PdfI StudiesRoundtheWorldbyDPierce.pdf>. (Accessed 7 May 2008)

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES (JES)
Política Editorial, Presentación de Originales y Hoja de Estilo

1. **POLÍTICA EDITORIAL**

1.1. Descripción de la revista. *JES* es una publicación del Área de Filología Inglesa del Departamento de Filologías Modernas de la Universidad de la Rioja dedicada a la difusión de estudios en todas las áreas de investigación que se engloban en el ámbito de los Estudios Ingleses. Se aceptarán para su publicación, previo informe favorable de dos evaluadores anónimos, trabajos originales que se integren en alguna de las áreas temáticas relacionadas con los Estudios Ingleses (lingüística, literatura, teoría literaria, estudios culturales, estudios fílmicos, etc.), debiendo acogerse además a alguna de las siguientes modalidades:

A. Artículos sobre cualquiera de las áreas temáticas que se engloban dentro de los Estudios Ingleses (mínimo 15 y máximo 30 páginas a doble espacio, incluyendo referencias bibliográficas, notas, apéndices, figuras y tablas).

B. Reseñas y recensiones de libros recientes publicados en el campo de los Estudios Ingleses (máximo 8 páginas a doble espacio).

C. Notas o reflexiones críticas breves (*squibs*) (máximo 6 páginas a doble espacio).

Excepcionalmente, y siempre acompañados de un informe positivo del *Consejo Científico*, se admitirán trabajos que superen la extensión indicada, cuando la relevancia de los mismos lo justifique.

1.2. Idioma. JES sólo admite propuestas de publicación escritas en inglés.

1.3. Evaluación. Los trabajos serán remitidos a dos evaluadores anónimos propuestos por los miembros del *Consejo de Redacción* y/o *Consejo Científico* de *JES*. Es requisito imprescindible para la publicación de los trabajos la obtención de dos evaluaciones positivas. La evaluación se efectuará en relación a los siguientes criterios:

— Originalidad e interés en cuanto a tema, método, datos, resultados, etc.
— Pertinencia en relación con las investigaciones actuales en el área.
— Revisión de trabajos de otros autores sobre el mismo asunto.
— Rigor en la argumentación y en el análisis.
— Precisión en el uso de conceptos y métodos.
— Discusión de implicaciones y aspectos teóricos del tema estudiado.
— Utilización de bibliografía actualizada.
— Corrección lingüística, organización y presentación formal del texto.
— Claridad, elegancia y concisión expositivas.
— Adecuación a la temática propia de *JES*.

La evaluación se realizará respetando el anonimato, tanto de los autores como de los evaluadores; posteriormente, en el plazo de tres meses desde la recepción del artículo, los autores recibirán los correspondientes informes sobre sus trabajos, junto con la decisión editorial sobre la pertinencia de su publicación, sin que exista la posibilidad de correspondencia posterior sobre los resultados de la evaluación.

1.4. Revisión y pruebas de imprenta. Si fuera necesaria la revisión de alguno de los aspectos formales o de contenido de la propuesta de publicación, ésta será responsabilidad exclusiva del autor, quien deberá entregar el documento informático de la nueva versión corregida en el plazo establecido por la dirección de la revista. De no hacerlo así, el trabajo no será publicado aunque hubiera sido evaluado positivamente.

Asimismo, los autores son responsables de la corrección de las pruebas de imprenta, debiendo remitir los textos corregidos en el plazo indicado por la dirección de la revista.

1.5. Copyright. Los autores se comprometen a que sus propuestas de publicación sean originales, no habiendo sido publicadas previamente, ni enviadas a evaluar a otras revistas. La publicación de artículos en *JES* no da derecho a remuneración alguna; los derechos de edición pertenecen a *JES* y es necesario su permiso para cualquier reproducción parcial o total cuya procedencia, en todo caso, será de citación obligatoria.

1.6. Política de intercambio. *JES* está interesado en realizar intercambios con otras publicaciones similares dentro del campo de los estudios ingleses o de otras áreas de conocimiento relacionadas.

2. ENVÍO DE PROPUESTAS

Los trabajos se remitirán en formato Word o RTF como documentos adjuntos de correo electrónico a la secretaria de la revista:

Dr. Cristina Flores Moreno
Secretaria de *JES*
E-mail: jes@unirioja.es

For further information, contact the Editor of *JES*

    Dr. Mª Pilar Agustín Llach

    E-mail: jes@unirioja.es

Antes de ser enviados a evaluar, la presentación de los originales ha de ajustarse a las siguientes normas.

3. Instrucciones para los autores

3.1. Qué enviar. Los autores enviarán sus propuestas por correo electrónico, indicando el título del trabajo que se envía para evaluar de cara a su publicación en *JES*.

Junto con el mensaje, los autores enviarán dos documentos en formato Word o RTF. En el primer documento, los autores incluirán el título del artículo (en **negrita**), el nombre (en Versalita), la afiliación del autor o autores (en *cursiva*) y cualquier otra información relevante como su dirección postal y la de correo-electrónico o el número de teléfono y de fax.

En el caso de autoría compartida, se indicará el nombre y la dirección de correo electrónico de la persona a quien deben dirigirse la correspondencia y las pruebas de imprenta.

Los autores deberán incluir también una breve nota biográfica (de unas 100 palabras).

El segundo documento contendrá el artículo que ha de enviarse para su evaluación. Por tanto los autores deberán ser extremadamente cautos para evitar que aparezca cualquier tipo de información personal que permita identificar a los autores del trabajo.

3.2. Tablas, figuras e imágenes. Deberán incluirse en el texto en el lugar adecuado. Las imágenes se guardarán en formato JPG o TIFF con una resolución de 300 dpi, tamaño final.

3.3. Información sobre copyright. En el caso de que una parte del artículo se haya presentado con anterioridad en un congreso, se debe incluir una nota en la que se indique el nombre del congreso, el de la institución que lo organizó, las fechas exactas del congreso o el día en el que se presentó la ponencia y la ciudad donde se celebró el congreso. La obtención de los permisos necesarios para utilizar material sujeto a copyright es responsabilidad de los autores.

4. Preparación del manuscrito

4.1. Formato. Se ruega reducir al mínimo el número de formatos. No se utilizarán sangrías, subrayados o tabulaciones a menos que sea absolutamente necesario.

4.2. Documento. La medida de todos los márgenes (izquierdo, derecho, superior e inferior) en el documento será de 2,54 cms. Todos los párrafos estarán justificados y se utilizará la letra Garamond de 12 puntos para el texto y la bibliografía, de 11

puntos para las citas que aparezcan en un párrafo separado de la estructura del texto y de 10 puntos para los resúmenes o abstracts, las palabras clave, las notas, los números sobrescritos, las tablas y las figuras.

4.3. Título. El título del artículo se presentará centrado con letra Garamond 12 negrita. Se utilizarán las mayúsculas tanto para el título, como para el subtítulo, si lo hubiera.

El título deberá estar traducido al español. El editor se encargará de la traducción cuando el autor no sepa español.

4.4. Resumen y palabras clave. El título inglés y el español irán seguidos de sendos resúmenes (de entre 100 y 150 palabras cada uno): el primero, en inglés, y el segundo en español. El editor se encargará de la traducción cuando el autor no sepa español. Los resúmenes se presentarán en letra Garamond de 10 puntos y en *cursiva* (los títulos de libros y las palabras clave irán en caracteres normales), con justificación completa, a un solo espacio y sangrados un centímetro del margen izquierdo. Los resúmenes no podrán incluir notas al pie. La palabra RESUMEN/ABSTRACT (en caracteres normales y mayúsculas) estarán separados del resumen por un punto y un espacio.

Cada resumen irá seguido de una lista de seis *palabras clave* en el idioma correspondiente: inglés o español, para facilitar así la clasificación correcta de los artículos en índices de referencia internacional. La palabra *Palabras clave/Keywords* (en cursiva), seguidas de dos puntos y un espacio, precederán a los términos elegidos.

4.5. Párrafos. La distancia entre los párrafos será la misma que la utilizada en el espacio interlineal, y por lo que se refiere a la primera línea de cada párrafo, ésta irá sangrada un centímetro hacia la derecha. No se dividirán palabras al final de una línea. Se incluirá solo un espacio entre palabras y un solo espacio después de cada signo de puntuación.

4.6. Cursiva. Las palabras en una lengua diferente a la de la redacción del texto aparecerán en cursiva; asimismo se empleará este tipo de letra para resaltar alguna palabra clave, y cuando esto suceda en un fragmento textual en cursiva, se procederá de modo contrario, i.e., se destacará la palabra clave en caracteres normales.

4.7. Figuras, ilustraciones y tablas. Las figuras, ilustraciones y tablas deberán ir numeradas con cifras arábigas y se hará referencia a sus números dentro del texto (v.gr., como vemos en la imagen/ilustración/tabla/ejemplo 1). Irán acompañadas de un pie en el que se indique su contenido (en letra Garamond de 10 puntos y en *cursiva* y a un solo espacio).

4.8. Títulos de los apartados. Los títulos de los apartados se presentarán en letra versalita común, numerados con cifras arábigas que estarán separadas del título por un punto y un espacio (v.gr., 1. Introduction); los títulos estarán separados del texto anterior por dos líneas y del texto siguiente por una.

Los títulos de los subapartados se anotarán en *cursiva* común y serán nuevamente numerados (v. gr., 1.1., 1.2., 1.3.), debiendo separarse tanto del texto que antecede como del texto siguiente por una línea.

Los niveles inferiores a los subapartados deberán evitarse en lo posible. Si se utilizan serán numerados igualmente con cifras arábigas y se escribirán en texto común (v. gr., 1.1.1., 1.1.2.; 1.1.1.1., 1.1.1.2.).

4.9. Aclaraciones. En los casos en los que se hagan aclaraciones en las que no se utilice un paréntesis sino guiones, el guión estará separado tanto de la primera como de la última palabra de la aclaración por un espacio, como el en ejemplo:

> "Teaching in English **– as many subjects as possible –** seems to offer a **second-best** solution insofar as it entails much more exposure of the foreign language".

4.10. Puntuación. La puntuación ortográfica (coma, punto, punto y coma, dos puntos, etc) deberá colocarse detrás de las comillas (";).

La escritura en mayúsculas conservará, en su caso, la acentuación gráfica correspondiente (v. gr., INTRODUCCIÓN, LINGÜÍSTICA, BIBLIOGRAFÍA).

Se utilizará un apóstrofe (') y no una tilde (´) en abreviaturas y genitivos sajón.

4.11. Notas al pie. Las notas al pie serán breves y aclaratorias. Como regla general, se evitará el uso de notas al pie para registrar únicamente referencias bibliográficas. Se incorporarán al final de página. Los números de nota sobreescritos estarán separados del texto de la nota por un espacio.

Las notas irán numeradas con cifras arábigas consecutivas que se colocarán detrás de todos los signos de puntuación (incluidos paréntesis y comillas).

4.12. Citas. Las citas textuales de hasta cuatro líneas de longitud se integrarán en el texto e irán señaladas mediante comillas dobles. Las comillas simples se utilizarán para ubicar citas dentro de las citas (v.gr., "toward a unified policy that 'natural' English was altogether preferable").

Las citas de extensión igual o superior a cuatro líneas se presentarán en un párrafo separado del texto por una línea, tanto al principio como al final, y sin comillas, en letra Garamond 11 y sangradas a 1,5 cms. del margen izquierdo.

Las omisiones dentro de las citas se indicarán por medio de puntos suspensivos entre corchetes (v. gr., […]).

4.13. Referencias en el texto. Las referencias a las citas deben hacerse en el propio texto entre paréntesis. Dentro del paréntesis deberá incluirse el apellido del autor, seguido de un espacio, seguido de la fecha de publicación, seguida de dos puntos y un espacio, seguidos del número o número de páginas. Ejemplo:

> "Certainly, the conventional romance plot is a construction of the ideology of patriarchy" (Brush 1994: 238).

Cuando en la frase se cita el nombre del autor (ejemplo 1) o la fecha de publicación (ejemplo 2), esa información no debe repetirse en el paréntesis:

Ejemplo 1:

> Johnson has drawn our attention to the fact that we are aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers (1987: 21).

Ejemplo 2:

> In appearance and aspirations he is culturally androgynous like Frankie. He is sexually ambivalent and "Light Skinned" (McCullers 1962: 155) and "could talk like a white school-teacher" (48).

Cuando la cita incluye varias páginas, los números de página aparecerán completos, como en el ejemplo:

> In the world she would create "there would be no separate coloured people […] but all human beings would be light brown colour with blue eyes and black hair. There would be no coloured people and no white people to make coloured people feel cheap and sorry all through their lives" (McCullers 1962: 114-115).

Cuando se citan varias obras a la vez en el mismo paréntesis, éstas deben ser ordenadas cronológicamente y separadas entre sí por un punto y coma:

> (Richards 1971: 210; Arabski 1979: 43; Selinker 1991: 16)

Cuando se citan dos o más obras del mismo autor publicadas en el mismo año, se debe añadir una letra minúscula al año, como en el ejemplo:

> (Montrose 1986a: 332) (Montrose 1986b: 9)

Las referencias entre paréntesis deben colocarse inmediatamente después de cada cita, independientemente de si la cita se incluye en el propio texto como si aparece en un párrafo aparte. La referencia debe colocarse después de las comillas pero antes de la coma o del signo de puntuación si la cita aparece en el propio texto:

> The readers being addressed are mainly white and anglophone, for, as Atwood said "survival was part of the English-Canadian cultural nationalism that peaked in about 1975" (1981: 387).

En cambio, si la cita está en un párrafo aparte, la referencia se sitúa después del signo de puntuación:

Even Cranny-Francis points to the subversive potential of the romance plot:

> Romance is often written into texts dominated by other genres, such as SF,
> utopian or detective fiction, where it may operate as one of the conventions
> of those genres. Feminist revisions of these genres also use romance and, in
> dialogue with other generic conventions, it has been used successfully to
> interrogate the construction of masculinity and femininity and of interpersonal
> relationships. (1990: 190)

4.14. Referencias bibliográficas. Todos (y solamente aquellos) libros y artículos
citados o parafraseados en el texto (incluyendo los que aparecen en la notas al pie)
deben aparecer en una lista de referencias bibliográficas al final del documento, de
modo que complete la información dada en las citas entre paréntesis a lo largo del
texto.

Esta lista se agrupará bajo el título REFERENCES, escrito en mayúsculas, en letra
Garamond 12 común, sin numerar y en un párrafo a doble espacio separado del
texto por dos espacios en blanco.

Cada una de las referencias bibliográficas aparecerá en un párrafo a doble
espacio, con una sangría francesa (en la que se sangran todas las líneas del párrafo
excepto la primera) de 1 cm., en letra Garamond 12 común.

La lista estará ordenada alfabéticamente y cronológicamente, en el caso de que
se citen dos o más obras del mismo autor. El nombre completo del autor se repetirá
en todos los casos. Ejemplo:

Langacker, R. 1991. *Foundations of cognitive grammar 2: Descriptive application.*
Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Wierzbicka, A. 1992. *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human
Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations.* New York: Oxford University
Press.

Libros. Las referencias a libros completos deberán incluir: apellidos y nombre del
autor; año de publicación (entre paréntesis el de la primera edición, si es distinta); el
título (en cursiva); el lugar de publicación; y la editorial. Si el libro es una traducción,
se indicará al final el nombre del traductor. Se ruega a los autores que presten
atención a la puntuación en los siguientes ejemplos:

Taylor, J. R. 1995 (1989). *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic
Theory.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Kristeva, J. 2000. *The Sense and Non-Sense of Revolt.* New York: Columbia
University Press. Trans. Jeanine Herman.

Artículos. En las referencias a artículos, los títulos de los artículos aparecerán entre comillas; el de la revista en la que aparecen en cursiva; seguidos del volumen y el número (entre parentesis) de la revista. Luego irán los números de páginas, separados por dos puntos:

Haiman, J. 1978. "Conditionals are topics". *Language* 54 (2): 564-589.

Frye, N. 1940. "The Resurgent". *Canadian Forum* 19: 357-61.

Libros editados. Las obras editadas por uno o varios autores deberán citarse como sigue (se utilizarán las abreviaturas ed. o eds.):

Miller, N. C., ed. 1986. *The Poetics of Gender*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Richards, J. C. and D. Nunan, eds. 1990. *Second Language Teacher Education*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Artículos publicados en libros. Las referencias a artículos publicados en obras editadas por otros autores o en actas de congresos se escribirán como se indica en el ejemplo:

Fowler, R. 1983. "Polyphony and Problematic in *Hard Times*". *The Changing World of Charles Dickens*. Ed. R. Giddings. London: Vision Press. 91-108.

Traugott, E. C. 1988. "Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization". *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Eds. S. Axmaker, A. Jaisser and H. Singmaster. Berkeley, Ca.: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 406-416.

Varios autores. Artículo de revista con tres autores:

Golberg, H., Paradis, J. and M. Crago. 2008. "Lexical acquisition over time in minority first language children learning English as a second language". *Applied Psycholinguistics* 29: 41-65.

Artículo en una publicación semanal o quincenal:

Allen, B. 1995. "Leaving Behind Daydreams for Nightmares". *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October, A12.

Reseña en una revista:

Judie Newman. 2007. "*Fictions of America. Narratives of Global Empire*", by P. Martín Salván. *Atlantis* 31 (1): 165-170.

Tesis sin publicar:

Arús, J. 2003. *Towards a Computational Specification of Transitivity in Spanish: A Contrastive Study with English.* Unpublished Ph. D. thesis. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Spain.

Publicaciones **on-line**:

Pierce, David. "Irish Studies round the world-2007: Introduction." <http://www.estudiosirlandeses.org/Issue3/Issue3InternationalReviews/PdfI StudiesRoundtheWorldbyDPierce.pdf>. (Accessed 7 May 2008)

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