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CONTENTS

I AM NOBODY: FANTASY AND IDENTITY IN NEIL GAIMAN'S
THE GRAVEYARD BOOK

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ABSTRACT. *With the popularity of fantasy literature in recent years, more and more writers of adolescent books shifted their attention to depicting the macabre and the bizarre. While authors of fantasy literature endeavor to show that something that is unreal, strange, whimsical, or magical nevertheless has an internal logic and consistency, at the same time, certain stereotypes typical of the realistic world are destabilized. In the imaginary world in which the events, settings, or characters are outside the realm of possibility, many ideas like love, truth, reality, and identity are constantly destabilized and contested. For example, in Neil Gaiman's* The Graveyard Book *(2008), which garners him the Carnegie Medal and the Newbery Medal, the problem of personal identity is apparent in Nobody Owens, an orphan whose parents are killed by a man called "Jack" and whose survival depends on the mercy of the ghosts living in the graveyard that Nobody runs to and hides in to escape Jack. This paper aims to discuss how the protagonist of* The Graveyard Book *grapples with his bewilderment when confronted with the myth of his identity and how the elements of fantasy are incorporated to help untangle this coming-of-age mythology.*

Keywords: Adolescent literature, fantasy, identity, Neil Gaiman, *The Graveyard Book,* Nobody Owens.

TSUNG CHI CHANG

YO NO SOY NADIE: FANTASIA E IDENTIDAD EN
THE GRAVEYARD BOOK DE NEIL GAIMAN

RESUMEN. *Con el auge de la literatura fantástica en los últimos años, cada vez más autores de literatura juvenil han trasladado su interés a la descripción de lo macabro y lo bizarro. Mientras los autores de literatura fantástica tratan de mostrar que algo que es irreal, extraño, extravagante o mágico tiene, no obstante, cierta consistencia y lógica interna, al mismo tiempo que, ciertos estereotipos propios del mundo real se desestabilizan. En el mundo imaginario en el que los acontecimientos, escenarios y personajes quedan fuera del reino de la posibilidad, muchas ideas, como el amor, la verdad, la realidad y la identidad, son constantemente desestabilizados y discutidos. Por ejemplo, en* The Graveyard Book *(2008), de Neil Gaiman, el problema de la identidad personal se hace aparente en la figura de Nobody Owens, un huérfano cuyos padres son asesinados por un hombre llamado "Jack" y cuya supervivencia depende de los espíritus que habitan en el cementerio en el que Nobody se oculta para escapar de Jack. Este artículo pretende discutir como el protagonista de esta obra lucha contra su desconcierto al enfrentarse al mito de su identidad y como los elementos de la fantasía se incorporan para ayudar a desentrañar esta mitología del paso a la madurez.*

Palabras clave: Literatura juvenil, fantasía, identidad, Neil Gaiman, *The Graveyard Book*, Nobody Owens.

> I am not nobody; I am Odysseus, son of Laertes, King of Ithaca.
> —Homer, *Odyssey*

> I'm Nobody! Who are you?
> Are You Nobody—Too?
> —Dickinson, "I'm Nobody"

1. INTRODUCTION

Naming and identity have been widely explored in the history of western literature. When Odysseus tells Polyphemus that his name is "Nobody," the foresighted Greek hero is managing to hide his own identity so as to shield himself from the attack of the one-eyed monster; whereas for Emily Dickinson, the term "Nobody" demonstrates not so much a pretense of shunning danger as her preference for obscurity and tranquility. With their different intentions, both characters use the

term "nobody" to exert their will power for the benefit of their survival. In both cases, the act of naming themselves "nobody" significantly displays their authority over their own fate and future. However, not everyone in the world is able to claim his or her own identity. Nobody Owens (often called "Bod"), the protagonist of Neil Gaiman's *The Graveyard Book*, is a case in point. The book begins with the murder of Bod's family by Jack (often called "the man Jack"), the survival of the toddler (the young Bod) who crawls up a hill to the nearby graveyard, and the protection offered by a ghost couple, Mr. and Mrs. Owens. This family tragedy is followed by Bod growing up in the spooky graveyard, his interactions with people from the world of the living and that of the dead, his education of different skills and knowledge from his ghostly mentors, and his incessant longing to enter the world of the living to investigate his identity.

The uniqueness of this work of fiction lies in the fact that the main character co-exists in the worlds of both the living and the dead. Stories about coming-of-age experiences are abundant; however, setting such a component against the backdrop of a graveyard is unusual in the history of adolescent literature. To date, this novel has sparked critical discussions from a range of perspectives. Referring to the philosophical theories proposed by Aristotle and Kierkegaard, Wayne Yuen maintains that Bod's virtues, such as bravery, temperance, charity, truthfulness, friendliness, and authenticity, help create his moral and virtuous life despite the terrible tragedy that befell his family (2012: 138-143). From an existentialist perspective, Robert T. Tally Jr. accentuates Bod's success in creating meaning and purpose, though the creation is more complicated because it is situated not only in the real world, but also in an otherworldly realm (2012: 172). In addition, Wade Newhouse suggests that the book can be read either as a typical coming-of-age story with some spooks thrust in for frightening effect or as a traditional ghost story with coming-of-age elements included for structure and moral effect (2012: 113). These discussions are illuminating in opening up the different dimensions for readers. However, with all their insights, they generally fail to assess how Bod's search for identity is associated with the fantastic elements. This paper aims to fill this research gap by discussing the inter-dependence of fantasy and identity construction in *The Graveyard Book* and its literary and cultural implications.

2. WHAT A FANTASTIC WORLD

Neil Gaiman, credited as one of the best writers of children's and young adult literature in today's world, is prolific and versatile. His work includes genres that range from science fiction, to fantasy literature, comics, fairy tale rewritings, audio plays, and graphic novels (Klapcsik 2009: 193). Gaiman's great achievements are

evident in his host of honors and literary awards—the Locus Award for Best Fantasy Novel runner-up for *Good Omens* (1991), the Bram Stoker Award for Best Novel for *American Gods* (2001), the Hugo Award for Best Novel for *American Gods* (2002), the Hugo Award for Best Novella for *Coraline* (2003), the British Science Fiction Association Award for *Coraline* (2003), the British Fantasy Award for Best Novel for *Anansi Boys* (2006), the Newbery Medal for *The Graveyard Book* (2009), and the Carnegie Medal in Literature for *The Graveyard Book* (2010)—, to name but a few. In fact, Gaiman started out writing for adults, and many years later began writing for children. Some of his works are not intended for children but for adults, or for both. The critically acclaimed novels of *American Gods* (2001) and *Anansi Boys* (2005) are cases in point. Overall, Gaiman is good at depicting supernatural and fanciful stories set in imaginary worlds. His mastery of fantasy writing is concisely illustrated in the comment in 2009 when the American Library Association awarded him the Newbery Medal for *The Graveyard Book*, proclaiming the book as "a delicious mix of murder, fantasy, humor, and human longing" (Nilsen 2009: 79).

In general, fantasy literature is defined as works that use the supernatural elements (eg. depiction of dream worlds or incredible worlds) to construct a plausible story (Childs and Fowler 2006: 82). According to Lucie Armitt, fantasy literature has two salient features: first, it deals with an otherworld; second, it narrates stories beyond our everyday experience (2005: 8). Such eerie elements are conspicuous in *The Graveyard Book*: the plot has been overshadowed by murder, killing, revenge, and adventure in an unfamiliar world, not to mention the supernatural abilities Bod learns, such as Fading, Sliding, Haunting, and Dreamwalking (37, 217). The setting itself, the intimidating graveyard, betrays much about Gaiman's intention in constructing a harrowing atmosphere, though many of the ghosts in the graveyard prove to be milder than what most readers might anticipate. Plot and setting aside, characterization in *The Graveyard Book* contributes to its uncanny effects. The main characters in the story are either ghostly figures or people whose lives have much to do with the supernatural world. Bod's life depends a lot on the mercy of the ghosts. Silas, Bod's guardian and mentor, is a vampire whose life straddles the world of the living and that of the dead. Miss Lupescu, another mentor and protector of Bod when Silas is away, is a werewolf that teaches him through the rote memorization of lists. Ghouls and Night-Gaunts are also introduced. Moreover, characters like the ancient Indigo Man and the Sleer, both underground treasure-guardians, add fear to the already appalling atmosphere. While they play different roles in Bod's development, these fantastic characters are employed to keep readers in suspense and maximize the mystification and horror simultaneously.

One thing that has often been neglected in the discussion of fantasy literature is the deployment of the real world. In reality, many characters in

fantasy literature move around two worlds—the existing world and the other-world. The integration of everyday events in the supernatural world makes the story more plausible and renders the supernatural world more "homely and comprehensible" (Childs and Fowler 2006: 83). The incorporation of scenes from the real world also helps create a fantastic world with "the inner consistency of reality" (Tolkien 2013: 5). In *The Graveyard Book*, although the otherworld setting in the graveyard foregrounds the macabre atmosphere significantly, it is through the interaction with the real world that Bod's self-awareness and maturity are made possible. Without Scarlet Perkins, a girl about his age, Bod would never know how brave he could be until he takes the little girl underground to look for treasure (48-58), nor would he be able to encounter Jack and untangle the mystery of his own identity in the last two chapters. In addition, were it not for Nick and Mo, the two bullies he meets at school, Bod would never have figured out his own sense of justice and the great pity he has for the underprivileged. Furthermore, it is precisely his co-existence in the two worlds that aggravates his sense of insecurity, prompting his attempt to fathom his own identity. Whereas the otherworld nurtures and protects him from danger, the real world initiates him into a wide range of trials, frustrations, and failures when confronted with the harsh reality of humanity. The experiences in the real world are indispensable in urging him to look into his past, examine his present, and explore his future.

3. IDENTITY FORMATION AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

The Graveyard Book generally follows the conventions of coming-of-age fiction. As M. H. Abrams and Geoffrey Galt Harpham contend, most coming-of-age stories focus on "the development of the protagonist's mind and character… into maturity; this process usually involves recognition of one's identity and role in the world" (2012: 255). In brief, the main characters in coming-of-age stories generally have a better understanding of themselves and their connection with the outside world after a series of events. Nevertheless, a person's identity is not merely determined by his or her inner qualities but also by some outside factors, such as education, religion, work experience, and social environment. In other words, one's identity is, to a certain extent, socially constructed. Identity is perceived as "the interface between a private sense of self… and those factors that constitute the social context in which we experience those feelings and motivations" (Giles and Middleton 2008: 34). In *The Graveyard Book*, Bod's identity is a mystery early in the story. The private sense of self that determines his inner qualities has been indefinite throughout most of the novel. His personality and identity are formulated through his interactions with people around him, be they from the real world or the underworld. Mr. and Mrs.

Owens introduce him to life in the graveyard, while Silas and Miss Lupescu teach him plenty of knowledge and useful skills for his survival in the menacing human world. Moreover, Bod's encounter with Scarlet and their later adventure together help him understand his own personality. Before meeting Scarlet, he is constantly under the protection of adults. It is the first time in his life that Bod perceives his own ability to go on an adventure and protect others. In a sense, Scarlet helps him re-affirm his existence and importance.

In addition, Bod's decision to risk his life for Liza, the girl who was killed and buried as a witch without being given a headstone in the graveyard, testifies to his empathy for the marginalized character and his strong desire to have an identity at the same time. As the narrator says, "He would find Liza Hempstock a headstone, with her name upon it. He would make her smile" (113). On the surface, Bod is trying to help Liza find a gravestone upon which to inscribe her name and thus declare her identity. But, as a matter of fact, his enthusiasm for helping Liza stands for his identification with someone who is not recognized by society and therefore lacks an identity. In other words, while helping Liza to be identified in the graveyard, Bod is striving for his own sought-after identity, which has been denied him since his early childhood. Interestingly, in Lacanian terms, Liza serves as "the Other" whose wish mirrors the desire of the subject (Bod). Therefore, she plays an important role in Bod's development and self-actualization.

In most of the story, Bod is seldom allowed a clear-cut identity; instead, what he has is closer to being in limbo with two identities. Bod's migration between the world of the dead and that of the living marks his ambiguous identity. This also justifies the choice of Silas, who also shuttles between the living and the dead, as his guardian and mentor. The *Danse Macabre* in Chapter Five, in which the living and the dead dance together as a ritual, showcases the nebulous distinction between the two worlds. By depicting the opacity and indeterminacy of Bod's identity demonstrated in the dance, Gaiman further blurs and even deconstructs the two incongruous worlds. As a consequence, the distinction between good and evil, right and wrong, and life and death is discredited and destabilized due to the collapse of a clear-cut division between the real world and the supernatural world. Moreover, the duality of Bod's identity is apparent in his behaviors. In the graveyard, Bod is both submissive and rebellious. While obeying most of the rules in the underworld, he questions Silas's command to stay at the graveyard many times. In Chapter Two, when warned by Silas that, to be safe and sound, he is not permitted to leave the graveyard, Bod retorts that he should be safe and be allowed to leave the graveyard because Silas does that, too (37). In Chapter Four, although warned against approaching the unfairly executed witch, Bod cannot quench his curiosity and tries hard, even at his own risk, to help her. According to the narrator,

Bod is "obedient, but curious" (106). In addition, Bod's double identity consists in the fact that he is both a victim and a killer. The family tragedy at the beginning forces him to adjust to a totally new world in the graveyard, but in the later part of the story, he is never lenient toward people in the living world. His punishment of the two bullies at school betrays a certain barbarism inherent in human beings, and his killing of the man Jack is ruthless, insomuch as to engender Scarlet's repulsion and condemnation. Scarlet just cannot understand why Bod has to kill the man Jack, thereby reprimanding him vehemently: "You aren't a person. People don't behave like you. You're as bad as he was. You're a monster" (286).

The tension of staying in or leaving the graveyard also helps explain the conflicts and compromise of Bod's development from an innocent child to a more mature adolescent. Bod is constantly told by Silas not to leave the graveyard for the sake of safety. However, early in the story, Bod is cautioned by Scarlet that he cannot stay in the graveyard for good and that one day he will grow up and have to experience life in the outside world (60). Bod is admonished by Silas and severely penalized by his foster parents after he left the graveyard to help Liza (141). But Bod's drive to go on adventures outside the graveyard hardly ever stops. As a consequence, he insists on learning more about the real world, which spurs Silas' decision to have Bod educated at school (181-182). Nevertheless, instead of keeping a low profile, as suggested by Silas, Bod uses supernatural tricks to discipline the bullies at school, which serves to spotlight his existence and enrages Silas (193). This conflict between Bod and Silas does not find its compromise until later in the story, when it dawns on Silas that he should not stop Bod from leaving the graveyard to learn more about life in the real world. As he tells Bod in Chapter Six, "We should do our best to satisfy your interest in stories and books and the world. There are libraries. There are other ways. And there are many situations in which there might be other, living people around you" (210). Evidently, as most parents have to learn about parenting, Silas comes to realize that overprotection is by no means the best way for Bod; instead, Bod has to experience the world head-on for himself. This departure from parental shelter is usually coupled with frustration and danger, but it is the only way to one's development and maturation.

4. NAMING AND IDENTITY CONTESTED

> Tao can be talked about, but not the Eternal Tao.
> Names can be named, but not the Eternal Name.
> —Lao Tzu, *Tao Teh Ching*

In Lao Tzu's *Tao Teh Ching*, one of the greatest philosophical works in Chinese literature, the complexities of naming and existence are elaborated on in the

beginning chapter (2006: 3). According to Lao Tzu, the Eternal Name, along with the Eternal Tao (universal reality), is something that encompasses all, but whose quality cannot be pinned down. Names are convenient for specifying certain people, yet they are never all-inclusive in identifying the true quality of the name-possessors. This smacks of the aesthetic theory of ideas proposed by Plato (2000: 40-56). In Platonic terms, names are just like the Idea, which is often materialized and distorted by different perceivers, and thus removed from reality in different degrees. To sum up, names at best serve as a means of communication. They are never meant to provide holistic criteria for determining one's elements. In fact, naming connotes certain power relationships, as it is always the men in power (eg. parents to children) that are endowed with the authority of naming. In this regard, Slavoj Žižek even suggests that language, as the symbolization of things, can be associated with violence because it "simplifies the designated things, reduces them to a single feature" and "dismembers the thing, destroying its organic unity, treating its parts and properties as autonomous" (2008: 61). For Žižek, while language is used to convey a certain meaning of an object, it excludes other possibilities of meaning, thereby leading to some sort of linguistic hegemony or violence. In the same vein, naming is paradoxically used to define an object at the expense of losing its authentic meaning at the same time.

Names are not only incapable of showcasing one's genuine identity but may mislead and limit people's perceptions of their own characters. Such a misunderstanding arises many times when Bod introduces himself as "Nobody" to others. When Scarlet is told by Bod in their first meeting that his name is Bod, short for Nobody, she laughs and says that the name sounds funny (41). When he tells Miss Lupescu that his name is Bod rather than "boy," she insists on calling him "boy" because to her, the name Bod seems to be nothing more than a pet name or a nickname (67). Actually, the word "bod" is an informal expression that refers to "a person," "someone's body," or "a strange person" when used in the phrase, "an odd bod" (Bullon: 155). Whatever it alludes to, the name "Bod" is used appropriately in presenting the young protagonist, an inexperienced, fledgling "nobody" (someone who is not important and has no influence) that is left alone in-between the living and the dead trying to grope for his true identity. When Bod was a nameless toddler, he was given the name "Nobody" by his foster parents to signify his identity. In fact, the reason for his being called Nobody is absurd. Different ghosts in the graveyard gave him different names. For Caius Pompeius, the little boy looked like Marcus, his proconsul, and had to be called Marcus. Josiah Worthington suggested that he be called Stebbins because he looked like his head gardener called Stebbins. However, for Mother Slaughter, Bod should be called Harry because he looked like her nephew Harry. Finally, as his foster mother

proposed, they decided to call him Nobody because "he looks like nobody" (25). But ironically, once Bod uses the name to relate to other people, this seemingly identifiable signifier is not recognized and fails to be matched with a corresponding one. This naming malfunction contrasts starkly with the conventional perception of equating one's name with a self-autonomous identity. To sum up, names are but names. They can never be that powerful in defining one's true identity.

Bod is both nameable and nameless. He is nameable because, undeniably, the name "Nobody" is an identifiable entity. However, he is nameless because this name cannot mark his identity as a normal human being effectively. This problem materializes in his being regarded as an "imaginary" (60) friend by Scarlet and her parents. On the other hand, he is not entirely affiliated with the otherworld. That is why when Bod tells Josiah Worthington, another ghostly teacher in the graveyard, that he belongs to the dead party, he is told: "Not yet, boy. Not for a lifetime" (163). Therefore, as Nobody Owens, Bod is characterized by existence and non-existence at the same time. This duality of existence is in line with his double identities in both the real world and the otherworld. This questioning of names is also suggested in Chapter Five. When Bod asks the lady in the cobweb about her identity in the Danse Macabre, the lady asserts that "names aren't important" (161). The idea of naming is also caricatured by the man Jack when Bod asks the killer about his true identity: "Jack said, 'Let me see. Was it Peter? Or Paul? Or Roderick— you look like a Roderick. Maybe you were a Stephen'" (280). What Jack's remark alludes to is the elusiveness of names and the absurdity of trying to locate a definite identity by grasping at a name. In other words, whatever your name is, you are always who you are.

Bod's venture into the world of the dead may sound unfamiliar at first glance, but a retrospective view of the traditions of world literature helps shed light on the necessity of such an undertaking. In classical literature, prestigious predecessors such as Theseus, Odysseus, and Aeneas have gone on similar adventures to the underworld for different purposes, but what they have in common is using the knowledge of the dead to deepen their knowledge about themselves and find out how they can thrive in the real world. The returning of these mythological heroes from the underworld prefigures Bod's fate—after all, he has to go back to the real world, where his sense of belonging comes from. The life in the graveyard, with all the supernatural trappings and intimidating characters, paves the way for Bod's adaptation to the living world. As Catherine Butler proclaims, contemporary children's fantasies "usually ensure that encounters with the fantastic precipitate significant emotional growth" in the protagonists (2012: 225). Near the end of the story, Bod has become more experienced and knows his own identity. He shows great confidence in response to the man Jack's questioning of his identity: "'I know

my names', he said. 'I'm Nobody Owens. That's who I am'" (282). He is no longer the innocent boy that hesitates to be called "Nobody." Instead, the sadder and wiser adolescent comes to realize that, regardless of the name given to him, he is who he is. As Mrs. Owens comments earlier in the story, "He looks like nobody but himself" (25). This hard-won realization testifies to Bod's better understanding of his own identity and the role he plays in the world. He can finally get rid of the confusion caused by his name, take on the challenge of experiencing a whole new world, and look forward to a better tomorrow. When he bids farewell to Mother Slaughter, an elderly ghost in the graveyard, the wise lady reminds Bod about the heart of identity: "You're always you, and that don't change, and you're always changing, and there's nothing you can do about it" (298). In this sense, identity is composed of two elements: one's inner quality and the transformation brought about by experience. Bod's name and origin signify his nature, while his experiences in the dead and the living worlds offer him the necessary change awaiting most adolescents as they grow up. Whereas his name represents who he is to a certain extent, his identity undergoes changes all the time. That is, paradoxically, identity is both stationary and dynamic, both established and becoming.

The transformation of Bod's identity, motivated by his strong desire to explore the real world, is obvious in the last two chapters. He is eager for knowledge and wisdom unavailable in the graveyard. Even Scarlet 's friendship (or love) initiates him into a brand new experience of security and sweetness, teaching him "how fine it would be to walk safely in the lands beyond the graveyard, and how good it was to be master of his own small world" (237). This universally acknowledged principle of mutability is reiterated as the narrator remarks, before Bod's departure from the graveyard: "Things that had been immutable were changing" (302). Near the end of the story, with a passport and suitcase prepared by Silas in hand, Bod is anxious to see life and learn about everything in the real world (304).

> There was a passport in his bag, money in his pocket. There was a smile dancing on his lips, although it was a wary smile, for the world is a bigger place than a little graveyard on a hill; and there would be dangers in it and mysteries, new friends to make, old friends to rediscover, mistakes to be made and many paths to be walked before he would, finally, return to the graveyard or ride with the Lady on the broad back of her great grey stallion (307).

This concluding paragraph highlights Bod's destiny. Both the passport and the money are important symbols that signify Bod's transition from adolescence to adulthood. While the passport suggests his transporting from the otherworld to the real world, the use of money, as a means of exchange in society, alludes to his socialization and initiation into the secular world. Despite the dangers, mysteries,

and mistakes ahead, Bod is not intimidated, but overjoyed with the promising future. With all the challenges and uncertainties in the coming days, Bod has determined to savor life to the fullest "with his eyes and his heart wide open" (307). Bod's development echoes Gaiman's personal experience. As Gaiman recalls in a lecture on writing children's literature, many things he read as a boy troubled him a lot, but that bewilderment never stopped him from reading stories (2012: 14). His epiphany from that reading experience foreshadows the fate of Bod: "I understood that we discovered what our limits were by going beyond them, and then nervously retreating to our places of comfort once more, and growing, and changing, and becoming someone else. Becoming, eventually, adult" (14). In other words, however troublesome confusion and conflicts may seem, they are crucial for people to recognize their limitations, have a better understanding of themselves, and look at people and the world anew. Bod's story exemplifies this process of becoming from a child to an adult through perplexity, recognition, reflection, and maturation.

5. CONCLUSION

The question "Who am I" reverberates in this story, but it is not easy for Bod to find the answer. Bod's identity-finding efforts are complicated by his moving between the real world and the supernatural world in the graveyard, as this in-between-ness significantly reinforces his anxiety and sense of isolation. As Bod grows from an infant to an adolescent, the name given to him undergoes momentous changes. Unlike the innocent boy that is confounded by his own name and in desperate need of an identity, in his adolescence Bod learns to get rid of the manipulation of naming and further identify with his position after a wide range of trials and frustrations dealing with hordes of ghosts and humans, from ancient and modern times alike. One of the most interesting tensions in the novel is that while most characters in fantasy literature are finally brought back to their real world innocent and unaffected (Nikolajeva 2012: 59), Bod, as the protagonist of this coming-of-age story, has no choice but to grow and explore. His decision to leave the graveyard underscores a new sense of self. Through what he learns in the graveyard and his interactions with people in the real world, Bod has realigned himself with his own identity and is ready to explore the ways of the world further.

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THE BLACK FEMALE SLAVE TAKES LITERARY REVENGE: FEMALE GOTHIC MOTIFS AGAINST SLAVERY IN HANNAH CRAFTS'S *THE BONDWOMAN'S NARRATIVE*

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ABSTRACT. The Bondwoman's Narrative *is a novel that functions as a story made up from Hannah Crafts's experiences as a bondwoman and thus merges fact and fiction giving a thoroughly new account of slavery both committed to reality and fiction. Following and taking over the Gothic literary genre that spread in Europe as a reaction toward the Romantic spirit, Crafts uses it to denounce the degrading slavery system and, mainly, to scathingly attack the patriarchal roots that stigmatize black women as the ultimate victims. It is my contention that Hannah Crafts uses the female Gothic literary devices both to attack slavery and also to stand as a proper (African) American citizen capable of relating to the cultural outlets that American culture offered aiming to counteract the derogatory stereotypes that rendered African American women at the very bottom of the social ladder.*

Keywords: Slavery, Female Gothic, African American, woman, Hannah Crafts, Bondwoman.

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LA VENGANZA LITERARIA DE LA ESCLAVA NEGRA: MOTIVOS DEL GÓTICO FEMENINO CONTRA LA ESCLAVITUD EN *LA NARRATIVA DE UNA SIRVIENTA* DE HANNAH CRAFTS

RESUMEN. La Narración de la Esclava *es una novela que funciona como una historia surgida de la experiencia como esclava de Hannah Crafts, mezclando así realidad y ficción, en un intento de ofrecer un completo testimonio de la esclavitud con elementos reales y ficticios. Siguiendo y adaptando el género gótico que surgió en Europa como reacción al espíritu romántico, Crafts lo galvaniza para denunciar el degradante sistema de la esclavitud y, en concreto, para lanzar una crítica mordaz a las raíces patriarcales que estigmatizan a la mujer negra como la víctima por antonomasia. En mi opinión, Hannah Crafts utiliza el género Gótico femenino tanto para atacar la esclavitud como para auto-erigirse como ciudadana (afro)americana capaz de hacer servir los elementos culturales que la cultura americana ofrece para contrarrestar los feroces estereotipos que sitúan a la mujer afroamericana en la parte más baja de la escala social.*

Palabras clave: Esclavitud, Gótico Femenino, Afroamericana, mujer, Hannah Crafts, Esclava

> Tremble not before the free man, but before the slave who has chains to break.
> Margaret Fuller

1. INTRODUCTION

The Bondwoman's Narrative is not properly a slave narrative, though it uses many of the literary devices that comprise this genre and thus acts as such. Rather, it is a novel written by a fugitive black female slave trying to come to terms with the years spent under captivity[1]. In fact, I agree with Williams Andrews

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[1] Discovered in 2001 and edited in 2002, The Bondwoman's Narrative became the center of a literary controversy as some critics (Baym, Parramore) were adamant to believe that the novel had indeed been written by a black female slave. Despite its editor, the noted black scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr., did his best to prove Crafts's slave status, the doubts over the author's identity and the reticences towards the text pushed The Bondwoman's Narrative aside from the African American literary productions. However, a front-page article in The New York Times in september 2013 ignited a new wave of interest in The Bondwoman's Narrative as Winthrop professor Gregg

when he states that "The Bondwoman's Narrative reads like a hybrid of the fugitive slave narrative and woman's fiction" (2002: 31). The novel functions as a story made up from Hannah Crafts's experiences as a bondwoman and thus merges fact and fiction giving a thoroughly new account of slavery both committed to reality and fiction because eventually, as Toni Morrison argues, "the act of imagination is bound up with memory" (1995: 119). Hence, Crafts's multilayered tale follows the three kinds of experimentation with the narrative voice that African Americans created in what William Andrews assesses as "the black literary renaissance of the 1850s" (1990: 24).

Attempting to search for new ways to authorize themselves, black slaves experimented with the "idea of sincerity", the "dialogization", which helped them to foster a dialogue that began "to make an autobiography read like a novel", and eventually led them to create and work with "the fictive voice" (Andrews 1990: 24). In this light, Crafts's novel functions as a direct attack to the slavery system aiming to arouse moral outrage as well as the sympathy of readers. Hannah Crafts's tale dwells on the ills of slavery since it attempts at the dehumanization of the oppressors just to prove the humanity of the oppressed.

Following and taking over the Gothic literary genre that spread in Europe as a reaction toward the Romantic spirit, black authors used it to make a denounce against the degrading slavery system. In The Bondwoman's Narrative Crafts also uses the conventions of the Gothic because, as Teresa Goddu exposes in her insightful work Gothic America: Narrative, History and Nation, the Gothic serves to "focus on the terror of possession, the iconography of imprisonment, the fear of retribution, and the weight of sin" and provides "a useful vocabulary and register of images by which to represent the scene of America's greatest guilt: slavery" (1997: 133). Moreover, being a black woman's tale, Crafts's text criticizes the patriarchal roots that stigmatize women, and especially black women, uttering the female Gothic to complete her literary attack. In doing so, Crafts follows the literary conventions that prevailed in mid-nineteenth-century America but through a black female slave's point of view. It is my contention that Hannah Crafts uses the female Gothic literary devices both to attack slavery and also to stand as a proper (African) American citizen capable of relating to the cultural outlets that American culture offered.

Hecimovich claimed to have found evidence of Crafts's real identity. He asserted that Hannah Crafts stands as the pseudonym of Hannah Bond, a fugitive slave who did write The Bondwoman's Narrative. Hecimovich is meant to publish a book in which he gives account of Hannah Crafts's story and whereabouts. It is supposed to be launched in 2016.

There are different Gothic motifs that can be singled out in The Bondwoman's Narrative. In my reading of the novel, I distinguish five motifs that complement each other and offer the reader a full picture of the different intensities of horror, fear but also hope that the author endures through the story. Tellingly, I single out these five motifs from the whole narrative simply because they appear embedded in gothic tones in a literary attempt to highlight the social critique that the black slave wanted readers to understand. They are: (1)the mansion and/or the plantation, (2) the curse and its supernatural power, (3) the condition of the black woman and the trope of the "Sins of the Fathers", (4) Mr. Trappe as a white Gothic villain, and (5) the concept of race and the strategy of passing. These motifs that the author fills with Gothic terror are used plainly to convey a harsh denounciation against the slavery system of the nineteenth-century North America.

2. THE MANSION/OR THE PLANTATION

The first motif appears when stepping into the traditional realm of the Gothic, Crafts walks through the mansion and notices "something inexpressibly dreary and solemn in passing through the silent rooms of a large house, especially one whence many generations have passed to the grave" (BN: 14-15)[2]. The mansion itself is a gothic tenet which serves the author to expose the entrapment that slaves were subjected to. However, this Gothic scenario makes Hannah invert the slave role and act as an active subject. Staring at the pictures of her masters' ancestors, Hannah expresses:

> Invariably you find yourself thinking of them, and wondering how they looked like in life, and how the rooms looked in their possession, and whether or not they would recognize their former habitation if restored once more to earth and them. Then all we have heard or fancied of spiritual existence comes to us (BN: 15).

Through her perception Crafts starts reading the masters and, more importantly, questioning them. The roles have been reversed. According to Cristopher Castiglia, "[p]utting possession in the eyes of the beholder, this scene tellingly inverts slavery's usual dynamic, making the owners the viewed, slaves the viewers" (2004: 239). Slavery equates ownership and Crafts, albeit through thinking, is wondering why. These imaginative doubts, only expressed in the Gothic mansion, stand as a theoretical critique to the dark and evil institution. Echoing the Gothic tradition Hannah recounts the terror the house exhales. The mansion serves as a central symbol and acts as a site

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[2] Further quotations from Crafts's The Bondwoman's Narrative will refer to the edition that appears in the work cited and will be identified by the initials BN and page numbers included in parenthesis in the text.

of terror where "There is a shadow flitting past through the gloom. There is a sound, but it does not seem of mortality. A supernatural thrill pervades your frame, and you feel the presence of mysterious beings. It may be foolish and childish, but it is one of the unaccountable things instinctive to the human nature" (BN: 15, emphasis added). Through the haunted mansion, the supernatural devices, and the use of the second pronoun Crafts spreads the horror-like atmosphere directly to the readers placing them in the position of the slave. In Gothic fiction, the house contributes to slavery as it evidences the white men's control over African Americans. Among the portraits of the white masters that used to rule the plantation, the shadow, representing Hannah herself as a black slave, shatters the calm of the aisle bringing in the darkness and a sinister aura. *Othered* as a black woman in a white society, the description of the room exemplifies Crafts's reality in the plantation just to serve as a mirror for the reader. An antebellum society in which there is "gloom", "mortality" and "mysterious beings" for its African American population. Strolling through the galleries of the house Mrs. Bry informs Hannah about the founder of the mansion. She learns that Sir Clifford de Vincent was a "nobleman of power and influence in the old world" who "fled for safety to the shores of the Old Dominion, and became the founder" (BN: 15). Thus, the foundation of Mr. de Vincent's mansion points directly at the transatlantic slave trade[3], something Hannah wants to emphasize and denounce while engaging with notions of cultural hybridity and transnationalism. In the Gothic literary genre the past can never be left behind for it brings forward the dark reality of the present. A foregone idea that is explicit in The Bondwoman's Narrative.

Her literacy surpasses the ability of reading just texts and shows Hannah's capacity to also read reality--her reality. Remaining oblivious of a black slave sense of interpretation, Mrs. Bry discovers Hannah gazing at the pictures to blurt out "as if such an ignorant thing as you are would know any thing about them" (BN: 17). Conversely, Crafts does know everything and Mrs. Bry's attempt to debunk Hannah epitomizes the racial superiority that characterized the southern antebellum society. A female black slave was meant to be ignorant and it was inconceivable to give Hannah the credit to have ideas of her own. By proving the intellectual capacity of a black slave Crafts tries to counteract and deconstruct a series of derogatory and racist assumptions that fostered the denial of the humanity of blacks and defended slavery as a natural state of being for African Americans. In fact, Crafts shuns Mrs. Bry's harsh remark sentencing that "Those

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[3] Bridget H. Marshall affirms that "Crafts's novel, like the Gothic, engages in the study of the slave trade and the legal System that enabled it" just because "(t)he importance of translanticism is nowhere more apparent than in the study of the slave trade and the legal system that enabled it" (2011: 151).

to whom man teaches little, nature like a wise and prudent mother teaches much" (BN: 18). The aesthetics of Crafts's maxim fixes on the slaves' subjectivity and, again, relates to their humanity and intellectual capacities.

In an avowed purpose to suit white expectations and appeal to their sympathies, Crafts offers another vision of a white household. So, when she is rescued after an accident with Saddler, her new master, by Mrs. Henry, the author gets the opportunity to witness a real home. Crafts admires and cherishes a home like Mrs Henry's as it embodies the perfect collective buffer to counteract the injuries of racism. Although the Henrys possess slaves themselves, the "countenance beaming with soul and intelligence" of their home fits Crafts model of a society from which black people can climb up the social ladder. Aware of the social inequalities of the antebellum North America, Crafts is constantly keeping an eye in her readership and thus the portrait of Mrs. Henry's family and home offers her the chance to be applauded by the white public for contributing to the improvement of race relations.

Contrary to the abolitionist atmosphere that Crafts finds at Mrs. Henry's, when she is sold to the Wheelers and travels down to their Southern plantation the exposure of real slavery adopts a tougher but more realistic terms. Hence, on her arrival at the Wheelers' plantation in North Carolina, Crafts offers a thorough portrait of the life of field slaves. In fact, Henry Louis Gates Jr. admits that "Crafts's description of living conditions in the slave quarters is "one of the most vivid in black literature" (BN: 273). These living conditions of black people are described in a grotesque manner:

> They say that many of these huts were old and ruinous with decay, that occasionally a crash, and a crowd of dust would be perceived among them, and that each time was occasioned by the fall of one. But lodgings are found among the rubbish, and all goes on as before… If the huts were bad, the inhabitants it seems were still worse. Degradation, neglect, and ill treatment had wrought on them its legitimate effects (BN: 200).

However, the Wheelers possess a variegated range of slaves and Crafts also informs that "the family residence was stocked with slaves of a higher and nobler order than those belonging to the fields" (BN: 202). So, in Crafts's tale, the Wheelers' plantation epitomizes the social order of the slave world and runs the gamut of the different categories of slaves.

3. THE CURSE AND ITS SUPERNATURAL POWER

The curse is the second Gothic motif that takes central stage and is somehow linked to the mansion and the plantation as these elements act as a direct attack to the plantation system. Founder Sir Clifford de Vincent invoked a malediction

advising his descendents not to remove the paintings and add a self-portrait when married in a Gothic- based threat that instills a racist and patriarchal imagery. As Robert Levine notes, with the "conjunction of names and blood, Clifford wants the display of husbands and wives to attest to the untroubled transmission of the founder's avowedly white blood through successive generations" (2004: 282). However, Sir Clifford will be the first heir to break the tradition by haunting his portrait prior to marry. This uncouth move that leads to the family tradition betrayal sets off the founder's curse haunting the plantation as well as the life of Hannah's master. Using the Gothic lens, Crafts's use of the foreboding and malediction carries out a sharp critique toward the slave system and, extensively, to the patriarchal families reigning in the southern region because, in Anne William's words, "the Gothic myth itself is the patriarchal family (2009: 87).

Crafts's announcement of the foreboding comes when she describes her master's portrait. Breaking the family tradition, Sir Clifford's portrait is doomed from the beginning and the malediction spreads all over the plantation advancing its disastrous ending. Hannah notes that her master's portrait "seemed to change from its usually kind and placid expression to one of wrath and gloom" (BN: 17), an insight which proves her as a rational being in a Gothic mansion. This represents Crafts's move towards the recognition of the black slaves' subjectivity and contests the racist nineteenth-century American idiosyncrasy. This female Gothic assumption allows Hannah to show a (black) woman's emancipatory message. As Wald aptly affirms, due to "a manifestation of her artistic agency, her authorship becomes a figure of her liberation" (2004: 219).

Proving the perversity of the slavery system on black women, Sir Clifford punishes an old black female slave, called Rose, as a perfect example of what this cruel system is capable of. However, Rose, just as Hannah does in a literary way, fights back through cursing and maledicts the plantation, and thus the whole system. The curse on Sir Clifford's house is the curse on slavery and on the patriarchal southern society. By cursing the house which "has two meanings relevant to Gothic fiction - it refers both to the building itself and to the family line" (Williams 1995: 45), Rose wages an attack against the patriarchal system upheld through slavery by using the tree, an element crucial to the seamless continuity of that corrupted system. Martha J. Cutter rightly submits that through the linden curse, "Crafts implies that white savagery, not black inferiority, in fact underlines and is 'the curse' at the nation's foundation" (2014: 124). Thus, Crafts draws on the female Gothic strategy to smash the white patriarchal slavery system. Robert Levine links the malediction with the blood because, he contends, "Rose 'appears' as the blood that remains veiled by the portraits" and the old slave woman's blood gets entangled with the tree as her "blood is drawn into its roots" (2004: 284). Fact and fiction get fused in Crafts's recreation of the legend of the

linden tree, mixing real violence imposed on women with supernatural devices and omens, proving the tale to be a novel which stems from slave narratives but also from the gothic fiction that was being produced in the nineteenth century.

Rose's foreboding seems to be taking its toll and, as Hannah notices, looking through her master she finds out that "he was striving to obliterate some haunting recollection, or shut from his mental vision the rising shadows of coming events" (BN: 29). As Walds rightly asserts, "Crafts takes control of the term 'haunting', which she uses to describe earthly rather than supernatural" (2004: 224), and, though expressed in Gothic motifs that help her convey her message, the haunting of white antebellum America was that of the ills of slavery. The foreboding gets confirmed through "the ominous creaking of the linden tree", which links it directly to Rose's curse, and when due to the spooky storm Hannah notices how "the portrait of Sir Clifford had fallen to the floor" (BN: 29). At this point, both Rose's and the founder of the mansion's curses intersect and are triggered to bring forward a reality that is doomed to tumble "like decay" (BN: 30).

The curse is present when the white men who find Mrs. de Vincent and Crafts hidden at the forest after escaping from Lindendale inform both women that Mrs. de Vincent cannot be brought back to Sir Clifford because he is dead. The mistress understands that the foreboding has come true and so she states: "There is no use battling against fate. Henceforth come what will I am resigned" (BN: 70). Although literary historian Nina Baym expresses her puzzlement over "the absence of references to the Fugitive Slave Law" (2004: 320) in a novel written by an African American woman in mid- nineteenth-century America, I find a veiled reference to the Fugitive Slave Law when Crafts explains how, after the retention, she eavesdrops the white men negotiating "something about a large reward" (BN: 71), something which expands Baym's reading and proves Crafts's acute awareness of the ills of her society.

The death of Sir Clifford is the first step of the malediction invoked by Rose and the original founder of the Lindendale plantation and it comes to be completed through the villain Mr. Trappe. It is the white gothic villain who informs Sir Clifford about the true race of his wife and by doing so he triggers off the wave of destruction, an act which demonstrates that "(t)he evil his presence always brought with it had been accomplished there" (BN: 73). The whiteness of Mr. Trappe and the gothic aura surrounding him join the sound of "the linden creaking beneath the window" (BN: 73) at the very same time Sir Clifford is putting an end to his own life. As Robert Levine acutely notices, the master's death is linked to old slave Rose's death by the amount of bloodshed proving to which extent blood "is important to this curse" (2004: 284) because it indicates the correlation existing between sexual violence and slavery which ends up in the spilling of tainted blood that actually makes

amends with the violence inflicted on black women and teaches a literary lesson of how in a country haunted by slavery destruction is scattered everywhere.

Finally, the curse haunts back in the novel when Crafts learns from Lizzy that Mrs. Cosgrove, the new mistress of Lindendale suffers an accident when she discovers a harem of female slaves that acted as her husband's concubines. When Mrs. Cosgrove wakes up to realize she is to stay in bed until her dying days her husband sobs: "I only ask that you will not curse me" (BN: 193). Yet, Lilly watches how "a deep mysterious shadow was only slowly falling over her mistress, that her breathing grew labored and difficult, and that her brow was bathed with a cold and clammy sweat" (BN: 193). The curse seems to have been taken its toll and, eventually, Mrs. Cosgrove dies haunting her husband with grief because "from the hour of his wife's death he had never seemed like himself" (BN: 137). In the end, Lizzy's story acts and serves to wrap up the Lindendale's curse that was uttered by the founder and Rose which, after sweeping away the Cliffords, also do away with the Cosgroves. The plantation has taken its toll, and so:

> the Linden with its creaking branches had bowed to the axe, and…great changes had been wrought inside the house as well as out; that some of the ancient rooms, whose walls veiled with oak were brown with age, had been newly renovated, and now shone in all the glory of fresh paint and plaster. Above all that Sir Clifford's portrait and its companions of both sexes, had been publicly exposed in the market and knocked down to the highest bidder (BN: 194).

The Gothic Lindendale plantation has offered a portrait of the Southern lifestyle and its deep implications with slavery. Crafts's literary revenge is served when she has the portraits that stand for the white southern patriarchal and racist society sold just in the same way that slaves were sold at a public auction. Reversing the roles is another relentless message to her readership, just as it was the exposition of the fragile nature of racial categories, to convey how easily the social change can be. To this end, and setting out to alter the corrupted nature of the country, Crafts underpins the chapter with the Latin phrase "Sic transit gloria mundi" (BN: 194).

4. THE CONDITION OF THE BLACK WOMAN AND THE TROPE OF THE "SINS OF THE FATHERS"

The female Gothic nature of The Bondwoman's Narrative is the key to understand one of its author's blatant denunciations. Women, and especially black women, are the victims of a system that relegates them to the furthest margins of society. The brutalization of black women, whether they are aware or not of their race, is Crafts's major complaint in her novel and stands as the fourth element

covered with Gothic features. The first example of such atrocities is embodied in the old black female slave named Rose, who was the nurse of Sir Clifford's son and had her own children sold into the slave trade but keeps her daughter's dog, an animal "full of intelligence, and bearing a strong resemblance to those of a child" (BN: 21). The dog stands as an extension of her own offspring and keeps her wounded maternal love alive. As a typical slave narrative literary convention, the writer plunges deep in the slavery system Gothic horror preparing the reader for the tyranny to come. In fact, the narrative steps in the classic trope that defines the slave narratives written in the nineteenth century: the merging of the black women's physical and sexual exploitation perpetrated at the hands of the white man. Levine asserts that the talk of "black blood mixing with the family tree points to the sexually violative nature of the entanglement between Clifford and Rose" (2004: 284). Furthermore, when Rose is about to be hung Crafts admits that she "knew so well to make its wants understood that it became to her what a grandchild is to many aged females" (BN: 22), which indicates the sexual intercourse overtly practiced in the plantation and, as Levine points out, talking about her grandchild she suggests "the possibility that Sir Clifford had raped not only Rose but also her daughter, thereby producing a granddaughter" (2004: 284).

Sir Clifford requires Rose to kill the dog but the old female slave refuses to do so as the animal acts as "her treasure, and sole possession" (BN: 22). Hemmed in a society that relegates her as property, Roses's refusal infuriates the master who orders: "take this old witch, and her whelp and gibbet them alive on the Linden" (BN: 22). The cruel torture applies both to Rose and her dog in a reminder call of how slavery brutalizes black adults and their children. The whole scene is thoroughly described prodding white readers to witness the torture and terror that white antebellum America inflicted upon slaves and, especially, upon female slaves as the weaker link of society. Just as other slave narrators, Hannah uses black women to show the moral perversion of slavery. In this vein, the female Gothic conventions attached to the exploitation and abuse of black women can be extensible to fully display America's racist exploitation. In slave narratives, when a black male author focuses on the black women's body there could be room to think that it was a literary strategy that allowed them to keep some sense of masculinity. Yet, when a black woman voices the brutalization impinged on black women she is giving a message in terms of feminist ties to openly vilify a society that permits such atrocities. Thus, acting deliberately, Hannah, as a Gothic heroine, deepens into Rose's procedures of torture engaging her readership into the darkest side of their corrupted society while empathizing with the pain of her fellow female slave: "An iron hoop being fastened around the body of Rose she was drawn to the tree, and with great labor elevated and secured to one of the largest limbs. And then

with a refinement of cruelty the innocent and helpless little animal, with a broad iron belt around its delicate body was suspended within her sight, but beyond her reach" (BN: 23). In so doing, Crafts corroborates that "the main task of the Gothic heroine is to uncover and name the horrors that fill her world" (Winter 1992: 12). In addition, this Gothic and grotesque transcription of staged violence completely turns upside down and reverses the racist claim linking the slaves with animals and not with humans. To Hannah, and black female slaves, white civility is tantamount to violence, rape and racism.

Coded in African American Gothic terms, Rose's punishment epitomizes the savagery of white America toward its black female slaves:

> suspended between heaven and earth in a posture the [sic] most unimaginable painful both hung through the long says and the longer nights. Not a particle of food, not a drop of water was allied to either, but the master walking each morning would fix his cold cruel eyes with appalling indifference on her agonized countenance…her rigid features assumed a collapsed and corpse-like hue and appearance… (BN: 23).

These vivid descriptions reveal a crystal clear message: the institution of slavery is the one to blame for these nauseating practices. In Hannah's tale, it is a black female slave who breaks the Gothic legend of the linden just as she explains that being hung for a few days suddenly "(t)hrough the din and uproar of the tempest could be heard all night the wail of a woman the howling of a dog, and the creaking of the linden branches to which the Tibet hung. It was terrible" (BN: 24). Rose, illiterate but strong willed, challenges her punishment and, consequently, defies the slavery system as she "gives meaning to the creaking of the linden, exacting her revenge by creating a legend that speaks to the horror of the institution of slavery and the particular cruelties that it enables" (Wald 2004: 224). The linden, representing the slavery system, cracks when Rose refuses to surrender and opts for resistance and, despite the "servants all knew the history of that tree" (BN: 20), the old black slave gives a new meaning to the linden by challenging the "peculiar institution". When the master accepts to take her down thinking she has already learned a lesson, Rose shows her dignity openly outfacing slavery by wanting to be kept hung. In a Gothic tone she impends: "I will hang here till I die as a curse to this house, and I will come here after I am dead to prove its bane" (BN: 25).

I agree with Bridget Marshall when she indicates that The Bondwoman's Narrative details "a cycle of horror that continuously re-inscribes a narrative of rumored, imagined, and exaggerated stories on top of a history of very real horrible events" (2011: 131). This is precisely its uniqueness regarding other narratives written by black women in the nineteenth century. In fact, in this moment of

29

her novel, Crafts empties "slavery of history by turning it into a gothic trope" (Goddu 1997: 135) and presents herself as a novelist who signifies against white narratives of gothic fiction in an open transposition to revamp the blueprint of a male dominated literary establishment.

This Gothic tenure receives the arrival of the new mistress who comes with "bridal company" which happens to be an "entire troop of slaves, all arrayed in the finery of flaming Madras handkerchief and calico blazing with crimson and scarlet flowers" (BN: 26). The description of this scene serves to inform readers about the great amount of enslaved people who were hold in bondage in the nadir of slavery. Refuting again the idea that slaves were ignorant beings, when introduced to her new mistress, Hannah decides to "inspect her appearance" (BN: 26), finding some glooming feeling around her and reckoning that "there was mystery, something indefinable about her" (BN: 27). Crafts's first impressions when describing her mistress are evinced in racial terms and, according to Karen Sánchez-Eppler, the "question of race stands as the center of Crafts's ambivalence over the Gothic" (2004: 265). Hannah claims that she was "a small brown woman, with a profusion of wavy curly hair, large bright eyes, and delicate features with the exception of her lips which were too large, full, and red" (BN: 27, emphasis added). The racialized features of Mrs. Vincent are disturbingly linked with the Gothic for they reveal her African American heritage which connects her to a fatal destiny. Linking her race to the African folklore and religion Hannah admits: "I am superstitious, I confess it; people of my race and color usually are" and thus exposes that her mistress "was haunted by a shadow or phantom apparent only to herself, and perhaps even the more dreadful for that" (BN: 27). Crafts weaves a typically Gothic web of suspense between Mrs. de Vincent and the mysterious man, named Mr. Trappe, and explains how "each one was conscious of some great and important secret on the part of the other", and specifies that her mistress "would give worlds to know what the old man knew" (BN: 28). The disturbing secret that Hannah's mistress and Mr. Trappe bring along amounts to an already dark and Gothic scene in which an odor of catastrophe springs up.

In fact, it is a through a sister of race, the quadroon Lizzy, Mrs. de Vincent's first maid, from whom Hannah learns the extent of the relationship that bonds her mistress to Mr. Trappe. Although described as "almost white" (BN 33), it is a black woman who helps Crafts dig into the mystery that revolves around her mistress. Lizzy comes from a "good family", possesses a "great beauty" and still has endured the atrocities of slavery being "many times under the hammer of the auctioneer", passing "through many times, and experienced all the vicissitude attendant on the life of a slave" thus suffering "the extreme's of a master's fondness, a mistress's jealousy and their daughter's hate" (BN: 34). Lizzy is beautiful, intelligent and light-

skinned, as Hannah herself, but white America defines her as property because, in Hazel Carby's explanation, "the cult of true womanhood drew its ideological boundaries to exclude another definition of black women from 'woman'" (1987: 39).

Crafts posits in the bounty of the African American women's oral tradition the revelation of the dark and Gothic secret that torments and haunts the mistress and presents it as a source of power and sisterhood because even "when slavery was the common way of life and white male dominance appeared absolute, women found power in knowledge" (Winter 1992: 77). Echoing the African American call-and-response oral tradition, Hannah and Lizzy's conversation help to make clear that the founder's foreboding takes place with the arrival of the new mistress for in a southern plantation supported by slavery on which black people are treated as chattel, the revelation of Mrs. de Vincent as a black woman is nothing but a tragedy in Lindendale. The mistress treats her slaves "rather as companions than servants" and "shuns Mrs. Bry" showing support to her black servants as clues of her racial heritage, even indulging Hannah to read (BN: 36), despite Sir Clifford's ignorance of this very "great misfortune" that "was on her mind" (BN: 35), an ignorance that, once more, demonstrates the "pleasure and insight belongings to blacks" and "invasive prying and metaphoric blindness to whites" (Castiglia 2004: 236).

Linked to the situation of women in the antebellum South and also observed in the Gothic motifs that organize Crafts's novel, is the trope of the "Sins of the Fathers" which focuses on how the African American Gothic delves into the disintegration of the families, both black and white, due to the slavery and its consequences. Slavery contradicted the egalitarian democratic ideals of a nation which relied on the (patriarchal) family as the perfect unit to preserve the American exceptionalism. Consequently, in The Bondwoman's Narrative the "Gothic… served Crafts as a lens through which even the most subtle traces of honor could be brought into view" (Ballinget *et al.* 2005: 218).

Knowing that "no woman is free in a patriarchal society" (Winter 1992: 95) the social status gets broken when Hannah and her mistress can relate to each other as racial sisters thus blurring, and denouncing, the fragile line that separates race and status in antebellum America. Mrs. de Vincent's secret evinces how race and a patriarchal society are the greatest resorts to destroy women and, especially, black women. Completely at a loss and facing her truthful nature, the mistress accepts that "her mother was a slave then toiling in the cotton fields of Georgia" (BN: 44) and completes this Gothic labyrinth explaining:

> one thing is wanting to complete the chain of evidence, and that is the testimony of an old woman, who it seems was my mother's nurse, and who placed me in her lady's bed, and by her lady's side, when that Lady was to[o] weak and sick and delirious to notice that the dead was exchanged for the living (BN: 44).

Although the mistress was received in society as the daughter of her master's "legitimate wife" (BN: 45), as a grown woman she rejected her father's solicitor, that is Mr. Trappe, which "made him an enemy" (BN 45) holding thus far her deepest and more dangerous secret: her black DNA.

In his groundbreaking Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave (1845), Frederick Douglass made use of the rhetorical scheme of chiasmus to ponder: "You have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man" (1982: 107), yet in The Bondwoman's Narrative the chiasmus rhetoric is reversed to exemplify how in a racist patriarchal realm a female slave can be turned into a woman only to be returned into a slave, as it is the case of Mrs. de Vincent. In many a way, Crafts's ultimate goal is to drag into the light the fragility of African American women regarding their identity, their autonomy and their social role in and outside the plantations evoking, alongside other female slave narrators, an "ideal of sisterhood between themselves, their enslaved sisters, and their white female audience" (Winter 1992: 105). Knowing her real race leaves Mrs. de Vincent "half mad, half-wild" (BN: 47) and the Gothic undertones reverberate in her traumatic assumption of her identity when she confesses "the terrible foreboding" rendering her own existence "a curse" (BN: 48) which applies to Teresa Goddu's assertion that defines "the use of gothic effects at key moments to register cultural contradictions" (1987: 10). The cultural contradiction that lies at the core of nineteenth- century American society has to do with its volatile conception of identity and race.

As Toni Morrison perceptively notes, "(n)othing highlighted freedom--if it did not in fact create it- like slavery" (1992: 38) and following suit Crafts does not hesitate to advise her mistress: "You must fly from this house, from this place, from this country, fly immediately" (BN: 48). The reverse scheme of chiasmus takes a step further when Mrs. de Vincent demands Hannah to accompany her and when Crafts accepts the former admonishes her: "Call me mistress no longer. Henceforth you shall be to me as a very dear sister" (BN: 48). In fact, from the very precise moment Mrs. de Vincent accepts herself as an African American, she starts sharing Crafts's social status and, consequently, the only way out of the plantation is escaping. Far from offering a static picture of black women, Crafts tells the story of a loyal and empathic black slave capable of following her mistress until the end. Yet, when Hannah and her mistress proceed to escape Crafts makes clear that her attempt is not caused by her personal desire of freedom but rather to accompany her mistress as a loyal servant

Ushered by a "benevolent-looking middle-aged Lady" (BN: 59), Crafts and her mistress find release in a loving family house where the members take no notice of her real racial status what allows them to make themselves at home. The author

admits that there is "a charm about this house and its appointments" (BN: 60) and relishes each detail because in her opinion "(i)t was the sanctuary of sweet home influences, a holy and blessed spot, so light and warm and with such an abiding air of comfort that we felt how pure and elevated must be the character of its inmates" (BN: 60)

Disempowered and abandoned, both women spend their time day-dreaming and having nightmares when Crafts realizes that at a certain point the nightmares can turn into reality in the very same moment in which she wakes up: "in horror and grasped a rat that was nibbling my neck" (BN: 79). The rat[4], dark and cruel, seems to represent the evil of slavery that makes them wake up from dream to reality biting them fiercely and reminding them with its presence what is at stake in the American South. Victim of a system in which black women are constantly ill-treated, Crafts shows how fake and real horror can be fused and "stokes the anxiety engine of the Gothic, elevating imagined terrors into real ones, and making real terrors worse because of runaway imaginations" (Marshall 2011: 132).

To reinforce the brutality of the southern reality, a new woman is jailed with Crafts and Mrs. de Vincent and will help them, and the readers, realize how slavery disrupts both blacks and whites alike in a country that boasted of being the cradle of freedom and democracy. The white woman is named Mrs. Wright and along the mistress seems to be "the victim of mental hallucination" because she thinks that the dungeon has "palace halls" (BN: 80), which accounts as the proof of how the patriarchal and racist antebellum America can also destroy a white citizen. Crafts links the white woman's status to that of the black female slaves because Mrs. Wright admits to "have now neither friend, nor lover, nor child, nor husband" (BN: 81) and engages in a one-on-one conversation with Hannah.

Crafts, in a teachable way, explains how the white woman had tried to smuggle a black female slave named Ellen out of the country and being discovered she had been sent to jail. The Gothic dungeon acts as the country's room of penalty where to discard the women who misbehave by missing out of the role that America has assigned them. However, in this Gothic tenure Crafts finds inspiration of a new escape method she had never heard of before: disguising as a man. Cross-dressing was a strategy that some African Americans used to escape

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[4] Curiously enough, the rat seems to have evolved into a literary motif to expose the violence and burden of slavery and its aftermath for some black writers. In the 20th century, the rat gains a symbolic place representing Bigger Thomas's entrapment in a Chicago slum in *Native Son* (1940), the masterpiece of African American writer Richard Wright. In the same vein, in the 21st century, the rat also stands as the symbol of the scarcity and violence inflicted upon black people in *George & Rue* (2005), the debut novel of African Canadian poet, professor and writer George Elliott Clarke.

from slavery. The famous couple William and Ellen Crafts popularized this tactic among the black community, as the author knew. Mrs. Wright, whose name stands as the woman who knows and does what is 'right', helps the black slave to flee the country using a subversive method for she "cut off her long beautiful hair, and disguised her in the garments of a boy" (BN: 83).

Female Gothic moments ooze and seep in The Bondwoman's Narrative and, after the mistress's death, Crafts is informed that she has finally been sold to Saddler. Displaying a horrific scene that is so sadly common to many slaves, Crafts displays the real nature of a slave auction when Saddler is not so sure about her latest human purchase. Referred to as something akin to chattel, Crafts reenacts the conversation between these two evil white Gothic villains talking about her to reveal Trappe's words: "You won't find a nicer bit of woman's flesh to be bought for that money in old Virginia. Don't you see what a foot she has, so dainty and delicate, and what an ankle. I don't see how in conscience you can expect me to take any less. Why you'd make a small fortune of her at that rate?" (BN: 103). Saddler's answer elucidates to which extent the slave trade was important for the white patriarchal South: "I have lost much in that way myself; probably ten thousand dollars wouldn't cover the amount. If the business in general had not been so lucrative such things have broke me up long ago" (BN: 104). By disclosing this apparent blithely conversation between two slave traders, Crafts explains how the southern patriarch had to be reaffirmed trampling black slaves and, concretely, at the expense of black women.

The American South is represented as a site of terror with a dark shadow haunting black slaves wherever they go. In fact, Crafts is warned by Saddler not to runaway because if she felt the need to do so her future the outcome is thoroughly detailed using a gothic shakedown:

> You would almost certainly be caught, and if not, you would be certain to perish miserably, perhaps, hunted and torn to pieces by dogs, or perhaps eaten alive by the vultures when reduced by famine and privation to a dying state. You must bear what you have to bear, and that's the long and short of the matter (BN: 108-109).

Fear is necessary in any state of bondage to assure the victim not to rebel and to keep on carving the "mental torture" (BN: 108) that will lead the final destruction of the self. However, Crafts has never considered escape and the bad omens and threats of the slave trader get reversed in a very gruesome manner. Heading to the new plantation, Crafts and Saddler crash with another wagon and the impact kills the new master. After the accident the writer explains that all she remembers is "a loud noise, a spinning whirling motion and then all was darkness" (BN: 114). Negotiating between its power and its danger, in this female Gothic darkness the victim is the white man who gets his punishment for his participation in the slave

trade. Ironically, a "white as sheet" (BN: 115) master is engulfed in the ultimate darkness of death and it is the black woman who survives. In Crafts's literary hands, the Gothic not only serves as the perfect asset to denouncing America's greatest sin but also as a punishment to those white patriarchs contributing to the corruption of a society so far off its democratic goal.

The "unwelcome notoriety" (BN: 170) of the masquerade episode that blackens Mrs. Wheeler's face if only for a while with some tainted powders prompts the Wheelers to leave the city and the day before of the departure Crafts comes across Lizzy, her fellow slave at the time when she was in service of the Lindendale plantation. She informs Crafts about the whereabouts of the plantation, Mr. Trappe and about "Mr. Cosgrove, her present master and the owner of Lindendale" (BN: 170) who "is getting crazy" because of "his being haunted" (BN: 171). Lizzy is presented, once again, as the griot that stitches up the stories Crafts needs to know to go forward. The story-within-story that Lizzy recounts to Hannah is a "fearful one" (BN: 170) deeply embedded with Gothic and female gothic overtones that prove the Lindendale plantation to be a haunted and hopeless place. The first trait that Lizzy singles out about her new master is his "great fancy to beautiful female slaves" (BN: 173) and so she adds how "More than one of these favorites gave birth to children" (BN: 173). In his article "The Erotic South: Civilization and Sexuality in American Abolitionism", Ronald Walters explains how "some human beings", especially slave masters, "have always turned tyranny into erotic pleasure" (1973: 186).

Voicing her tragedy and explaining the violence African American women were confronted with, Crafts sets out a way to shape up a new black female conscience. She aims at redefining "a discourse of black womanhood which would not only address their exclusion from the ideology of true womanhood but, as a consequence of this exclusion, would also rescue their bodies from a persistent association with illicit sexuality" (Carby 1987: 32). When Mrs. Cosgrove, a refined English lady, finds out that her husband has a harem of slaves to appease his sexual rush she boasts to him: "I am perfectly well aware in what relation you stand to those hussies and they to you. I have heard that in this detestable country such things are common" (BN: 175). As a lady "with English and aristocrat blood in her veins" she foams with "Rage, jealousy, hate, revenge" (BN: 175) as she cannot understand that such acts are common in antebellum America. Thus, showing off her real power she demands the slaves to be sold far off immediately.

Mixing the sentimentality with the Gothic terror of the abuse and slavery that precede the female slaves's reality, Crafts, through Lizzy's recounting of the story, tells how a little child, who happens to be Mr. Cosgrove's out of wedlock offspring, begs: "Why, pa you won't sell, will you?" (BN: 177). What follows this is a brutal act of violence for the little baby's mother who stabs her own son to

prevent him from being taken back to slavery and afterwards she also stabs herself to death in "an act directed by her wildest despair" (BN: 178). The gruesome tragedy is related to expose the blatant brutality slavery can cause. Crafts seems to imply that worse than the act of killing yourself and your baby is the whites' act of violating and desecrating African American women. In fact, Karen Sánchez-Eppler rightly notes how "Crafts makes a marked effort to place it [the episode of Mr. Cosgrove's harem] here after the account of Mrs. Wheeler's blackening, as if to emphasize the sexual meanings of this face, how the rape of slave women and the degradation of slaves mistress intertwine" (2004: 269).

Nevertheless, Mrs. Cosgrove, the evil mistress, is not satisfied with the departure of the slaves and keeps on thinking that her husband is concealing something of the same nature. The Southern gothic house stands as the hideaway of many evils to arise and as the perfect nest where horror and grotesque episodes can take place. Finally, Mrs. Cosgrove discovers a secret chamber inhabited by a black female slave, Evelyn, and her twins who, she soon notices, are her husband's babies. Infuriated and out of control, the mistress throws Evelyn and her offspring out of the house to Mr. Cosgrove's astonishment who, not content with the outcome of the situation and, again, showing no sign of respect toward his wife, shelters the black slave and her kids in a place characteristic of a Gothic setting called Rock Glen. Suspicious about her husband's behavior and haunted at the impossibility "to rid her mind of the image of the slave women" (Marshall 2011: 136), Mrs. Cosgrove finds out the truth allied with Lilly, her slave assistant, and results to finally end with the situation that she feels humiliates her and her social status. Intending to go and reveal the whole secret Mrs. Cosgrove and Mr. Cosgrove entangle themselves into a battle on horseback that winds up in tragedy as the mistress has an accident that leaves her impaired forever. Again, and applying to reprehend the trope of the "Sins of the Fathers" that appears to be inextricably attached to the women's condition, Crafts endeavors to show how black and white women alike become the victims of a patriarchal system which diminishes the notion of womanhood. As Kari Winter openly explains, "female Gothic novelists in Britain and feminist-abolitionists in the United States represented imprisonment and slavery as the central paradigms of woman's condition in patriarchal society. More than any other literary genres of the period, the female Gothic and slave narrative genres focused on the terrifying injustices at the foundation of the Western social order" (1992: 2).

5. MR. TRAPPE AS A WHITE GOTHIC VILLAIN

One of the most intriguing and horrific Gothic devices in The Bondwoman's Narrative is the presence of Mr. Trappe, which constitutes the fifth motif to tackle. Always close to any racial mystery, the white Gothic villain is fundamental to the

progress of the novel as well as to Crafts's stark critique. From the very first time the author sets eyes on Trappe, the Gothic aura surrounding him gives nothing but a feeling of despair and tragedy. Crafts soon figures out the secret that both her mistress and the villain hide. Cognizant of the power of words, at the arrival of a suspicious letter Hannah witnesses a tug-of-war between the mistress and Mr. Trappe, regarding a subject she has no idea of but that hides an apparently dangerous secret according to the words of the mysterious and scary lawyer: "There is no use for equivocation or denial…You well know and I know that our agreement being broken, the engagement terminated. That we are placed in a new position, and that you can have no further claim to forbearance on my part" (BN: 37). The extortion comes to light since Mrs. de Vincent could manage to pay him the "monthly allowance" (BN: 38) and Mr. Trappe, epitomizing the white Gothic villain, exhorts their contract establishment:

> I wished of course to turn my knowledge of your birth to my own advantage. Had I betrayed what you really were I should have gained nothing by it. Had I opposed to your marriage it would have been a barren speculation, but as you offered me a snug little sum to keep the first safe I consented to do so under certain stipulations (BN: 38, emphasis added).

Underneath these series of warnings there floats the secret that conceals the mistress's race. Mrs. de Vincent's blackness could have only been kept secret had she accepted to marry Mr. Trappe as he declares: "Had you treated me in a different manner, your fate would have been different - remember that I have seen the time when I could have stooped to kiss the hem of your garment", and admitting to her: "once you were the leading star of my destiny, the light of my life, and I may yet possess you on my own terms" (BN: 40). Again, through this act of retaliation Crafts witnesses and expounds how the Gothic family relationships are centered on the white male supremacy and defined by the act of possession and thus "evil does not appear as a cosmic mystery in female Gothic but as a human production grounded in men's social position, a position that allows them to pursue, without fear of women's reprisal, their own greed, lust, and ambition" (Winter 1992: 71).

The white Gothic villain showed evidence of Mrs. de Vincent racial past by showing her a portrait of an almost-white-skinned slave named Susan in whom the mistress reflects her own image in a ghost-like manner just proving, in Priscilla Wald's words, that "(g)hosts and hauntings are dangerous" (2004: 214). Hence, this genealogical connection informed the mistress the trap she had engulfed in and wound up accepting that she was under Trappe's control. In this tale, slavery haunts Mrs. de Vincent, as a newfound slave, just as it haunts antebellum America

arguing that the peculiar institution haunts "more by what it evokes for the future than by what it summons from the past" (Wald 2004: 225).

Crafts and Mrs. de Vincent are sheltered by an old lady who nourishes them at her home. Kari Winter explains how in "patriarchal culture, of which the antebellum South is an extreme example, families are perhaps as often the locus of hatred, violence, and destruction, as of love, nurture, and support" (1992: 87) and though it seems this house is an example of the latter, Crafts wants us to realize how evil can be found in the most peaceable locations and soon she notices that "(t)here were voices in an adjoining room" (BN: 61), which causes the mistress's distress thus revitalizing the gothic haunting. The bad omen is embodied in the white gothic villain figure of Mr. Trappe because the old lady informs that the sound is caused by her brother who "is a layer, and has a room here" (BN: 61). Aware that "an evil presence was near" (BN: 62), Crafts recognizes: "some evil eye was noting our doings and that evil plans were concocting against us" (BN: 62). The suspense filling that petrifying moment comes to an end when finally the mistress cries out: "It was his eyes, it was him. We are discovered" (BN: 63). It is clear that both black women cannot find peace in a system that keeps on pushing them to the margin over and over again, and although, if only for a while, they thought they had found some love who brought them some peace of mind, Crafts reminds us how the female gothic "aligns love with feelings of justified horror" (Smith and Wallace 2009: 5) to convey the harsh reality that black women had to face. Crafts makes clear the difference that lies between the tyrannical Trappe and his adorable family but it can be read that the difference is stated in terms of race for the white gothic villain's family ushered the two black women because, due to her almost-white skin, both passed for white and so they posed no threat whatsoever to their patriarchal social values.

Trappe finally discovers both black women and imprisons them in a jail as they await to be sold back into slavery. Handcuffed, shackled and emaciated, both women are brought to a cottage resident where they are met by the new master's overseer. Apart from his filthy looks, Crafts moans that "it was the expression of his countenance after all that made me shrink from and fear him. It was so dark, so sinister and sneering. It told so much of malice, of hate, of dislike to the beautiful the good and true" (BN: 92). The author soon realizes that they "had only been transferred from one prison to another" (BN: 93), a new southern Gothic scenario where the new master is revealed to be a professional slave trader. After a month enslaved in the new prison both women meet their new master in person to find themselves in the hands of Mr. Trappe. Knowing that both women depend on the white villain's will destabilizes Mrs. de Vincent and "it became necessary to support her to a seat" (BN: 97). Mr. Trappe informs the mistress that he is to be

his master and hammers her with the reality she is unable to face using a perverse irony so common of the evil nature he represents: "You have long known the condition of life to which your birth subjected you, and you ought by this time to have become reconciled to it" (BN: 97). Perceptively, the mistress has not been reconciled with her new status and this would be the case of her tragic ending. Trappe stands as a figure of terror in white supremacist culture and as such he goes on reciting the thoughts of a white Gothic villain in the corrupted South blurting out to Mrs. de Vincent: "You are not the first fair dame whose descent I have traced back- far back to a sable son of Africa, and whose destiny has been in my hands as clearly and decidedly as you must perceive that yours is now" (BN: 98).

Mr. Trappe shows the competitiveness and jealousy that patriarchal culture fosters at the expense of black women. As a slaveholder who "routinely beat, raped, and terrorized slave women in attempts to break their will" (1992: 113), in Kari J. Winter's words, it is not Mr. Trappe's economic reputation what is a stake but his honor. Purchasing Mrs. de Vincent seems to be the perfect asset to put things back in shape and follow the southern patriarchal culture regarding the relationship between a white men and a black woman. However, when the mistress learns that she can be sold back into slavery her act of resistance goes as far as her own death. The mistress's death is the last step of the chiasmus that turned a slave-born woman into a white woman to eventually turn her back into a slave and so when Mrs. de Vincent finally understands that her fate is to be enslaved she passes away as the only possible way to be definitely "free" (BN: 100). Through her death, Mrs. de Vincent refuses to become a projection of Trappe's villainy and her latest Gothic pitfall underscores her role not as a victim but as a resistant.

Mr. Trappe's presence is omnipresent until the very last part of the narrative when once free and on the train bringing her to the African American community of New Jersey, Crafts overhears two gentlemen talking about a man "that thrilled ever nerve of my body" (BN: 231). Mr. Trappe. She learns that the white Gothic villain has had a "violent death and assassination" (BN: 232) due to his dark business regarding the selling of slaves. The gentlemen agree that Trappe was "a man of no principle" (BN: 232) who "would not have hesitated a moment to sell his own mother into slavery could the case have been made clear that she had African blood in her veins" (BN: 232). Just as he did with Mrs. de Vincent, Trappe tries to sell back into slavery a woman and her offspring when he found out they were really black and they were about to inherit a great sum of money after the death of the wealthy planter. The planter and the woman were married due to the former's ignorance of his wife's truly racial status. However, one of the children, who were "well educated for stations of honor and usefulness" (BN: 233), finally fires Trappe and kills him just ending with the malediction of race and free to escape to

39

the North. Mr. Trappe's death comes full circle and leaves the story to finish with a happy ending. The Gothic tones that characterized Crafts's life and tribulations come to an end with the white Gothic villain's tragic ending.

6. THE CONCEPT OF RACE AND THE STRATEGY OF PASSING

Intricately linked to Mr. Trappe's figure is the next Gothic motif that revolves around the concept of racial status and the act of passing. In a literary move toward self-assertion, Crafts presents passing and the possible blurring of the racial identities in Gothic terms. Likewise, Crafts implies that passing, which ultimately is possible if there is miscegenation, evolves in a dangerous practice that ends up leading to trouble and destruction for black women. In this episode, once again hidden and haunted like animals, black female slaves stand little chance to succeed in her quest for freedom and Crafts responds to this ideological assault by "representing the social system as thoroughly corrupt" (1992: 68) to put it in Winter's words.

Crafts unfolds "the power of the gothic scene to relay the experience of horror" (Goddu 1997: 137) especially when it comes to signify the suffering of black women. In fact, when both women are finally discovered by a handful of white men after fleeing Lindendale, the first thing that strikes them is their racial status. This moment in time serves Crafts to poignantly dissect her critique toward the act of passing. For this purpose, racial passing in The Bondwoman's Narrative is linked to the gothic horror that surrounds slavery as it is attested by this scene in which the group of white men find and inquire on the two women's identity, and Crafts admits that she "was or had been a slave" (BN: 69). Having lost her mind, Mrs. de Vincent remains silent so Hannah presents her as her mistress and thus allows her to pass for white. I would state, along with Martha J. Cutter, that in Crafts's tale "passing can destabilize identities" (2014: 121) because, despite the effort, the "denial of blackness…is equated with enslavement" and eventually, as it is exemplified in Mrs. de Vincent's own case, "becomes a living death" (Cutter 2014: 122). Taken as a counterfeit that contradicts the very essence of what it is to be a proper (African) American citizen, passing equates social death and eventually, in the mistress's experience, a physical death that is linked to the patriarchal South and its policies of miscegenation and violence against black women. Crafts's gothic heroin remains loyal to her racial identity and this saves her from being engulfed within the gothic trope of craziness by the blurring of her social status and thus by getting discharged of any social role. The author seems to prevail the commitment to one's identity against the blurring of identities as an outcome of passing and thus refocuses her critique pointing it inside the African American community weaving a message to empower them through self- acceptance and honesty. So, Crafts's act of self-acceptance backlashes slavery, an invention of white patriarchal supremacy which sunders the

life of black men and women, and counteracts the rendition and decay of black slaves offering a new way of resistance according to the abolitionists' move.

Further, in a female Gothic move, Crafts sets forth a "psychologically complex" narrative which "removes the boundaries between world and psyche that characterize 'realism'" (Winter 1992: 97) but, at the same time, portraying the derailed mistress's death as a consequence of slavery and its trauma, she warns the white audience that the unfair punishment of oppression on black people "is not merely a state of mind or a matter of discourse; human flesh- human existence- is at stake" (Winter 1992: 117). The "blood gushed afresh" (BN: 100) that is spread with the death of the mistress is in line with Sir. Clifford's and Rose's just proving that in the slavery system blood is the main source of racial haunting and destruction.

The gothic darkness seems to have unfolded throughout the country and once as a slave in property of the Wheeler family Crafts narrates her stay in "Washington, the Federal City" (BN 156) where she notes "Gloom everywhere. Gloom up the Potomac… Gloom down the Potomac…Gloom on the marshes, the fields, and heights. Gloom settling steadily down over the sumptuous habitations of the rich, and creeping through the cellars of the poor" (BN 156) but she concludes that, as a bondwoman: "(j)ust where the gloom was denser, and the muddy street the muddiest there was I" (BN: 157). Aware of her racial status, Crafts, a black woman, is ironically sent to buy a whiting powder for Mrs. Wheeler so that her skin can "acquire the softness and delicacy of childhood" (BN: 158). The bad omen comes forward when, on her way to the chemist, she accidentally stumbles upon Mr. Trappe revealing a horrific intersection which mingles Washington and Crafts's blackness in direct contradiction with the whiting powder and the figure of Mr. Trappe.

As a harbinger of racial disturbances, the presence of Trappe sets off a comical moment which, again, reveals the inconsistency of race in antebellum America. When Mrs. Wheeler is about to depart to Mrs. Piper's to claim a position for her husband, Crafts reminds her that she has not applied the whiting powder and, when she does, her face turns black due to a chemical reaction. It is Mr. Wheeler who informs her: "Your face is black as Tophet" (BN:166) and fears that "her beauty has gone forever" (BN: 166). This racial masquerade serves Crafts to demonstrate the unstable line that separates the racial categories in nineteenth-century North America[5] and, according to Sánchez-Keppler, the author "uses this tale of cosmetic racial crossover to frame and introduce her fullest account of the illicit sexuality that truly produces racially mixed bodies" (2004: 269). Henry Louis Gates Jr.

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[5] Martha J. Cutter thoroughly discloses how "(r)acial definitions were in crisis within the US during the mid- nineteenth century", and "the time period of 1830-1860…should be regarded as the era of the rise of the 'one-drop rule'; laws regarding racial purity were passed amid the emergence of the plantation economy in the 1830s to provide a reliable source of labor and prevent what Sharftstein has termed 'racial migration'"(2014: 116).

assumes that the "powder that turns Mrs. Wheeler black appears to be a product of Hannah's wit and imagination" (BN: 265) which proves Crafts's overt and deliberate challenge to the concept of race. Mistaken for a black woman, Mrs. Wheeler is insulted at Piper's office where they inform her "(t)hat it was not customary to bestow offices on colored people" (BN: 168) and thus proves the importance of social construction regarding race and ethnicity because, as Martha J. Cutter warns, "if a white woman can be turned black (temporarily) and a black woman (such as Hannah's mistress) can pass easily for white for many years, what does it tell us about the nature of race, if not that it is constructed, artificial, and performative, rather than real?" (2014: 125). More often than not, as Mrs. Wheeler and Mrs. de Vincent carnivalesque racial inversion shows, "choice and performance, not a superior or inferior biological class, create race" (Cutter 2014: 126). This questioning of the racist status quo through a comical literary device will be used in African American literature to counteract the manipulation of racial identity.

Denouncing the terror that slaves had to face on their daily basis Crafts is also despising the racist ideology of the "plantation mystique"[6] and her scathing critique is also addressed to the African American community. When Crafts is punished to become a field slave and to marry Bill she plans to abandon the huts where the field slaves live and where she is attacked by a woman who: "seized me by the hair, and without ceremony dragged me to the ground, gave me a furious kick and made use of highly improper and indecent language" (BN: 209), she manages to hide herself in the bushes and "as the night was fortunately dark" (BN: 209), she makes it to the garret where she masquerades herself as a white man and runs for her freedom.

The fear appears now to be posited in her head and as she advances through freedom she admits: "mental anxiety and apprehension was one of the greatest miseries of my fugitive condition" (BN: 211). Yet, she is aware of her "being a fugitive slave" and thus assumes that: "I cannot describe my journey" (BN: 212). Henry Louis Gates Jr. gives an explanation to such affirmation and explains that "it was common feature of most slave narrators to remain silent or sketchy about their mode of escape, in order to protect the secrecy of their routes and methods from slave catchers. This was specially the case after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850" (BN: 277). Again, this new allusion proves wrong the idea that Crafts neither mentions nor is aware of the Slave Fugitive Act.

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[6] The "plantation mystique" refers to an idealized account of plantation life in which slaves are presented as docile and submissive creatures living happily under their master's service and accepting their social status. Obviously, this bucolic portrait is deeply attached to the racist code of antebellum America which, down the line, was the perfect prerogative to unblushingly admit that slavery was the natural state of being for African Americans. This is the very idea that Crafts tries to counteract.

Indeed, Crafts manages to arrive in New Jersey where she reunites with her mother, finds a husband and lives happy next to her fellow slaves Charlotte and William as neighbors. One of the last images of the narrative counteracts the Gothic tone that has prevailed throughout the tale. Crafts confesses that her husband sits beside her as she writes "and sometimes laughs saying 'there, there my dear. I fear you grow prosy, you cannot expect the public to take the same interest in me that you do' when I answer 'of course not, I should be jealous if it did" (BN: 238). Besides the fact that writing appears as an act of empowerment and to define her subjectivity, I agree with Castranovo that "her husband's presence situates her writing amid lived relations just as her book-in-progress confirms the connectedness of husband and wife by providing a material occasion for domestic banter and dialogue" (2004: 209). The domestic atmosphere, the love and the mutual recognition outpace the Gothic motifs for "(w)ife, husband and manuscript work together to ensure that no one becomes a ghost" (Castranovo 2004: 209).

7. CONCLUSION

The story of Hannah Crafts's novel, in which the Gothic aesthetic is arrayed, presents the life of the protagonist ranking from a social outcast in the beginning to a proper citizen of North America in the end. The five Gothic motifs that have been explained and analyzed act as a catalyst of the author's subjectivity by denouncing a social system that relegates her to the margins. Each of the motifs stand as an outlet used by Hannah to compel readers into a well written literary story of the nineteenth century aiming to make them aware of the social reality, especially when this applies to African American women slaves. As the story of the novel moves forward, and by using the literary motifs so in vogue in antebellum America, Crafts cunningly dissects the traits that dehumanize black women just to prove how, eventually, she succeeds at the shattering of such obstacles and finds the place she so longs through the novel. The various Gothic motifs that Crafts uses to propel her story are ultimately transmuted and turn out to be the barriers she overthrows to acquire the status of human being as a proper (African) American citizen. By showing that slavery is underneath every single motif, Hannah Crafts leads us to the conclusion that the only way for African American men and, especially, women to achieve social recognition is by debunking the slavery system and its moral and human corruption.

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AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN LITERATURE, CULTURE, LINGUISTICS, AND COGNITION: LOCAL CHARACTER-BASED METAPHORS IN FAIRY TALES

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ABSTRACT. *This paper resumes the series devoted to metaphors in fairy tales (cf. Herrero 2005a, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2010). We attempt to show how five conceptual metaphors (PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, IMPERFECT IS IRREGULAR, LOVE IS MAGIC, and REAL PEOPLE ARE FICTITIOUS CHARACTERS) and their variants may occur at a local level in the narration, allowing us to understand the magical depiction of characters and some of the relationships they may establish in the tales under analysis.*
The tales, which were compiled by the British author Andrew Lang (1844-1912), are representative of different cultures and have been downloaded from the Project Gutenberg online library. Our research also supports Herrero's claims that (1) conceptual metaphor may serve as a taxonomic criterion for tales, and that (2) although many of these stories belong to different socio-cultural settings, they are coincident with the same plots and local metaphors employed, which may be a result of their strong experiential basis.

Keywords: Conceptual metaphor, fairy tales, local level, characters, culture, experiential basis.

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EN LA ENCRUCIJADA ENTRE LITERATURA, CULTURA, LINGÜÍSTICA Y COGNICIÓN: METÁFORAS LOCALES RELATIVAS A LOS PERSONAJES EN CUENTOS

RESUMEN. *Este artículo continúa la serie dedicada a las metáforas en cuentos tradicionales (véase Herrero 2005a, 2006, 2007, 2008 y 2010). Intentamos mostrar cómo cinco metáforas (PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, IMPERFECT IS IRREGULAR, LOVE IS MAGIC y REAL PEOPLE ARE FICTITIOUS CHARACTERS) y sus variantes pueden actuar a nivel local de la narración, permitiéndonos comprender la representación mágica de los personajes y algunas de las relaciones que mantienen en los cuentos objeto de estudio.*

Las historias, recopiladas por el autor británico Andrew Lang (1844-1912), son representativas de diferentes culturas y han sido extraídas de la biblioteca electrónica Project Gutenberg. Nuestra investigación también apoya las tesis de Herrero de que (1) la metáfora conceptual puede servir como criterio para clasificar cuentos, y de que (2) a pesar de que muchas de estas historias pertenecen a contextos socio-culturales diferentes, son coincidentes en cuanto a los argumentos y las metáforas locales empleadas, lo cual puede deberse a que dichas metáforas son fruto de la experiencia

Palabras clave: Metáfora conceptual, cuentos tradicionales, nivel local, personajes, cultura, experiencia.

1. INTRODUCTION

Fairy tales have been approached from many different analytical perspectives, which reflects the fact that they possess an enormous semiotic power and an ever-changing polysemous nature in different historical and social settings. However, to the best of our knowledge no study has been conclusive with regard to the following issues:

(1)   Tales have survived through repetition over time and across national boundaries in similar forms.

(2)   Folk stories convey some sort of collective unconscious which comprises past knowledge and experiences.

(3)   Fairy tales contain characters and events which are impossible in the real world.

(4)   There is not an accepted consensus on tale classification (c.f. Aarne 1961; Propp 1998; Uther 2000, 2004).

We think that the study of tales as structured by conceptual metaphor may cast some light onto these aspects. In fact, the key role metaphor has in understanding and structuring fairy tales and other forms of literature has been systematically and thoroughly attested by Herrero (2005a, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2010). In his papers, he accounts for the meaning and interpretation of numerous tales via this conceptual tool. From this stance, based on an experiential perspective (Lakoff 1987; Johnson 1987) whereby metaphor is regarded as an inner tool of comprehension and thought, we can not only justify the inner logic of some fairy tales, but also the fact that fairy tales have transmitted ancestral knowledge and basic life experiences as a type of a collective unconscious in similar forms over time and among different socio-cultural environments. In addition, this approach may clarify the debate on tale classification (c.f. Aarne 1961; Propp 1998; Uther 2000, 2004) if we study the metaphors on which the folktale plot is based.

In this paper, besides supporting Herrero's claims with the examples under scrutiny, we shall put forward a distinction between metaphors that appear globally (i.e. they structure the whole plot of a tale) or locally (i.e. they are restricted to some actions or characters) in a tale. This division may be considered a new criterion within tale categorisation as it may complement other existing taxonomic criteria. Additionally, we have spotted a case in which metonymy may also contribute to shaping characters in fairy tales. In order to do so, we shall first revise the existing literature on fairy tales research and on conceptual metaphor, and then define the corpus and methodology used.

2. THE STUDY OF FAIRY TALES IN THE LITERATURE

Throughout the history of literature, although especially dating back to the end of the 19th century, fairy tales and other forms of children's literature have been analysed from many different perspectives.

The first anthropological studies applied to the study of tales were mainly led by the British anthropologist, religious historian, and classical scholar James Frazer (1854-1941). Frazer's *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion,* published in 1890, depicts the tale as a type of religious expression which evolved following the pattern myth > legend > tale.

In the 19th century, the appearance of many different collections of tales in Europe led to the need to create a system to classify them, which prompted the publication of Antti Aarne's *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* (*The Types of Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*) in 1910. In this work, Finnish folklorist Aarne defined the notion of "tale-type" (i.e. a collection of tales that was characterised by displaying a given cluster of recurrent motifs) and established an international

classification of tale-types. Aarne's taxonomy was revised and completed by American folklorist Stith Thompson, resulting in the publication of *The Folktale* in 1930 and, in 1936, *Motif Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktale, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Jest Books and Local Legends*. In essence, "The Aarne-Thompson Tale-Type Index" grouped more than 2,340 tales into broad categories (e.g. tales of magic, mythology, animals, etc.) according to the way their central motifs constituted (1) a given plot (i.e. a string of events or chain of actions), or (2) a variant of that plot which could be found in different countries and cultures. Aarne and Thompson shared the idea of the "Uhr-Märchen," that is, the existence of an original version of a given tale from which other versions derived. In this fashion, they thought that tales had spread through common trade routes and that the further a tale travelled from its origin, the fewer of the original motifs of the tale remained intact. Despite the fact that there have been differing views within this research approach (e.g. Uther 2000, 2004), the Aarne-Thompson method is still being applied to the analysis and classification of fairy tales.

From a structuralist angle, according to García Landa (1998), Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928/1998) was different from the works of other formalists not only regarding the tradition followed, but also in the main aim and object of study. Propp did not attempt to create a universal method for narratology studies[1], but, rather, a formal analytical means that could serve as a base for an anthropological study. He in some way responded to Aarne's tale-type analysis, which overlooked the function of the motifs, by attempting to analyse how various elements were used in specific folktales. Propp concluded that all tales have a common structure; that there exist many recognisable functions which may be fulfilled by several character types or motifs; and that when these functions appear, they always occur in the same sequence. Lastly, besides listing seven prototypical roles[2], he identified 31 distinct functions –basic units of actions– which underlie the structure of the folktale.

From the viewpoint of aesthetics, Jolles' Einfache Formen (1930/1968) argued that the so-called "simple narrative forms" (e.g. legend, memoir, proverb, folk tale…) represent responses to universal human needs: for example, a legend functions as a response to man's desire for ideals of behaviour. In addition, Swiss scholar Max Luthi (1975, 1984) proposed the idea that, even though fairy tales are not real, they are true to a certain extent, as they examine the most profound topics in literature

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[1] For a thorough study, see García Landa (1998).
[2] Namely, the villain, the donor, the helper, the sought-for-person, the dispatcher, the hero, and the false hero.

and life and they offer the idea of a fair universe for the reader. In Luthi's terms, they create a fictional image of humankind and the world. In fact, Luthi aimed to show how fairy tales can portray complex human emotions by using only unreal symbols and characters.

From a psychological perspective, there are innumerable works and many different trends of research, although we will limit ourselves to reviewing two of them, namely, the psychoanalytic and the Piagetian traditions. As for the former, although there are several authors who have studied fairy tales through a psychoanalytic lens (e.g. Zipes 1993, von Franz 1996, etc.), the most influential work is Bruno Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment* (1976). According to Bettelheim, tales are essentially expressions of emotions. By conveying messages at different levels (such as the conscious and the unconscious) and through entertainment, tales help children find meaning in life as they abandon their self-centred existence; develop their imagination, feelings, intellect, confidence; and acknowledge their own anxieties, difficulties, problems, etc. In this sense, fairy tales play a crucial role in the life of a child since they educate, support, and help liberate children from oppressive emotions. Fairy tales constitute a means for children to cope with the fears and dilemmas of their inner lives.

As far as the Piagetian standpoint is concerned, André Favat's *Child and Tale: The Origins of Interest* (1977) contends that fairy tales generally represent the world as children perceive it. In other words, they appeal to young children because they directly affect the psychological traits that were outlined by psychologist Jean Piaget (1932, 1936, 1945, 1957). Thus, the preoperational stage of development (ages two to six) approximately corresponds to the age at which children first discover and like fairy tales. This phase is, according to Piaget, characterised by "magical thinking," whereby children give supernatural powers to objects and forces in the real world, as is the case with the universes included in fairy tales. Favat also points out that the importance heroes and heroines possess in fairy tales runs parallel to the egocentricity of the child during the pre-operational stage. Furthermore, Favat claims that fairy tales appeal to the young child's moral sense as described by Piaget in that they generally reward the good and punish the wicked.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, a multitude of new approaches appeared which directly mirror the huge variety of extensions, directions, and influences that may be adopted regarding the study of fairy tales. Some of the leading authors were feminist scholar Maria Tatar (1987, 1993, 1999), M. R. Becher (1983) as the representative of "the Uncanny" approach, Alison Lurie (1990) with her view on tales as subversive texts, and many others.

Within all these new stances, we shall now focus on what may be termed "The Conceptual Metaphor Approach to Fairy Tales." The view that fairy tales can

be structured by conceptual metaphor was initially suggested by Lakoff (1987). Nevertheless, the first precursory attempts to broach this topic can be traced back to some studies on metaphor and myths (e.g. Sweetser 1995), to Karen Bowe's Senior Honour Thesis (1996, in which she analyses how the punishment of certain crimes in traditional tales can be metaphorically explained), and to Herrero's papers.

In this paper we attempt to complete this line of research by analysing five conceptual metaphors (PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, IMPERFECT IS IRREGULAR, LOVE IS MAGIC, and REAL PEOPLE ARE FICTITIOUS CHARACTERS) and their variants that may occur at a local level in the narration. To our mind, the distinction between local vs. global metaphors may cast new light onto the debate on tale classification (c.f. Aarne 1961; Propp 1998; Uther 2000, 2004). Whereas local metaphors determine specific actions or facts in a tale (e.g. the depiction of characters in terms of their internal and external appearance, some of their reactions, or the relationships they may establish throughout the tale), global metaphors repeatedly underlie the main events that make up a story, even accounting for the final moral conveyed. As complementary to other taxonomic methods, this distinction can be regarded as an extra criterion to classify tales.

An example of a global metaphor that serves to structure the entire plot of a story can be found in WORKING HARD IS ACCUMULATING CREDIT, which is present in many expressions like *He worked hard on that: they owe him a vacation, I deserve something for all the hard work I've done, She deserves credit for her efforts,* etc. This metaphor is the basis of the main events in fairy tales such as "The Three Little Pigs." In this tale two pigs are always eating and playing in the mud. They build their houses with cabbage and mud, whereas their third, smarter brother decides to make his house out of bricks. Then, a cunning fox manages to enter the lazily built houses of the first two pigs and captures them. However, they are rescued by the smart brother who remains safe in his strong house of bricks, which obviously took much more effort to build, and eventually gets rid of the fox. Although it is not included in the corpus, the fable entitled *The Ant and the Grasshopper* also tells of an idle grasshopper and a laborious ant who spend their summer days singing and working respectively, in such a way that when winter comes the ant has food and the grasshopper is hungry. Another instance in which a character works hard and is finally rewarded can be found in "Cinderella," a story of a girl who was obliged to work as a servant while her step-sisters were idle; Cinderella eventually marries the prince and not her wicked, lazy sisters.

For the sake of further illustration, previous works in the literature which have dealt with how metaphors can help to globally structure a narrative and locally build a character can be found in Pérez (1997) and Weber (1995) respectively. In the former, conceptual metaphor accounts for the main characters' behaviour and

for some of their reactions which would otherwise be difficult to understand, thus helping to create the consistency of the characters in such a way that provides structural unity to the whole novel. Furthermore, by anticipating in a metaphorical way some of the main events, we may get an alternative, perhaps intended, reading of the text. In the latter, the protagonist's conduct is constructed metaphorically because her self is portrayed as a container with two basic types of elements, central and peripheral, which stand for her rational and irrational/unconscious sides. This licenses the mapping NEUROSIS IS A MILITARY INVASION OF THE SELF whereby there is a confrontation between the rational elements of the self (which defend the inner territory) and the irrational ones (which attack it).

3. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

The notion of "idealised cognitive model" (ICM) is essential to the cognitive framework. As defined by Lakoff (1987: 68), ICMs are in essence the way in which we organise our knowledge. ICMs can be understood as cognitive structures whose purpose is to represent reality from a certain perspective, in such a way that the result is a process of idealisation of reality (Lakoff 1987, 1989). ICMs use four kinds of structuring principles (Lakoff 1987: 68), namely:

(a) Propositional structure, as in Fillmore's Frame Semantics (1985).

(b) Image-schematic structure, as in Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (1987).

(c) Metaphoric and metonymic mappings, as described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999).

Although the bibliography on metaphor and metonymy is always increasing within Cognitive Linguistics[3], the traditional distinction between metaphor and metonymy is based on the fact that whereas metaphor is a domain-external mapping between selected structure from cognitive models (frames or image schemas), metonymy is understood in terms of domain-inclusion relationships (via expansion/reduction processes) where the source allows access to the target, for which it stands.

Ruiz de Mendoza (1998) distinguishes between two types of metaphor if we take into account the nature of the mapping process, namely, one and many-correspondence metaphors. This distinction depends on whether the source and target domains are linked by means of one or several correspondences, as in the

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[3]   For the former, recent studies can be found in Kövecses (2011), Gibbs (2011), Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez (2011), Gonzálvez *et al.* (2011), and Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2014). For the latter, see Barcelona (2002), Radden (2005), Benczes *et al.* (2011), and Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2014).

correlational pair of metaphors MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN, which are based on the direct relationships we establish between our physical and cultural experience, and ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 4), in which the people arguing are opponents, they attack and defend themselves, they have plans and strategies, etc.

However, for our purposes, we should focus on a different criterion for metaphor classification: the type of correspondence between the source and target domains. In this fashion, Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal (2002) make use of Grady's (1997) division between metaphors based on *correlation* (when distinct dimensions of experience conflate, as in MORE IS UP) or *resemblance* (when the source and target domains share some features which prompt the metaphoric mapping, as in *John is a lion*).

In turn, two basic types of metonymies have been distinguished (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza 2000; Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez 2001; Ruiz de Mendoza 2011), namely: (1) target-in-source (the source domain stands for a target sub-domain) and (2) source-in-target (a source sub-domain stands for a target domain) metonymies. Instances of these metonymies can be found in *She is learning to tie her shoes* ('shoes' refers to 'laces') and *The red moustache left without leaving a tip* ('the red moustache' refers to 'the customer with a red moustache').

4. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

First of all, we have downloaded an online corpus from the *Project Gutenberg* library. Our original corpus comprises 386 fairy tales from various cultures which were written by the British author and compiler Andrew Lang (1844-1912). Interestingly enough, Lang granted many of these tales their first appearance in English, in 11 books named by different colours. In order to identify the metaphors in the tales we have analysed their most prototypical lexical patterns, which have been obtained from the *Berkeley Framenet Project* (2012) and from the *Conceptual Metaphor Homepage* (1994). For example, the metaphor LOVE IS MAGIC may be characterised by terms like "magic," "bewitch," "enchanted," "entranced," "charmed," etc. within the source domain. Then, in order to check whether a metaphor applied to a given tale or not, via the concordance programme *WordSmith* and its tool "Concord," we could easily retrieve lots of examples representative of those terms in their linguistic contexts. On some occasions, the difficulty of detecting metaphors automatically due to (1) the lack of tagged corpora for metaphorical projections or to (2) the fact that metaphors lack a unique form, led us to use *Google* in order to find actual instances of the metaphors under scrutiny and be able to identify the words or phrases that characterise them.

On this occasion the metaphors analysed below have been found in the following tales, which are listed together with, where possible, their origin, relevant information, and classification within the Aarne-Thompson's taxonomy (henceforth

AT). Although most of these tales include several variants, we shall only focus on the data appertaining to the English culture and language

- Tales of magic – supernatural adversaries: "Blue Beard" (although French in origin, there is a version from North Carolina that includes a slight variation at the beginning in which the protagonist is apparently a poor man –cf. Clews 1917: 183).

- Tales of magic – supernatural helpers: "Trusty John" (Germany), "The Sacred Milk of Koumongoe" (South Africa), "Laughing Eye and Weeping Eye" or "The Limping Fox" (Serbia), "Cinderella" (stemming from Asia and the European oral tradition, this story is renowned for the myriad of variants all over the world; strikingly enough, according to Sierra –1992: 162-163–, even though similar stories have been found in native American tales, it has not been a widespread plot in Africa and America).

- Tales of magic – other tales of the supernatural: "Snowdrop" (even though the first version of Snowhite by the Grimms appeared in 1812, the first translation into English was accomplished by Edgar Taylor in 1823; Taylor did not only alter the original title, but softened its content as well).

- Tales of animals – animals other than the fox: "Heart of a Monkey" (a Swahili story https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fairy_tale).

- Tales of magic – supernatural or enchanted relatives: "The Six Swans" (Germany), "The Enchanted pig" (Romania), "Sleeping Beauty" (adapted from Perrault's version), "Frog-Prince" (although the idea of a prince who is turned into a frog by a magic spell can be traced back to the Middle Ages, the story is best known through the Brothers Grimm's written version and has had a great impact on many contemporary English, Australian, and American authors: A. Sexton, S. Henderson, R. Graves, H. Hill, P. Thompson, E. Brewster, R. Pack –cf. Zipes 2015: 224), "Beauty and the Beast" (although French in origin, it has many variants across Europe), "The Frog," "Puddocky" (Germany), "The Enchanted Snake" (Italy), "Brother and Sister" (although the first recorded version can be traced back to Italy, it has circulated as far as Russia with different titles but keeping the basic story unaltered), "The Enchanted Canary" (France), "East of the Sun and West of the Moon" (Norway).

- Other tales: "The Hunchback of Notre Dame" (adapted from the French romantic novel by Victor Hugo), "The Ugly Duckling" and "The Little Mermaid" (translated from Andersen's stories), "The Golden Branch" (France), "Snow-White and Rose-Red" (Germany), "The Flower Queen's Daughter" (Moldavia), "The Water Lily" (Estonia), "The Yellow Dwarf" (France), "The Three Princes and their Beasts" (Lithuania), "The Twin Brothers" and "The Dead Wife" (Indian tales), "A Voyage to Lilliput" (adapted from Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*), "The Fox and the Lapp" (northern Europe), "The Jackal, the Dove, and the Panther" (South Africa), "The Witch and her Servants," and "The Terrible Head."

For illustration purposes, we also make use of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*, the Greek myth of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, the mediaeval poem *The Owl and the Nightingale* (cf. Millet 2003), the fable *The Ant and the Grasshopper,* and "The Three Little Pigs." Of these five stories, only the last one is included in our corpus and even though it was first published in 1886 by James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, Andrew Lang launched it in 1892 without citing his source, and naming the pigs for the first time as Browny, Whitey, and Blacky. Also, he described each pig's character in detail and chose a fox, not the traditional wolf, as the antagonist of the story. Within the AT system, it belongs to the category "animal tales - wild animals and domestic animals.

5. ANALYSIS

5.1. TALES OF ANIMALS

There are many popular tales which are based on a very strong image: a beast or repulsive animal is turned into a magnificent person. Even though these stories may present significant differences, a common feature in all of them is that the lover is first experienced as an animal; hence, in the literature of fairy tales, this cycle is frequently known as that of the "animal groom" or the "animal husband." Although they are less well known, those stories where the future female partner is first an animal, the cycle is that of the "animal bride." In terms of Bettelheim (1976: 282), the fact that in these fairy tales the animal groom is rescued by the love of the female as often as the animal bride is disenchanted through the devotion of the male suggests that the same fairy-tale motif applies equally to both males and females. Furthermore, in languages where the structure permits it, the names of the enchanted beings tend to be rather ambiguous so that the audience may picture them as either of the two sexes. However, the personal pronouns which co-refer to the enchanted animal usually hint at its final state.

From a cognitive point of view, what seems to motivate these tales is the complex metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, which in turn derives from the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR. The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR allows us to understand non-human attributes in terms of human character traits. By means of this metaphor we can deal with ontological metaphors (i.e. those in which abstract entities are treated as if they were physical objects or substances, as in TIME IS SOMETHING MOVING) in such a way that different entities are hierarchically organised following this pattern (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner 1989): Human beings > animals > plants > complex objects > natural physical things. Please note that human beings are considered the higher order and natural physical things appear in the lower position.

Interestingly enough, the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR conditions the relationships that can be established between the different orders of the aforementioned hierarchy in such a way that each level has the features of the lower ones together with

an additional identifiable characteristic. Experientially, the fact that human beings have closely coexisted in nature with many other animals has made it possible to deal with human attributes in terms of corresponding animal characteristics, as in *He is a pig, Alice is a rat, or Peter is a whale*. These cases are realisations of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS METAPHOR[4] whereby people can be described in terms of culturally attributed behavioural or appearance-based features of animals: pigs (i.e. dirt, filth), rats (i.e. malice, spite), and whales (i.e. fat and overweight).

In presenting people as beasts and repulsive animals (frogs, toads, pigs, snakes, etc.), we focus on their culturally assigned features (ugliness, dirtiness, etc.). In this way, when the characters return to their normal human shape, this magical change is not only further reinforced but the contextual effects produced are striking as well (which ultimately underlie the moral of the tale: "inner beauty is overall beauty"). In fact, despite the dangerous or repugnant element in the animal form of the lovers, in practically all the examples of animal brides and grooms, these are *special* due not to their external beauty but rather to their inner beauty, since they tend to be extremely kind, polite, courteous, respectful, etc. Besides, some authors (e.g. Bowe 1996) have claimed that some of these tales may be explained on the basis of the UNCONTROLLABLE PASSIONS ARE ANIMALS metaphor, whereby characters that take the form of beasts tend to be deeply in love with someone or experience some other extreme feelings (hatred, anger, envy, etc.). At this point, we should bear in mind that these animal-based metaphors may account for the meaning and implications of the external appearance of some characters, although they do not explain the reason why they initially adopted that form. Often, the answer can be found in the role moral metaphors play in fairy tales (cf. Herrero 2008), whereby the transformation of a person into an animal is usually a punishment for disobedience, selfishness, laziness, or some other wrongful acts. In essence, tales tend to show that good is rewarded, whereas evil is punished.

In this connection, the most renowned of these tales today is "Beauty and the Beast," in which a beautiful virgin is required to fall in love with a monstrous being (initially a selfish and merciless youth) in order for the spell to be broken, in such a way that he recovers his former human form and the status of an acclaimed prince. "The Frog" and "Puddocky" tell of two princesses who adopt the form of a frog and a toad respectively. These repulsive animals help young men who are in great trouble and sorrow since they cannot accomplish the tasks they have been asked to carry out. At the end of the stories, the batrachians return to their original form transforming into extremely beautiful princesses who the young men marry.

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[4] More recent developments of the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS can be found in Ruiz de Mendoza (1997) and Ruiz and Herrero (2005).

"The Enchanted Pig" is a story about three princesses who disobey their father's command not to enter a room where they discover who their future husbands will be. The youngest finds out that she is to marry a pig. After the wedding, the princess sees the pig turn into a man at night and, in trying to discover what is happening, she manages to make the spell cast upon her husband last longer and he leaves her. She then sets out to find him and in the end breaks the spell, so he becomes a handsome prince. "The Enchanted Snake" is the story of a snake who wants to marry the king's daughter. In order to do so, the king asks him to complete several impossible tasks which are accomplished impressively by the snake. In marrying the princess, the snake turns into a beautiful youth. However, after being discovered by the king, he is transformed into a dove that escapes by flying away. The princess then departs to find him and they eventually get married.

As we can observe, there are some instances in which there are animals such as doves, swans, or deer, which represent positive things (freedom, majesty, beauty, elegance, etc). In contrast to the previous tales, these are normally characterised by a different structure, namely, the characters that undergo the transformation are first shaped as human beings and then suffer the change. "The Six Swans" is a tale about a king who is obliged to marry a witch's wicked daughter. The new queen then transforms his six step-sons into swans but their sister is not there and, when she discovers the spell, she sets out to break it and return them to their human form. In "Brother and Sister," the brother is so thirsty that he cannot help drinking from a cursed brook, thus being transformed into a beautiful deer until his sister manages to undo the spell. Finally, "The Enchanted Canary" tells of a prince who wants to marry a girl he dreams about. He sets out to find her and, after many adventures, he reaches an orange grove where a beautiful canary asks him for water. In giving it water, the canary becomes the pretty princess whom the prince eventually marries.

In order to account for some of these and other instances, we can postulate the metaphor ATTITUDES IN LIFE/LIFESTYLES ARE ANIMALS, which would also stem from the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor since, as we have shown before, a quintessential feature of the underlying metaphor is highlighted. This metaphor is typically found in fables; according to the Collins English Language Dictionary, "fable" is defined as a story that is intended to teach a moral lesson and which often have animals as the main characters. In this sense, it is interesting to observe that fables usually employ animals in order to show a prototypical human trait or a characteristic attitude in life. The Middle Ages were especially prolific as regards the use of fables to portray attitudes in life. For example, *The Owl and the Nightingale* (cf. Millet 2003), a Middle English poem written probably by Nicholas of Guildford around the beginning of the 13th century, describes a debate between the sober owl and the merry nightingale regarding their respective merits. These animals metaphorically stand for the debate between pleasure and asceticism, philosophy

and art, or the old-fashioned didactic poetry and the new secular poetry related to love. In our corpus, "The Fox and the Lapp" is a tale whose main character is a fox who deceives everyone. Foxes are characterised as being deceitful, sly, cunning, etc. Similarly, in "The Jackal, the Dove, and the Panther" the characters are animals with salient prototypical features: for instance, the jackal (a medium-sized carnivore with fox-like appearance) is deceitful and the dove is very beautiful, but also silly. Also, "Heart of a Monkey" depicts a donkey as a very stupid animal, while the hare and the lion are smart.

5.1. PEOPLE ARE PLANTS

The first incursion into the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor within the contemporary theory of metaphor can be traced back to Lakoff and Turner's (1989) More than cool reason. As far as this metaphor is concerned, several perspectives may be assumed. In the first, most basic case, personification applied to plants is a direct result of the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR, which motivates the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, and whereby we can understand non-human attributes in terms of human character traits as we have seen before. In this fashion, not only may animals and plants think and feel as humans do, but even stones are alive, or the wind can talk and guide the hero to where he needs to go, as in "East of the Sun and West of the Moon."

Secondly, in their book the aforementioned authors argue that via the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor people are seen as plants with respect to the yearly life cycle; more precisely, they are regarded as that part of the plant that blossoms and then withers or deteriorates (e.g. leaves, flowers, fruit, or even the whole plant, as is the case with grass and wheat). In our corpus, the metaphor under analysis is closely related to A LIFETIME IS A YEAR, in which the seasons relate to the different stages of human life: birth and childhood correspond to spring (the time when plants flourish), adolescence to summer (when plants grow), maturity to autumn (when plants wither and lose their leaves), and old age to winter (when plants die). This link between the natural cycle of life and the progression of a single year appears in a song included in "The Terrible Head." In some other tales, the metaphor LIFETIME IS A YEAR is used according to the changes brought on by the seasons: in "Snow-White and Rose-Red" the dwarves in winter, when the ground is frozen solid, are obliged to remain underground (a metaphor for death). But when the sun has warmed the ground, they break through and resurface to survey the land and steal whatever they can. This is also the case in "The Flower Queen's Daughter," in which a prince rescues a beautiful princess who is the daughter of the Flower Queen. As she is part of nature, her appearance is conditioned by the natural

cycle in such a way that she is underground in winter and returns to the surface in summer. This can be explained by the metaphors DEATH IS UNDERGROUND and LIFE IS OVERGROUND. Following Herrero (2007), these metaphors may stem from the old folk custom of burying people underground, and we can find their experiential basis in the fact that during life we are present in the world (on earth) and after death we are absent and, if buried, clearly underground.

In the third place, the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS may be explained on the basis of the high-level (i.e. generic) metaphor EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, which comprises other metaphors such as GROWTH IS WATERING A PLANT, CONCEPTION OF A CHILD IS SOWING, DEATH IS LOSING FLUID (and its converse LIFE IS A FLUID), or HUMAN DEATH IS THE REAPING OF A PLANT (cf. Lakoff and Turner 1989). Finally, we have also found the related metaphor PROPERTIES OF PEOPLE ARE PLANT PARTS, by means of which not only can the whole plant be reaped, but also individual parts. Regarding our corpus of study, there are cases in which people are transformed into plants. "The Water Lily" is a story in which a maiden who works for a witch falls in love with a prince who comes to rescue her. When the witch discovers that the maiden has fled with him, she transforms her into a water lily. At the very end of "The Yellow Dwarf" the dead lovers become tall palm trees, their branches representing their arms. Finally, there are also some instances in which humans are watered with magic liquids as if they were plants, in such a way that they come back to life, recover their strength, or recover a lost part of their body. This holds true for tales such as "The Three Princes and their Beasts," "The Witch and her Servants," "The Twin Brothers," etc.

5.3. IMPERFECT IS IRREGULAR

As Lakoff and Turner (1989) point out, the conceptual metaphor IMPERFECT IS IRREGULAR (and its converse, PERFECT IS REGULAR) may be seen in everyday language when we speak of something perfect that is "without a blemish," which conveys the idea that there are no irregularities. Similarly, we can also say that something is "spotless," "impeccable," "flawless," or "immaculate." If we speak about behaviour, we can refer to it as "highly irregular" or, in other words, "less than perfect." We also have the commonplace knowledge that anything in the real world is not totally regular. For example, no line in the real world is absolutely straight and, regarding living beings, all of them have bumps, spots, incongruities, and asymmetries that prevent them from being completely "regular." In philosophy, even stemming from the times of Plato and Aristotle, the act of combining the metaphor IMPERFECT IS IRREGULAR with the knowledge that real things are irregular metaphorically leads to the idea that living things are inherently imperfect while abstract, unreal ideas can be perfect.

In the analysis of fairy tales, this is a very productive metaphor in several aspects. Many stories show the change from a relatively imperfect situation to a more perfect one. This holds true in the cases which involve transformation from animal to human shape. In these tales, the human-animal is of course imperfect because he does not comply with the characteristics of the species, until he achieves full human shape. In some other tales, a character has an irregular shape at the beginning (being blind, hunchbacked, lame, etc.) and at the end recovers his/her regular form: there is an evolution from an imperfect to a more perfect state.

For instance, apart from the story of "The Hunchback of Notre Dame" (a tale in which the ugly hunchback suffers the mockery and derision of his town, thus taking refuge in the bell-tower of Notre Dame until he is loved by a woman and changes into a handsome man), Andersen's "The Ugly Duckling" is a tale about a duck who, rather than being white like his brothers, is darker in colour. His dark appearance will always be the reason for the persecution and loneliness he suffers until he discovers his plumage has changed and he has become a beautiful white swan. "The Golden Branch" tells the story of Prince Curlicue and Princess Cabbage-Stalk, both of whom, at the beginning of the story, are considered ugly with physical impediments. As the story ends, they are transformed by a fairy into a handsome man and an extremely beautiful woman, even changing their names to Prince Peerless and Princess Sunbeam respectively. Also, the Servian tale "Laughing Eye and Weeping Eye" (or the "Limping Fox") is the story of a lame fox who helps the simpleton of a family. In the end, the fox turns into a beautiful maiden.

Nevertheless, as some scholars have claimed (Martín 2004, among others), in some tales, contrary to what happens in everyday life, deficiencies and physical impediments do not always imply something negative. In Andersen's *The Little Mermaid*, when she abandons her marine empire and sacrifices her voice for the sake of love, instead of being regarded by the readers as an imperfection, it is rather seen as a sign of the creature's excellence. Similarly, Sleeping Beauty seems to experience an eternal sleep from which nothing can wake her. In "The Six Swans," the youngest has to live with a swan's wing instead of his left arm forever. In fact, many tales show characters who have lost their limbs or who are blind or dumb. They are not "complete" or "regular" but they are alive. According to Martín, the true message that fairy tales convey may precisely be that BEING ALIVE IS BEING INCOMPLETE. In real life, this could apply to the idea of always looking for something we lack (love, friendship, jobs, etc.). Moreover, ancient cultures held the belief that deformed people were endowed with extraordinary powers, such as, for instance, magic or exceptional poetic skills (e.g. Homer, the great Greek poet, was blind).

5.4. LOVE IS MAGIC

By means of the LOVE IS MAGIC metaphor (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 49), the domain of love is understood in terms of magic usually in a positive way. Herrero (2005b) bases this mapping on the experiential fact that in a love relationship sight becomes a central element. In fact, lovers often spend a lot of time staring at each other as if focusing only on the other person, i.e. like bewitched and incapable of doing anything else.

Regarding fairy tales, magic appears almost every time we find love. Indeed, the Sleeping Beauty awakes and comes back to life when she is kissed by a prince after a curse of a hundred years; the Frog-Prince returns to his human shape as soon as the princess kisses the frog, and so does the ugly Beast when the Beauty kisses him. Cinderella recovers her prince because of her magical crystal shoes, and the Little Mermaid is transformed into a human being so that she is able to be with her love, etc.

Finally, the metaphor KISSING IS GIVING LIFE usually applies to those cases in which kissing becomes a magical element. This mapping results from the metaphors LIFE IS FIRE / A FLAME and KISSING (AND OTHER FORMS OF SEXUAL AROUSAL) IS SETTING ON FIRE, which is in turn grounded in LOVE IS FIRE (cf. Herrero 2005b).

5.5. REAL PEOPLE ARE FICTITIOUS CHARACTERS

Out of analogy, many fairy tales and fables make use of this metaphor by means of which fictitious characters are mapped onto real people who exist or existed in the past. According to Lurie (1990), one of the reasons (together with the fact that they have conveyed ideas not generally approved by the society of certain times) why fairy tales have been considered subversive in the history of literature is due to the fact that they have often ridiculed serious figures and beliefs (e.g. they view social pretences from a non-serious viewpoint), albeit in a concealed way, as they are represented by the characters of a story apparently aimed at children. Hence, the metaphor REAL PEOPLE ARE FICTITIOUS CHARACTERS may be said to be working here.

Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* is a clear example: some literary critics have claimed that the characters of this famous book not only seem to represent politicians B. Disraeli, W. Gladstone, but also the Queen of Hearts is a wonderful portrait of Queen Victoria. Also, the caterpillar who asks Alice many silly questions which elicit only nonsensical answers, symbolises a prototypical Victorian teacher. Similarly, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, in our corpus abridged in "A Voyage to Lilliput," is also taken to be a satire on the politics, customs, and religion of 18th-century England.

As we are hindered by the lack of time and space, it is impossible to ascertain if the characters of our tales may be taken to represent real characters of their time. Nonetheless, it is widely acknowledged that Andersen's "The Ugly Duckling," contained in our corpus, is a full autobiography of the Danish author transmitting the idea that he first had to overcome many negative circumstances, but eventually was rewarded with fame and prestige, just as the dark ugly duckling suffered in his youth until he grew up into a beautiful swan.

In this sense, we can say that names may play a considerable role in the depiction of characters, whether they are real or not. In fact, names from literature are not only employed to characterise real people (*He is a Scrooge, He is a Prometheus,* etc.), which leads to the metaphor NAME FOR REPUTATION, but they also may be quite telling of one's way of being, especially in tales (e.g. Felicia, from the Latin word felix, "happy," symbolising happiness; *Cordelia*, from the Latin word *cord*, "heart," standing for good-hearted, etc.

5.6. METONYMY IN FAIRY TALES

We shall analyse now a different although interesting case which is based on a CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy whereby prohibitions are regarded as temptations. To the best of our knowledge, there are no preceding works based on the construction of literary characters in fairy tales from a metonymic stance, which could make this an initial contribution for future research.

Human beings are characterised as having a vast and innate degree of curiosity and imitation. Particularly when we are young, many things are banned: smoking, drinking alcohol, etc., but curiosity and imitation lead us to ignore prohibitions. In psychology, it is thought that certain obsessions may be caused by the repression of the instinctual impulses. It is through this repression that a special feeling is created that is based upon over-exaggeration of the opposite tendency. Hence, the influence of the repressed instinct therefore becomes a temptation and causes the onset of anxiety. For instance, regarding children, simply saying no repeatedly creates a spirit of defiance, which transforms the prohibition into a temptation.

Regarding fairy tales, in cognitive linguistics terms, when prohibition leads to temptation we may say that there is an underlying CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy. In this vein, there are a number of stories that reveal a secret chamber in the central motif, which must not be entered, and where previously killed women are kept. As Bettelheim (1976: 299) points out, in some Russian and Scandinavian tales of this type it is an animal husband who prohibits people from entering the room, thus suggesting a relationship between these and animal-groom stories (see section 5.1). Some of the best-known fairy tales involving this metonymy are the following ones.

"Blue Beard" is the story of a man who sets off on a long journey, telling his wife that in his absence she can go anywhere in the house except for a single closet that is forbidden. However, led by temptation, she opens the closet and finds the corpses of previous women. When he returns, the indelible blood on the key betrays the fact that his bride has indeed entered the forbidden closet. In "The Enchanted pig," the three daughters enter a forbidden room finding a book that reveals their future and one of them discovers she is to marry a pig. Afterwards, even though the pig prohibits her from seeing his real appearance at night, she manages to catch a glimpse of him. In doing so, she prolongs the nearly broken spell which afflicted him and, of course, brings disgrace upon the couple.

As we may observe, these stories present in the most extreme form the motif that, as a test of trustworthiness, the females must not pry into the secrets of the males (being either the father or the lover). However, carried away by their curiosity, they do so with disastrous consequences. In this sense, the tale of "Blue Beard" sends a clear message that when the male gives the female a key to a room while at the same time ordering her not to enter, it is a test of her faithfulness to his commands, or in a broader sense, to him. Before the inevitable act of disobedience, these men depart for a while or, in some instances, actually pretend to depart to test their partner's fidelity. However, in returning unexpectedly, they find that their confidence has been betrayed, which further leads to the punishment of the female.

In these stories it is clear that the female is strongly tempted to do what is forbidden of her, though this is not the only type of temptation that fairy tales present. More variants of this metonymy in tales may be seen below.

"Trusty John" is the story of a servant who is told by the dying King to take care of the prince. The servant is told to show the prince the whole palace with the exception of one room, which contains the picture of the Princess of the Golden Roof. However, the prince succumbs to temptation and, in entering the room, he falls intensely in love with her and thus falls into a deep sleep from then on, suffering many dangers for her sake. "The Sacred Milk of Koumongoe" tells of two thirsty girls who, having been prohibited from drinking from a magic tree, disobey their parents, resulting in much mischief and, even, the attempted murder of one of the daughters by the father.

Recalling the Greek myth of Orpheus and Eurydice (in which Orpheus, after managing to bring his beloved wife back to life, is not able to resist the temptation to see her just before returning to the land of the living people, an act which has been forbidden, thus causing her to be sent back to death irremediably). "The Dead Wife" tells the story of an Iroquois Indian who loses his wife. She is sent back to him upon condition that he should not touch her until they return to their tribe. He cannot resist the temptation though and, in catching and holding her, she disappears and all that remains of her is a wooden doll.

Besides, another realisation of the metonymy under review is the case in which prohibited food is a temptation: food is normally depicted as something attractive which exerts a powerful influence on us, thus acting as a temptation, especially if forbidden. This may be exemplified by means of the aforementioned tale "The Sacred Milk of Koumongoe," in which two girls defy their parents and drink from a tree that contains delicious milk. Also, typically in a religious sense, a temptation can be depicted in the form of food. In fact, regarding Christianity, this variant is included in the biblical story of Adam and Eve in Paradise: the girl bites an eye-catching red apple which was prohibited as it metaphorically stood for having sex. In fairy tales, the most well-known tale involving the eating of a red apple is the one of "Snowhite" (in our corpus, under the title of "Snowdrop"), in which Snowhite's stepmother gives her a poisonous apple after discovering that the girl is the most beautiful girl in the kingdom.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have analysed five basic metaphors (and some of their variants) related to the depiction of characters and their relationships in more than thirty-five fairy tales. Regarding the claim that it is possible to classify tales according to the metaphors they contain, our findings support the idea that we should further distinguish between global metaphors that underlie the whole plot of a tale, and local metaphors like the ones analysed. Whereas global metaphors in fairy tales are but general structuring mechanisms that characterise the story from beginning to end (e.g. some DEATH metaphors, moral beauty metaphors, mappings based on the DIVIDED SELF, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor; cf. Herrero 2007, 2008 and 2010), metaphors that apply at a local level of the tale usually account for relevant specific aspects and actions like the odd external appearance of characters, some of the magic in tales, and other implausible facts in the real world.

Being grounded in the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR, the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS allows us to make sense of those tales in which people are transformed into animals, either repulsive or beautiful, depending on the human attributes that are highlighted in accordance with the culturally associated behavioural or appearance-based features of the animals. Moreover, we have shown how other related metaphors may interact with this mapping in order to explain some innuendoes of magical transformations in tales: beasts and vermin may sometimes arise from the UNCONTROLLABLE PASSIONS ARE ANIMALS metaphor or from moral punishments that might also have a metaphoric motivation. On top of that, other well-known, highly symbolic animals which directly mirror the productivity of this metaphor (e.g. owls, foxes, doves, snakes –some of them with a strong metonymic basis) can originate in the metaphors ATTITUDES IN LIFE/LIFESTYLES ARE ANIMALS.

As for the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor, besides explaining personification, we have shown how characters may present a given aspect or some of their actions are determined. This is so because (1) they can develop as plants do in terms of the yearly life cycle according to the seasons or in terms of the stages in the life of a plant and, (2) via the EVENTS ARE ACTIONS metaphor, actions applied to plants (sowing, watering, reaping) correspond to phases within human development. Finally, we have also seen that other related metaphors (e.g. LIFETIME IS A YEAR, PROPERTIES OF PEOPLE ARE PLANT PARTS, DEATH IS UNDERGROUND) may interact with PEOPLE ARE PLANTS in fairy tales.

We have also explained the reasons why characters lacking some dimensions in life have irregular bodies by means of the metaphor IMPERFECT IS IRREGULAR, or why kisses cause people in tales to come back to life or return to their primeval human shape through the LOVE IS MAGIC mapping. Even, via the REAL PEOPLE ARE FICTITIOUS CHARACTERS metaphor some characters may represent actual people, or their names may be full of symbolism through the related NAME FOR REPUTATION metaphor; these metaphors might have been a very productive mechanism within British literature, in particular social and political satire, constituting an issue for future research.

Although our research was originally intended to cover metaphor, we have come across an interesting case of a CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy according to which prohibitions are portrayed as temptations in many fairy tales. This metonymy accounts for the fact that some forbidden spaces in tales are eventually accessed or, in less canonical stories, that a character skips the prohibition to eat or do something. As far as fairy tales are concerned, there seem to be no similar works related to the shaping of characters from a metonymic standpoint, making this line of research a starting point in need of development.

In terms of statistics, all of the analysed metaphors are based on comparison; the reason why resemblance metaphors are so pervasive in this type of literature also needs exploration. Then, following the AT index, we have seen that 19 tales fall into 5 major categories. This points to the fact that, if we focus on the metaphors deployed, our approach may be regarded as an additional, complementary criterion to classify tales in the search for a more refined taxonomy. For example, the magic tales belonging to the type "supernatural or enchanted relatives" could be subdivided in accordance with the local metaphors that define the characters, such as PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and, subsequently, UNCONTROLLABLE PASSIONS ARE ANIMALS or LIFESTYLES ARE ANIMALS.

To conclude, even though these tales present multiple variants, their essential plots remain similar across varying origins (they come from 4 continents of the

world). This could be a consequence of the strong experiential grounding of the mappings studied, which has been examined in most cases, and which may have made their transmission easier via oral sources. In short, the storyteller's task related to learning some specific aspects by heart would have been enormously facilitated after retrieving the local metaphors deployed.

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OF DEATH AND DUKES: *KING HENRY VI PART 2* AND THE *DANSE MACABRE*

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ABSTRACT. *William de la Pole, 1ˢᵗ Duke of Suffolk, was captured and murdered by English sailors on 2 May 1450. The event is dramatically re-enacted in Shakespeare's early history play* King Henry VI Part 2. *Shakespeare's version differs markedly from known sources. In particular, the dramatist frames the death of Suffolk as a danse macabre experience in which the victim is taunted, diminished and ultimately dragged off to the grave. The Protestant Reformation had liberated a swathe of Roman Catholic iconographies, the* danse macabre *amongst them, breaking them free from their traditional semantic moorings and allowing them to find novel significances on the Elizabethan stage.* King Henry VI Part 2 *represents a preliminary engagement with the danse macabre, a search for new possibilities and new meanings. The danse macabre form is used more coherently and cohesively in later Shakespeare plays but* King Henry VI Part 2 *appears to be an early, deliberate attempt to explore its potential.*

Keywords: Danse macabre, iconography, history plays, Shakespeare, Reformation, Holbein.

CLAYTON MACKENZIE

DE MUERTES Y DUQUES: *ENRIQUE VI PARTE 2*
Y *LA DANZA MACABRA*

RESUMEN. *William de la Pole, Primer Duque de Suffolk, fue capturado y asesinado por marineros ingleses el 2 de mayo de 1450. Este hecho es retratado dramáticamente en la obra de William Shakespeare E*nrique VI Parte 2*. La versión de Shakespeare difiere notablemente de lo relatado por otras fuentes conocidas. En particular, el dramaturgo describe la muerte de Suffolk como una experiencia de danza macabra, en la que la victima es vejada, ridiculizada y finalmente arrastrada hasta su tumba. La reforma protestante había liberado diversas iconografías Católicas romanas, entre las que se cuenta la danza macabra, de sus ataduras semánticas tradicionales y permitiéndoles desarrollar un nuevo significado en el teatro isabelino.* Enrique VI Parte 2 *representa un primer acercamiento a la danza macabra, una búsqueda de nuevas posibilidades y significados. La danza macabra se usa de manera más coherente y cohesionada en posteriores obras de Shakespeare, pero* Enrique VI Parte 2 *parece ser un primer intento deliberado de explorar su potencial.*

Palabras clave: Danza macabra, iconografía, obras históricas, Shakespeare, Reforma, Holbein.

At the start of Act 4 of *King Henry VI Part 2*, a sea fight leads to the capture of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. The captive is mocked and then brutally murdered off stage by a sailor called Walter Whitmore. Historically, the 1ˢᵗ Duke of Suffolk was indeed captured and murdered on 2 May 1450 by ordinary sailors as he attempted to flee across the English Channel to France (Hicks 2010: 68). Not only had he been impeached by Parliament but he was also regarded as a traitor by ordinary people who held him responsible for fomenting civil discord in England and for causing the disastrous loss of territories in France. The first and most likely account of Suffolk's murder comes in a letter from William Lomner to John Paston on 5 May 1450, the day after the news of his death reached London (Gairdner 2010: 147). Lomner describes how Suffolk was intercepted in the Straits of Dover, accused of treachery, detained for a few days, and then executed by an English sailor:

> oon of the lewdeste of the shippe badde hym ley down his hedde, and he should be fair ferd wyth, and dye on a swerd; and toke a rusty swerd, and smotte of his hedde withyn halfe a doseyn strokes, and toke away his gown of russet, and dobelette of velvet mayled, and leyde his body on the sonds of Dover. (Gairdner 2010: 147)

Shakespeare's account of the Duke of Suffolk's death in Act 4 of *King Henry VI Part 2* differs in a number of respects. Firstly, while Suffolk's historical execution occurred after a period of captivity, Shakespeare's Duke is killed within minutes of his capture. Secondly, in neither Lomner's account nor any subsequent accounts of the incident is the executioner ("oon of the lewdest of the shippe") given a name.[1] Shakespeare apparently invents "Walter Whitmore," along with a Lieutenant from whom Whitmore takes orders, and there is some play in *King Henry VI Part 2* on the name Walter—or the French "Gualtier" (as Suffolk suggests it should be more accurately rendered) which means "Great Warrior." And thirdly, Lomner offers only one piece of direct speech: "Welcom, Traitor" (Gairdner 2010: 146) spoken by a ship's master at the moment of Suffolk's capture; and one piece of reported speech uttered by Suffolk in which he reflects wryly on the irony that, in attempting to escape the fate of imprisonment in the Tower of London, he had been captured on a ship called "Nicolas of the Towre" (Gairdner 2010: 146).

Shakespeare's account of the Duke of Suffolk's capture and killing at the hands of Walter Whitmore and others in Act 4 of *King Henry VI Part 2* is a dramatic garment almost entirely woven by the playwright and hung very loosely from a few historical pegs. The Duke's verbal discomfiture and his march to the grave begin with the following exchanges:

> SUFFOLK: Look on my George, I am a gentleman:
>   Rate me at what thou wilt, thou shalt be paid.
> WHITMORE: And so am I; my name is Walter Whitmore.
>   How now? What starts thou? What, doth death affright?
> SUFFOLK: Thy name affrights me, in whose sound is death.
>   A cunning man did calculate my birth
>   And told me that by water I should die;
>   Yet let not this make thee be bloody-minded;
>   Thy name is Gualtier, being rightly sounded.
> WHITMORE: Gualtier or Walter, which it is, I care not...
>   (IV.i.29-38)
>
> SUFFOLK: Stay, Whitmore, for thy prisoner is a prince,
>   The Duke of Suffolk, William de la Pole.
> WHITMORE: The Duke of Suffolk muffled up in rags?
> SUFFOLK: Ay, but these rags are no part of the duke:
>   Jove sometimes went disguis'd, and why not I?
> LIEUTENANT: But Jove was never slain, as thou shalt be.
>   (IV.i.44-49)

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[1] Roger Virgoe, "The Death of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 47 (1965), argues that Lomner's letter is the first and most important source for the story (490). He identifies six subsequent English and French sources (490).

The posturing of Suffolk and his soon-to-be killer is intriguing. Suffolk sees his nobility as protection from death, assuring his captors that any ransom demand will be met; and then, sensing his grave danger, he pleads "Stay, Whitmore, for thy prisoner is a prince." His case for special treatment is predicated on the assumption that his rank and station entitle him to be treated differently to other men—not on his good works as a human being and not on a denial of the charges his captives have raised against him. Whitmore is coolly unimpressed by Suffolk's rank and revels in his own role as death-dealer. He torments his captive, honing in on Suffolk's obvious terror: "How now? What starts thou? What, doth death affright?" This diminishing of Suffolk continues with Whitmore's mocking commentary on his "muffled" rag disguise. The nobleman takes as an affront any signification of his ordinariness, and quickly attempts to rebut the idea with an ill-judged classical allusion. In the symbolic iconography of the stage, Suffolk's disguise reaffirms that he is no different to or better than anyone else, and that he can and will die as readily as the next man. His killing is, in some senses, an unremarkable affair. The nobleman is full of threat and bluster, and offers what Pendleton calls "the obligatory speeches of aristocratic defiance" (Smith 2001: 198) but, when the moment of execution arrives, he exits the stage meekly and Whitmore returns seconds later with his head and lifeless body.

These characteristics of victims at the cusp of mortality resonate with medieval and sixteenth century renditions of the dance of death, as may be illustrated by two ducal examples of the art form. In figure 1, the inscription for the Duke in the twenty-two metre dance of death series in the porch of the Church of St. Mary, Berlin, which dates back at least to 1484, resonates with Death's contempt for his victim:

Her hertoch mechtich duchtich tho velde	*Mr. Duke, mighty and skilful on the battle field,*
(den ar)men ye vordruckede gy med gewelde	*The poor suffer the burden of your power,*
(unde d)en riken liethe gy bethemen	*And the rich flourish under your favours.*
ik wil iw ock by deme liue nemen	*I will snatch your life from you.*
ik laden jw snel an den dodendantz	*Quickly, join the dance of death with me,*
des gy iw noch schalen gewanen gantz	*Surrender to your inescapable fate.*[2]

Death, with an antic flick of his leg, judges his aristocratic victim as corrupt and elitist, and promises the certain fate of the grave. His words resonate with the familiar sentiments of the *danse macabre*. There is the rejection of earthly values and a discernible tenor of deprecation—Death toys with the Duke's title (he is reduced to the demeaning "Mr." rather than a more elevated appellation). The encounter oozes with menace and hopelessness. Death announces that he is about

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[2]　All translations by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

to snatch life away from the Duke, and that this outcome is an unavoidable and non-negotiable certainty. There is no possibility of respite or mercy; a process is in motion, a dance of death, and its unswerving destination is the grave. A similar diminishing of status and title is evident in the tormenting of Suffolk, with his family name (de la Pole) becoming a source of ridicule:

LIEUTENANT: Yes, Poole.

SUFFOLK: Poole?

LIEUTENANT: Poole! Sir Poole! lord!
   Ay, kennel, puddle, sink; whose filth and dirt
   Troubles the silver spring where England drinks.
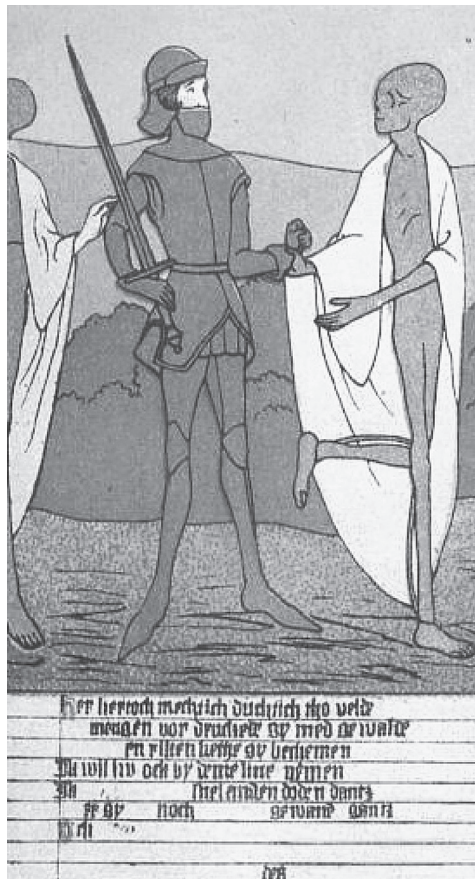
(IV.i.70-72)

Figure 1. Mr. Duke (Her hertoch), from the *danse macabre* series in the porch of the Church of St. Mary, Berlin, c. 1484.

The mockery of name becomes a cipher for the ridicule of all things earthly. What Suffolk sees as arrant impertinence is nothing less than the ready dismissal of splendid mortality. At the moment of death, name and station become worthless trinkets.

For his part, the St Mary's Duke stands earth-bound, his feet rigid on the ground; a departure from the earthly world he loves will not come easily for him. He leans back as if bewildered by Death's assault, his sword unsheathed, his fist clenched, his eyes set fearfully upon the face of his aggressor. That fear we detect, too, as Suffolk is summoned by his own Death figure, Whitmore, and at last comprehends his fate:

> SUFFOLK: I charge thee waft me safely across the Channel.
> WHITMORE: Come, Suffolk, I must waft thee to thy death.
> SUFFOLK: *Pene gelidus timor occupant artus*: it is thee I fear.
> WHITMORE: Thou shalt have cause to fear before I leave thee.
>   What, are ye daunted now? Now will ye stoop?
>   (IV.i.115-119)

Suffolk's Latin commentary serves almost as an aside to the observer: *Cold fear almost overpowers my joints.*[3] The Latin inscriptions of medieval *danse macabre* routinely record the despair of Death's captives and on Suffolk's face is written, no doubt, the undiluted terror of many such victims on cathedral or church walls. Familiar, as well, is the manner in which Whitmore mocks his prisoner by repeating the term "waft"—a common feature of the *danse macabre* where the skeletal emissaries not uncommonly steal the accoutrements but also the words of their victims as a final gesture of triumph and supremacy.

The Duke's suit of armour in the Berlin fresco, covering all but a part of his face, gives him a kind of anonymity by hiding his physical appearance from view, and this keys in aptly with the idea of death as the great leveller. He is Mr. Duke but really he could be anyone. Suffolk's ragged disguise similarly serves to underscore his unexceptionalism. He is a man like any other. He assumes that his George distinguishes him as a gentleman, a presumption that Whitmore dismisses immediately on the grounds that he, too, is a gentleman; and then unwisely parallels his own disguise with that of the immortal Jove, inviting the Lieutenant to retort that Jove was immortal but Suffolk most surely is not. Between them, Whitmore and the Lieutenant serve as Death-like levellers, undermining Suffolk's pretensions and preparing him for the fate of all men. Only fragments of the Duke's response to Death in the St Mary's *danse macabre* series exist but they suggest that he begs for

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[3]   Translation from Evans *et al*., eds., *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd Ed., 692.

mercy ("Och barmhertige"), that he feels utter despair ("groter druffheit") and that he raises the matter of his high social status ("wol gebaren"), possibly in a plea for special treatment—as happens in the case of some other victims in the same series.

Holbein was the most prolific of the sixteenth century emblematists. *Les Simulachres & Historiees faces de la Mort* (subsequently titled *Imagines Mortis*), a series of woodcuts collected into a single manuscript in 1538, ran through ten progressively enlarged editions in twenty-four years.[4] Holbein was particularly popular in England, where he worked as court painter to Henry VIII from around 1536 to his death in 1543, and is believed to have executed a dance of death series in the Palace of Whitehall, subsequently destroyed by fire. In the early sixteenth century image of "Der Hertzog" in *Imagines Mortis*, Death advances on his victim at the very acme of his powers (Figure 2). The Duke is flanked by the rich and privileged who whisper in his ear and receive his careful attention. But he has no interest in the plea of a peasant woman with her bare-footed child, bending low in deference at his feet, fending her off with the upraised palms of his hand. Shakespeare's Suffolk holds a similar disdain for ordinary people, reminding those who would kill him that they are not worthy to lay hands upon him:

> Obscure and lousy swain, King Henry's blood,
> The honourable blood of Lancaster,
> Must not be shed by such a jaded groom.
> Hast thou not kiss'd thy hand and held my stirrup?
> (IV.i.50-53)

That his aggressors are louse-ridden ("lousy") and ignoble ("jaded") seems much more important to Suffolk than the charges of treachery that have been levelled at him. He makes no effort to refute such accusations but relies exclusively on the privilege of rank to dismiss the possibility that his captors could judge or kill him. While Suffolk's responses are lengthy they are poorly argued and laden with emotion and presumption. His captors, by contrast, are much more methodical and incisive in their demolition of his pretensions. They out-talk him. This is the same logical patterning that meets victims in early modern artistic renditions of the *danse macabre*. The denials and pleas of the victims are countered by the hard facts and realities of the deathly emissaries. Sometimes victims are talked into resigned acceptance; at other times, they wriggle and wrestle against the inevitable. Shakespeare's Suffolk, it seems, falls into the latter case but it does him no good. Death comes to him as certainly as it will for the Duke in Holbein's woodcut,

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[4] Chamberlain, Arthur B. *Holbein The Younger, Vol. 1.* London: George Allen, 1913, pp. 212-214; Clark, James M. *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Glasgow, 1950, p. 32.

Whitmore pronouncing matter-of-factly: "There let his head and liveless body lie" (Whitmore, IV.i.142). There is no triumphalism or explanatory speech, merely a mechanical report of mortality. For Whitmore, it seems almost as if it has been just another job.

Figure 2. The Duke (Der Hertzog), draft version of 1526, from Hans Holbein's
Simulachres & Historiees faces de la Mort (1538).

In Holbein's print, Death approaches with both arms extended, ready to seize his victim, in a mocking reversal of the Duke's own posture. His victor's laurel grimly counterpoints the Duke's coronet. A bony finger extends to tap the aristocrat's finery in a triumphant gesture of conquest. The Duke may be able to ignore the overtures of the poor but Death's wholly unexpected invitation cannot be rejected. At a turret window, top left, an hourglass signifies the transience of earthly life; the duke, like all men, must die but that self-knowledge has up to this point apparently eluded him. The image captures him in the moment before the terror of mortality dawns upon him, and provides a grim warning for all who look upon his predicament—live a better, more pious life and face death in good heart.

A French verse accompaniment to the 1538 publication follows the familiar pattern of dance of death moralising:

Vien, prince, auec moy, & delaisse	*Come with me, prince, and give up*
Honneurs mondains tost finissantz.	*Earthly honours which have all ended.*
Seule suis qui, certes, abaisse	*I alone have the power to humble*
L'orgueil & pompe des puissantz.	*The pride and pomp of the powerful.*

Death's personalisation of destructive power and execution ("I alone have the power to humble...") reiterates the personalised nature of death in the *danse macabre*. Death is not a universalised or randomised calamity; it is a tailored event with a Death skeleton or cadaver sent to capture a specific individual. Death knows the "truth" about his victim, and that knowledge often exceeds the self-knowledge of the victim himself or herself. Whitmore plays this role beautifully in *King Henry VI Part 2*, dismissing Suffolk's pretensions with an eloquence that belies his lowly status in life.

Suffolk's demeanour throughout the exchanges with his captors is one of entitlement and privilege, which connects appositely with the humbled "pride and pomp" of the nobleman in Holbein's cut. He presumes he has a right to better treatment because of who he is—and part of the dynamic of his interaction with Whitmore and the Lieutenant is his dislocation from the reality of his situation. Suffolk measures life in terms of money: "Rate me at what thou wilt, thou shalt be paid." But his expectation that he will escape his situation is matched by Whitmore's determination that he will not. It is as if Suffolk's neck already lies exposed on the execution block, that nothing could ever extend his life beyond this seemingly appointed hour. All that remains is for him to demonstrate his lack of self-knowledge by clinging to the vacuous vanities that have shaped his life on earth. He is allowed to have his say but for every argument the nobleman puts forward, his captors offer a succinct and compelling repudiation. There is no real discussion between the two men but, rather, a set of theses and rebuttals that eventually reduce Suffolk to a manic tirade against the social status of his captors and, ultimately, to the powerless final lament "Suffolk dies by pirates" (IV.i.138).

Holbein's Duke, like Shakespeare's Suffolk, presumes a similar privilege of social standing, and we might imagine that he too will be mystified that the rank and order of the world cannot to prevail on his behalf in the face of death. But prevail they do not. At the instant of mortality, the Duke will be divested of the pomp and pride of earthly life, his all-embracing powers slipping seamlessly from his domain and into the bony hands of the skeletal Death figure who has come to collect him.

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Why would Shakespeare take the story of the murder of the 1st Duke of Suffolk and attach to it clear *danse macabre* resonances? Part of the answer to that question may lie in the tumultuous schism that shuddered through Christendom in the early years of the sixteenth century. The Protestant Reformation divided the Christian church more profoundly than any event before or since, leading to the establishment of Lutheran and reformed churches across Europe (Spicer 2012: 1-16). The *danse macabre* had been an integral component of medieval Roman Catholic art. Its significances were stark and unnerving: live a better, more pious life and obey the teachings of the Church so that the moment of your death will be less terrifying. The Protestant Reformation liberated a great many Roman Catholic signs and sign systems from their normative semantic centres, enabling them to elude "the bookish realm of iconographic hermeneutics" (Owens 2005: 14) and allowing them to drift into more remote and idiosyncratic zones of meaning.

Ripped from its semantic fixings, the *danse macabre* in Shakespeare's theatre becomes a dynamically malleable sign, sometimes perhaps a sign system, open to sustained interpretation and re-interpretation. But however Shakespeare uses it, the original religious resonances of the Roman Catholic artistic form are all but absent. The killing of Suffolk is a very secular affair. He is reviled for his social presumptions, for embezzling the treasures of the realm, for his treacherous civil distractions, for causing Whitmore to lose his eye, for losing English possessions in France—but never, it seems, for impiety or offending God. And impiety and offending God were issues that lay at the philosophical core of the Roman Catholic *danse macabre* in its attempts to modify or consolidate the spiritual journeys of those who looked upon it.[5]

Elsewhere in Shakespeare's canon we see the *danse macabre* developed in a variety of different secular ways. In *King Richard II* and *King John*, for example, Shakespeare seems to use it as a speculative theatrical tool, testing and flexing its potential. It provides an emblematic counterpoint to some of the significances that run through these texts, revealing skeletal Death as terrifying but sometimes admirable, and even desirable. In the triumphal world of *King Henry V*, the *danse macabre* becomes a trope for English military prowess. The French nobleman Grandpré describes the assembled English host as "Yon island carrions, desperate of their bones," (IV.ii.39) whose horsemen "sit like fixed candlesticks" (line 45) on horses with "pale-dead eyes" (line 48). Uttered on the cusp of the Battle of Agincourt, that greatest of all English victories, no theatrical moment could be more saturated with irony than this one. In characterising the English soldiers

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[5] For a discussion of the *danse macabre* in its Roman Catholic context, see James M. Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.*

as dead men, sitting stick-like upon dead horses, Grandpré inadvertently invokes the wrath of the *danse macabre* upon the assembled French ranks. The "knavish crows" (IV.ii.51), who Grandpré supposes are circling the English army "impatient for their hour" (IV.ii.52), will soon be pecking out French, not English, eyes. This connection of the *danse macabre* with the English warrior is developed cohesively throughout the play and reaches its curiously homoerotic high point in Exeter's description of the Duke of York's dying moments, in which he embraces and kisses the already-dead Earl of Suffolk:

> So did he turn and over Suffolk's neck
> He threw his wounded arm, and kiss'd his lips,
> And so espous'd to death, with blood he seal'd
> A testament of noble-ending love.
> (Exeter, *Henry V*, IV.vi.24-27)

Exeter's theatrical emblem on soldierly camaraderie is redolent of the "marriage with death" vignettes of fifteenth and sixteenth century *danse macabre* representation.

Though the *danse macabre* is alluded to on several occasions in *King Henry VI Part 2*, and apparently worked out in the dynamics of Suffolk's death, it is not developed in a consistent and cohesive manner as a renovated sign system. When the Lieutenant dismisses Suffolk as a man "whose filth and dirt/Troubles the silver spring where England drinks" (IV.i.71-72) there is a connectedness with John of Gaunt's English panegyric in *Richard II* (II.i.31-60). But while in *Richard II* Bullingbroke's war machine becomes persuasively linked with dance of death imagery, it is challenging to decipher a similar movement in *King Henry VI Part 2*, or indeed in the first tetralogy as a whole. *King Henry VI Part 2* is an early experimental play, and the killing of the Duke of Suffolk in IV.i is most likely an example of Shakespeare experimenting. In the end, it would not be a history play that delivered Shakespeare's most impressive *danse macabre* patterning but the tragedy *Romeo and Juliet*.[6] There, the nuance of deathly iconography moves with compelling innovation and assurance slipping seamlessly between public and private spaces. But while *King Henry VI Part 2* is a long journey from that destination, it can perhaps be viewed as an early and deliberate attempt to exploit an iconography that historical and religious circumstances had made available for new theatrical uses.

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[6] The complex role of the *danse macabre* in *Romeo and Juliet* has been explored by Clayton G. MacKenzie, "Love, Sex and Death in *Romeo and Juliet*," *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* 88 (1), 2007, 22-42.

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-ING SUPPLEMENTIVE CLAUSES AND DISCOURSE PROMINENCE IN LITERARY JOURNALISM[1]

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ABSTRACT. *This study explores the role of –ing supplementive clauses as markers of discourse prominence in literary journalism. These apparently minor linguistic units - "*Using them as cups*, they sip the filthy water" (Time,14 January 2013: 18) - stubbornly resist sentence-level syntactic and semantic description (Hengenveld 1997; Greenbaum and Quirk 2007; Huddleston and Pullum 2007: 207; Biber et al. 2010: 829). However, suprasentential studies within a cognitive-functional paradigm suggest that phenomena such as profiling (Verhaert 2006) and discourse prominence (Martínez 2012) may be crucial to their understanding. In the analysis, based on a collection of reportages from the American journal Time, these constructions actually seem to be frequently attached to the most prominent discourse entities, and to often combine with one another in the highlighting of sequences of logically connected events and situations. This indicates that they might intervene in referential and focus management in discourse.*

Keywords: -ing supplementive clauses, foregrounding, literary journalism, narrative, discourse management, non-finite clauses.

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LAS CONSTRUCCIONES DE GERUNDIO NO-PERIFRÁSTICO Y LA PROMINENCIA DISCURSIVA EN PERIODISMO LITERARIO

RESUMEN. *El presente estudio contempla el papel de las construcciones de gerundio no-perifrástico en lengua inglesa como indicadores de prominencia discursiva en periodismo literario. Estas unidades lingüísticas - "*Using them as cups, they sip the filthy water" (Time, 14 January 2013: 18) *- son difíciles de describir desde la perspectiva de la sintaxis y semántica oracional (Hengenveld 1997; Greenbaum and Quirk 2007; Huddleston and Pullum 2007: 207; Biber et al. 2010: 829). Sin embargo, estudios supraoracionales dentro de paradigmas cognitivo-funcionales sugieren que fenómenos como la puesta de relieve (Verhaert 2006) y la prominencia discursiva (Martínez 2012) pueden ser cruciales en su análisis. Este estudio analiza una colección de reportajes periodísticos del semanario norteamericano Time, y parece indicar que estas construcciones se asocian a entidades prominentes en el discurso, pudiendo combinarse entre para resaltar secuencias lógicas de sucesos y situaciones. Por ello cabe considerar que estas construcciones intervienen en el control referencial y atencional del discurso.*

Palabras clave: Construcciones de gerundio no-perifrástico, puesta de relieve, periodismo literario, discurso narrativo, oraciones no personales.

1. INTRODUCTION

-Ing supplementive clauses are one type of detached circumstantial adjuncts which frequently challenge sentence-level syntactic and semantic description. However, recent research suggests that their linguistic behaviour may be closely related to the expression of cognitive prominence, both at sentence and at discourse level. The aim of the present study is to examine the discourse behavior of –ing supplementive clauses in literary journalism from a cognitive-functional standpoint that focuses on their role in the management of the flow of information in discourse.

According to Gómez González and García Varela, "it can be said that discourse-organizational patterns result from the effective 'management' of at least four distinct, though interrelated kinds of information: (i) *rhetorical management*, (ii) *referential management*, (iii) *focus management*, and (iv) *thematic management*" (2014: 87; italics as in the original). In their 2014 study, the authors explore the interaction of rhetorical and thematic management in news reports. The present paper focuses

on narrative reportages as instances of literary journalism, and explores the role of –ing supplementive clauses in the referential and focus management of discourse, as previous studies (Verhaert 2006; Martínez 2012) suggest that these non-finite constructions bear a relation to, respectively, the cognitive processes involved in referential identification, and the perspectivized presentation of information as salient foreground.

Syntactically functioning as circumstantial adjuncts, these constructions pose several difficulties to sentence-level analysis. First, although the implicit subject of the non-finite form is supposed to be co-referential with the subject of the superordinate clause, non-co-referential cases do occur in discourse. A second problem concerns the ambiguous circumstantial meanings of these detached adjuncts in the sentence, which are variously labelled as temporal, concessive, causal, conditional, result, manner, or reason (Hengeveld 1997: 154-155; Greenbaum and Quirk 2007: 328; Huddleston and Pullum 2007: 207-209; Biber *et al*. 2010: 782-783, 820-829). Finally, although syntactic subordination tends to stand in an unmarked association with semantic background (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Thompson 1987), -ing supplementives recurrently challenge this connection, showing a striking tendency to co-occur with the grammar of prominence (Martínez 2012). Some studies, however, have noted that these sentence-level inconsistencies smoothly fit into place when the construction is approached from the cognitive standpoints of profiling (Verhaert 2006) and discourse foregrounding (Martínez 2012) in fictional narrative. The present study looks into the discourse behaviour of –ing supplementive clauses in journalistic reportages, with the aim of investigating whether their association with cognitive prominence also holds in genres other than fictional narrative.

The paper is organized as follows. First, I will briefly review the nature of literary journalism as a blend of factuality and fictionality. Then, I will revisit some of the controversies surrounding the grammatical description of –ing supplementives, including attempts at accounting for their formal features in terms of discourse function rather than sentence syntax and semantics. This will be followed by the analysis of a collection of reportages from the American journal *Time*, which will primarily focus on the connection between –ing supplementive clauses and the linguistic expression of prominence in terms of transitivity processes, modality, and implied subject reference. Additionally, the analysis will try to identify discourse relations across sentences containing –ing supplementive clauses within a given reportage. The results indicate that these subordinate constructions not only recurrently co-occur with the language of perspectival foregrounding, but might also signal out sentences which, despite not being adjacent, show tight cohesive links and discourse coherence.

2. NEWS REPORTS AS NARRATIVES: LITERARY JOURNALISM

Literary journalism is the term used to refer to the artful presentation of news reports, with an evident focus on "the creation of empathic relations with people" (Keeble and Tulloch 2012: 5). Many of the constitutive elements of narratives - temporally located events bringing about changes of state; human or human-like participants; unified causal chains; narratorial mediation; eventfulness; emplotment; tellability (Herman 2002; Fludernik 2009; Ryan 2007; Prince 2008; Herman 2008; Abbott 2015) - are actually present in most news reports. Maybe this is why researchers into media language describe journalists as 'professional story-tellers', explaining that "Story-telling and the use of narrative templates are fundamental means by which reporters give meaning to their articles" (Berning 2011: 17).

It is interesting to note that the narrative nature of news reports has often been approached in terms of rhetorical organization, with attempts at identifying structural components in line with Labov's (1972) six stages of oral narratives: abstract, orientation, complicating, action, evaluation, result or resolution, and coda. In this tradition, to be traced back to Vladimir Propp's studies of folk tales (1928), authors like Bell (1991; 2005), and van Dijk (1986; 1988) focus on the formal internal structure of journalistic narratives, or, to use van Dijk's term, on 'news schemata'. More recent studies (Berning 2011; Keeble and Tulloch 2012; Berning 2013), look at the experiencing side, that is, at ways in which readers, viewers, or listeners are involved in mental processes of embodiment and storyworld projection. In this type of studies, narrative reportages are approached as instances in which journalists devote their efforts to prompting reader engagement and immersion. Actually, the narrative worldmaking power of journalistic discourse can be illustrated by testimonies of real world people who, on finding their lives reported by journalists, strongly object to "becoming characters in someone else's narrative" (Keeble and Tulloch 2012: 13).

But the fictional/factual debate remains in the air. For instance, it could be argued that fictional narratives project fictional worlds, while journalistic writing invariably involves "an assertion about truthfulness to verifiable experience" (Keeble and Tulloch 2012: 7). This view would entail, according to Berning, that "everything in the story, from people to places and events, has a referent in the real world, and thus an existence independent of the narrative" (2013: 5). But the term 'referent' is of a tricky nature here, because, although a story is definitely something different from the discourse in which it may be variously wrapped up, reference takes place in the mind (Sidner 1983; Garrod and Sanford 1988; Emmot 1997; Sanford and Emmot 2012) and, consequently, strictly speaking, referents are built in processors' minds and result from the interaction of discourse input and idiosyncratic, culturally determined world experiences and perceptions. In this sense, journalistic stories and their entities would be interpreted through reference to the mental representations prompted in processors'

minds, independently from whether the entities and events in these situational models have verifiable existence in the real world. Embracing this debate, recent insights into journalistic writing tend to acknowledge the blending of the factual and the fictional into what Berning (2013) calls the 'fictual', as fact and fiction need not be the two members of a narrative dichotomy (Ryan 2004: 3-4). In fact, writers' subjectivity and, concomitantly, perspective, are imposed on the factual, verifiable real world event by the narrating voice in literary journalism. In this way, by virtue of being narrated, the real life state of affairs, with its situations, events, and participant entities, is projected into receivers' minds in a storyworld format, impinged with writers' and narrators' manipulative perspectivization –event sequencing, evaluative language, vantage point–, and malleable when exposed to further interpreting processes by individual readers.

These similarities in the processing of fiction and nonfiction make it possible to assume that journalistic narratives partake of the perspectivizing features of fictional narratives in that they should be expected to linguistically present certain characters and events as perceptually more salient in readers' minds, while backgrounding others. This suggests that –ing supplementive clauses might display a foregrounding discourse function here as well, signaling cognitive prominence as they are claimed to do in fictional narratives. In view of these arguments, the research hypotheses are that: a) in journalistic discourse –ing supplementive clauses are most frequently attached to prominent discourse entities; b) by virtue of this association, these non-finite subordinates signal out prominent parts of the news narrative; and c) they thus serve to guide readers' processing activity by highlighting a conceptual path across the linguistic material.

3. APPROACHES TO –ING SUPPLEMENTIVE CLAUSES

-Ing supplementive clauses are defined as non-finite constructions syntactically functioning as circumstantial adjuncts (Greenbaum and Quirk 2007: 328; Huddleston and Pullum 2007: 207-209; Biber et al. 2010: 782-783, 820-82), or detached adverbial satellites (Hengeveld 1997: 154-155). They are usually separated from the main clause by a comma in writing, while sharing its temporal and subject reference, and may occur in initial, medial, or final position:

(1) *Lying in the hospital that evening,* she said she considered herself lucky. (*Time*, 29 September 2008: 39)

(2) In the corner of the room, a tiny baby—3 hours old—lay on a bed, *wailing*, swaddled in bright-colored African fabric (*Time*, 29 September 2008: 36)

(3) Former residents gather on the hills overlooking their destroyed homes, *lighting incense and firecrackers.* (*Time*, 1 December 2008: 33)

Co-referentiality with the superordinate clause is spelled out in what is known as the *matrix clause attachment rule*, which goes as follows: "When a subject is not present in a non-finite verbless clause, the normal ATTACHMENT RULE for identifying the subject is that it is assumed to be identical in reference to the subject of the superordinate clause" (Greenbaum and Quirk 2007: 327). But non-co-referential –ing supplementive clauses, or 'dangling participles' (Huddleston and Pullum 2007: 207; Biber *et al.* 2010: 829), do occur in discourse, as in examples (4) and (5) below:

(4) *Leaving the road,* the deep-resin-scented darkness of the trees surrounded *them.* (Biber *et al.* 2010: 829).

(5) *Driving to Chicago that night,* a sudden thought struck *me.* (Greenbaum and Quirk 2007: 328).

In these examples, taken from mainstream grammars, the implicit subject of the non-finite clause does not coincide with the main clause subject, but with its object, in italics. However, this does not seem to leave readers in any doubt regarding reference allocation, provided they have the necessary access to context and co-text. Non-co-referential occurrences are considered grammatically incorrect, and seem to be banned by editors of quality press (van Gelderen 2002: 145; Greenbaum and Quirk 2007: 328; Biber *et al.* 2010), despite being used by prestige literary writers (Martínez 2012), and consistently processed by language users.

The second difficulty concerns the type of semantic content that –ing supplementive clauses contribute to the main clause. There is widespread agreement that these clauses function as adverbial complements, but their adverbial meanings may be as varied and frequently overlapping as temporal, concessive, causal, and conditional, as well as result, concurrency in time, manner, or reason. Greenbaum and Quirk claim that "The supplementive clause implies an accompanying circumstance to the situation described in the matrix clause" (2007: 328), but does "not signal specific logical relationships" (2007: 328). Biber *et al.* further explain that "Thus, rather than try to specify a single meaning for such clauses, we simply acknowledge them as showing a circumstance that supplements the action or state in the main clause" (2010: 820). As Hengeveld puts it, "We assume that there are not distinct (semantic) meanings of the [this] circumstantial satellite, but different (pragmatic) interpretations, co-dependent on contextual and situational clues" (1997: 82).

Addressing these inconsistencies, a few studies have approached –ing supplementive clauses from cognitive-functional standpoints that stress features other than sentence syntax and semantics. Verhaert (2006), for instance, studies

these constructions in Spanish – *construcción de gerundio no-perifrástico -* , using a corpus of contemporary fictional narrative. Even though the author still focuses on the sentence-level relation between main and subordinate clause, she suggests that more attention should be paid to the cognitive import of this relation, as the supplementive clause seems to "orient the receiver towards the desired interpretation" (Verhaert 2006: 99; my translation) by specifying, highlighting, restricting, or even rectifying what is communicated in the main clause. In other words, the author stresses the profiling function of these subordinate clauses as main clause perspectivizers, and emphasizes the crucial way in which they contribute to guiding readers' processing activity. She even interprets their semantic indeterminacy as a challenge to the reader's cognitive effort and a chance to enhance it with idiosyncratic personal contributions.

Within a cognitive paradigm drawing on Langacker's (1987) and Talmy's (2000) work, Cristofaro defines subordination as "a particular way to construe the cognitive relation between two events, such that one of them (which will be called the dependent event) lacks an autonomous profile, and is construed in the perspective of the other event (which will be called the main event)" (2005: 2). The unmarked association between syntactic subordination and attentional background is also noted by Thompson (1987). However, Toolan (1990: 116-119) questions the unmarked association between –ing supplementives and background in narrative discourse, providing examples from fictional narratives in which these non-finite clauses seem to encode, precisely, those events which move the narration forward. In this line, Martínez (2012) explores the discourse function of –ing supplementive clauses in a corpus of English fictional narrative prose, focusing on mental reference as key to the disambiguation of the implicit subject in non-co-referential instances. The author notes that these non-finite subordinates frequently display linguistic features traditionally associated with the presentation of information as foregrounded focus of attention (Hopper 1979; Wallace 1982; Hewitt 1995: 326; Talmy 2000: 315-316; Stockwell 2002; Cristofaro 2005; Kita 2008; Tsur 2009). These foregrounding features are MATERIAL transitivity processes, assertive modality, and the focalizer, or character through whose perspective the fictional world is presented, as referent for the implied subject, even if not coincident with the matrix clause subject. On these grounds, the author claims that, in non-co-referential cases, "the cognitive weight of the most prominent discourse referent overrides intrasentential syntactic constraints for the sake of referential continuity and recoverability" (Martínez 2012: 89).

The studies described above coincide in pointing out the foregrounding properties of –ing supplementive clauses in fictional narrative discourse. But fictional narratives usually tell stories about certain characters that are permanently activated in readers'

mental representation of the fictional world. The question may thus arise of whether these subordinate clauses are connected to discourse prominence in other genre types, such as the non-fictional narratives found in journalistic reportages. The rest of the study will be geared towards addressing this question.

4. METHODOLOGY

The data on which the analysis is based consists in a collection of randomly selected reportages from the American weekly journal *Time*, amounting to an approximate 65,000 words. They cover a variety of topics--from economic and socio-political analysis to arts and leisure--, and were published between April 2008 and January 2013. The reports range from half a page to nine pages in length, including photos and images. The collection contains a total of 146 –ing supplementive clauses, which have been analysed using a combination of bottom-up and top-down techniques, as this methodology is usual in the computational identification and tagging of discourse units in large corpora (Afantenos *et al.* 2012: 2727).

The bottom-up part of the analysis focused on some of the grammatical features typically associated to linguistic foreground. As shown in Table 1, discourse entities profiled as semantic Figure (Talmy 1975; 2000) tend to be encoded using pronominal or zero anaphoric reference, while the foregrounding of events usually involves MATERIAL transitivity processes, assertive modality, perfective aspectuality, and the use of main clauses. Conversely, the linguistic devices associated with the presentation of discourse entities and events as part of the background are noun phrase reference, RELATIONAL transitivity processes, non-assertive modality, imperfective aspectuality, and syntactic subordination. –Ing supplementive clauses are intrinsically imperfective and subordinate, so the bottom-up analysis has focused on the three remaining features: reference, transitivity, and modality.

Table 1. The grammar of cognitive prominence in narrative discourse (Hopper 1979; Wallace 1989; Cristofaro 2005; Kita 2008).

FIGURE	GROUND
Pronominal or zero anaphoric reference	Noun phrase reference
Material transitivity processes	Relational transitivity processes
Assertive modality	Non-assertive modality
Perfective aspectuality	Imperfective aspectuality
Main clause	Subordinate clause

Finally, the top-down analysis will try to identify discourse relations holding across sentences containing –ing supplementive clauses within a single reportage.

5. PROMINENCE AND THE SYSTEMS OF TRANSITIVITY AND MODALITY

The results of the bottom-up analysis quite consistently match those for fictional narrative in previous studies. Regarding the transitivity configuration of the clause (Halliday 2014), MATERIAL processes prove to be highly frequent (68.49%; N=100), and so does assertive modality (93.22%; N=136). Consider example (6) below:

(6) Former residents gather on the hills overlooking their destroyed homes, *lighting incense and firecrackers for their kin entombed in the collapsed buildings and mud below*. (*Time,* 1 December 2008: 33) (MATERIAL; Assertive).

Although less frequently, other process types can also be found, including RELATIONAL, VERBAL, BEHAVIOURAL and MENTAL, as in (7), (8), (9), and (10), respectively:

(7) *Looking like the wacky love child of a treehouse and a UFO*, the structure features a 19.5-m crescent sofa and a hot pink canopied wedding bed. (*Time,* 14 January 2013: 44) (RELATIONAL; Non-Assertive).

(8) In nearby Basilea, a group of women sit inside a home, *talking about the pond they are being paid to dredge out and revive*. (*Time*, 29 October 2012: 38) (VERBAL; Assertive).

(9) In the corner of the room, a tiny baby—3 hours old—lay on a bed, *wailing*, swaddled in bright-colored African fabric. (*Time,* 29 September 2008: 36) (BEHAVIOURAL; Assertive).

(10) In Congress, some Republicans will want to cooperate with president-elect Barack Obama, *heeding the voters' desire for bipartisanship*. (*Time,* 1 December 2008: 21) (MENTAL, Assertive).

As can be observed in Figure 1 and in Tables 2 and 3, MATERIAL transitivity processes are, actually, the most frequent in the two genres considered (68.49% news and 44.85% fiction), although the higher degree of agency attribution in journalistic narratives, reflected in a higher percentage of MATERIAL processes, seems to be replaced in fictional narrative by lower agentive control and a reliance on externally perceptible behaviours, expressed as BEHAVIOURAL processes -*cry, wail, shrug, blink*- - (4.40% news vs. 23.40% fiction). It may also be worth noting that the presence of MENTAL processes is noticeably higher in those –ing supplementives occurring in fictional narrative (2.73% news vs. 17.27% fiction).

This may be explained by the fact that, in fictional narrative, perspectivization tends to be realized through various forms of thought presentation, so that it is logical to expect a higher percentage of verbs expressing mental activity. Judging from the data, however, in journalistic narratives epistemic modality relies more heavily on hearsay evidential, as shown in the higher presence of VERBAL processes (11.64% news vs. 6.68% fiction). Description, realized by RELATIONAL processes, although scarce in the –ing supplementives analysed in the two genres, seems to be slightly more frequent in journalistic narrative (13.08%) than in fiction (7.52%).

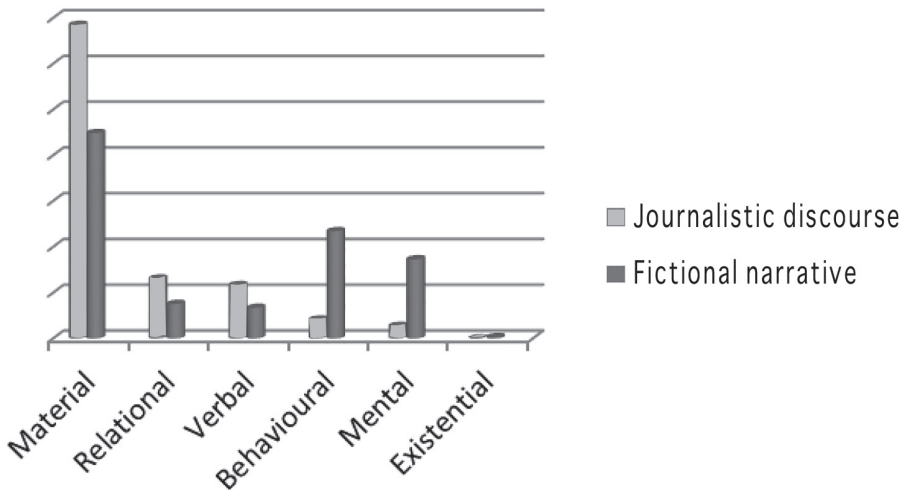Figure 1. Transitivity processes in –ing supplementive clauses: Journalistic reportages and fictional narrative.

Table 2. Transitivity processes in –ing supplementive clauses. Journalistic discourse.

PROCESS TYPE	%	
MATERIAL	68.49	(N=100)
RELATIONAL	13.08	(N= 19)
VERBAL	11.64	(N= 17)
BEHAVIOURAL	4.10	(N= 6)
MENTAL	2.73	(N= 4)
TOTAL	100	(N=146)

Table 3. Transitivity processes in –ing supplementive clauses. Fictional narrative discourse. (Adapted from Martínez 2012)

PROCESS TYPE	%	
MATERIAL	44.85	(N=161)
RELATIONAL	7.52	(N= 27)
VERBAL	6.68	(N= 24)
BEHAVIOURAL	23.40	(N= 84)
MENTAL	17.27	(N= 62)
EXISTENTIAL	0.28	(N= 1)
TOTAL	100	(N=359)

The high occurrence of MATERIAL processes in the two genres is matched by a remarkably high presence of assertive modality (Table 4 and Figure 2). It might be worth noting that Non-Assertive modality seems to be slightly more frequent in fictional narratives (16.16%) than in journalistic reportages (6.78%), probably also due to the high presence in the former of unreliable, unobservable, unverifiable inner speech and thought presentation.

Table 4. Modality in journalistic and fictional narrative discourse (the latter adapted from Martínez 2012).

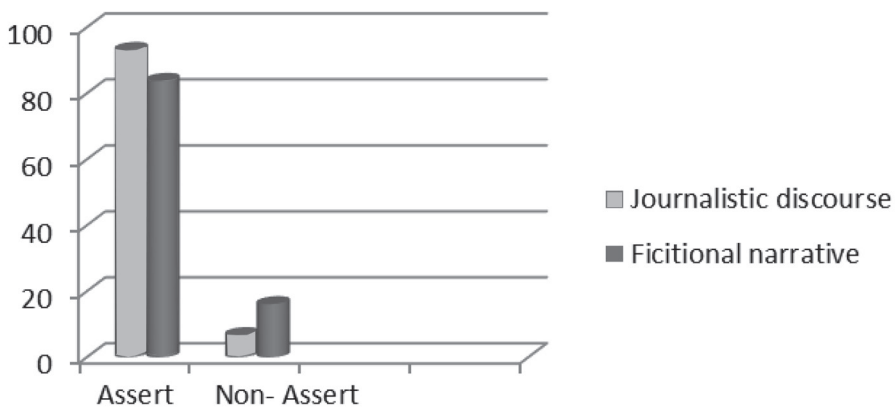| MODALITY TYPE	JOURNALISTIC DISCOURSE	FICTIONAL PROSE
ASSERTIVE	93.22% (N=136	83.84% (N=301)
NON-ASSERTIVE	6.78% (N= 10)	16.16% (N= 58)
TOTAL	100% (N=146)	100% (N=359)

Figure 2. Speech act modality in –ing supplementive clauses: Journalistic reportages and fictional narrative.

This part of the analysis thus suggests an unmarked association of –ing supplementive clauses with certain foregrounding devices. Additionally, it also highlights certain genre-associated variations, such as the higher presence in fictional narrative of MENTAL and BEHAVIOURAL transitivity processes, as well as of Non Assertive modality; and the overwhelming predominance of MATERIAL processes in journalistic narratives, together with a higher reliance on RELATIONAL and VERBAL processes.

6. FOREGROUNDED ENTITIES AS REFERENTS FOR THE IMPLICIT SUBJECT

As pointed out by Martínez (2012: 81), in fictional narratives the mental representation that the reader entertains for the foregrounded focalizer, or character through whose perception the fictional world is presented, is the most frequent referent for the implied subject of –ing supplementives. Although the percentage - 39.37% -, is not overwhelmingly high, focalizers function as implied subjects for these constructions much more often than secondary characters, even if attention is occasionally geared to these within narrative progression. In the case of journalistic narratives, however, referential prominence seems to be more tightly packed around the entity that the reportage is about, usually featuring as such in its title. In fact, foregrounded entities function as referents for the implied subject in 122 (83.52%) of the 146 –ing supplementives in the analysis. Furthermore, the focus status of this foregrounded mental referent seems to be of three types: permanent prominence, lexical chain prominence, and metonymic prominence. Implied subject referents of a non-prominent nature have also been classified into three further minor types: an entity with temporary discourse prominence; a newly introduced entity; and a non-co-referential implicit subject. All of them are presented in Table 5, and will be further discussed below.

Table 5. Types of discourse referent as implied subject in –ing supplementive clauses in journalistic discourse.

PROMINENCE TYPE	%
1. Foregrounded discourse referent	83.52 (N=122)
1.1. Permanent prominence	42.46 (N= 62)
1.2. Lexical chain prominence	21.23 (N= 31)
1.3. Metonymic prominence	19.86 (N= 29)
2. Referent with temporary discourse prominence (not mentioned again)	10.96 (N= 16)
3. *New referent introduction* (After introduction, referent becomes focus of attention)	2.05 (N= 3)
4. *Non-co-referential implicit subject* (Dangling participles)	2.74 (N =4)
TOTAL	100 (N=146)

6.1. FOREGROUNDED DISCOURSE REFERENT: PERMANENT PROMINENCE

In a majority of cases (83.52%), the implied subject of the *–ing* supplementive clause is co-referential with the entity in focus in the flow of discourse. In the analysis, this foregrounded status seems to be of three types. Most frequently (42.46%), the entity functioning as mental referent for the implied subject is the permanent focus of attention in the reader's mental model of the situation. *Permanent prominence* usually occurs in one-page or shorter reports about one specific public individual, or in thirty-line or more stretches about one single individual, inserted in a longer reportage. The most straightforward instances are those in which an entity is explicitly announced as topic in the reportage head or subhead, as in examples (11) and (12) below. These cases amount to 49 (40.16%) of the 122 prominent referent entities in the data:

> (11) *Sitting at the crossroads of three continents, Greece* has a long history of immigration. (Head and subhead: "*Immigrant Odyssey. For tens of thousands of desperate immigrants from central Asia and the Middle East, the Greek islands have become the new back door into Europe. As authorities in Athens struggle to cope with the influx, can* <u>*Greece*</u> *regain control of its borders?*") (*Time,* 1 December 2008: 39).

> (12) *Mixing pragmatism with relentless energy, Nicholas Sarkozy* has brought his undeniable lawyerly talents for persuasion and negotiation to French diplomacy. (Head and subhead: "*At Home Abroad.* <u>*Nicholas Sarkozy*</u>*'s diplomatic panache has charmed the French republic, but it hasn't yielded only success*".) (*Time,* 29 September 2008: 33).

In other cases, permanent prominence involves an entity or entities that, despite not being mentioned in the head or subhead of the reportage, nevertheless become the focus of attention for thirty lines or more, acquiring prominence in a specific narrative sub-episode. This is the case in examples (13), (14), and (15), from a four-page reportage covering the aftermath of the earthquake that hit China in 2008. This reportage includes the telling of the individual stories of three survivors, presented in succession, each ranging from 38 to 48 lines in length, and each containing one –ing supplementive clause with the respective surviving witness as mental referent for the implicit subject:

> (13) Zhang now heads the Beichuan Department of Commerce, *working to attract new businesses and industrial development.* (*Time*, 1 December 2008: 34) (48-line episode about Zhang). [33 lines]

> (14) It is with a similar determination that Lu fights for an answer to why the Beichuan No. 1 Middle School caved in, *crushing his daughter.* (*Time,* 1 December 2008: 34) (43- line episode about Lu). [79 lines]

> (15) *Luo* walked five days with an injured foot and no shoes, *braving runaway boulders and mudslides to make it to safety.* (*Time,* 1 December 2008: 35) (38-line episode about Luo).

In such cases, the mental referent has also been considered to be a prominent discourse entity, as it is the focus of attention within a lengthy narrative sub-episode.

6.2. FOREGROUNDED DISCOURSE REFERENTS: LEXICAL CHAIN PROMINENCE

In the second type of reference to an entity presented as prominent, the activated referent is maintained in the foreground of the reader's attention by lexical cohesion chains including phenomena such as synonymy, hyper- or hyponymy, and semantically related terms (Halliday and Hasan 1976), as in example (16). These referents amount to 21.23% of the total. Consider example (6), which occurs in a five-page reportage on the USA financial crisis entitled "The Price of Greed":

> (16) One weekend, *the Federal Government* swallows two gigantic mortgage companies and dumps more than $5 trillion—yes, with a *t*—of the firm's debt onto taxpayers*, (1) nearly doubling the amount Uncle Sam owes to his lenders.*
> […6 lines…]
> Then, *(2) having sworn off bailouts by letting Lehman fall and wiping out its shareholders*, *the Treasury and the Fed* reverse course for an $85 billion rescue…
> [4 paragraphs…]
> This latest go-round featured *hedge-fund operators*,…, who devised and plugged in those new financial instruments, *(3) creating a financial Frankenstein the likes of which we had never seen.*
> […2 paragraphs]
> It was safe too—or so Wall Street claimed—because *investors worldwide* were buying U.S. financial products, *(4) thus spreading risk around the globe*". (*Time*, 29 September 2008: 18-21).

Here, the lexical items in italics - *the Federal Government; the Treasury and the Fed; hedge-fund operators; investors worldwide* - constitute a lexical chain (Halliday and Hasan 1976) connecting the implied subjects of the four –ing supplementive clauses which succeed one another across two pages, highlighting the main actors in the crisis. What seems peculiar about this example is that not only do the four non-finite clauses display tight participant continuity, even though they are paragraphs apart, but also that, when displaced from the whole of the text and put artificially together as they have been here, the result seems to be a highlighted pathway across the main story line in the financial narrative of the crisis, the –ing clauses acting as flashlights that mark the reader's cognitive way along the main events in the story skeleton.

6.3. *FOREGROUNDED DISCOURSE REFERENTS: METONYMIC PROMINENCE*

Of particular interest as well seem those cases in which the implied subject, duly co-referential with the matrix clause, seems to be non-co-referential with the entity in focus. But, in fact, when these examples are observed in detail, it becomes apparent that the foregrounded participant, the one on whom the weight of the reader's attention is being invited to fall, metonymically continues to be the referent in focus in the form of a possessive pronoun or noun. These have been considered cases of *metonymic prominence* (19.86%). In example (17), taken from a one-page report on one of the presidential candidates for the 2008 U.S. elections, John McCain, pronominal *his* helps keep the currently activated referent as focus, even though the surface matrix clause and supplementive clause subject is not himself, but *His campaign*:

> (17) *His* [McCain's] campaign has been a ceaseless assault on his opponent's character and policies, *featuring a consistent—and witting—disdain for the truth*. (*Time*, 29 September 2008: 17).

Example (18) presents another case of metonymic prominence. It occurs in a thirty-line long sub-narrative that closes a three-page reportage on immigration from Asia and the Middle-East into Europe. This sub-narrative tells the story of Said, a young immigrant from Afghanistan, and his vicissitudes until he was eventually stopped in Greece. In the three paragraphs containing his adventure, there are three –ing supplementive clauses. One of them, (18), relies on the high activation of Said, introduced eleven lines earlier, as metonymically implied referent for *His brother*, who is not mentioned again. Said's prominence is reminded seven lines later (19):

> (18) *His* [Said's] brother, 29, made his way to Europe via Russia a decade ago, *settling in the Netherlands*. (*Time*, 1 December 2008: 40).

> (19) *Pulling out his 30-day expulsion order written in Greek, he* [Said] mulls over his options. (*Time*, 1 December 2008: 40).

6.4. *TEMPORARY DISCOURSE PROMINENCE*

In some cases, the implied referent is not a permanently activated discourse entity, but one that, notwithstanding, is expected to capture the reader's attention in the short stretch where it occurs, usually a single sentence, and is never mentioned again. This

temporary discourse prominence occurs much less frequently in the data (10.96%). In (20), for instance, the referent for the implied subject, *a nurse*, has just been introduced, becoming focus in short-term memory, but this is the only time she is mentioned:

> (20) Finally the woman's aunt handed some 250,000 leones (about $85) to *a nurse*, who counted the banknotes before jamming them into her pocket, *explaining to me that the money was 'for drugs and to pay the doctor.'* (*Time*, 29 September 2008: 39).

Within this category are those cases in which the primed discourse referent seems to be the exophoric addressee, either real or implicit reader, as in examples (21) and (22):

> (21) *Reading it now*, with the burden of hindsight, *one* sees that 'Infinite Jest' is ominously infested with suicides. (Time, 29 September 2008: 56).

> (22) *You* could spend a nice year trotting from Ditchley Park in Oxfordshire to Salzburg, from the Italian lakes to German castles, *doing nothing but ponder in earnest detail the state of the Atlantic alliance*. (Time, 1 December 2008: 23).

From the standpoint of discourse reference, it could be claimed that hearer and speaker are here assumed as temporary focus of attention, bringing to mind one of the few cases in which matrix clause non-co-referentiality is accepted, namely, entrenched instances such as *considering* or *taking into account* (van Gelderen 2002: 145; Huddleston and Pullum 2007: 329). However, examples (21) and (22) do not contain entrenched expressions, but ordinary implicit subjects, duly co-referential with an inclusive pronoun in the superordinate clause - *one* and *you* - which explicitly invites reader involvement. In fact, many entrenched occurrences might also be considered to belong to the reader-as-referent type, in which frequency of use has made non-co-referentiality seem natural. This would be the case in example (23), where the non-co-referential subject of *Going forward* seems to imply both speaker and hearer, and, in this way, may help promote hearer involvement:

> (23) *Going forward*, there's one particularly creepy thing to keep in mind. (*Time,* 29 September 2008: 18).

6.5. NEW REFERENT INTRODUCTION

New referent introduction refers to those cases, rare in the data (2.05%), in which the non-finite clause accompanies the first mention of a new discourse entity, henceforth presented as the focus of attention of the reportage for a minimum of 20 lines:

(24) In a hospital ward in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, Fatmata Conteh, 26, lay on a bed, *having just given birth to her second child*. (*Time*, 29 September 2008: 36).

(25) Bobbing in the open sea 50 feet away are five young men, *shielding their eyes from the sudden beam of light*. (*Time*, 1 December 2008: 39).

Example (24) introduces Fatmata Conteh, a victim of the pitiful state of Sierra Leone's health system, whose story will be told over the next 26 lines. The same happens with the illegal immigrants in (25), whose story will occupy the following thirty-three lines.

6.6. NON-CO-REFERENTIAL SUBJECT

Even though supposedly banned by prestige editors, there are four cases of non-co-referential implied subjects in the data, in which the implicit subject of the non-finite verb differs from the matrix clause subject. Non-co-referential cases can also be found in quality literary prose (Martínez, 2012), though this might be explained by the relative stylistic and artistic freedom of fiction writers, compared to the likely editorial constraints imposed on journalists. However, these cases prove to occur in journalistic reportages as well:

(26) Cross-country flights of up to 120 miles (200 km) are possible, *soaring over the vast expanse of the Dhauladhar range*, and *taking in the stunning countryside of tea plantations, forests and fields*. (*Time*, 1 December 2008: 53).

There are two *–ing* supplementive clauses here. The first - *soaring over the vast expanse of the Dhauladhar range* - could be considered to share the matrix clause subject, *cross-country flights*, although co-reference seems slightly forced, as it is people or machines that soar over places, not the flights themselves. In the next *–ing* clause, however, *taking in the stunning countryside […]*, the incongruity becomes even stronger, as the semantics of *flights* can no longer be stretched to assume that flights can *take in* any sort of input, and the most likely understood implied subject is the person or persons that are flying. This metonymic extension is reinforced by the fact that, in this particular report--a half-page review of paragliding over the Hymalayas in the leisure section of the journal--the pronouns *you/your* and the NP *flyers* with several zero anaphoric counterparts frequently highlight the reader-as-potential-flier as entity in focus. With such a clearly salient figure in mind, the reader probably has no difficulty in making the conceptual leap involved in metonymically swapping *flights* for *flyers*, or even for *I-as-flyer*.

The relative frequency of occurrence of these seven types of discourse referents for the implied subject of –ing supplementive clauses is presented in Figure 3. As

99

can be observed, the most frequent cases involve referents which are currently foregrounded in readers' minds, in what I have called, respectively, *permanent, lexical chain,* and *metonymic prominence* reference. Referents mentioned just once and not related to the prominent entity either metonymically or via lexical cohesive devices - *temporary discourse prominence* - occur much less frequently. Also few are the cases in which the first mention of an implied subject referent bound to become focus of attention is accompanied by an –ing clause, in a *new referent introduction* function. Finally, there are also a few cases of non-co-referentiality in which the implicit –ing subject has a referent different from that of the matrix clause subject.
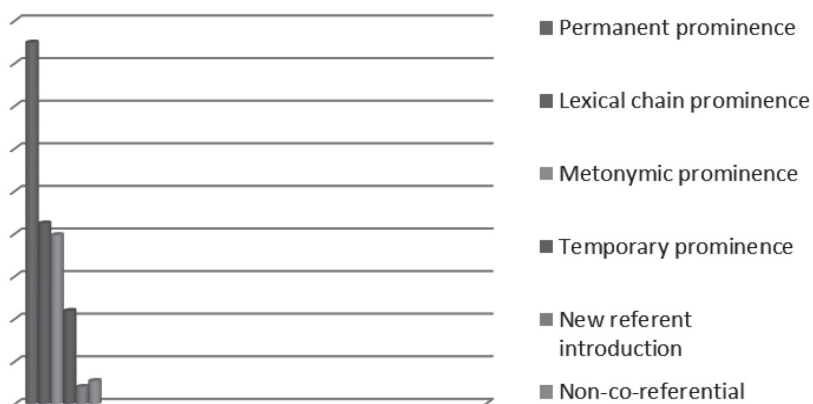
Figure 3. Discourse referent types in -ing supplementive clauses.

The bottom-up part of the analysis thus confirms a predominance of grammatical forms associated to the linguistic expression of prominence: MATERIAL transitivity processes, assertive modality, and the foregrounded discourse entity as implicit subject referent. This supports claims regarding the foregrounding function of –ing supplementive clauses in journalistic discourse, as well as their connection to topic continuity.

7. TOP-DOWN ANALYSIS: DISCOURSE RELATIONS

This part of the analysis will focus on those reportages containing more than one –ing supplementive clause. The purpose is to find out whether two or more sentences containing –ing supplementives as adjuncts may be interconnected by

discourse relations, as seems to be the case, for instance, in example (16) above. This could provide grounds for considering –ing supplementive clauses as markers of basic discourse units, liable to be further combined into larger units of a prominence nature. –Ing basic units would be defined as sentences containing an –ing supplementive clause and co-occurring with other similar sentences to which they are linked by logical discourse relations, holding across intervening material of varying lengths, from a few lines to several paragraphs. In fact, many of the examples presented so far suggest that such relations do exist, and point to the fact that they may be of two main types: Additive and Counterpoint.

7.1. ADDITIVE RELATION

The sentences containing an –ing supplementive clause that co-occur in a single reportage may add up elements which together highlight the story skeleton, or main story line. The cases of Addition in the data are of two types: sequential and summative.

In *sequential addition*, the events or situations presented in the co-occurring –ing units follow one another chronologically in the storyworld projected in readers' minds. This is the case in (16) above, from a five-page reportage on the outbreak of the 2008 financial crisis in the US. Notice that the four –ing supplementive clauses in this reportage occur in sentences which are often paragraphs apart, but which together provide an astonishingly coherent and complete summary of the stages which led to the disaster.

Conversely, in *summative addition*, co-occurring -ing units present mutually complementary events which are not necessarily sequenced in time, but which elaborate on one another, showing tight conceptual unity. Example (27) presents the three –ing supplementive clauses occurring at, respectively, the beginning, middle, and end of a one-page reportage about the then recently deceased actor Charlton Heston:

(27) In the era of the movie epic, he [Heston] was the iconic hero, adding to these films millions in revenue, plenty of muscle and 10IQ points.
[…24 lines…]
Director Cecil B. DeMille immediately saw the actor's appeal, casting him in *The Greatest Show on Earth*, then giving him the role of Moses in *The Ten Commandments*.
[… 40 lines…]
At the 2000 NRA convention, he [Heston] invoked his own Moses, hosting a rifle above his head and proclaiming that presidential candidate Al Gore could remove the gun only by prying it 'from my cold, dead hands.'
(*The Epic Man: From iconic movie hero to gun advocate, Charlton Heston embodied both our grandest and our most ornery beliefs*; *Time,* 21 April 2008: 47).

As can be observed, even though these sentences are lines apart, and despite the great amount of intervening material, the –ing units not only are astonishingly cohesive, but also provide a coherent summary of the key points on which the journalist grounds his narration. Another example of a summative addition relation can be found in (28), which occurs in a reportage on US retailer stores entitled "Black Friday is Looking Blue". Here, three out of four –ing supplementive clauses have as implied subject the lexical chain made up by two store names, *Wal-Mart* and *Sears and Radio Shack*, and the hypernym *Many stores*. Once again, these three –ing units are evenly distributed across the two pages of the reportage, and again the length of intervening material does not obscure the tight meaning relationship between them. In fact, as in previous examples, the larger –ing complex seems to highlight a cognitive path across what might be the key point in this reportage, namely, stores' tricks to cope with the crisis:

(28)   *Power discounter Wal-Mart* launched Operation Main Street, *(1) presenting a new run of markdowns every week until Christmas.*
[…3 lines…]
Sears and Radio Sacks are urging eco-conscious consumers to suck their power-sucking old equipment*, (2) offering gift certificates for the trade in value.*
[…5 paragraphs…]
Many stores have gone further, (*3) lowering inventory levels as much as 18%.*
(*Time*, 1 December 2008: 26-27).

7.2. COUNTERPART RELATION

-Ing units may also contain elements which interact in the development of the argumentative line of a reportage, by alternating viewpoints from two or more sources, as in examples (29) and (30) below. (29) occurs in a two-page article on cyclist Lance Armstrong and the allegations of doping by US Anti-Doping Agency (USADA) that he had to face. The reportage, which has the tell-telling title *Armstrong's Ahab,* revolves around the mutual accusations of Armstrong and USADA CEO Travis Tygart, who led the agency's investigation. This is the way in which the six co-occurring –ing units in this reportage combine with one another into an –ing complex, providing the reader with different key perspectives on the narrated events, in such a way that, when assembled together as below, these six sentences present the contenders' respective viewpoints:

(29)   'Everybody wants to know what I am on. What am I on? I am on my bike, *busting my ass six hours a day.*' [Armstrong as speaker and referent]
[…36 lines…]

'At every turn, USADA has played the role of a bully, *threatening everyone in its way and challenging the good faith of anyone who questions its motives and its methods [...].'* [Armstrong as speaker; Tygart as metonymic referent]

[...4 lines...]

Tygart's resposte has been to unleash an avalanche of evidence, from e-mails and bank records to eyewitness accounts, *drawing inferences of guilt that lacked any nuance of ambiguity.* [Tygart as metonymic referent]

[...47 lines...]

USADA is an independent agency created in 2000 to take over anti-doping operations for the U.S. Olympic Committee, *allowing it to avoid any potential conflicts of interest.* [Tygart as metonymic referent]

[...17 lines...]

And even if he [Tygart] didn't think it was personal, the Armstrong team did, *mentioning him by name, calling him out.* [Armstrong as metonymic referent]

[...18 lines...]

'That's not a justification to ignore it,' Tygart says, *pointing to rationalizations that led to ethical breakdowns at athletic programs at Penn State* [...]. [Tygart as speaker and referent]

(*Armstrong's Ahab, Time*, 29 October 2012. 14-15).

Consider now example (30), taken from a reportage on the 2008 presidential campaign in Zimbabwe, and which also exemplifies a counterpoint relation, as the four –ing units it contains are used to present the respective positions of the two contenders, former president Robert Mugabe and elected candidate Morgan Tsvangirai:

(30) In 2002 he [Morgan Tsvangirai] was widely thought to have won Zimbabwe's presidential election, *beating the country's tyrannical leader, Robert Mugabe.* [Tsvangirai as referent]
[contiguous]
But according to most independent observers, Mugabe had the results fixed, *extending his tenure as Zimbabwe's only ruler since independence in 1980.* [Mugabe as referent]
[18 lines]
Mugabe, 84, is demanding a recount and a runoff for the presidency, *fueling fears of another vote fix.* [Mugabe as referent]
[13 lines]
Speaking to TIME by phone from an undisclosed location in Zimbabwe, he [Tsvangirai] said, 'We need to shift from focusing on our independence and start focusing on our prosperity and freedom.' [Tsvangirai as speaker and referent]
(*Taking On the Big Man, Time*, 29 September 2008: 34).

Once again, physical discontinuity does not prevent these four –ing units from forming an –ing complex which displays not only conceptual coherence, but also remarkable internal textual cohesion, despite the length of the intervening material

between its constitutive –ing units. This is reflected in lexical repetition (*fixed-fix*; *independence-independence; presidential-presidency*) and referential cohesion (*had the results fixed-another vote fix*). In fact, a vast majority of the co-occurring –ing units in the data are interconnected by either an Additive or a Counterpoint relation, but further research might reveal further logical connections.

8. CONCLUSION

This study has explored the role of –ing supplementive clauses in the referential and focus management of discourse, with the aim of finding out whether the association with foregrounding and profiling that these circumstantial adjuncts seem to display in fictional narratives is genre-specific, or whether it holds in journalistic discourse as well. Of special concern has been the cognitive prominence of implicit subject referents, as journalistic discourse does not usually revolve around a single main character, but deals with a variety of topics and entities. In this respect, the –ing supplementive clauses in the data not only tend to predominantly contain MATERIAL transitivity processes and Assertive modality, traditionally connected to information foregrounding, but also seem to be recurrently attached to the prominent discourse entity that the reportage is about. This might be seen as challenging the default association between syntactic subordination and linguistic background, and could point to the need to approach the study of these detached constructions from a cognitive-functional, suprasentential viewpoint.

A further concern has been the extent to which, when co-occurring in connected discourse, –ing supplementive clauses may function as markers of -ing units, or sentences containing one or more of these non-finite clauses, liable to be combined into complexes of a prominence marking nature. The analysis actually shows that high internal cohesion and coherence frequently hold across the sentences containing –ing supplementives within a single reportage, regardless of the length of intervening material. Furthermore, two types of discourse relations, Additive and Counterpoint, have been identified as joining these sentences, or –ing units, into –ing complexes. Moreover, the latter seem to highlight key points in the reportage, confirming that the physical distance between co-occurring –ing units need not be an obstacle to referential continuity and cognitive unity.

To sum up, from a syntactic viewpoint, –ing supplementive clauses are subordinate structures in the sense that they depend on a main clause. However, at discourse level, these non-finite constructions seem to deserve further research in connection to the interaction of referential and focus management. Although further research should use larger corpora and explore a wider variety of genres, this study may contribute a few useful insights and research tools to this endeavor.

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107

GEORGE RIDPATH'S USE OF EVALUATIVE ADJECTIVES AS MANIPULATIVE AND PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES DURING THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION (1710-1713)[1]

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ABSTRACT. *This paper analyses evaluative adjectives in George Ridpath's political writings during the War of the Spanish Succession (1710-1713), in a corpus which comprises two journals, four years and 291 numbers, with the purpose of examining how this author used language as a weapon to shape and manipulate Great Britain's public opinion during the Stuart period. For that, I have employed Wilson's approach to* Political Discourse Analysis *(2001) and van Dijk's* polarisation *(1999) as well as Allan and Burridge's understanding of euphemism and dysphemism (1991). The results permit to value Ridpath's contribution as a very influential but controversial pamphleteer who wrote about the War of the Spanish Succession within Great Britain's context.*

Keywords: Political persuasion, political manipulation, evaluative adjectives, George Ridpath, *The Observator, The Flying Post.*

RAQUEL SÁNCHEZ RUIZ

EL USO DE ADJETIVOS EVALUATIVOS COMO ESTRATEGIAS DE MANIPULACIÓN Y PERSUASIÓN POR PARTE DE GEORGE RIDPATH DURANTE LA GUERRA DE SUCESIÓN ESPAÑOLA (1710-1713)

RESUMEN. *El presente trabajo estudia los adjetivos evaluativos en los escritos políticos de George Ridpath durante la Guerra de Sucesión Española (1710-1713), en un corpus que abarca dos periódicos, cuatro años y 291 números, con el objetivo de analizar cómo el autor utiliza la lengua como arma para modelar y manipular a la opinión pública de Gran Bretaña durante el periodo Estuardo. Para ello he empleado el enfoque de Wilson del* Análisis del Discurso Político *(2001) y la* polarización *de van Dijk (1999), así como los conceptos de eufemismo y disfemismo de Allan y Burridge (1991). Los resultados permiten valorar la contribución de Ridpath como panfletista influyente y polémico que escribió sobre la Guerra de Sucesión Española desde el punto de vista británico.*

Palabras clave: Persuasión política, manipulación política, adjetivos evaluativos, George Ridpath, *The Observator, The Flying Post.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The press is an essential weapon politicians use for ideological persuasion and manipulation, as it is a way to establish particular values and reference models for the public opinion as well as to reproduce dominant ideologies and social conceptions; thence, its relevance within politics. Considering that political communication is a breeding ground for persuasion devices of verbal manipulation, I have analysed evaluative adjectives in George Ridpath's political writings during the War of the Spanish Succession, concretely during the Peace Campaign (1710-1713), with the purpose of examining how this author used language as a weapon to shape and manipulate Great Britain's public opinion during the Stuart period.

The choice of this period is not fortuitous, since the spreading of ideas and information relied heavily on pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers during the late Stuart period (1702-1714) and both Whigs and Tories and the Ministry itself recognised the press as an organ of political influence (*cf.* López Campillo 2009; Crespo-Fernández and López Campillo 2011: 44). George Ridpath is not casual either because, despite contributing to the great political debates of the reign of Queen Anne (Crespo-Fernández and López Campillo 2011: 47) and being one of the best

pens in England (Swift 1824: 297), he has never received the attention which he deserves (McLeod and McLeod 1979: 194).

The corpus of investigation comprises two journals, four years and 291 numbers, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Corpus of investigation.

Journal	*The Observator*			*The Flying Post; or, the Post-Master*		
Year	**1710**	**1711**	**1712**	**1711**	**1712**	**1713**
Numbers	40	51	35	13	66	86
	126			165		

The selection of the corpus is not unintentional: whilst attention has been paid to persuasion in Great Britain's political writings during the late Stuart period (Barker 2000; Black 2001) and to the War of the Spanish Succession (Müllenbrock 1997; Losa Serrano and López Campillo 2007; López Campillo 2009, 2010), George Ridpath's use of language as a polemical political journalist has only been the object of two recent minor publications (Crespo-Fernández and López Campillo 2011; Sánchez Ruiz and López Cirugeda 2015). Therefore, this study aims to complement their research focusing, however, on evaluative adjectives as a key persuasive strategy to verbally attack the enemy and manipulate readers through their contribution to emphasis and appraisal of emotions.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is framed within Wilson's approach (2001) to *Political Discourse Analysis*, which studies public political manifestations and interventions as interesting phenomena and the strategic use of linguistic devices to influence the receiver in different ways, that is, persuasion through language. However, it must be noticed that analysing language in use requires employing several tools and disciplines to cover all aspects of human behaviour when communicating. In addition, classifying verbal devices under particular theoretical criteria or approaches may be difficult due to the fuzzy boundaries that arise when diverse factors like context or speakers' characteristics encounter. Thus, different linguistic areas (mainly semantics and pragmatics) must be combined with others, such as cognition, sociology and even cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics (Alonso and Hyde 2002: 9).

For the analysis, evaluative adjectives were classified as follows. First, I decided to divide them into positive and negative adjectives so as to relate them to other

resources like van Dijk's concept of *polarisation*[2] (1999: 95) or dysphemism. I also divided them according to the year when they appeared in order to observe the more or less critical chronological progression and see if the most turbulent years of the Peace Campaign have a direct influence on the usage of certain adjectives or even of a greater number of negative ones. Furthermore, my categorisation did not just reflect the adjective but the collocation of adjective and noun, which permits to draw conclusions about the most praised or criticised aspects and, thus, about George Ridpath's own views and the sentiment of the public opinion of that time. Finally, I must state that classifying some of the mentioned collocations was difficult due to the fuzzy boundaries of the semantic nature of certain adjectives. When this problem arose, the context was essential to determine if it was a positive or a negative adjective/collocation.

3. GEORGE RIDPATH, THE JOURNALS AND THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

As Crespo-Fernández and López Campillo (2011: 45) state, there has been no other previous stage in the history of Great Britain as polemical as the reign of Anne Stuart (1702-1714), where issues both of national and international importance like the monarchy, the Church and foreign policy were at stake and, thus, party activity was unusually intense. Moreover, the emergence of public opinion was favoured due to the less-severe censorship and political control of the press, the expiry of the *Licensing Act* in 1695 – ceasing state censorship of the press and contributing to a great increase in political propaganda – and the expansion of new social centres such as coffee and chocolate houses and clubs where ideas were discussed and spread. During the Peace Campaign (1710-1713) – mainly supported by the Tories, as they were in favour of the peace, contrary to the Whigs, who were for the war –, propaganda was at their disposal more than ever to shape public opinion in accordance with their interests and vision of the war. Moreover, Spain was the key for the mentioned campaign because, whereas the Whigs thought that there should be *No peace without Spain*, the Tories opted for the opposite: *Peace without Spain* (Losa Serrano and López Campillo 2007: 176).

Regarding the author, George Ridpath (1660?-1726) was a prominent and radical Whig and Scottish journalist during the Stuart period; born and educated

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[2] Van Dijk (1999: 95) defines the *polarisation* of – or mental representations about – ingroups and outgroups by the opposition between *us* and *them*. This means that groups constitute an ideological image of themselves and others in a way where *us* are represented positively (*positive self-representation*) and *them* are negatively (*negative other-representation*).

in Berwickshire until he went to Edinburgh University. His anti-Catholic and Presbyterian views led him to actively participate in the burning of the pope in effigy and to be accused of threatening to burn the provost's house. For those actions, he was imprisoned for five weeks before moving to London to write for a living (Ridpath 1694: 52-56). He was also charged with being the author of three libels in *The Observator* and was found guilty for two of them. In an attempt to escape the authorities, in 1713, he went to Scotland and, then, to Holland. He returned to England after 1714 when George I occupied the throne and was made a patentee for serving the commissioners of the customs in Scotland (McLeod and McLeod 1979: 193-194). Ridpath was decisive towards Great Britain's public opinion because, even though many electors were committed either to the Tory or Whig side, the persuasion of the press was thought to make some citizens shift sides. Nevertheless, those swing voters supported the Tories and only preferred the Whigs when the succession seemed to be in danger (Speck 1970: 114). In 1707, he succeeded John Tutchin in editing *The Observator*; but Ridpath also conducted the Whig journal *The Flying Post; or, the Post-Master* (hereafter *The Flying Post*) and contributed to *The Medley* in 1712 (Wilson 1830: 253, 283). In 1714, Daniel Defoe – Ridpath's rival – came to Hurt's assistance in *The Flying Post*, cutting off the contact between Ridpath and this journal, being thereafter called by him *The Sham Flying Post* (Lee 1869: 230-236). According to *The Daily Post,* 7 February 1726, Ridpath died on 5 February, the same day as his enemy, Abel Roper.

About the journals, *The Observator* was a twice weekly political journal founded in 1702 by John Tutchin. Its main aim was to denounce the fraud and abuse within the government of London in 1702 (*cf.* Auchter 2001: 253-255); nonetheless, when Ridpath ran the journal, its goal was to inform about Parliament resolutions and to accuse the government's pacifist faction of their Jacobite and *Frenchified* trends (López Campillo 2010: 155). One of its most outstanding characteristics, both in Tutchin's and Ridpath's times, was its peculiar Platonic-style dialogued structure by two interlocutors: Roger, an ordinary countryman though talented at voicing his own peers' opinion; and his master, a cultivated gentleman who calls himself *the Observer*, and who clearly represents Ridpath's opinions about both national and international affairs. In the middle of the Peace Campaign, *The Observator* was the only Whig journal to form opinion and was essential when the peace-war debate was intense (López Campillo 2010: 155). Swift (1711) described this journal as the best representing the opposition to the government and Müllenbrock (1997) claimed it was the most important strictly political Whig organ.

The Flying Post: or, the Post-Master was founded in 1695 but it was called *The Flying Post from Paris and Amsterdam* at first. It published three numbers a week and was edited by Ridpath since 1697; however, in 1713, due to Ridpath's legal problems, it was sometimes edited by Stephen Whatley. The main difference regarding the previous journal is that it does not have a dialogued structure, but it explicitly addressed some questions to *The Observator*. *The Flying Post* was a cornerstone for the Whigs, especially during the last years of the Stuart period, when Ridpath attacked the Tory peace and upheld the Hanoverian cause (Holmes 1987: 31).

4. ANALYSIS OF EVALUATIVE ADJECTIVES

Ridpath not only used figurative language to attack his adversaries or denounce injustices within the political field, but also employed other resources, like evaluative adjectives and the emotionally loaded language of patriotism which characterised his political writings (Crespo-Fernández and López Campillo 2011: 60-61). Thus, adjectives play a key role within verbal attack and readers' manipulation, since they favour emphasis and relate emotional value to nouns and, so, abound in the corpus. Within them, *evaluative adjectives*, which imply appraisal towards the norm or ideology, be them affective, *evaluative*, axiological[3] or non-axiological (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1997: 84), are more frequent. This resource is directly linked to metaphor insofar as figurative language is composed by adjectives, be them *lexicalised metaphors* or metaphorical units; and to euphemism and dysphemism[4], because they usually appear in the form of adjectives.

The analysis has been performed by first dividing adjectives into positive and negative to compare them to other linguistic resources. Then, they were classified by journal so as to establish quantitative and qualitative differences and convergences. Finally, they were categorised by years in order to observe the chronological evolution of ideas and topics. Before the detailed analysis, Table 2 provides a general overview of the number of adjectives analysed.

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[3] Those adjectives are applied to an object and involve a value judgment; hence their use for describing social reality and remarking the positive and negative aspects of political measures (Sánchez 2009: 4).

[4] Crespo Fernández (2008: 96), following Allan and Burridge (1991: 96), defines these two concepts in the following terms: euphemism is the "semantic or formal process by which the taboo is stripped of its most explicit or obscene overtones" and dysphemism is "the process whereby the most pejorative traits of the taboo are highlighted with an offensive aim to the addressee or to the concept itself".

Table 2. Number of adjectives analysed.

Journal	Year	Positive adjectives	Negative adjectives	Total
The Observator	1710	230	382	612
The Observator	1711	406	509	915
The Flying Post		94	32	126
The Observator	1712	315	315	630
The Flying Post		611	359	970
The Flying Post	1713	885	610	1495
Total		2541	2207	**4748**

4.1. *POSITIVE ADJECTIVES IN* THE OBSERVATOR

In 1710, Ridpath's use of adjectives reveals the exaltation not only of God but also of the monarchy; in fact, those who are Republican and Antimonarchical are criticised. The author also describes the behaviour and beliefs the subjects of the realm should have like being faithful, good, honest, loyal and prudent. This is linked to the emotionally loaded language of patriotism so typical in Ridpath's political writings, as they are described as *true Britons* (60[5]), *true Churchmen* (23) and politicians. As a matter of fact, the idea of patriotism is reinforced when Ridpath supports both the Queen and the military world, especially in a war context where moral support is essential to keep the population's spirit. However, this kind of adjectives remarking the army and their officers are brave and have high moral standards and that the country has important alliances with other factions and countries are also used for the opposite purpose, that is, to make a dent in the enemies' spirits. Bond to this sense of patriotism, Ridpath alludes to the relevance of the Union and refers to state documents like the Constitution or the Law as treasures; in this vein, he also pinpoints the importance of an appropriate person's accessing to the throne and the government's methods, which should be effectual, infallible and proper.

Mystical aspects also appear through reference to the sacred texts of different religions, especially the Bible. With them and, so, moral standards, Ridpath aims to persuade the public opinion by appealing to the universal fear of supernatural and divine powers, since Britain's future, especially the political one, was believed to depend on learned, gracious and just divine Providence.

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[5]   In every example, this indicates the number of the journal in which it appears.

The recurrence and frequency of several key adjectives subliminally stress two issues, such as boosting the morale of the citizens in times of war and praising the monarchy, especially through *glorious*, or the state and government; and instilling the right morals by clearly stating the difference between good and evil, on the other hand directly related to religion. Another persuasive technique linked to evaluative adjectives is providing the text with more accuracy and *false* objectivity[6] by describing Ridpath's own opinions in the words of those considered eminent, learned or wise. Finally, in this first year of the Peace Campaign (1710), evaluative adjectives also serve two purposes: justifying the war and convincing the reader that the war would last until Great Britain could get a "safe and honourable Peace" (91).

In 1711, the monarchy and some members of the clergy are again praised for their integrity, sense of justice, right beliefs, actions and attitudes. The measures and precautions of the government are proper, effectual and laudable; judges are competent, equitable and disinterested, laws are laudable and advocates, wise; ministers, counsellors and noble lords or dukes are considered honourable, right and uncorrupted, or even wise and brave. These previous examples contribute to persuade the reader to trust their government in times of war and insecurity.

As in 1710, some positive adjectives are used to praise the enemies' or the opposite faction's intelligence; however, they are ironical, which boosts their function, especially to highlight their falsehood or ability to break the law. His old enemy, Abel Roper, is also criticised by using irony when he refers to him as *wise* Abel. On the other hand, Ridpath's words are reminiscent of patriotism by remarking how brave the army is – especially officers, many of whom are considered brave and learned too – instilling courage to the population through the stupendous victories, successful war and even what are called "heroic actions" (23). As a matter of fact, patriots – be them countrymen, princes or soldiers – are thought to be the best, bravest and best qualified men in the world. Other monarchical aspects are magnified such as "the glorious auspices of the Queen" (15) or of William as well as the nation. *Great* – both in its positive and superlative degree – contributes to this last purpose and so acclaims generals, princes, the Church of England and the formidable allies. Furthermore, some members of particular families, especially the House of Hanover, are believed to be illustrious.

Another common aspect in 1710 is the author's aim to establish ethic and moral standards and publicly show how a good, dutiful and loyal subject – and, thus, a

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[6] As happens with the use of statistics and figures, particular evaluative adjectives focus the attention on concrete aspects or make certain opinions credible. Van Dijk (2009: 341) called this argumentation strategy *the number game*.

patriot and a nation defender – should behave even to the extent of becoming a "commendable example" (34) or "exemplary subject" (49 and 56). In this vein of the right ethical code, Ridpath insists on supporting the measures of a government ensuring justice and looking for a "just and lasting peace" (71). Ridpath was in favour of the war at first, in consonance with the ruling government; however, his – and the government's – views on the subject change during the course of the Peace Campaign. The beginning of that change starts with the words the author employs, especially in December 1711, when a longing for peace is observed, but not at any cost, "a good, honourable, lasting, safe, advantageous peace" (60, 96, 99 and 100) though.

As in the previous year, Ridpath tries to persuade the reader by appealing to the public opinion's feelings through adjectives linked to *family*, *affection* and the sense of justice. Personification also contributes to this aim since those adjectives attribute human features to objects, abstract names or countries and so appeal to feelings. Conceptual metaphors also appear in the form of positive adjectives; then, the author writes about the "flourishing and peaceable nation" (7) and "flourishing Ministry" (10). Through this source domain (*spring*), the author relates politics to an aspect of life which triggers a favourable action in the reader and suggests that the situation will progressively improve until it reaches its peak.

In 1711, positive adjectives are also employed to credit some authors or concrete journals as well as to show satisfaction with the opinions expressed in their own journal or their objectivity. Ironical positive adjectives are also used to criticise authors like Daniel Defoe or Abel Roper and journals, particularly *The Examiner*, so as to remark what they lack.

In 1712, the exaltation of political leaders and the monarchy is repeated. Politicians are praised for they honesty, wisdom and courage as well as their audacious manner of ruling and utmost endeavours – in fact, the government offers effectual guarantees and security – and cunning alliances. Monarchs are described as gracious, great and wise and holders of undoubted authority; and the House of Hanover as illustrious and serene.

Another frequent topic is *recommending* the reader the way a dutiful, obedient, faithful, honest, humble and loyal subject should behave to be excellent and exemplary. For that, religion plays a key role, in this case, choosing the right one: Protestantism against Catholicism. Another topic bond to exemplary behaviour is patriotism, which again is present in this year by remarking British army's audacious affronts, fair battles, unparalleled victories and greatest generals, who are in fact called "noble heroes" (22).

There are some metaphoric adjectives announcing the ending of the war and, so, suggesting positivity and hope; for example, those expressions referring to the

light at the end of the tunnel. When used metaphorically, light delivers a positive message because it is identified with life and human survival (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 58). Divine justice also rules human life as it is presented as just and even an authority. *Just* is also applied to the desired peace and the understandable detestation and indignation that the long war has caused. That is why Ridpath constantly alludes to the "amicable end of the war" (28) and noblest negotiations to obtain a general, good, safe, honourable, lasting and speedy peace.

In this year, adjectives also serve to credit sources and authors and give objectivity. This journal trusts the ablest penmen and praises audacious pamphleteers as well as the gracious answers of the queen; parliamentary authors are even compared to sacred ones. Again, he appeals to *wise* Abel Roper ironically to emphasise his lack of wisdom. The power of words is revealed by the choice of words of the author: "mighty discourse" (45) or "mighty talk" (31).

4.2. *POSITIVE ADJECTIVES IN* THE FLYING POST

In 1711 the imminent conclusion of the war brings optimism in the country; this is revealed through the agreeable news and the ample forms of negotiations to obtain a firm, safe and lasting peace within good conditions. Patriotism appears again to eulogise the dear and glorious country and their faithful subjects, the honourable and learned society and the pious and qualified persons, who are humbly acknowledged too, especially the military sector for their utmost expeditions and vigorous campaigns, alluding again to the characteristics a good subject may have. Acclaims are also addressed to the ecclesiastic judicature and the faithful and loyal Church as well as to the expeditious and unanimous electors (persuasion during the elections). Moreover, succession is again a concern and Ridpath explicitly shows his preference towards the illustrious family and protestant line of Hanover.

In 1712, the prospect of a future peace reflects again on the acceptable and agreeable news in the country, the grounded hope of an imminent great change implying a happy conclusion and a wise and honourable end. However, the army's involvement in the war and their training is justified by saying they were necessary; in fact, it was a defensive, indispensable, just, lawful and unavoidable war (3312) because of the "just and necessary motives" (3277). Ridpath insists on the audacious attempts to obtain a consistent, durable, glorious, advantageous, lasting, necessary, honourable, sure, speedy and general peace through continual and consistent conferences where negotiations are performed in an amicable manner, with inviolable firmness and solemn assurances and fair dealings and equal and impartial frankness as well as equitable conditions for both sides are guaranteed.

The adjective *extraordinary* deserves to be mentioned apart since it appears seventeen times applied to different but related topics: first the assemblies and

conferences to obtain the peace; then, the people involved in the negotiation process and the efforts on the preparations; and finally the money that this implies. Moreover, peace would include other benefits like a desired security, good time and health, a healthful city and better foreign affairs relationships, particularly with the French and the Spaniards. *Protestant* is also a very frequent adjective since it is the religion supported by Ridpath for the nation and the government along with the succession and monarchs.

Patriotism is repeated by offering hope to the public opinion be that in the battle field or in the searching for peace. Through the metaphor and personification "immortal fleur-de-lis" (3288), Great Britain is symbolised as an immortal nation; but it is also presented as a mighty and fruitful kingdom with mighty esteem. The important role of the formidable army – considered the "reputed best troops in the world" (3308) and magnificent due to their considerable number of bodies of troops and convoys – is also highlighted by describing them as brave, valiant and courageous or even heroes or "Godlike heroes" (3292). The enemy is called formidable and powerful, implicitly reinforcing the country's strength when beating them.

Ridpath continues to show the society right morals; then, subjects should be courteous, honest, honourable, prudent, worthy and faithful inhabitants, obedient and humble servants as well as have good decorum and good discipline or perform decent rites.

Supporting sources and authors through positive adjectives is also repeated in 1712. Then information is objective when it is excerpted from certain papers, and sources are more faithful when they are bond to religion or "sacred pages" (3246). *The Observator* also nourished with letters from readers; thus, they are more relevant and reliable when they are called civil, suitable and true. Moreover, some of them self-describe as humble, which moves the public opinion by alluding to the *pathos* propounded by López Eire and de Santiago Guervós (2000: 71), and so makes them more credible.

In 1713, the early, vigorous and necessary preparations for a negotiation of peace which is about to conclude the war result in positivity and "agreeable sentiments" (3403) reflected on the hope of an advantageous peace and great and infinite advantages for Great Britain. News items from different countries are agreeable and there are good expectations about the frequent conferences and glorious toils desiring good understanding, safe and honourable terms, a solemn treaty and a speedy, universal and lasting peace. However, war is justified when describing it as a just, honourable, even glorious, and necessary war.

Both the steady and irreproachable government and the army are praised for their appropriate behaviour. The former are acclaimed for their laudable conduct and

care, and ruling with the best, effectual, legal and proper methods, wise and happy measures and sufficient precautions or even their exemplary punishments. They are also in charge of guaranteeing the army's safe return home. The latter, directly bond to the patriotic feeling since British citizens have a deepest sense of gratitude towards their army and dutifully acknowledge them, are lauded for their acceptable and noble service. Ordinary citizens are also eulogised when they are illustrious and true patriots or true lovers of their native country, whose honour will be immortal and indelible; brave defenders of the national constitution and brave and honest men.

In relation to human virtues, again Ridpath insists on how good subjects should be: able, disinterested, faithful, humble, honest, loyal, dutiful, obedient and worthy persons. They should also have a distinguishing character; decent, laudable conduct and care, good discipline and disposition – to the extent of a "profoundest submission" (3396) – and behave in an exemplary manner. Monarchs, among whom the glorious King William and excellent, serene, potent and gracious Queen Anne are distinguished, should be known for their incomparable wisdom and infinite goodness. Some bishops are believed to be excellent and good; and pastors, pious, learned and assiduous. Religion is relevant in this time along with a superior and unlimited power because they control life with their divine and admirable lessons and ensure a divine protection. Again Ridpath clearly shows he is in favour of the glorious, honest and good Protestants and the venerable Church of England. Religion is linked to politics and the author stands for a protestant heir, particularly of the House of Hanover, for the succession.

Finally, dignifying sources and authors, and even their messages, through adjectives is also repeated. Then, some of those who write letters to the journal to be published are honest and provide glorious declarations or testimonies, gracious answers, considerable reflections, nice descriptions, good remarks, memorable instances, and concluding and solid arguments.

4.3. *NEGATIVE ADJECTIVES IN* THE OBSERVATOR

This kind of adjectives is closely related to dysphemism since they are mainly used to offend, especially political, religious and, even, personal enemies. Ridpath not only criticises Antimonarchical principles but also the absolute, unlimited and arbitrary power of Popish, tyrannical kings and countries, which originate slavish doctrines or principles. In 1710, both negative evaluative and hyperbolic adjectives[7]

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[7]   Cascón Martín (2006: 44) defines hyperbolic adjectives as those which have an intensifying sense and, so, convey superlative meaning. Bugnot (2006: 22) affirms that hyperbolic formulas, including hyperbolic adjectives, are one of the most effective resources to comply with the appellative function and, thus, the persuasive one.

are employed to determine evil moral and ethical standards, be them linked to religion or witchcraft; to the disaffected, fluctuating and impudent people, who are mainly the opposite faction, the French, the Jacobites and the Papists; to the pretender which neither the government nor Ridpath support; to the dichotomy of good and evil, and to the cruelty and malice of some "fellows" of the opposite faction who are even compared to "brutish Nero" (67).

The author insists on some adjectives like *seditious* to clearly establish moral standards through what is not considered right (linked to van Dijk's polarisation 2009: 135) and which are frequently applied to the enemies, the Catholic Church or priests, the opposite faction, the Jews and the rebels as well as enemy preachers like Sacheverell. Furthermore, again resorting to polarisation, Ridpath's use of adjectives is intended to establish that his own ideas are the right and moral ones, contrary to those of his enemies, which would be unjust, malicious and immoral or even unnatural. Therefore, evaluative adjectives and polarisation merge with two persuasive aims: first, to remark the wrong character of those who do not think the same as Ridpath or neither support the current government nor the British nation; and, second, to praise those who do have the same beliefs as he and support the government and the nation. Moreover, they also reinforce Ridpath's dual vision of good and evil, strongly linked to morals derived from religion. Then, Spaniards are considered bigotted and *Frenchified*; the French, perfidious or even "mortal enemies" (60); and the faction, rampant, hateful, silly virulent and wicked. The dysphemistic sense of some of the previous adjectives must be noted as their main aim is to insult and offend. Papists and *nonjurors*[8] are treated as insane or ill – thus combining the metaphorical and dysphemistic sense –, Papists and the High Church are said to be murderers and Papists alone are stated to be inquisitors, the false and wrong successors, usurpers and tyrants. Negative other-representation also reinforces patriotism through adjectives like traitorous and treasonable, especially in times of war, which are applied mainly to incendiaries, the Jews, the faction, libels and the Spanish troops.

Political beliefs are also belittled, especially the Jacobite faction and Tories, who are considered rank[9]. In fact, by describing some speeches as Jacobite and treasonable

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[8] Gaskoin (1917: 394) distinguishes between *nonjurors* and *non-abjurors*. The former rejected the oaths of allegiance and abjuration imposed under William III and George I; the latter scrupled to take only the oaths of 1701 and 1714, thus, the ones involved in this research.

[9] This example is also a cross-sensory metaphor or synesthesia which could be classified into the lexical ones too, since both in the Spanish and English cultures being suspicious or negative is defined as *stinking* or *malodorous*. In this vein, Ibarretxe Antuñano (1999) propounds different conceptual metaphors linked to smell such as DISLIKEABLE FEELINGS SMELL, which is clearly dysphemistic.

ones, the author likens the first idea to the second. Negative adjectives are also employed to discredit sources and authors, becoming sometimes defamation.

Obviously, war is a constant topic in this corpus and is both dealt with through positive and negative adjectives. In 1710, Ridpath's main concern is not to achieve a disadvantageous peace or an unacceptable one although he recognises the need to stop war due to its numerous consequences such as having been bloody[10] and expensive.

In 1711, negative adjectives are also employed as a dysphemistic resource to criticise mean and fallacious politicians. Political parties are also mentioned: Whigs are accused of being purblind and the Tories, of being drunken and swearing as well as "hair-brained incendiaries" (33). Both the loyalty of religious men and politicians is questioned since the adjectives *traitorous, treacherous* and *treasonable* are applied to them. This originates rebellious and seditious practices, principles and riots, especially among "short-sighted mortals" (31) and an "unthinking mob" (29).

The adjective *Popish*, which is dysphemistically used, deserves to be mentioned apart due to its frequency. Then, some causes and plots are described with this adjective; but also people like the High-Church faction, bishops, princes and the pretender and successor the Catholics support. Papists are linked to "arbitrary principles" (23) and, thus, with tyrannical governments; but they are also compared to Jacobites and Republicans. Within religious issues, Ridpath disapproves of those who have an "inconstant faith" (83), Antimonarchical or Republican principles (4, 10, 11 and 23) or hold "apocryphal views" (89). Sánchez Ruiz and López Cirugeda (2015) found that Ridpath described Catholics as *atheists* with the dysphemistic purpose of offending them and, at the same time, remark their contribution to the desecration of the Church. On the contrary, those who profess a religion zealously are also "attacked" to exemplify the negative aspects of excess. Catholics, apart from being related to burlesque, are accused for their "abominable hypocrisy and ingratitude" (19) as well as gross fallacies, falsehood and thoughts, pernicious principles and "corrupted seed" (23).

As in 1710, power is conceived negatively, especially absolute monarchies ruled by despotic power and odious bigoted and tyrannical methods, which originate arbitrary and oppressive measures and principles, all the more since they are bond to the Pope and his slavish doctrines. The government is also criticised because of their awkward tools for ruling, their manifest and gross scandals or indecent and tumultuous manners, but also their illegal executions and administration as well

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[10] This adjective – bloody – constitutes a lexicalised metaphor employed in both journals, especially in *The Observator*. Its use has a double interpretation: the literal one, which emphasises the great amount of blood spilled in the battles fought in the name of war; and the lexicalised one, where this adjective is used to show rejection of the consequences of war, particularly, of the high mortality rate.

as their ineffectual laws. Again, the consequences of the bloody, cruel, desolating, destructive, long, unjust and expensive war are mentioned to appeal to the reader's *pathos* with a persuasive aim, that is, to suggest its immediate ending.

Hyperbolic adjectives not only show Britons' desperate and dreadful situation after the war but also reinforce positive self-representation regarding Ridpath's beliefs when he compares the faction (*them*) with the author's own ideology (*us*). Thus, *they* are barbarous, destructive and even monstrous. A dramatic tone is manifest when describing the fatal divisions, loss and effects provoked by the war as well as the *Sacheverellite* tumults and horrid assassinations.

As in the previous year, in 1711, the press and authors belonging to the opposite faction are attributed with having a scandalous and unaccountable behaviour and writing scandalous advertisements, groundless calumnies, despicable arguments, evil works and scandalous and villainous libels. The opinions of the press – especially *The Review* and *The Examiner*, which is considered impatient, arrogant, malicious and ill-grounded – are considered mere subjective comments and so sources are somehow discredited, which reinforces Ridpath's own credibility as well as that of his journal through positive self-representation. Not only those journals are criticised, but also the authors, some of whom are called ignorant, impertinent, pitiful or silly scribblers, incorrigible libellers, venomous or villainous slanderers, strict dissenters, vain-glorious or verbose authors. Two of the most criticised writers are: his archenemy, Abel Roper; and the polemical preacher, Henry Sacheverell, accused of being an arch-incendiary, the author of fiery sermons – which points religion as the origin of the war – and the source of the so-called "fatal *Sacheverellite* tumults" (29). Even though Ridpath clearly stands for the peace, the preliminaries of the negotiations are judged to be captious and obscure and the treaty, felonious and passive. The detrimental effect of language is shown through expressions like malicious reflections, villainous expression, reflection or suggestions; as well as their force exemplified by "strong and forcible expressions" (97) or "strongest and weighty objections" (42).

In 1712, exorbitant, absolute and uncontrollable power, especially of the Emperor, reappears. This leads to barbarous and cruel manners, troublesome pride and uncommon zeal and makes leaders be faithless, haughty and lofty tyrants. Governments are then accused of false representation, foolish reasoning and ill practices; and their inability to accept reality, to obtain the peace or to deal with the economic situation is questioned.

As usual, Ridpath criticises those who do not have political or religious beliefs or are against the author's ones, such as schismatical and Antimonarchical Republicans, Popish pretenders, Jacobites and Papists, and occasional prayers and Christians. As a matter of fact, he admits that, due to "religious differences" (6), there has been a "religious war" (45).

Succession worries the author in all the years analysed, but concretely the *wrong* successor who is referred to as an "apparent heir" (57) and sick and spurious pretender (50). Within the legal field, advocates are depicted as clamorous and judges as ill. Metaphors, dysphemism and adjectives merge to compare doctors to certain symptoms of illnesses ("pocky doctors", 20).

Once again, the *perpetual* and *hellish* war and its *ill* consequences are shown in the journal, by using a combination of metaphorical, metonymic and hyperbolic adjectives, to justify even more the need of its conclusion. Some of them are the bloody battles, the cruel sufferings, poor widows, terrible mortification and outcry, unhappy divisions, and above all a considerable loss of lives and a vast loss of blood. The war also provoked changes in mankind, since it made them inhumane and fleecing. Moreover, Ridpath reflects the population's sentiments towards the future with expressions like "sad fate" (50), "impotent rage" (56) or "unspeakable grief" (59). On the other hand, the irreconcilable and sworn enemy is presented as deadly and described as a "dull slow-paced beast" (20); by comparing humans to beasts, their human condition is denied through a dysphemistic conceptual metaphor: ENEMY IS A BEAST, which even has animal characteristics like being pestilent, raging and rampant[11]. Considering this, their elimination is implicitly justified; in fact, it is thought to be necessary to guarantee a general peace and social order.

Social convulsion, as in previous years, instigates a popular revolutionary spirit and betrayal reflected on collocations like "turbulent fellows" (15), "barbarous treachery" (18), seditious, treasonable and traitorous practices, but especially, "traitorous authors" (41 and 50), "traitorous libellers" (31 and 59) and "treasonable pamphlets" (6). In this vein of discrediting sources, some authors are branded brainless, infamous, slavish flatterers and even "prostituted scribblers" (51)[12]; they are accused of having empty or ridiculous arguments, "false stories" (15), ill news or opinions, impertinent or insolent queries or reflections and "manifest blunders" (22); and they are also charged with perjury, calumny and libelling. Journals are also criticised both in general ("villainous papers", 54) and particularly, as *The Examiner* is informed to be false and scandalous.

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[11]   The analogy man-beast is an effectual resource to belittle and insult. Kövecses (2002: 122-125) propounds the following conceptualisation: violent human behaviour is animal behaviour, being an unequivocal source for offensive language within the semantic field of animals.

[12]   Not only Ridpath uses this powerful dysphemistic metaphor as a means of verbal attack, but also Defoe admitted that *The Review* had been his prostitute and accused other writers of having prostituted their pens (López Campillo 2010: 38, 251).

4.4. *NEGATIVE ADJECTIVES IN* THE FLYING POST

In 1711, despite the optimism owing to the imminent conclusion of the war, it is still remembered as a bloody, cruel, dangerous and long war carried out by sick soldiers and imprudent fellows, which has left a vast disproportion around the whole country. The government is also blamed since they executed harsh measures causing grievous complaints. Furthermore, as stated before, one of the main causes of the war is Catholicism and the monarchs who profess them.

Adjectives are also used in 1711 to discredit sources and authors. Thus, some magazines are considered to be defective, some journals are accused of writing false news, scandalous reflections, seditious libels or tedious discourses, or reproducing "Papist groundless reports" (3087).

In 1712, the consequences of a continual, extravagant, tedious and heavy war are revealed. One of the most fruitful metaphoric adjectives is *bloody* which represents the considerable loss of lives and describes war as a "bloody action" (3248) and "bloody battles" (3300) which sow the seeds of cruelty as well as "cursed, damned, fanatical plots" (3300) and "dangerous conspiracies" (3283). Other consequences are related to economic issues like the great, prodigious, vast and unnecessary expenses, extraordinary taxes or exorbitant fines which cause great complaints and great disorders.

Moreover, war also brings deep hatred or absolute aversion, especially towards the execrable opposite faction – accused of being an "angry *Frenchified* party" (3259) –, and the political parties involved. For Great Britain, there are three enemy countries. The *ashamed* France, where Ministers are considered imprudent, the King – Lewis *Le Grand* – is called foolish, the upper class is sick and people, insolent. Rome is also criticised through a harsh, dysphemistic metaphorical personification as it is branded a "bloody whore" (3292). Finally, the Emperor is deemed to be a "jealous Emperor" (3243) surrounded by "jealous Imperial Ministers" (3259). Among the deplorable, insolent and cruel enemies, insolent Jacobites and Papists are included. The former are also considered rampant and superstitious and are composed of different social strata: Earls, emissaries, libellers, justices or simple mobs.

Unpopularity due to their repeated mistakes or irregular practices hangs over political measures and performances. Then, the British government is reported to have had an anxious precaution and a bad and chimerical council and to have been formed by inconsistent politicians with a restless and warlike temper pursuing chimerical projects or impracticable designs. Regarding war, they are blamed for a precipitate retreat, severe orders and a ridiculous defence. Furthermore, monarchs are criticised for their wrongdoing. Hyperbolic adjectives are employed to highlight destruction and cruelty during the war; thus, there have been barbarous murders, practices and treatment, brutish indignity and destructive creatures.

Once again, human behaviour is compared to religious forces or characters through hyperbolic dysphemistic adjectives. So, immorality is called *devilish*, and those involved in the war, *evil*. Furthermore, malice, beliefs and morality merge in the adjective *villainous*, to describe the scandalous charges and crimes during war as well as the conflict itself. Exorbitant power, especially among absolute and haughty monarchs, along with their "ardent thirst" (3288) of boundless ambition – both of which imply arbitrary power and governments, strict mandates and even tyrants –, and the dehumanisation derived from war are also mentioned here.

In line with *The Observator*, in this journal, Ridpath also shows his opinion regarding those who lack morals or, at least, the right ones and do not have the same political or religious beliefs. In fact, he affirms that principles and truth are dead while society has ill behaviour and discipline. Distemper is considered to be infectious. And, by means of a lexicalised metaphor "dirtying fingers" (3295), the author symbolises participating in a war with a tangible and visible action. He also denounces politicians' dishonest favours owing to being frail and corruptible men. On the contrary, lower gentry, citizens and commonalty are also criticised for being rascally rogues, mad men or ravenous creatures; this last example shows the connection with animals as a dysphemistic source of offence.

Even though, in 1712, political measures and decisions in relation to the negotiation of peace are praised, some political proposals are considered to be dangerous and ruinous or likely to provoke dangerous consequences. Then some agreements like the Barrier Treaty of the cessation of arms could be harmful. And the negotiations by "impatient confederates" (3228) are described as doubtful because they could lead to a false, treacherous, dishonourable and disadvantageous peace.

Religion is also present in this year and again faithless people, infidels and atheists and occasional prayers are criticised. Catholicism is likened to atheism and idolatrous slavery and is considered the origin of the war. The author clearly shows his aversion to Catholic monarchs and insolent Jacobites and Papists. Catholicism is also described as an abomination full of superstitions. Both gentlemen and mobs profess it; and they are associated to Jacobites, Rome and French Cantons.

Discrediting sources or authors is also frequent in 1712. Then, some journals are accused of publishing false reports or stories, malicious lies and scandalous paragraphs as well as exhausted news. Some of the letters received are scorned when being called fawning, suspicious and insolent. Authors are also considered infamous and profligate scribblers or scandalous libellers; in fact, as seen above, through a dysphemistic expression, some of them are judged as "infamous prostitutes" (3288). Finally in this regard, *The Examiner* is the most criticised journal by being called scurrilous and unhappy.

In 1713, criticism hangs over four particular groups: the enemy, the government, the monarchy and society in general. The first one is accused of an abominable and unaccountable conduct, outrageous manners and a shameful and insolent behaviour. Particularly, the power of France is described as dangerous and the French are considered haughty; the Spaniards are known by the inexpressible ravages of a weak and defenceless Empire. The present animosities and great aversion towards the enemy are manifest insofar as they are called hellish and infallible devils and compared to hideous creatures. Second, the main concern about the government is their dreadful, exorbitant and oppressive power together with their insatiable ambition leading to anarchical proceedings, hostile manners, violent methods or resolutions, in short, an arbitrary government ruled by illegal proceedings or scandalous abusing. The expression "deplorable slavery" (3379) is employed to highlight the hard, arbitrary and unfortunate oppressions caused by the slavish doctrine of Catholics. The government's gross ignorance along with unfortunate and corrupt statesmen and brainless tools led to unsuccessful endeavours or vain projects. Third, monarchs are sometimes considered weak together with their managements. Nobility is also criticised when mentioning immoderate gentlemen, poor cavaliers and inconsolable dukes. Finally, in relation to society in general, it is composed of apprehensive, sober, ill-minded and evil people as well as miserable creatures having stupid ignorance and malicious designs. Youth is the main target, since youngsters are considered to be unthinking and wild unbridled.

Even though an absolute, indispensable necessity of war justified it, its destructive effects, irreparable loss and unavoidable, pernicious and serious consequences are mentioned in the journal with the aim of persuading into the conclusion of war. Then, the cruel, fatal, continual and expensive war revealed barbarous, brutish and inhuman treatment reflected on barbarous cruelties, persecutions, punishments and threats leading to cruel deaths, a vast expense of blood and treasure, monstrous impieties and violent methods. The war also left several traces like a country in bad, calamitous, deplorable, desperate, lamentable and miserable conditions; and, so, inhabited by poor and afflicted people. Patriotism is uncovered through polarisation when Ridpath alludes to the army's suffering symbolised by impossible tasks, incredible hardship, insuperable and insurmountable difficulties, inexpressible miseries and pressures and unjust and violent persecutions.

This desire of a conclusion of the war materialises in negotiations of peace. At first, reunions, though secret, are positive since a speedy, inestimable peace is regarded. However, the process was not smooth because some amendments or proposals are considered dangerous and postures, idle and ill; thus, the peace is also described as dangerous, invaluable, uncertain, tricking and dishonourable and even empty. In fact, not only propositions are judged as disloyal, silly and

foolish, but also the fatal treaty and the scurrilous treatment. Patriotism is again underlying when the author affirms that signing the previous conditions and such an ignominious treaty will be a "dishonourable capitulation" (3373) for the country.

In 1713, Ridpath also shows his concerns about a precarious succession from his viewpoint. Therefore, it would be fatal if an absolute stranger, a bigoted Papist prince or a "detestable and ridiculous Popish Protestant pretender" (3329) ascended the throne. It is also noted in this matter that there are "dangerous seducers" (3363) with false and specious pretences.

As in previous years, social convulsion and treason are visible, even among ministers, the press, treasonable, traitorous and virulent enemies and the faction with treacherous plots. In the street, there are notable alterations, seditious riots and rebellious tumults provoked by a turbulent temper and a revengeful humour. Religion is a controversial issue too, especially those confronting the author's and government's beliefs. As Crespo-Fernández and López Campillo (2011: 47) stated, Ridpath's aversion towards Catholics was publicly known since it was considered a false and criminal doctrine. For the author, Catholics are "heretical men" (3329b), undutiful and ungrateful sons of the Church – which bonds this idea to the succession problem – who believe in impious idolatry and are compared to evil faith, perjury and dissimulation. Papists or Popish are described as bigoted, ignorant, perfidious, silly and loathsome while they are also associated with insolent Jacobites and their prophecies or plots, the tyrannical faction and even Royal Houses such as that of Savoy. Ultimately, they are considered to be the main cause of the war.

Finally, discrediting sources or authors through negative adjectives is also present in 1713. For instance, the journals supporting the opposite faction are accused of not being appropriate since the Latin copies they reproduce are imperfect and their discourses, passionate and injurious. Their speeches and letters are pathetic, the historians they trust, unfaithful; and they employ the worst instances to demonstrate their arguments. *The Examiner* is considered to be ambiguous and false, its reports, malicious, scandalous and groundless; and its arguments, blasphemous, cursory and seditious. Conceptual metaphors, better said, metonymies, serve to remark the "execrable tongues" (3329) and "ungrateful mouths" (3329) of the libellers, pitiful writers and greasy debauched scribblers from the opposite faction.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Before drawing the conclusions from the previous analysis, Table 3 summarises all the topics dealt with in both journals during the four years analysed:

Table 3. Topics excerpted from the analysis of evaluative adjectives.

Polarity	Topic	The Observator			The Flying Post		
		1710	1711	1712	1711	1712	1713
Positive	Allies		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Clergy		✓		✓		✓
	Crediting sources/authors		✓	✓		✓	✓
	God	✓					
	Government	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Justice	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Monarchy	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Morals	✓	✓			✓	✓
	Patriotism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Peace	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Religion	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Security			✓		✓	✓
	Subjects' behaviour	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
	Succession	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Trade and taxes			✓		✓	✓
	Transition			✓		✓	✓
	War	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Negative	Antimonarchical principles/people	✓	✓	✓			
	Catholics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Discrediting sources/authors	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Enemies	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Evil morals	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	French	✓				✓	✓
	Government	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Jacobites	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Jews	✓	✓				
	Opposite faction	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
	Papists/Popish	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Peace	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Power	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Pretender/succession	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Republicanism	✓	✓	✓			✓
	Security					✓	✓
	Spaniards	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Taxes					✓	✓
	Treason	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Tumults and rebellion	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	War (and its consequences)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

The above table shows Ridpath's main concerns –and the government's and monarchs' ones and even the sentiment of the public opinion– as well as the most praised or criticised aspects during those years. His words were decisive towards the British public opinion, especially in times of elections, since –although many electors were committed to the Tory or Whig side– the persuasion of the press was believed to make some citizens shift sides. This demonstrates that means of communication are a forum of reproduction of ideology and social legitimisation at politicians' or political interests' disposal to spread political and religious beliefs and establish particular values and reference models for the public opinion.

Adjectives have proven to be a key lexical resource for persuasion and manipulation not only because they contribute to emphasis and relate emotions to nouns, but also because they can be combined with other rhetorical strategies to be more effective. Therefore, the division into positive and negative ones permits their relation to van Dijk's (1999: 95) polarisation and so the positive self-representation of the political leaders and the negative other-representation of the opposition. But adjectives, hyperbolic ones included, are also directly linked to figurative language, especially personification and metaphor, and are a fruitful source of dysphemism when they are used to offend or insult; both employed to attack Ridpath's adversaries or to denounce injustices within the political field.

Regarding the Peace Campaign quantitative data are revealing. In the analysed numbers of *The Observator* –except in 1712, when the war is about to end– there are much more negative adjectives than positive ones, thus, announcing this was a critical period concerning political and religious ideologies. For its part, *The Flying Post* shows the opposite since, regardless of the year, it presents more positive adjectives, particularly in the last year, close to the peace. There is, then, a difference between both journals: whereas the former is basically critical, the latter is more informative and deals with topics in connection with Ridpath's opinions and political visions; thence the great number of positive adjectives.

Finally, Ridpath's use of adjectives about war changes in consonance with his opinions at that moment and the ruling government since he is in favour of it at first and then against. However, in 1713, when the peace was signed and the public opinion was really aware of an impending treaty of it, the number of positive adjectives significantly increases. Therefore, this confirms the hypothesis that the most turbulent years of the Peace Campaign have a direct influence on the usage of certain adjectives and even of a greater number of negative ones.

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THE LEMMATIZATION OF OLD ENGLISH VERBS FROM THE SECOND WEAK CLASS ON A LEXICAL DATABASE

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ABSTRACT. *This article compiles a list of lemmas of the second class weak verbs of Old English by using the latest version of the lexical database Nerthus, which incorporates the texts of the Dictionary of Old English Corpus. Out of all the inflecional endings, the most distinctive have been selected for lemmatization: the infinitive, the inflected infinitive, the present participle, the past participle, the second person present indicative singular, the present indicative plural, the present subjunctive singular, the first and third person of preterite indicative singular, the second person of the preterite indicative singular, the preterite indicative plural and the preterite subjunctive plural. When it is necessary to regularize, normalization is restricted to correspondences based on dialectal and diachronic variation. The analysis turns out a total of 1,064 lemmas of weak verbs from the second class.*

Keywords: Old English, lexical database Nerthus, verbal morphology, lemmatization, normalization.

MARTA TÍO SÁENZ

LA LEMATIZACIÓN DE LOS VERBOS DÉBILES DE LA CLASE II
EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO EN UNA BASE DE DATOS LÉXICA

RESUMEN. *El artículo compila una lista de lemas de los verbos de la clase II en inglés antiguo utilizando para ello la última version de la base de datos léxica Nerthus, que incorpora los textos del Dictionary of Old English Corpus. De las terminaciones flexivas disponibles, se han seleccionado para esta lematización las más relevantes: el infinitivo, el infinitivo flexionado, el participo de presente, el participio de pasado, la segunda persona singular del presente de indicativo, el plural del presente de indicativo, el singular del presente de subjuntivo, la primera y tercera personas del singular del pretérito de indicativo, la segunda persona del singular del pretérito de indicativo, el plural del pretérito de indicativo y el plural del pretérito de subjuntivo. Cuando ha sido necesario regularizar las grafías, la normalización se ha restringido a las correspondencias basadas en variaciones dialectales y diacrónicas. El análisis da como resultado un total de 1.064 lemas de verbos débiles de la clase II.*

Palabras clave: Inglés antiguo, base de datos léxica Nerthus, morfología verbal, lematización, normalización.

1. *NERTHUS.* A LEXICAL DATABASE OF OLD ENGLISH

Martín Arista (2013) presented the new organization of the lexical database of the *Nerthus* project in a lecture delivered at the University of Sheffield.[1] In its latest format, the lexical database is no longer based on dictionary forms but on textual forms. In quantitative terms, this means that the number of files increases from 30,000 to 3,000,000. From the quantitative point of view, the new organization provides all textual occurrences of lemmas together with their context and, therefore, allows to carry out not only morphological and lexical analysis, as the previous version of the database, but also semantic and syntactic analysis. Moreover, all textual variants, frequencies and syntactic patterns can be linked to the dictionary files of the previous version of *Nerthus*. The new database, called *The Grid* consists of five relational layouts, including the dictionary database *Nerthus*, the concordance by word to the Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC), the concordance by fragment to the DOEC, the index to the DOEC (called Norna) and the reversed index to the DOEC (called *The Mirror*). Due to copyright reasons, *Nerthus* is the only open access resource (www.nerthusproject.

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[1]   This research has been funded through the project FFI2011-29532.

com). It contains 30,000 files of lemmatized forms, based primarily on Clark Hall and secondarily on Bosworth-Toller and Sweet. The initial headword list has been compiled by Martín Arista *et al.* (2011) and the meaning definitions provided by the standard dictionaries of Old English above mentioned have been synthesized by Martín Arista and Mateo Mendaza (2013). To briefly illustrate the functionalities of the version of *Nerthus* reviewed in this section, it may be pointed out, in the first place, that the database can turn out the number of textual occurrences of a lemma. For example, *siðian* appears 115 times in the texts. In the second place, the database can break down the occurrences by inflectional form. For instance, the verb *wilnian* occurs in the inflectional forms presented in Figure 1:

Inflectional form	Occurrences	Weak verb 2
wilnast	29	*wilnian(ge)*
wilniað	135	*wilnian(ge)*
wilnian	32	*wilnian(ge)*
wilnianne	3	*wilnian(ge)*
wilniaþ	4	*wilnian(ge)*
wilnie	10	*wilnian(ge)*
wilniende	13	*wilnian(ge)*
wilnode	96	*wilnian(ge)*
wilnoden	1	*wilnian(ge)*
wilnodest	3	*wilnian(ge)*
wilnodon	16	*wilnian(ge)*

Figure 1. Inflections and frequency of wilnian(ge).

Thirdly, the formalism used for representing the prefix *ge-* guarantees the direct link to the *ge-*prefixed counterparts of a given simple verb such as *wilnian*, in Figure 2.

Inflectional form	Occurrences	Weak verb 2
gewilnast	17	*wilnian(ge)*
gewilnian	47	*wilnian(ge)*
gewilniaþ	49	*wilnian(ge)*
gewilnie	3	*wilnian(ge)*
gewilniende	3	*wilnian(ge)*
gewilnige	22	*wilnian(ge)*
gewilnod	3	*wilnian(ge)*
gewilnode	120	*wilnian(ge)*
gewilnodest	3	*wilnian(ge)*
gewilnodon	13	*wilnian(ge)*

Figure 2. The prefix ge- in wilnian(ge).

And, fourthly, a given inflectional form, such as *wilnast* appears in the fragments, whose short titles are based on Mitchell, Ball and Cameron (1975), that Figure 3 includes.

[Æ LS (Basil) 011600 (392)]	[LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) 008300 (271)]
[Alc 14 (Först) 002200 (28)]	[Met 007200 (5.24)]
[And 008500 (277)]	[Solil 1 001000 (4.5)]
[Bo 013100 (7.16.24)]	[Solil 1 026500 (31.3)]
[Bo 034100 (14.31.13)]	[Solil 1 029200 (33.9)]
[Bo 061500 (23.52.12)]	[Solil 1 031700 (35.17)]
[Bo 086400 (32.71.25)]	[Solil 1 032700 (36.13)]
[Comp 1.6 (Henel) 000600 (3.1)]	[Solil 1 041700 (47.6)]
[CP (Cotton) 0v6100 (33.224.12)]	[Solil 1 041800 (47.12)]
[KtPs 001100 (47)]	[Solil 1 045200 (51.6)]
[LibSc 144100 (45.34)]	[Solil 1 045400 (51.8)]
[LS 10 (Guth) 002000 (5.36)]	[Solil 2 001500 (56.14)]
[LS 10.1 (Guth) 010200 (5.35)]	[Solil 2 005500 (60.8)]

Figure 3. Textual witnesses to wilnast.

2. AIMS AND RELEVANCE OF RESEARCH

This article deals with Old English verbs from the second weak class. Its aim is to compile a list of verbal lemmas from this morphological class based on the information provided by the version of the lexical database of Old English Nerthus, as reviewed in the previous section. Therefore, the ultimate source of the data for the analysis is the DOEC, which contains all surviving Old English texts, with a total of approximately 3,000 texts and 3 million words.

The class of the verb has been selected for the analysis because, overall, Old English verbs are morphologically more transparent than nouns and adjectives, which practically share the same endings both in the weak and the strong declension. Within verbs, the class of weak verbs, corresponding to the modern *regular* verbs, has been chosen rather than strong verbs, the counterpart of the modern *irregular* verbs. The reason is that the changes that weak verbs undergo in their inflection take place in the suffixal part of the word rather than in the root, as is the case with strong verbs. Consequently, strong verbs are harder to search. Finally, the second class of weak verbs displays fewer ambiguous inflectional endings than the first class, which can be more easily mistaken for strong verbs.

There are several reasons why it is important to gather such a list of verbal lemmata and to file them into a database. In the first place, standard dictionaries of Old English, including *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* and *The*

student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon are complete although they are not based on an extensive corpus of the language but on the partial list of sources provided by their prefaces or introductions. In the second place, *The Dictionary of Old English* is based on the corpus mentioned above, but is still in progress (the letter G was published in 2008). Thirdly, with the incorporation of the textual occurrences that correspond to each headword, *Nerthus* not only multiplies its size by one hundred but also changes in a qualitative way by linking dictionary forms (types) and textual forms (tokens). This, in turn, will allow us to make advances in the morphological analysis of the language and to carry out quantitative studies in textual frequency. Fourthly, the database format has clear advantages over online corpora. A database can be adapted to the specific needs of a particular research. It can be sorted and searched in ways that online corpora cannot. A database facilitates the definition of relations between data that cannot be captured by online corpora. And the database format allows us to use simultaneously the corpus, the concordance and the index of the language of analysis. Finally, this work can be seen as a contribution to the research programme in the morphology and semantics of Old English represented by Martín Arista (2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2013a, 2013b, 2014), Martín Arista *et al.* (2011), Martín Arista and Mateo Mendaza (2013), Martín Arista and Cortés Rodríguez (2014) and Martín Arista and Vea Escarza (2016).

The remainder of this article is organized as follows. Section 3 presents the morphology of the second class of weak verbs in detail. Section 4 describes the methodology of analysis, which comprises lemmatization and normalization. The different inflectional forms as they appear in the texts have to be related to an abstract form or lemma inflected for a conventional form: in the case of verbs, the infinitive. For instance, given a textual form from the corpus like *hopiað*, it is associated with the infinitive *hopian* 'to hope' by means of a process of lemmatization. Quite often, it is necessary to regularize the forms by means of a process of normalization. For example, when we come across a form like *healsie* we relate it to an infinitive like *hā lsian* 'to heal'. Section 5 presents the results of the analysis by inflectional form, lemma and normalization pattern. To close this work, Section 6 draws the main conclusions.

3. RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE INFLECTION OF THE OLD ENGLISH VERB

This section deals with the characteristics of the three subclasses of weak verbs and their specific features in order to identify the most relevant features of the inflection of the verbs of the second class and to compile a list of formally distinctive inflectional endings that can be used as a starting point in the analysis.

Pyles and Algeo (1982: 125) remark that weak verbs "formed their preterites and past participles in the characteristically Germanic way, by the addition of a suffix containing *d* or immediately after consonants, *t*". In contrast to strong verbs, these forms do not modify the stem of the verb. Hogg and Fulk (2011: 258) also point out that those suffixes were dental consonants with the function of marking the preterite or past tense. Thus, weak verbs added dental consonants rather than using ablaut or reduplication. In this respect, the most accepted theory is that weak verbs developed their preterite forms from a periphrasis. Pyles and Algeo (1982: 125) hold that many weak verbs were originally causative verbs derived from other categories, such as nouns or adjectives, by means of the "addition of a suffix with an *i*-sound that mutated the stem vowel of the word". Mitchell and Robinson (1993: 46) add that the stem vowel was normally the same throughout all the verbal forms of the paradigm, which reinforces the idea of regularity and that the inflectional endings of strong and weak verbs showed lots of similarities, although they underwent different evolutions.

Weak class 1 is one of the largest groups of verbs of all the verbal classes in Old English, among other reasons as a result of the just mentioned process of causative stem formation. Class 1 of weak verbs is subdivided into two classes, illustrated by the verbs verbs *fremman* 'to do' and *hīeran* 'to hear'. The paradigms of these weak verbs are presented in Figure 4, which is based on Mitchell and Robinson (1993: 46):

<u>Infinitive:</u> subclass 1: *fremman* 'to do'; subclass 2: *hīeran* 'to hear'
<u>Inflected Infinitive</u>: subclass 1: *tō fremmenne*; subclass 2: *tō hīerenne*
<u>Present Participle</u>: subclass 1: *fremmende*; subclass 2: *hīerenne*
<u>Past Participle</u>: subclass 1: *(ge-)fremed*; subclass 2: *(ge-)nered*

		Present indicative				Present subjunctive	
		Subclass 1	Subclass 2			Subclass 1	Subclass 2
sg.	1.	*fremme*	*hīere*	sg.	1.	*fremme*	*hīere*
	2.	*fremest*	*hīerst*		2.	*fremme*	*hīere*
	3.	*fremeþ*	*hīerþ*		3.	*fremme*	*hīere*
pl.		*fremmaþ*	*hīeraþ*	pl.		*fremmen*	*hīeren*

		Present indicative				Present subjunctive	
		Subclass 1	Subclass 2			Subclass 1	Subclass 2
sg.	1.	*fremede*	*hīerde*	sg.	1.	*fremede*	*hīerde*
	2.	*fremedest*	*hīerdest*		2.	*fremede*	*hīerde*
	3.	*fremede*	*hīerde*		3.	*fremede*	*hīerde*
pl.		*fremedon*	*hīerdon*	pl.		*fremeden*	*hīerden*

Imperative

	Subclass 1	Subclass 2
sg.	*freme*	*hīer*
pl.	*fremmaþ*	*hīeraþ*

Figure 4. The paradigm of class 1 weak verbs fremman 'to do' and hīeran 'to hear'.

A number of weak verbs had no vowel *i* before the dental preterite suffix in Proto-Germanic, with the consequence that they lack umlaut in the Old English preterite and past participle. In addition, their stems all ended in -l, as presented in Figure 5, or velar consonant with the alternation of toʃ <cc> and x <h>, as shown in Figure 6 (Hogg and Fulk 2011: 274):

cwellan 'to kill'	*cwealde*	*cweald*
dwellan 'to mislead'	*dwealde*	*dweald*
stellan 'to position'	*stealde*	*steald*

Figure 5. Stems in -l.

cwecc(e)an 'to vi*brate'*	*cweahte*	*cweaht*
drecc(e)an 'to afflict'*	*dreahte*	*dreaht*
recc(e)an 'to recount'*	*reahte, rehte*	*reaht, reht*

Figure 6. Stems in velar consonant.

Campbell (1987: 300) remarks that the 2nd and 3rd persons of the singular (present indicative) of class 1 weak verbs are subject to assimilation. The assimilations of consonants are presented in Figure 7, with an instance of each pattern.

-d-st > -tst	*fētst* (infinitive *fēdan* 'to feed') then *-tst > -st*, *fēst*
-þ-st >tst	*cȳþst*, *cȳtst* (infinitive *cȳþan* 'to proclaim')
-g-st > -hst	*bīhst* (infinitive *bīegan* 'to bend')
-ng-st > -ncst	*sprenst* (infinitive *sprengan* 'to scatter')
-t-þ, -d-þ > -tt	*mētt*, (infinitive *mētan* 'to measure')
-s-þ > -st	*alȳst* (infinitive *alīesan* 'to free')
-g-þ > -hþ	*bīhþ* (infinitive *bīegan* 'to bend')
-ng-þ > ncþ	*glencþ* (infinitive *glengan* 'to decorate')

Figure 7. Assimilation in te 2nd. and 3rd. person of the singular number.

141

Moving on to the characteristics of the next class, we find class 2 of weak verbs, the one on which this work focuses. Mitchell and Robinson (1993: 49) remark that this class of verbs "present few problems". As Hogg puts it (2011: 279), the peculiarity of this class of verbs relies on the fact that this was the only group of verbs which kept adding new verbs during the Old English period. The paradigms of the weak verbs *lufian* 'to love' (Mitchell and Robinson. 1993: 49-50), identified as 'subclass 1', and the verb *lofi(g)an* 'to praise' (Hogg and Fulk 2011: 279-280), identified as 'subclass 2', are presented in Figure 8 in order to compare their forms:

<u>Infinitive</u>: subclass 1: *lufian* 'love'; subclass 2: *lofian* 'praise'
<u>Inflected infinitive</u>: subclass 1: *tō lufienne*; subclass 2: *tō lofianne*
<u>Present Participle</u>: subclass 1: *lufiende*; subclass 2: *lofiende*
<u>Past Participle</u>: subclass 1: *(ge-)lufod*; subclass 2: *lopod*

Present indicative				Present subjunctive			
Subclass 1		*Subclass 2*		*Subclass 1*		*Subclass 2*	
sg.	1. *lufie*	*lofige*		sg.	1. *lufie*	*lofige*	
	2. *lufast*	*lofast*			2. *lufie*	*lofige*	
	3. *lufaþ*	*lofað*			3. *lufie*	*lofige*	
pl.	*lufiaþ*	*lofiað*		pl.	*lufien*	*lofigen*	

Preterite indicative				Preterite subjunctive			
Subclass 1		*Subclass 2*		*Subclass 1*		*Subclass 2*	
sg.	1. *lufode*	*lofode*		sg.	1. *lufode*	*lofode*	
	2. *lufodest*	*lofodest*			2. *lufode*	*ofode*	
	3. *lufode*	*lofode*			3. *lufode*	*lofode*	
pl.	*lufodon*	*lofodon*		pl.	*lufoden*	*lofoden*	

Imperative			
Sub*class 1*		*Subclass 2*	
sg.	1. *lufa*	*lofa*	
pl.	2. *lufiað*	*lofiað*	

Figure 8. The paradigm of class 2 weak verbs lufian 'to love' and lofi(g)an 'to praise'.

Although Hogg and Fulk (2011: 280) notice that "the inflexions of weak verbs of class 2 are, with the exceptions discussed below, the same for all stems, regardless of weight", these verbs also present some peculiarities, such as contracted forms. As a result of the loss of intervocalic h, there were two stems within paradigms like *smēagan* 'to consider': *smēag-* and *smēa-* (Campbell 1987: 334), illustrated in Figure 9.

Infinitive   *smēagan*
Pres. part.   *smēagende*
Pass part.   *smēad*

Present indicative   Present subjunctive

sg.   1. *smēage*   sg.   1. *smēage*
       2. *smēast*   2. *smēage*
       3. *smēaþ*   3. *smēage*
pl.   *smēagaþ*   pl.   *smēagen*

Preterite indicative   Preterite subjunctive

sg.   1. *smēade*   sg.   1. *smēade*
       2. *smēaest*   2. *smēade*
       3. *smēade*   3. *smēade*
pl.   *smēadon*   pl.   *smēaden*

Imperative

sg.   *smēa*
pl.   *smēagaþ*

Figure 9. The contracted class 2 weak verb smēagan 'to consider.'

The last class of weak verbs is class 3. Hogg and Fulk (2011: 289) explain that "verbs of the third weak class in Germanic are in origin structurally parallel to those of the second weak class" and that the only reason why they became a different class is a vocalic alternation in the formation of the stem. There are just four verbs in class 3, *habban* 'to have', *libban* 'to live', *secg(e)an* 'to say' and *hycg(e)an* 'to think' (Campbell 1987: 337), whose paradigms can be seen in Figure 10.

Infinitive   *habban*   *libban*   *secgan*   *hycgan*
Pres. part.   *hæbbende*   *libbende*   *secgende*   *hycgende*
Past part.   *hæfd*   *lifd*   *sægd*   *hogd*

Present indicative

sg.   1. *hæbbe*   *libbe*   *secge*   *hycge*
       2. *hæfst*   *leofast*   *sægst*   *hygst*
       3. *hæfþ*   *leofaþ*   *sægþ*   *hygþ*
pl.   *habbaþ*   *libbaþ*   *secgaþ*   *hycgaþ*

Present subjunctive

sg.   *hæbbe*   *libbe*   *secge*   *hycge*
pl.   *hæbben*   *libben*   *secgen*   *hycgen*

<u>Preterite indicative</u>

sg.	1. *hæfde*	*lifde*	*sægde*	*hogde*
	2. *hæfdest*	*lifdest*	*sægdest*	*hogdest*
	3. *hæfde*	*lifde*	*sægde*	*hogde*
pl.	*hæfdon*	*lifdon*	*sægdon*	*hogdon*

<u>Preterite subjunctive</u>

sg.	*hæfde*	*lifde*	*sægde*	*hogde*
pl.	*hæfden*	*lifden*	*sægden*	*hogden*

<u>Imperative</u>

sg.	*hafa*	*leofa*	*sæge*	*hyge*
pl.	*habbaþ*	*libbaþ*	*secgaþ*	*hycgaþ*

Figure 10. The paradigms of class 3 weak verbs habban 'to have', libban 'to live', secg(e)an 'to say' and hycg(e)an 'to think'.

4. METHODOLOGY

The analysis consists of two basic tasks, lemmatization and normalization. As Burkhanov (1998) explains, the first thing we should do when organizing the corpus on which a dictionary is built is to lemmatize the textual (inflected) forms found in the corpus. In this particular case, it would be verbal forms from class 2 of weak verbs. In Burkhanov's (1998: 122) words "the term 'lemmatization' is used to refer to the reduction of inflectional word forms to their lemmata, i.e. basic forms, and the elimination of homography (…) [i]n practice, lemmatization involves the assignment of a uniform heading under which elements of the corpora containing the word forms of same lexeme are represented." In this respect, Atkins and Rundell (2008: 325) point out that the headword "links all the information about one word together in one entry. In it goes the *canonical form* [italics as in the original] of the headword: the singular of nouns, the infinitive of verbs, the uninflected form of adjectives and adverbs, and so on". Furthermore, as Jackson (2002: 179) puts it, "the criteria for determining what is a headword have important consequences for lexical description as well as for accessibility".

In order to find the inflected forms of class 2 weak verbs, it is necessary first of all to choose a set of inflectional endings of these verbs that are representative of their morphology and are not found as inflectional endings in any other classes. The inflections of class 2 weak verbs selected for lemmatization are the infinitive (-*ian*), the inflected infinitive (-*ianne*), the present participle (-*iende*), the past participle (*ge-od*), the first person singular of the present indicative (-*ie/ge-ige*) the second person singular of the present indicative (-*ast*), the present indicative plural (-*iað/-iaþ*), the present subjunctive singular (-*ie/ge-ige*), the first/third person singular of the preterite indicative (-*ode*),

the second person singular of the preterite indicative (-*odest*), the preterite indicative plural (-*odon*) and the preterite subjunctive plural (-*oden*). That is, the -i- and -o-, characteristic of the second class, that present in the inflectional endings are taken as a distinctive feature that allows us to identify the verbal forms under analysis without ambiguity. These forms comprise the singular and the plural number, the finite and non-finite forms of the verb, the indicative and the subjunctive mood and the present and the preterite tense. Last but not least, these forms are also valid for looking for contracted verbs.

The next step of the analysis is to extract the words ending with these inflections from the DOEC. This has not been done by means of the search engine provided by the online corpus but on the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus*, which comprises, as has been remarked in Section 1, a concordance by fragment and by word of the whole corpus, an index with the number occurrences of all the corpus that lists around 187,000 inflectional forms and a 30,000 file database. The database format has a great advantage over the online corpus: it can search the results of previous searches. Thus, the process of lemma assignment advances on the basis of succesive searches that refine little by little the results. With query strings like ==*ode, ==*ian, ==*iað, ==*iaþ, ==*ie, ==*ode, ==*ie and ==*iende the database turns out verbal forms such as *hogode*, *hogian*, *hogiað*, *hogiaþ*, *hogie*, *gehogode*, *gehagie* and *hogiende* respectively. In the process of lemmatization, these inflectional forms are grouped under the basic form or lemma of *hogian(ge)* (2 occurrences). This does not mean that this process is automatic. In the first place, many undesired results are turned out if the query segment is very short or unspecific. This is the reason why the endings -*ige* and -*od* have been searched only in combination with the prefix *ge*-, thus *ge-ige*, *ge-od*. In the second place, manual work is also needed to find forms that deviate from the paradigms provided by grammars, which tend to represent Early West-Saxon.

At this point, some sort of regularization is necessary that accomodates diachronic, dialectal or textual variants to the grammatical model. Normalization is, in fact, a part of the process of lemmatization and consists of the regularization of non-standard spellings. As Sweet (1976: xi) explains it, "it is often necessary to put the word where the user of the dictionary expects to find it. Therefore, when several spellings of a word appear in the texts, it is necessary to opt for one of them in a consistent way". For instance, inflected forms such as *hersumie* or *gehersumiað* are found under the lemma *hīersumian(ge)* (2 occurrences). *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* provides an extensive list of the correspondences it uses for the normalization of Old English texts, but this list has not been used as such because it overnormalizes has many circularities. Instead, the only correspondences that have been selected are those idenfied by Stark (1982) and de la Cruz (1986) as

constituting instances of dialectal or diachronic variation. The dialect of reference is West-Saxon, in which most surviving texts are written.

Finally, the dictionaries have been necessary for assigning vowel length to lemmas because DOEC does not mark vowel length. The following section presents the results of the application of the methodology just described.

5. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

The following inflected forms have been lemmatized by following the normalization patterns provided. Figure 11 presents the normalization based on intradialectal correspondences while Figure 12 presents the interdialectal basis of normalization.

1. < y > ≈ < ie >

Inflected Form	Lemma
bescyrodest	bescierian
forgymeleasast	forgīemelēasian
forgymeleasodon	forgiemeleasian
gehyrsumast	hiersumian(ge)
gehyrsumige	hiersumian(ge)
gehyrsumod	hiersumian(ge)
gehyrsumodest	hiersumian(ge)
gehyrsumodon	hiersumian(ge)
gesmyrod	smierwan
geyrsod	iersian(ge)
gyrwast	gierwan(ge)
hyrsumast	hiersumian

2. < i > ≈ < ie >

Inflected Form	Lemma
gediglodon	dīeglan(ge)
giddodest	gieddian

3. < i > ≈ < y >

Inflected Form	Lemma
asindrodest	āsyndran
gebricgod	brycgian
gemartirod	martyrian

gemartirodon	*martyrian*
geminegod	*mynegian(ge)*
genihtsumige	*nyhtsumian*
gesingod	*syngian(ge)*
gestirod	*styrian(ge)*
underwirtwæloden	*underwyrtwalian*

4. < e > ≈ < ea >

Inflected Form	Lemma
berefodon	*berēafian*
geernod	*earnian(ge)*
gemercod	*mearcian(ge)*
yrfewerdast	*yrfeweardian*

5. VCC >>> VC

Inflected Form	Lemma
forhttast	*forhtian(ge)*
geættrod	*ætrian(ge)*
geættrodon	*ætrian(ge)*
gehaddod	*hādian(ge)*
gehwittod	*hwītian(ge)*
geliffæstast	*līfæstan*
geliffestast	*līfæstan*
gemannod	*manian(ge)*
gemicclige	*miclian*
gemicclod	*miclian(ge)*
gemicclodest	*miclian*
gerihtwissod	*rihtwīsian*
gesicclod	*siclian*
gewissod	*wissian(ge)*
innseglodon	*inseglian(ge)*
mannoden	*manian(ge)*
spellodon	*spelian*
weornnodon	*weornian*
widdast	*wīdian*
willnodon	*wilnian*

Figure 11. The intradialectal basis of normalization.

1. < e > ≈ < æ >

Inflected Form	Lemma
geclensod	*clǣnsian(ge)*
arefnodon	*ārǣfnan*
gefegnodon	*gefægnian*
geliffestast	*līfæstan*

2. < e > ≈ < ie >

Inflected Form	Lemma
forgemeleasoden	*forgiemelesian*
gedeglodon	*dīeglan(ge)*
gehersumige	*hiersumian(ge)*

3. < e > ≈ < ēa >

Inflected Form	Lemma
berefodon	*berēafian*

4. < e > ≈ < ea >

Inflected Form	Lemma
geernod	*earnian(ge)*
gemercod	*mearcian(ge)*
yrfewerdast	*yrfeweardian*

5. < e > ≈ < eo>

Inflected Form	Lemma
sweðerodon	*sweoðerian*

6. < æ > ≈ < ēa >

Inflected Form	Lemma
bescǣwast	*bescēawian*
bescǣwodon	*bescēawian*
forescǣwodest	*forescēawian(ge)*
gescǣwige	*scēawian(ge)*

7. < æ > ≈ < ea >

Inflected Form	Lemma
gǣrcodest	*gearcian(ge)*
gǣrwodest	*gearwian(ge)*

geærndod	earnian(ge)
gegærwige	gearwian(ge)
gegærwod	gearwian(ge)
gemærcod	mearcian(ge)
gemonigfældod	manigfealdian(ge)
monigfældodest	manigfealdian(ge)
yrfwærdast	yrfeweardian

8. < a > ≈ < ea >

Inflected Form	Lemma
gemarcod	mearcian(ge)
gemonifaldod	manigfealdian(ge)
oferscadodest	ofersceadian

9. < eo > ≈ < e >

Inflected Form	Lemma
streowodon	strēwian(ge)

10. < eo > ≈ < ie >

Inflected Form	Lemma
cleopodon	cliepian

11. < io > ≈ < i >

Inflected Form	Lemma
cliopodon	clipian(ge)

Figure 12. The interdialectal basis of normalization.

The following list of lemmas, which result from lemmatizing the inflectional forms given above, correspond to headwords already filed by the lexical database *Nerthus*: *ābarian, ābifian, ābisgian, āblācian, āblindan, āblysian, āborgian, ācēapian, āclǣnsian, ācleopian, ācofrian, ācōlian, ācrammian, ācunnian, ācwacian, ācwician, ācwylmian, ādēadian, ādēafian, ādīglian, ādihtian, ādīlegian, ādimmian, ādlian, ādrūgian, ādumbian, āfæstnian, āfǣttian, āfeormian, āfeorsian, āfercian, āforhtian, āfrēfran, āfremdan, āfūlian, āfyllian, āgālian, āgānian, āgeolwian, āgēomrian, āgīemelēasian, āgnian, āhalsian, āhātian, āheardian, āhefegian, āhlǣnsian, āhlēoðrian, āhrēofian, āhȳran, āīdlian, ālādian, ālatian, ālāðian, ālēfian, āliðian, āloccian, āmānsumian, āmearcian, āmeldian, āmerian, āmolsnian, āmundian, āmyrðran,*

anbidian, andbidian, andettan, andswarian, andweardian, andwreðian, angsumian, anlīcian, āpinsian, āplantian, āpluccian, ārǣfnan, ārāsian, ārēcelēasian, āredian, ārēodian, ārian, āsānian, āscamian, āscilian, āscirian, āscian, āscortian, āscrēadian, āscrūtnian, āscian, āsēarian, āslacian, āslāwian, āsmēagan, āsmiðian, āsmorian, āspelian, āstīfian, āstigian, āstundian, āstȳfecian, āstyrian, āswārcnian, āswārcan, āsweartian, āsyndrian, ātemian, ātēorian, ātimbran, atolian, ātrahtnian, āwācian, āwæcnian, āwanian, āwannian, āwārnian, āwēodian, āwildian, āwindwian, āwlacian, āwōgian, āwundrian, āwyrtwalian, āðenian, āðēostrian, āðolian, āðrēatian, āðrīstian, āðrōwian, āðrysemian, āðylgian, āðynnian, æfestian, ǣfnian, æfterfolgian, ǣmtigian, ǣrendian, ǣswician, ætclifian, ætfæstnian, ætlūtian, ǣtrian, ætwenian, ǣðmian, barian, bāsnian, baðian, bēacnian, bealdian, becēapian, beceorian, beclypian, beddian, bedecian, bedīcian, bedīglian, bedydrian, beðian, beebbian, beefesian, befæstnian, befician, befōtian, begleddian, begnornian, behæpsian, behættian, behamelian, behāwian, behēafdian, behegian, behelian, behēofian, behīwian, behōfian, behogian, behorsian, behrēowsian, belādian, belistnian, belūtian, benacian, bencian, bēnsian, beorhtian, bēotian, berēafian, berēnian, besārgian, bescēawian, besīdian, besmiðian, besmocian, bestrēowian, beswician, beterian, beðian, beðrīdian, bewacian, bewpnian, bewarenian, bewarin, beweardian, beweddian, bewitian, bewlǣtian, bidian, bifian, bisgian, biterian, bladesian, blendan, blētsian, blissian, blōdgian, blōstmian, blyssian, bōcian, bodian, borgian, bōtian, brastlian, breodwian, brīdlian, brocian, brosnian, brycgian, brȳcsian, brytnian, bryttian, bytlan, campian, cealfian, ceallian, cēapian, cearcian, ceorian, ceorlian, circian, clǣnsian, cleacian, clifian, clifrian, clipian, cnēowian, cnēowlian, cnucian, cōlian, corflian, cossian, costian, crafian, crammian, crīstnian, cunnian, cwacian, cwānian, cwedelian, cwician, cwiddian, cwylmian, cynehelmian, dagian, dēafian, dēagian, dīcian, dihtnian, dihtan, dīlegian, drohtian, drohtnian, dropian, droppetan, drūgian, druncnian, dunnian, dwǣsian, dwelian, dwellan, dwelsian, dwolian, dysgian, ēacian, ēacnian, ealdian, ealgian, ēanian, eardian, eargian, earmian, earnian, ēaðmōdian, edcwician, edlēanian, ednīwian, edstaðelian, edwitan, efenblissian, efenhlēoðrian, efenlician, efensārgian, efenðrōwian, efesian, efnan, egesian, eglan, ēhtan, elcian, ellenwōdian, elnian, endebyrdan, endian, essian, ēðian, fadian, fāmgian, fandian, fægrian, fǣlsian, fæstian, fæstnian, fæðman, fealgian, fēolian, feormian, feorrian, feorsian, fercian, fician, fiscian, fiðercian, fleardian, floterian, folgian, forcostian, fordīlgian, fordimmian, fordrūgian, forðclypian, forðgelōcian, forðian, forðingian, forðlōcian, forðrysman, forðyldian, forealdian, foreclipian, foreðingian, foregewissian, forelōcian, forescēawian, forestihtian, foretācnian, forewarnian, forewītegian, foreðingian, forgīemelēasian, forglendrian, forhelian, forhergian, forhogian, forhradian, forhtian, formolsnian, formyrðrian, forrēcelēasian, forrotian,

forscamian, forsēarian, forsetnian, forsmorian, forsorgian, forswigian, forsyngian, fortogian, fortrūwian, forwandian, forweornian, forwisnian, forwundian, forðclypian, forðingian, forðolian, forðrysman, forðyldian, forðylman, forðyrrian, frætwan, framian, frecnian, frēfran, fremdian, fremman, frēogan, frēolsian, fūlian, fullgearwian, fullwunian, fūlian, fultuman, fultrūwian, fulwian, fyllian, fynegian, fyrclian, fyrðran, gadrian, gālian, gānian, geācolmōdian, geaflian, gearcian, gearwian, gebēagian, gebrytsnian, geðyldgian, gedafenian, geðyldgian, geðyldian, geedhīwian, geedwistian, gefægnian, gefǣlsian, gladian, grāpian, gegrīnian, geholian, gelangian, gelīman, gelōmlīcian, gemōdsumian, genyhtsumian, gēomrian, geondeardian, geondscēawian, geonlīcian, gesadian, gesibsumian, gesingalian, gesundfullian, geswefian, geunārian, geunsōðian, geweddian, gewynsumian, geðyldian, geðyldgian, gīdsian, ginian, gnornian, grāpian, grornian, hādian, hālgian, hālsian, hamelian, hangian, hātian, hāwian, hættian, hēafdian, healtian, hēapian, heardian, hefigian, hegian, helmian, hēofian, hergian, hīwian, hlǣnian, hlēoðrian, hlīfian, hlinian, hnescian, hōfian, hogian, holian, hopian, horsian, hradian, hrēowsian, hrepian, hrisian, hwistlian, hwītian, hȳrian, īdlian, iersian, ineardian, ingelaðian, inlaðian, inseglian, insomnian, lādian, langian, latian, laðian, lēanian, lēasian, līcian, liðian, lōcian, loccian, losian, lufian, lustfullian, lūtian, lufian, magian, manian, manigfealdian, mǣnsumian, mǣrsian, mearcian, meldian, metgian, metsian, mīdlian, midðolian, miltsian, misbysnian, misefesian, mislīcian, mōdigan, molsnian, morgenwacian, mundian, murcian, myndgian, mynegian, nacian, nemnan, nīwian, notian, ofācsian, ofearmian, oferblissian, ofergitolian, oferhelian, oferhergan, oferhogian, ofermōdgian, oferrīcsian, oferscēawian, oferseglian, ofertrahtnian, oflīcian, ofmyrðrian, ofsceamian, ofsetnian, ofsmorian, ofwundrian, ofðȳstrian, onāfæstnian, onclifian, onclypian, ondruncnian, oneardian, onfægnian, ongefæstnian, onhātian, onhāwian, onhȳrsumian, onlōcian, onsceortian, onscunian, onstyrian, onwunian, onðenian, onðracian, openian, ortrūwian, oðēhtian, oððingian, pinsian, plantian, pluccian, rēafian, rēnian, rēodian, rīcsian, rotian, sacian, sadian, samnian, sārgian, sǣtian, scamian, scēawian, scīmian, scirian, scrēadian, scrūtnian, scunian, scyldian, sēarian, seglan, sēowan, sibbian, sīdian, sīðian, sigorian, simblian, slāwian, smēagan, smiðian, smocian, sorgian, sōðian, sparian, spelian, stalian, stihtan, stīfian, stigian, stihtan, strǣlian, strēwian, styrian, sugian, sūrian, swāmian, sweartian, sweotolian, swician, swiðrian, sylian, symblian, syndrian, syngian, tācnian, temian, tēorian, timbran, tīðian, tōclifian, tōdihtnian, tōfēsian, togian, tōhaccian, tōliðian, tōlōcian, tōmearcian, tōsyndrian, trahtnian, trahtian, trēowsian, trucian, trumian, trymian, twiccian, ðancian, ðānian, ðeahtian, ðēofian, ðēostrian, ðēowian, ðingian, ðolian, ðracian, ðrēatian, ðreodian, ðrōwian, ðreodian, ðrīstian, ðrōwian, ðurhborian, ðurhwunian, ðwēorian, ðynnian, unārwurðian, unclǣnsian,

undercrammian, underplantian, underwreðian, uninseglian, unmynegian, unrōtsian, unsyngian, untrumian, unweorðian, wacian, wānian, wandian, wansian, warian, warnian, wǣpnian, wealwian, weardian, welgelīcian, wellīcian, wenian, wēodian, weornian, weorðian, wīdlian, wilnian, wītegian, wiðcostian, wiððingian, wiðerbrocian, wiðerweardian, wiðheardian, wiðhogian, wiððingian, wilnian, windwian, wīnhrēafetian, wīsian, wisnian, wistfullian, wītegian, wiðersacian, wiðerweardian, wlacian, wlancian, wlātian, woffian, wōgian, wrǣcsīðian, wreðian, wrīdian, wrixlan, wuldorfullian, wuldrian, wunian, wundian, wundrian, wunian, wyrtwalian, yfelsacian, ymbðeahtian, ymbfrætewian, ymbhogian, yrfeweardian, ȳðan.

The following list of lemmas, which result from lemmatizing the inflectional forms given above, cannnot be found in the list of reference of the lexical database *Nerthus*. Therefore, they are proposed on the basis of the textual evidence that has been gathered by checking the dictionaries by Sweet and Clark Hall: *ascian, āclian, afandian, anbidian, ārweorðian, āsyndran, ātēorian, aðracian, æmettigian, ændan, æðelian, æwnian, batian, bēagian, besīwian, besorgian, bismerian, bicnan, bīcnian, blātian, blisian, bōgian, bolstrian, brehtnian, buterian, byrian, cierran, clǣnsian, cleofian, cliepian, cræftgian, cwēman, cwician, dafenian, defran, delgian, dēman, dēoran, derian, dolgian, drēfan, drȳgan, dȳrsian, eahtian, earwian, ēastrian, efsian, ēowian, erian, fāgian, fagnian, fahnian, fangian, fægnian, fægenian, fættian, frætwan, feterian, ferian, fetian, findan, fixian, fremian, frēoðan, feðrian, friðian, fullian, fundian, fyrsian, gaderian, gēomrian, geornian, gieddian, gifian, gītsian, glitenian, gōdian, godspellian, gremian, grennian, grīnian, gristbitian, hagian, hāligan, hæftnian, hǣlan, hēafian, healdan, healgian, hendan, hēowan, herian, hiersumian, hīewian, hlynsian, hnappian, hneppian, hnexian, hrenian, huntian, impian, innian, lācian, lācnian, lafian, lǣstfullian, lǣswian, leahtrian, lēcnian, leornian, liccian, līchamian, līfæstan, liffæstian, līfæstnian, lifian, lignan, liðigian, leornian, leoðian, lofian, lōgian, luncian, lyfian, macian, mangian, martyrian, mǣrian, mæssian, medemian, metan, mettian, micelian, miclian, mōdgian, mōfian, mōtian, murcnian, mynetian, namian, nēadian, nealǣcian, nearwian, nēodian, neosian, nerian, niðerian, nipan, nyrwan, nyttian, ofaxian, offrian, ofrian, ofstician, pīlian, platian, plegian, prician, radian, rēadian, rēafian, recenian, regnian, renian, rēonian, reordian, rēstan, rīhsian, rihtan, rihtwīsian, ripian, rīsan, rīxian, roscian, rūnian, sadelian, sǣgan, sceorian, scēotan, scotian, segnian, selian, sengan, sēnian, seofan, seofian, seomian, sibsumian, siclian, sigefæstan, singan, singian, slacian, smerian, socian, spyrian, staðolian, stæððan, stician, strangian, stycian, sundrian, sundfullian, suwian, swæðorian, swefan, swefnian, sweogian, swerian, swīgian, swiðian, swornian, sȳclian,*

synnian, syrwian, sȳwian, taccian, talian, tawian, telgian, temprian, teochian, teohhian, teohhian, tēoðian, tigðian, tihian, tilian, tīman, tīmian, tintegrian, tōlȳsan, torfian, tostihtan, tōtian, trēowian, trūwian, tucian, tȳdran, ðafian, ðaccian ðeafian, ðearfian, ðēawian, ðenian, ðegnian, ðeowtian, ðēodan, ðrafian, ðūhsian, ðwærian, ðyldian, ungeðwærian, untreowsian, ūtlagian, unðwærian, wagian, wædlian, wǣgnian, wæterian, wearmian, weddian, wemman, wērgian, werian, wician, widmǣran, wīfian, winian, wissian, witian, witnian, wiðerian, wracian, wracnian, wuldorbēagian, wynsumian, wyrsian, wyrtian, wyrðan, yfelian, yflian, yðgian, ȳðegan.

6. CONCLUSION

This article has compiled a list of lemmas of the second class weak verbs of Old English by using the latest version of the lexical database *Nerthus*, which incorporates the texts of the *DOEC*. Since this is the beginning of the lemmatization task of the *Nerthus* Project, the most transparent morphological class has been chosen for the analysis, the class 2 weak verb. Out of all the inflecional endings, the most distinctive have been selected for lemmatization: the infinitive (*-ian*), the inflected infinitive (*-ianne*), the present participle (*-iende*), the past participle (*ge-od*), the second person present indicative singular (*-ast)*, the present indicative plural (*-iað/-iaþ*), the present subjunctive singular (*-ie/ge-ige*), the first and third person of preterite indicative singular (*-ode*), the second person of the preterite indicative singular (*-odest*), the preterite indicative plural (*-odon*) and the preterite subjunctive plural (*-oden)*. A total of 187,000 inflectional forms have been searched for these endings. The searches have been launched on the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus*, which has also filed the results of this analysis and provided a reference list of class 2 weak verbs extracted from its 30,000 word list of lexemes. When it has been necessary to regularize, normalization has been restricted to a number of correspondences based on dialectal and diachronic variation.

A total of 1,064 lemmas of weak verbs from the second class have been found, of which 285 were not on the reference list of *Nerthus*. Since *Nerthus* is based on the standard dictionaries of Old English and provides the information of the dictionary by Clark Hall on an exhaustive way, it seems reasonable to draw the conclusion that after this analysis we have a more accurate knowledge of the relationship between Old English texts and the dictionaries of the language as regards the second class of weak verbs. Moreover, but for *The Dictionary of Old English*, dictionary entries do not contain inflectional forms. Given that *The Dictionary of Old English* has published until the letter G only, the analysis of the letters H-Y that has been carried

out in this work may be seen as a contribution to the field. Apart from proposing lemmas, this work has also helped to improve the information on some lemmas that already appear in dictionaries. This is the case with verbs to which, given the textual evidence, it is necessary to add the prefix *ge-*, as, for instance, *āmerian*, *blyssian*, *cwylmian*, *dwelian*, *fynegian*, *langian*, etc.

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THE RECURSIVE FORMATION OF OLD ENGLISH NON-VERBAL CATEGORIES. PRODUCTIVITY AND CONSTRAINTS[1]

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ABSTRACT. *This paper aims at analysing the recursivity in the formation of non-verbal categories, more specifically, of nouns and adjectives in Old English. Pounder's (2000) model, known as Process and Paradigm Model, provides the formal representation of recursive operations. The data of analysis consist of a total of 388 recursive nouns and adjectives, 11 of which undergo a two-level recursivity, or slot-II recursivity. Both in the case of nouns and adjectives, suffixation has a clearly preeminent role over prefixation. As for nouns, the suffix -nes is the most frequent one in number of tokens, whereas -ð is the one that combines with a greater number of suffixes in prefinal position. Regarding adjectives, -lic is by far the suffix present in a higher number of predicates, and also the one that undergoes a wider variety of different recursive patterns, what evinces that there is correlation between a high type frequency and the assignment of a high number of different recursive patterns. Positional constraints affect -nes and -lic, since none of them can occur in a position other than final. A semantic interpretation of recursive suffixation leads to assign a semantic effect of this phenomenon when it applies to nouns, and a pragmatic one in the case of adjectives.*

Keywords: Recursivity, productivity, constraints, affixation, Old English.

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LA FORMACIÓN RECURSIVA DE CATEGORÍAS NO VERBALES EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO. PRODUCTIVIDAD Y RESTRICCIONES

RESUMEN. *Este artículo pretende analizar la recursividad en la formación de palabras de categoría no verbal, más concretamente en los nombres y adjetivos del inglés antiguo. El modelo de Pounder (2000), conocido como Modelo de Proceso y Paradigma, sustenta la representación formal de las operaciones recursivas. Los datos de análisis incluyen un total de 388 nombres y adjetivos recursivos, once de los cuales presentan recursividad de dos niveles. Tanto en el caso de los nombres como en el de los adjetivos, la sufijación tiene un papel más relevante que la prefijación. En cuanto a los nombres, el sufijo –nes es el más frecuente en número de ocurrencias, mientras que -ð es el que combina con un mayor número de sufijos en posición prefinal. Respecto a los adjetivos, -lic es, con mucha diferencia, el sufijo que aparece en un mayor número de predicados, y también es el que interviene en un mayor número de patrones afijales recursivos, lo que evidencia que hay correlación entre una alta frecuencia de tipo y la asignación de un alto número de patrones recursivos distintos. Existen restricciones posicionales que afectan a –nes y a –lic, pues ninguno de ellos puede ocurrir en una posición no final. Una interpretación semántica de la sufijación recursiva nos lleva a asignar un efecto semántico a este fenómeno cuando ocurre en los nombres, mientras que en el caso de los adjetivos el efecto es más bien pragmático.*

Palabras clave: Recursividad, productividad, restricciones, afijación, inglés antiguo.

1. STATE OF THE ART AND AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

Recursivity is a linguistic phenomenon which has drawn more attention from syntax (thus van der Hulst ed. 2010) than from semantics. Lieber's (2004) study in the relationship between morphology and lexical semantics is exceptional in dealing with the recursivity of word-formation processes. This author distinguishes between the lexical semantic body and the lexical semantic skeleton of a formation. The lexical semantic body is encyclopaedic and non-decompositional, whereas the lexical semantic skeleton is decompositional, hierarchically arranged and oriented towards those aspects of meaning that have consequences for the syntax. As Lieber (2004: 10) puts it, *the body will include many of the aspects of meaning that Pustejovsky encodes in his Qualia Structure*. Lieber (2004: 161) also proposes the Redundancy Restriction, which excludes from affixation the semantic content that

is already present in the base of derivation, although she admits that the repetition of the same features is possible if the new formation is useful and interpretable. In this view, once all phonological, semantic and syntactic restrictions have applied, more affixes can be attached in order to transpose a useful concept or augment the meaning of the base of derivation. This is to say that recursivity has to be motivated, in such a way that derivatives can be further derived for semantic or pragmatic reasons.

With this background, the aim of this article is to address the question of recursivity in Old English and, more specifically, to describe the types of recursive formations that can be found in the nominal and adjectival lexicon as well as to explain what restrictions apply and what the function of the derivation of derived bases is. The explanation will pursue the same line as Lieber (2004) in the sense of attributing the motivation of recursivity to semantic or pragmatic reasons.

The outline of the article is as follows. Section 2 focuses on terminological and methodological aspects relevant for the analysis of recursivity in the formation of Old English nouns and adjectives, such as the concept of recursivity itself, morphological operations and recursivity levels. This section also presents the data of analysis. Section 3 describes the operations required in the representation of recursivity at two levels. Section 4 concentrates on the relationship between recursivity and productivity and provides a motivation for the recursive formation of nouns and adjectives. Finally, section 5 summarizes the main conclusions of the research.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA OF ANALYSIS

The analysis presented in this article is based on the structural-functional framework of morphology proposed by Martín Arista (2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b) and, more specifically, on two ideas central to this framework. Firstly, complex words constitute hierarchically arranged structures in which categories and functions can be distinguished at several levels. And, secondly, the defining properties of derivational morphology are recategorization and recursivity. Regarding recursivity, it is necessary to clarify certain terminological issues. On the one hand, the concept of recursivity must be differentiated from that of recursion, the latter being preferred by authors such as van der Hulst (2010), who underlines the dynamic aspect of recursion and its contribution to the creative dimension of language. However, when dealing with a historical language, as is the case with Old English, the term *recursivity* is more appropriate since there is no creation of new words but morphological relations between lexical elements. Thus, recursivity, both at a restrictive and general level, implies

the repetition of a rule. In general terms, recursivity in word formation entails the derivation of a derived derivative base, regardless of the morphological processes involved. A further methodological aspect that requires attention is the representation of lexical recursivity. To begin with, the analysis of recursivity carried out in this research is strictly synchronic. Martín Arista (2012, 2013, 2014) defines lexical recursivity as the derivation of derived bases, which constitutes a property of lexical paradigms. For a formation to be considered recursive, a certain process needs to be repeated, such as prefixation on prefixation or suffixation on suffixation. Apart from the restriction stipulating that recursivity requires that the output of a derivational process needs to be inputed to the process in question, lexical derivation is gradual: an affix is attached per process. A distinction must be made, therefore, between simplex forms (no affix), non recursive formations (one affix), recursive formations with non recursive base (two affixes) and recursive formations with recursive base (three affixes). The highest degree of complexity identified in the recursive word-formation of Old English is represented in figure 1, which presents *ealdordōmlicnes* 'authority, control' by following the diagram model adopted by van der Hulst (2010) for lexical recursivity. As the figure shows, the suffixed noun *ealdordōmlicnes* is recursively derived from the previously derived adjective *ealdordōmlic* 'preeminent', which is created, in turn, out of the already suffixed noun *ealdordōm* 'power', morphologically related to the derivative base EALDOR 1 'elder'.
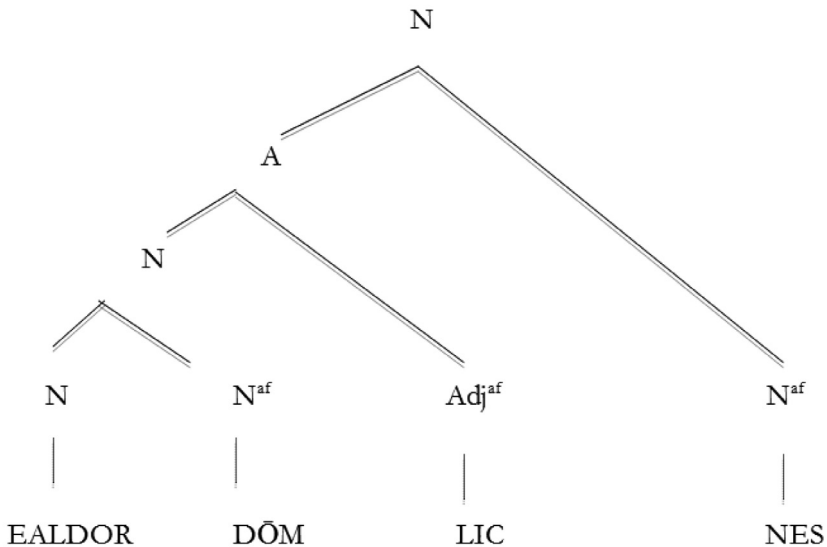

Figure 1. Representation of the recursive noun *ealdordōmlicnes*.

Since van der Hulst (2010) is not concerned with the lexical and morphological aspects of the representation, the framework of paradigmatic morphology developed by Pounder (2000) is used in order to account for the operations and rules relevant for the derivational morphology of Old English. Figure 2 shows the morphological operation which has been used to represent the word formation processes:

$$< X \rightarrow Y \; ; \; \text{'FR'} \; ; \; \Sigma > \; ; \; \text{'WFO}_X\text{'}; \; \Sigma>$$
$$< f(\text{'X'}) \; ; \; \text{'SR}_X\text{'} \; ; \; \Sigma >$$
$$< \Sigma_X \; \rightarrow \; \Sigma_Y \; ; \; \text{'}\Sigma R_X\text{'} \; ; \; \Sigma>$$

Figure 2. The morphological operation.

Lexemes are signs with the form $< X; \text{'X'}; \Sigma >$, where the signifier is made out of a group of complex morphemes. The morphological operation in Figure 2 indicates the base and the affix ($X \rightarrow Y$), the derivative function ($f(\text{'X'})$) and the category change ($\Sigma_X \rightarrow \Sigma_Y$), together with the relevant restrictions. The morphological rules may have up to four different types of signifiers: (i) signifiers with the form X Å y (derivation), where y is an affix; (ii) signifiers with the form $X \rightarrow X$ (conversion); (iii) signifiers with the form a $\rightarrow$ b (modifying processes), where a and b are phonological units in X and Y respectively and are defined in Σ; and (iv) signifiers with the form X Å Y (composition), where X and Y are stems. Two levels of recursivity can be distinguished: recursivity with a non-recursive base and recursivity with recursive base. The first level requires slot-I and slot-II, and the second one slot-III. An example of each level can be seen in Figure 3 and Figure 4, respectively.

<under Å x> ;   'O$_1$';.s.c.: N
<MIN('X')>   o.c.: slot –II [tō- slot -I]
<$\Sigma_N \rightarrow \Sigma_N$>   *undertōdal* from TŌDĀL 'partition'

Figure 3. Slot-I operation in *undertōdal* 'secondary division'.

<x Å nes> ;   'O$_5$'; s.c.: Adj
<REL('X')>   o.c.: slot –III [-ð slot-II [-lic slot -I]]
<$\Sigma_{Adj} \rightarrow \Sigma_N$>   *fracoðlic* from FRACOÐ 1 'vile'

Figure 4. Slot-II operation in *fracoðlicnes* 'vileness'.

The analysis that follows distinguishes the following affixes presented in Figure 5, 6 and 7, which draw on the inventories provided by Jember et al. (1975), Kastovsky

(1992), Lass (1994) and Quirk and Wrenn (1994). Textual realizations and variants are given between brackets.

> Ā- (ā-), Ǣ- (Ǣ-), ÆFTER- (æfter-), ÆT- (æt-), AND- (am-, an-, and-), ANTE- (ante-), ARCE- (arce-), BE- (bi-, bī-), EALL- (æl-, al-, eall-), ED- (ed-), EL- (æl-, el-), FOR- (for-, fōr-, fore-), FORE- (for-, fore-, fōre-), FORÐ- (forð-), FRAM- (fram-), FRĒA- (frēa-), FUL- (ful-, full-), GĒAN- (gean-, gēan-), HEALF- (healf-), IN- (in-, inn-), MID- (med-, mid-), Ō- (ō-), OF- (æf-, of-), OFER- (ofer-), ON- (on-), OR- (ō-, or-), SĀM- (sam-, sām-), SIN- (sin-, sine-), SUB- (sub-), TŌ- (tō-), TWI- (twi-), ÐRI- (ðri-, ðry-), ÐURH- (ðurh-), UN- (and-, on-, un-), UNDER- (under-), ŪP- (up-, ūp-), ŪT- (ūt-, ūð-), WAN- (wan-), WIÐ- (wið-), WIÐER- (wiðer-), YMB- (ymb-, ymbe-).

Figure 5. Old English prefixes.

> -BORA (-bior, -bora), -DŌM (-dōm), -ED (-ad), -EL (-el, -eld, -ele, -elle, -il, -l, -la, -le, -ll, -lle, -ol), -ELS (-els, -ls), -EN (-en, -n), -END (-d, -en, -end, -ende, -iend, -liend, -nd), -ERE (-e, -er, -era, -ere, -igere, -lere, -lēre, -re), -ESSE (-esse), -ESTRE (-estre, -istre, -stre, -ystre), -ETT (-et, -eta, -ett, -t, -tt), -FUL (-ful), -HĀD (-hād), -ICGE (-ecge, -icge, -ige), -IG (-ig), -INCEL (-incel), -ING (-ing, -unga, -inga), -LING (-ling), -NES (-enes, -es, -nes, -ness, -nis, -nys, -nyss, -s), -RǢDEN (-rǣden), -SCIPE (-scipe, -scype), -SUM (-sum), -ð (-að, -d, -ed, -ot, -oð, -oða, -t, -ð, -ða, -ðe, -ðo, -ðu, -uð), -UNG (-ng, -ung), -WIST (-wist).

Figure 6. Old English nominal suffixes.

> -BǢRE (-bǣre), -CUND (-cund), -ED (-ade, -ed, -ede, -od, -ode, -te, -ud), -EL (-el, -ol, -ul), -EN (-en), -END (-end, -igend), ENDE (-ende, -iende), -ERNE (-ern, -erne), -FǢST (-fæst), -FEALD (-feald), -FUL (-ful), -IC (-ic), -IG (-ig, -ige), -IHT (-eht, -ehte, -iht, -ihte), -ING (-ing), -ISC (-isc), -LĒAS (-lēas), -LIC (-lic), -OR (-or), -SUM (-sum), -WEARD (-weard), -WELLE (-welle), WENDE (-wende).

Figure 7. Old English adjectival suffixes.

In order to search for recursive formations with the affixes listed in Figure 5, 6 and 7, the data of analysis have been retrieved from the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* (www.nerthusproject.com), consulted in September 2014. The data

comprise a total of 4,370 nouns and 3,218 adjectives derived by prefixation or suffixation. By process, a total of 2,001 are prefixed words and 5,587 are suffixed ones. Focusing on recursive predicates, there are 257 recursive nouns and 131 recursive adjectives, thus making a total of 388. Out of the 388 recursive nouns and adjectives, 377 are recursive formations with non recursive base (two affixes), whereas the remaining 11 are recursive with recursive base (three affixes).

3. STEPWISE ANALYSIS OF DERIVATION

The analysis of both the prefixation and the suffixation of the lexical classes under scrutiny has been carried out in two steps: in the first place, non-recursive derivation has been examined, including the primary base of affixation and the affix in question; in the second place, the affixation base and the affix that gives rise to the recursive formation have been considered, as is illustrated in figure 8.

DERIVATIVE	AFFIXATION BASE	PRIMARY BASE	SEQUENCE OF AFFIXES
undertōdal (N) 'secondary division'	*tōdāl (N)* 'partition'	*(ge)dāl* (N) 'division'	*under-tō-*
bisceophādung (N) 'episcopal ordination'	*bisceophād* (N) 'bishophood'	*bisceop* 'bishop' (N)	*-hā-dung*
healfsinewealt (Adj) 'semicircular'	*sinewealt* (Adj) 'round'	*wealte* (N) 'ring'	*healf-sine-*
wilsumlic (Adj) 'desirable'	*wilsum* (Adj) 'desirable'	*will 1* (N) 'mind, will'	*-sum-lic*

Figure 8. Affixation base and primary base in the derivation of nouns and adjectives.

The analysis has identified a number of sequences or patterns of recursivity, which are different depending on the derivative process involved. Beginning with nouns, a total of three prefixal recursive patterns emerge, which are exemplified in Figure 9, together with a predicate containing the recursive sequence in question:

ofer-healf- (*oferhealfhēafod* 'crown of the head'), on-un- (*onunwīsdōm* 'folly'), under-tō- (*undertōdal* 'secondary division')

Figure 9. The recursive prefixation of nouns.

In Figure 10, the fifty-five different recursive patterns for suffixed nouns are provided, as well as an instance of each of them:

-bǣre-nes (*lustbǣrnes* 'enjoyment'), -cund-nes (*incundnes* 'inward conviction'), -dōm-end (*selfdēmende* 'monk subject to his own rules'), -dōm-ere (*selfdēmere* 'monk subject to his own rules'), -dōm-hād (*ðēowdōmhād* 'service'), -dōm-nes (*lǣcedōmnes* 'cataplasm'), -dōm-scipe (*ealdordōmscipe* 'office of alderman'), -el-ett (*ðȳfelett* 'thicket'), -el-nes (*rēafolnes* 'rapacity'), -el-ung (*setlung* 'sitting'), -en-dōm (*hǣ ðendōm* 'heathendom'), -en-ere (*crīstnere* 'one who performs the rite of *crīstnung*'), -en-nes (*frēcennes* 'harm'), -en-rǣden (*mæstenrǣden* 'right of feeding swine'), -en-scipe (*gelīefenscipe* 'justification'), -en-ung (*crīstnung* 'christening'), -end-dōm (*reccenddōm* 'governance'), -end-nes (*ālīesendnes* 'redemption'), -end-rǣden (*frēondrǣden* 'friendship'), -end-scipe (*frēondscipe* 'friendship'), -ere-hād (*ðrōwerhād* 'martyrdom'), -ere-nes (*gīfernes* 'greediness'), -ett-nes (*ānetnes* 'solitude'), -ett-ung (*līgetung* 'lightning'), -fæst-en (*hēahfæsten* 'fortified town'), -fæst-nes (*staðolfæstnes* 'stability'), -fæst-ung (*staðolfæstnung* 'foundation'), -feald-nes (*felafealdnes* 'multitude'), -ful-nes (*wistfullnes* 'good cheer'), -hād-nes (*geoguðhādnes* 'state of youth'), -hād-ung (*bisceophādung* 'episcopal ordination'), -ig-dōm (*hāligdōm* 'holiness'), -ig-nes (*wērignes* 'weariness'), -ing-hād (*æðelinghād* 'princely state'), -ing-nes (*līhtingnes* 'lightness of taxation'), -isc-nes (*menniscnes* 'state of man'), -lēas-nes (*feohlēasnes* 'want of money'), -lēas-ð (*wīflēast* 'lack of women'), -lic-nes (*medemlicnes* 'mediocrity'), -lic-ung (*gemetlicung* 'adjustment'), -rǣden-nes (*gefērrǣ dnes* 'society'), -sum-nes (*lufsumnes* 'pleasantness'), -ð-dōm (*ðēowotdōm* 'service'), -ð-el (*tihtle* 'accusation'), -ð-en (*tyhten* 'incitement'), -ð-end (*tyhtend* 'inciter'), -ð-ere (*tyhtere* 'inciter'), -ð-ing (*tyhting* 'incitement'), -ð-ling (*ðēowtling* 'servant'), -ð-nes (*tyhtnes* 'inward impulse'), -ð-rǣden (*mǣdrǣden* 'mowing'), -ð-scipe (*nǣhtscipe* 'worthlessness'), -ung-dōm (*wiccungdōm* 'witchcraft'), -ung-nes (*gegearwungnes* 'preparation'), -weard-nes (*tōweardnes* 'future')

Figure 10. The recursive suffixation of nouns.

To continue with, the patterns applying to recursive adjectival formations are dealt with. The analysis has identified three different ones for prefixation, as can be seen in Figure 11.

healf-sine- (*healfsinewealt* 'semicircular'), un-and- (*unandweard* 'not present'), un-for- (*unforcūð* 'reputable')

Figure 11. The recursive prefixation of adjectives.

A total of thirty-five different patterns are needed to account for the recursivity of suffixed adjectives in Old English. They are presented in Figure 12, along with an instance of each:

-bǣre-lic (*cwildberendlic* 'deadly'), -cund-lic (*eorðcundlic* 'earthly'), -dōm-lic (*ealdordōmlic* 'preeminent'), -ed-lic (*fracoðlic* 'base'), -el-ed (*hwyrflede* 'round'), -el-en (*ðǣflen* 'bushy'), -en-ful (*frēcenful* 'dangerous'), -en-isc (*hǣ ðenisc* 'heathenish'), -en-lēas (*ðēodenlēas* 'without a ruler'), -en-lic (*ieldendlic* 'dilatory'), -en-weard (*līnenweard* 'clad in linen'), -end-lēas (*frēondlēas* 'friendless'), -end-lic (*onfōndlic* 'to be received'), -ere-en (*forligeren* 'fornicating'), -ere-lic (*forligerlic* 'unchaste'), -fæst-lic (*ǣwfæstlic* 'lawful'), -feald-lic (*hundfealdlic* 'hundred-fold'), -ful-lic (*fācenfullic* 'deceitful'), -hād-lic (*fǣmnhādlic* 'maidenly'), -ig-fæst (*wlitigfæst* 'of enduring beauty'), -ig-lic (*syndriglic* 'special'), -iht-ig (*clifihtig* 'steep'), -isc-lic (*mennisclic* 'human'), -lēas-lic (*scamlēaslic* 'shameless'), -ol-lic (*swicollic* 'fraudulent'), -or-ig (*heolstrig* 'shadowy'), -scipe-lic (*gesinsciplic* 'conjugal'), -sum-lic (*angsumlic* 'troublesome'), -ð-bǣre (*dēaðbǣre* 'deadly'), -ð-ful (*genyhtful* 'abundant'), -ð-ig (*cystig* 'charitable'), -ð-lēas (*cystlēas* 'worthless'), -ð-lic (*forstlic* 'glacial'), -ð-sum (*(ge)nyhtsum* 'abundant'), -weard-lic (*inweardlic* 'internal')

Figure 12. The recursive suffixation of adjectives.

Within the framework of Pounder's (2000) paradigmatic morphology, the affixes that are attached to previsouly affixed words require an extra position, called slot -II, since the slot -I position is allocated to the affixes inserted in the previous stage of the operation. The first part of the operation in (7) represents the affixation process, the second one the derivative function and the third one the (re)categorization pattern. The symbol Å stands for the affixation, that is why it appears after a prefix or goes before a suffix. The right column shows two types of restrictions: *stem conditions* (s.c.), including the lexical class of the base and *order conditions* (o.c.), which determine the slot. In the following figures, operations are grouped by affix, and all the derivatives of each of them are listed below.

Beginning with prefixation, the operations in Figure 13 illustrate this derivative phenomenon for nouns and adjectives:

<on Å x> ; 'O$_5$';	s.c.: N
<INTENS('X')>	o.c.: slot –II [un- slot -I]
<$\Sigma_N \rightarrow \Sigma_N$>	*onunspēd* from SPĒD 'luck'
onunspēd 'indigence'	

<ðurh Å x> ; 'O$_5$';   s.c.: Adj
<INTENS('X')>   o.c.: slot −II [un- slot -I]
<Σ$_{Adj}$ → Σ$_{Adj}$>   *ðurhunrot* from RŌT 1 'glad'
ðurhunrot 'very sad'

Figure 13. Recursive prefixation in slot- II of nouns and adjectives.

The derivatives exemplified in Figure 13 require slot -II, given that slot -I is occupied by the prefix un- in both cases. In the first case, the prefix un- is attached to a nominal base, SPĒD, whereas in the second case, the same prefix is attached to an adjectival base, RŌT 1.

Regarding the operations involved in recursive suffixation, the ones represented in Figures 14 and 15 require slot -II, as a result of the insertion of a suffix in slot -I:

<x Å hād> ; 'O$_5$';   s.c.: N
<I('X')>   o.c.: slot −II [-dōm slot -I]
<Σ$_N$ → Σ$_N$>   *ðēowdōmhād* from ÐĒOW 1 'servant'
ðēowdōmhād 'service'
<x Å hād> ; 'O$_5$';   s.c.: Adj
<ABST('X')>   o.c.: slot −II [-ere, -ing slot -I]
<Σ$_{Adj}$ → Σ$_N$>   *æðelinghād* from ÆÐELE 'noble'
æðelinghād 'princely state', *ðrōwerhād* 'martyrdom'

Figure 14. Recursive suffixation slot- II of nouns.

<x Å lēas> ; 'O$_5$';   s.c.: Adj
<PRIV('X')>   o.c.: slot −II [-en, -end, -ð slot -I]
<Σ$_{Adj}$ → Σ$_{Adj}$>   *freondlēas* from FRĒO 1 'free'
freondlēas 'friendless', *feormendlēas* 'wanting a burnisher', *ðēodenlēas* 'without a ruler or chief', *cystlēas* 'worthless', *mǣgðlēas* 'not of noble birth'

Figure 15. Recursive suffixation in slot- II of adjectives.

The operation in Figure 14 illustrates the formation of derivatives in -hād, including the only predicate that contains the affixal sequence -dōm-hād and the ones with -ing-hād and -ere-hād. The operation in Figure 15 corresponds to adjectival derivatives in -lēas. Whereas recursivity with non recursive base is described in

terms of slot -II position, recursivity with recursive base requires slot -III position. Examples of nouns and adjectives having a recursive base have been exclusively identified in suffixation. Figure 16 provides the rules and operations corresponding to double recursivity in nouns and adjectives.

<x Å ð> ; 'O$_5$';   s.c.: Adj
<PROP('X')>   o.c.: slot –III [-end slot-II [-lēas slot -I]]
<Σ$_{Adj}$ → Σ$_N$>   *frēondlēast* from FRĒO 1 'free'
frēondlēast 'want of friends'

<x Å lic> ; 'O$_5$';   s.c.: V
<PROP('X')>   o.c.: slot –III [-ð slot-II [-end slot -I]]
<Σ$_V$ → Σ$_{Adj}$>   *tyhtendlic* from (GE)TĒON 1 'to pull'
tyhtendlic 'persuading'

Figure 16. Double recursivity in nouns and adjectives.

A total of 11 predicates, three of which are nouns and eight adjectives, undergo three level recursivity, that is, three suffixes partake in the derivation. The nouns in question are *dēaðbǣrnes* 'deadliness', *dēaðlicnes* 'mortal state', *ealdordōmlicnes* 'authority', *fracoðlicnes* 'vileness', *frēondlēast* 'want of friends', *gesǣlignes* 'happiness', *godcundlicnes* 'divine nature', *mennisclicnes* 'state of man'. The adjectives that display three level recursivity are *dēaðbǣrlic* 'deadly', *gesǣliglic* 'happy', *tyhtendlic* 'persuading'.

All in all, recursivity in Old English noun and adjective formation is a matter of suffixation rather than prefixation: there are fifty-eight affix combinations in noun formation and thirty-eight in adjective formation. There are instances of double recursivity both in the formation of nouns and adjectives, although noun formation outnumbers adjective formation. Double recursivity is restricted to suffixation. These results coincide with the main aspects of Martín Arista's (2008) predictions on Old English derivational morphology. Torre Alonso, in his description of Old English nominal morphology (2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b), suggests a maximum of three morphological positions to the right of the word, although the third position of Torre Alonso's analysis is reserved to inflection, whereas the data analyzed here require a derivational third position to the right of the word. To close the section devoted to the stepwise analysis of recursivity in noun and adjective formation, it must be remarked that the most frequent suffix in noun formation is -nes, while -lic qualifies as the most frequent in adjective formation.

4. PRODUCTIVITY AND CONSTRAINTS ON RECURSIVITY

The analysis of recursivity in the formation of affixed nouns and adjectives indicates that the number of recursive patterns which an affix enters is directly proportional to its frequency of type. This is clearly the case with -nes, which is attached to 190 derived words in Old English. Figure 17 lists all the affix combinations that stage -nes in final position and provides an illustration for each.

-bǣre-nes (*cwealmbǣrnes* 'mortality'), -cund-nes (*godcundnes* 'divine nature'), -dōm-nes (*lǣcedōmnes* 'cataplasm'), -ed-nes (*fracoðnes* 'vileness'), -el-nes (*meagolnes* earnestness)*,* -en-nes (*frēcennes* 'harm'), -end-nes (*ālīesednes* 'redemption')*,* -ende-nes (*hālwendnes* 'salubrity'), -ere-nes (*gīfernes* 'greediness'), -ett-nes (*ārfæstnes* 'virtue'), -feald-nes (*felafealdnes* 'multitude'), -ful-nes (*carfulnes* 'care'), -hād-nes (*geoguðhādnes* 'state of youth'), -ig-nes (*ēadignes* 'happiness'), -ing-nes (*līhtingnes* 'lightness of taxation'), -isc-nes (*menniscnes* 'state of human'), -lǣcan-nes (*ðrīstlǣcnes* 'boldness'), -lēas-nes (*endelēasnes* 'infinity'), -lic-nes (*hrædlicnes* 'suddenness'), -or-nes (*slāpornes* 'lethargy'), -rǣden-nes (*gefērrǣdnes* 'society'), -sum-nes (*langsumnes* 'length')*,* -ung-nes (*gegearwungnes* 'preparation'), -weard-nes (*æfterweardnes* 'posterity')

Figure 17. Recursive patterns of suffixation containing -nes in final position.

As Figure 17 shows, the most outstanding suffix in final position is -nes, which can be attached to the suffixes -dōm, -el, -els, -en, -end, -ere, -ing, -hād, -rǣden, -sum, -ð, -un, -ung.

To continue with the recursive suffixation of nouns, it is worth mentioning that the suffix -ð/-þ shows the widest distribution, as it can be followed by the highest number of different suffixes (-dōm, -el, -en, -end, -ere, -ing, -ling, -nes, -rǣden, -scipe). This can be seen in Figure 18.

-ð-dōm (*ðēowotdōm* 'service'), -ð-el (*tihtle* 'accusation'), -ð-en (*tyhten* 'incitement'), -ð-end (*tyhtend* 'inciter'), -ð-ere (*mǣðere* 'mower'), -ð-ing (*dēðing* 'putting to death'), -ð-ling (*ðēowtling* 'servant'), -ð-nes (*nāhtnes* 'worthlessness'), -ð-rǣden (*mǣdrǣden* 'mowing'), -ð-scipe (*fracoðscipe* 'scandalous conduct')

Figure 18. Recursive patterns of suffixation containing -ð/-þ in final position.

The statement that the number of recursive patterns that an affix enters is directly proportional to its frequency of type also holds for the adjectival suffix -lic, which, being attached to 103 different derivatives, takes part in the recursive combinations presented in Figure 19.

-bǣre-lic (*lustbǣrlic* 'pleasant'), -cund-lic (*heofoncundlic* 'heavenly'), -dōm-lic (*wītedōmlic* 'prophetic'), -ed-lic (*fracoðlic* 'base'), -el-lic (*ðrisellīc* 'tripartite'), -en-lic (*crīstenlic* 'Christian'), -end-lic (*nergendlic* 'that should be preserved'), -ere-lic (*wōgerlic* 'amorous'), -ettan-lic (*swōretendlic* 'short-winded')*,* -fæst-lic (*ārfæstlic* 'pious'), -feald-lic (*hundfealdlic* 'hundred-fold'), -ful-lic (*egesfullic* 'terrible'), -ig-lic (*ēadiglic* 'prosperous'), -isc-lic (*mennisclic* 'human'), -lēas-lic (*scamlēaslic* 'shameless'), -nian-lic (*lācnigendlic* 'surgical'), -scipe-lic (*gesinsciplic* 'conjugal'), -sum-lic (*lufsumlic* 'gracious'), -um-lic (*furðumlic* 'luxurious'), -weard-lic (*inweardlic* 'internal'), -wīs-lic (*rihtwīslic* 'righteous').

Figure 19. Recursive patterns of suffixation containing -lic in final position.

As presented in Figure 19, the suffix -lic in final position shows the widest distribution, given that it follows the suffixes -bǣre, -cund, -ed, -en, -ende, -fæst, -feald, -ful, -ig, -isc, -lēas, -ol, -sum, -weard. From the point of view of prefinal suffixation, the suffix -ful can be followed by -lic only and, moreover, it cannot be attached to an already suffixed adjective.

To interpret the information gathered in Figure 17, 18 and 19, distribution in recursivity can be considered from two perspectives, to wit, the quantitative perspective and the qualitative one. The quantitative perspective refers to the number of combinations in which a given affix can partake. The qualitative perspective insists on the positional restrictions that constrain affix combinations. Bearing this distinction in mind, it turns out that the most recursive affix in noun formation (-nes) and the most recursive affix in adjective formation (-lic) cannot occur in prefinal position. The fact that these suffixes are widely used in the contemporary language, as in *darkness* and *hourly,* indicates that they were productive in Old English, which suggests that affix productivity in this case coincides with high quantitative recursivity and severe restrictions on qualitative recursivity. It is significant in this respect that double recursivity is restricted to -nes in noun formation (with the exception of *frēondlēast* 'want of friends' only) and -lic in adjective formation, which may represent another argument in favour of the productivity of these suffixes.

Another suffix that is strictly constrained as to position is -ful. In recursive formations, it can only be followed by -lic and, moreover, it occurs almost without

exception in prefinal position. This seems to indicate a loss of semantic weight which is compensated by means of the attachment of another suffix, in such a way that the input and the output of the derivational process are, at least, partial synonyms, as is the case with *geflitful/geflitfullic* 'contentious'.

Another instance of high quantitative recursivity and strict restrictions on qualitative recursivity involves the suffix -ð/-þ, which cannot appear in final position following another suffix. Kastovsky (1992: 359) considers the suffix -ð/-þ productive in Old Englih because it still appears in words like *growth* or *length*. The evidence gathered in this analysis casts doubts on its productivity. The fact that it cannot appear in the final position of a recursive formation probably indicates that it is no longer productive. Suffixations like *growth* or *length* seem relics that have remained in the lexicon because the words where they appear have been preserved, rather than because they can still derive new nouns. As for -ð/-þ, other suffixes with a distribution higher than the average like -dōm and -end are not constrained as to position because -dōm can be followed by -scipe (*ealdordōmscipe* 'office of alderman'), -nes (*lǣcedōmnes* 'cataplasm'), -hād (*ðēowdōmhād* 'service'), -ere (*selfdēmere* 'monk subject to his own rules') and -end (*selfdēmende* 'monk subject to his own rules'), can be followed by -nes (*æfterfylgendnes* 'succession'), -scipe (*frēondscipe* 'friendship'), -rǣden (*frēondrǣden* 'friendship') and -dǣm (*reccenddǣm* 'governance').

Overall, the conclusion can be reached that strict restrictions on qualitative recursivity indicate productivity if the restrictions apply to the prefinal position whereas they indicate lack of productivity or, at least, low productivity when they apply to final position. It is also worth pointing out that the positional restrictions that arise in suffixation do not apply to prefixation. Indeed, the prefixes un- and healf- can be both final and prefinal in prefixation, thus un-and- (*unandwæs* 'unskilfull'), healf-sine- (*healfsinewealt* 'semicircular'), on-un- (*onunwæsdæm* 'folly') and ofer-healf- (*oferhealfhēafod* 'crown of the head').

Once the morphological aspects of the problem have been considered, it is necessary to determine what semantic or pragmatic factors restrict the recursivity of nominal and adjectival affixation in Old English.

From the point of view of final affixation, recursivity in prefixation is mainly a matter of intensification (ðurh-, as in *ðurhunrot* 'very sad'), mitigation (healf-, as in *healfsinewealt* 'semicircular'; under-, *undertōdal* 'secondary division') and opposition (un-, as in *unandweard* 'not present'). From the perspective of prefinal affixation, the set of prefixes allowing for further prefixation coincides practically with the ones just presented as appearing in final affixation, although the oppositive and- (as in *unandwīs* 'unskillful') and the intensifier sine- (as in *healfsinewealt* 'semicircular') must be added.

Turning to suffixation, a remarkable group of affixes in final position comprises those used for forming abstract nouns of entity, property and predication (-dōm, -el, -en, -end, -ere, -ett, -hād, -ing, -ling, -nes, -rǣden, -scipe, -ung). In Figure 20 an instance of each final suffix in combination with another one in prefinal position is included.

-ig-dōm (*hāligdōm* 'holiness'), -ð-el (*tihtle* 'accusation'), -fæst-en (*ǣwfæsten* 'legal or public fast'), ð-end (*tyhtend* 'inciter'), -en-ere (*mǣ ðere* 'mower'), -el-ett (*ðǣfelett* 'thicket'), -ing-hād (*æðelinghād* 'princely state'), -ð-ing (*dēðing* 'putting to death'), -ð-ling (*ðēowtling* 'servant'), -ful-nes (*wōhfulnes* 'wickedness'), -end-rǣden (*frēondrǣden* 'friendship'), -en-scipe (*gelīefenscipe* 'justification'), -or-ung (*heolstrung* 'darkness')

Figure 20. Final suffixation patterns.

The recursive suffixation of adjectives is practically restricted to the relational suffix -lic in final position. A few examples corresponding to different combination patterns are provided in Figure 21.

-feald-lic (*hundfealdlic* 'hundred-fold'), -ful-lic (*fācenfullic* 'deceitful'), -ig-lic (*mōdiglic* 'high-souled'), -sum-lic (*angsumlic* 'troublesome'), -weard-lic (*wiðerweardlic* 'contrary')

Figure 21. Recursive patterns of suffixation containing -lic in final position.

These remarks lead to a conclusion on the general function of affixal recursivity as far as the formation of Old English nouns and adjectives is concerned. The function of recursivity in noun formation, considering the evidence gathered in this section, is to coin abstract nouns that denote, above all, abstract concepts. The function of recursivity in adjective formation is, to a large extent, to add near-synonyms and achieve higher expresivity by means of the recursive adjective. In other words, derivatives can be further derived for semantic reasons (this is the case with the remarkably large number of abstract nouns derived by recursive means from less abstract or concrete nouns) or for reasons, which may be called pragmatic, relating to the achievement of a higher degree of expressivity (this is the case with recursive adjectives). This is consistent with Lieber´s (2004: 161) Redundancy Restriction, which bans the semantic content that is already present in the base of derivation and, above all with the idea, also put forward by Lieber (2004), that more affixes can be attached to a previously derived word with the aims

of transposing a concept or increasing the meaning of the base of derivation. In this case, the formation of abstract nouns and adjectival synonyms is motivated by semantic and pragmatic reasons respectively.

5. CONCLUSION

The results of the analysis of nominal and adjectival affixation that has been carried out in this article indicate that recursivity in Old English is mainly a suffixal phenomenon. The analysis has also demonstrated that double recursivity takes place both in prefixation and suffixation, although suffixation is by far the derivational process that produces the highest number of derivatives. In recursive suffixation, a total of fifty-eight combinations of affixes derive nouns, and thirty-eight derive adjectives. The most frequent suffix in noun formation (-nes) and the most frequent suffix in adjective formation (-lic), both occupying a final position in the process of derivation, share the qualitative characteristic of being positionally constrained. None of them can occur in prefinal position. Strict restrictions on qualitative recursivity are an indicator of productivity if these restrictions apply to prefinal positions. On the semantic side, the attachment of affixes to already affixed words is motivated by semantic reasons in the recursive formation of nouns and by pragmatic reasons in the recursive adjectival formations.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTBOOKS FOR TEACHING ENGLISH FOR MEDICAL PURPOSES IN THE FORMER DEGREE IN MEDICINE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA

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ABSTRACT. *The process of building the European Higher Education Area has fostered the internationalization of higher education and placed special emphasis on the prominent role of learning foreign languages. The implementation of the new degrees has included the so-called language requirement that must be taken into account when developing new teaching materials for the grades. In this paper we analyse various methodological and educational aspects in the six textbooks that were used to teach* English for Health Sciences*, ten optional subjects of the former Degree in Medicine. The ultimate goal of the analysis of the aforementioned books is to develop a taxonomic model that serves for the creation of supporting materials to be used in the optional subject of the new Degree in Medicine at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.*

Keywords: English for Medical Purposes, Textbook evaluation, EHEA, Materials evaluation, ESP.

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UN ANÁLISIS DE LOS LIBROS DE TEXTOS PARA LA ENSEÑANZA DE INGLÉS CON FINES MÉDICOS DE LA ANTIGUA LICENCIATURA DE MEDICINA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA

RESUMEN. *El proceso de construcción del Espacio Europeo de Educación Superior ha fomentado la internacionalización de la educación superior y ha puesto un énfasis especial en el papel prominente del aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras, especialmente de la lengua inglesa. La puesta en marcha de las nuevas titulaciones ha incluido el llamado requisito lingüístico que ha de ser tenido en cuenta al elaborar los manuales de los nuevos grados. En este trabajo analizaremos diversos aspectos metodológicos y didácticos de los seis libros de textos que se utilizaron en la antigua Licenciatura en Medicina para enseñar las diez asignaturas optativas de* Inglés para Ciencias de la Salud. *El objetivo final del análisis de los susodichos libros es elaborar un modelo taxonómico que sirva para realizar material de apoyo para la asignatura optativa del nuevo Grado en Medicina de la Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.*

Palabras clave: Inglés para fines médicos, evaluación de libros de texto, EEES, evaluación de materiales, IFE.

1 INTRODUCTION

The building the European Higher Education initiated by the Bologna process has placed special emphasis on the prominent role of learning foreign languages, and thus the implementation of the new university degrees requires students to attest a level B1 in a foreign language to complete undergraduate studies and enrol in a Master's degree. Although "individual plurilingualism and societal multilingualism are the principles which underpin the language policies of both the European Union and the Council of Europe" (Coleman 2006: 1), the Bologna process has placed special emphasis on the prominent role of English as the instrumental lingua franca for academic and professional exchange. Proficiency in the English language has become a global literacy skill, a commodity for communication and a vehicle for knowledge transfer (Modh Sidek 2012: 27).

While CLIL and technology are both included in the European agenda to promote language learning (Arnó-Macià 2014: 13), teaching English for Specific Purposes at university needs to reconsider how to meet students' communicative needs in a globalized world. This also means addressing recent methodological challenges ranging from the use of new technologies in the classroom to the matter

and the future of textbooks. According to Pérez Cañado (2009: 4), in the English teaching profession, we often tend to rely excessively on the textbook, the dictionary, or even the linguistic corpus and "these sources are no longer valid in making the link with the 'real' English language which is currently being used beyond the confines of the classroom."

While books are written to be relevant to as large number of students as possible (McGrath, cited by Danaye Tous & Haghighi 2014: 56), ESP is predominantly student-centred, and consequently students' considerations should be at the top of the list of the selection criteria. These considerations include whether the materials will be useful to the students, if they stimulate their curiosity, if the materials are relevant to the students and their needs, if they are fun to do, or whether the students will find the tasks and activities worth doing (adapted from Vičič 2011: 112). ESP textbooks focus on what students will need in their academic, vocational or professional environment.

With the creation of a new European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and the changes in the hitherto incompatible national systems of education, the former Degree in Medicine at the university of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria offered ten non-compulsory subjects on *English for Health Sciences*. Each of these 30-hour courses dealt with a different clinical specialty such as microbiology, ophthalmology, pharmacology, clinical pathology, or medical chemistry. The main goal of these subjects was that students were able to read medical literature and become familiar with specific vocabulary. Oral comprehension and oral expression were not a priority and as such the oral exam at the end of the course was optional.

In this paper, I will evaluate six textbooks used in the teaching of English for medical purposes taking into account Harmer´s materials evaluation form (1983) and McDonough and Shaw´s (2003) external and internal evaluation, but merging some criteria with others for simplicity's sake. The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 reviews the use of textbooks, its benefits and shortcomings. Section 3 describes the corpus and method of research. The results of the analysis and the discussion of findings are offered in Section 4. Section 5 affords the conclusions drawn from the present study.

2. TEXTBOOK: FRIEND OR FOE?

Although there are many who refer to textbooks as straitjackets that diminish initiative and creativity in the classroom, fails to present appropriate and realistic language models, and show inadequate cultural understanding and lack of contextualisation in language activities, textbooks provide a clear framework

which both the teacher and the students can easily follow. They serve as a syllabus when including a carefully planned and balanced selection of language content, let students learn new material, review and monitor progress, and supply tasks and texts with appropriate level for most of the learners (Hismanoğlu 2011: 37). Usually designed for the general market, there is no such thing as an ideal book for your particular group of learners although they could be used as "an ideas bank, a source of practical examples of ideas for teaching that stimulate teachers' creative potential" (Cunningsworth 1995: 139).

Until the emergence of English for Specific Purposes in the late 1960s students were taught more or less general English (Vičič 2011: 108), thus English for specific purposes professionals have often engaged in materials development as textbooks and other materials fail to address their students' specific language learning needs. Oddly enough, the teaching of language for specific purposes can be the ideal situation in the communicative language approach as "there is genuine information gap and thus a real reason for communication" (Scrivener 2004: 187).

Finally, "ESP teachers should have at least some basic knowledge about the subject matter in question, which is ideally supported by a genuine interest in it" (Vičič 2011: 109). While learners are the ones who have the specific content knowledge, teachers have the ability to actively integrate student knowledge about the subject matter. According to Kantonidou (2008: 48), "what is crucial in ESP is the awareness of needs and not the mere existence of them, examining different types of learner awareness might also facilitate the formulation of suggestions for the syllabus to be developed."

Textbooks are not the solution to all the problems or the cause of all evil. They may be a basic tool to help both teachers and students but it is essential for teachers to learn how to evaluate them beyond assessments based on subjective opinions.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTBOOKS

In the former Degree in Medicine at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria there were ten optional subjects on *English for Health Sciences*. Each of these 30-hour courses dealt with a different topic, beginning with the hospital, the human body or the general practice, before continuing with different clinical specialty such as microbiology, ophthalmology, pharmacology, clinical pathology, or medical chemistry. Although students could enrol in the courses independently, they were advised to take the first two subjects in order, as they were basic to be able to follow the others.

The main objectives were:
1. To be able to read and understand English medical texts.
2. To introduce a wide range of vocabulary, both general and specific to the field of medicine.
3. To review some grammatical points which serve to understand the texts better.
4. To use different learning strategies to allow reflection on the functioning of the language system and to facilitate the learning of the English language.
5. To make students aware of the importance of the English language to be able to share their knowledge with foreign colleagues.

By and large, after studying these subjects, students should be able to read medical literature and become familiar with the specific vocabulary of the different specialties. With regard to the other skills, oral comprehension and oral expression were not a priority and as such the oral exam at the end of the course was optional.

The teachers of these ten subjects used the six textbooks I mention below by the year of publication:

Methold, K. y C. Methold. 1975. *Practice in Medical English*. London: Longman.

Tiersky, E. y M. Tiersky. 1992. The Language of Medicine in English. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Regents.

Alemán Torres, F. y S. Marrero Morales. 1994. *Technical English for Medicine Studies*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: ULPGC Publishing Services.

Glendinning, E. H. y B. A. S. Holmström. 1998 (1987). *English in Medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCarter, S. 2009. *Medicine 1*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McCarter, S. 2009. *Medicine 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

To assess these textbooks, I have used McDonough and Shaw (2003) and Harmer's evaluation forms but blending some criteria with others for simplicity's sake. The McDonough and Shaw (2003) evaluation model consists of two stages: external and internal evaluation. In the first stage, the teacher obtains a general idea by scanning the blurb, contents and the introduction. The next stage, the internal evaluation, is an in-depth analysis of the materials. In turn, Harmer's materials evaluation form begins with the teacher drawing a profile of the students and their needs. The actual evaluation form has seven major headings: practical considerations, layout and design, activities, skills, language type, subject and content, guidance, and conclusion.

Ideally, pilot testing the new books on a small group of students and measuring the results is highly recommended (Harmer 1983: 237; Stoller *et al*. 2006: 176); although this is not always possible.

3.1. METHOLD, K. Y C. METHOLD. 1975. PRACTICE IN MEDICAL ENGLISH. LONDON: LONGMAN

This first oldest book is a compilation of extracts from different medical journals. The authors' main aim is to develop students' comprehension of medical literature and as such units always begin with the reading text that is usually between 400 and 1000 words. The text is followed by a glossary of the less common general words as the authors recommend students to consult a specialised dictionary for the medical terms. The glossary includes the pronunciation of the terms represented in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. Next, there is a comprehension exercise, followed by a vocabulary section, further comprehension activities, and three sections called composition, translation and final discussion. The section titled composition usually consists of an exercise to rewrite sentences and the uncommon dialogue or short piece of writing while in the translation section students are expected to translate a paragraph from the reading text or summarise the main ideas into the student's mother tongue. With these activities this textbook is clearly focused on three skills: reading comprehension, written production and some oral expression.

Concerning the topics there are twenty-six chapters divided into five blocks: medical history, the profession of medicine, preventive medicine, descriptive medicine, and case histories. Some of these contents are not relevant to the students' needs, but they are instructive although not especially motivating for our current students. There are no true grammatical explanations since it is understood that students already know English grammar. The type of language is authentic and appropriate for medical students who need the subject to be able to read specialty literature. There is no real progression concerning grammar or vocabulary. Finally, most chapters include a black and white photograph or a diagram related to the content.

As to the external evaluation of the book, it looks old-fashioned with its grey cover and the diagram of a cell. Its blurb and the introduction explain clearly the authors' aim and type of exercises.

3.2. TIERSKY, E. Y M. TIERSKY. 1992. THE LANGUAGE OF MEDICINE IN ENGLISH. ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS: PRENTICE HALL REGENTS

After performing an external evaluation of the blurb, contents and introduction, we read the authors' main aims, which are to give students of English an introduction to the English terminology of medicine and to improve their overall use of the language. The cover shows the *caduceus*, as a symbol of Medicine, with two snakes winding around a winged staff.

This textbook is intended for high-intermediate or advanced students who are acquainted with the common structural patterns of the language. Arranged into nine chapters, the topics are some highlights from the history of medicine; human anatomy; disease, its symptoms and treatments; common diseases and ailments; physicians and medical specialties, surgery; careers in health care; first aid in medical emergencies and high-tech medicine and its consequences. The contents are relevant to the students' needs while the vocabulary seems basic, more related to the practice of medicine and its specialties than to its research.

Each chapter begins with a reading text that is usually between 1400 and 2000 words. For easier reference, paragraphs have been numbered and special terms are boldfaced so that students can locate them easily. Following the text of each chapter is a glossary of 20 medical terms in which technical words and expressions are defined. The glossary includes the pronunciation of the terms represented in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association and stress marks. Chapters include a black and white photograph related to the content of the unit.

The text is followed by some reading comprehension questions under the heading of vocabulary practice. Next, we find the exercises which include some questions to be discussed in class, some exercises on words and word parts, one section on pronouncing medical and general words, an activity to use the new words and phrases learnt in the chapter and a reading comprehension activity. There are not any grammatical explanations but each unit includes a section about prefixes, roots, suffixes, and inflected forms as the intended audience are medical students with a high-intermediate or advanced level who already masters essential English grammar. This textbook is focused mainly on vocabulary with students practicing three skills: reading comprehension, written production and some oral expression.

The type of language is authentic and appropriate for medical students who need the subject to be able to read specialty literature. There is no real progression concerning grammar or vocabulary, though the last reading text is longer than the rest.

3.3. ALEMÁN TORRES, F. Y S. MARRERO MORALES. 1994. TECHNICAL ENGLISH FOR MEDICINE STUDIES. LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA: ULPGC PUBLISHING SERVICES

Two of the many teachers who have taught these subjects in the past prepared this textbook. With a very simple cover and no blurb, the book is a compilation of five articles from different medical journals. It does not include photographs, which makes the text appear less attractive. The authors' main aim is to develop students' comprehension of medical literature and learn medical vocabulary. Arranged

into five chapters, the topics are clinical pathology in the community hospitals; unemployment, financial stress and mental well-being; use of virologic assays for detection of human immunodeficiency virus in clinical trials; the tumor suppressor; ant comparative morphology, cytochemistry and innervation of chromaffin tissue in vertebrates.

Each unit begins with the reading text that is usually between 1000 and 3000 words; paragraphs have been numbered so that students can do the exercises easily. The text is followed by some exercises on vocabulary and reading comprehension. Next, there is a grammatical section with a brief explanation and various exercises on the subject. The grammatical structures included in the book are relative clauses, the conditional sentences, the gerund and the different types of connectors. In some units there is a translation or a short piece of writing. The type of language is authentic and appropriate for medical students who need the subject to be able to read specialty literature.

The skills put into practice in this book are reading comprehension and written production and there are many activities related to working with specialized vocabulary; however, students do not practice any oral skill.

3.4. GLENDINNING, E. H. Y B. A. S. HOLMSTRÖM. 1998 (1987). ENGLISH IN MEDICINE. CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

After the external evaluation of the cover, blurb, contents and introduction of this textbook, it could be said that the authors' aims and intended audience are clearly stated. On the cover there is a stethoscope and there some black and white photographs, diagrams with instructions for physiotherapists, drawings, charts, and extracts from books and articles.

The aim of this book is to develop speaking and listening skills primarily, though some attention is also given to reading skills, especially in the use of reference materials and journal articles, and to writing, with a range of medical documents. This textbook is intended for doctors, medical students in the clinical phase of their studies and other medical professionals who have to use English to communicate with patients and their relatives and with medical colleagues. The user profile of this textbook has restricted the contents as the authors focused on doctor-patient communication at the hospital.

The book is divided in seven units, each focusing on one area of doctor-patient communication from history-taking to treatment. Most units have four sections. Section 1 introduces new vocabulary and basic grammar related to the unit theme. The language focus activities included in section 1 are brief comments on key language items introduced by tasks. The focus is the language used in medical communication and grammar points without medical relevance are not included.

For example, unit 1 and 2 deal with asking questions; unit 3 and 4 with giving instructions, explaining and reassuring; unit 5 with explaining and discussing investigations; unit 6 with discussing a diagnosis and unit 7 with treatment. Section 2 provides further practice and introduces a variety of medical documents; it also includes some language focus comments for the student to able to do the exercises. Section 3 focuses on reading. The reading passages from section 3 are varied and include a case history, a pharmacology reference, journal articles, textbook extracts and a wide variety of medical documents. All the texts are authentic. Section 4 brings together the language studied in the context of a case history with a wide range of activities to practice listening comprehension, reading or writing.

The language is meant to be authentic, real-life English for doctors and very appropriate and motivating for the students. According to the authors, the histories are based on authentic cases and were drawn from a range of specialisms as diverse as obstetrics, ophthalmology and neurology.

The methodology is intended to be communicative and post, communicative, according to the authors. The reading and listening tasks include before, during and after activities and many of these activities are recommend to be worked in pairs. The authors include some guidance in case the student is working alone as well as the tape-scripts and answer keys.

Finally, the textbook is completed with five appendices. Appendix 1 provides a checklist of useful language functions for medical communication; appendix 2 lists common medical British and American abbreviations; appendices 3 and 4 explain the different members of the British hospital system and their equivalence of positions in the American hospital systems. Appendix 5 lists addresses of professional bodies in the UK and USA.

A noteworthy detail about this text is that this is a second edition. Ten years after the first edition the authors considered that they had to update the text both in content of medical advances and language teaching. Likewise some listening tasks were rerecorded to ensure a better gender balance, and the list of useful addresses and the new UK hospital doctor categories were included.

3.5. *MCCARTER, S. 2009.* MEDICINE 1 & 2. *OXFORD: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS*

This two-book course is aimed at preparing trained and trainee doctors and trained nurses to learn English for a career in medicine. From the external evaluation of the cover, the blurb and the format these books are contemporary. There are many coloured drawings, photographs, charts, diagrams and figures. The intended audience, the goal of this course and the different parts of the units are stated clearly in the introduction which is exactly the same for both books.

Lessons include realistic and communicative activities to practice all the different skills, as well as exercises on vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar. The language spot focuses on the grammar generated by the topic of the unit and concentrates on its practical application; students who need to revise can check the grammar reference section at the end of the textbook, and the teacher's resource book includes a photocopiable grammar test. The main items of medical vocabulary introduced in the unit are included in a list of key words of the unit, and defined in the final glossary at the end of the book. This glossary also includes the pronunciation in phonetic script and information about the part of speech for every word.

In the listening activities, students hear a variety of English accents, both native and non-native speaker to prepare students for real life communication. The situations for these activities are related to medicine including doctor-patient consultations, conversations with colleagues and presentations. There is a reading bank in the middle of the book to practice reading skills followed by the answer key to these exercises. In terms of the topics of the readings they are varied; the first book is mainly about how to deal with patients in general practice while the second discusses the different medical specialties. The length of the texts is also quite varied.

The methodology is unmistakably communicative beginning with the check-up introduction designed as a warm-up activity, and with many exercises intended for pair or group work. The possibility that students assess themselves at the end of each lesson is very interesting, especially with adult students. There is a checklist expressed in 'can do' statements for students to monitor their own progress. Another original feature of these books is the section called Project which can be set as homework assignments. In this section students are usually required to use search engines as well as other websites dedicated to medical issues.

Finally, there are three sections in the lessons that are directly related to the field of medicine: It's my job, Patient care, and Signs and symptoms. The first section is based on authentic interviews to people in different medical environments; its main goal is that students gain insight into the skills required to work in those places. The Patient care feature gives students practice in how to communicate with patients while Signs and symptoms section focuses on the vocabulary students will need to describe common diseases and conditions.

Furthermore, there are two CDs and some additional online resources that can be found on their webpage.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The various textbooks that have served for teaching the English for health science subjects at the University of Las Palmas in almost twenty years reflects the evolution

of the main aims of these subjects, the change in the notion and importance of languages for specific purposes, and the advances in the publishing industry.

The subject of English for specific purposes has become more important with the development of English as an international language. It is no longer an ornament in the education of any qualified worker, but a real need in an increasingly globalised world. Of course, this has brought a change in the skills to be taught in class. As seen, these first books were primarily engaged in working reading comprehension and to a lesser extent the written and oral expression, while it is now essential to develop all the skills. The European Higher Education Area requires students a B1 level to study a master's degree and, even if it is true that that language does not have to be necessarily English, the latter is still the most popular.

On the other hand, a more communicative approach to language teaching has transformed textbooks into more than just a collection of readings. The most modern texts have a lot of different types of exercises to do in pairs or groups while new technologies are becoming more present in the teaching of foreign languages. Much has changed in the teaching of listening from the use of the cassette, to the CD-ROM and the Internet, and it is not just the audio format but also the inclusion of other accents and new and more realistic situations.

A feature where these innovations are highly evident is in the selection of texts because it has changed from fairly specialized technical readings, very much related to research in the field of medicine, to the use of language as a tool to communicate at a general practice. McCarter's textbooks even include a section on how to talk to patients; for example, by teaching to differentiate between technical and non-technical words to be able to speak to a patient avoiding difficult terms, or by practicing how to explain prescriptions or procedures in simple words.

Textbooks for the teaching of English for medical purposes have evolved considerably in recent years and will probably continue to do so due to the possibilities offered by the new technologies. Current books prepare students for the different skills they will need in their professional future with a great variety of communicative and motivating activities and tasks.

Textbook evaluation helps us to reassess the students' profile, their goals and the methodology that we are using in class. By studying the books used for teaching English for health sciences we will ultimately develop our own taxonomic model that will serve for the creation of supporting materials to be used in the optional subject of the new Degree in Medicine at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.

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MILLER, CHRISTOPHER R. 2015. *SURPRISE. THE POETICS OF THE UNEXPECTED FROM MILTON TO AUSTEN*. ITHACA AND LONDON: CORNELL, UNIVERSITY. VIII, 269 pp.

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There is no doubt that the title of the book that occupies us belongs to the category –highly appreciated in not few academic circles– of the so called analytic titles: They make the reader think that either they constitute the best summary of the whole volume or, at least, that they convey a reasonable idea of the contents and purpose of the book they head.

This is a book about surprise in literary works, the word 'poetics' being explicit enough in this respect; it seems that surprise finds its subjective correlative in "the unexpected" (for what we expect cannot surprise us), and the names of Milton and Austen, together with the two prepositions that respectively precede them, are supposed to historically open and close the literary references which the study is constructed upon.

Surprisingly, however, after the chapter devoted to Austen, there is one about Wordsworth, and another one about Keats, plus an epilogue in which the author offers "a few observations about forms of surprise in later fiction" (Introduction, page 15).

Thus, although a punctilious reader could claim the subtitle is not completely accurate, in any case it must be admitted that a first approach to the idea of surprise will rely on that peculiar indefinite description: the unexpected, which is a relevant component of any possible definition, and which is accompanied –and I transcribe from an Internet dictionary– by other features like astonishment, wonderment, shock, or sudden attack, or sudden fortune or misfortune. Notice that all of them

may be seen under an objective light, or alternatively under more subjective perspectives. As we will see they are the main materials that give shape to the idea of surprise, and at the same time it is through them that the links and connections with other ideas are established, and it is also through their mediation that its internal semantic difficulties and even contradictions arise.

In this context, the reader will remember that the unexpected as such is a source of paradoxes (we allude to topics such as the famous "unexpected hanging" scenario, which has become a classic of certain analytic philosophy). And literature poses a double level of expectations: that of the characters in the story, and that of the reader or the spectator. It is with the help of those semantic coordinates that Christopher Miller invites his readers to an exploration that –let us employ the word– will surprise them, because along the pages of *Surprise* they will discover the nuclear role played by expectations or, rather, by their counterpart, the unexpected.

Literary works are artifacts that raise an apparatus with its own logic, a complex sequence of fictional events which dynamically engenders expectations subject to that logic, which can be broken in a more or less artistic manner, with more or less relevant cognitive effects or consequences. Equally, language as a dynamic tool designs new tropes and arranges previously unspoken words to refer, and to conceive, surprise. This way, Miller manages to revise some major titles of literature not in a new, unprecedented mode, but in one in which our knowledge of them gets refreshed as another notion, perhaps somewhat neglected by critics, adds new nuances to the discussion.

It may also be of some interest to mention that the historical period studied by Miller coincides with the beginnings of what perhaps could be called the quantitative formalization of subjectivity, which would appear as a mere consequence of the central position not of the individual as such, but of the subject. The name of Bayes (Thomas Bayes was born *circa* 1702 and died in 1761) does not appear in the pages of *Surprise*. Curiously, however, the author uses an almost technical term like "prior knowledge" that somehow introduces the reader in a recognizable cultural atmosphere.

In any case, Miller's study follows a widely used model of academic study. There is a first chapter –or an introduction and a first chapter– where the theoretical parameters of the work are established and which open the main body of particular essays devoted to key figures of English literature.

The introduction investigates the main axes of the notion of surprise, without forgetting its twofold nature: "Surprise denotes both an internal feeling and an external event." (page 5, in bold).There are four formulae like that which help define Miller's position, which will be refined in chapter one, where the author moves from Aristotle, through Descartes, to the empirical philosophy of the Modern Age.

This does not mean that a theory, a theory of surprise so to say, has been built up at the beginning as a sort of eternal and immutable reference for the subsequent empirical studies. For the truth is that Miller illustrates some moments of the historical development of a notion which is surprisingly recent, and doing so, he is able to construct a more subtle and consistent notion of surprise. And it is also the case that what could be called phenomenology of surprise, i.e., the study of the tropes that have given shape to the idea of surprise, is more important than any abstract reflection.

It is also relevant to bear in mind that if there is something like a classical notion (longer before the term was coined), it includes the idea of wonder and even terror, which is not absent at all in the modern notion not few languages seem to share. Dictionaries still routinely inform that the word keeps its original military meaning, and also precise that the effect of surprise requires a mighty cause.

The implication is that a little meaningless event cannot be a surprise. A surprise, to surprise someone, requires an extraordinary cause. In fact, the terms that could express something close to the idea in Aristotle, in his Poetics, were *'ekplêsis'*, to which Miller devotes some attention, and *'thaumasion'*, which Miller seems to dismiss. Both are used by Pseudo-Longinus and, quite obviously, pave the road that leads from our topic to the aesthetics of the sublime.

According to the method that inspired the title of the book, and given the contents we have just enumerated, chapter one is titled with a similar formula; "From Aristotle to Emotion Theory". The author does not commit the mistake of totally separating and old view from a modern one centered on the naissance of subjectivity. In fact, in one sentence, he is able to summarize the literary range of surprise: "This book explores the premise that surprise is both an emotion and an element of poetics –both an object of mimesis (the situated experience of characters) and a feature of narrative (the mediated experience of readers or viewers)". (p. 16)

However, a few things should be said about this. In the first place, literary analysis can be either generic or individual. The canonical structure of a given genre may reserve a place to an episode of surprise (both for the agonist and the spectator), but a given literary piece can modulate that structure in a particular way. Aristotle's discourse in *Poetics* oscillates between the general rule and the individual illustration. Then, there is the other question that pertains to the semantics of the term: not anything can be a surprise. Then, the events narrated impose a certain scale that must be surpassed by the surprising event. Surprised, to put it in Addison's terms, must be great. Finally, spectator and reader experience surprise in a way parallel to that lived by the characters, but evidently not equal.

Many other aspects of the idea of surprise are also the object of Miller's research. An example is the coexistence of surprise and repetition. Surprise does not require the first occurrence of an event. Its repetition may have the same effects, which is perhaps both an instance of the tension between genre and individual work, and a result of the nature of human experience.

The main corpus of the work is constituted by seven chapters that discuss the "trope" that mediate the idea and the effect of surprise in a number of British authors. It is clear that novel is abundantly represented (which historically coincides not only with the structure of narrative, but also with the rise of a certain type of reader). And it must be said that, in spite of our focusing on the "theoretical" foundations established at the beginning of the book, Miller offers abundant and insightful commentaries and, in fact, theory itself grows at every chapter, because, as pointed out above, the program of the authors is the establishing of an organized phenomenology of surprise. Lyric poetry (Wordsworth, Keats) is the object of substantial analysis, and perhaps surprisingly and quite meaningfully, theatre is nearly forgotten. Miller writes:

> In focusing on surprise in the novel, I want to advance an affective corollary to prevailing critical accounts that posit the genre as arising from a tension between Romance and Realism (Ian Watt) or through a discursive dialectic between fact and fiction (Lennard Davis and Michael McKeon, inter alia).[…] In Adela Pinch's argument, early modern thought treated the passions as "innate, natural forces," whereas British empiricist philosophers "shifted feeling from the realm of volition to the realm of understanding." In eighteenth-century fiction, I argue, surprise occupies that crossroads. (9)

The paragraph shows Miller's ability to link his subject to other concerns of literary history. As he is successful in the task, this contributes to the quality of the whole work. But if we make a quotation of it, that is because it will help introduce a final consideration, one which concerns the limits of literary discourse.

The decision of giving the novel a privileged position sounds quite reasonable when dealing with a historical period which witnesses the rise of the novel, but it also reveals a problem unsuspected so far. Does surprise as such have an intrinsically literary life, or is it the case that it simply reflects what is happening out there, perhaps with the mere addition of a literary shape that is determined by other factors?

Some critics could defend that this should have been the story of the substitution of a public art (theatre) by a privately consumed one (the novel, lyrical poetry). One has its place in a public space, but novels are read indoors. Therefore, it is not about the rise of subjectivity in a theoretical, abstract sense, but about how new spaces were created, spaces where individual actions were performed, actions which replaced, at least in part, other actions more or less analogous that used to

happen in a social context. Then, the phenomenon considered would be a collateral consequence of the mere increase of literacy, which, in turn, was motivated by the social changes that accompanied Reformation. What can be questioned then is to what extent theories (those seen in chapter one among others) are but the superficial reflection of phenomena of a much more practical nature.

An argument like this may be regarded as offering some valuable insights, but the crucial point for any discussion of surprise or any other idea, be in the domain of literature, be in the more general field of human thought, is whether the internal dynamics of that idea is firmly grounded. In other words, a literary study must convince its reader that literary materials obey their own rules. And this is an achievement that this book has reached in a skillful combination of external considerations and purely literary ones. The result is brilliant, always interesting and a sample of well administered erudition. Another question is that the idea of surprise will always surprise us with its unavoidable paradoxes, with the unexpected shapes it adopts, and with the amazing paths it finds to get connected to other literary and non-literary matters.

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES (JES)

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

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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/PdfIStudiesRoundtheWorldbyDPierce.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 online en formato Word o RTF a través de la plataforma de la revista en http://publicaciones.unirioja.es/revistas/jes

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**:

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Indexation and Quality Analysis

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- Bibliography of European Journals for English Studies (BEJES), published by the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE)
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- LLBA (Linguistics and language Behavior Abstracts)
- DIALNET
- Fuente Académica™ Premier (EBSCO)
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- LATINDEX (Directory and Selected Catalogue)
- MIAR (Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals)
- MLA International Bibliography
- MLA Directory of Periodicals
- Scopus (Elsevier)
- SJR (SCImago Journal & Country Rank)

CONTENTS

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