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## COLLOCATION AND SELECTIONAL PREFERENCES: A FRAME-BASED APPROACH

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**ABSTRACT.** *Most of the research conducted into collocation and semantic frames has dealt with these phenomena separately. The study of collocation has not figured prominently in the research agenda of frame semantics, and frame semantics has only sporadically been used as an analytical framework for collocation. This article is a contribution to narrowing the gap between the two fields. It does so by addressing key issues in the design of a frame-based approach to collocation, with a special focus on the relation between collocational patterns and semantic valency, and by providing arguments for the efficacy of the frame-semantic theoretical apparatus in explaining verb-adjective links that are not accounted for by the existing models of collocation. The methodology combines lexicographic resources as well as quantitative and qualitative analysis of examples and data from an English web corpus (ukWaC).*

*Keywords:* Lexical semantics, corpus linguistics, semantic frames, collocation, valency, cognitive grammar.

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## LA COLOCACIÓN Y LAS PREFERENCIAS DE SELECCIÓN: UN ENFOQUE BASADO EN CORPUS

**RESUMEN.** *Las investigaciones sobre colocaciones y marcos semánticos han discurrido, en su mayor parte, por caminos separados. Ni las colocaciones ocupan un lugar prioritario en los estudios sobre marcos ni es habitual aplicar la semántica de marcos como enfoque de estudio de las colocaciones. Este artículo aspira a estrechar la relación entre ambos campos. Para ello, abordaré una serie de cuestiones clave para el desarrollo de un enfoque de investigación sobre colocaciones basado en marcos. Me centraré, sobre todo, en la relación con la valencia semántica. Además, el artículo aporta argumentos que justifican la eficacia del enfoque basado en marcos para explicar un tipo de vínculo semántico entre verbos y adjetivos que escapa a los actuales modelos descriptivos de colocaciones. La metodología aplicada combina la utilización de recursos lexicográficos con el análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo de ejemplos y datos de uso extraídos de un corpus de inglés basado en la web (ukWaC).*

*Palabras clave:* semántica léxica, lingüística de corpus, marcos semánticos, colocación, valencia, gramática cognitiva.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Collocation studies and frame semantics are mutually relevant areas of research. The former deals with lexical syntagmatic patterns, and the latter with representations of stereotyped states of affairs. The common ground between the two fields is based on two aspects: both claim a prominent role in the research agenda of empirical semantics, and both are interested in analysing expectation patterns evoked by individual lexical items.

In the existing literature, the connection of collocation and frames has been addressed with four main goals:

- deriving collocational information from frame-based lexical resources, in particular from FrameNet (Ruppenhofer, Baker and Fillmore 2002; Alonso Ramos, Rambow and Wanner 2008);
- using collocational data from existing lexical resources or from corpora for descriptions of semantic frames (Fontenelle 2009; Johnson and Lenci 2011; Akita 2012; Dalpanagioti 2013; Buendía Castro, Montero Martínez and Faber 2014; Buendía Castro and Faber 2017; Montero Martínez and Buendía Castro 2017);
- combining collocational information and semantic frame descriptions in a lexical resource, as in the DiCoEnviro specialised dictionary (L'Homme, Laneville and Azoulay 2014);

- applying a frame-semantic theoretical apparatus to the analysis of collocational phenomena (Martin 2003, 2008).

The goal of this article fits into the fourth group. Like Martin (2003, 2008), I will take advantage of frame-based theoretical notions for improving the analysis of collocational patterns. However, there is a fundamental difference concerning the specific content of the proposal. While Martin's approach sets the analysis of collocational patterns in relation to the phraseological spectrum, the approach I adopt here emphasises the relation between collocation and valency patterning. The main goal is to argue for the efficiency of frame semantics – and of its Fillmorean branch in particular – as a theoretical framework for explaining and analysing the patterns of semantic selection observed in the collocational range of predicative lexemes. I will do that with special emphasis on problems arising from the analysis of semantic selection in non-head components of argument slots.

## 2. PERSPECTIVES ON COLLOCATION

There is no widely shared notion of collocation. Most experts agree that collocational phenomena form co-occurrence patterns among words, but there is no consensus on which filters should be imposed on collocation candidates. Three main types of requirements can be distinguished:

- Quantitative filters: the co-occurrence must be sufficiently frequent and statistically relevant according to a specific measure of lexical association applied to corpus data (Jones and Sinclair 1974; Mason 2000; Stubbs 2002; Gries 2013).
- Qualitative filters (I): syntactico-semantic dependency. The standard typology includes the following patterns: V+N, Adj+N, Adv+V, Adv+Adj, N+Prp+N (Corpas Pastor 1996; Hausmann 1998; Martin 2008). This typology is informed by the idea that collocational relations operate within the structural framework of predicate-argument relations (Bosque 2001a, 2004a, 2004b; Tutin 2008).
- Qualitative filters (II): phraseological binding. In the realm of collocations, this property is attributed to constraints operating in the opposite direction to canonical valency patterning and selectional restrictions, i.e. from argument to predicate (Írsula Peña 1994; Hausmann 2007; Alonso Ramos 2007). The dominant or autonomous element in this relationship (the argument) is called the *base*, and the dependent element (the predicate) is called the *collocator* or *collocate*<sup>1</sup> (Mel'čuk 1998; Martin 2008).

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<sup>1</sup> This concept should not be confused with the notion of *collocate* in Firthian linguistics, where it denotes any statistically relevant co-occurrence of a search item (the *node*).

Different approaches have opted for different combinations of filters. The two dominant approaches so far, often identified under the labels of *British contextualism* and *Continental* tradition (Williams 2003; Siepmann 2005; Tutin 2008), have privileged the quantitative and the qualitative filters, respectively. The main exponent of the former is the Sinclairian branch of corpus linguistics (Sinclair 1991); the second one has been mainly inspired by the theories of Hausmann (1979, 1997) and Mel'čuk (1998, 2003). Although these two authors developed their research separately – one as a leading scholar in European lexicography, the other as one of the fathers of Meaning-Text Theory (MTT) – the similarities between their respective insights into collocation are profound and amply recognized (Heid 1994; Mel'čuk, Clas and Polguère 1995).

Some studies combine quantitative and qualitative categories of description. This is done from two different perspectives and with two different goals:

- enriching a phraseological approach to collocation with frequency information (Koike 2001; Vincze and Alonso Ramos 2013);
- improving the operationalisation of the statistical notion of collocation through the incorporation of syntactic specifications (Kilgariff and Tugwell 2001; Nerima et al. 2010; Seretan 2011; Uhrig and Proisl 2012; Bartsch and Evert 2014).

In this study, I will use syntactic filters with a view to refining the output of collocation statistics. The motivation for combining these two types of filters is the possibility to distinguish two different aspects or dimensions of collocational phenomena. First, from a purely empirical standpoint, a collocation manifests itself in the combinatory bias of particular words in language use. The directly observable property of collocational patterns is the tendency of individual words to privilege particular lexical contexts and to avoid others. At present, lexical association measures represent the most effective and reliable means of capturing this aspect of collocation (i.e. what Evert (2009) calls the “primary data”). Second, from a descriptive standpoint, one of the most relevant characteristics attributed to statistical collocational patterns is their tendency to be composed of elements in direct syntactic relation. As Bartsch and Evert (2014: 60) report, “collocations have been shown by some studies to tend to form grammatical relations”.

The third type of filter (phraseological binding of the collocator/predicate to the base/argument) is not applied in this study as a necessary condition for collocation status. In the specialised literature, this aspect of collocation has been an object of theoretical controversy. According to some authors, the phraseological character attributed to collocation in the theories of Hausmann and Mel'čuk results, at least in part, from the adoption of a perspective of analysis which is oriented from arguments to predicates (Bosque 2001a, 2004b, 2017; Apresjan and Glovinskaja 2007; Apresjan 2009; for a response to this objection, see Alonso Ramos 2017). When collocational



patterns are analysed from the opposite point of view, i.e. from the standpoint of the conditions that predicates impose on their argument fillers, the semantic motivation and the systematicity of collocations become more noticeable.

This criticism of the Hausmann/Mel'čuk conception of collocation can be illustrated with the following example. Consider the collocations *shoot a picture* and *sit an exam*. If they are analysed from the point of view of the noun, what stands out are the differences in the selection of specific collocators, e.g. *make/take/shoot/\*sit a picture* vs. *make/take/sit/\*shoot an exam*. The selection of a verb for expressing the meaning 'do, perform' is not independent of the context provided by the noun. However, if the same collocational pattern is approached from the perspective of predicate-driven constraints, what is brought out is the systematic selection of nouns from specific semantic sets. Thus, *shoot* does not collocate individually with *picture* but with a set of nouns denoting 'recording of (an) image(s)', e.g. *photo, photograph, video, film, movie, documentary*, etc. Likewise, the bond between *sit an exam* is not an item-specific (idiosyncratic) link but rather forms part of a broader combinatory pattern including other nouns from the same semantic type, e.g. *examination, test, A-level*, etc. Thus, from the perspective of the predicate, collocational patterns appear as specific lexical realisations of more schematic patterns of semantic selection. This perspective shifts the study of collocation away from the realm of phraseology and brings it in closer relation to semantic valency.

Finally, another question that needs to be addressed concerns the nature of the restrictions or preferences imposed on argument classes. Bosque (2001a, 2004a, 2017) and Sánchez Rufat (2010) draw a clear-cut distinction between linguistically motivated and non-linguistically motivated constraints. However, as Írsula Peña (1994) observed in relation to Coseriu's (1977) notion of *lexical solidarities*, the distinction between the two types of combinatory constraints ultimately reflects the *range* of the argument class, rather than the nature of the selection. Preferences for highly specific argument classes tend to be characterised as *intra-linguistic*, while broadly defined categories tend to be relegated to the *extra-linguistic*. My stance on this issue is aligned with the generalised view in frame semantics. I will not assume the plausibility of a strict qualitative divide between purely linguistic and non-linguistic factors of predictability in lexical combinatorics.

### 3. COLLOCATIONAL DATA AND FILLER INFORMATION

Among the different trends in frame semantics, the one that lays greater emphasis on valency<sup>2</sup> description is the one associated with the work of Fillmore

<sup>2</sup> In the literature, there is an alternation between the terms *valency* and *valence*. Roughly speaking, the former is the European variant, and the latter is the American variant.

and the FrameNet project – for a comparison with other approaches to frames, see Busse (2012). The hallmark of the FrameNet approach is the integration of valency patterns within an onomasiological approach to word meaning (Boas 2001; Fillmore 2007; Baker 2009). In this framework, conceptual representations of scenes or states of affairs are established as *definienda* (Boas 2001), and the combinatory potentialities of words which evoke such frames are analysed as a linguistic realisation of semantically relevant background information.

However, not all layers of valency patterning have received the same amount of attention in the FrameNet database and in the literature about this lexicographic project. The linking of semantic roles and syntactic forms has been a priority, while the description of semantic types of argument fillers has occupied a secondary position. Fillmore (2007) identified this gap and entrusted the task to later research:

One property of a valency description which FrameNet has not managed to provide directly is an account of the typical semantic types of the phrases that serve as frame elements. It is hoped that later research based on further corpus evidence can spot the semantic types found for particular FEs of particular LUs and incorporate such results in the valency descriptions – beyond such limited high-level indications as animate, concrete, and abstract. (Fillmore 2007: 154)

This quotation combines two ideas with implications for future developments in frame semantics: the first one is the proposal to search for finer-grained semantic categorisations of frame element fillers; the second one concerns the methodology for accomplishing this goal. Regarding the first issue, it should be noted that what Fillmore describes in the above quote as “high-level indications” is, *mutatis mutandis*, equivalent to the notion of *selectional restrictions* in the generative jargon. Presumably, some frame elements (FEs) allow for more specific categorisations of their typical lexical fillers. Although experts are not unaware of the gap, a comprehensive lexicographic coverage of the phenomenon has not been accomplished yet. The function of semantic types in FrameNet is explained in Ruppenhofer et al. (2016), but descriptions of these features in recent releases of the database are, for the most part, still limited to highly schematic glosses (e.g. ‘physical entity’, ‘sentient’, ‘state of affairs’, etc.). In most entries, FrameNet has not incorporated yet precise semantic characterisations of FE fillers such as those provided for argument slots in other landmark lexicographic projects, particularly in the REDES dictionary of lexical restrictions in Spanish (Bosque 2004a), and in valency dictionaries of English and German (Herbst, Heath, Roe and Götz 2004; Schumacher, Kubczak, Schmidt, and de Ruiter 2004).

The second idea that needs emphasising in this respect concerns the methodology for identifying semantic types. As Fillmore predicts in the above

quote, the input of corpus linguistics can be decisive for accomplishing this task. The concept of collocation – along the lines defined in the previous section – fits readily into this programme. Some corpus studies indicate that the more representative fillers of FE slots tend to be grouped around specific semantic classes or types. This aspect of the combinatory potential of frame-bearers has received the name of *selectional preferences* (Johnson and Lenci 2011) or *collocate types* (Dalpanagioti 2013). Moreover, to the extent that these combinatory properties are shared by evokers of the same scene or situation, they can also be attributed to realisations of general properties of the frame:

...we believe that both the selectional preferences of LUs belonging to the same frame and the generalizations that can be drawn from these on the ‘selectional preferences’ of the entire frame are essential for defining the semantics of the frame itself and should be integrated, ideally, into the LU and FE definitions inside the FrameNet database. (Johnson and Lenci 2011: 19)

Although Johnson and Lenci’s study (2011) is centred on methodological issues in semantic frame description, their conclusions point to possible theoretical implications. If, inductively, the selectional properties of frame-evoking items can be used as an empirical basis for identifying semantic properties at the level of frame structure, then, in a deductive move, it should also be possible to establish the organising principles of frame structures as a theoretical framework for explaining and analysing the distribution of collocate types in argument fillers. In the following section I will deal with this theoretical dimension of the relationship between collocational patterns and frame structures. The theoretical bases of the proposal are laid out in the next section. Section 5 shows how this can be applied in the analysis of collocational phenomena that resist a neat classification in other models of collocation.

#### 4. CONCEPTUAL DEPENDENCY AND FRAME STRUCTURE

The cornerstone of the proposal presented here is an elaboration of the notion of *autonomy-dependency asymmetry* (abbreviated to *A/D asymmetry*), which Langacker considers “an essential feature of language design” (Langacker 1991: 286). In the next subsections I will offer a brief description of two different aspects or dimensions of A/D asymmetry as well as of their impact on frame structure.

##### 4.1. FIRST AXIS: A/D ASYMMETRY AND FRAME EVOCATION

In cognitive grammar, canonical valency relations are portrayed as asymmetrical correspondences between substructures of a conceptually dependent element

and a conceptually autonomous element that elaborates (i.e. fills out details of) the former (Langacker 1987, 2002). The difference between the dependent and the autonomous element is determined by the impact of external relations on the internal structure of the concept.<sup>3</sup> The dependent structure “requires for its conceptualization some intrinsic reference – however schematic – to the entities that participate in the relation” (Langacker 1987: 300). This criterion allows Langacker to formulate some generalisations about prototypical classes of each type. As a general rule, relational notions are conceptually dependent, while conceptions of physical objects are prototypically autonomous elements.

These generalisations are qualified by the observation that valency relations can occur in non-canonical configurations. Besides, in consonance with the epistemology of cognitive linguistics, the autonomy-dependency distinction is conceived as a gradient rather than as a binary divide (Langacker 1987, 2002). Two components of a valency relation may exhibit some degree of conceptual dependency on the other, though to a different extent. For instance, as Sullivan (2013) observes, the semantic structure of *man* is not devoid of substructures that can be elaborated by the adjective *tall*, but the impact of the combination on the semantic structure of *tall* is greater, because “the concept of HEIGHT is meaningless without a referent that can be tall or short” (Sullivan 2013: 30-31). Nevertheless, with these caveats in mind, Langacker insists that in prototypical configurations of valency, the greater impact of the argument on the conceptualisation of the predicate justifies a qualitative distinction: “The dependent structure can be equated with the predicate, in predicate-argument terms, and the autonomous structures with its arguments” (Langacker 2002: 170).

Interestingly, Sullivan (2013) argues that A/D relations can be represented using semantic frame models. As she observes, the function of the autonomous element in the substructure of the dependent element is analogous to the function of a filler assigned to a FE. Both serve to fill out details of a substructure in a relation evoked by a conceptually dependent expression (a frame evoker):

We can say, then, that the structure of a dependent element is specifically a frame structure, and that its elaboration site is a frame role. The structure of the autonomous element is a filler for this frame role, and elaboration itself consists of filling a frame role. Autonomy, dependence, and the relation between them can all be described with these frame semantic terms. (Sullivan 2013: 32)

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<sup>3</sup> The notion of *semiotaxis*, formulated by Hausmann (1997, 1998, 1999), shows profound analogies with the Langackerian concept of A/D asymmetry, given that both classify co-occurring items according to the influence which their combinatory potential exerts on their semantic structure. An exhaustive discussion of the common ground and the differences between the two notions is beyond the scope of the present article.

This suggests that conceptual dependency is a characteristic condition of frame-evoking potential, because the capacity of a word for evoking a frame is in direct relation to the impact that the frame exerts on the meaning of the word. In fact, in FrameNet, words with intrinsically relational meanings – particularly verbs – are attributed a prominent role as evokers of frames (Fillmore, Johnson and Petruck 2003). Again, this is not to deny that words of other classes can also exhibit a frame-evoking potential, but, crucially, this potential is in direct relation to the presence of predicative properties. Thus, among nouns, there are substantial differences in frame-evoking capacity across types: “event nouns and relational nouns are most clearly frame-evoking” (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016: 43).

The above considerations suggest the following: (i) the relationship between a frame-bearing unit and the FEs evoked by it reflect features of A/D asymmetry; (ii) conceptual dependency can be considered as a contributing factor to valency-bearing and to frame-evoking potential.

#### 4.2. SECOND AXIS: A/D ASYMMETRY IN FRAME-TO-FRAME RELATIONS

In the second volume of the Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Langacker distinguished a second axis of A/D asymmetry, which is manifested in unidirectional relations of conceptual dependency between event components. This aspect of A/D asymmetry leads to A/D layering, where a sequence of increasingly complex events is built on less complex ones. This is a typical feature of events involving the exertion of volitional control or instances of perception. Langacker (1991) illustrates this with the following examples:

- (1) a. The ice cracked.
- b. A rock cracked the ice.
- c. A waiter cracked the ice with a rock.
- d. The manager made a waiter crack the ice with a rock.
- e. The owner had the manager make a waiter crack the ice with a rock.

Example (1a) provides the nucleus for the layering which unfolds through examples (1b) to (1e). The change of state undergone by the PATIENT (The ice) in (1a) is conceptualised independently of other events, but each of the events characterised in the other examples presupposes this change of state. The assembly of events increases its complexity progressively as new layers of causation are added to the chain. This is represented in the following notation, taken from Langacker (1991: 292), where T stands for thematic relationship (i.e. a conceptually autonomous relationship involving a single participant) and E stands for event:

$$(T) > (E_1(T)) > (E_2(E_1(T))) > (E_3(E_2(E_1(T)))) > (E_4(E_3(E_2(E_1(T)))))$$

The progressive increase in the complexity of the event through successive layers of causation involves also the addition of successive participants. With each new layer of causation, an additional participant is portrayed as inducing the less complex event. Such participants can be described at various levels of schematicity. At their most schematic, they correspond to archetypal roles (in Langacker's terminology); at a finer-grained level of description, they correspond to frame-specific semantic roles (i.e. FEs).

Again, as in the description of canonical valency, it is possible to find a frame-semantic counterpart for the properties of A/D asymmetry. The concept of frame-to-frame relations (or, simply, frame relations) denotes a feature of the design of FrameNet which shows close correspondences with the key properties of A/D layering. A frame relation is defined as "a directed (asymmetric) relation between two frames, where one frame (the less dependent, or more abstract) is called the *Super\_frame* and another (the more dependent, or less abstract) is called the *Sub\_frame*" (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016: 79). The correspondences with properties of A/D layering are granted by three characteristics. The first one refers to the composition of the relations: like A/D layering, frame relations involve two or more sets of structured relations between semantic roles. The second characteristic is the asymmetric nature of the relation: the dependency of the subordinate frame on the superordinate frame<sup>4</sup> has no equivalent in the reverse direction (i.e. the superordinate frame is not dependent on the subordinate frame). Finally, the third characteristic refers to the relation between schematicity and conceptual autonomy: both in A/D layering and in frame relations, conceptual structures that are more dependent are also more specific (i.e. they include more components) than less dependent conceptual structures.

## 5. VALENCY LAYERING AND STRATIFIED COLLOCATION: TWO CASE STUDIES

In this section, I will apply the properties of A/D asymmetry to the analysis of patterns of semantic selection involving frame relations. The first axis of A/D asymmetry establishes that frame-evoking predicates provide a schematic characterisation of FE fillers, and the second axis predicts that frames which represent conceptually dependent events contain structures of less dependent

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<sup>4</sup> In FrameNet, the term *subframe* is also used to refer to a specific type of frame-to-frame relation holding between a sequence or phase in a complex event and the representation of the whole event (for example, between *Arrest* and *Criminal\_process*) (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016). To avoid terminological ambiguity, I will distinguish this specific type of frame relation from the more general notion of conceptual dependency of less abstract events towards more abstract events, situations, or states of affairs. The terminological pair of *subordinate/superordinate* can serve to describe this generic notion of dependency.

(less complex) event representations. A corollary of this is that the selectional preferences of predicates evoking a subordinate frame will contain predicates evoking a superordinate frame. As I will argue, this allows us to predict patterns of distribution of selectional preferences which cannot be accounted for by the mainstream models of collocation analysis. I will illustrate this with reference to two cases studies.

### 5.1. METHODOLOGY

The methodology applied in this study combines the top-down procedure and the qualitative analysis characteristic of the FrameNet methodology with a bottom-up approach featuring quantitative analysis of corpus data. In this respect, the methodology is similar to that of Johnson and Lenci (2011), particularly in what concerns the use of collocational data for analysing selectional preferences of target lexical units and of the frame structures they evoke. There is, however, a slight difference in the objectives that motivates also a partial difference in the strategies employed. In the present study, the analysis of collocates types is oriented to the description of relations of conceptual dependency between frames of different levels of complexity. For this purpose, a specific two-step methodology has been devised.

The first step of the methodology is centred on qualitative, conceptual analysis of frame structures and frame relations. The goal of the analysis at this stage is to identify possible relations of A/D layering between semantic frames which overlap in their internal structure but have different levels of internal complexity. This step of the methodology is carried out with the aid of lexicographic information from FrameNet (<https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>) complemented with qualitative analysis of concordances from a corpus. The corpus used for obtaining example concordances is ukWaC (Ferraresi, Zanchetta, Baroni and Bernardini 2008). This is a web corpus of British English containing 1,313,058,436 tokens. The corpus can be accessed through the Sketch Engine query system. There are bigger corpora of English, particularly those of the enTenTen family, but on balance, the ukWaC offers the advantage of being more homogeneous.

The second step involves the analysis of selectional preferences through collocational data. This step balances a quantitative and a qualitative dimension. The quantitative aspect consists in the application of collocation statistics for extracting typical slot fillers, and the qualitative aspect consists in the description of semantic sets of collocates. The corpus used for extracting the data is the same as in the first step (ukWaC), and the score used for measuring the strength of lexical association is logDice (Rychlý 2008). Only collocates reaching the threshold

of statistical significance are taken into account. In the case of logDice scores, the threshold is 0, so that, in principle, all collocates with positive scores can be included. Based on the criteria explained in Section 2, I adopted a syntactic-relational approach to the definition of the collocational search space. Collocates are searched in specific syntactic slots connected to the node (the search item). Where space constraints advised limitation of the maximum number of items, the criterion used for the cut-off point was the association score.

The syntactic pattern selected was: V+Adj+N. In the case of forms of participial origin, such as *bidden*, *protected*, *astonishing*, *speeding*, *voting*, *unpublished*, etc., the criterion for assigning them adjective status was based on lexicographic information. Only those that are registered as adjectives in a separate entry in the Oxford Dictionary of English (ODE) were included in the list. A similar criterion was applied to the treatment of compounds. Thus, *arrestable* and *ethnic* were excluded from the list of collocates of *commit* and *perpetrate*, respectively, because in all the co-occurrences with these verbs, these adjectives occur as part of expressions (*arrestable offence*, *ethnic cleansing*) for which the ODE reserves a separate entry as nominal compounds. The same negative filter was applied to *cardinal* (*commit + cardinal sin*).

The procedure for extracting the collocates and obtaining the association scores was divided into three steps. First, using the Word Sketch tool, I accessed the concordances for all the “object\_of” relations of each search item (a verb). Then, using the Filter tools and the Corpus Query Language, I selected all those concordances in which the verb co-occurs with an object noun (this also includes subject nouns in the passive) modified by an adjective. Finally, using the Collocation tool, I obtained the inventory of collocates and their logDice scores. The results automatically obtained from the corpus tools were manually revised in order to filter out non-relevant occurrences (for instance, other verbs or nouns co-occurring with the target V+Adj+N patterns). Where a word in the collocate list was grammatically ambiguous (e.g. *material*), the logDice score was recalculated using the frequency data of the adjective (this recalculation was performed by means of an Excel file).

One obstacle to the methodology applied here is the polysemy of target words. In some cases, the semantic range of a collocate inventory reflects the variability of the node word’s meaning rather than the range of semantic types ascribed to a single frame. Unfortunately, this difficulty cannot be reliably overcome in the phase of automatic collocation extraction. At present, there is no means of automatically assigning concordances to frames. A subcorpus which contains only concordances of the relevant semantic frame cannot be built on a large scale, and consequently, the collocates must be extracted for occurrences of the target word regardless of frame assignment. This difficulty can be dealt with in a later phase



of the methodology, particularly through the interpretation and the qualitative analysis of collocates and example concordances.

Finally, another methodological decision concerns the lexical resources used for ascribing words to frames. The FrameNet Project is still in the making and it makes no claim of exhaustivity for its database. It should not be assumed that the words listed as target lexical units under the entry for a given frame represent the entire stock of words in English for which that frame provides a relevant conceptual background (thus, *secret*, *confidential*, and *unclassified* are documented under the `SECURITY_STATUS` frame, but *classified* is not). Where necessary, the use of FrameNet data was complemented with information from a thesaurus –the Oxford Thesaurus of English (OTE)– and from general-purpose dictionaries: the aforementioned ODE, the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDOCE), and the Macmillan English Dictionary (MED). The use of these resources in the present study was guided by the same criteria that generally inform the grouping of words into frames in FrameNet (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016: 11-17), with special attention to the following: similarity of semantic type, profiling of the same frame elements, and near-paraphrasability. The first criterion establishes that “the basic denotation of the targets in a frame should be similar” (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016: 14). The second criterion (same profiling of frame elements), implies that “the same participant’s point of view should be emphasized” with all the lexical units from a frame (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016: 13). Finally, the criterion of near-paraphrasability is met when “one can more or less felicitously substitute one lexical unit for another and still evoke the same frame and express the same kinds of semantic roles as syntactic dependents of the new lexical unit” (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016: 15). Generally speaking, quasi-synonyms as well as scalar and polar antonyms meet these conditions.

## 5.2. CASE STUDY 1: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

### 5.2.1. First step: analysis of conceptual dependency

The first step of the methodology outlined in 5.1. requires the analysis of conceptual relations between frames pertaining to different levels of abstraction. The frames selected for this case study are `REVEAL_SECRET` and `SECURITY_STATUS`. A priori, these two frames have properties consistent with a relation of unidirectional conceptual dependency in the Langackerian sense of the term. They have some representational components in common but show different levels of internal complexity.

The definition of `SECURITY_STATUS` in FrameNet recognises only one core FE (i.e. only one semantic role which constitutes a conceptually necessary component of

the frame). This status is assigned to PHENOMENON, which stands for what is hidden from the COGNIZER:

A Phenomenon, which may be an activity, state or object, is purposefully hidden from the awareness of a potential Cognizer. The person responsible for the hiding of the Phenomenon is not part of this frame and cannot be syntactically realized. The potential Cognizer may be realized, but is in fact rarely expressed. A period of Time during which the Phenomenon is secret may be indicated. (s.v.)

The conceptual structure represented in this definition has a high level of autonomy with respect to other events. As the above definition makes explicit, participants with an agentive semantic role are not an integral part of the frame. Hence, the structure of the frame does not include a causative layer, since the status of secrecy attributed to the PHENOMENON can be conceptualised without reference to the participants that have caused the stated situation, as the following examples from our corpus illustrate (in what follows, all the examples mentioned are from the ukWaC):<sup>5</sup>

- (2) a. Of course there's a SECRET [recipe PHENOMENON].
- b. The CLASSIFIED [document PHENOMENON], written three weeks ago, says...
- c. ...an intelligence operative, [whose identity PHENOMENON] is [totally DEGREE] SECRET...
- d. According to a CONFIDENTIAL [memorandum of the meeting PHENOMENON], Heath reminded Lord Widgery that...
- e. He concluded that these were COVERT [missions PHENOMENON].

In comparison, the REVEAL\_SECRET frame has a more complex structure. Three of the participants mentioned in the definition (SPEAKER, INFORMATION, MEDIUM) are assigned the status of core FEs in the entry, and one of them, SPEAKER, adds a layer of causation:

A Speaker reveals Information that was previously secret to an Addressee. In some cases, the Addressee is expected to keep the Information from other parties. The Information may be damaging to the reputation of the Speaker. Instead of (or in addition to) a Speaker, a Medium may also be mentioned. Likewise, a Topic may be stated instead of Information. Some lexical units in this frame imply that the Addressee has already been confronted with the Information. (s.v.)

The structure of this frame represents a type of event which is conceptually dependent on the representation of the state of affairs depicted for the SECRECY\_STATUS frame. The action of revealing the hidden information presupposes the conceptualisation of a phenomenon as being hidden, i.e. as having secrecy status.

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<sup>5</sup> The annotation of the examples follows a conventional notation system: frame element labels are in small capitals inside square brackets, and the principal frame-evoking unit is in small capitals outside the brackets.

However, this presupposition does not hold in the opposite direction: the fact that some PHENOMENON is hidden from the awareness of a potential COGNIZER does not imply the action of a REVEALER. Secrets may or may not be disclosed. The relation between the two frames has thus the basic characteristics of A/D layering described in Section 4.2.

This observation is further reinforced by the relations of specification between FEs from the two frames. This can be illustrated through a comparison of examples (2a)–(2e) with their counterparts in (3a)–(3e). Since the action of revealing hidden information is not always performed by means of a speech act – it can also be done by submitting a file or giving access to it – the annotation of the participant acting as agent in the REVEAL\_SECRET frame has been changed here from SPEAKER to REVEALER:

- (3) a. We avidly await [the day TIME] [she REVEALER] REVEALS [the recipe for her brilliant pickles INFORMATION].  
 b. [The attorney general's office REVEALER] has LEAKED [every prosecution document INFORMATION] [to the press ADDRESSEE].  
 c. [Scooter Libby REVEALER] was indicted for DISCLOSING [the identity of an undercover CIA operative INFORMATION].  
 d. ...that [you REVEALER] will not, [directly or indirectly MANNER], DISCLOSE or permit [anyone else REVEALER] to DISCLOSE [this memorandum or its content INFORMATION] [to any other person, firm or entity ADDRESSEE]  
 e. ...though [the mission INFORMATION] was NOT DISCLOSED [to the bank officials ADDRESSEE]. [DNI REVEALER]

The core FE INFORMATION in the subordinate frame is a specification of the core FE PHENOMENON in the superordinate frame. Entities, situations, or activities that are represented as fillers of the PHENOMENON role in the frame SECRECY\_STATUS are potential fillers of the INFORMATION role in the frame REVEAL\_SECRET. The definitions of these FEs in the corresponding FrameNet entry can also be adduced to illustrate this point. The single core FE in the frame SECRECY\_STATUS is defined as follows: “The Phenomenon is the activity, state or object that is purposefully hidden from the awareness of a potential cognizer”. Its counterpart in the frame REVEAL\_SECRET receives the following definition: “Information identifies the content that the Speaker reveals to the Addressee” (s.v.). The status of revealed information in the latter frame presupposes a prior conceptualisation as hidden phenomenon in the former. A similar relation holds between the non-core FEs COGNIZER and ADDRESSEE. The COGNIZER is defined as “the person who might become aware of the Phenomenon if it was not concealed” (s.v.). As long as the phenomenon remains concealed, the potential COGNIZER remains as such. It is the action of revealing the INFORMATION that turns the entity which fills out the COGNIZER slot in the superordinate frame into a filler of the

ADDRESSEE slot in the subordinate frame: “The Addressee is the person to whom the Information is revealed” (s.v.). The relation of specification holding between ADDRESSEE and COGNIZER is parallel to that holding between INFORMATION and PHENOMENON.

In sum, the analysis conducted in this section indicates that the relation between the two frames under scrutiny meets the characteristics of A/D layering. This relation of conceptual dependency is dominated by *SECURITY\_STATUS*, which has superordinate status over *REVEAL\_SECRET*. The structure of the latter presupposes the former, but not vice versa. The implication for the next step is that we should expect the occurrence of words evoking *SECURITY\_STATUS* as selectional preferences of words evoking *REVEAL\_SECRET*.

### 5.2.2. Second step: analysis of collocate types

The second step of the methodology was applied to three target lexical units from the subordinate frame (*REVEAL\_SECRET*): *disclose*, *reveal*, *leak*. Following the methodological settings specified in Section 5.1., significant collocates of these three node words were extracted from the corpus. All of them met the requirement of occurring as adjectives in object noun phrases of the three verbs. The three lists of collocates, arranged in order of decreasing score, are displayed in the tables below. Table 1 and Table 2 show the top 50 collocates. In the case of *leak*, there was no need to establish a limit on the maximum number of items, because the number of collocates with positive association scores was smaller.

The results indicate the presence of evokers of the superordinate frame in the three lists. In Table 1, there are ten adjectival collocates capable of evoking the frame *SECURITY\_STATUS*. These are the following: *classified*, *confidential*, *hidden*, *intimate*, *personal*, *private*, *privileged*, *secret*, *sensitive*, and *unpublished*. In Table 2, we find six adjectives capable of evoking the same frame: *confidential*, *hidden*, *inner*, *innermost*, *intimate*, and *secret*. In Table 3, there are five adjectives from this set: *classified*, *confidential*, *internal*, *secret*, *sensitive*. In Tables 2 and 3, we can also observe the presence of other semantic types of collocates. This can be related to the polysemy of the node. The verbs *reveal* and *leak* are attributed to more than one frame in FrameNet. In addition to *SECURITY\_STATUS*, *reveal* can also evoke the frame *EVIDENCE*, and *leak* can also evoke the frame *FLUIDIC\_MOTION*. This semantic variation is reflected in the collocate inventory. In Table 2 we find several adjectival collocates describing an ‘intense emotional and cognitive impact on an experiencer’ (e.g. *astonishing*, *disturbing*, *fascinating*, *shocking*, *startling*, *staggering*, *striking*, *stunning*). These form part of some typical linguistic realisations of the *EVIDENCE* frame (e.g. *...has revealed disturbing cases of self-harm*; *...has revealed striking variations in the training...*; *...has revealed fascinating differences...*). Similarly,

Table 1. Top 50 collocates of *disclose* (word class: adjective; syntactic context: premodifier of object noun).

collocate (lemma)	logDice	collocate (lemma)	logDice
<i>confidential</i>	7.490	<i>bidden</i>	2.825
<i>personal</i>	6.034	<i>privileged</i>	2.823
<i>prima facie</i>	5.846	<i>reasonable</i>	2.790
<i>classified</i>	5.277	<i>actual</i>	2.652
<i>sensitive</i>	5.151	<i>previous</i>	2.545
<i>exempt</i>	5.113	<i>sexual</i>	2.446
<i>unused</i>	4.592	<i>widespread</i>	2.400
<i>exact</i>	4.300	<i>beneficial</i>	2.391
<i>contingent</i>	4.136	<i>financial</i>	2.343
<i>pecuniary</i>	4.121	<i>unexpected</i>	2.296
<i>distressing</i>	3.999	<i>specific</i>	2.229
<i>proprietary</i>	3.850	<i>adverse</i>	2.149
<i>relevant</i>	3.784	<i>true</i>	2.143
<i>procedural</i>	3.500	<i>medical</i>	2.120
<i>criminal</i>	3.463	<i>divine</i>	2.070
<i>secret</i>	3.443	<i>sufficient</i>	1.994
<i>malignant</i>	3.397	<i>significant</i>	1.832
<i>intimate</i>	3.375	<i>gross</i>	1.832
<i>pertinent</i>	3.201	<i>partial</i>	1.796
<i>precise</i>	3.200	<i>domestic</i>	1.706
<i>certain</i>	3.130	<i>private</i>	1.623
<i>geographical</i>	3.088	<i>serious</i>	1.510
<i>genetic</i>	3.055	<i>inner</i>	1.440
<i>unpublished</i>	2.939	<i>statistical</i>	1.378
<i>material</i>	2.862	<i>full</i>	1.321

in Table 3 we find some adjectives related to the notion of ‘danger’ (*dangerous*, *deadly*, *harmful*). These are associated with the activation of the FLUIDIC\_MOTION frame (...*leaking dangerous gas*, ...*leak deadly carbon monoxide*, ...*leak harmful chemicals*, etc.). The fact that adjectives related to ‘secrecy’ constitute the only dominant semantic type in Table 1 may be related to the greater specialization of

Table 2. Top 50 collocates of *reveal* (word class: adjective; syntactic context: premodifier of object noun).

<b>collocate (lemma)</b>	<b>logDice</b>	<b>collocate (lemma)</b>	<b>logDice</b>
<i>hidden</i>	7.422	<i>considerable</i>	4.799
<i>true</i>	6.402	<i>distinct</i>	4.794
<i>secret</i>	6.296	<i>dramatic</i>	4.791
<i>shocking</i>	6.114	<i>exact</i>	4.751
<i>startling</i>	5.884	<i>fundamental</i>	4.707
<i>fascinating</i>	5.772	<i>substantial</i>	4.700
<i>significant</i>	5.743	<i>profound</i>	4.664
<i>unexpected</i>	5.658	<i>ambitious</i>	4.616
<i>astonishing</i>	5.562	<i>innermost</i>	4.511
<i>inner</i>	5.547	<i>serious</i>	4.460
<i>widespread</i>	5.527	<i>extensive</i>	4.395
<i>interesting</i>	5.428	<i>huge</i>	4.372
<i>surprising</i>	5.418	<i>complex</i>	4.343
<i>extraordinary</i>	5.408	<i>massive</i>	4.321
<i>worrying</i>	5.331	<i>overwhelming</i>	4.316
<i>disturbing</i>	5.176	<i>confidential</i>	4.306
<i>alarming</i>	5.108	<i>divine</i>	4.291
<i>striking</i>	5.089	<i>dark</i>	4.274
<i>marked</i>	5.071	<i>enormous</i>	4.261
<i>intimate</i>	4.948	<i>structural</i>	4.225
<i>deep</i>	4.947	<i>stunning</i>	4.087
<i>remarkable</i>	4.943	<i>strong</i>	4.073
<i>unsuspected</i>	4.908	<i>sensitive</i>	4.065
<i>insight</i>	4.901	<i>appalling</i>	4.065
<i>subtle</i>	4.825	<i>devastating</i>	4.037

*disclose* in relation to the `SECURITY_STATUS` frame. In fact, in the FrameNet database, *disclose* is exclusively attributed to this frame.

In the current FrameNet release, the relation between the adjectives from Tables 1-3 and the `SECURITY_STATUS` frame is only partially documented. The adjectives

Table 3. Collocates of *leak* (word class: adjective; syntactic context: premodifier of object noun).

collocate (lemma)	logDice	collocate (lemma)	logDice
<i>classified</i>	6.297	<i>sensitive</i>	2.809
<i>confidential</i>	4.538	<i>secret</i>	2.329
<i>hydraulic</i>	4.012	<i>chemical</i>	2.315
<i>harmful</i>	3.068	<i>false</i>	1.680
<i>internal</i>	2.963	<i>dangerous</i>	1.064
<i>deadly</i>	2.843	<i>official</i>	0.543

*confidential* and *secret* are provided as lexical units in the entry for `SECURITY_STATUS`, but the other eleven adjectives (*classified*, *hidden*, *inner*, *innermost*, *internal*, *intimate*, *personal*, *private*, *privileged*, *sensitive*, and *unpublished*) are not. There is evidence to argue that they can be added to the list, since they comply with the general FrameNet criteria for being grouped into the same frame. The reasons for this are explained below in some detail.

The first reason concerns the similarity of semantic type. The eleven adjectives under scrutiny belong to a similar semantic type as other lexical units considered as evokers of the `SECURITY_STATUS` frame (i.e. *confidential* and *secret*). The lexicographic evidence for this is twofold. It can be found both in the synonym sets provided by the thesaurus and in the meaning definitions provided by general-purpose dictionaries. In the OTE, all these adjectives form part of the synonym set for at least one of the lexical units described in the FrameNet entry for this frame. This is shown in Table 4. Each column is occupied by one of the two *reference collocates* (i.e. *confidential* and *secret*). These are the lexical units that occur both in the collocate inventory (Tables 1-3) and in the FrameNet entry for the frame under scrutiny. Each row corresponds to one of the *target collocates*, i.e. those lexical units from the collocate inventory which can evoke the same frame as the reference units but are not documented in the FrameNet entry. Cells marked with “R” indicate those cases where the target collocates are found in the synonym entries for the reference collocates; cells marked with “T” correspond to cases where the reference collocates are found in the synonym entries for the target collocates. The tables include only those collocates which have at least one match in one of the synonym entries considered.

Some further refinement was necessary in order to deal with the problem of polysemy. This required discriminating between senses of the adjectives in the

collocations and in the thesaurus entries. For instance, *deep* was not included in Table 4, even though it occurs in one of the collocate lists and has *secret* as a synonym of one of its senses in the OTE. The reason for this is that its occurrences as a collocate of *reveal* are not specialised in the ‘unknown’ sense of this adjective. In collocation with *reveal*, *deep* is also frequently used as an intensifier (e.g. *Brown recently revealed his deep disquiet at the government deal; ...it reveals the deep hatred levelled at those who...; ...has revealed a deep level of disquiet with...*). *Dark* was also excluded for similar reasons. Its co-occurrences with *reveal* are not specialised in the `SECRECY_STATUS` frame (e.g. *...and revealed a small dark chamber just inside; ...a strand of his hair was sticking out, ...revealing a dark raven color*).

The information shown in Table 4 suggests that the eleven target collocates (*classified, hidden, inner, innermost, internal, intimate, personal, private, privileged, sensitive, unpublished*) can be grouped into the same semantic type as other units which evoke the `SECRECY_STATUS` frame. Their presence in this table indicates that, for each of them, it is possible to find at least one relation of synonymy with a reference collocate.

A second type of thesaurus information which is also relevant for our analysis concerns oppositeness. At this point, it is important to recall that polar and scalar antonyms are not split into separate frames in FrameNet, because they do not profile different participants (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016). In relation to our case

Table 4. Pairings of target and reference collocates in thesaurus entries.

		Reference collocates	
		<i>confidential</i>	<i>secret</i>
Target collocates	<i>classified</i>	R	R
	<i>hidden</i>		R/T
	<i>inner</i>	T	T
	<i>innermost</i>		T
	<i>internal</i>		T
	<i>intimate</i>	R/T	T
	<i>personal</i>	R/T	
	<i>private</i>	T	R/T
	<i>privileged</i>	R/T	T
	<i>sensitive</i>	R	
	<i>unpublished</i>	R	R



study, this is especially relevant for the analysis of *private*. The adjectives *open* and *public* are registered as target lexical units from the `SECURITY_STATUS` frame, and *private* is an antonym of these two adjectives. This relation is in fact recorded in the OTE, where *private* appears as an opposite in the entries for *public* and *open*, and conversely, *public* and *open* are included as opposites in the entry for *private*. This can be interpreted as further evidence for the treatment of *private* as a unit capable of evoking the `SECURITY_STATUS` frame.

The semantic affinity between the target collocates and the reference collocates is further reinforced by their definitions. Tables 5 and 6 show excerpts from entries in three different dictionaries (in the case of polysemous items, only the most relevant senses for the frame under scrutiny have been cited). The relation with the reference collocates is straightforward in the definitions of two of the target collocates, namely, *classified* and *sensitive*. As can be observed, their definiens in the three dictionaries includes the word *secret* itself. For another group of target collocates (*inner*, *innermost*, *private*, *privileged*), the word *secret* is used in only one of the three definitions. Finally, there is another group in whose definitions the word *secret* is not present at all. This is the case of *hidden*, *internal*, *intimate*, *personal*, and *unpublished*. However, there are other signs of their affinity with the meaning of the reference collocates, which can be captured through a closer examination of their definitions.

A common thread running through the definitions of the two reference collocates (Table 5) is the idea of a ‘restricted access to knowledge’. This notion is also present, with various nuances, in the meaning potential of the target collocates (Table 6). Thus, in some definitions we find paraphrases such as “not known or available to most people” (*personal*, MED); “not to be revealed to others” (*private*, ODE); “not available for the public to read” (*unpublished*, MED); “most people do not know about it or understand it” (*hidden*, MED); “not allowed to be made public by law” (*privileged*, LDOCE); etc. Admittedly, this notion of “restricted access to knowledge” is less obvious in some of the definitions. *Internal* is a case in point. However, this is mainly due to the fact that, in some cases, the dictionary cannot cover the entire range of arguments with which the word is combined. Thus, in the case of *internal*, we can observe that some of the collocational patterns involve combinations with nouns denoting ‘information or documents’, e.g. *memo*, *email*, *document*, *report*. This is in fact the collocational pattern of *internal* that is habitually merged with *leak* (e.g. *...recently leaked an internal report*; *...bad leaked an internal memo*; *...leaking an internal document*). Used in combination with this type of argument, the specific sense of *internal* is very similar to that of *classified*, since it restricts the domain within which a document is allowed to be circulated.

Table 5. Definitions of reference collocates from the `SECURITY_STATUS` frame.

Lemma	Word sense definitions		
	ODE	LDOCE	MED
<i>confidential</i>	intended to be kept secret	spoken or written in secret and intended to be kept secret	confidential documents or information must be kept secret
<i>secret</i>	not known or seen or not meant to be known or seen by others [...] not meant to be known as such by others	known about by only a few people and kept hidden from others [...] secret feelings, worries or actions are ones that you do not want other people to know about	deliberately not told to other people or kept hidden from other people

Table 6. Definitions of senses of target collocates related to the `SECURITY_STATUS` frame.

Lemma	Word sense definitions		
	ODE	LDOCE	MED
<i>classified</i>	(of information or documents) designated as officially secret and accessible only to authorized people	classified information, documents etc are ones which the government has ordered to be kept secret	classified information is officially secret and allowed to be known by only a few people connected with the government or armed forces
<i>bidden</i>	kept out of sight; concealed	not easy to notice or realize	if something is hidden, most people do not know about it or understand it
<i>inner</i>	(of thoughts or feelings) private and not expressed or discernible; denoting a concealed or unacknowledged part of a person's personality	relating to things which happen or exist but are not easy to see	private, personal, or secret

<i>innermost</i>	(of thoughts or feelings) most private and deeply felt	your innermost feelings, desires etc are your most personal and secret ones	your innermost thoughts and feelings are the ones that are most personal and private
<i>internal</i>	existing or occurring within an organization	within a company or organization rather than outside it	existing or happening within an organization or institution
<i>intimate</i>	private and personal	private and friendly so that you feel comfortable	relating to very private or personal things
<i>personal</i>	of or concerning one's private life, relationships, and emotions rather than one's career or public life	relating to the private areas of your life	private and not known or available to most people
<i>private</i>	(of a conversation, activity, or gathering) involving only a particular person or group, and often dealing with matters that are not to be disclosed to others [...] (of thoughts and feelings) not to be revealed to others	a private meeting, conversation etc involves only two people or a small number of people, and is not for other people to know about [...] private feelings, information, or opinions are personal or secret and not for other people to know about	understood by only a few people, not by everyone
<i>privileged</i>	(of information) legally protected from being made public	privileged information is private and is not allowed to be made public by law	privileged information is secret and does not have to be discussed
<i>sensitive</i>	kept secret or with restrictions on disclosure to avoid endangering security	a situation or subject that is sensitive needs to be dealt with very carefully, because it is secret or because it may offend people	needing to be kept secret
<i>unpublished</i>	(of a piece of writing or music) not issued in print for public sale or consumption	unpublished writing, information etc has never been published	not available for the public to read

In sum, all of the target collocates can be used to describe some kind of difficulty in accessing a particular aspect of information or knowledge. The object of that knowledge corresponds to the PHENOMENON element in the SECRECY\_STATUS frame, as well as to the role INFORMATION in the REVEAL\_SECRET frame; the person whose access to that knowledge is restricted is represented by the COGNIZER in the SECRECY\_STATUS frame, and by the ADDRESSEE in the REVEAL\_SECRET frame. This configuration of semantic roles can be applied to at least some patterns of use of all the target collocates. This leads us to the next reason for same-frame grouping, which is *near-paraphrasability*. As defined in FrameNet, this criterion refers to felicitous substitutability in syntactic environments characterised by the similar configurations of frame elements. Examples (4)-(5) illustrate this possibility with a sample of target collocates. The annotation of these examples integrates descriptive labels of elements from the subordinate and the superordinate frames (to distinguish them from other labels, the evokers of frames from different levels are marked with a subscript). Thus, in example (4), the element PHENOMENON and the adjectives that evoke it (i.e. the reference collocates *secret* and *confidential*) are embedded into a core element (INFORMATION) evoked by the principal bearer of the subordinate frame (in these examples, the verb *disclose*). Additionally, two elements of these frames (ADDRESSEE and COGNIZER) converge into a single constituent. This complex configuration of semantic roles can be accompanied by other elements that belong exclusively to one of the frames combined. In these examples, the element REVEALER is exclusively activated by the subordinate frame. Crucially, examples (5) show a similar configuration of semantic roles – and also a similar mapping onto valency patterns – with the target collocates acting as evokers of the superordinate frame.

- (4) a. ...after [he REVEALER] DISCLOSED<sub>SUB</sub> [SECRET<sub>SUP</sub> [MI5 documents PHENOMENON] INFORMATION] [to a British newspaper ADDRESSEE/COGNIZER].  
 b. [We REVEALER] had DISCLOSED<sub>SUB</sub> [some CONFIDENTIAL<sub>SUP</sub> [sales data PHENOMENON] INFORMATION] [to one of our suppliers ADDRESSEE/COGNIZER] on the clear understanding that it remained confidential.
- (5) a. ...her first husband (...) demanded she paid him the staggering sum or [he REVEALER] would REVEAL<sub>SUB</sub> [INTIMATE<sub>SUP</sub> [details of their relationship PHENOMENON] INFORMATION] [to the media ADDRESSEE/COGNIZER].  
 b. [Who ADDRESSEE/COGNIZER] do [we REVEALER] DISCLOSE<sub>SUB</sub> [your PERSONAL<sub>SUP</sub> [details PHENOMENON] INFORMATION] to?  
 c. When [a person REVEALER] DISCLOSES<sub>SUB</sub> [PRIVATE<sub>SUP</sub> [data PHENOMENON] INFORMATION] [to an organization ADDRESSEE/COGNIZER], accuracy is obviously an ethical issue.  
 d. Sometimes [the taxing officer REVEALER] will have to DISCLOSE<sub>SUB</sub> [PRIVILEGED<sub>SUP</sub> [documents PHENOMENON] INFORMATION] [to the other side ADDRESSEE/COGNIZER].  
 e. [DPTAC and the DRC REVEALER] will not DISCLOSE<sub>SUB</sub> [UNPUBLISHED<sub>SUP</sub> [information

PHENOMENON] INFORMATION] [to third parties ADDRESSEE/COGNIZER] without the permission of the organisation providing the information.

### 5.3. CASE STUDY 2: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

#### 5.3.1. First step: analysis of conceptual dependency

This second case study is focused on relations between the dependent frame COMMITTING\_CRIME and two other frames, LEGALITY and MORALITY\_EVALUATION. The three frames share a substantial part of their conceptual structure, but they are located on different levels of specificity: the COMMITTING\_CRIME presupposes the LEGALITY frame as background, and in turn, the LEGALITY frame presupposes the MORALITY\_EVALUATION frame. This is coded in FrameNet in the form of successive “Using” relations connecting these entries. “Using” relations are those in which “a particular frame makes reference in a very general kind of way to the structure of a more abstract, schematic frame” (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016: 83). In the FrameNet database, MORALITY\_EVALUATION is described as being “used by” LEGALITY, and LEGALITY is described as being “used by” COMMITTING\_CRIME.

Additionally, the relationship between the first frame and the other two shows the characteristics of conceptual dependency explained in Section 4.2. Observe the definition of COMMITTING\_CRIME in FrameNet:

A Perpetrator (generally intentionally) commits a Crime, i.e. does something not permitted by the laws of society. (s.v.)

The conceptual structure represented in this definition includes an agentive participant (PERPETRATOR) which is attributed coreness status. This participant has no equivalent element in the structure of the other two frames. Their definitions are quoted below:

Words in this frame [LEGALITY] describe the status of an Action with respect to a Code of laws or rules. An Object may also be in violation or compliance of the Code by virtue of its existence, location or possession. (s.v.)

In this frame [MORALITY\_EVALUATION] an Evaluee is described by a (usually implicit) Judge with respect to the morality or rightness of his or her Behavior. (s.v.)

With respect to these other two frames – both of which are situated in the same chain of “Using” relations – the COMMITTING\_CRIME frame adds a layer of causation, represented by the agentive role of the PERPETRATOR. In this sense, COMMITTING\_CRIME is a subordinate frame relative to LEGALITY and MORALITY\_EVALUATION. Given the relationship of presupposition between these two frames (and their superordinate status with respect to COMMITTING\_CRIME), we can expect to find

their frame evokers among the selectional preferences of items which evoke the COMMITTING\_CRIME frame. This is explored in the next section.

### 5.3.2. Second step: analysis of collocate types

The entry for COMMITTING\_CRIME in FrameNet records four lexical units, of which two are verbs (*commit* and *perpetrate*). The two verbs have been entered here as nodes for collocate extraction, following the methodological settings specified in Section 5.1. The resulting list of adjectival collocates is displayed in Tables 7-8. Table 7 shows the top 50 collocates obtained with *commit* as node. In the case of *perpetrate*, there was no need to establish a limit on the maximum number of items, because the number of collocates with positive association scores was smaller.

The results in Table 7-8 show a predominance of adjectives expressing a negative evaluation. These extend along a cline ranging from more specific to more schematic meanings. On the more specific pole of the cline are those adjectives that are capable of evoking the LEGALITY frame. These are the adjectives *criminal*, *delinquent*, *fraudulent*, *illegal*, *indictable*, *unlawful* and *wrongful*. Table 7 contains all these adjectives; Table 8 contains only two of them (*criminal* and *illegal*). Another set of adjectives is formed by words which convey or are typically associated with a negative judgment, but which do not include the notion of 'legality' as an essential component of their meaning. The list is extensive. Table 7 contains 25 of them: *abominable*, *appalling*, *atrocious*, *awful*, *brutal*, *despicable*, *detestable*, *dreadful*, *egregious*, *evil*, *grave*, *grievous*, *gross*, *gruesome*, *heinous*, *horrendous*, *horrific*, *immoral*, *indecent*, *inhumane*, *serious*, *terrible*, *unforgivable*, *unpardonable*, *unspeakable*. Table 8 contains 11 of these adjectives: *appalling*, *cruel*, *dreadful*, *evil*, *gross*, *heinous*, *horrible*, *horrific*, *inhuman*, *malicious*, *unspeakable*.

As in the previous case study, we can observe that the capacity of the collocates for evoking the superordinate frames is only partially documented in the corresponding FrameNet entries. The adjectives *criminal*, *illegal*, *unlawful* and *wrongful* are provided as lexical units in the entry for LEGALITY, but there are three other adjectives in Tables 7-8 (*delinquent*, *fraudulent*, *indictable*) which are not recorded in this entry and show a strong capacity for evoking the same frame. As in Section 5.2.2., I will use the terms *reference collocates* and *target collocates* to distinguish these two groups. The semantic affinity between the two can be identified by means of the same criteria applied above, which include the analysis of information from a thesaurus, from meaning definitions in general-purpose dictionaries, and from the analysis of example concordances. Concerning the first

Table 7. Top 50 collocates of commit (word class: adjective; syntactic context: premodifier of object noun).

collocate (lemma)	logDice	collocate (lemma)	logDice
<i>criminal</i>	7.971	<i>brutal</i>	5.292
<i>heinous</i>	7.723	<i>horrific</i>	5.261
<i>violent</i>	7.208	<i>horrible</i>	5.260
<i>serious</i>	6.399	<i>dreadful</i>	5.116
<i>alleged</i>	6.330	<i>unforgivable</i>	5.074
<i>terrible</i>	6.295	<i>acquisitive</i>	4.953
<i>detestable</i>	6.276	<i>minor</i>	4.829
<i>unlawful</i>	6.177	<i>evil</i>	4.760
<i>indecent</i>	6.095	<i>penal</i>	4.733
<i>indictable</i>	5.978	<i>substantial</i>	4.651
<i>horrendous</i>	5.949	<i>murderous</i>	4.642
<i>unspeakable</i>	5.911	<i>immoral</i>	4.492
<i>atrocious</i>	5.820	<i>non-violent</i>	4.480
<i>gross</i>	5.784	<i>fraudulent</i>	4.424
<i>sexual</i>	5.761	<i>unprovoked</i>	4.403
<i>grievous</i>	5.738	<i>abominable</i>	4.384
<i>anti-social</i>	5.729	<i>inhumane</i>	4.362
<i>imprisonable</i>	5.686	<i>delinquent</i>	4.349
<i>unpardonable</i>	5.670	<i>despicable</i>	4.345
<i>wrongful</i>	5.632	<i>awful</i>	4.276
<i>mortal</i>	5.575	<i>hostile</i>	4.244
<i>grave</i>	5.569	<i>egregious</i>	4.208
<i>unnatural</i>	5.525	<i>disciplinary</i>	4.198
<i>illegal</i>	5.367	<i>gruesome</i>	4.193
<i>appalling</i>	5.299	<i>non-political</i>	4.177

criterion, observe that for each of the three target collocates, the OTE provides at least one relation of synonymy with a reference collocate (Table 9). The definitions of the target collocates also attest to their relation with the semantic type of the reference collocates. In these definitions, words such as *illegal*, *criminal*, *crime*, and *offence* establish the 'illegal' status of one of the arguments of the adjectives (Table 10). Finally, examples (6)-(7) illustrate the possibility of using target and

Table 8. Top 50 collocates of *perpetrate* (word class: adjective; syntactic context: premodifier of object noun).

collocate (lemma)	logDice	collocate (lemma)	logDice
<i>unspeakable</i>	5.938	<i>malicious</i>	3.569
<i>senseless</i>	5.222	<i>cruel</i>	3.270
<i>beinous</i>	5.142	<i>anti-social</i>	2.991
<i>inhuman</i>	5.125	<i>gross</i>	2.971
<i>untold</i>	4.638	<i>sexual</i>	2.930
<i>brutal</i>	4.053	<i>criminal</i>	2.183
<i>dreadful</i>	3.942	<i>domestic</i>	1.922
<i>evil</i>	3.924	<i>massive</i>	1.641
<i>violent</i>	3.919	<i>illegal</i>	1.622
<i>horrific</i>	3.780	<i>false</i>	0.929
<i>appalling</i>	3.701	<i>numerous</i>	0.887
<i>horrible</i>	3.639	<i>moral</i>	0.680

reference collocates in environments with a similar configuration of semantic roles and with a similar valency pattern (as with examples (4)-(5), the annotation shows embedding of superordinate frame elements within the structure of the subordinate frame).

- (6) a. [YOU PERPETRATOR] have COMMITTED<sub>SUB</sub> [an ILLEGAL<sub>SUP</sub> [operation ACTION] CRIME].  
 b. ...protesters [who PERPETRATOR] had [sometimes TIME] COMMITTED<sub>SUB</sub> [CRIMINAL<sub>SUP</sub> [acts ACTION] CRIME].
- (7) a. ...shows that [boys PERPETRATOR] are still more likely to COMMIT<sub>SUB</sub> [DELINQUENT<sub>SUP</sub> [acts ACTION] CRIME] than girls.  
 b. ...too easy for [a criminal PERPETRATOR] to COMMIT<sub>SUB</sub> [FRAUDULENT<sub>SUP</sub> [transactions ACTION] CRIME].  
 c. Should [a Party member PERPETRATOR] COMMIT<sub>SUB</sub> [an INDICTABLE<sub>SUP</sub> [offence ACTION] CRIME], he shall be expelled from the Party.

In general, both verbs (*commit* and *perpetrate*) show a strong preference for adjectival collocates with a negative evaluative meaning. Some of them (e.g. *terrible*, *horrible*, *horrific*, *serious*, *grave*, etc.) have highly schematic meanings and can be applied to a broad variety of argument classes, not all of which are endowed with morally assessable qualities (e.g. *horrific nightmares*, *terrible disaster*, *horrible wounds*, *gruesome fate*, *serious damage*, *grave concern*, etc.).



Table 9. Pairings of target and reference collocates in thesaurus entries.

		Reference collocates			
		<i>criminal</i>	<i>illegal</i>	<i>unlawful</i>	<i>wrongful</i>
Target collocates	<i>delinquent</i>	R/T		R	
	<i>fraudulent</i>	R/T	<i>T</i>	R/T	
	<i>indictable</i>	R		R	

Table 10. Definitions of senses of target collocates related to the LEGALITY frame.

Lemma	Word sense definitions		
	ODE	LDOCE	MED
<i>delinquent</i>	(typically of a young person) tending to commit crime, particular minor crime	behaving in a way that is illegal or that society does not approve of	behaving in a way that is criminal or antisocial
<i>fraudulent</i>	obtained, done by, or involving deception, especially criminal deception	intended to deceive people in an illegal way, in order to gain money, power etc.	made with the intention of tricking someone, especially illegally
<i>indictable</i>	(of an offence) rendering the person who commits it liable to be charged with a serious crime that warrants a trial by jury	an indictable offence is one for which you can be indicted	an indictable offence is one for which you can be officially accused and brought to a court for trial

Following the FrameNet taxonomy of semantic types, these adjectives could be marked as bearing NEGATIVE\_JUDGMENT. However, it should be noted that this aspect of meaning is applied to lexical units across semantic frames (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016). In its syntagmatic dimension, this semantic property corresponds to what Bednarek (2008) describes as a “NEG collocation” pattern, which is a specific manifestation of the more general phenomenon of *semantic preference/prosody*. However, other collocates of *commit* and *perpetrate* are more specific and show a

Table 11. Pairings of target and reference collocates in thesaurus entries.

		Reference collocates		
		<i>evil</i>	<i>heinous</i>	<i>immoral</i>
Target collocates	<i>abominable</i>		R	
	<i>cruel</i>	T	T	
	<i>despicable</i>	R	R/T	
	<i>indecent</i>			R
	<i>inhuman</i>		T	
	<i>inhumane</i>		T	
	<i>malicious</i>	R		R
	<i>unforgivable</i>		R	
	<i>unpardonable</i>		R	

potential for evoking the MORALITY\_EVALUATION frame. Three of them (*evil*, *heinous*, *immoral*) are in fact attributed to this frame in FrameNet. Other collocates from Tables 7-8 can also be added to this set, since the negative judgement they express is systematically applied to the moral or ethical qualities of particular actions, or of the human individuals or institutions responsible for such actions. Good examples of this are *abominable*, *cruel*, *despicable*, *indecent*, *inhuman*, *inhumane*, *malicious*, *unforgivable*, and *unpardonable*. These adjectives meet the condition of near-paraphrasability in relation to *evil*, *heinous* and *immoral*, as examples (8)-(9) illustrate. Moreover, as Table 11 shows, they can be classified as synonyms of one or more reference collocates (*evil*, *heinous*, *immoral*).

- (8) a. We want to forget and forgive those [who PERPETRATOR] PERPETRATED<sub>SUB</sub> [this HEINOUS<sub>SUP</sub> [crime ACTION] CRIME].  
 b. Those [who PERPETRATOR] PERPETRATED<sub>SUB</sub> [this EVIL<sub>SUP</sub> [attack ACTION] CRIME] must be brought to justice.
- (9) a. [These men PERPETRATOR] COMMITTED<sub>SUB</sub> [their DESPICABLE<sub>SUP</sub> [crimes ACTION] CRIME] [by targeting the most vulnerable members of society MANNER].  
 b. ...its him [who PERPETRATOR]'s COMMITTED<sub>SUB</sub> [those INHUMAN<sub>SUP</sub> [war crimes ACTION] CRIME].

#### 5.4. DISCUSSION

To frame the significance of the results analysed in section 5.2., it will be useful to recall the standard syntactic types of collocational patterns (section 2). These include combinations of a predicate and the head of one of its arguments: V+N, Adj+N, Adv+V, Adv+Adj, and N+Prp+N (Corpas Pastor 1996; Hausmann 1998; Bosque 2001a, 2004a, 2004b; Martin 2008; Tutin 2008). This model has been extended to the analysis of *ternary* (o *tripartite*) collocations. Ternary combinations with the structure V+Adj+N are decomposed into two collocational pairs, V+N and Adj+N, which are constituted independently of the co-occurrence of the verb and the adjective in the extended pattern (Hausmann 2004; Alonso Ramos and Wanner 2007). However, the patterns analysed in the previous section do not fit into this model, because they show a semantic link between a predicate and a non-head constituent of an argument.

Selectional relations between verbs and modifiers of nouns have not been frequently described in the literature on collocation. Almela-Sánchez (2011) and Almela-Sánchez y Cantos-Gómez (2018) focus on corpus-based techniques for capturing patterns of lexical association between verbs and adjectives in complex collocations with nouns. Bosque (2001b) and Koike (2001) offer an analytical framework for cases where the selectional constraint operates between the verb and the modifier of the noun, as in Sp. *eludir una empresa peligrosa* ('to avert a dangerous undertaking'), *enfrentarse a situaciones peligrosas* ('to face dangerous situations'), *pasar por circunstancias críticas* ('to go through critical circumstances'), or *desencadenar una ola de violencia* ('to unleash a wave of violence'), among others. Although these authors apply different theoretical frameworks – Bosque subsumes collocation within the Chomskyan notion of *s-selection*, while Koike is in line with the Hausmann-Mel'čuk phraseological approach – their analysis of ternary combinations converge on a similar idea: the selectional link between the verb and the modifier of the noun is concomitant with nouns that are semantically downgraded and that fail to intervene in the collocational link with the verb. Koike (2001) observes that in the aforementioned examples, the head noun (*empresa*, *situación*, *circunstancia*, *ola*) has a *semantically neutral quality*: “un rasgo semánticamente neutro” (Koike 2001: 160). Bosque (2001b) agrees with this statement and offers a similar formulation of the same phenomenon: in these examples, the abstract nouns “provide ‘instances’ of the quality or state of affairs denoted by the adjective” (Bosque, 2001b: 33). Bosque (2001b) uses the term *light noun* – by analogy to *light verb* – to characterise the behaviour of this type of items.

However, the characteristics of collocations with light nouns do not apply to the patterns analysed in section 5.2. The verb-adjective collocations described

there are compatible with nouns that intervene in the collocation with the verb (*disclose a memorandum, disclose data, leak documents, reveal information*, etc.; *commit a crime, perpetrate an attack*, etc.) and whose semantic content is not reducible to the schematicity of a light noun. Rather than serving merely as a means to support the semantic content of the modifier (*secret, confidential, privileged, sensitive*, etc.), nouns such as *memorandum, data, documents, information*, etc., constitute themselves another semantic set, organised around the notion of INFORMATION, which reflects a further aspect of the selectional preferences of the verb. In ternary combinations such as *disclose a confidential memorandum, disclose privileged documents, disclose sensitive data, leak classified documents, reveal secret information, commit despicable crimes, perpetrate an evil attack, perpetrate heinous crimes*, etc., both the adjective and the noun provide a lexical realisation of semantic preferences of the verb. Rather than cases of collocations with light nouns, these examples seem to reflect a phenomenon of *stratified collocation*, whereby the predicate is involved simultaneously in a collocational link with the head and with a non-head constituent of the argument phrase.

There is some *prima facie* evidence that stratified collocational patterns such as those pointed out here may not be isolated cases. It is possible to allude to examples which, a priori, seem to exhibit similar properties. Koike (2001) mentions some examples which are ambiguous between verb-noun and verb-adjective links. One of them is Sp. *satisfacér al estómago más exigente* ('to satisfy the most demanding guest/consumer', where *estómago* (*stomach*) is interpreted metonymically). Koike (2001) concedes that in this example it is difficult to determine whether the lexical bond is established between the verb and the noun, or between the verb and the modifier of the noun. Arguably, what this ambiguity reflects is simultaneity: *satisfy* collocates both with nouns referring to 'somebody who receives a service' (*client, customer, user, consumer, patient*, etc.) and with nouns and adjectives that describe the 'setting of a standard or objective' (*demand, requirement, condition, constraint, need, craving, request, hunger, appetite...*; *demanding, insatiable, hungry, stringent...*). The relationship between the two sets of preferences fits readily into A/D layering, because the setting of a standard is a conceptually more basic structure than the process of successfully meeting the standard (the latter presupposes the former, but not the other way round). Again, in these examples, the noun and the modifier of the noun realise different sets of selectional preferences of the same valency bearer. Further corpus research will determine whether these and other examples can indeed be interpreted as additional empirical evidence for A/D layering in the realm of collocations.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This article is conceived as a contribution to the development of a frame-based, valency-oriented approach to collocation. I have argued that the Langackerian notion of A/D layering and its application in the field of semantic frame description provides an efficient explanatory framework for a type of collocational pattern, which may be called *stratified collocation*, that does not fit into the standard syntactic typologies of collocation. The theoretical basis for the framework is made of correspondences between the structure of canonical valency relations and the descriptive categories of Fillmorean frame semantics. The articulation of these relations reduces to three main ideas: (i) the configuration of canonical valency relations in terms of autonomy-dependency asymmetries; (ii) the deployment of autonomy-dependency relations along two different axes (predicate-argument dependency and event dependency); and (iii) the default mapping of frame-evokers and FE fillers to valency bearers and valency fillers, respectively. The combination of these three claims allows us to predict the presence of evokers of a superordinate frame among selectional preferences of a subordinate frame, as well as the syntactic realisation of such selectional preferences through embedded predicate-argument structures, such as V((Adj(N))).

The empirical evidence analysed here has been focused on two specific case studies. I have also mentioned additional examples that seem to exhibit similar characteristics and that are worth exploring in forthcoming case studies. This will help us determine the extent to which dependency relations between semantic frames with different levels of complexity may be responsible for deriving productive patterns of stratified collocation.

In addition to exploring further empirical evidence, future research into stratified collocation should also be geared to clarify the configuration of relations between the different sets of selectional preferences observed in this type of patterns. In particular, one issue which deserves special attention is the role played by both predicates – verb and adjective – in establishing the selectional preferences imposed on the argument head (the noun). It remains to be ascertained whether the preferred semantic types for the noun slot result from coordinating selectional preferences of verb and adjective or from the dominant role of one of these two items. Clarifying this issue will be useful for obtaining a more accurate knowledge of how semantic and syntactic layers of valency patterning interact in frame-to-frame relations.

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## EXPLORING THE L2 MOTIVATIONAL SELF SYSTEM IN SPAIN: STUDY DESIGN AND PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

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**ABSTRACT.** *This paper details the design and validation of a Motivational Factors Questionnaire (MFQ) used to explore the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) (Dörnyei 2009) of over 500 Spanish learners of English. The mixed methods Spanish study was a partial replica of Ryan (2009) in Japan and Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009) in Asia. The final validated version of the MFQ we present here thus contains 67 items comprising 13 psychometric scales targeting the ideal L2 self, the ought L2 self, as well as a diverse range of goal-related and affective motivational variables. We were able to confirm that the ideal L2 self is a relevant construct for the sample although the ought L2 self emerged as having a negative relationship with L2 learning. The L2 learning experience was explored in this study from the perspective of past L2 learning in compulsory education and we ascertained somewhat negative opinions in this regard.*

*Keywords: L2 motivation, ideal self, ought self, international posture, Motivational Factors Questionnaire.*

## ANÁLISIS DEL SISTEMA MOTIVACIONAL DEL YO L2 EN ESPAÑA: DISEÑO DEL ESTUDIO Y RESULTADOS INICIALES

**RESUMEN.** *El presente artículo detalla el diseño y los procedimientos seguidos para la validación de un Cuestionario de Factores Motivacionales (CFM) para aplicar la teoría del Sistema Motivacional del Yo L2 (SMY L2) (Dörnyei 2009) en España. El estudio realizado con 529 estudiantes universitarios constituye una réplica de Ryan (2009) y Taguchi, Magid y Papi (2009). El cuestionario está compuesto de 67 ítems distribuidos en 13 escalas psicométricas que miden factores como el ideal del yo L2, el yo deóntico L2 y otros variables motivacionales relacionados con las metas y los valores afectivos. Pudimos confirmar que el ideal del yo L2 es una figura relevante para la muestra mientras que el yo deóntico L2 resultó tener una relación negativa con el aprendizaje de la L2. Nuestro análisis de las experiencias pasadas de aprendizaje de la L2 fue fructífero ya que pudimos detectar cierta negatividad en esta variable actitudinal.*

*Palabras clave:* motivación, aprendizaje L2, ideal del yo, el yo deóntico, perspectiva internacional, Cuestionario de Factores Motivacionales.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper details the design and validation of a Motivational Factors Questionnaire (MFQ) created to explore the tenets of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei 2005, 2009) in Spain. The MFQ was administered to 529 undergraduates in the Region of Murcia as part of a mixed methods thesis study (Brady 2015). Currently, at this early stage of the application of L2 MSSS theory in language learning contexts in Europe (see Boo, Dörnyei and Ryan 2015, for an overview of recent L2 motivation studies), some qualitative work is being carried out on the practical applications of the L2 Motivational Self System in Spain (e.g. Mackay 2014) yet the L2 MSS has been applied quantitatively in few large-scale explorations on mainland Spain, making the study described in this paper a pioneering one in the application of the L2 Motivational Self System to gain insight into the language learning attitudes and behaviour in population of students in south-eastern Spain. To carry out the study exploring the existence and nature of the *ideal* and *ought* L2 selves in Spain, we employ an extended Spanish version of a Motivational Factors Questionnaire (MFQ) based on the original L2 MSS validation studies of Ryan (2009) in Japan and Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009) in Japan, China and Iran, respectively. The final piloted Spanish MFQ included 13 psychometric scales among which feature an instrumentality promotion-prevention measure as well as a scale to explore the novel orientation of *international posture* (Yashima 2000,

2002, 2009). Although, most L2 MSS studies (e.g. Busse 2010, 2013; Busse and Williams 2010; Csizér and Lucáks 2010; Henry 2011; Islam, Lamb and Chambers 2013; Kormos and Csizér 2008; Kormos, Kiddle and Csizér 2011; Lamb 2012; You and Dörnyei 2016) have employed parts of the original MFQs used by Ryan and Taguchi et al. to a greater or lesser extent, the Spanish MFQ can be considered quite a comprehensive instrument in that it incorporates self-related, goal-related and affective factors as well as the three pillars of the L2 MSS as conceptualised by Dörnyei (2005, 2009).

## 2. THE L2 MOTIVATIONAL SELF SYSTEM

It is not the scope of this article to provide more than a brief overview of the main tenets of the L2MSS (see Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009 for a detailed debate on the theoretical and practical applications). Dörnyei (2005, 2009a) proposes the construct of the L2 Motivational Self System (L2 MSS) based on possible selves' theory in mainstream psychology (Markus and Nurius 1987) and Higgins' self-discrepancy theory (1987). This broad framework of L2 learning incorporates an *ideal L2 self*, an *ought L2 self*, and the further dimension of *the L2 learning experience*.

Under Dörnyei's conceptualisation, the ideal L2 self encapsulates the imaginings or visions one may have of oneself using the foreign language in the future. Dörnyei claims that learners may have imagined L2 selves that are proficient in the L2 and, in his view this phenomenon may explain L2 motivated behaviour more precisely than the renowned concept of integrativeness. Gardner and Lambert's (1972) and Gardner (1985) conceptualisation denoted a desire to become closer and even similar to the community of speakers of the L2 in question and this construct became the most cited precursor to motivated language learning behaviour for almost half a decade. Dörnyei (2009), however, in questioning the prevalence of a desire for integration in contexts very distanced from native speaker communities (e.g. Hungary) conjectured that a future L2 self-guide formed through the experiences, hopes and desires of the learner becomes an imagined L2 ideal that the learner will seek to emulate. Under the ideal L2 self-conceptualisation, the target vision or ideal transcends a sense of positive identification with a native speaker community along with the negative connotations that becoming closer to that community involved distancing oneself from one's own community — somehow having to compromise current relationships in order to leave space for the new one. As a more open and flexible framework for L2 motivation, the ideal L2 self construct also facilitates the incorporation of positive instrumental motives, such as improving employment opportunities, becoming a more knowledgeable

person and so on — important pragmatic rationales behind L2 learning that had mistakenly become dichotomous with the integrative motive. The imaginary figure of an ideal L2 self has proved readily identifiable and effective in participants in L2 MSS studies in different cultural contexts with some variation in terms of detail and energising force depending perhaps on factors such as age (e.g. Huang and Chen 2017; Chen, Warden and Huang 2005; Kormos and Csizér 2008) and learning style (e.g. Kim and Kim 2011).

The L2 ought self, on the other hand, was conceptualised as representing extrinsic influences on the self and so incorporates social pressures and obligations or duties related to knowledge of the L2 imposed by external social groups or entities — for instance, the foreign language related ideals that parents, teachers and significant others have for their loved ones and protégés. Another facet of the L2 ought self may come from the fear of what one may become in life without L2 competence. Dörnyei (2009) here draws a parallel between the ought L2 self and negative instrumental motivation — the preventative act of avoiding negative outcomes (Higgins 1998), e.g. failing to live up to expectations or getting low exam marks. It is the case that that with the exception of Taguchi et al. (2009), most studies on the components of the L2 MSS have found the ought L2 self difficult to detect in terms of an externally-configured energising effect on L2 motivation (e.g. Kormos and Csizér 2008). Debate has ensued on whether a sense of external obligation might be internalised by L2 learners and intrinsic to the L2 self-guide (e.g. Lamb 2012; You and Dörnyei 2016) or, given its existence in some Asian studies, whether the influence of significant others on ones' desire to learn a foreign language might be culture specific.

The third cornerstone of the construct, the L2 learning experience, somewhat inexplicit within the L2 MSS construct in contrast with the more detailed L2 selves, involves situation specific motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience. This dimension of the theory is conceptualised “at a different level from the two self guides” (Dörnyei 2009: 29) and is specific to foreign language learning contexts. The experiential angle of L2 learning has no precedent in mainstream psychology research on the self and its role within the L2 MSS or indeed the elements it comprises still require theoretical and empirical attention. The L2 learning experience, past and/or present that Dörnyei feels contributes specifically to the configuration and energising effect of L2 possible selves could encompass a plethora of aspects related to informal or formal learning—from the teacher to the learner group to classroom methodology and materials. In most L2 MSS studies, explorations of the learning experience have involved direct reference to the L2 classroom, (e.g. Kormos and Csizér 2008; Ryan 2009; Taguchi et al. 2009) and informal learning outside the classroom (Lamb 2012). In this study



the focus chosen for further exploration of the learning experience was temporal distinguishing past from current learning attitudes.

### 3. MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

Recent post-structuralist views on L2 motivation have brought the individual and his or her multidimensional capacity for interaction and negotiation within the social environment to the fore (e.g. Kanno and Norton 2003). Some researchers question the utility of quantitative methods to examine cross sections of the population given that, as Ushioda (2009: 215) argues, motivation, being variable and individual, is difficult to fully investigate through numerical data. In other words, statistical procedures that establish linear causal relations and ‘neutralize’ the data cannot fully reflect the multidimensionality of motivation or the complex, idiosyncratic dynamics of such an intricate attribute. For those unexperienced in the newer qualitative methods, however, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011: 241) contend that mixing methods allows one to achieve an elaborate and comprehensive understanding of a complex matter by enabling the researcher to examine the phenomenon from different angles.

The study herein described proposed to examine L2 motivation in a college student population through a mixed methods design similar to that used in Ryan (2008), which can be represented as follows:

The qual – quan – qual structure (Fig. 1), which was originally devised by Morse (1991, 2003, in Ryan 2008), indicates that although priority is given in weight to the quantitative data, this phase is complemented and enriched by qualitative phases enabling the researcher to access contextual and interpretative data based on the quan findings.

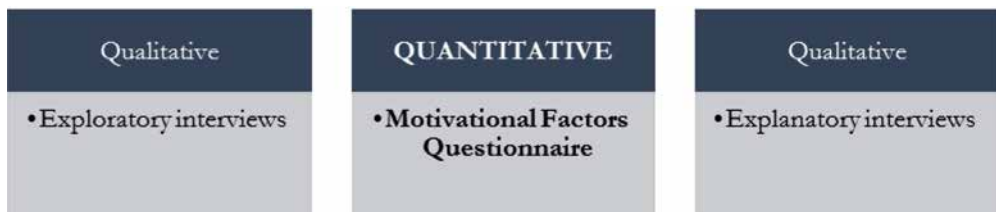


Figure 1. Mixed methods study structure.

The main data collection instrument in the quan phase of our study is a Motivational Factors Questionnaire (MFQ). Prior to the design of the MFQ, in the initial qualitative phase, interviews were carried out in order to able to gain

insights from learners into potential contextual variables regarding the ideal and ought L2 self dimensions of the construct. A further aim of this phase was to explore the terminology participants would use in Spanish when making reference to these newer theoretical paradigms and so inform the translation process.

The post MFQ qual phase of the study was designed to resolve possible ambiguities in the interpretation of the quan findings and, in this case, it was used to examine the ought L2 self in more detail (See RQ 2 below). This phase involved semi-structured interviews with two teacher trainees to investigate their attitudes to the recent governmental obligation for teachers in compulsory education to certify L2 skills in order to teach in bilingual schools.

#### 4. THE MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS QUESTIONNAIRE

The original Motivational Factors Questionnaire (MFQ) (Ryan 2008, 2009) was used in the first empirical exploration to test the L2 MSS tenets against the long-standing concept of integrativeness (Gardner 1985). Ryan's MFQ contained psychometric scales targeting the novel concepts of the ideal L2 self, international posture and ethnocentrism, which were pertinent to his research questions. He also replicated the relevant variables used in the Hungarian studies by Dörnyei and colleagues (e.g. Csizér and Dörnyei 2005a, 2005b; Dörnyei and Clément 2001). On the other hand, the MFQs used in Taguchi et al. (2009) in the Asian contexts of China, Japan and Iran had been adapted for the idiosyncrasies of each geographical and cultural context. For instance, a particular aim in Taguchi et al. (2009) was to explore the ought L2 self in more depth as this cornerstone of the L2 MSS at that time had not been empirically tested. Table 1 shows all the motivational variables used in the two Asian studies on the L2 MSS as well as the variables chosen for the pilot study in Spain.

We examined these MFQ scales and items against the specific RQs posed for the Spanish study. Our overarching aim was to see what the L2 MSS could tell us about the English language learning attitudes and behaviour of a Spanish university population in the light of reports (e.g. English First Proficiency Index 2014, 2015) situating Spain quite low in the EU ranking in terms of L2 achievement. Our specific questions were:

RQ1: How might the ideal L2 self profile differ in students who have chosen English as a major line of study at university in contrast to those in non-English major studies?

RQ2: Given the recent governmental obligation for primary and secondary teachers to certify L2 skills, what role does the ought L2 self profile play in the students

Table 1. Motivational scales used in previous L2 MSS studies.

Ryan (2009)	N° of items	Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009)	N° of Items**
INTENDED LEARNING EFFORT	8	INTENDED LEARNING EFFORT	4/6/6
1. IDEAL SELF	6	1. IDEAL SELF	5/5/6
2. CULTURAL INTEREST	6	2. CULTURAL INTEREST	4/3/4
3. ATTITUDE TO THE L2 COMMUNITY*	8	3. OUGHT SELF	4/7/6
		4. ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE L2 COMMUNITY 5. INTEGRATIVENESS	4/4/4
4. INSTRUMENTALITY	10	6. INSTRUMENTALITY PROMOTION	5/8/6
		7. INSTRUMENTALITY PREVENTION	5/5/8
5. INTERNATIONAL EMPATHY	3	...	
6. INTERNATIONAL CONTACT	4	...	...
7. INTEREST IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES	5	...	...
8. FEAR OF ASSIMILATION	4	...	....
9. ETHNOCENTRISM	5	...	
10. TRAVEL ORIENTATION	4	...	...
11. ENGLISH USE ANXIETY	6	...	...
12. ATTITUDES TO LEARNING ENGLISH	6	8. ATTITUDES TO LEARNING ENGLISH	4/4/6
13. MILIEU	6		
14. PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT	4	9. FAMILY INFLUENCE	4/5/6
15. L2 SELF-CONFIDENCE	5	...	...
16. WILLINGNESS TO COMMUNICATE (IN ENGLISH/IN JAPANESE)	8 (x2)	...	...
TOTAL ITEMS	106		39/47/52

\*In Ryan, items targeting the concept of integrativeness were embedded in the scale of *Attitude to L2 community*.

\*\* In order of Taguchi (Japan)/Magid (China)/Papi (Iran).

in education related studies at university in contrast to those involved in studies unrelated to education?

RQ3: What role do L2 learning experiences play in the L2 motivational behaviour and attitudes of university students in Murcia?

RQ4: What role do the different attitudinal, goal-related and affective variables play in the motivational make-up of the sample?

RQ5: How does the motivational make-up of the sample differ according to variables of a) perceived proficiency in English and b) gender?

An initial pre-selection of scales was made based the above RQs. The intention was to produce a MFQ that could be as precise as possible in measuring the L2 MSS tenets, yet as broad and flexible as possible to facilitate integration of other motivational variables. However, considerations of questionnaire length (Dörnyei 2010) as well as issues of the cultural relevance of certain variables also had to be taken into account.

A series of semi-structured interviews were carried out with nine volunteer participants from diverse college degrees. The interviews were conducted entirely in Spanish and lasted between 30 and 40 minutes. The data enabled us to confirm existence of a future L2 self vision along with sufficient evidence to confirm the inclusion of many of the various motivational variables pre-selected for the MFQ. Some cultural differences were apparent, meaning that adjustments were required for the wording of some items. To give an example, one particular linguistic change was introduced with reference to family and significant others. When referring to encouragement or pressure from these sources to learn English, the Asian studies had used the term 'respect' e.g. 'Studying English is important to me because the people I respect think that I should do it' (Taguchi et al. 2009: 92). However, the term 'respect' had not come up repeatedly in any of the interviews; instead the more emotive terms of 'love' or 'care about' emerged more often when referring to family members and their influence on L2 learning. Therefore, this item was changed to *Quiero aprender inglés porque mis seres queridos piensan que es importante* (I want to learn English because my loved ones consider it important).

Regarding social influences and engagement in learning English, the interviewees expressed a sense of responsibility to learn English for various reasons, e.g. the advantages for employment and travel or the need for English to gain knowledge about the world. Some participants expressed interest in interacting with non-native L2 speakers, giving the perception that a more international outlook on English as a *lingua franca* could be a relevant concept in Spain. Thus, for instance, we felt justified in including a scale on international posture.

All in all the interviews facilitated the understanding that the newer concepts of envisaging a future ideal L2 self and a sense of obligation to learn through the ought L2 self seemed relevant to this population. A further advantage of the qualitative interview phase was the linguistic references in discussing on the MFQ concepts in Spanish, therefore providing insights for the translation process. Table 2 presents some of the modifications.

Table 2. Examples of rewording and/or translation of some scale items.

<b>SCALE</b>	<b>EXAMPLE ORIGINAL ITEM (R = Ryan, T = Taguchi)</b>	<b>REWORDING /TRANSLATION</b>
IDEAL SELF:	If my dreams come true, I will use English effectively in the future (R)	I dream about being fluent in English <i>Sueño con dominar el inglés</i>
OUGHT SELF:	My parents believe that I must study English to be an educated person (T)	My parents think I should make an effort to improve my English <i>Mis padres piensan que debo esforzarme para mejorar mi inglés</i>
CURRENT ATTITUDES TO LEARNING	I am always looking forward to my English classes (R)	I usually enjoy English lessons <i>Yo normalmente disfruto en una clase de inglés</i>
CULTURAL INTEREST:	Do you like Hollywood films? (R)	I like watching films in their original English version <i>Me gusta ver películas en versión original en inglés</i>
INSTRUMENTALITY PREVENTION:	Studying English is important to me because without passing the English course I cannot graduate (T)	If I don't learn English, I cannot work at what I want. <i>Si no aprendo inglés, no podré trabajar en lo que quiero.</i>
INTEGRATIVENESS:	Would you like to become similar to people of English speaking countries? (R)	I would like to be more similar to British people <i>Me gustaría parecerme más a la gente de la cultura británica</i>
INTERNATIONAL POSTURE:	I would like to be able to use English to get involved with people from other countries (R)	I like to meet people from non-English speaking countries <i>Me gusta conocer a gente de países no anglófonos</i>

LANGUAGE USE ANXIETY:	I would get tense if a foreigner asked me for directions in English (R)	I would get tense if a foreigner asked me for directions in English <i>Si un extranjero me pidiese direcciones en inglés, me pondría muy nervioso/a</i>
L2 SELF-EFFICACY	I am sure I will be able to learn a foreign language (R)	I find it quite easy to learn English <i>Tengo facilidad para el aprendizaje de inglés</i>
PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT:	My parents encourage me to study English (T)	My parents believe it is important to spend time abroad to improve one's English <i>Mis padres piensan que es importante pasar una temporada en el extranjero para mejorar el inglés</i>

Regarding the criterion measure of motivated behaviour against which to explore the motivational variables selected, a scale of learners' intentions to expend effort in L2 learning in the future — intended learning effort — established by both Ryan (2009) and Taguchi et al. (2009) was selected for use in this Spanish study. Table 3 below outlines the psychometric scales chosen and so as to facilitate the MFQ structure, despite a certain degree of conceptual overlapping we have grouped the variables into a) L2 MSS variables b) attitudinal variables c) goal-related variables and d) affective factors. ]

Table 3. Scales used in the piloting phase of the MFQ in Spain.

CRITERION MEASURE	
0	INTENDED LEARNING EFFORT: 6 items targeting students' past and present learning activities and their intention to continue study or spend time abroad to improve their English.
L2 MSS factors	
1	IDEAL SELF: 5 items aimed at participants' emotional involvement with the L2 and visions of themselves using English in the future.
2	OUGHT SELF: 4 items targeting the pressure students feel to learn from society, parents, and significant others.
3	ATTITUDES TO LEARNING ENGLISH: 3 items on present attitudes to L2 learning.
4	ATTITUDES TO PAST L2 LEARNING: 4 items on attitudes to learning in compulsory education.

<b>ATTITUDINAL FACTORS</b>	
5	CULTURAL INTEREST: 4 items targeting the extent to which student watched TV, read, or listened to music in the L2.
6	INTEREST IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE: 6 items targeting students' opinions on the language itself e.g. structure and sound.
<b>GOAL RELATED FACTORS</b>	
7	INSTRUMENTALITY PREVENTION: 5 items covering a range of disadvantages to not succeeding in English.
8	INSTRUMENTALITY PROMOTION: 5 items covering a range of pragmatic advantages to acquiring English.
9	INTEGRATIVENESS: 7 items (used in the original Hungarian study) targeting students' interest in engagement with in UK/US people and their culture.
10	INTERNATIONAL POSTURE: 6 items on views of using English in contexts unrelated to specific native speaker communities.
11	ETHNOCENTRISM: 6 items on participants' impressions on Spanish culture and its language in comparison to other cultures.
<b>AFFECTIVE FACTORS</b>	
12	LANGUAGE USE ANXIETY: 5 items on emotional aspects of using English in the classroom or in public.
13	L2 SELF-EFFICACY 5 items on ease of learning and using opportunities to speak English.
14	PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT: 4 items directed at the influence of parents on learning history and current efforts to learn.

## 5. PILOT STUDY

### 5.1. MFQ ADMINISTRATION

All the questionnaires were administered by the author of this study during college lectures to 137 college students from a diverse range of degrees. Students were informed that the survey was about attitudes to learning English and that participation was voluntary. Only one student declined to take part. All participants were of Spanish nationality as any exchange students were asked to refrain from filling in the questionnaire. The questionnaires took approximately 25-35 minutes

to complete. During data cleaning, a total of 13 cases were eliminated from the dataset owing to errors in data entry or irregular patterns of responses, leaving a final total of 124 cases for pilot study analysis. The number of missing responses was under 1% so it is assumed there were no systematic missing values (Pallant 2007)—a positive indicator in a pilot study indicating that items were not causing extreme confusion or dealing with sensitive information.

### 5.2. SCALE RELIABILITY

The reliability or internal consistency of a scale refers to the extent to which the composite items of the scale are consistent in measuring the underlying construct (Pallant 2007) and one of the most commonly used statistical measurements of this is Cronbach’s alpha coefficient. The recommended internal consistency of a scale is  $\alpha = .70$ , with figures below this indicating that the interpretations of the items by participants in a study may not be as consistent as they should or that the items are not measuring the same concepts. The calculation of a scale’s consistency, however, can be sensitive to the number of items that make up the scale and in this sense Pallant (2007) suggests that a scale containing fewer than ten items can often have a lower yet acceptable Cronbach value. Table 4 shows the internal consistency of the scales that did not reach the recommended alpha value of 0.70.

Table 4. Scales obtaining a lower level of internal consistency.

<b>MFQ SCALE</b>	<b>Pilot study</b>	<b>Asian studies</b>
Ought Self	0.55	0.76
Ethnocentricity	0.50	0.63
Parental encouragement	0.67	0.79

From the above information we see that aside from the scale of parental encouragement, which, at  $\alpha = .67$ , although low, can be considered sufficiently reliable for use in the main study, a total of 3 scales did not obtain the desired internal consistency of  $\alpha = .70$ . Among those was the ought L2 self scale targeting another of the core concepts of Dörnyei’s theory. The remaining scale —Ethnocentrism at  $\alpha = .63$  was initially included, however, an alpha value of ,37 in the main study led to its elimination from further analysis.

The ought L2 self scale had one of the lowest reliability values at  $\alpha = .55$  and this is disconcerting given that in all three original studies, the ought L2 self



scale had very acceptable reliability (Japan (b) -  $\alpha = .76$ ; China -  $\alpha = .78$ ; Iran -  $\alpha = .75$ ). Given the lack of studies on the ought L2 self concept in Spain, we were cautious regarding the core concept we were attempting to tap into through the composite items and after further statistical analysis (See Brady 2014 for a detailed description of these), the decision was taken to include 2 further items in the scale reflecting the local pressure to certify English and one further item on peer pressure to learn English. The resulting 7 item scale was employed in the main study MFQ. (See Appendices I for the English and II for the Spanish versions).

The L2 learning experience as conceptualised by Dörnyei (2005, 2009) refers very broadly to engagement in informal and formal L2 learning without specifying temporal dimensions and, accordingly, the composite items making up the scales used in previous studies made reference to enjoyment of learning at different levels of education concomitant to the studies. However, language learning experiences have different temporal dimensions, as well as diverse contexts, e.g. formal versus informal learning, or supported tuition versus autonomous learning. In order to distinguish attitudes to past learning from current experiences and so examine the temporal aspect of learning experiences more in depth, it was decided at this point, to separate items making up the single Attitude to Learning scale in order to distinguish the ratings for past and present temporal dimensions. The scale containing items only referring to past experience at secondary school was labelled Attitudes to past L2 Learning ( $\alpha = .78$ ), and the scale containing three items that only made reference to learning experiences in present tense current attitudes to L2 learning scale ( $\alpha = .73$ ).

Table 5 shows the Cronbach alpha measure of internal consistency value of each of the multi-item scales calculated for the whole group and the three subsamples. Given the acceptable values we proceeded to analyse the data in order to address the RQs posed.

Table 5. Cronbach alpha internal consistency of main study MFQ scales.

scale	whole sample ( $N= 519$ )
<b>INTENDED LEARNING EFFORT</b>	.79
<b>SELF RELATED FACTORS</b>	
IDEAL SELF	.81
OUGHT SELF	.70
ATTITUDE TO PAST LEARNING	.81

CURRENT ATTITUDE TO LEARNING	.73
<b>ATTITUDINAL FACTORS</b>	
INTEREST IN L2	.75
L2 CULTURAL INTEREST	.70
<b>GOAL RELATED FACTORS</b>	
INTEGRATIVENESS	.80
INTERNATIONAL POSTURE	.72
INSTRUMENTALITY PROMOTION	.68
INSTRUMENTALITY PREVENTION	.76
<b>AFFECTIVE FACTORS</b>	
SELF-EFFICACY	.74
ANXIETY	.86
PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT	.63

The main MFQ was administered to the main sample of 529 college students grouped, into English Majors (N = 176, a primary and pre-primary education students (N = 175) and an ‘Other studies’ subgroup (N = 173) with no immediate tie to an L2 related profession. The resulting data was analysed using the statistical software SPSS 17.

## 6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 6.1. SUMMARY OF MAIN STUDY FINDINGS

To sum up our main findings under RQs 1,2 and 3 (for a full report see Brady 2019) we were able to establish that the ideal L2 self — visions of using English as a L2 in future professional and social contexts — appears to be a very relevant and significant concept across the sample and bears the strongest relationship with intentions to continue learning across the three subgroups. This finding coincides with those of the Asian studies as well as of most L2 MSS explorations (e.g. Busse 2013; Kormos and Csizér 2008; Lamb 2012; You and Dörnyei 2016). The ought L2 self scale, on the other hand, did not emerge as a significant figure either in the Education group as we had hypothesised, or in the sample as a whole. The participants overall rated external obligations very low on the scale ( $M = 1.43$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ) a fact that suggests that externally sourced impositions are not being recognised by any of the three groups examined. This finding coincides, for

instance, with Kormos and Csizér (2008) who also found difficulty in identifying an ought L2 self dimension in their sample. Our attitudes to L2 Learning values, rating current and past dimensions of the learning experience showed a significant difference in the appreciation of each dimension of L2 learning in the sample with current attitudes reaching a significantly higher mean value than attitudes to past learning experiences for all three academic sub-groups. Table 6 shows the contrast of the mean value obtained in each scale. Non-parametric procedures were followed owing to the presence of outliers in the English major group.

Table 6. Scale means and Friedman Test contrast for Attitudes to past L2 Learning and Current Attitudes to L2 Learning.

	<b>Attitudes to Past L2 learning</b>	<b>Current L2 learning attitudes</b>	<b>X<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>sig</b>
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)		
ENGLISH MAJOR	2.67 (1.35)	4,32 (.521)	105.418	.000
EDUCATION	1.99 (1.36)	3,36 (.997)	74.907	.000
OTHER STUDIES	2.43 (1.31)	3,33 (.906)	56.529	.000
WHOLE SAMPLE	2.37 (1.37)	3.67 (1.07)	233.061	.000

The evidence obtained supports our initial hypothesis that learning English in compulsory education was somewhat negative. The Education students saw their past experiences at secondary school in a slightly more disfavorable light than the English Major and Other Studies cohorts. It is difficult to find an explanation for this other than the fact that being engaged in studies related to education involving analysis of methodologies, materials and teacher behaviour could have lead this group to analyse negative aspects of L2 learning (e.g. methodology or teachers) more deeply. A significant difference exists with regard to current attitudes to learning, although slightly less so in the Other Studies group. With regards to the relationship of these learning experience variables with future plans to engage in learning, Table 7 shows the correlation data. (Non-parametric analyses were used due to abnormal distribution in the English Major group). All three subgroups showed a relatively strong parallel affiliation between their current L2 learning attitudes and their intended learning efforts whereas the relationship with past learning experiences is considerably weaker. This is in itself a positive finding, suggesting that despite some previous negativity, L2 learning attitudes have changed. This was not the case for the Other Studies group who showed

a stronger connection between negative past L2 learning experiences and their future intentions. This closer tie between past and future may be owing to a lack of current engagement in L2 learning given that Education students do have an EFL subject within their degree and this fact may be contributing to a change in attitude.

Table 7. Spearman's Rho correlations<sup>1</sup> of L2 MSS core concepts with Intended Learning Effort.

L2 MSS SCALES	Whole sample	Correlations with Intended Learning Effort		
		English Major	Education	Other Studies
CURRENT ATTITUDE TO L2 LEARNING	<b>.62*</b>	.50*	.69*	.67*
ATTITUDE TO PAST LEARNING	<b>.29*</b>	.26*	.16*	.42*

<sup>1</sup> For the interpretation of correlation coefficients, Cohen's (1988) guidelines (cited in Pallant, 2007) are followed: < .29 = small; < .49 = medium; < .50 = large.

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

Our findings on the three core elements of the L2 MSS in general coincided with findings in the Asian studies in that the Ideal L2 self was a) highly rated and b) showed a strong affiliation with intentions to expend effort in learning the L2. The ought L2 self emerged as a negative influence on L2 learning motivation and our first attempt at exploring the Learning Experience pillar of the L2MSS with a dual view on L2 learning attitudes was insightful in terms of local contextual information. Stakeholders in L2 education might benefit from an understanding that students may have negative views of previous L2 learning and wish to take steps in order to ensure positive experiences.

Now we look at how the various attitudinal, goal related and emotional variables fit into the L2 self system of the informants of the study.

## 6.2. MOTIVATIONAL PROFILE OF SAMPLE ACCORDING TO PROFICIENCY

Table 8 below shows the mean values obtained in the MFQ variables across the groups classified according to the general L2 competence the participants felt they possessed. Overall, we can see there was a progressive increase in the ratings of most variables according to perceived achievement with the exception being

in the scale of the ought L2 self. This appears to denote a more heightened sense of imposition to learn in the lower achievers. Taking the scale of future intentions to expend effort in L2 engagement as a starting point for our analysis of the information, it seems that commitment to engage in L2 learning and/or improving language skills increases in proportion to perceptions of L2 achievement. Inversely, these findings suggest that the lower the current level of achievement, the weaker the commitment to engage in learning in the future. The ideal L2 self clearly exists and is rated positively by all groups but again is more pronounced in the case of higher level L2 users, perhaps an indication that this figure is more defined and readily available in the minds of the more proficient L2 students. These findings are not easily to contrast with those of previous studies because the subgrouping of perceived achievement did not feature in the Asian research. Indeed, as Al-Hoorie (2016) indicates, proficiency measures have been ignored in recent years in explorations of motivated behaviour thanks to a tendency to focus on attitudes and affect rather than L2 achievement. However, it is also the case that we are looking at *perceptions* of L2 achievement that may not necessarily coincide with reality.

The priorities in rankings of the attitudinal, goal related and affective motivational variables was quite similar across the six sub-groups, rating current attitude to learning, and self-efficacy among the most highly valued L2 related factors with goal-related factors of international posture, integrativeness and the instrumentality dichotomy closely clustered as a secondary set of influences.

The data on the ought L2 self suggests that a sense of imposition from external sources may intensify in proportion to lack of achievement in the L2. This L2 MSS figure was rated extremely low in the C1 cohort indicating that the more proficient users do not sense any imposition to learn the language from external sources meaning perhaps that the sense of duty has already been integrated into their self system and forms part of the ideal L2 Self. Our data suggests that perhaps an ought self is more easily detectable from the point of view of an avoidance of the pragmatic losses or gains (instrumentality prevention) as a result of L2 learning rather than attempting to pinpoint sources of pressure to social or family groups or individuals. Another external influence — that of family and parental encouragement, contrary to the Asian findings was ranked lowest in mean value of all the motivational factors possibly due to either an authentic lack of encouragement regarding English language learning in the family environment or, given that our participants were older than those in previous L2 MSS studies (e.g. Kormos and Csizér 2008; Lamb 2012) and therefore more distanced from the influence of parents once at college.

The size effect was quite large for many of the variables examined and this tells us that most of the factors examined are relevant and appear to bear a relation to

Table 8. Mean values obtained in the motivational variables across English language proficiency subgroups.

	<b>-A1 (N=37)</b>		<b>A2 (N= 123)</b>		<b>B1 (N= 114)</b>		<b>B2 (N= 145)</b>		<b>C1 (N= 77)</b>		<b>Eta<sup>2</sup></b>
	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	
<b>INTENDED LEARNING EFFORT</b>	<b>3,23</b>	,95	<b>3,26</b>	,85	<b>3,91</b>	,80	<b>4,31</b>	,63	<b>4,33</b>	,66	.27
<b>L2 MSS factors</b>											
<b>IDEAL SELF</b>	<b>2,98</b>	1,27	<b>3,01</b>	1,18	<b>3,75</b>	1,00	<b>4,30</b>	,78	<b>4,52</b>	,59	.28
<b>OUGHT SELF</b>	<b>2,23</b>	1,00	<b>2,02</b>	,98	<b>1,43</b>	,92	<b>,99</b>	,80	<b>,71</b>	,65	.26
CURRENT ATTITUDE TO LEARNING	<b>2,82</b>	,84	<b>3,06</b>	,95	<b>3,64</b>	,77	<b>4,22</b>	,57	<b>4,38</b>	,50	.35
ATTITUDE TO PAST LEARNING	<b>2,10</b>	,88	<b>2,70</b>	1,08	<b>3,02</b>	1,01	<b>3,13</b>	,98	<b>3,19</b>	1,06	.07
<b>Attitudinal factors</b>											
<b>INTEREST IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE</b>	<b>2,99</b>	1,02	<b>3,27</b>	1,03	<b>3,86</b>	,77	<b>4,31</b>	,61	<b>4,34</b>	,55	.27
<b>CULTURAL INTEREST</b>	2,37	<b>1,04</b>	<b>2,64</b>	1,21	<b>3,16</b>	1,16	<b>3,91</b>	,942	<b>4,31</b>	,72	.29
<b>Goal-orientation factors</b>											
<b>INSTRUMENTALITY PREVENTION</b>	<b>3,72</b>	1,09	<b>3,35</b>	,99	<b>3,73</b>	1,02	<b>3,90</b>	,95	<b>4,08</b>	,86	.05
INSTRUMENTALITY PROMOTION	<b>3,68</b>	,96	<b>3,61</b>	,80	<b>3,92</b>	,76	<b>4,02</b>	,76	<b>4,05</b>	,67	.06
INTEGRATIVENESS	<b>3,12</b>	1,08	<b>3,23</b>	1,09	<b>3,51</b>	1,02	<b>4,01</b>	,75	<b>4,12</b>	,66	.14
INTERNATIONAL POSTURE	<b>3,34</b>	,82	<b>3,51</b>	,80	<b>3,70</b>	,76	<b>3,95</b>	,66	<b>4,18</b>	,59	.11
<b>Affective factors</b>											
<b>ANXIETY</b>	<b>1,96</b>	1,12	<b>2,26</b>	1,15	<b>2,76</b>	1,27	<b>3,09</b>	1,32	<b>3,49</b>	1,29	.12
SELF-EFFICACY	<b>2,19</b>	1,05	<b>2,85</b>	,95	<b>3,58</b>	,75	<b>3,97</b>	,65	<b>4,31</b>	,59	.38
PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT	<b>2,54</b>	1,37	<b>2,93</b>	1,27	<b>3,31</b>	1,28	<b>3,24</b>	1,31	<b>3,12</b>	1,4	.02

L2 achievement. Correlation data, however, can only indicate a relation but not the nature or direction of this. The motivational variables causing the highest degree of variation across the proficiency groups were a) the L2 self-efficacy scale at 38% and b) current attitude to learning, which reached 35% of the variation observed. This variation could indicate that attitude to learning and a clear sense of ability to learn the second language are highly relevant factors in L2 motivated behaviour. The ideal L2 self along with interest in the L2 and its cultural produce was found to be responsible for over 27% of variation across the subgroups according to level indicating the importance of these aspects of learning. On the other hand, the lack of variation in the instrumentality scales implies that the pragmatic benefits of learning English are recognised across the board regardless of perceptions of current L2 proficiency. Again, given the small effect size, we see that parental encouragement does not appear to distinguish higher or lower L2 achievers

### 6.3. CORRELATIONS OF MOTIVATION VARIABLES WITH INTENDED EFFORT

The correlations were calculated for the whole sample and then for the reported proficiency groups (see table 9) although, given the disproportionate number of participants in the A1 ( $N = 37$ ) groups, these were not included as a subgroup.

Table 9. Pearson's correlations between motivational variables and intended learning effort across the perceived proficiency subgroups.

	<b>Whole sample</b> ( $n = 529$ )	<b>A2</b> ( $N = 123$ )	<b>B1</b> ( $N = 114$ )	<b>B2</b> ( $N = 145$ )	<b>C1</b> ( $N = 77$ )
<b>L2 MSS variables</b>					
IDEAL SELF	.76**	.65**	.64**	.45**	.48**
OUGHT SELF	-.26**	-.30**	-.19	-.27**	.12
CURRENT ATTITUDE TO LEARNING	.62**	.62**	.60**	.51**	.49**
ATTITUDE TO PAST LEARNING	.36**	.48**	-.16	.18	.31**

<b>Attitudinal variables</b>					
CULTURAL INTEREST	.56**	.34**	.43**	.27**	.22*
INTEREST IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE	.71**	.69**	.56**	.45**	.43**
<b>Goal-related variables</b>					
INSTRUMENTALITY PREVENTION	.57**	.45**	.56**	.31**	.41**
INSTRUMENTALITY PROMOTION	.54**	.52**	.49**	.39**	.56**
INTEGRATIVENESS	.63**	.56**	.65**	.49**	.41**
INTERNATIONAL POSTURE	.48**	.39**	.34**	.28**	.23*
<b>Affective variables</b>					
ANXIETY	.14	-.10	-.17	.13	.04
SELF-EFFICACY	.59**	.50**	.30**	.28**	.48**
PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT	.21**	.23*	.15	.11	.23*

\*\*Correlations are significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

\*Correlations are significant at the 0.05 level (two tailed).

With regard to the parallel relationships with intentions to continue engaging with the L2, the first values of note are the strong correlations of the ideal L2 self and attitudinal variables in general (Current attitude to learning, interest in the L2). It may be the case that these variables are tapping into a similar concept of intrinsic enjoyment of the language and the experience of engaging in its learning. Intrinsic enjoyment of the learning situation was highlighted in Kormos and Csizér (2008) who reported that enjoyable L2 learning experiences were important for their younger adolescent sample. Lamb (2012) also found the learning experience more relevant for rural and provincial learners, whereas Chen, Warden and Huang (2005) concluded that adult learners in China sacrificed the enjoyment factor and embraced the requirement to learn. The fact that our adult sample value L2 learning enjoyment may be a side effect of negative past L2 learning experiences and this may have implications for language teachers in that there is a need to provide enjoyable classroom experiences.



The link with intended effort and the ideal L2 self although relatively strong in the lower proficiency groups, decreases to a moderate strength in line with the increase in L2 achievement. This finding is congruous with the argument that for an ideal L2 self to be effective there should be some distance between the actual L2 self and the L2 self guide (Dörnyei 2009; Henry and Cliffordson 2015). The higher L2 achievers in this sample are closer to an L2 ideal than the lower level participants, thus, perhaps now the sense of identification with this imaginary figure has lost strength. Thus, it seems to be the case that the visionary ideal is more strongly associated with future commitment to learn in the lower proficiency participants. Self-efficacy appears as stronger higher C1 cohort yet equally so for the beginners. This may suggest that the that the intermediate B1 and B2 students are aware that they have faults but that this will not deter them from engaging in L2 use and learning.

Regarding goal-related variables, integrativeness also features as a strongly related variable perhaps reflecting the traditional focus in Spanish EFL classrooms on British culture. Nonetheless, international posture also appears as relevant to intended learning effort across all the proficiency levels. In the C1 group, instrumentality promotion obtained the strongest relationship ( $r = .56$ ), with intentions to learn in contrast with other variables, instrumentality prevention showed a stronger relationship with the criterion measure only in the B2 proficiency group, which was, again, unexpected, given that they also would have reached an acceptable level of proficiency perhaps to be able to meet educational and professional requisites imposed by the government in Spain. However, it may be precisely this factor that is making them more aware of the need to avoid failure in the group. Although its relationship was still more intense than that of parental encouragement, which, along with anxiety, had a weak relationship with any future intentions to learn the L2.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

We have attempted to replicate studies carried out in entirely different cultures to that of Spain for the first time and this will necessarily bring about aspects that can be improved on. We do not claim that the data obtained is representative of the university population in Spain. The findings in our study are limited to the students surveyed in the Region of Murcia and not to any regional or national university population. A very different picture may evolve in explorations of L2 learners in other regions of Spain. The MFQ and results are currently being submitted to further statistical analysis and Structural Equation Modelling, which will provide more information on the suitability of the scale items and enable us to learn more

about the roles of the different motivation variables as precursors to motivated behaviour. As regards measurements of motivated behaviour, the criterion measure of intended learning effort, given its future orientation, does raise questions empirically as to its reliability as a valid measure. Only a longitudinal analysis could examine the extent to which L2 learners' promises and intentions do indeed convert to tangible learning goals and whether these efforts towards these are persevered.

Nonetheless, we feel that our contributions are valuable in the sense of providing a tested MFQ for other researchers to use and adapt for their own purposes as well as some interesting observations in our initial exploration of the L2 MSS in this sample. We have seen that the ideal L2 self is a relevant concept for L2 learners and teachers may wish to consider what they could learn from students' envisaged L2 users or even help those who find difficulty in generating this type of vision. In this sense, for instance Dörnyei and Hadfield (2013) have developed activities for language practitioners who want to help L2 students. Equally, the other variables we have discussed may become more relevant in L2 learning contexts, e.g focusing on international posture instead of a closed native speaker community.

Future studies may wish to examine some of the contextual issues raised more closely. For instance, more detailed examinations of L2 learning related variables may offer more information on the L2 MSS learning experience and given that the ought L2 self is still somewhat of an enigma in this and other contexts and a closer look at its nature and its relationships with instrumentality prevention might shed more light on any energising influence this variable may have on L2 learning behaviour.

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APPENDIX I

<b>FINAL MFQ ENGLISH VERSION</b>
<b>INTENDED LEARNING EFFORT (5)</b>
I am willing to make a great effort at learning English
I fully intend to spend time abroad to improve my English
I'm working hard to learn English
I think I am doing all I can to learn English
I will likely continue to study English after my degree
<b>ANXIETY (4)</b>
I would get very nervous speaking to a native speaker
I always think others will laugh at my English
If a foreigner asked me for directions in the street I would get quite nervous
I feel a sense of ridicule when I speak English
<b>ATTITUDE TO LEARNING (PRESENT) (3)</b>
I don't speak English for fear of making mistakes
Learning English is really interesting
I usually enjoy English lessons
<b>ATTITUDE TO LEARNING (PAST) (4)</b>
I learned a lot of English at secondary school
My experience in English lessons has always been positive
I loved English lessons at secondary school
At secondary school I had very good English teachers
<b>CULTURAL INTEREST (4)</b>
I like British and American music
I like to watch British and American TV series in English
I read novels, magazines, press, etc. in English
I like to watch films in English
<b>IDEAL SELF (5)</b>
I see myself living abroad and communicating in English
When I think of my professional career I see myself using English at work

I see myself in a situation where I speak English to international friends
I dream about being fluent in English
I can't imagine my future without English
<b>INSTRUMENTALITY PREVENTION (5)</b>
If I don't learn English, I can't work at what I want
Given the economic situation in Spain I will need English to work abroad
I don't want to fail at learning English because my professional career depends on it
Not to fail at English is important to me to be considered well educated
To not study English will have a negative impact on my life
<b>INSTRUMENTALITY PROMOTION (6)</b>
Learning English is important to me because it will be essential for work
Learning English is important to me because I can travel internationally
Learning English is important because I mean to study abroad
It's important to learn English for a better paid job
Learning English is important to me because it is a challenge in life
To know English is important to be considered a well educated person
<b>INTEGRATIVENESS/ATTITUDE TO L2 COMMUNITY (7)</b>
I would like to be similar to North American people
I would like to be similar to British people
I think it is important to know English so as to know more about the culture of its speakers
I would like to live and work for a long period of time in UK
I would like to live and work for a long period of time in USA
I would like about more contact with and know more about the British
I would like to travel to English speaking countries
<b>INTEREST IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE (6)</b>
I love how English sounds
I like learning English
I am very curious about the structure and vocabulary of English
I would prefer to learn/study another language to English
Studying English is a waste of time
Studying English is boring

<b>INTERNATIONAL POSTURE (7)</b>
I like to meet people from non English speaking countries
I want to know English to communicate with non-native speakers
I want to travel to countries other than English speaking ones
I like northern European values and customs
In general I like other cultures
I like other cultures' values and customs
I prefer to communicate in English with non natives
<b>OUGHT L2 SELF (7)</b>
I want to learn English because the people around me consider it important
If it weren't for my loved ones I wouldn't learn English
Actually, I feel obliged to learn English, it is not my desire
My family think I should make more effort at English
I need English for the official B2 certification to teach
My friends have a positive influence on my desire to learn English
All my friends talk about the importance of learning English
<b>PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT (4)</b>
My parents have always encouraged me to learn English
My parents have sent me to lessons since I was small
My family think it is important to spend time abroad to improve one's English
My parents would be equally happy with me if I never reached a command of English
<b>L2 SELF-EFFICACY (4)</b>
I find it quite easy to learn English
If I make an effort I could reach a command of English
I try to take advantage of chances to communicate in English
English is very difficult for me



## APPENDIX II

<b>MFQ SPANISH VERSION</b>
<b>INTENCIÓN DE ESFORZARSE (Criterio de medida) (5)</b>
Estoy dispuesto a esforzarme mucho en el aprendizaje de inglés
Tengo intención firme de pasar una temporada en el extranjero para mejorar mi inglés
Estoy trabajando mucho en aprender inglés
Creo que estoy haciendo todo lo que pueda para aprender inglés
Seguramente seguiré estudiando inglés después de la carrera
<b>ANSIEDAD</b>
Me pondría muy nervios@ si tuviese que hablar inglés con un nativo
Creo que los demás se reírían de mi inglés
Si un extranjero me pidiese indicaciones en la calle, me pondría nervios@
En clase tenía mucho sentido del ridículo al hablar inglés
<b>ACTITUD HACIA EL APRENDIZAJE (PRESENTE)</b>
No hablo inglés por miedo a cometer errores
Aprender inglés es muy interesante
Yo normalmente disfruto en una clase de inglés
<b>ACTITUD HACIA EL APRENDIZAJE (PASADO)</b>
Aprendí mucho inglés en el instituto
Mi experiencia en clases de inglés siempre ha sido positiva
Me encantaban las clases de inglés en el instituto
He tenido profesores muy buenos de inglés
<b>INTERÉS CULTURAL</b>
Me gusta la música británica y americana
Me gusta ver series británicas y americanas en versión original
Leo novelas, revistas y prensa, etc. en inglés
Me gusta ver películas en versión original en inglés
<b>EL IDEAL DEL YO</b>
Yo me puedo ver viviendo en el extranjero y desenvolviéndome con la gente en inglés
Cuando pienso en mi futuro profesional, me veo utilizando el inglés en el trabajo

Me puedo ver en una situación en cual estoy hablando inglés con amigos internacionales
Sueño con dominar el inglés
No me puedo imaginar mi futuro sin inglés
<b>INSTRUMENTALIDAD PREVENTIVO</b>
Si no aprendo inglés no podré trabajar en lo que quiero
Dada la situación económica en España necesitaré el inglés para trabajar en el extranjero
No quiero fracasar con el inglés porque mi futuro profesional depende de ello
Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque no quiero que se me considere una persona inculta
No estudiar inglés tendrá un impacto negativo en mi vida
<b>INSTRUMENTALIDAD PROMOCIONAL</b>
Aprender inglés es importante para mí porque me será imprescindible para conseguir trabajo
Aprender inglés es importante para mí porque con ello puedo trabajar a nivel global
Aprender inglés es importante para mí porque pienso seguir estudiando en el extranjero
Aprender inglés es importante para mí porque conseguiré un trabajo mejor pagado
Aprender inglés es importante para mí porque lo considero un reto en la vida
Saber inglés es importante para que se me considere una persona con buena formación
<b>INTEGRATIVIDAD (ACTITUD HACIA LA COMUNIDAD L2)</b>
Me gustaría parecerme más a la gente norte americana
Me gustaría parecerme a la gente británica
Creo que es importante saber inglés para saber más de la cultura de sus hablantes
Me gustaría vivir y trabajar una temporada extensa en Reino Unido
Me gustaría vivir y trabajar una temporada extensa en Estados Unidos
Me gustaría tener más contacto con los británicos y saber más sobre ellos
Me gustaría viajar a países de habla inglesa
<b>INTERÉS EN LA LENGUA INGLESA</b>
Me encanta como suena el inglés
Me encanta escuchar a la gente hablar inglés
Tengo mucha curiosidad por la estructura y vocabulario de inglés
Preferiría estudiar otro idioma que no fuera el inglés

Estudiar inglés es una pérdida de tiempo
Estudiar inglés es aburrido
<b>ORIENTACIÓN INTERNACIONAL</b>
Me gustaría conocer a gente de países no anglófonos
Me gustaría saber inglés para comunicarme con extranjeros no nativos de inglés
Quiero viajar a países distintos de los de habla inglesa
Me gusta los valores y las costumbres de las culturas no europeas
Por lo general me gustan las otras culturas
Me gustan los valores y las costumbres de otras culturas
Prefiero comunicarme en inglés con no nativos
<b>EL YO DEÓNTICO</b>
Quiero aprender inglés porque mis seres queridos piensan que es importante
Si no fuese por mis seres queridos no aprendería inglés
En realidad me siento obligado a aprender inglés, no es mi deseo
Mi familia piensa que debería forzarme más con el inglés
Necesito inglés para la certificación para poder ser docente
Mis amigos influyen positivamente en mi afán por el inglés
Todos mis compañeros hablan de la importancia de aprender inglés
<b>APOYO FAMILIAR</b>
Mis padres siempre me han animado a que estudie inglés
Mis padres me enviaron a clases de inglés desde pequeño@
Mis padres piensan que es importante pasar una temporada en el extranjero para mejorar el inglés
Mis padres estarían igualmente contentos conmigo si nunca estudiase inglés
<b>AUTO-EFICACIA L2 EN EL APRENDIZAJE DE LA L2</b>
Tengo facilidad para el aprendizaje de inglés
Si me esfuerzo podré dominar de inglés
Intento aprovechar todo tipo de situaciones para comunicarme en inglés
El inglés es muy difícil para mí



## UNDERSTANDING THE SELECTION OF VOCABULARY LEARNING STRATEGIES: THE IMPACT OF THE LANGUAGE TEACHING APPROACH

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**ABSTRACT.** *This paper presents a study on how the selection of vocabulary learning strategies is affected by the kind of instructional programme followed. A total of one hundred thirty-eight secondary-school learners – seventy-two CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) and fifty-six mainstream EFL (English as a Foreign Language) learners – took part in the study. They were asked to respond a vocabulary learning strategies questionnaire. The data were examined looking into how the use of strategies differed when comparing CLIL and EFL learners. Results permitted to develop two clear learner profiles that were compared. These findings will be discussed in relation to their possible implications for vocabulary development.*

*Keywords:* Vocabulary Learning Strategies, Content and Language Integrated Learning, English as a Foreign Language, secondary-school learners.

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## LA SELECCIÓN DE LAS ESTRATEGIAS DE APRENDIZAJE DE LÉXICO: EL IMPACTO DE ENFOQUE DE ENSEÑANZA

**RESUMEN.** *Este estudio presenta un análisis sobre la influencia del programa de instrucción en la selección de estrategias de aprendizaje de léxico. Un total de ciento treinta y ocho alumnos de educación secundaria –setenta y dos alumnos AICLE (Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lengua Extranjera) y cincuenta y seis alumnos de instrucción ILE (Inglés como Lengua Extranjera)– participaron en el estudio y respondieron un cuestionario sobre el uso de estrategias de aprendizaje de léxico. Los datos se analizaron con el objetivo de observar cómo el uso de estrategias difería en alumnos con perfiles de enseñanza distintos. Los resultados son discutidos en relación con su posible implicación en el desarrollo léxico.*

*Palabras clave:* estrategias de aprendizaje léxico, Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenido y Lengua Extranjera, educación secundaria.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

In the last 40 years, vocabulary has reached an unforeseen position within the field of Second Language Acquisition after years of grammar supremacy (Boers and Lindstromberg 2009; Meara 1980; Milton and Fitzpatrick 2014; Nation 2001; Schmitt 2010). Starting within the movement of regeneration towards exploring aspects other than grammar in language learning, vocabulary was considered central to mastering a second language. For this reason, a large body of research on aspects directly related to vocabulary learning, such as frequency (Coxhead 2000; Nation 2001; Schmitt 2010), testing (Laufer and Nation 1999; Meara 2010; Schmitt, Schmitt and Claphman 2001) or the implications of word knowledge (Anderson and Freebody 1981; Meara 1996a), has been carried out.

In this context, studies on vocabulary learning strategies emerged as a response to the need to understand how vocabulary is learnt. Language learning strategies had already been explored for nearly twenty years from a psycholinguistic perspective (Bialystok 1978; O'Malley and Chamot 1990; Oxford 1990) when they started to be applied to vocabulary. This field of study aimed at identifying the most beneficial actions or behaviours that language learners took when learning a new language and their findings had already materialized into a number of taxonomies and principles. Language learning strategies, and, consequently, vocabulary learning strategies, seem to be teachable actions and their selection seems to be influenced by a number of different aspects, such as the foreign language studied or the language learning approaches used.

It is in line with this latter idea that the present study has been conceptualized, as it can clearly be used to approach the new language teaching proposals put forward in recent times. In the last fifteen years, a new language learning approach has come to Spain. This approach, known as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), promotes the use of a foreign language as a vehicle of communication in content subjects. To achieve full development of contents and language, new teaching techniques are proposed and new objectives are set. In the case of vocabulary learning, research has shown that the use of CLIL seems to benefit vocabulary development. Therefore, if there is a modification in the way language is conceived and this resonates with the vocabulary learnt, could it be that CLIL also affects the way learners learn vocabulary?

This paper is organized as follows. First, it deals with theoretical aspects regarding vocabulary learning strategies and their possible relation to CLIL, including a short account of what CLIL involves. After that, the methodology followed will be explained. To do so, the research questions, the sample, and the instruments will be detailed. Then, the data obtained from the Vocabulary Learning Strategies questionnaire (adapted from Schmitt 1997) are presented, administered to two groups of year 9 secondary school learners from Extremadura (a CLIL group and a mainstream EFL [English as a Foreign Language] group). These data are examined, looking at the difference in the selection of vocabulary learning strategies between both groups.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the 1990s, there has been substantial body of research on vocabulary learning strategies in the literature (e.g., Gu and Johnson 1996; Intaraprasert 2004; Jiménez Catalán 2003; Nation 2001; Schmitt 1997; Stöffer 1995). This area of research started to be conceptualized with the inclusion of the strategic competence as part of the communicative competence (Canale and Swain 1980; Canale 1983). In these years, and as a first approach to the concept, the strategic competence was conceived as the “verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to performance variables or to insufficient competence” (Canale and Swain 1980: 30). However, soon, this definition turned out to be insufficient due to the quick development of the field and a vast body of research that emerged revolving the concept of strategy (see, for example, O’Malley and Chamot 1990; Oxford 1989, 1990; Politzer 1983; Rubin 1987, Wenden 1991 or Wenden and Rubin 1987). The emergence of strategic competence studies in the language learning field gave impulse to the incorporation of a new term already explored from a psychological

perspective, —the learning strategies—, to the language teaching research and resulted in a large number of empirical studies on language learning strategies (Bialystok 1978; O'Malley and Chamot 1990; Oxford 1990). That is, whereas in the beginning, the focus was on the term 'competence' itself, over the years, and more and more interest was placed on the term 'strategy' and research from other fields was incorporated to the language learning research. In this particular case, the concept 'strategy' no longer referred exclusively to the communicative dimension mentioned by Canale and Swain and to the tactics used to overcome lack of language when communicating, but it could make reference to other types of tactics or actions devoted to control the language learning processes (Martín Leralta 2006).

This new conception of strategies and the relevance it placed on how languages were learnt coincided in time with the new consideration of vocabulary learning as a key aspect to achieve a fully mastery of a foreign language (Laufer 1990; Meara 1980, 1996a, 1996b; Nation 1974; Richards 1976; Xue and Nation 1984) and vocabulary learning strategies resulted from this conjunction. Vocabulary learning strategies are usually defined as the “knowledge about the mechanisms (processes, strategies) used in order to learn vocabulary as well as the steps or actions taken by students (a) to find out the meaning of unknown words, (b) to retain them in long-term memory, (c) to recall them at will and (d) to use them in oral/written mode” (Jiménez Catalán 2003: 56). This definition brings together most of the agreements about what the concept of vocabulary learning strategies entails: (1) vocabulary learning strategies are part of the language learning strategies and (2) they are those actions that are used at least for (a) understanding what a new word means and (b) consolidating the word meanings (Cameron 2001; Intaraprasert 2004; Nation 2001). However, research on the area has not focused exclusively on the definition of the term and has explored different aspects: on the one hand, there have been numerous attempts to identify vocabulary learning strategies and classify them into taxonomies (Gu and Johnson 1996; Nation 2001; Schmitt 1997; Stöffer 1995). Among others, the most widely-used taxonomy is Schmitt's taxonomy (1997). It consists of a list of 58 strategies that was developed using three sources of information: Oxford's taxonomy of learning strategies (Oxford 1990), the research done with Japanese learners and some recommendations pointed out by teachers. In order to compile his taxonomy, the author first analysed a series of textbooks, and, after that, he asked Japanese intermediate level students to write a report on how they learned English vocabulary. They were also asked to review a preliminary list of strategies and add other strategies used. Finally, Schmitt organised the results using Oxford's taxonomy as a basis. As a result, six categories were established summarised in Table 1 and explained in detail thereafter:



Table 1. Schmitt's taxonomy (1997).

Discovery strategies	Determination strategies	The way learners discover individually the meaning of an unknown word
	Social strategies	Ways to discover new meanings by interacting with others
Consolidation strategies	Metacognitive strategies	"A conscious overview of the learning process and making decisions about planning, monitoring or evaluating the best ways to study" (Schmitt 1997: 17)
	Memory strategies	"Relating the word to be retained with some previously learned knowledge, using some form of imagery, or grouping" (Schmitt 1997: 15)
	Cognitive strategies	"Manipulation or transformation of the target language by the learner" (Schmitt 1997: 16)
	Social strategies	Ways to discover new meanings by interacting with others

Finally, other branch of research has attempted to understand the underpinning process in the selection of vocabulary learning strategies. The selection of language learning strategies, and, consequently, of vocabulary learning strategies, is acknowledged to be influenced by a number of factors related to learners' language background, learners' characteristics and the language teaching practice (Oxford and Nyikos 1989). Focusing on this latter aspect, two main aspects have been identified as determining in the selection of vocabulary learning strategies: the language task and the language teaching method.

There has been some research on the variation in the use of strategies when facing with different types of tasks. Bialystok (1981), a pioneer in the area, reported that learners used different strategies depending on the objective of the task, finding that some strategies only were considered as useful for certain activities. These results set precedent, and since then, there has been an increasing number of studies analysing the relationship between strategies and tasks devoted to the development of the four language skills: listening (Bacon 1992; Vandergrift 1997), reading (Barnett 1989; Hayati 2005), writing (Manchón 2001; Trenchs 1996) and speaking (Cohen, Weaver and Li 1998).

However, to the best of my knowledge, most emphasis has been placed on the influence of specific skill tasks while little research has been carried out exploring the impact of a more general aspect: the language teaching approach.

It is in line with this latter idea that the present research study has been set out. In recent decades, a new language teaching approach has been implemented in Europe. This new set of methodologies, known as Content and Language Integrated Learning approach, that advocates the use of foreign languages when teaching content subjects has been introduced into Europe. This approach has revolutionized the teaching practice to unforeseen limits. In CLIL practices, the aim is no longer the language development itself, but developing a language in order to be able to transmit some academic contents. This new vision of language has particularly benefit the lexical development (Agustín-Llach and Canga Alonso 2016; Canga Alonso 2015). However, most research has focused on the vocabulary benefits, and has neglected the analysis of how the implementation of this approach affect the actions the learners take to learn vocabulary. Two main conclusions could be drawn with regards to vocabulary studies in Spain in the CLIL context in the last decade: first, when learners with the same age and different exposure to the foreign language (in favour of CLIL learners due to the larger exposure this approach promotes) were compared, it has been found that CLIL learners outperformed mainstream EFL learners (Agustín-Llach 2012; Arribas 2016, Castellano-Risco 2018). Nevertheless, when CLIL and mainstream EFL learners of different ages but with the same exposure to English were compared, CLIL learners did not show any superiority over mainstream EFL learners with regards the recognition of vocabulary items. Therefore, those studies which found a positive impact of CLIL on vocabulary size could not strictly demonstrate that such difference was related to the approach followed, as it could be also occasioned by a larger exposure to English CLIL learners received.

Similarly, this piece of research tackles the CLIL and EFL learners' differences in lexical development but from a different perspective: instead of exploring the final learning product (i.e., the vocabulary known), it aims to examine variations in the actions taken to learn vocabulary. Although some research has been carried out on CLIL learners' use of strategies (see, for example Martínez Adrián et al. 2019, or Azkarai and Imaz Aguirre 2016), to the best of my knowledge, in these previous attempts, strategies have been explored from a communicative perspective considering them actions to overcome lack of language knowledge rather than actions to facilitate language learning, so this study comes to fill the gap by exploring a new dimension: the vocabulary learning strategies.

### 3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: Do secondary-school learners show any preference for some specific vocabulary learning strategies?

RQ2: Does the selection of vocabulary learning strategies differ depending on the type of instruction learners are exposed to?

#### 4. METHOD

##### 4.1. PARTICIPANTS

The study took place in Extremadura, a monolingual region in Spain. CLIL programs started to be implemented in the academic year 2004/05 as a pilot program with the objective of promoting second language learning (for more detailed information, see Alejo González and Piquer Píriz 2010; Alejo and Piquer-Píriz 2016).

A convenience sample of 138 secondary-school learners was analysed. All learners were in Year 9, with ages ranging from 14 to 16. Regarding gender, there were specifically 64 males and 74 females. The main difference among learners was related to the EFL program they attended. Seventy-two participants — 44 girls and 38 boys — were involved in CLIL programmes, whereas fifty-six students — 26 boys and 30 girls— attended mainstream English as Foreign Language subject. Participants came from four different secondary state schools in Badajoz and main differences between them were not related to the Socio-Economic Status, age, or gender, but to the language teaching approach to which they are exposed and the number of hours of instructions they receive in English. Mainstream EFL participants were exposed to EFL classes a mean of three times a week for ten academic years, whereas in the case of CLIL participants, like mainstream EFL learners, they started EFL classes at the age of three, but then their exposure increased due to the attendance to content subjects in English for a mean time of five years. Due to this difference in the amount of input, CLIL learners were exposed to a mean of 2400 hours of English, whereas in the case of mainstream EFL participants, they presented an amount of English input of approximately, 1,200 hours.

##### 4.2. INSTRUMENT

A Vocabulary Learning Strategies questionnaire was used in this study. This questionnaire was designed by adapting Schmitt's taxonomy of vocabulary learning strategies (1997). This taxonomy was selected for various reasons, but mainly because it provided a wide range of strategies and it was compiled using secondary-school learners. However, it also presented some shortcomings. Schmitt's taxonomy was made up of 58 strategies, clustered into six main groups: determination, social for discovering meanings, social for consolidating meanings,

cognitive, metacognitive and memory. Developing a questionnaire with such a large number of items and asking secondary-school learners to answer it was excessive, bearing in mind learners' attention span at this age.

Thus, an adaptation of the taxonomy was needed and two main criteria were established: (1) the questionnaire was developed in Spanish in order to facilitate and make sure understanding on the part of students, and (2) it was important for the proportion of items in each category to remain unchanged. In order maintain this, firstly, the strategies in each category were counted and the intended total number of items was established. After that, the new number of items per category was calculated from the following equation, in which fifty-eight corresponds to the total number of items included in Schmitt's proposal and twenty-one represents the total number of items that are wanted to be included in the questionnaire.

$$\frac{\text{No. of items of this category}}{58} = \frac{X}{21}$$

In order to select the strategies in each category, those strategies that had demonstrated greater use in other studies in which the usage of vocabulary learning was analysed, were included (García López 2000; Gu and Johnson 1996; Lawson and Hogben 1996; Schmitt 1997). Moreover, there were some strategies based on specific methods such as the PEG<sup>1</sup>, the LOCI<sup>2</sup> or the KEYword<sup>3</sup> method, that were directly omitted, as those methods were completely unknown to the sample. Finally, the questionnaire was piloted to ensure its suitability for students of this age, and some of the questions had to be reformulated. As a result, the final questionnaire was made up of twenty-one strategies in which test-takers had to mark their use of each strategy on a Likert scale from 1 (never) to 4 (always).

#### 4.2.1. Construct validity

Ehrman, Leaver and Oxford (2003) assert that success of vocabulary learning strategies is not related to frequency of use, but to how they are combined with

<sup>1</sup> The PEG method is a practice that consists on linking words that have no sense relationships by connecting the words to pictures, letters, sounds or numbers in order to be able to recall them (Schmitt 1997).

<sup>2</sup> In Schmitt's words (1997: 13) "in the Loci Method, one recalls a familiar place, such as a street, and mentally places the first item to be recalled in the first location, the second item in the second location, and so on. To recall the items, one mentally proceeds along the landmarks and retrieves the items which have been associated with each location".

<sup>3</sup> "The Keyword Method entails a learner finding a L1 word which sounds like the target L2 word, i.e. the English word *cat* for the Japanese word *katana* (sword). Then an image combining the two concepts is created, such as a samurai cat waving a sword. When the L2 word is later heard, the sound similarity invokes the created image which prompts the L2 word's meaning" (Schmitt 1997: 15).

Table 2. Items included in the questionnaire.

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sub-group</b>	<b>Strategies</b>
Discovery strategies	Determination strategies	Analysing part of speech
		Analysing affixes and roots
		Check for L1 cognate
		Analysing any available picture or gesture
		Using a bilingual dictionary
	Social strategies	Asking teacher for an L1 translation
		Asking teacher for paraphrase or a synonym of a new word
Asking students for meaning		
Consolidation strategies	Social strategies	Studying and practice meaning in group
	Memory strategies	Studying word with a pictorial representation of its meaning
		Connecting word to a personal experience
		Connecting the word to its synonyms and antonyms
		Using a new word in a sentence
		Grouping words together to study them
		Using physical action when learning a word
		Cognitive strategies
	Written repetition	
	Word lists	
	Metacognitive strategies	Using English-language media
		Skipping or passing on a new word
		Continuing to study a word over time

other strategies. In other words, an appropriate combination of strategies seems to produce a positive effect on language learning. It is in this vein that the analysis of the subgroups of strategies makes sense. But, Oxford (2017: 6857) states that learning strategies can be “combine[d] in various ways”. Based on this idea, it seemed that a more profound exploration of the internal coherence of each group was needed, in order to check whether the sample of this study grouped strategies in the same way than Schmitt’s proposed.

For that reason, a Cronbach’s coefficient Alpha analysis was carried out to explore the groups of strategies in general, and then, to explore the particular groups

proposed by Schmitt (1997). As for the whole group of strategies, results showed a general Cronbach's coefficient of 0.69. This was quite near to the accepted value (0.7; Nunnally 1978), and therefore, it could be claimed that the data presented internal coherence. In contrast, the results regarding the different sub-groups presented by Schmitt did not show any internal coherence within each group.

In light of the results, the present classification might not represent the way the present sample is grouping the vocabulary learning strategies. To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies attesting the utility and reliability of the classification proposed by Schmitt (1997). For this reason, there was a need to analyse the use of strategies looking for a statistical relationship between them. To serve this purpose, a factor analysis was carried out. The factor analysis is a mathematically complex procedure that reduces a correlation matrix containing many variables into much smaller number of factors. The aim was to find out whether the strategies could be grouped according to their use. As can be seen in Table 3, eight main factors were identified:

Table 3. Groups identified in the factor analysis.

<b>Group</b>	<b>Explanation</b>	<b>Strategies</b>	<b>Factor Loading</b>
Lexical analysis strategies	Renamed as 'lexical analysis' group, it encompasses all those strategies were closely related to the lexical acquisition	Analysing part of the speech	.639
		Analysing affixes and roots	.693
		Using new words in a sentence	.375
		Grouping words together to study them	.421
		Connecting the word to its synonyms	.443
		Using English-Language media	.334
Mental imagery	These strategies concerned vocabulary learning through linking of meaning to concrete things such as pictures or personal experiences	Studying the word with pictorial representation	.989
		Analysis of pictures and gestures	.561
		Connecting word to a personal experience	.303
Repetition	Strategies implied repetition actions in any form: written or spoken	Saying a new word aloud when studying	.573
		Written repetition	.847

Linking	Strategies involved the creation of links with other words	Word lists	.865
		Using a bilingual dictionary <sup>4</sup>	.317
Kinaesthetic	This group included strategies that has a kinaesthetic component	Using physical action when learning a word	.992
Guessing from context	This group encompasses strategies that require context information to understand the meaning of the words	Skipping or passing on new words	.350
		Checking for L1 cognates <sup>5</sup>	.787
Social strategies involving teacher interaction	This group presents a close link to the social strategies, but it only focused on the teachers' role	Asking teacher for an L1 translation	.643
		Asking teachers for paraphrasing or for a synonym	.440
Social strategies involving students interaction	This group is related to the understanding of new words aided by other learners	Asking students for meaning	.727

<sup>4</sup> Although at first glance the strategy 'checking in the bilingual dictionary' may not fit in this group, its inclusion was explained by the fact that students were asked to write down the vocabulary they looked up in the dictionary.

<sup>5</sup> At first sight, the strategy "skipping or passing new words" may not seem to be a guessing strategy, but it is the way it was expressed in the questionnaire which allowed to consider it as part of this group, as it is emphasized that the word is skipped when learners understand the gist of the text.

## 5. RESULTS

In this section, I will proceed by looking at the different aspects involved in the selection of vocabulary learning strategies. First, I will attempt to provide a clear picture of the selection and use of the strategies. Finally, I will look for differences between CLIL and mainstream EFL learners.

### 5.1. RQ1: DO SECONDARY-SCHOOL LEARNERS SHOW ANY PREFERENCE FOR SOME SPECIFIC VOCABULARY LEARNING STRATEGIES?

Once the framework of analysis has been determined, in this section, the selection of the vocabulary learning strategies —individually and by categories—

is explored. To facilitate the analysis, the focus will be placed first on use of each strategies and then, I will move on to the group of strategies analysis.

### *5.1.1. Use of each strategy*

Starting with the use of each strategy as an individual item, table 4 reveals, based on the mean frequency score, a clear picture of the secondary-school learners' reported use of the nineteen items. Starting with the top-three preferred strategies, it can be observed that learners' preferred strategy is 'checking for L1 cognate' (3.13), a lexical analysis strategy according to the analysis framework, followed by the 'use of wordlists' (3.04), a linking strategy, whereas in the third position the 'analysing affixes and roots' (2.90), included in lexical analysis, is found.

At the top of the table 4, three strategies are reported to be employed at the low frequency level: the 'use of physical action when learning a word' (1.30), followed by the 'connection of the word to a personal experience' (1.75) and 'asking the teacher for paraphrasing or for a synonym of the new word' (1.99). The least-preferred strategy corresponds to the kinaesthetic group, the second least strategy is a mental imagery group and the third least-used strategy is included in two different groups: lexical analysis and social involving teachers' actions strategies.

These results seem to point to the preference towards using lexical analysis and linking strategies. These strategies involve learners' reflection on the language properties and on how words interact. Some authors (Schmitt 1995) suggests that one of the most relevant aspects of the lexical competence is the development of the word's semantic network of associations and the selection of these strategies seems to be oriented to achieve this goal. On the other hand, results also show that kinaesthetic strategies are the least widely used. Different reasons, such as the learners' level of L2 proficiency, or the methodology employed in the EFL classes, could be attributed to this fact. In order to provide a more thorough explanation about these findings, these ideas will be taken up again in the discussion section.

### *5.1.2. Use of the groups of strategies*

In the analysis of the selection of the groups of strategies, the least widely-used group corresponds to the 'kinaesthetic strategies' (1.29), which are reported to be used on a low level. There is an extreme contrast between the use of this group and the others, which nearly doubled this result. The preferred group is 'linking strategies' (2.78), that is, those strategies which involve creating links with other words, either



Table 4. Use of vocabulary learning strategies.

<b>Strategies</b>	<b>Mean Frequency score</b>	<b>Standard Deviation (SD)</b>
Using physical action when learning a word	1.30	.624
Connecting a word to a personal experience	1.75	.823
Asking teacher for paraphrasing or a synonym of new word	1.99	.940
Connecting the word to its synonyms and antonyms	2.19	.931
Skipping or passing on a new word	2.21	.898
Studying a word with a pictorial representation of its meaning	2.40	.937
Verbal repetition	2.40	1.031
Using a bilingual dictionary	2.41	.956
Written repetition	2.46	1.053
Asking students for meaning	2.58	.835
Using a new word in a sentence	2.61	1.080
Grouping words together to study them	2.61	.993
Using English-language media	2.64	1.059
Analysing a part of speech	2.66	.932
Analysing any available picture or gesture	2.74	.984
Asking teacher for an L1 translation	2.78	.774
Analysing affixes and roots	2.90	.984
Word lists	3.04	.962
Checking for L1 cognate	3.13	.878

in English or Spanish, in order to retain the meaning of new target words. This group is followed by 'guessing from context' strategies (2.68), which embraces those strategies that are used to understand what an unknown word means by connecting it to the target language or by inferring the gist of the text without knowing all the specific words. Table 5 below shows the mean use of each group.

In this section, secondary-school learners' use of the different vocabulary learning strategies categories has been presented. In general, secondary-school learners showed a strong affinity for the use of linking strategies, those involving

Table 5. Use of strategy groups.

<b>Group</b>	<b>Mean Frequency score</b>	<b>Standard Deviation (SD)</b>
Kinaesthetic strategies	1.29	0.62
Mental imagery strategies	2.30	1.00
Social strategies involving teachers	2.38	0.94
Repetition strategies	2.43	1.04
Lexical analysis strategies	2.55	1.00
Social strategies involving students	2.58	0.84
Guessing from context strategies	2.68	1.00
Linking strategies	2.78	1.04

the creation of links, and guessing strategies, that involve aids from the context. As already mentioned, this finding could be related to the task, i.e., learning vocabulary items, and to the different dimensions that word knowledge involves. In contrast, they systematically ignored the use of kinaesthetic strategies to remember new meanings.

These results help to establish a general profile of use. On the one hand, secondary-school learners show a preference towards lexical strategies, and it is reflected in both, the individual and group analysis of the strategies. On the other hand, they show a hostility towards using kinaesthetic strategies. In the following section, it will be explored whether the CLIL and EFL learners' selection of strategies differed and to what extent they differed from the general profile.

### *5.2. RQ2: DO CLIL AND EFL LEARNERS' SELECTION OF VOCABULARY LEARNING STRATEGIES DIFFER?*

The aim of this section is to explore the impact of using CLIL on the selection of vocabulary learning strategies the participants make. To do so, in this section, differences with regard to selection of each strategy, first, and, then, of the different groups between CLIL and EFL participants will be explored.

In general, CLIL and EFL learners differ in the selection of vocabulary learning strategies. CLIL learners make greater use of strategies than EFL learners. In the

case of CLIL participants, the mean of use is 2.48, whereas EFL informants' mean of use is 2.42. Although this difference is not significant according to the results of the U-Mann Whitney test, there are more discrepancies between both groups. For example, as can be seen in table 5 below, their preferred strategies and those they used least do not match.

### 5.2.1. *Individual use of strategies*

As for the analysis of the use of each strategy, starting with the three preferred strategies, in general, the preferred strategy is the 'checking for L1 cognate'. Nevertheless, when examining CLIL and EFL informants' preferred strategy, they do not match: mainstream EFL learners prefer the use of word lists (3.43), whereas in the case of CLIL participants, there is a tie in this position among two strategies: the 'analysis of affixes and roots' (3.21) and 'checking for L1 cognate' (3.21). As for the second preferred strategy, in the overall results this is 'analysis of affixes and roots' (2.9), but it does not match either with the concrete selection of CLIL and EFL learners. Bearing in mind the tie in the first position in the case of CLIL learners, it can be considered that the strategy 'checking for L1 cognate' is the second preferred for both groups, although CLIL learners make greater use of this strategy (3.21) in comparison to EFL learners (3.02). Hence, it does not match with the general preference, in which the 'analysis of affixes and roots' has the second highest use. To complete the analysis of the top-three strategies, the two groups do not share the third most widely selected strategy and this strategy does not match with the overall preference. In general, the third preferred strategy is 'use of word lists' (3.04), but it is 'use of English-language media' (2.78) for CLIL participants, whereas for EFL learners it is 'grouping words together to study them' (2.82).

Differences regarding usage of vocabulary learning strategies are beyond the top-three strategies. In general, it can be stated that CLIL learners have a greater use of the following strategies: 'analysing the part of the speech', 'analysing of affixes and roots', 'checking for L1 cognate' 'using a bilingual dictionary', 'asking teacher for paraphrasing or a synonym of a new word', 'asking students for meaning', 'connecting a word to a personal experience', 'verbal repetition', 'using English-language media', and 'skipping or passing on a new word'. However, significant differences are only found in the selection of five strategies: CLIL learners make significant greater use of the 'analysis of affixes and roots' ( $p = .000$ ); the 'connection of the word to its synonyms and antonyms' ( $p = .015$ ) and the 'use of English-language media' ( $p = .050$ ), whereas EFL participants select significantly more often strategies related to 'written repetition' ( $p = .022$ ) and 'use of word lists' ( $p = .000$ ). Table 6 below shows the CLIL and EFL learners' mean use of each strategy.

Table 6. CLIL and EFL learners' mean use of strategies.

Strategy	CLIL learners' mean of use	EFL learners' mean of use	P value	Significant difference
Analysing part of speech	2.73	2.55	.343	
Analysing affixes and roots	3.21	2.45	.000	*
Checking for L1 cognate	3.21	3.02	.174	
Analysing any available picture or gesture	2.68	2.80	.388	
Using bilingual dictionary	2.44	2.36	.590	
Asking teacher for an L1 translation	2.77	2.79	.955	
Asking teacher for paraphrasing or a synonym of a new word	2.06	1.89	.301	
Asking students for meaning	2.67	2.45	.122	
Studying word with a pictorial representation of its meaning	2.36	2.45	.531	
Connecting word to a personal experience	1.79	1.69	.461	
Connecting the word to its synonyms and antonyms	2.35	1.96	.015	*
Using a new word in a sentence	2.41	2.5	.284	
Grouping words together to study them	2.68	2.82	.284	
Using physical action when learning a word	1.28	1.32	.518	
Verbal repetition	2.41	2.39	.978	
Written repetition	2.29	2.70	.022	*
Word lists	2.76	3.43	.000	*
Using English-language media	2.78	2.45	0.50	*
Skipping or passing on a new word	2.30	2.09	.161	

### 5.2.2. Use of the groups of strategies

In addition, differences when exploring the new factors and categories are also found. As can be seen in Table 7, CLIL learners' preferred group of

strategies is 'guessing from contexts strategies' (2.76), while for EFL learners, the preferred group is linking strategies (2.87). They do not share either the second preferred group: for CLIL learners it is 'linking strategies' group (2.72), whereas for EFL participants it is 'guessing from context' group (2.55). Nevertheless, they share the least preferred strategies: the kinaesthetic group, although EFL learners present a slightly (non-significant) higher use (2.32) in comparison with their CLIL counterparts (2.28).

All in all, CLIL learners make greater use of lexical analysis, guessing from context strategies and social strategies involving interaction with both teachers and students. On the other hand, EFL learners make greater use of mental imagery, repetition, linking and kinaesthetic strategies. However, differences are only significant in the case of strategies involving lexical analysis ( $p = .000$ ). Table 7 shows the CLIL and EFL learners' mean use of each group.

A number of implications can be drawn from this analysis. Among other findings, the results obtained tend to show that CLIL students reflect more on the properties of language than EFL learners. Moreover, they also seem to make greater use of social strategies. This finding is expected, as CLIL advocates for the use of interactive and cooperative learning situations, which can lead into a greater use of social strategies. Finally, EFL learners make greater use of repetition strategies. These and other findings will be discussed in depth in the following section.

Table 7. Differences between CLIL and EFL learners' selection of strategies grouped.

<b>Group</b>	<b>CLIL learners</b>	<b>EFL learners</b>	<b>P value</b>	<b>Significant difference</b>
Lexical analysis strategies	2.68	2.36	.000	*
Mental imagery strategies	2.28	2.33	.704	
Repetition strategies	2.35	2.54	.098	
Linking strategies	2.72	2.87	.118	
Kinaesthetic strategies	1.28	1.32	.518	
Guessing from context strategies	2.76	2.55	.129	
Social strategies involving teachers	2.41	2.34	.465	
Social strategies involving students	2.67	2.44	.122	

## 6. DISCUSSION

In this section, I proceed to explore secondary-school learners' usage of vocabulary learning strategies. To do so, I focus on two main aspects: firstly, I explore the theoretical assumptions of the Schmitt's taxonomy that led to the six categories the author proposed. Then, having clarified the framework of analysis, I present first the selection of vocabulary learning strategies by secondary-school learners in general, and then those used by CLIL and mainstream EFL learners as separate groups.

The last part of the methodology section deals with a reconsideration of Schmitt's taxonomy, based on the evidence that the groups proposed did not show any internal coherence. Oxford (2017) states that learners group strategies in different ways based on their own preferences. Based on this premise, it was central to the interests of this study to explore how strategies relate. The factor analysis served this purpose. Results reveal the existence of eight categories, namely, lexical analysis, mental imagery, repetition, linking, kinaesthetic, guessing, and collaboration with teachers and classmates strategies.

This new classification allows analysis of learners' usage of the different categories. Of these, the preferred group was linking strategies. This group of strategies involves the use of word lists and bilingual dictionaries and the grouping of words to study them. This category seems to be related to the development of a network between Spanish and English words and secondary-school learners seem confident when using these strategies.

Conversely, the least widely used group was the kinaesthetic one. This group was made up only of one strategy, the use of physical actions when learning a word. This result is in line with other studies such as García López (2000), who stated that the sensorial strategies are barely used by secondary-school learners, or Schmitt (1997), who reported that this strategy ranked 36 in a list of 40 strategies. Two main explanations may be given to this finding: first, it could be related to the learning process itself: the higher the level of proficiency, the lower the level of concreteness is needed. In other words, as the level of the L2 increases, more abstract concepts are presented to learners, and it may become more difficult to represent those new ideas with movement. Second, the methodology employed in EFL classes could also explain this result: in Primary Education, movement is considered a need because of learners' characteristics, however, its use is relegated to a second place in higher levels.

These preferences were borne out with the analysis of the most and least widely used strategies. With respect to the preferred strategy, there was a strong affinity for checking for L1 cognates and use of word lists. This result did not

match with previous studies. Lawson and Hogben (1996), García López (2000) and Schmitt (1997) concluded that the most widely used strategies were those which involved repetition techniques. Indeed, in the case of the cognates, Schmitt concluded that it was the least used strategy. This inconsistency may be related to the mother tongue of the learners. In Schmitt's study, the sample was made up of Japanese learners, unlike this study, with a sample consisting of Spanish learners. Spanish is a Romance language and shares more links with English than Japanese. In fact, they share the alphabet, so Spanish learners may not have the need to repeat the new words so frequently, as they are used to the letters. Moreover, some words in both languages may also have the same etymological origins, thus facilitating understanding and retention of the items in the foreign language. Therefore, it would make sense that Spanish learners resort to their mother tongue aiming to look for some kind of similarity.

As for the use of word lists, they have been consistently reported to be preferred in the majority of studies (Schmitt 1997). However, different cognitive theories, such as the Depth of Processing Hypothesis ( Craik and Tulving 1975) or Bloom's taxonomy (1984), question their efficacy, as mechanical methods of repetition seem not to be as beneficial as other ways of teaching. Results in this area are inconclusive. On the one hand, researchers such as Griffin and Harley (1996), or Hoshino (2010) highlight the usefulness of using word lists for vocabulary acquisition. On the other hand, other studies such as Folse's (2004) cannot assert that word lists are neither detrimental nor beneficial when learning vocabulary. Therefore, an in-depth analysis of the influence of this strategy on vocabulary level would be welcome.

Finally, the last part of the results section deals with the differences between CLIL and EFL learners. In general, a greater use of strategies by CLIL learners was found. Although the difference between both groups of learners was not significant, it could be relevant for the purposes of study, as it may show a pattern. A review of the literature (Oxford and Nyikos 1989; Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou 2009; Vrettou 2009) often reveals a greater and more efficient use of strategies by more proficient learners. CLIL learners are often reported to outperform mainstream EFL learners in several language learning aspects such as vocabulary (Agustín-Llach and Canga Alonso 2016; Canga Alonso 2013, 2015), grammar (Machado Osado 2015) or language transfer (Agustín-Llach 2009). Under the assumption that CLIL learners are more proficient in language learning, it could be expected that they make greater use of strategies in the light of previous findings. Other reasons that may explain this finding could be the methodology employed and the teacher/s' role. Nation (2001) suggests that the teachers play a relevant role in the learning of vocabulary learning strategies, as they can present the learners with new ways

of learning. As regards the two groups analysed, on the one hand, EFL students' ways of dealing with L2 vocabulary may be only influenced by the EFL teacher. On the other hand, CLIL learners are exposed to the influence of a number of teachers that use English to teach contents in a number of subjects. All those teachers may influence CLIL participant' learning process, fostering a wider range of techniques or strategies.

In relation to the differences in the use of word lists in favour of mainstream EFL participants, it has been already discussed how the use of these strategies affects vocabulary development. However, it seems that those learners exposed to a lower amount of L2 input – EFL learners – are more willing to make use of word lists than those who were exposed to a greater amount of input. It may be that, as the language input increases, more and more varied strategies come into play, diminishing the use of those strategies that initially were rooted in learners' minds.

As with word lists, differences were also found in favour of mainstream EFL learners in the use of written repetition strategies. This finding may be related to the use of the CLIL approach. CLIL promotes a greater cognitive engagement, that may result in a reduction of the use of repetition strategies, as they are considered less cognitively demanding tasks.

Significant differences were also found in favour of CLIL learners. CLIL learners selected significantly more often the analysis of affixes and roots, the use of English-language media and the connection with other synonyms and antonyms, therefore, differences are related to learners' attitude ('use of English-language media') and metalinguistic awareness ('antonyms and analysis of affixes and roots') and L2 linking ('connection of the word with synonyms and antonyms').

Starting with the discrepancies in the use of English-language media, it seems that CLIL learners make greater use of English-language media (such as TV, newspapers or books) as a way to learn new vocabulary items. A number of reasons may be attributed to this finding. First, there is evidence that CLIL learners have a better vocabulary size (Canga Alonso 2015; Jiménez Catalán and Ruiz de Zarobe 2009). If they know a larger number of words, they may feel better prepared to understand real English input, rather than the adapted one presented in the classroom. Secondly, there is also some research in the literature that suggests that CLIL learners are more motivated learners (Alejo and Piquer-Píriz 2016; Lasagabaster and López Belouqui 2015). If so, they may be more willing to learn English outside the classroom. Finally, there is also an extrinsic reason not really related to the learning process itself: most of the most fashionable series and films are first broadcast in English, so CLIL learners



may feel the ‘necessity’ to watch that program in the original language and may feel more confident in comparison to EFL learners to understand and face this challenge.

As for the differences in lexical analysis strategies, CLIL participants presented a higher use of this group of strategies and this could be due to a number of reasons. First, CLIL learners are more exposed to English and this may result in capacity to reflect on properties of the language. Secondly, it could also be related to the fact that the use of this particular strategy may be related to a larger vocabulary size. If CLIL learners have a larger vocabulary size as already-mentioned (Canga Alonso 2015; Castellano-Risco 2018; Jiménez Catalán and Ruiz de Zarobe 2009), they may make a greater use of this strategy.

Similarly, CLIL learners make significant more use of the ‘connecting the word to its synonyms and antonyms’ strategy. As with the previous strategy, this one is closely related to lexical analysis. However, it is also related to the learners’ ability to create links within L2 words. This greater use by CLIL learners may be also related to the fact that CLIL learners are found to have a larger vocabulary size (Canga Alonso 2015; Jiménez Catalán and Ruiz de Zarobe 2009) and, as they have access to a larger number of words, they may be better able to create connections between L2 words.

Finally, some non-significant differences in the selection of vocabulary learning strategies also merit discussion. Such is the case of social strategies. Regardless of the group of social strategies studied, CLIL learners selected them more frequently than mainstream EFL participants. It may be related to the fact that CLIL promotes co-operative work, and so, it may result in a higher selection of strategies that imply other learners’ or teachers’ cooperation.

## 7. CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the present research study, two main objectives were established, so having analysed all the data, these main objectives can be summarized.

First of all, it seems that there is an underlying connection among the strategies. Analysis of how the use of strategies relates to other strategies resulted in the classification of the strategies into eight main categories, namely, lexical analysis, mental imagery, repetition, linking, kinaesthetic, guessing, and collaboration with teachers and classmates groups. Within these, in general, a preference was found towards creating links to learn new vocabulary items and a dislike of the use of strategies involving movement. In the case of the preferred strategy, this

finding does not correspond with other studies in which repetition strategies were reported as the preferred one. However, at the same time, dismissal of the use of kinaesthetic strategies seems to be a constant pattern.

Finally, there is a clear distinction in the use of vocabulary learning strategies taking into account the type of instruction: CLIL learners made more use of strategies than mainstream EFL learners, probably due to the more varied role that the different teachers involved in the bilingual programme play. Moreover, CLIL learners make more use of some particular strategies, such as use of English-language media, analysis of affixes and roots and connection with synonyms and antonyms. Contrarily, they made significantly less use of word lists and written repetition strategies. Although this performance may be related to the influence of CLIL, the effect of other factors, such as teachers' influence, the quality of the input received or the amount of exposure to L2, could also partially explain the results.

These findings have clear implications for the language teaching practice. Particularly important is the reclassification of the items presented in Schmitt's taxonomy, as it constitutes a stronger framework of study, supported by empirical data. Moreover, once the most beneficial strategies are identified, vocabulary learning proposals, and teaching materials, could incorporate these findings. Finally, the analysis of strategy use can also yield relevant information about learners' performance and the influence of the use of different language teaching/learning approaches on the vocabulary learning process.

The results need to be treated with caution, as there are a number of limitations with regard to them. First, the sample of this study is not overly big. Second, other variables should be considered when exploring the use of vocabulary learning strategies, such as learning styles or the influence of teachers and textbooks. Focusing on the teachers, it would be of great interest to analyse teachers' beliefs and speech, in order to examine the extent to which they may influence learners' choices. Finally, when working with secondary-school learners there is always some concern about the reliability of their answers. Although the maturational level of the participants was a factor taken into account when selecting the sample, it is possible that these learners may have been dishonest or were unable to reflect on how they learn.

At the same time, all these limitations can be considered the starting points for further research. As for the sample, further research on vocabulary learning strategies should include a larger and more varied sample. Moreover, a great contribution to the field would be the development of a taxonomy of language learners' vocabulary learning strategies in which the inclusion of the digital element,

so present in today's classes and learners' world, would, definitely, need to be considered. However, this is not the only change that should be contemplated in comparison to previous taxonomies, as this taxonomy should be inclusive and incorporate a number of improvements compared to its predecessors. First, the development of this taxonomy should, in my opinion, follow a similar pattern to Schmitt's development, and focus on teachers' and students' thoughts at the same time that materials are examined, but, including the findings of the previous research on vocabulary learning strategies. Moreover, it should also consider as a sample, not only tertiary learners, but also secondary-school learners, as in most of the occidental countries, they are FL learners *per se*, because they attend EFL subjects compulsory at school. With the inclusion of both kinds of learners, it could be possible to achieve a more embracing taxonomy and it could be better applied to subsequent research. Finally, the grouping of the different items identified should follow not only theoretical conceptualizations, but it should be necessarily supported with statistical analyses.

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**TRANSNATIONAL SPACES OF IDENTITY RECOGNITION IN JHUMPA  
LAHIRI'S *INTERPRETER OF MALADIES***

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**ABSTRACT.** *The object of this study is to explore the relation between identity and space in Jhumpa Lahiri's collection of short stories Interpreter of Maladies (1999). I will gauge how subjects adjust to their environments and to which means they resort to conserve, negate meaning. It appears that through the perusal of border consciousness subjects negotiate their identities, which leads them to understand the Other and, by extension, themselves. In fact, as the sense of belonging operates on the multi-layered and deterritorialised location of home, I will thus illustrate that whilst some subjects are hindered by forces of dislocation, cultural hybridity, others reassert a sense of transnational belonging in a third space. I shall include an introductory note on the theoretical framework and a section on food adding to the more detailed literature discussion of identity negotiation at stake.*

*Keywords:* Jhumpa Lahiri, Interpreter of Maladies, space, adaptation, diaspora, food.

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## ESPACIOS TRANSNACIONALES Y RECONOCIMIENTO DE LA IDENTIDAD EN *INTÉRPRETE DEL DOLOR* DE JHUMPA LAHIRI

**RESUMEN.** *El propósito de este estudio es el de explorar la relación entre identidad y espacio en la colección de relatos cortos Intérprete del dolor (1999) de Jhumpa Lahiri. Evaluaré cómo los sujetos se adaptan y a qué medios recurren para conservar, negar significado. Parece que, a través de la revisión de la conciencia fronteriza, los sujetos negocian sus identidades, lo cual los lleva a entender al Otro y, por extensión, a ellos mismos. De hecho, como la sensación de pertenencia funciona a varios niveles en la localización desterritorializada del hogar, ilustraré que mientras algunos personajes son obstaculizados por las fuerzas de la deslocalización, hibridación cultural, otros restablecen un sentido de pertenencia transnacional en un “tercer espacio”. Incluiré una nota introductoria sobre el marco teórico y una sección sobre comida que aportaría detalles sobre la negociación de la identidad al análisis literario.*

*Palabras clave:* Jhumpa Lahiri, Interpreter of Maladies, espacio, adaptación, diáspora, comida.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Research on postcolonial studies has a long tradition addressing the question of diaspora, cultural identity, and the discourse of fixed origins. In this age of multiculturalism, a rethinking of the postcolonial framework has been called upon by capitalist-oriented open hypermobility, high accessibility, and proficient tools for communicating between the diasporic subject, the host and the native land. This leads us to the zest of diaspora and its double positioning straddling the East and West, the new and the old converging under the aegis of a constant identity negotiation whereby spacing and temporalizing are the *sine qua non* condition of the interplay of differences.

This paper closely follows the configuration of deterritorialized or transnational migrants as representatives of the avowed “intersectionality of diaspora, border, and dis/location [...] where multiple subject positions are juxtaposed, contested, proclaimed or disavowed” (Brah 1996: 196). Tellingly, nation-states are allowing a full gamut of cultures to revamp their core values and it is owing to this backdrop that subjects inhabit a diasporic space, that is, one split by an ostensible border consciousness. Diaspora presupposes borders as the site of immanence ontologically anterior to the construction of identity since it confronts subjects to an in-between state and the underlying question “How is desire disciplined,

authority displaced?” (Bhabha 1994: 130). As the diasporic subject seesaws between two domains, doubly belonging and detaching from contested spaces, gaining, losing and transforming itself, this paper confronts the “struggle to occupy the space of the hyphen, the problematic situating of the self as simultaneously belonging here and there” (qtd. in Ridda 2011: 1). For this study, it was of interest to provide a conceptual contextualization of the terminology of diaspora and its modes of interaction. Following such theoretical underpinning, the major aim of this work was to illustrate Lahiri’s character development in *Interpreter of Maladies* (1999) regarding the ethics of difference and, more specifically, how difference structures identity recognition as the movement, or lack thereof, directing the subject towards the “perseverance in being” or “genuine subversion” of customs, meaning, depending upon the spacing of avowed border consciousness (Badiou 2012: 46-54).

Several authors have approached Lahiri’s work in relation to the collusion of identity and space. However, only a few studies (Alfonso-Forero 2017; Caesar 2005; Farshid and Taleie 2013; Kuortti 2007; Friedman 2008) have shown an interest in the role of space addressing what transnational, hybrid, hyphen or third space means for identity negotiation and its reciprocal relationship with space, assuming an active/passive role in the conservation/subversion of meaning. To overcome this problem, this paper will attempt to build on previous knowledge and provide a more nuanced exploration of identity negotiation by documenting several key contributions made to the field (Alfonso-Forero 2007; Bahmanpour 2010; Bahri 2013; Bhatt 2009; Brada-Williams 2004; Caesar 2005; Farshid 2013; Friedman 2008; Kuortti 2007; Lewis 2001; Macwan 2014; Monaco 2015; Ridda 2011; Singh 2012).

Over time, an extensive body of literature has considered the state of in-betweenness derived from the diasporic experience. Taken as the entanglement of dispersal and deferral of meaning, diaspora shifts through an ill-posed debris of entombed meaning, which comes about, in Levinas’ *Infinity and Totality* (1969), as the irreducible trace of the Other. In this sense, the locus of difference intertwines the rendering of a subject and the devotion to the Other as the “me-myself-at-a-distance... ‘objectified’ for my consciousness” (Badiou 2012: 21). Based on such configuration we can appreciate how a physical place can have a myriad of meanings depending on the social practices avowed, which, consequently, give rise to the reboot of spaces. From an etymological perspective, diaspora strictly meant “to scatter about, disperse”, but “‘diaspora’ evolved as the preferred and catch-all expression covering sin, scattering, emigration and the possibilities of repentance and return” (Cohen 2008: 21). Notwithstanding, the global paradigm shift has unhinged diaspora from its primeval meaning and broadened its spectrum. Diaspora can “refer to a conquered land with the purpose of colonization, to

assimilate the territory into the empire” (Bhatt 2009: 37). It owes its fuzziness to a rich genealogy of meanings. We need to hark back to the early twentieth century to read “hyphenated” people, as a derogatory term and half a century later to debunk the melting pot model. Cultural Studies encourage accepting multiculturalism as the joint undertaking of diversity tolerance since the ethical binding of diaspora is no longer grounded on “terror, despair, hope” (Appadurai 1996: 6). Victim diaspora, that is, expatriates, and, withal, labour diaspora bringing slaves, cheap manpower, have branched out into other modes. More specifically, diaspora can be understood as:

1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically; 2. Alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions; 3. A collective memory and myth about the homeland; 4. An idealization of the supposed ancestral home; 5. A return movement or at least a continuing connection; 6. A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time; 7. A troubled relationship with host societies; 8. A sense of co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries; and 9. The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries. (Cohen 2008: 161-162)

Out of this stranglehold, the “I” stance comes against a ghostly archetype of beliefs unknown, an unrecognizable Other that works under the auspices of a dominant culture or a lack thereof. Providing that spaces are steeped into the configuration of these meanings, we might find similarities between Hall’s “hybridity” (1990) and the ‘third space’ posited by Homi Bhabha (1994). Both demarcate a leap forward binding tenable middle grounds for blending in society. However, it would be a false dilemma then to frame ethnic consciousness exclusively as dominant-culture in opposition to a subdued one. While “Hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other ‘denied’ knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority—its rules of recognition” (Bhabha 1994: 114), the third space stands as an “interstitial passage between fixed identifications” that “opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy” (4).

Hitherto, an overhauled term for the current migrant community dimension is that of transnationalism (Kivisto 2001; Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999; Vertovec 2001) because transnationalism imbibes from the third space and addresses the global paradigm of mobility. It forestalls a cloistered notion of diasporic subjects and operates on remittances and culture reproduction without compulsory acculturation. As Marc Augé (2014) recaps, the cornucopia of events, spaces and individualized references presents an accelerated account of human life and a contested cultural contact coming about as the throbbing manifestation

of the “here” with an outspoken covenant with the “outside”. This runs parallel to the juncture of global flows proposed with Appiah’s (2006) “cosmopolitanism” contributing to an unimpaired “cross contamination” of cultures or Bauman’s liquid modernity. Capitalism aligns itself with the welfare of nations and vindicates the chutnification of hegemonic cultures, a success story as that of the “Banyan tree myth, which establishes its roots in several soils” (Bhatt 2009: 1)– albeit crucially grounded on the exploitation of capital.

## 2. LOST IN THE HYPHEN BETWEEN THE SELF-OTHER. “A TEMPORARY MATTER”, “INTERPRETER OF MALADIES”, “A REAL DURWAN”, “SEXY”, “MRS. SEN’S”

Jhumpa Lahiri’s first foray into storytelling has been regarded as a “short story cycle”; because it consists of stories evoking disaffection and brimming with hope, evincing the tension between “care and neglect” towards the symbolic relationship with objects, spaces (Brada-Williams 2004). Two main cultures underpin the connection of space and identity in *Interpreter of Maladies* (1999), the Indian and the American. Hence, an examination of their hyphenated Indian-American identity seems compulsory to articulate spaces as sites of hybrid or transnational belonging.

In “Interpreter of Maladies” an infelicitous communication occurs between a female tourist with her family and an Indian guide, as a postcolonial writing of the novel *A Passage to India* of E.M. Forster (Lewis 2001). From an omniscient narrator viewpoint, we reckon that Mr. Kapasi works as an Indian tour guide part-time and that he works as a translator of Gujarati at a doctor’s office. Full of contempt, he keeps a dull life and comes across a tourist family who demand his services. “The family looked Indian but dressed as foreigners did” (Lahiri 1999: 43), they come from New Jersey to Kanarak in Orissa, to visit some temples and know the local culture, but their pettiness prevents them from connecting with the spirit of the place and its ethos. Their children say “monkeys” instead of “Hanuman” (47), as Mr. Kapasi points out, and we see a sense of hinted neglect in the Das family, for they shirk away from helping their children, “Mr. and Mrs. Das bickered about who should take Tina to the toilet [...] she did not hold the little girl’s hand as they walked to the rest room” (43). They treated their children without interest or great authority, for they were self-absorbed in their matters: “They were all like siblings [...] Mr. and Mrs. Das behaved like an older brother and sister, not parents. It seemed that they were in charge of the children only for the day; it was hard to believe they were regularly responsible for anything other than themselves” (49).

However, we notice an uncanny reflection. The visit to the Sun Temple opens a heterotopia from whence Mrs. Das and Mr. Kapasi ponder a new personal chance

to appease themselves. The temple boasts an impressive range of ornaments dealing with Indian mythology and it also foreshadows “Nagamithunas, the half-human, half-serpentine couple” (57), an ominous sexual encounter between distinct species. In an uncanny delightful stare, Mr. Kapasi observes Mrs. Das, “In the rearview mirror Mr. Kapasi watched as Mrs. Das emerged slowly from his bulky white Ambassador, dragging her shaved, largely bare legs across the back seat” (43), while becoming infatuated with her. “He observed her. She wore a red-and-white-checked skirt...a close-fitting blouse styled like a man’s undershirt” (46). This sight clashes with Mr. Kapasi’s regular husband life who hoped to be “serving as an interpreter between nations” (59).

Soon, Mrs. Das highlights Mr. Kapasi’s translator job saying that he is as useful as a doctor and that it is “so romantic” (50). Mr. Kapasi falls head over heels on this red herring. Their conversation seems more engaging, thus giving vent to his wishful thinking since “Mrs. Das had taken interest in him [...] ignoring her husband’s requests that she pose for another picture, walking past her children as if they were strangers” (58). Fraught with eroticism, Mr. Kapasi sustains his *jouissance* with her gestures. In a way, it is not their ethnicity what brings them together, but the hyphenated condition of Mrs. Das what makes her both appealingly familiar and essentially exotic to Mr. Kapasi.

She asks for his address to share the pictures of the trip and gives Mr. Kapasi a “scrap of paper which she had hastily ripped from a page” (55). In a wild flight of fantasy, Mr. Kapasi reacts by writing with utmost care. He lingers on the idea of prospective communication and attempting to stir into action, “Perhaps he would compliment her strawberry shirt, which he found irresistibly becoming. Perhaps [...] he would take her hand” (60). To sustain his fantasy, Mr. Kapasi shows his availability in maintaining a relationship with Mrs. Das overseas in spite of his marriage. He is waiting for an unfettered impulse of her to confess that her marriage is disastrous, or that she likes him. Shortly after, she tells him that Bobby is not from her husband Ral, but from a Punjabi friend that she had an affair with some years ago. Mrs. Das confronts Mr. Kapasi in an ethical quandary, “I told you because of your talents...Say the right thing. Suggest some kind of remedy” (65), and hence, Mr. Kapasi chooses not to suggest anything at all. He circumvents her spoken demand, whether by his professionalism or by a self-effacing tactic to neglect his delusions and help her. What follows is that he asks her “is it really pain you feel Mrs. Das, or is it guilt? (66). He “felt insulted that Mrs. Das should ask him to interpret her common, trivial secret” (66) and aimed to help her with great agency, but “he was not even important enough to be properly insulted” (66). It comes clear here that the two of them have set unrealistic expectations on the other person, anchoring meaning on deceptive signs and, ultimately, leading

to a *faux pas*. Mrs. Das' awkwardness fades away when she notices that Bobby is being attacked by the monkeys and urges Mr. Kapasi to help him. The promise of future communication, encapsulated in the "slip of paper with Mr. Kapasi's address in it" (69), gets lost on the run, and Mr. Kapasi feels he would much better leave the family alone to avoid any major disruption. In short, although Mr. Kapasi and Mrs. Das encounter hinted some romantic undertones, their mirror delight gets suspended and brings about a missed connection. Hence, ethnic resemblance and singularity were brought to notice, but these concealed an acknowledgement of a barrier. This interference becomes evident through deceptive signs of rapport and a shared ambivalent desire to communicate with the other, which results in failure to maintain their social bonding. While Mr. Kapasi steps back, Mrs. Das precludes the revelation of her secret or any jeopardizing of her marriage and so, calls forth fidelity to the conservation of her status.

The story "Sexy" renders an account of a blatant fetishization of the Other through ethnic identification. An Indian Bengali called Dev and a blonde American called Miranda maintain an adulterous relationship out of curiosity. The story begins with Miranda hearing a gossip from her Indian friend Laxmi about an adultery. After a casual encounter in a shop, Miranda comes across Dev, whom she observes, is not wearing a ring and, soon, they start getting laid. Although Dev mentions having a wife, they keep spending time dating. Both have a fair knowledge of the culture of the other, and they set different expectations on the relationship. "At first, Miranda thought it was a religion. But then he [Dev] pointed it out to her a place in India called Bengal, on a map printed in an issue of *The Economist*" (Lahiri 1999: 84). Sworn to secrecy, Miranda sees a flicker of despair when buying a Hot Mix at an Indian shop they tell her that it is "Too spicy for you" (99). To an extent, she eroticizes Dev for his appearance, accent, his scent, his manners, and the like. "Now, when she and Dev made love, Miranda closed her eyes and saw deserts and elephants, and marble pavilions floating in lakes beneath a full moon" (96). Bahmanpour contends that it is "not always the immigrant Other who is victimized but also the native Self can fall prey to the process of Othering" (2010: 49).

However off-putting for her expectations, Dev must keep pledge an alibi to his wife "He explained that he couldn't spend the whole night at her place, because his wife called every day at six in the morning from India, where it was four in the afternoon" (88). What came as an initial emphasis from Dev went on the wane in a careless string of meetings whereby he wore a tracksuit to support his alibi of going to the gym, and he spent less quality time with Miranda. Garg (2012) notes the eagerness of Miranda to get attached to Dev, first by seducing him, buying lingerie and an expensive cocktail dress; second, by buying a wide

range of food. In a moment of insight, Miranda recognizes that Dev would not move forward in the relationship and she simmered the conflict until the ceasing of communication, “She would tell him the things she had known all along: that it wasn’t fair to her, or to his wife, that they both deserved better, that there was no point in it dragging on” (110).

In this case, it is the native Miranda who romanticizes her brave new affair with Dev, but the inescapable allure for the exotic falls bland, eventually, when Miranda becomes aware of Dev only thinking of her as a one-night stand. This illustrates how desire for the Other cannot be materialized if it depends on a shallow appreciation of what constitutes the object of desire. Both have conceived two opposing spheres that do not overlap in a middle ground. Symptomatic of colonial fixations, Miranda has set her sights on the East with an abridged understanding of Dev’s space. By the same token, efforts to sustain her *jouissance* are taken aback by Dev’s sluggish affection, unable to render an authentic embodiment of himself and thus contributing to a master-slave narrative.

In “A real Durwan” and “Mrs. Sen” an embodiment of uprooted individuals is presented. The main characters have jettisoned golden pasts and the new spaces they occupy reinforce their yearning. While Boori Ma lost her home as a Partition refugee deported to Calcutta, Mrs. Sen was forced to go ashore with her arranged marriage. Nameless, both try to consolidate their identities through external identification. For Boori Ma, talking about her previous bounty helps her to cope with the unusual job as a *durwan*, a gatekeeper, “under normal circumstances this was no job for a woman” (Lahiri 1999: 73), and neighbours distrust her “‘Boori Ma’s mouth is full of ashes, but she is the victim of changing times’ was the refrain of old Mr. Chatterjee” (72). Boori Ma plays a marginal role in society and defends herself by harking back to her glorious past “Believe me, don’t believe me, it was a luxury you cannot dream” (79), because recalling helps her regain composure:

In fact, the only thing that appeared three-dimensional about Boori Ma was her voice: brittle with sorrows, as tart as curds, and shrill enough to grate meat from a coconut. It was with this voice that she enumerated, twice a day as she swept the stairwell, the details of her plight and losses suffered since her deportation to Calcutta after Partition. (70)

For Mrs. Sen, working as a babysitter seems legitimate, but it does not help her feel connected to the place, since she still dwells in the communal cooking she did with the *bonti* blade, the fish she cooked, or the thought of having a “chauffeur in India” (113) and so, “hates driving” (131). Through this negative comparison commingling with their present condition, their psychic condition interfaces with reality and becomes materialized. In the case of Boori Ma, as an



endorsement of collective rejection, and for Mrs. Sen as an upheaval of neglect going on a neurotic trip for fish. Nagarani quotes the paper “The principle of Evil” from Jean Baudrillard to announce this apprehension with objects such as the fish, the saw, the blade, and vermilion for the head, cassettes for hearing their voices or the lack of object “It is not desire that we cannot escape, but the ironic presence of the object, its indifference, and its indifferent interconnections, its challenge, its seduction, its violation of the symbolic order (therefore of the subject’s unconscious as well, if it had one). In short, it is the principle of Evil we cannot escape” (2010: 95). As it indicates, evil signifies a tension between the subject and the thought of an object.

On the one hand, for Mrs. Sen, the material self cannot be attained, and so she violates her responsibility with Eliot in one of her long way driving quests for fish. She has a car accident with no casualties, but the symbolic violation of her duty gets her fired and arrested while helplessly muttering that, her husband, “Mr. Sen teaches mathematics at the university” (134). On the other hand, Boori Ma gets condemned to ostracism once that a sink of the building gets robbed. Without the support of Mr. Dalal, a resident, the neighbours reify their fear and suspicion against Boori as the embodiment of the Other. Both stories show how people devoid of a powerful position can be cast out, discredited. Whether Mrs. Sen made an honest mistake dwelling on her yearning and, notably, fell back on her husband’s job to prove her innocence is a moot point, particularly due to her lack of responsibility and understanding of the new country. However, Boori Ma had no means to prove her former wealth and received the suspicion of her ethnic community; shaped as a stranger in her country Boori Ma is left destitute. Facing these misfortunes, both are incapable of regaining agency.

### 3. SPACES OF SELF-ASSERTION. “A TEMPORARY MATTER”, “WHEN MR. PIRZADA CAME TO DINE”, “THIS BLESSED HOUSE”, “THE TREATMENT OF BIBI HALDAR”, “THE THIRD AND FINAL CONTINENT”

Let us begin with “A Temporary Matter”, a diasporic Indian household where the husband Shukumar “invariably marveled at how much food they’d bought”, because “it never went to waste” (Lahiri 1999: 7) as far as his wife, Shoba, proved a great “capacity to think ahead” (6) and took care of such abundance as a cook, a wife, the angel of the house. Notably, this couple reroutes their relationship after the miscarriage of their baby, a turning point with a double binding result. One is that “he and Shoba had become experts at avoiding each other in their three-bedroom house, spending as much time on separate floors as possible” (4), and that Shoba had lost herself into sheer apathy regarding the household chores and “now she treated the house as if it were a hotel” (6), and that they

had “friends they now systematically avoided” (9). Later, an incidental electricity cut-off brings about a numbing yet welcoming silence. While it triggers a reversal of normative roles for Shukumar involving him in cooking, which is peculiar for an Indian male, it does nonetheless entail the converse for Shoba. After revealing some minor secrets with the makeshift candles, Shukumar’s hopes of renewal get decisively thwarted when Shoba announces that she is intent to move away: “I’ve been looking for an apartment and I’ve found one,” she said, narrowing her eyes on something, it seemed, behind his left shoulder. It was nobody’s fault, she continued. They’d been through enough. She needed some time alone. She had money saved up for a security deposit” (21).

Apparently, what Shukumar had interpreted as signs of amelioration were, though, his own delusions. Shoba’s engagement into the candle conversation could not forfeit that she had been emotionally shattered and that her silences demonstrated a traumatic alienation from the loss of their baby. It is hence, that Shukumar breaks a promise to Shoba, thus taking revenge and revealing the uncanny, that when the baby had died he knew that it had been a boy: “He had held his son, who had known life only within her, [...] in an unknown wing of the hospital [...] and he promised himself that day that he would never tell Shoba, because he still loved her then, and it was the one thing in her life that she had wanted to be a surprise.” (22). Drawing from Shoba’s agency and Shukumar’s role reversal there is an affirmative value in their separation. Shukumar endorsed a revamped appreciation for her chores whereas Shoba called her marriage into doubt. Although they have fallen out in a disheartening disclosure, we notice that owing to the new hyphenated space they have been able to act different to their Indian values. In short, the electric cut-off has perchance hastened the turn of events helping them to disclose themselves and negotiate their identities.

“When Mr. Pirzada Came to Dine” enacts a peaceful resolution to a political conflict overseas that may have driven apart a unique relationship. It begins, as Lilia, the child of the family, narrates, when their parents had settled and were looking for some transnational links, “in search of compatriots, they used to trail their fingers, at the start of each new semester, through the columns of the university directory, circling surnames familiar to their part of the world” (24). Lilia’s family and Mr. Pirzada establish a routine grounded in nostalgia “Mr. Pirzada and my parents spoke the same language, laughed at the same jokes, looked more or less the same. They ate pickled mangoes with their meals, ate rice every night for supper with their hands” (25). Aside from hearing that “Mr. Pirzada is Bengali, but he is a Muslim” (26), Lilia observes no special difference between them, but rather saw “the three of them operating as if they were a single person, sharing a single meal, a single body, a single silence, and a single fear” (41). However,

their meetings should have ended, for they are transgressing what their countries dictate. Lilia's awareness of the subject seems scant, uncanny, but she somehow understands Mr. Pirzada's anxiety with the clock, watching the news and giving vent to his yearning: "I imagined Mr. Pirzada's daughters rising from sleep tying ribbons in their hair, anticipating breakfast, preparing for school. Our meals, our actions, were only a shadow of what had already happened there, a lagging ghost of where Mr. Pirzada really belonged" (30-31).

The shared fear that looms over their house feels so real that she "prayed that Mr. Pirzada's family was safe and sound". Her acquaintance and curiosity about the war leads her to consult it at school "No one at school talked about the war followed so faithfully in my living room. We continued to study the American Revolution [...] memorized passages from the Declaration of Independence. During recess, the boys would divide in two groups... Redcoats against the colonies" (32-33). The contrast between her home and the outside world besets her because it was not included in the syllabus. As her father criticizes, "What does she learn about the world?" (27). Mr. Pirzada departed and met his family, leaving behind Lilia's makeshift family and their gentle candy rituals. It is then that she understood "what it meant to miss someone who has so many miles and hours away, just as he had missed his wife and daughters for so many months" (42). To put it bluntly, the US has opened the possibility of their own transnational space, nor Indian or Pakistani, but a peaceful domain where to select the best of their symbolic filiations. It has helped them transform their political disputes into a unique sense of co-responsibility and communion. Of paramount importance, then, seems to ennoble shared values over damaging differences, as Lilia's stance does, overlooking political strives in favour of familiarity.

In "The treatment of Bibi Haldar", a young Indian woman bears a mark of exclusion because of a congenital disease that provokes hysteria and epilepsy seizures. The story enquires about the "treatment" for this lady through the narration of a communal "we" that holds accountable of her malady as a shared burden "that baffled family, friends, priests, palmists, spinsters, gem therapists, prophets, and fools" (158). Bibi has been so far bred as a disabled woman, without a further reaching such as doing chores, or finding a partner, but "she wanted to be spoken for, protected, placed on her path in life. Like the rest of us, she wanted to serve supers, and scold servants" (160). Nonetheless, she embodies a marginal position at "the storage room on the roof of our building" (159), as someone liable to be contagious. Doctors and neighbours advocate that she needs a man, but her notorious qualities have deterred all city suitors. "Bibi had never been taught to be a woman; the illness had left her naïve in most practical matters" (163), and thus, it was unthinkable that she would treat her ailments. Furthermore, there is a collective disbelief in

Bibi's circle of helpers, because "she was not our responsibility, and in our private moments we were thankful for it" (167). To this moment, she is framed as a social outcast in her homeland with a fated stigmatization. It suspends her sense of agency under and crystallizes any self-improvement. "She was a bane for business, he told her, a liability and a loss. Who in this town needed a photo to know that?" (164). Constricted by panoptic forces, the city has functionally scarred her identity and by extension, her chances for blending in until time confirms that she is pregnant: "For years afterward, we wondered who in our town had disgraced her. A few of our servants were questioned, and in tea stalls and bus stands, possible suspects were debated and dismissed. But there was no point carrying out an investigation. She was, to the best of our knowledge, cured" (172). In the same light, she moves to a house of her own to prevent the baby from getting sick and claims that "Now I am free to discover life as I please" (170). In turn, she overcomes her excruciating pains and subverts her marginal role by being a single mother. Rebirth comes naturally, once that she cares for a baby and readjusts her ethical responsibilities. Thus, it is not love to a man but to her daughter that ails her. It is owing to defiling the hierarchies of conservative meaning that she enacts an exceptional affirmation and, in so doing, it shies away from fixed signifiers or signifieds imposed by the law of the Other and enters the world of possibility, of open global glows. Her disavowal displaces the authority of the public opinion and mimics the same goals that she had been forced to achieve but rearticulates her presence disavowing her former self.

"This Blessed House" deals with a married couple, Sanjeev and Twinkle, who have recently bought a house "discovered the first one in a cupboard" (136). Both face a mystery that fills them with wonder, since the sense of "assumed ownership" is undermined by recurrent discoveries of the previous owners. They are the only Hindus in the neighbourhood, and the presence of the "Christian paraphernalia" (Lahiri 1999: 136) has subsumed their avowed ownership under the rule of an alien culture, one that hints an inscrutable purpose over the array of objects. Consequently, Twinkle undertakes a constant raid of the goods hidden throughout the house and gladly accepts their faux-familiarity beauty devoid of religious implications. She brings about several objects and demonstrates a fluid adaptation of identity, not restricting to her Hindu upbringing, and disregarding its Christian value. Therefore, Sanjeev seeks homeliness in a space which defiles his symbolic order, because "The recesses of the domestic space become sites for history's most intricate invasions. In that displacement, borders between home and world become confused; and, uncannily, the private and the public become part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorienting" (Bhabha 1994: 9).

Twinkle would rather keep these items everywhere in the house, building her third space and displacing the assumed authority. For him, "She was like that...

It made him feel stupid” (Lahiri 1999: 142). Sanjeev’s resistance to the items runs parallel to Twinkle’s flexibility and he objects that they “lack a sense of sacredness” (138). She maintains that “we’re not Christians. We’re good little Hindus” (137), but this disturbs Sanjeev and nourishes his skepticism for the semi-arranged marriage, because “At the urging of her matchmakers, they married in India and hundreds of well-wishers whom he barely remembered from his childhood” (143). Indeed, Twinkle brims with enthusiasm and everything falls into place for her, she upholds, “Face it. This house is blessed” (144), and yet, Sanjeev is not yet wholly realized with his new wife, “a pretty one, from a suitably high caste, who would soon have a master’s degree. What was there not to love?” (148). Twinkle cooks something different that both amazes and estranges Sanjeev with malt vinegar found in the house and Sanjeev reacts boastfully inquiring about the ingredients and the methods employed. Later, Sanjeev invites some workmates to their house and Sanjeev wishes to keep the virgin figure out of the garden, as well as other items, while Twinkle tries to exonerate him from his prejudices. They set out a menu that represents the healthy-contaminated space they occupy:

champagne, and samosas from an Indian restaurant in Hartford, and big trays of rice with chicken and almonds and orange peels, which Sanjeev had spent the greater part of the morning and afternoon preparing... worried that there would not be enough to drink, [he] ran out at one point to buy another case of champagne just in case. (150)

The guests come by and Twinkle takes them by storm with her bubbly personality and casually groups them in an unexpected “treasure hunt” that keeps them at bay from the planned party (153). They go to the attic while Sanjeev feels tempted to “sweep Twinkle’s menagerie into a garbage bag...tear down the poster of weeping Jesus and take a hammer to the Virgin Mary” (155). Then, an analogy can be drawn of her as the mad woman in the attic whose presence appals Sanjeev’s fortitude. The turning point in the story is when she returns from the attic with “a solid silver bust of Christ” shedding undeniable beauty (156). Sanjeev contains his anger before such enlightened gathering:

He hated its immensity, and its flawless, polished surface, and its undeniable value. He hated that it was in his house, and that he owned it...Unlike the other things they’d found, this contained dignity, solemnity, beauty even. But to his surprise these qualities made him hate it all the more. Most of all he hated it because he knew that Twinkle loved it. (157)

The unfamiliarity and grandeur of such piece of art overturns any outrageous comment from Sanjeev and, complying with the wide-held support for her wife, acquiesces to keep the bust, and takes it with care “careful not to let the feather

hat slip, and followed her” (157). On the one hand, we draw from this story that Twinkle’s inconformity to existing models leads “the founding objects of the Western world become the erratic, eccentric, accidental objects trouvés of the colonial discourse” (Bhabha 1984: 132) and, in doing so, she does not only recognize their religious nature but supersedes their solemnity by considering their aesthetic value. On the other hand, Sanjeev reconciles with her agency while casting a glimmer of hope and understanding to feelings of heresy and abnegation. Exposure to other culture has provided a distinctive, creative, enriching life in a tolerant host country whereby subjects select, in a bricolage, culture mechanisms to redefine their space, regardless of its former inhabitants.

“The Third and Final Continent” is a tale of a humble translation of cultures whereby solitude and distinct levels of agency are attributed to its characters: Mrs. Croft, a 103-year-old lady who finds comfort and detachment from society at home, an unnamed narrator who has recently moved to America to study and rents a room at Mrs. Croft’s house, and Mala, an Indian expatriate who has had to agree on an arranged marriage with the narrator (Caesar 2005). Hence, the story underscores the significance of rooting to a place, so to speak for the narrator and Mala, or alternatively, Mrs. Croft’s rooting to a bygone time. The narrator seems to be a proficient post-1965 Indian in search of better academic prospects. Since his arrival, the hustle-and-bustle of the city distresses him as well as establishing a new routine “The noise was constantly distracting, at times suffocating. I felt it deep in my ribs, just as I had felt the furious drone of the engine on the SS Rome [...] ‘The simple chore of buying milk, was new to me; in London, we’d had bottles delivered to our door” (Lahiri 1999: 175).

Starting his daily grind with “a small carton of milk and a box of cornflakes” he negotiates his lack of belonging. Soon, in Mrs. Croft’s house he raises awareness about her strict habits, like when they should “Lock up” (178) the doors, or when she scolds her daughter Helen for wearing a skirt “too high above the ankle” (186). In short, she demonstrates a customary comfort within her house and a sheer aversion towards the outside. Equally, the narrator prefers his solitude rather than the exterior, or his homeland, and still, he is an alien in the US.

There is, however, an event that brings them together, that is, the landing of the moon. Mrs. Croft raises the hot news and requires him to “Say ‘splendid! But she was not satisfied with my reply...I was both baffled and somewhat insulted by the request” (179). In doing this, they establish a common ground for communicating, as strangers. Mrs Croft keeps insisting on this trained duty each time she says “there’s an American flag on the moon, boy!” (182). Although this artifice becomes a routine after time, the narrator cannot help recalling his latest days in India, recalling the traumatic loss of his mother and his unappealing new

wife. After their marriage, he “did nothing to console her” (181), because he had accepted it as an obligation, rather than an inner desire. “The marriage had been arranged by my older brother and his wife. I regarded the proposition with neither objection nor enthusiasm, it was a duty expected of me, as it was expected of every man” (181). Moreover, he also wished not to be intrusive with the lady landlord, but as Mrs. Croft inquired him to put his money “on the ledge above the piano keys” (184) and he did not like leaving the money unattended, he “bowed slightly and lowered the envelope, so that it hovered just above her hands” (184). It seemed for Mrs. Croft a kind thing to do. As time goes by, he finally has to depart with a bittersweet closeness to Mrs. Croft, because “I was not her son, and apart from those eight dollars, I owed her nothing” (191). There was a slight chance that their lonely routines were to contribute to their bonding, but their contractual relationship and age barrier was no deterrent.

The faux intimacy evoked with Mrs. Croft is soon to be substituted by Mala’s arrival in the US. The spaces seem devoid of meaning, and the outburst of ink unable to flow for them. Mala admits being “very much lonely”, and he “was not touched by her words” (189). So uninvolved in their love, he comments on it as a duty, to which he does not get used, demonstrating the hurdles of bonding with a stranger because of a social construct, “I waited to get used to her presence at my side, at my table, and in my bed, but a week later, we were still strangers” (192). One day taking a stroll, they happen to pass by Mrs. Croft’s house and he decides to greet her. Mrs. Croft confesses having an accident, calling the police and waiting for a response, the narrator says “Splendid!” This impromptu humorous remark makes Mala laugh. Mrs. Croft alleges that “she is a perfect lady!” (195) and, as a result, his perception of Mala as another hyphenated individual triggers a new heightened sensitivity:

Like me, Mala had travelled far from home, not knowing where she was going, or what she would find, for no reason other than to be my wife. As strange as it seemed, I knew in my heart that one day her death would affect me, and stranger still, that mine would affect her. (195)

Conducive to adaptation, Mrs. Croft’s spirit emboldens the narrator’s sense of agency, mustering an enduring courage to assimilate into the unfamiliar environment with the aid of a promising relationship with Mala. Hence, a healthy cross-contamination has occurred between Mrs. Croft and the narrator, bestowing a more participative sense of communion and heroism. Finally, it might not be an outstanding tale, he reckons, as those of astronauts, but they faced each plight in a self-effacing manner, not taking anything for granted, neither glorifying their diaspora journey, which has borne them across a vast array of spaces, people and

moments. He concludes with this brilliant reflection of his life and the lives of all immigrants:

While the astronauts, heroes forever, spent mere hours on the moon, I have remained in this world for nearly thirty years. I know that my achievement is quite ordinary. I am not the only man to seek his fortune far from home, and certainly, I am not the first. Still, there are times I am bewildered by each mile I have travelled, each meal I have eaten, each person I have known, each room in which I have slept. As ordinary as it all appears, there are times when it is beyond the imagination. (198)

#### 4. SYMBOLIC FILIATIONS OF FOOD AND SPACE

As a commodity endowed with transnational significations, the presence of food can seldom be incidental, but rather a means to establish a locus of difference between cultures, namely the Hindu Bengali and the American. Scholars have underscored the tremendous impact of food in evoking diasporic subjectivity and its diegetic significance in Lahiri's narrative (Choubey 2001; Mishra 1996; Alfonso-Forero 2007; Williams 2007; Friedman 2008; Bhatt 2009; Ridda 2011; Garg 2012; Singh et al. 2012) as an object that connects symbolically with the realm of the diasporic subject and its yearning for a lost homeland. Not surprisingly, food or *jhalmuri* in Bengali, occupies a privileged terrain in setting the foundations for belonging whereby rituals can be enacted on an alien shore. Even if the ingredients were not to be the same, it is this reproduction – albeit an approximation – what helps immigrants preserve their customs, regardless of the authenticity of their ingredients.

Borne between countries, Western multiculturalism takes heed in Bhabha's "translational transnational" of subjects in the reification of yearning (1994: 173). Enacted by means of cooking and disposing ingredients, it leads the diasporic subject to a greater sense of rapport. Chiefly grounded upon racialized subjectivities lies the premise of food as a medium of self-assertion and agency that abridges the mental space between the makeshift and the Edenic homeland (Williams 2007). In these terms, Williams ponders the metaphor of food and the multifaceted implications of transnational cooking by deeming it an "act of defiance and liberation" that admittedly, according to Kessler's "Gastronomic Theory of Literature", "opens doors to double and triple meaning" (2007: 69). Having paid tribute to one's culture with "humble approximations" (Lahiri 2004: 1), cultural reproduction, simulacra, gears towards the subversion of meaning, because:

It is precisely in these banalities that the unhomey stirs, as the violence of a racialized society falls most enduringly on the details of life: where you can sit,



or not; how you can live, or not; what you can learn, or not; who you can love, or not. Between the banal act of freedom and its historic denial rises the silence” (Bhabha 1994: 15)

Notably, we see Mrs. Sen as the epitome of denial for assimilation. Grief revolving around her cravings for fish, something that anticipates not only her culinary inappropriateness but her liability like Eliot’s previous babysitters (Williams 2007). Mrs. Sen’s namelessness and lack of bearings lead her to go to incredible lengths in her nostalgia, drawing from the contrast between communal gatherings and fellowship against her current private solitude. Food, in this case, fish, is the quintessential element in the Bengali diet, whereby a vivid exercise of recalling leads her to compare both countries (Choubey 2001). “Everything is there. Here there is nothing” (Lahiri 1999: 113). Her memories stir upon the process of cutting vegetables with the *bonti* so that her displacement is metonymized by fish.

Whenever there is [...] a large celebration of any kind, my mother sends out word in the evening for all the neighborhood women to bring blades just like this one, and then they sit in an enormous circle on the roof of our building, laughing and gossiping and slicing fifty kilos of vegetables through the night [...]. It is impossible to fall asleep those nights, listening to their chatter. (115)

Hence, the dialogic distinction between domestic space, *ghar*, and exterior space, *bahir*, can be substantially vaulted, as noted by Ridda “through an emphasis on food... marker of the local and global practices involved in transnational urbanism” (2011: 2). There being food a “correlative object” that comprises the banal yet suggestive power of rituals, it encodes practices inextricably linked to home, for example, Mrs. Sen vindicating for the *bhakti* and its due preparation, finding solace in the American substitute. She added that in Calcutta people ate fish first thing in the morning, the last thing before bed, as a snack after school if they were lucky. They ate the tail, the eggs, even the head. It was available in any market, at any hour, from dawn until midnight. (Lahiri 1999: 123-124). Accordingly, Garg (2012) writes on the paramount importance of fish and rice in Bengali culture noting the epigram of Janice Marikitani’s poem “making fish is a political act.” Garg also collects Krishendu Ray’s comments:

Rice and fish become particularly potent symbols of Bengaliness precisely because outsiders, be they other Indians or Americans, are considered unable to appreciate them or incompetent in handling the bones. Rice and fish are considered a real insider delicacy.... There is also a sense that you have to keep doing it – repeat the recipes over and over and keep eating rice and fish in the Bengali style. There is anxiety that it will vanish if it is not repeatedly performed [...] Through repetition, rice and fish become the quintessence of Bengaliness. (qtd. in 2012: 80)

However, as Garg (2017) elucidates, this conversion “paradoxically satiates and reinforces nostalgia. It responds to homesickness simultaneously triggering it further” (2012: 77-78). This notion of homesickness epitomized by food might be identified with the need for grasping meaning in aspects of selfhood that William James called the material self, most probably, to restore the balance of the social self (Caesar 2007). Lahiri uses food as *mise en scène* to reinforce the collective imaginary of diaspora, one steeped in longing and uprootedness. Ridda (2011) draws on Turgeon and Pastinelli’s article ‘Eat the World’ to explain this dialectic shift:

Eating evokes a process whereby space is compressed and miniaturised as food moves from the field to the market to the home, and then onto the table, the plate and the palate [...]. Eating puts the outside world into the body [...]. As well as producing a geographical inversion (the outside in), food consumption brings about a physical conversion (the inside changes the outside). These close associations between the biological, the geographical and cultural domains are what makes food so effective in essentialising identities and domesticating space. (251)

There are times when their characters translate their uprootedness through the discrete and revealing use of food. For example, Mrs. Sen heightens her compulsion with fish in going with Eliot far from his house, transgressing her obligation, becoming an anthropological curiosity with a “blood-lined bag between their feet” (Lahiri 1999: 132), ensnaring herself in a car accident and her dismissal.

“When Mr. Pirzada Came to Dine” exemplifies this symbolic filiation with food as a “catalyst for solidarity and transnational belongings in this diasporic household” (Monaco 2015: 82) and a means to capture their sameness and mitigate his homesickness. In Bahri (2013), the concept of family is perused in line with the findings of Sabatelli and Bartle’s ‘Survey Approaches to the Assessment of Family Functioning: Conceptual, Operational, and Analytical Issues,’ from whence family stands as ‘a complex structure consisting of an interdependent group of individuals who have a shared sense of history, experience some degree of emotional bonding, and devise strategies for meeting the needs of individual family members and the group as a whole’. Then, Mr. Pirzada supersedes the common notion of a relative sharing the “same language [...] same jokes, looked more or less the same. They ate pickled mangoes with their meals, ate rice every night for supper with their hands” (Lahiri 1999: 25). Still, the “lagging ghost of where Mr. Pirzada really belonged” (31) persists and it is only by eating together that their rapport increases, especially reinforced by the candy consumption ritual between Mr. Pirzada and Lilia, in the likeness of the Christian Homily or the Hindu practice of eating deity’s leftover as *prasad* (Garg 2012: 78). Later, the situation becomes untenable after Mr. Pirzada’s farewell, the ritual redundant “Since January, each night before bed, I had continued to eat, for the sake of Mr. Pirzada’s family,

a piece of candy I had saved from Halloween. That night there was no need to. Eventually, I threw them away” (Lahiri 1999: 42).

Another example of food disclosing aspects of the self is that of “A Temporary Matter”, where the food motif accounts for a reflection of Shoba’s love/isolation syncretized with the binary emptiness/abundance of food (Williams 2007). It hints Shoba’s “capacity to think ahead” (Lahiri 1999: 6) and shows how Shukumar “invariably marveled at how much food they’d bought [...] it never went to waste” (7). The consumption of Shukumar and his reversal of the miscarriage by adopting her previous normative role has nonetheless deceiving consequences for their relationship that these intimate dinners and Shukumar’s elaborate dishes cannot outweigh.

Arguably, food opens the possibility of a postcolonial sexual encounter in “Sexy”, foregrounding the exotic relation between the minority and the model dominant ethnicity, between the Self and the Other, between Miranda and Dev. In both instances, the cosmopolitan pilgrim Miranda racializes its desire for the Other. While Miranda’s confrontation is freighted with speed and was partially foreshadowed by the affair that she had been told about along with her visit to an Indian shop. There, an Indian cashier warns her that the snack is “Too spicy for you” (Lahiri 1999: 99). Partly based on this symbolic identification with the Other, her affair with Dev is first capitalized to seduce him with lingerie (Garg 2012: 81). Unlike Miranda’s Western peers, Dev fails to comply with her expectations and so she resorts to food and prepares a “baguette and little containers of things Dev liked to eat, like pickled herring, and potato salad, and tortes of pesto and mascarpone cheese” (Lahiri 1999: 93).

There is an astringency, though, to notice between the pervasive role of food and its subsequent intergenerational differences. While the first generation usually deems it as just staple food for survival, the second generation tends to commodification, there harbingering an eagerness to consume treats (Williams 2007). Bhatt underscores the “prominent nature of these markers of identity like food, clothes, language, religion, myths, customs, individual community, rites of passage” (2009: 6) in apprehending the familiar or *heimlich*, to put it in Freudian terms, out of the uncanny world, the *unheimlich*. Given that “food is a critical medium for compliance with and resistance” as commented by Jennifer Ho (Williams 2007), it swiftly becomes the locus of difference for subjects that want to position themselves in-between, shaping up a third space for self-assertion.

An interesting second-generation character is Twinkle. In “This Blessed House” “food symbolises disruption of normative households and becomes an alternative

mode of communication” (Garg 2012: 82). While Sanjeev huddles in his comfort zone, “she finds a bottle of malt vinegar” (Lahiri 1999: 136). For now, they are aware of other objects, but it is precisely the dish Twinkle cooks what Sanjeev does not loathe at all. The new recipe gives rise to distrust, yet Sanjeev is both attracted and repelled by it (Garg 2012). Apart from Twinkle, the unnamed narrator of “The Third and The Final Continent” also illustrates a proficient adaptation devoid of cultural biases, one that openly embraces the wide range of options available at a multicultural environment. He “bought a small carton of milk and a box of cornflakes” (Lahiri 1999: 175), an ordinary meal that triggers his quest for making a living in a foreign land. His final remark self-effaces the merit of his achievement with Mala, with their experience as immigrants, but it does account for the value of these minor changes and adaptations, exemplified by the bowl of cereals with milk. Thus, the ultimate realization of the former immigrant is to merge “the contention in the bi-polar world differentiating between an authentic citizen and the “other” (Garg 2012: 82) into a more fluid, cultural milieu, where food enriches our understanding about the increasing intermingling of countries and cultures.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to gauge the relationships between the characters of *Interpreter of Maladies* and their medium, considering their means to adapt, where applicable, to other culture. Practices can trigger mimicry, simulacra that “displaces authority, rearticulates presence in terms of its ‘otherness’, that which it disavows” (Bhabha 1984: 132). Not surprisingly, diaspora entails exposure to the Other and to self-discovery. It has been argued that awareness of border consciousness and the alleged genealogy of difference is but a constant negotiation of our ethos and the rendering of spaces, taking up, enclosing, avowing and disavowing a plethora of overlapping realities.

By using terms like hybridity and transnationalism we tested the hypothesis that subjects adapt in disparate ways, straddling the divide between loss of agency and successful adaptation. Findings suggest that those subjects who advocate for a third space understanding often end estranging the basis of the host land while those who feed on their yearning succumb to the ravages of hybridization. Thus, breakdown and accomplishment are not exclusively determined by cultural ambivalence and so, subjects might handle spaces to their interest. Further research is needed to confirm whether these assumptions addressing the question of spaces and belonging hold true in future literature. Nevertheless, we can conclude that Lahiri’s collection engenders subjectivities that account for the sweeping changes

of the diasporic interface and the mapping of identity. She suggests that there are manifold portraits of diaspora and that Indians, non-Indian residents and foreigners come across a wide range of experiences yet to be lived, felt and examined.

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## “DWINDLING DOWN TO FARCE”?: APHRA BEHN’S APPROACH TO FARCE IN THE LATE 1670S AND 80S

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**ABSTRACT.** *In spite of her criticism against farce in the paratexts of The Emperor of the Moon (1687), Aphra Behn makes an extensive use of farcical elements not only in that play and The False Count (1681), which are actually described as farces in their title pages, but also in Sir Patient Fancy (1678), The Feign’d Curtizans (1679), and The Second Part of The Rover (1681). This article contends that Behn adapts French farce and Italian commedia dell’arte to the English Restoration stage mostly resorting to deception farce in order to trick old husbands or fathers, or else foolish, hypocritical coxcombs, and displaying an impressive, skilful use of disguise and impersonation. Behn also turns widely to physical comedy, which is described in detail in stage directions. She appropriates farce in an attempt to please the audience, but also in the service of her own interests as a Tory woman writer.*

*Keywords:* Aphra Behn, farce, *commedia dell’arte*, Restoration England, deception, physical comedy.

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## “DWINDLING DOWN TO FARCE”?: LA APROXIMACIÓN DE APHRA BEHN A LA FARSA EN LAS DÉCADAS DE 1670 Y 1680

**RESUMEN.** *A pesar de sus críticas a la farsa en los paratextos de The Emperor of the Moon (1687), Aphra Behn utiliza frecuentemente elementos farsescos no solo en esa obra y en The False Count (1681), que se describen como tales en sus títulos, sino también en Sir Patient Fancy (1678), The Feign'd Curtizans (1679) y The Second Part of The Rover (1681). Este artículo sostiene que Behn adapta la farsa francesa y la commedia dell'arte italiana al teatro inglés de la Restauración principalmente recurriendo a la farsa de engaño para entrapar a viejos maridos o padres, o a personajes necios e hipócritas, exhibiendo una impresionante destreza en el uso de disfraces, y recurriendo a menudo a la comedia física, que aparece descrita detalladamente en acotaciones. Behn se apropia de la farsa para intentar agradar a la audiencia pero también para servir a sus propios intereses como escritora Tory.*

*Palabras clave:* Aphra Behn, farsa, commedia dell'arte, Inglaterra de la Restauración, engaño, comedia física.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

In the prologue to her play *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687), Aphra Behn joins other fellow dramatists in presenting farce as a minor genre and a Continental vogue that English playwrights were forced to resort to as a concession to a querulous audience that was otherwise difficult to satisfy. As she puts it, they tried it first with heroic drama, then with satirical comedy, and “Our next Recourse was *dwindling down to Farce*” (my emphasis. Behn 1996e: 159).<sup>2</sup> Thus Behn presents this evolution of the audience’s taste as degenerative, and farce as less noble than other dramatic genres. Similarly, in the Epistle Dedicatory, she claims that farce is too vulgar and full of buffoonery, that its plots are usually incoherent, and that in *The Emperor of the Moon* she has endeavoured to adapt the Franco-Italian source to the English theatre and bring it “within the compass of Possibility and Nature” (*EM*: 157).<sup>3</sup> Besides, the play is openly presented as a farce also in the title page of the first edition. This is actually a quite spectacular and fanciful piece that merges the traditions of French farce and Italian *commedia dell'arte*. Yet this is not the only play by Behn that is labelled as a farce. One of the two title pages of *The False Count* (1681) presents

<sup>2</sup> All subsequent quotations of this play will be cited parenthetically within the text using the initials *EM*.

<sup>3</sup> The source of this play is Nolant de Fatouville’s *Arlequin empereur dans la lune* (1684), which was based on Italian *commedia dell'arte*.

it as a farce as well, although it is less bizarre than *The Emperor of the Moon* and, probably for that reason, it is described as "a slight Farce" in its epilogue (Behn 1996d, 355).<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Behn makes an extensive use of farcical elements in other comedies, particularly in *Sir Patient Fancy* (1678), *The Feign'd Curtizans* (1679), and *The Second Part of The Rover* (1681). This article analyses those elements and contends that Behn criticises farce in her paratexts but resorts to it in many of her texts because she is well aware not only of the audience's tastes but also of the dramatic potentials of deception, disguise, physical humour, the grotesque and stage design. She uses farce in an attempt to attract all types of theatregoers, from the monarch to the lowliest commoner, and also to reinforce the satirical and political aspects of her plays. In them Behn provides plenty of superb, hilarious, farcical moments that demonstrate her mastery of staging and her determination to capitalise on the excellent comedic craft of contemporary actors such as Anthony Leigh, James Nokes, Thomas Jevon, and Cave Underhill.

## 2. FARCE IN THE RESTORATION PERIOD

Although there were many farcical elements in pre-Restoration comedies and drolls, the term *farce* was not used to describe or classify a certain type of comic play until the early years of Charles II's reign, and the genre started becoming popular in the second half of the 1670s, largely due to the success of, on the one hand, the performances of Italian *commedia dell'arte* companies at court in 1673 and 1675 and, on the other hand, of Molière's farces, which were translated, adapted and imitated by English playwrights during all that decade.<sup>5</sup> The influence of the Italian comedies can be seen, for instance, in Ravenscroft's *Scaramouch a Philosopher* (1677), and that of Molière in that same play, but also in John Lacy's *The Dumb Lady* (1672), Ravenscroft's *The Citizen Turn'd Gentleman* (1672), and Otway's *The Cheats of Scapin* (1676), for example. However, John Dryden and other writers of the period voiced a harsh critique against farce due to its tendency to show extravagant events and monstrous characters, to resort to mimicry and grotesque gestures, and not to conform to the neo-classical rules in general. In his preface to *An Evening's Love* (1671), Dryden states that he detests the farces that are becoming popular, and differentiates them from what he considers comedy:

Comedy consists, though of low persons, yet of natural actions and characters; I mean such humours, adventures, and designs as are to be found and met with in

<sup>4</sup> Subsequent quotations of this play will be cited parenthetically within the text with the initials *FCo*.

<sup>5</sup> On farce in general and in Restoration England, in particular, see Albert Bermel (1982), Jessica Davis (2003), Peter Holland (2000), and Leo Hughes (1956). All these scholars highlight its popularity among all social classes.

the world. Farce, on the other side, consists of forced humours and unnatural events. Comedy presents us with the imperfections of human nature. Farce entertains us with what is monstrous and chimerical; the one causes laughter in those who can judge of men and manners, by the lively representation of their folly or corruption; the other produces the same effect in those who can judge of neither, and that only by its extravagances. (Dryden 1973: 353)

Dryden was also disgusted by the success of the Italian companies in England in the early 1670s, which “quite debauched the stage with lewd grimace / Instead of wit and humours, your delight / Was there to see two hobby-horses fight”, i.e. Scaramouch and Harlequin (Dryden 1995: 280). Similarly, in his preface to *The Womens Conquest* (1671), Edward Howard argues that farce is different from comedy, because it simply “consists of Mimikry and other ridiculous Gestures mingled together”, tends to be bawdy, and focuses too much on servants who pimp for their masters or mistresses (Howard 1671: sig. b3v). Thomas Shadwell also claimed to dislike farce, although he adapted Molière’s work in *The Miser* (1672), and introduced farcical elements in some of his comedies, particularly in *A True Widow* (1679). To the latter he added a note to the reader explaining that his intention was “to expose the Style and Plot of Farce Writers, to the utter confusion of damnable Farce, and all its wicked and foolish Adherents” (Shadwell 1679: sig A). And, as we have already seen, Behn also joined this critical discourse against farce, claiming that it is too vulgar, incoherent, and unnatural, different from and inferior to other types of comedy. However, she resorted to Molière quite often for plots and situations in some of her plays, and to characters taken from *commedia dell’arte* in other pieces. Allegedly, she did so to satisfy audience tastes but, at the same time, she had to adapt farce to “our English Theatre and Genius, who cannot find an Entertainment at so cheap a Rate as the French will, who are content with almost any Incoherences, howsoever stuffed together under the Name of Farce” (*EM*: 157).<sup>6</sup>

The only open and clear defences of farce that I have found in texts of the Restoration period are the epigram “Of Farces” published by Richard Flecknoe also in 1671, and Nahum Tate’s preface to *A Duke and No Duke* (1693). The former says that “A Farce, is but a merry Play (...) merrier than a comedy by half”, making people laugh with mimicking gestures added to comic dialogue (Flecknoe 1671: 52). For Flecknoe there is nothing wrong in laughter, because it is something natural and peculiar to human beings, and he prefers mirth to melancholy. In his preface, Tate seems to find nothing wrong either in its propensity to go beyond probability, to use buffoonery and mimicry, and to follow no strict rules.

<sup>6</sup> Rebecka Gronstedt (2011: 25) argues that “Behn is torn between her role as a professional dramatist and her position as a poet and critic”; her plays have to satisfy demand, but this jars with her ambition for fame as a respected poet.

Excessive and monstrous fantasy may torment the mind, "but when Extravagancy and Improbability happen to please at all, they do it to purpose, because thy strike our Thought with greatest Surprise" (Tate 1693: sig. C). The actors that play characters such as Harlequin and Scaramouch are experts in physical humour, mimicking, gesticulating, and doing wonderful performances, like mimes. Besides, Tate claims that there is actually farce in many of the best comedies written by Classical, Jacobean, and Restoration dramatists, and that demonstrates that it is not incompatible with good sense or with a satirical purpose.

This more open attitude to farce might be similar to what Behn had as well, in spite of all her lip service criticising it in prefaces and dedications. She was too skilful in devising farcical scenes, and she resorted to them too often in her plays for them to be mere ways to appeal to a larger audience. She was well aware of the powerful comic effect of farce on stage, and she adapted it to her own interests. Behn's comedies show that she was able to write excellent pieces of witty repartee, but also that she had an outstanding knowledge of staging. Dawn Lewcock (1996) claims that Behn's plays are "More for seeing than hearing", due to her sense of spatial relations and her great ability to create comic scenes based on deception, discovery, darkness, and the use of asides. To this let me add Behn's awareness of the superb performing skills of some of the best comic actors of her time. She surely relied on their expertise to act in farcical situations, but her texts often include stage directions describing the gestures and actions the characters are expected to do in those scenes. Behn's command of scenery and performance helped her to appreciate the qualities of farce and to make a successful use of it in many of her comedies. After all, as Susan Carlson (1991: 127) has pointed out, Behn liked challenging the conventions of the theatre, as can be noticeable in her famous lines from the epilogue to *Sir Patient Fancy*: "Your Learned Cant of Action, Time, and Place, / Must all give way to the unlabour'd farce" (Behn 1996a: 79).<sup>7</sup> This article will focus on those five plays mentioned above, and will show how, in most of them, Behn combines *French-style* farce based on deception and disguise, and *Italian-style* farce of slapstick and physical humour, and how she occasionally resorts to the unnaturalness of the grotesque or the use of fanciful stage setting as well.

### 3. DECEPTION FARCE: CHEATING HUSBANDS AND FATHERS

In *Sir Patient Fancy*, *The False Count*, and *The Emperor of the Moon*, Behn uses a type of deception farce like the one found in previous plays influenced by Molière such as *The Dumb Lady*, *The Cheats of Scapin*, or *The Citizen Turn'd*

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<sup>7</sup> Subsequent quotations of this play will be cited parenthetically within the text with the initials *SPF*.

*Gentleman*, in which an old, credulous husband or father is cheated by his young wife or daughter, who contrives an extravagant, elaborate trick together with her lover. For example, in *Sir Patient Fancy* (Dorset Garden Theatre, January 1678), which also draws on several plays by Molière,<sup>8</sup> and might well be classified as a farce,<sup>9</sup> the gullible and hypochondriac Sir Patient (played by Anthony Leigh) is duped by his wife (acted by Elizabeth Currer) and her lover Wittmore (Thomas Betterton). And, at the same time, his daughter Isabella (Mary Betterton) is being courted by Lodwick (William Smith). The two plots join in the farcical double bed trick in Act 3, in which Wittmore and Lodwick arrange night meetings with Lady Fancy and Isabella respectively but, in the dark, Lodwick enters Lady Fancy's bedroom and Wittmore goes into Isabella's by mistake. This causes a lot of confusion and reaches its comic climax when Isabella and Sir Patient enter Lady Fancy's bedroom and find Lodwick there, a moment of discovery and surprise that Lady Fancy manages successfully thanks to her wit and to Sir Patient's infatuation with her. And even more farcical is the second bedroom scene, in Act 4. This time Sir Patient surprises his wife with her lover Wittmore. He comes up to the room unexpectedly but Wittmore has time to hide behind the bed. Yet the gallant's clumsy attempts to escape start an excellent scene of bedroom farce, full of physical comedy for which Behn gives plenty of detailed stage directions, and that no doubt displays her dexterous use of farce on stage, as well as the performers' agility. Wittmore pulls a chair down, runs under the bed, and peeps out several times, while Lady Fancy holds her husband in bed, makes signs to her lover to leave the room, and finally:

[Wittmore] Makes signs to her to open the Door: whilst he creeps softly from under the Bed to the Table, by which going to raise himself, he pulls down all the Dressing-things: at the time instant Sir Patient leaps from the Bed, and she returns from the Door and sits on Wittmore's Back as he lies on his Hands and Knees, and makes as if she swooned.

[...]

She takes him about the neck and raises her self up, gives Wittmore a little kick behind. (*SPF*: 58-60)

<sup>8</sup> The main source of this play is Molière's *Le Malade imaginaire* (1673), as Gerard Langbaine (1691: 21) already noted. James Halliwell (1860: 230) added *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* (1669) as a second source; and for Janet Todd (Introduction to *SPF*: 3-4) there are also echoes of *Les Femmes savantes* (1672) and *L'Amour médecin* (1663). See also Ángeles Tomé Rosales (2013) about the comic use of all these sources.

<sup>9</sup> Bearing in mind its frequent resort to deception, physical humour, and extravagant characters and situations. In fact, Robert Hume (1976: 328) describes this piece as "a bawdy farce". Yet, it also has elements of sex comedy and political comedy. This is certainly a hybrid play in generic terms, difficult to pigeonhole.

These bedroom farce scenes are full of comic confusion and sexual titillation, mainly to ridicule Sir Patient. For Lewcock (1996: 75), these scenes keep the attention of the audience focused on Lady Fancy's peccadillos and show that she has no scruples about being unfaithful; but it also demonstrates her wit, Sir Patient's dotage on her, his inability to satisfy her sexually, and his foolish hypochondria and Puritanism.<sup>10</sup> This bedroom farce is certainly crucial in the cit-cuckolding element of this play, which is so typical of the Tory comedy of the period.

Another farcical scene based on deception in this play that must be mentioned is that of the medical consultation which, according to Janet Todd (*SPF*: 3), echoes a similar one in Molière's *L'Amour médecin* (1663). Lodwick and Sir Credulous Easy pretend to be doctors who join a group of four physicians who come to examine Sir Patient. Sir Credulous talks a lot of mambo jambo that includes dog Latin, dog Greek, and misquotes that the other doctors take seriously and join. For instance, Sir Credulous says that Sir Patient suffers, among other things, from vertigo, or "*Whirligigoustiphon* as the *Greeks* have it" (*SPF*: 69), and that he should only eat once in four or five days; and Brunswick adds that Sir Patient must have a dose of his "*Merda quecrusticon*, or the Amicable Pill" every morning, and sixty restorative pills called "*Cheatus Redivivus*" after his first sleep (*SPF*: 72). During the consultation, the quacks drink and quarrel, and the whole scene is full of comic incongruity and nonsense, making fun of both Sir Patient and Sir Credulous, and satirising the obscurity of medical jargon and the medical practice of the time.

In the case of *The False Count, Or, A New Way to Play and Old Game* (Duke's Theatre, October or November 1681), as was said above, one of the two title pages of the first edition presents it as *A Farce Call'd The False Count*.<sup>11</sup> Besides, the term is also used by Don Carlos at the beginning of Act 4, scene 2: "I'll retire then, and fit me for my part of this Farce" (*FCo*: 338), referring to the prank that he has prepared. Furthermore, in the epilogue, the piece is described as "a slight Farce". The anonymous author of this epilogue also suggests that Behn has attempted to please the audience by offering them what they seem to like most: the foolish

<sup>10</sup> As Douglas Canfield (1997: 146-147) has noted, Lady Fancy is an example of witty female trickster of Restoration comedy. She has married a foolish old cit for money but continues having sex with her lover Wittmore, who is a rakish gallant but not as witty as her. She manages to escape every near disaster, knows how to manipulate her dotting, hypochondriac husband, and ends up separating from him with a considerable portion of his money. For Robert Markley (2004: 205), she is a pragmatist and an example that Behn's heroines are usually smarter than their lovers. Sue Crowson (2000: 185-187) also highlights Lady Fancy's determination in asserting herself sexually and her witty manner of cheating her husband and saving her skin when she is in a tight spot.

<sup>11</sup> For a previous analysis of farce in *The False Count*, see Figueroa Dorrego (2015).

buffoonery and crude practical joking of farce instead of the sense and wit of comedy. The play certainly features typical elements of farce, such as disguise, trickery, and ingenious lower-class characters.

For the plot, Behn most likely drew ideas from French texts such as Molière's *Les Précieuses ridicules* (1659) and *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (1671), and maybe also Antoine Montfleury's *L'École des jaloux ou le cocu volontaire* (1664). *The False Count* mainly revolves around two practical jokes, one of which is contrived by a witty servant called Guzman (Underhill), in order to help his master Don Carlos, Governor of Cadiz, recover the woman he loves, Julia, who has been forced to marry an old, jealous upstart called Francisco (Nokes). In spite of his Spanish name, Francisco is originally an English shoemaker who managed to become a gentleman in a dubious manner. He keeps his new wife "as close as a Relict, jealous as Age and Impotence can make him" (*FCo*: 306) and is a rather unsavoury character somehow reminiscent of Pinchwife in William Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1675). When Francisco is sailing with his wife near Cadiz, he is tricked to believe that some Turks assault the ship and intend to take it to their country, although they simply sail for a few miles further. The scenes of this hoax are quite ludicrous because the old jealous man gets so panic-stricken at the possibility of his being castrated and Julia being ravished by the Turks, that he is unable to fight in order to defend himself and his wife. Besides, he is too stingy to be willing to pay a ransom. So it is easy for Don Carlos, who is disguised as a Turkish sultan, to make Francisco resign Julia to him in exchange of his life and freedom. Francisco even urges Julia not to reject the *Grand Signior*: "go prethee Hony go – do me the favour to Cuckold me a little, if not for Love, for Charity" (*FCo*: 348). Thus the old husband, who was earlier so anxious about his wife's possible infidelity is seen paradoxically promoting his own cuckoldry, and this way he is shamefully exposed and humiliated onstage.<sup>12</sup>

As argued in Figueroa Dorrego (2015: 87), this plot line consists of a *plot* (in the sense of stratagem) against a social-climbing cit who proves to be no real or ideal gentleman. Moreover, it is interesting to point out that Don Carlos considers Francisco's marriage to Julia as a sort of usurpation. In the final scene, he claims that she belonged to him: "she was my Wife in sight of Heav'n before; and I but seiz'd my own" (*FCo*, 353). Usurpation is a recurrent motif in Restoration drama for obvious reasons. And, as other middle-class characters satirised in Tory comedies of the time, Francisco is parsimonious, sexually impotent, cowardly, and hypocritical; and as a parvenu he is finally put back in his place by a worthy nobleman (see

<sup>12</sup> Behn's use of Turkish outfits in this play is reminiscent of Ravenscroft's in *The Citizen Turn'd Gentleman*, in which Cleverwit disguises as the Great Turk in order to marry Lucia, and he pretends to make her old father Mr Jorden a noble "mamamouchi" if he converts to the Muslim religion.



also Canfield 1997: 180-181). Bearing in mind Behn's usual anti-Whig partisanship and the idea of a make-believe trick, it is possible to relate this fictional plot based on social aspirations, false appearances, and religious prejudices to the Popish Plot of 1678-81 (see also Ballaster 1996).

In *The Emperor of the Moon: A Farce* (Queen's Theatre, 1687),<sup>13</sup> Behn uses deception farce in the main plot, in which Doctor Baliardo (Underhill), a man obsessed with the observation of the moon and the privacy of the lunar monarch, is tricked by Cinthio and Charmante, the viceroy's nephews, so that they can court his daughter Elaria and his niece Bellemante respectively.<sup>14</sup> For this purpose the young gallants count on the help of Doctor Baliardo's servant Scaramouch. It is him who informs Elaria at the very beginning of the play that they are preparing "a Farce, which shall be called, --- *The World in the Moon*", and will be acted in the doctor's own house (*EM*: 163). The farce consists in making him think that with sexual abstinence he can see people who live in "the vast Region of the Air" (*EM*: 166), and that the Emperor of the Moon and the Prince of Thunderland are in love with Elaria and Bellemante, and will come to ask for their hands in marriage with his consent. Obviously, the credulous doctor believes and approves it enthusiastically, and the lunar aristocrats are actually Cinthio and Charmante, who thus manage to enter Doctor Baliardo's house, meet their beloved, and wed them finally. At the end they tell him that they mounted all that show in order to cure him of his *lunacy*, that "These Stories are the Fantoms of mad Brains", "Ridiculous Inventions", designed to finally open his eyes (*EM*: 205).<sup>15</sup> He then determines to have all his books burned and to abandon his pseudo-scientific follies. This deception farce poking fun at the foolish virtuoso has elements of scientific and political satire (see Al Coppola 2008 and Florence March 2006), and is reinforced with slapstick, music, dancing, and a striking *mise-en-scène*, as will be shown later. This way Behn cleverly integrates the social and the metatheatrical, while offering a grand comic spectacle.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This play was probably drafted about 1684 but not performed until three years later for financial reasons, and that is quite noticeable in its political message. As Coppola (2008: 493) has pointed out, a play ridiculing a credulous virtuoso and his appetite for improper discoveries would have made more sense in 1684, when the Tories were trying to defuse the enthusiasm for plots. Nevertheless, it was very successful and remained so during the first half of the eighteenth century, most likely because the audience preferred to enjoy it as a farcical spectacle rather than a political play.

<sup>14</sup> Doctor Baliardo's looks are already quite ludicrous: in Act 2, scene 2 he appears with mathematical instruments hanging at his girdle, and with his servant Scaramouch carrying a telescope 20 feet long. Besides, March (2006: 110) claims that the name Baliardo comes from the Italian word *balordo*, which means stupid.

<sup>15</sup> Davis (2003: 91-95) distinguishes between humiliation and deception farces. The former subject their victims to explicit degradation, whereas the latter make the butts be blind to the fact that they are being outwitted, but some kind of reconciliation is finally sought by the practical jokers.

<sup>16</sup> As Steven Henderson (2000: 62) puts it, "Behn uses the familiar deception-farce model in order

## 4. DECEPTION FARCE: DERIDING FOOLS AND HYPOCRITES

Sometimes the butts of the deception are foolish hypocritical characters instead of husbands or fathers. This can be seen in *Sir Patient Fancy*, *The Feign'd Curtizans*, *Rover II* and the second plot of *The False Count*. For instance, in the former play, many of the farcical aspects are present in some scenes in which Sir Credulous Easy is involved. He is a gullible, simple-minded man, who becomes an easy prey to Lodwick's pranks. Lodwick, although one of the gallants of the play, undertakes the role of a trickster, attempting to ridicule the provincial knight and ruin his courtship of Lucretia. This leads to several farcical scenes, such as the one in which Lodwick convinces Sir Credulous to pretend to be a dumb ambassador from the god of love, who communicates with sign language that Lodwick will interpret for Lucretia to understand. Sir Credulous starts making weird signs and grimaces, which Lodwick interprets the wrong way on purpose, attempting to make the knight give valuable objects such as diamond rings, gold, and a hieroglyphic watch to Lucretia. Sir Credulous does not like Lodwick's interpreting at all but, obviously, he cannot speak out to correct him without ruining his impersonation. Leander metadramatically refers to these ludicrous tricks played on Sir Credulous as "Farce" (*SPF*: 17), which is one based on deception, derision, and dramatic irony.<sup>17</sup> Lodwick continues ridiculing Sir Credulous by suggesting him to try to surprise Lucretia with an extravagant serenade. So Sir Credulous appears riding an elephant and leading a group of raucous musicians to the door of Lucretia's house, starts singing a foolish love song, but he is soon beaten up by a servant. This is an impressive scene that intends to shock the audience with its extravagance and incongruity, and that proves Behn's daring and skilful dramatic techniques and her commitment to farce.<sup>18</sup>

In *The Feign'd Curtizans, or, A Nights Intrigue* (Dorset Garden Theatre, about March 1679) Behn resorts to disguise, darkness, and physical humour in order to raise the audience's laughter; and she maintains her interest in social and political satire but mostly returns to comedy of intrigue *à la Rover*. The play was premiered with an impressive cast that included Betterton, Smith, Nokes, Underhill, Barry, and Curren among others. The decision of two young sisters, Marcella and Cornelia, from a noble Italian family, to pass off as courtesans in order to escape from an

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to foster the audience's awareness of the duality of the worlds of the play and the playhouse, the imaginative theatrical space and the social space of the theatre."

<sup>17</sup> Juan A. Prieto-Pablos argues that comic effects are based on the audience's privileged position with respect to the information offered from the stage, depending to a large extent on a discrepancy between what some characters (mostly the dupes) fail to be aware of and what others (the tricksters) and the audience know. Lack of awareness entails lack of control of the situation and this makes the dupes ridiculous (2005: 70-71).

<sup>18</sup> For Michael Peterson, this is the peak of Sir Credulous's ridiculous efforts and "the point at which Behn's physical dramaturgy reaches its greatest depth" (2007: 36).

unwanted fate (arranged marriage and monastic life respectively, like Florinda and Hellena in *The Rover*) causes a lot of confusion and misunderstanding that complicate the plot and generate several humorous situations. This is even made more intricate when they disguise as men in certain scenes as well, and also because Marcella calls herself La Silvanetta when she feigns to be a courtesan, and that is the same name that another character, Laura Lucretia, adopts in order to conceal her real identity from Count Julio, to whom she is engaged. Laura also crossdresses hoping to get closer to her beloved Galliard, who loves Cornelia. As Jane Spencer (1993: 95ff) has argued, the three women adopt multiple disguises and resort to deception through necessity. Gender restrictions and subordination make them turn to dissembling and trickery if they want to achieve their desires. Marcella and Cornelia's impersonation of courtesans is potentially risky but with it they paradoxically manage to preserve their chastity and marry the gallants they love: Fillamour and Galliard. Pilar Cuder Domínguez (1997: 130) claims that Behn presents this – somehow farcical – masquerade of the young noblewomen feigning to be courtesans in order to remind us that all women are in some way reified and commodified, an idea quite often present in her plays.

Yet, most of the farce in *The Feign'd Curtezans* is found in the subplot, provided by the sisters' protean servant Petro (Leigh). He is a roguish character that impersonates different identities in order to cheat the foolish Sir Signall Buffoon (Nokes) and his tutor Mr Tickletext (Underhill). Petro is a clever and versatile trickster, and the other main initiator of action apart from the female characters mentioned above. Tickletext is an old, hypocritical, Puritan chaplain who still believes himself attractive to women. He is a bigoted anti-Catholic who, at the same time, is fascinated with Romish finery and is willing to profit from Roman licentiousness.<sup>19</sup> He is the main comic butt of this comedy and his disparagement represents the major political aspect of the play, which is the first that Behn wrote after the advent of the Popish Plot.<sup>20</sup>

In one of the scenes, Petro passes himself off as a barber attending to Tickletext and makes horns and grimaces behind him while the chaplain is looking

<sup>19</sup> Todd (1996: 245) posits that he is "a clear Oates-ish figure" with whom Behn intends to "mock the nationalism of Protestant Dissent which breeds fear, as opposed to the easy internationalism of Catholicism." Todd explains that Oates had also travelled in Catholic Europe, was taken with Catholic luxury while condemning it in others, and had later invented the Popish Plot. She also sees parallelisms between Tickletext and Hugh Peters, who was famous in the Interregnum for his raving sermons and his lasciviousness (introduction to *FC*: 84-85).

<sup>20</sup> Susan Owen (1996: 17-18) reminds us that "[i]n the Exclusion Crisis, patriotism and hostility to the influence of Popish countries were weapons in the Whig arsenal", and she argues that satire of Tickletext is "satire of the Protestant, mercantile middle class" and of the "prevailing mentality in 1679, as seen by royalists". And Alison Shell (1996: 42) adds that Behn's anti-Dissent satire in this play is "not only pro-Tory but pro-Catholic".

proudly to himself in the mirror. He later pretends to be a French fencing master, and we can see Tickletext undressing himself, intending to fight in ridiculous postures, and beating Petro about the stage. Shortly after that, there is a fight and Sir Signall cowardly climbs a tree and his tutor “runs his head in a bush, and lies on his hands and knees” (Behn 1996b: 108).<sup>21</sup> Moreover, feigning to be a civility master, Petro teaches the foolish Englishmen how to salute a person of quality, so they start bowing repeatedly. He also encourages them to take snuff, which they do not like much so they sneeze and make grimaces; and he teaches them to give presents and thus he gets a ring and a gem; and the final lesson is to tell a story without words, so he makes signs, mimes actions, picks their pockets, and hits their faces. *The Feign'd Curtizans* is full of farcical action aiming at exposing and ridiculing the two English fools. We will deal with more instances in a later section that focuses on physical humour.

Moving now to *The Second Part of The Rover* (Dorset Garden Theatre, January 1681), this is supposed to continue the adventures of Willmore, the protagonist of *The Rover* (1677) but this time in Madrid, and without Hellena, who has recently died, and Belvile, who is married and living in Paris. Willmore (again Smith) is still a rake, but no longer so lively and appealing. He seems in a darker mood, more “Satyrical” (Behn 1996c: 233),<sup>22</sup> and focusing his actions on two aims: (re) gaining the love of the courtesan La Nuche (Barry, who had played Hellena in *Rover I*) and duping the two fools of this play: Ned Blunt (already in *Rover I*, and again Underhill) and Nicholas Fetherfool (Nokes). The coxcombs plan to marry two Jewish women who are of unusual size (a giant and a dwarf), mainly because of their wealth (£100,000 each), and because they are told that there is a mountebank who can “reform” them. When these fools attend to the charlatan’s show, Behn gives detailed stage directions of the display: a pageant enters the stage, with music and dancing; Willmore is dressed as a mountebank, Harliquin (Richards) is assisting him, and Blunt and Fetherfool are among the onlookers below. Willmore says his elixir can cure “the Distempers both of Mind and Body” (*RII*: 248) and even revive a dead body. To show it, Harliquin pretends to stab himself, fall dead, and rise again after having the elixir. Besides, in this same scene, Harliquin manages to steal Don Carlo’s horse while he is on the saddle, leaving him perplexed and furious, in a very farcical jest. Fetherfool is also the butt of a farcical scene when he is waiting for La Nuche and Don Carlo comes in, holds his hand and kisses him until they realise the mistake and start fighting. Likewise when he steals Giant’s pearls but does not know how to hide them, and ends up

<sup>21</sup> Subsequent quotations of this play will be cited parenthetically within the text, with the initials *FC*.

<sup>22</sup> Subsequent quotations of this play will be cited parenthetically within the text, with the initials *RII*. *The Rover* will be referred to as *Rover I*.

swallowing them at Harliquin's suggestion.<sup>23</sup> As he hears people coming, he gets into a clock case, again following the instructions of Harliquin, who "[g]oes into the Case and shows him how to stand; then Fetherfool goes in, pulls off his Periwig, his Head out turning for the Minutes o'th'top: his Hand out, and his Finger pointing to a Figure" (*RII*: 290). When Shift sees something strange in the clock, Fetherfool blows out his candle and gets away with Giant while Harliquin "plays tricks" with Shift in the dark (*RII*: 291). This time there are no directions describing those tricks and, therefore, the actor is free to improvise.

Finally, as regards this section, the second plot of *The False Count* revolves around Francisco's daughter from a former wife, Isabella, who rejects Antonio as a suitor because she considers him a "base Mechanic" (*FCo*: 307) and "a little, dirty-heel'd Merchant" (313), who presumptuously aims to marry her. However, Antonio is the worthy son of a rich merchant and a good friend of Don Carlos. He is never portrayed as a fool, whereas the haughty arriviste Isabella is, and she consequently becomes the butt of the second practical joke in the play. As Antonio wishes to revenge her despise, Don Carlos proposes to dupe her making a chimney sweep pose as a count that will court Isabella.<sup>24</sup> The importance given to this character, called Guiliom, is evident because he is the false count referred to in the title, but also because his role was given to Anthony Leigh in the premiere. In spite of some funny blunders and untimely use of his trade's vocabulary, Guiliom manages to pass off as Don Guilelmo Roderigo de Chimeny-swiperio successfully, persuading Isabella and her father that he is a real count worthy of marrying her. However, when the truth is revealed, Isabella feels disappointed at finding out that she is no real countess, and thus becomes the second victim of the ruses in this Molièresque "slight farce".

## 5. PHYSICAL COMEDY

Behn uses physical comedy in all the plays analysed here to a larger or lesser extent, and often describes it in detail in stage directions. We have already seen it in the bedroom farce in *Sir Patient Fancy*, Petro's tricks to Tickletext, and Harliquin's to Fetherfool, but there are many more examples that should be mentioned here. For instance, in Act 3 of *The Feign'd Curtizans*, Tickletext goes to meet the famous

<sup>23</sup> According to Heidi Hutner (1993: 116-117), Fetherfool's act of devouring Giant's pearls is a symbolical manner of *devouring* her. However, Giant's pearls symbolise her wealth rather than her body, because it is her wealth that Fetherfool desires, not her body, which is too big and threatening for such a petty man.

<sup>24</sup> Impersonating members of the nobility is common in farces of this period, from Ravenscroft's *The Citizen Turn'd Gentleman* to Tate's *A Duke and No Duke* and Jevon's *The Devil of a Wife*. As Prieto-Pablos (2005: 73) has pointed out, these plays toy with the projection of the fantasy of becoming someone of the upper class.

prostitute Silvianetta in the dark but he bumps into Octavio, who beats him up repeatedly. Then enters Sir Signall with a masquerade coat and a lantern advancing softly, groping with his hands, until he feels the point of Octavio's sword and runs away. Behn describes the movements of the characters on stage thoroughly, as when Sir Signall stumbles on his tutor, who comes from the opposite side:

*They both advance softly, meeting just in the middle of the Stage, and coming close to each other! both cautiously start back: And stand a tipto in the posture of Fear, then gently feeling for each other, (after listening and hearing no Noise) draw back their Hands at touching each other's, and sbrinking up their Shoulders, make grimaces of more Fear! (FC: 123)*

Directions like this evince that Behn had a very clear idea of what she wanted to be performed on stage. The scene finishes with another fight while some musicians are playing, in which "*Galliard loses his sword, and in the hurry, gets a Base Viol, and happens to strike Tickletext, who is getting away—his head breaks its way quite through, and it hangs about his neck*" (FC: 125). So, Behn moves swiftly from mild physical comedy to a moment of potentially serious violence, which ends in slapstick aggression. Derek Hughes (2001: 110) suggests that "the farcical slapstick perhaps satirizes the more menacing acts of male violence".

Tickletext is the butt of further farcical ridicule in Act 4, when he meets Galliard unexpectedly in the dark and kisses him thinking he is with La Silvianetta. Again stage directions describe the action in detail: Tickletext struggles to get away, Galliard holds him by the cravat and periwig, Petro unties the chaplain's cravat and slips his head out of the periwig trying to take him away, they run over the stage, and Galliard goes after them with the cravat and periwig in one hand and a pistol in the other.

*Tickletext struggles to get away, [Galliard] holds him by the Cravat and Periwig.  
[...]  
Petro puts out the Candle, comes to Tickletext, unties his Cravat behind, and he slips his head out of the Periwig and gets away, leaving both in Galliard's hands.  
[...]  
[Enter] PETRO with TICKLETEXT running over the stage, GALLIARD after'em, with the Cravat and Periwig in one hand, his Pistol in t'other. (FC: 134).*

The scene continues with Sir Signall running on stage too and hiding in a fireplace because a shot is heard. He then keeps peeping out to see when he can come out, his face becoming more and more sooty, until he is found and kicked out by Galliard. Physical comedy is seen again when in the following act, still in darkness, Tickletext stumbles at a well and slides down in the bucket. When Sir Signall comes to wash his face and pulls the bucket, he sees someone coming

up inside so he runs away frightened. They happen to meet again, unknowingly, later in a room of what Sir Signall quixotically believes to be the enchanted castle of a giant. As they hear people coming, Tickletext hides behind a curtain and Sir Signall creeps in too behind him. They peep out at the end of the play causing the gallants' laughter, and supposedly the audience's too. The comic skills of the cast no doubt guaranteed an excellent performance of all these farcical scenes. The devastating mockery of Tickletext is one of the most powerful satires against Puritans and anti-Catholic fanatics created by Behn. However, in spite of all the attempts to make the audience laugh with the use of deception farce and physical comedy, the reception of this play was not as favourable as expected, most likely due to the tense political context in 1679 London.

In *The Emperor of the Moon*, Harlequin (Jevon) and Scaramouch (Leigh), servants to Cinthio and Doctor Baliardo respectively, often engage in absurd and slapstick actions that intend to raise the audience's laughter. For instance, Harlequin says he wants to kill himself because he thinks his beloved Mopsophil has betrayed him, but he wishes to do it in an original way, so he determines to laugh to death by tickling all his body, making funny sounds and laughs, and strange leaps until he falls down apparently dead. In another comic scene, Harlequin cheats an officer who stops his calash and wants him to pay for his load. As Harlequin hits him, the officer goes to get a clerk and, meanwhile, Harlequin changes the appearance of the calash, and then accuses the officer of being drunk and demands monetary compensation. Yet most slapstick takes place when Harlequin interacts with Scaramouch, as happens when in Act 1, scene 3 they are hidden, waiting for a chance to be with Mopsophil, Harlequin accidentally hits a table and this triggers a series of ludicrous postures and faces, groping, biting, and creeping under the carpet. When Mopsophil arrives, Harlequin peeps under a table and falls at her feet. Then the two rivals start fighting in a ridiculous manner but end up dancing and shaking hands. They make funny movements and grimaces, and engage in "a ridiculous cowardly Fight" (*EM*: 195) later when they both propose marriage to Mopsophil unsuccessfully and are finally beaten up and cast out from Doctor Baliardo's house. Harlequin and Scaramouch are clearly borrowed from the Italian *commedia dell'arte*, in which physical *lazzi* were common.<sup>25</sup>

## 6. GROTESQUE AND MACHINE FARCE

Behn's mastery of staging is not only evidenced by her carefully directing the performance of the most skilful comic actors of the time. She had a talent

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<sup>25</sup> *Lazzi* were – mostly physical – comic gags that mixed stock routines and improvisation, and were frequently used in *commedia dell'arte*.

for visual comedy and also for spectacle on stage. We have seen before how she dares strike the audience by introducing an elephant on stage. Behn sometimes produces farce by resorting to the grotesque and to imposing stage setting. The abovementioned Jewish female “Monsters” of *Rover II* are an example of how she uses the grotesque to create ludicrous scenes but also to combine it with sympathetic feelings. These characters also exist in Behn’s source, Thomas Killigrew’s *Thomaso, or The Wanderer* (1654), but they are never seen, only mentioned, and they are rather abused. However, Behn shows them on stage and does so with sympathy and dignity, using them to ridicule Blunt and Fetherfool instead. The “Monsters” are very deviant, exotic characters that not only have bodies of unusual size but are also alien in terms of religion and nationality, because they are Jews coming from Mexico. One is so small and deformed that “she is not capable of marriage”, and the other is so huge that “no man dares venture on her” (*RII*: 237). The meeting of the English coxcombs with the Jewish “Monsters” is really ludicrous. When Fetherfool sees Giant, he is shocked, compares her to the Whore of Babylon, Saint Christopher’s image in Notre Dame, and Gargantua, and himself to Hercules humiliated in front of Omphale. Shift sets a ladder against Giant and asks Fetherfool to climb and greet her; but she proudly rejects him as a suitor because she will marry “none whose Person and Courage shall not bear some proportion to mine”, to which he answers: “Your Mightiness, I fear, will die a Maid then” (*RII*: 258). Symbolically speaking, this obviously elevates her, belittles Fetherfool, and vindicates her right to find an equal as a partner.<sup>26</sup> Then Hunt enters disguised as a giant as if he were a suitor to Giant and, when he leaves, the door is too small so he divides himself in two. The stage direction explains how this is to be done: “*Hunt being all Doublet, leaps off from another Man who is all in Britches, and goes out, Britches follows stalking*” (*RII*: 261). This frightens the cowardly and dim-witted Fetherfool, but intends to raise a hearty laughter in the audience at his expense. Farce is used here not only to ridicule a fool but also to empower the Jewish female “Monsters”, who demand freedom and equality in the choice of husband, and are not economically or physically abused.

Finally, in *The Emperor of the Moon*, the last fight between Harlequin and Scaramouch is included in the machine farce of the final scene, in which there is an impressive display of scenery resources. The scene shows a large walk in the Hill of Parnassus with several negroes on pedestals and Keplair and Gallileus descending in chariots on each side, then a huge zodiac comes down, persons

<sup>26</sup> For Jacqueline Pearson (1996: 222-223), “The ‘Monsters’ provide grotesque comedy in keeping with the harlequinade element in the play, but more seriously they are also allowed to suggest the monstrosity of a system of money in which women attain significance only in terms of their financial value”. For a study of this scene in relation to the grotesque, see Ángeles Tomé Rosales (2009).



representing the twelve signs sing, and the negroes dance. After that appears a chariot made like a half moon, with Cinthio and Charmante disguised as the Emperor of the Moon and the Prince of Thunderland. They make signs of love in dumb show to Elaria and Bellemante, and then a stentraphon says they have come to wed the young ladies. There are hymeneal songs and a priest who joins the lovers' hands. This marriage ceremony is interrupted by Harlequin and Scaramouch in this manner:

*two Chariots descend, one on one side above, and the other on the other side; in which, is HARLEQUIN dress'd like a Mock Hero, with others, and SCARAMOUCH in the other, dress'd so in Helmets.*

[...]

*They both, all arm'd with gilded Lances and Shields of Black, with Golden Suns painted. The Musick plays a fighting Tune. They fight at Barriers, to the Tune. --- Harlequin is often Foil'd, but advances still; at last Scaramouch throws him, and is Conqueror; all give Judgment for him. (EM: 205-205).*

As a consequence, Doctor Baliardo gives Mopsophil's hand to the winning knight and finds out he is Scaramouch, the old man bawls out and falls in a chair, feeling himself cheated. With this bathos ends this masque-like scene and the whole bizarre farce devised by the young gallants to trick the credulous virtuoso and marry their sweethearts. And this is also how Behn transforms a combination of deception farce and *commedia dell'arte* into a stunning spectacle that enthralled audiences for several decades.

## CONCLUSION

It seems quite evident that Behn makes an extensive and successful use of farce in many of her plays of the late 1670s and the 1680s, particularly in *Sir Patient Fancy*, *The Feign'd Curtizans*, *The Second Part of The Rover*, *The False Count*, and *The Emperor of the Moon*. In all of them she includes some kind of deception farce, like the one found in previous plays influenced by Molière. Normally, in this type of farce, an old, foolish, gullible husband or father is tricked by his young wife or daughter and her lover, who contrive an extravagant, elaborate prank (often referred to as "farce" in the plays) that exposes and takes advantage of the victim's delusion. This is seen in *Sir Patient Fancy*, *The False Count*, and *The Emperor of the Moon*. Other times, the butts of the deception are fools or hypocrites, such as Sir Signall and Tickletext in *The Feign'd Curtizans*, Ned Blunt and Fetherfool in *Rover II*, and Isabella in *The False Count*, who become easy preys to witty tricksters such as Petro, Willmore, Harlequin, and Guiliom. In all these cases there is an extensive, impressive, skilful use of disguise and impersonation, and the audience

is placed in a privileged position that produces laughter at the expense of the butts of the pranks. Moreover, in all the plays analysed here, except perhaps in *The False Count*, Behn resorts to physical comedy, which is described in detail in stage directions. Sometimes it is in the form of slapstick, but it is mostly done through ridiculous gestures and comic scenic movement. This physical comedy appears in scenes of bedroom farce in *Sir Patient Fancy*, *The Feign'd Curtizans*, and *Rover II*, as they are more influenced by the vogue for sex comedy that dominated the 1670s. In *Rover II* and *The Emperor of the Moon*, Behn introduces characters such as Harlequin and Scaramouch, who come from the tradition of Italian *commedia dell'arte* and engage in both tricks and physical humour. Besides, in *Rover II*, she creates farcical scenes around the grotesque figures of the two Jewish female “Monsters”, and in *The Emperor of the Moon*, she does it with a striking, extravagant *mise-en-scène* in the last act. No doubt Behn was one of the main practitioners of farce in the Restoration period.

Therefore, when Behn criticises farce in her paratexts, she is simply paying lip service to the prevailing discourse against this genre, so her claim to be “dwindling down” to it only to please the audience is rather an attempt to please the critics. She seems to enjoy creating farcical scenes full of physical humour and extravagant actions, and to be aware of the powerful comic effect they have on stage, not only in order to surprise the playgoers and raise their laughter, but also to reinforce the social and political critique in her comedies.<sup>27</sup> In most cases, Behn inserts farce in plays that have the dramatic structure of five acts with preface and epilogue that was common in Restoration comedy, in order to deal with *cit-cuckolding*, deception, and disguise, and to ridicule fops and hypocritical Puritans. Only in *The Emperor of the Moon* does she use a structure of three acts typical of contemporary farces, but she includes a whole set of paratextual material. Behn takes advantage of the excellent performing abilities of the best comic actors of the time, such as Jevon, Leigh, Nokes, and Underhill, as well as of her own mastery of staging, so as to provide excellent, hilarious, farcical scenes in those plays. The extensive use of stage directions that explain in detail the situations and the actions to be performed prove that Behn had a clear idea of those ludicrous scenes in her mind and did not want to leave much room to improvisation. So here farce is not only actors' theatre, but to a large extent also author's theatre.<sup>28</sup> Behn was a complete dramatist, with a keen mind for comedy, able to write witty repartee and intelligent dialogues, but also to design entertaining plots full of intrigue and comic scenes. That is, she was talented for both the visual and verbal elements of comedy. Behn does not seem to have *dwindled down* to

<sup>27</sup> This would contradict Davis's claim that farce avoids social criticism and satirical comment (2003: 141).

<sup>28</sup> Holland (2000: 109) states that farce is actor's theatre. Similarly, Bermel (1982: 56) claims that it is “primarily a performer's art, not a writer's”.

farce reluctantly, but rather appreciating its value and adapting the French and Italian traditions to the English stage and to her own interests as a Tory woman writer.

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## DESIGNING THE LEXICAL RULES FOR THE PARSING OF ASD-STE100 FUNCTION WORDS IN ARTEMIS FROM A ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

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**ABSTRACT.** *ARTEMIS (Automatically Representing Text Meaning via an Interlingua-based System), is a natural language processing device, whose ultimate aim is to be able to understand natural language fragments and arrive at their syntactic and semantic representation. Linguistically, this parser is founded on two solid linguistic theories: the Lexical Constructional Model and Role and Reference Grammar. Although the rich semantic representations and the multilingual character of Role and Reference Grammar make it suitable for natural language understanding tasks, some changes to the model have proved necessary in order to adapt it to the functioning of the ARTEMIS parser. This paper will deal with one of the major modifications that Role and Reference Grammar had to undergo in this process of adaptation, namely, the substitution of the operator projection for feature-based structures, and how this will influence the description of function words in ARTEMIS, since they are strongly responsible for the encoding of the grammatical information which in Role and Reference Grammar is included in the operators. Currently, ARTEMIS is being implemented for the controlled natural language ASD-STE100, the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe Simplified Technical English, which is an international specification for the preparation of technical documentation in a controlled language. This controlled language is used in the belief that its simplified nature makes it a good corpus to carry out a preliminary testing of the adequacy of the parser. In this line, the aim of this work is to create a catalogue of function words*

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*in ARTEMIS for ASD-STE100, and to design the lexical rules necessary to parse the simple sentence and the referential phrase in this controlled language.*

*Keywords:* Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), ARTEMIS, parser, ASD-STE100, controlled natural language, natural language processing (NLP), function words, lexical rules.

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## **DISEÑO DE REGLAS LÉXICAS PARA EL PARSEADO DE LAS PALABRAS FUNCIONALES DE ASD-STE100 EN ARTEMIS DESDE LA PERSPECTIVA DE LA GRAMÁTICA DEL PAPEL Y LA REFERENCIA**

**RESUMEN.** *ARTEMIS (Automatically Representing Text Meaning via an Interlingua-based System) es un dispositivo para el procesamiento de lenguaje natural cuyo propósito es procesar fragmentos de lenguaje natural y llegar a producir su representación sintáctica y semántica. Desde un punto de vista lingüístico, este parseador se fundamenta en dos sólidos modelos lingüísticos: el Modelo Léxico Construccional y la Gramática del Papel y la Referencia. Aunque las ricas representaciones semánticas y el carácter multilingüe que caracterizan a la Gramática del Papel y la Referencia la hacen adecuada para tareas relacionadas con el procesamiento de lenguaje natural, ha sido necesario llevar a cabo algunos cambios en el modelo para adaptarlo al funcionamiento del parseador ARTEMIS. Este trabajo se centrará en uno de los cambios más relevantes en este proceso de adaptación de la Gramática del Papel y la Referencia: la sustitución de la proyección de operadores por estructuras de rasgos y la influencia que esto tiene en la descripción de las palabras funcionales en ARTEMIS, al ser estas palabras las encargadas de codificar en gran medida la información gramatical que en la Gramática del Papel y la Referencia se incluye en los operadores. En este momento, ARTEMIS está siendo implementado para el lenguaje controlado ASD-STE100, el inglés técnico simplificado empleado para la preparación de documentación técnica por la Asociación de la Industria Aeroespacial y de Defensa Europeas. Este lenguaje es usado bajo la asunción de que su naturaleza simplificada lo convierte en un buen corpus para probar la adecuación del parseador. En esta línea, el objetivo de este trabajo es crear un catálogo de palabras funcionales en ARTEMIS para ASD-STE100 y diseñar las reglas léxicas necesarias para el parseado de la oración simple y el sintagma referencial en este lenguaje controlado.*

*Palabras clave:* Gramática del Papel y la Referencia (GPR), parseador, ARTEMIS, lenguaje natural controlado, ASD-STE100, procesamiento de lenguaje natural (PLN), palabras funcionales, reglas léxicas.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

The Automatically Representing Text Meaning via an Interlingua-based System (ARTEMIS) is a parser designed by Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez (2010, 2014);



Periñán-Pascual and Mairal-Usón (2010a, 2010b) for Natural Language Processing (NLP) tasks, whose ultimate aim is to process natural language fragments and produce their corresponding syntactic and semantic representation. With this aim, the prototype draws from two functional linguistic models: the Lexical Constructional Model (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal-Usón 2008; Mairal Usón and Ruiz de Mendoza 2009) and Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005). The linking algorithm (form-to-meaning and meaning-to-form), the rich semantic representations and its multilingual character are put forward by Van Valin to defend the suitability of the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) linguistic theory for Natural Language Understanding (NLU) tasks. In the literature, we may find several authors who deal with the computational implementation of RRG. These include Osswald and Kallmeyer (forthcoming), who propose a formalization of RRG to make it computationally adequate, or Ball (2017), who defends a NLU model based on RRG and the brain based Patom theory, a cognitive model conceived to discover how a brain functions so that it can be imitated by a machine. The actual development of a parser based on RRG was the aim of the research carried out by Diedrichsen (2014), who designed a sentence parser for German, or by Guest (2008), who showed, through the analysis of sentences from student work, how RRG can be implemented into a standard rule-based parser. Within the specific framework of ARTEMIS, a relevant number of works have also been published dealing with the adjustments that have revealed necessary to adapt the RRG model to the functioning of the parser (Cortés-Rodríguez 2016; Cortés-Rodríguez and Mairal-Usón 2016; Martín-Díaz 2017; Díaz-Galán and Fumero-Pérez 2016; Fumero-Pérez and Díaz-Galán 2017; Rodríguez-Juárez 2017). In this paper we will address one of the substantial modifications which the RRG model had to undergo in this adaptation process, namely, the substitution of the operator projection for feature-based structures, and how this influences the description of function words in ARTEMIS. These functional items, which are heavily responsible for the encoding of grammatical information of the kind represented originally by operators in RRG, play a vital role in the parsing process. Incorporating such words in ARTEMIS involves the creation of a fully-fledged catalogue of Parts of Speech (POS), together with a formal description of the function words that instantiate them. Following the paradigm of Unification-based or Feature-based grammars (Sag, Wasow and Bender 2003), this is, grammars which describe language structures by means of formal features which are later unified, in ARTEMIS, the description of grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, modality or illocutionary force —which are part of the operator projection in RRG— has to be done through grammar formalisms which list their features and values, the so-called Attribute Value Matrices (AVMs). Additionally, to provide the parser with a computer-interpretable characterization of function

words, lexical rules have to be designed, since they are the means of encoding the relevant morphosyntactic information attached to each functional item which will later be integrated into the higher syntactic structures where they participate. Within ARTEMIS, as we will see in section 2, these formal descriptions are stored in the Grammar Development Environment (GDE).

At this stage, ARTEMIS is being implemented for the controlled natural language ASD-STE100, the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe Simplified Technical English. Given its simplified nature, this controlled language is being used as a test bench to achieve the eventual parsing of natural English. ASD-STE100 is described in the International Specification for the Preparation of Technical Documentation in a Controlled Language (issue 7, January 2017). The specification provides writing guidelines to be followed by technical writers and it also includes a controlled dictionary of “approved” vocabulary, together with its “approved” forms. This writing manual, therefore, imposes constraints on morphology, syntax and vocabulary which will restrict the members of the Catalogue of POS in ARTEMIS in its version for ASD-STE100. Thus, it is the purpose of this study to redesign the catalogue of function words and to provide the AVMs and lexical rules necessary to parse both the simple clause and the referential phrase in this simplified language within the framework of RRG.

In the following section we will briefly outline the performance of the ARTEMIS parser and the role of function words in the GDE in ARTEMIS. In section 3 we will focus on the changes to the RRG model required for an effective computational treatment of such words in ASD-STE100. In sections 4 and 5 we will present a catalogue of function words consistent with the specific characteristics of both the simple clause and the referential phrase in ASD-STE100. Finally, conclusions will be presented in section 6.

## 2. THE ARTEMIS PARSER

Three are the main elements that structure ARTEMIS: the Grammar Development Environment (GDE); the Conceptual Logical Structure Constructor and the COREL-Scheme Builder. The GDE comprises two types of constructs:

A catalogue of the AVMs which describe grammatical units, and a set of production rules (syntactic, lexical and constructional) necessary to generate a feature-based grammar. It is, therefore, both a repository of AVMs and a computational grammar which allows the morphosyntactic representation of natural language fragments. The following figure shows a screen capture of the GDE, as it appears in ARTEMIS:



The diagram shows how the parsing starts with the extraction of word tokens, a pre-processing phase that separates the input text into basic units of analysis, which are then labelled with a part of speech tag described in the form of Attribute Value Matrices (AVMs). This part of speech tagging provides the first morphosyntactic characterization of the lexical items. Content words, which are associated with a concept from the FunGramKB Core Ontology or Satellite Ontology (in the case of technical words), are listed and described in an English Lexicon. Function words, on the other hand, are merely assigned a POS tag from lemmatization NLP libraries, a procedure which, in our opinion, is linguistically insufficient. Figure 3 provides an example of the scarce information concerning POS available in ARTEMIS to date.

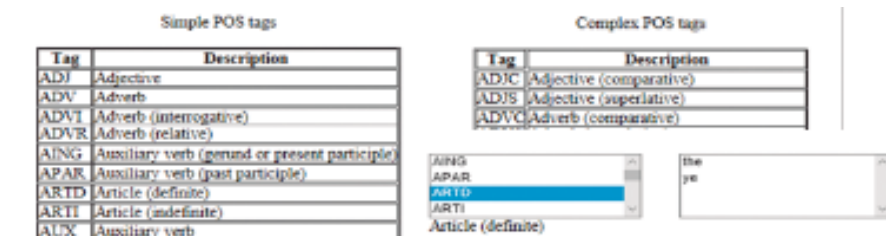


Figure 3. POS in ARTEMIS.

The Build Grammar stage involves the application of the three types of rules stored in the GDE component. The first, syntactic rules, are designed by the linguist and describe the internal constituency of each of the nodes of the constituent projection of the clause and the phrase. As an example, (1) shows the simplified rule for the possible categories that can occupy the initial node in the noun phrase (referential phrase in RRG terms). The rule shows how this referential phrase initial position (RPIP) may be instantiated by articles (ART), demonstratives (DETD), numerals (DETNC or DETNO), quantifiers (DETQ) and their various combinations. The options also include the possibility of having phrases in RPIP.

(1) RPIP → ART || DETD || DETNC || DETNO || DETP || DETQ || DETQ ART || DETQ DETD || DETQ DETP || MP || RP

The second type of production rules, constructional rules, governs the integration of argumental constructions —those which are based on predicate argument relationships (Goldberg 1995)— in the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC) by describing their morphological and semantic characteristics. As we will see in detail later, lexical rules spell out the morphosyntactic information relevant

to each of the word tokens. Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez affirm that “unlike syntactic rules, which users can pre-define through the Grammar Development Environment, constructional and lexical rules are created dynamically at runtime”. That is, “ARTEMIS will build only those constructional and lexical rules which can be directly derived from the constructional schemata and lexical entries being linked to the predicates in the input stream” (2014: 181). In the case of constructional meaning, it is true that ARTEMIS can resort both to the FunGramKB Lexicon to check for the constructional combinations of a given predicate and to the FunGramKB Grammaticon to find the corresponding constructional schema. However, with respect to function words, the information stored in the GDE, as it is only sourced from lemmatization libraries, is not rich enough as to allow the parser to create the lexical rules at runtime. This deficiency calls for the creation of a whole catalogue of function words, together with their lexical rules. Such rules correspond to the specific realization of a given grammatical category, whose attributes have to be described in the form of AVMs. The catalogue of POS related to function words in ARTEMIS must, therefore, be revised and systematized in such a way that they can be effectively inserted into the syntactic rules and provide the relevant information previously conveyed by some of the operators in RRG.

The third phase in the parsing routine is the creation of a parse tree in which the parser will carry out a feature unification process in a bottom-up fashion, which may affect the whole structure of the clause in such a way that, as shown in figure 4, the scope of an operator as is illocutionary force may start in the first terminal constituent of the nucleus (auxiliary verb *has*) and percolate up to the sentence node.

Finally, once the parser has yielded the parse tree, as a final step, the CLS constructor will generate a semantically enriched conceptual representation of the input sentence, as illustrated in example (2) for the sample sentence *Louise had baked a cake for the kids* (Fumero-Pérez and Díaz-Galán 2017: 38). The inclusion of the higher level clausal operators tense and illocutionary force in the final formal representation is proof of the relevance of operators for the parser<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Fumero Pérez and Díaz Galán (2017: 38) illustrate the whole parsing process:

Sample sentence: Louise had baked a cake for the kids.  
 RRG Logical Structure: [[do'(Louise, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME baked'(cake)]] PURP [BECAME have'(the kids, cake)]  
 CLS: <IFDECL<TENSEPAST<CONSTR\_L1FBEN<CONSTR\_L1KER2<AKTCACC<[+BAKE\_00(%LOUISE\_00-Agent,+CAKE\_00-Referent,+CHILD\_00-Beneficiary)] >>>>>>  
 COREL scheme: +(e1: +BAKE\_00 (x1: %LOUISE\_00)THEME (x2: +CAKE\_00)REFERENT (f1: (e2: +DO\_00 (x1)AGENT (e1)REFERENT (f2: +CHILD\_00)Beneficiary))Purpose)

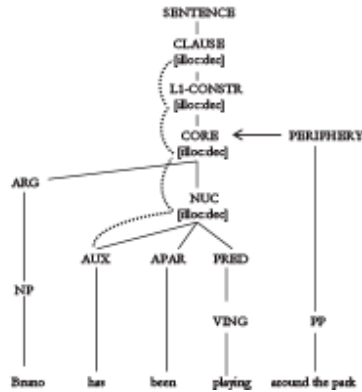


Figure 4. Feature unification path of illocutionary force in the LSC. (Mairal-Usón and Cortés-Rodríguez 2017: 66).

(2) CLS:<IFDECL<TensePAST<CONSTR\_L1FBEN<CONSTR\_L1KER2<AKTCACC  
 <[+BAKE\_00(%LOUISE\_00-Agent, +CAKE\_00-Referent, +CHILD\_00-Beneficiary)]  
 >>>>><sup>4</sup>

### 3. THE OPERATOR PROJECTION IN ARTEMIS

As stated above, several efforts have been made to adapt the description of clausal and phrasal constituents in RRG to the functioning of the ARTEMIS parser. At clause level, some of the most relevant changes have been suggested by Periñán-Pascual (2013), who initially proposes a modified or enhanced version of the LSC in RRG which adds a new L1-CONSTRUCTION node to account for argumental constructions. Mairal-Usón and Cortés-Rodríguez (2017) further refine the LSC by adding a Pre-Construction L1 node and also by designing the syntactic rules which describe each of the nodes of this modified Layered Structure of the Clause in ARTEMIS. At phrase level, Cortés-Rodríguez (2016) offers a description of the layered structure of referential and modifier phrases as proposed in Van Valin (2008), which in turn replaces Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997) and Van Valin's (2005) Layered Structure of Noun and adjective phrases. Later Cortés-Rodríguez (2016) designs the set of syntactic rules necessary for parsing such phrasal structures.

<sup>4</sup> In natural language terms, this CLS represents the event as a declarative (IFDECL) in the past (Tense PAST) which presents a monotransitive verb (CONSTR\_L1KER2), and a *for benefactive* construction (FBEN). The aspectual value of the event corresponds to a causative accomplishment (AKTCACC). Notice also how the CLS substitutes the lexical items with the corresponding FunGramKB ontological concepts (bake =+BAKE\_00, etc.) and assigns them a thematic role.

He offers a reinterpretation of the operator projection as feature bearing devices which include morphosyntactic information in the form of AVMs, both for the clause and the phrase. At clause level, this formalization applies to each of the operators described by Van Valin (2005: 12) for the different nodes of the LSC in English. These operators may affect different parts of the clause, in such a way that the operator aspect (perfect, progressive) has scope over the Nucleus (NUC) node; the modality (deontic) and negation operators modify the Core node; and, finally, status (epistemic modality), tense, and illocutionary force operators have the Clause in their scope. Example (3) illustrates how the compulsory operator illocutionary force, can be formalized as an AVM which presents three mutually exclusive possible values: declarative, imperative or interrogative.

```
(3) <Attribute ID= "Illocutionary Force" obl= "+" num= "1">
      <Value Tag="declarative">dec</Value>
      <Value Tag="imperative">imp</Value>
      <Value Tag="interrogative">int</Value>
    </Attribute>
```

The same occurs in the operator projection of the referential phrase (RP), where, again, each of the layers can be modified by a number of operators in English. The NuclearRP node is only affected by nominal aspect (count-mass distinction), while the operators that influence the CoreRP are number, quantification (quantifiers) and negation. Finally, the RP level operators include definiteness and deixis. Example (4) shows how the RP operator definiteness is formalized in an AVM.

```
(4) <Attribute ID= "Def" obl= "+" num= "1">
      <Value>?def</Value>
      <Value Tag="definite">d</Value>
      <Value Tag="indefinite">i</Value>
    </Attribute>
```

Similar to the role of illocutionary force at clause level, RP operators such as definiteness modify the whole RP and ground it in the discourse (Van Valin, 2005: 24). Accordingly, the AVM proposed in (4) indicates that definiteness is a non-optional operator in English RPs, which can have two values: either definite or indefinite. As we will see in section 5, these values can be realized by means of the function words corresponding to the articles *the* or *a* or by demonstratives.

The AVMs that formalize the grammatical categories, which in RRG are part of the operator projection, are included in different ways in the GDE in ARTEMIS. On the one hand, their information can become part of the constituent projection and be integrated in the syntactic rules that describe each of the nodes of the layered

structure of the clause (LSC) or the layered structure of the referential phrase (LSRP). The nodes are, therefore, “interpreted as a feature complex including different types of morphosyntactic parameters which are described as attributes” (Mairal-Usón and Cortés-Rodríguez 2017: 69). Notice, for instance, how the attribute illocutionary force (*illoc*) in example (5) and definiteness (*def*) in (6) are included on the list of attributes of the clause (CL) and the RP nodes, respectively.

(5) CL [akt=?, concept=?, emph= ?, *illoc*= ?, status= ?, t=?, tpl=?]

(6) RP [case=?, cnt= ?, concept=?, *def*= ?, dei= ?, n=?, p=? ]

The grammatical information contained in the operators may, on the other hand, be conveyed by one or more function words. As stated before, it is vital, then, to provide the GDE in ARTEMIS with an exhaustive catalogue to list and describe them systematically. This process of including the function words relevant to ASD-STE100 in the catalogue of POS requires a consistent procedure. A list of approved functional items, together with their accepted forms in the ASD-STE100 dictionary, needs to be compiled, categorized and codified. We can illustrate this process by means of the function words *the* and *must*. In the case of the former, it is one of the two realizations of the category *article*, which has been tagged as ART, and whose attributes have to be listed in an AVM, see (7). In turn, each of these attributes needs to be provided with a description of the possible values they may present, as shown in (8) for definiteness.

(7) ART (article)  
 <Category Type="ART">  
 <Attribute ID="Countability"/>  
 <Attribute ID="Definiteness"/>  
 </Category>

(8) Definiteness  
 <Attribute ID="Definiteness" obl="+num= "1" />  
 <Value=?def </Value>  
 <Value Tag="definite">d</Value>  
 <Value Tag="indefinite">i</Value>  
 </Attribute>

Once the attributes and values have been formalized, a lexical rule that specifies the characteristics of each of the possible realizations of the category must be designed. In (9) we reproduce the specific lexical rule which describes the definite article *the*. It reads as follows: *the* is a definite (*def*=d) article (ART) and it can present one of the two possible values of countability (countable or uncountable):



(9) *the*: ART[cnt=c | u, def=d]

Another example could be the auxiliary *must*, a realization of the category deontic modal auxiliary that has been tagged as MODD. Following the same procedure, in (10) we can see the AVM which describes its attributes: the attribute illocutionary force is relevant for modal auxiliaries because they occupy the first slot of the nucleus node, a position which marks illocutionary force; the attribute modality distinguishes between the different modal meanings (ability, obligation or permission); finally, the attribute polarity allows the parser to differentiate between *can* and *cannot*.

(10) MODD (deontic modal)  
 <Category Type="MODD">  
 <Attribute ID="Illocutionary Force"/>  
 <Attribute ID="Modality"/>  
 <Attribute ID="Polarity"/>  
 </Category>

A further description of the different values that characterize each of these attributes is needed, as illustrated in (11) for modality.

(11) Modality  
 <Attribute ID="Modality" obl="\*" num="1">  
 <Value?mod</Value>  
 <Value Tag="ability">abl</Value>  
 <Value Tag="obligation">obl</Value>  
 <Value Tag="permission">perm</Value>  
 </Attribute>

Finally, example (12) shows the lexical rule which accounts for the deontic modal *must*, one of the possible realizations of the category MODD.

(12) *must*: MODD [illoc=dec, mod=obl]

Lexical rules for function words may contain values which define operators pertaining to different levels, both of the LSC or the LSRP, as evidenced by the AVM for MODD above, which displays values associated with operators that belong to different levels of the LSC: the Clause level operator illocutionary force and the Core operators modality and polarity. Similarly, the description of the category *article* (ART) in (7) requires the combination of operators from the three different levels of the LSRP: the NuclearRP operator nominal aspect, the CoreRP operator number and the RP operator definiteness. The information contained in the lexical rules will always undergo a feature unification process. Unification can take place

in two directions: vertically, when a feature percolates up to higher nodes in the layered structure, and, horizontally, when it involves matching values among constituents. These processes are illustrated in figure 5 for the demonstrative determiner *these*.

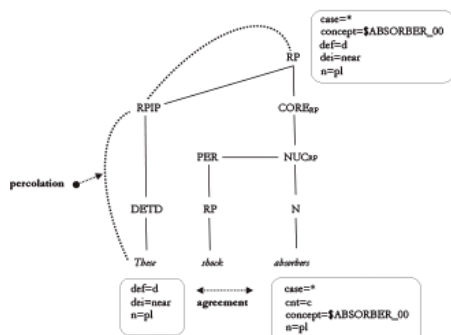


Figure 5. Feature unification processes in the RP: percolation and agreement.

#### 4. THE CLAUSE IN ASD-STE100: IMPLICATIONS FOR POS

One of the most relevant categories for the description of the clause in ASD-STE100 is that of auxiliary verbs, instantiated both as primary or modal auxiliaries. As Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 40) point out, “often in English and other Indo-European languages operators are coded on or as auxiliary verbs”, hence the importance of providing an exhaustive description of this category. In what follows we will, therefore, offer the AVMs and lexical rules which formalize the characteristics of primary auxiliaries (AUX) and modal auxiliaries (MODD, MODST) in this controlled language.

The simplification that characterizes ASD-STE100 is strongly related to the nature of the documentation it deals with, mainly maintenance manuals in which communicative functions are restricted to giving instructions and describing procedures. This has a direct influence both in the syntax of the clauses and in the functional elements necessary to fulfill these communicative functions. An outstanding characteristic of ASD-STE100 clauses is the lack of interrogative structures, which entails that the clause operator illocutionary force can only present two values: declarative or imperative. This brings about a simplification of the syntactic rules which describe the clause and also a reduction in the ASD-STE100 catalogue of POS. Thus, the syntactic rules for the interrogative clause for natural English in ARTEMIS, as well as the description of the function words

associated with interrogative clauses (Martín Díaz 2017) become redundant. Accordingly, the categories interrogative pronoun (*what, which, who, whom, whose*), interrogative adverb (*where, when, how and why*) and interrogative determiner (*whose, what and which*), together with their corresponding tags (PROI, ADVI and DETI), disappear from the catalogue. Another consequence of the non-existence of interrogative clauses is the simplification in the description of the category primary auxiliary (AUX) in ASD-STE100, which now presents only two values for the attribute illocutionary force (declarative or imperative), as the lexical rule in (13) shows.

- (13) AUX  
[illoc=dec|imp, emph=e|null, per= 1|2|3, syn= APAR|NEG|VERB, tense= past|pres|fut]

The attribute emphasis (*emph*) that has been added to the description of AUX in (13) revealed necessary to describe emphatic sentences with *do*. Although emphasis is not considered an operator in RRG, it had to be included as a value of AUX to account for the instances of this type of clauses in the corpus analyzed<sup>5</sup>. As was the case with illocutionary force, the influence of emphasis starts in the NUC node and percolates to the Clause node. Examples (14) and (15) provide, respectively, a sentence from the corpus and the lexical rule which corresponds to the specific use of emphatic *do* in such a sentence.

- (14) Be careful when you *do* work near the kneeling-manifold accumulator  
(15) *do*: AUX [emph=e, illoc=dec, num=sg, per=2, syn=VERB, t=pres]

Another restriction that ASD-STE100 imposes on the category AUX at clause level concerns the formation of negative clauses. The ASD-STE100 specification manual rules against “contractions to make sentences shorter” (2017:1-4-2), therefore, enclitic negation is not permitted and AUX has to combine with the negative element *not* in the corresponding syntactic rule. In (16) we offer a corpus example of one such negative sentence, while (17) shows the lexical rule that accounts for the form of the periphrastic auxiliary *do* in the example.

- (16) It is possible that the nose gear doors *do not* fully open because of their weight.  
(17) *do*: AUX [illoc=dec, num=pl, per=3, syn=NEG, t=pres]

<sup>5</sup> The examples belong to a collected corpus of texts from aircraft maintenance instructions, courtesy of Airbus Seville.

The function word *not*, which is described in its corresponding lexical rule (19), is a realization of the category NEG described in (18).

(18) NEG: <Attribute ID="pol" obl="\*" num="1">  
 <Value Tag="negative">neg</Value>  
 </Attribute>

(19) *not*: NEG[pol: neg]

The combination AUX plus NEG is the instantiation of the LSC Core operator negation and is reflected in the lexical rule for the RP (13) as one of the three possibilities of syntactic agreement for AUX (syn= APAR|NEG|VERB). The attribute syn is also responsible for the difference between the periphrastic and emphatic uses of *do*: while periphrastic *do* collocates with NEG to form negative sentences, emphatic *do* can only collocate with VERB (bare infinitive form of the verb). The third value of syn, APAR (verb in the participle form), accounts for the passive uses of the auxiliary *be*. To the list of auxiliary verbs in ASD-STE100, and contrary to previous descriptions of the category AUX for ASD-STE100 (Martín-Díaz 2017; Fumero-Pérez 2018), *be* had to be included as a helping verb to account for the instances of passive voice in the corpus. Although the manual encourages the use of the active voice, in fact, in the texts there are many examples of passive structures (20) which cannot be overlooked, as they would imply a problem for the parsing procedure. To account for these instances of passive voice in the corpus, our proposal is to add to the AUX category the primary auxiliary *be* with a passive meaning exclusively. Such passive use of AUX is illustrated by the corpus example (20) and the corresponding lexical rule for this specific instance in (21):

(20) This mechanical deformation *is measured* by the strain gauges.

(21) *Is*: AUX [illoc=dec, num=sg, per= 3, syn=APAR, t=pres]

Including the passive use of AUX only implied updating the AVM of this category by adding the value APAR (verb in the participle form) to the attribute syn. To be able to formalize negative passive sentences<sup>6</sup>, we only had to modify the attributes of the AUX category in the syntactic rule for the Nucleus node (see appendix I) as described by Cortés-Rodríguez and Mairal-Usón (2016: 17) and updated for ASD-STE100 by Díaz-Galán (2018: 92).

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to notice that, when dealing with passive sentences, the parser will have to account for a "missing" argument in the verbal structure as it would do with other argumental constructions such as the inchoative. The information related to constructional meaning can be found in the Constructicon in ARTEMIS -the module dedicated to constructions.

Due to a further restriction prescribed by the writing manual on complex verb structures, which rules out aspectual distinctions, progressive *be* and perfective *have* become redundant. This implies that the nuclear operator aspect reveals unnecessary in ASD-STE100 and, therefore, it does not appear as one of the attributes of AUX.

Tense is the last attribute that characterizes primary auxiliaries. As can be seen in rule (13) above, it presents three values: past, present and future. The latter had to be incorporated to be able to account for the auxiliary *will*. This implies a modification of the values assigned to the clausal operator tense in RRG, in order to include future as a third indicator which situates the proposition temporally (Díaz-Galán 2018: 87). Differently from the case of *do*, in which the attribute *syn* distinguishes between its periphrastic and emphatic use (depending on whether it collocates with NEG or with VERB), in the case of *will*, *syn* is not a necessary feature since it would not have any distinctive value. This can be seen in the lexical rule (23):

(22) This will not have an unwanted effect on the parking brake.

(23) *will*: AUX [illoc=dec, t=fut]

The following table shows the description of the function words which instantiate the AUX category in ASD-STE100.

Modal auxiliaries are the means of coding two other operators of the LSC distinguished by RRG, namely, deontic modality (*mod*) and status (*sta*). In ASD-STE100 they are expressed by means of a limited number of modal auxiliaries. The deontic modals *can*, *cannot* and *must* are used to codify the LSC Core operator modality (permission, ability or obligation), as we can see in the following corpus examples:

(24) If you do, you *can* drain the fluid from the related hydraulic reservoir. (perm)

(25) If you *cannot* lift the aircraft, do the operational test of the Emergency Extension [...]. (abl)

(26) If these parts are missing, you *must* send the equipment to the maintenance shop for an adjustment. (obl)

Epistemic *can* and *could* are responsible for encoding the Clause operator status, which in ASD-STE100 can only express possibility:

(27) Contamination of the tires by hydrocarbons *can* cause deterioration of the rubber. (poss)

Table 1. AUX category. Description and realizations in ASD-STE 100.

<b>AUX (primary auxiliaries) in ASD-STE100</b> <b>[illoc: dec imp, emph=e null, per=1 2 3, syn=APAR NEG VERB, tense=pres past fut]</b>	
Periphrastic do	<i>do not:</i> AUX [ illoc= dec imp, num= pl sg, per= 1 2, syn= NEG, t= pres ] <i>does not:</i> AUX [ illoc= dec imp, num=sg, per= 3, syn= NEG, t= pres ] <i>do not:</i> AUX [ illoc= dec imp, num=pl, per= 3, syn= NEG, t= pres ] <i>did not:</i> AUX [ illoc= dec imp, syn=NEG, t= past ]
Emphatic do	<i>do:</i> AUX [emph= e, illoc= dec imp , num= pl sg, per=1 2, syn= VERB, t=pres] <i>does:</i> AUX [emph= e, illoc= dec, num= sg, per=3, syn= VERB, t= pres] <i>did:</i> AUX [emph= e, illoc= dec, num= pl  sg , per=1 2 3, syn=VERB, t=past]
Future Periphrastic will	<i>will:</i> AUX [illoc= dec, syn=VERB, t= fut] <i>will not:</i> AUX [illoc= dec, syn=NEG, t= fut]
Passive be	<i>is:</i> AUX [ illoc= dec, num=sg, per=3, syn=APAR, t=pres] <i>are:</i> AUX [ illoc= dec, num=sg, per=2, syn=APAR, t=pres] <i>are:</i> AUX [ illoc= dec, num=pl, per=3, syn=APAR, t=pres] <i>was:</i> AUX [ illoc= dec, num=sg, per=3, syn=APAR, t=past] <i>were:</i> AUX [ illoc= dec, num=pl, per=1 2 3, syn=APAR, t=past]

These two categories have been labelled MODD (deontic modality) and MODST (epistemic modality). The following tables set out the attributes and the possible values of the function words which integrate them.

Table 2. MODD category. Description and realizations in ASD-STE100.

<b>MODD (deontic modality) in ASD-STE100</b> <b>[illoc=dec, mod=abl obl perm, pol=pos  neg]</b>	
<i>can:</i>	MODD [illoc=dec, mod=abl perm]
<i>cannot:</i>	MODD [illoc=dec, mod=abl perm, pol=neg]
<i>must:</i>	MODD [illoc=dec, mod=obl]

Table 3. MODST category. Description and realizations in ASD-STE100.

<b>MODST (epistemic modality) in ASD-STE100</b> <b>[illoc=dec, sta=poss, t=pres past]</b>	
<i>can:</i>	MODST [illoc=dec, sta=poss, t=pres]
<i>could:</i>	MODST [illoc= dec, sta=poss, t=past]

The auxiliary verbs we have described and formalized in this section, when present, are responsible for the codification of the information contained in the three levels of the clause operator projection relevant for ASD-STE100. While, as mentioned, the Nuclear operator aspect is redundant, at Core level, auxiliaries indicate modality and/or negation, whereas, at clause level, they can express illocutionary force, status and tense. In the absence of auxiliary verbs, the attributes encoding operator values are part of the information captured in the AVM of the predicate.

##### 5. THE REFERENTIAL PHRASE IN ASD-STE100: IMPLICATIONS FOR POS

Whereas the simplification which supposedly characterizes the controlled language ASD-STE100 may be true for the clause, what we observe with respect to the phrase is a greater complexity, which results in the intricacy of lexical units and their phrasal projections in ASD-STE100 (Cortés-Rodríguez and Rodríguez-Juárez 2018). As mentioned in the introduction, the ASD-STE100 specification includes a dictionary of approved words which contains open and closed word classes. The former consists of a restricted set of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, which are complemented by the technical vocabulary specific to each manufacturer. The latter comprises the list of approved function words, which need to be tagged and described by means of lexical rules. In this section we will describe the most significant POS for the parsing of RPs in ASD-STE100.

As was the case with the clause, RPs also present a layered structure and operators which modify its different nodes. According to Van Valin (1997: 56), the operator that has scope over the NucleusRP node is nominal aspect (count-mass distinction); quantification and negation are the operators that modify the CoreRP node, and, finally, the RP operators are definiteness and deixis. Often, function words such as articles, determiners or quantifiers

are responsible for the codification of the information signalled by these operators. Accordingly, in what follows the categories relevant to ASD-STE100 will be described. As with the lexical rules for function words related to the clause, the lexical rules which describe the function words relevant for the RP in ASD-STE100 may present values which define operators belonging to different levels of the LSRP. The first of these categories, the article (ART), realized either as definite or indefinite, is one of the most relevant categories that need to be defined in relation to the RP in ASD-STE100. Operators from two different levels of the LSRP merge in its description: countability (NuclearRP operator) and definiteness (RP operator), as the AVMs and lexical rules in table 4 illustrate.

Another salient category for the description of ASD-STE100 is that of demonstrative determiner (DETD), although only two forms are allowed: *this* and *these*. Their description (table 5) presents values which correspond to RP level operators, those which situate the phrase referentially (deixis) and with respect to definiteness. These operators, as Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 758) indicate, have a discursive or pragmatic nature and, when present, are the outermost constituents in the RP affecting the RP as a whole. The category DETD also presents an attribute of number, although this CoreRP operator modifies the head noun of the RP, as a result of the unification of attributes, it also has to appear in the lexical rule in order to account for DETD-head agreement (see figure 5 above). Table 5 presents the description of this category and its lexical realizations.

Table 4. ART category. Description and realizations in ASD-STE100.

<b>ART (article) in ASD_STE100</b> <b>[cnt=c u, def= d i]</b>		
<pre>&lt;Category Type="ART"&gt;   &lt;AttributeID="Count"/&gt;   &lt;Attribute ID="Def"/&gt; &lt;/Category&gt;</pre>	<pre>&lt;Attribute ID="Count" obl="*" num="s"&gt;   &lt;Value?cnt&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="countable"&gt;c&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="uncountable"&gt;u   &lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;  &lt;Attribute ID="Def" obl="+" num="1"&gt;   &lt;Value?def&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="definite"&gt;d&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="indefinite"&gt;i&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;</pre>	<p><i>a:</i> ART [cnt=c, def=i]</p> <p><i>an:</i> ART [cnt=c, def=i]</p> <p><i>the:</i> ART[cnt=c   u, def=d]</p>



Table 5. DETD category. Description and realizations in ASD-STE 100.

<b>DETD (demonstrative determiner) in ASD-STE100</b> <b>[def=d i, dei=near far, n=pl sg]</b>		
<pre>&lt;Category Type="DETD"&gt;   &lt;Attribute ID="def"/&gt;   &lt;Attribute ID="dei"/&gt;   &lt;Attribute ID="n"/&gt; &lt;/Category&gt;</pre>	<pre>&lt;Attribute ID="Def" obl="+" num="1"&gt;   &lt;Value&gt;?def&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="definite"&gt;d&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="indefinite"&gt;i&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;  &lt;Attribute ID="Dei" obl="+" num="1"&gt;   &lt;Value&gt;?dei&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value&gt;near&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value&gt;far&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;  &lt;Attribute ID="Num" obl="+" num="1"&gt;   &lt;Value&gt;?n&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="plural"&gt;pl&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="singular"&gt;sg&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;</pre>	<p><i>this:</i> DETD[def=d, dei=near, n=sg]</p> <p><i>these:</i> DETD[def=d, dei=near, n=pl]</p>

Another possible realization of the category determiner is that of possessive determiner (DETP), of which we may find only two forms in ASD-STE100, namely *its* and *their*. Their behaviour is exactly the same as that of the demonstrative determiner; they occupy the RP initial position and have the whole phrase in their scope. The attributes which describe this category are the same as those for DETD, with the exception of deixis, which is the defining attribute of demonstratives. Table 6 lists the words attributes and values of this category, together with the lexical rules of the two approved function words.

Table 6. DETP category. Description and realizations in ASD-STE 100.

<b>DETP (possessive determiner) in ASD-STE100</b> <b>[def=d i, n=pl sg]</b>		
<pre>&lt;Category Type="DETP"&gt;   &lt;Attribute ID="Def"/&gt;   &lt;Attribute ID="Num"/&gt; &lt;/Category&gt;</pre>	<pre>&lt;Attribute ID="Def" obl="+" num="1"&gt;   &lt;Value&gt;?def&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="definite"&gt;d&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="indefinite"&gt;i&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;  &lt;Attribute ID="Num" obl="+" num="s"&gt;   &lt;Value&gt;?n&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="plural"&gt;pl&lt;/Value&gt;   &lt;Value Tag="singular"&gt;sg&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;</pre>	<p><i>Its:</i> DETP[def= d, n=sg]</p> <p><i>their:</i> DETP[def= d, n=pl]</p>

The CoreRP operator quantification situates the RP with respect to quantity, within the RP this function is realized by means of quantifying determiners (DETQ). The attributes that define this category have been described by Cortés-Rodríguez (2016: 102) and include the following values: countability, number, quantification and polarity. The author considers that the two CoreRP operators negation and quantification merge, and proposes that they should be expressed as a set of values which range from absolute positive (*all*) to absolute negative (*no*), with two intermediate values: relative positive (*many*) and relative negative (*few*). In line with the previous description, we have designed the lexical rules for the function words that integrate this category in ASD-STE100 and that we list in table 7 below:

Table 7. DETQ category. Description and realizations in ASD-STE 100.

<b>DETQ (quantifying determiner) in ASD-STE100</b> <b>[cnt=c u, n=pl sg, quant=an ap qa rn rp]</b>		
<p>Category Type="DETQ"&gt; &lt;Attribute ID="Count"/&gt; &lt;Attribute ID="Num"/&gt; &lt;Attribute ID="Quant"/&gt; &lt;/Category&gt;</p>	<p>Attribute ID="Count" obl="*" num="s"&gt; &lt;Value&gt;?cnt&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;Value Tag="countable"&gt;c&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;Value Tag="uncountable"&gt;u&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;</p> <p>&lt;Attribute ID="Num" obl="+" num="s"&gt; &lt;Value&gt;?n&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;Value Tag="plural"&gt;pl&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;Value Tag="singular"&gt;sg&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;</p> <p>&lt;Attribute ID="Quant" obl="*" num="1"&gt; &lt;Value&gt;?quant&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;Value Tag="absolute negative"&gt;an&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;Value Tag="absolute positive"&gt;ap&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;Value Tag="quasi absolute positive"&gt;qa&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;Value Tag="relative negative"&gt;rn&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;Value Tag="relative positive"&gt;rp&lt;/Value&gt; &lt;/Attribute&gt;</p>	<p><i>all</i>: DETQ[cnt=c   u,n=pl,quant=ap]</p> <p><i>many</i>: DETQ[cnt=c, n=pl, quant=rp]</p> <p><i>no</i>: DETQ[cnt=c   u,n=pl   sg,quant=an]</p> <p><i>most</i>: DETQ[cnt=c, n= pl , quant=rp]</p> <p><i>much</i>: DETQ[cnt=u, n=sg, quant= rp]</p> <p><i>each</i>: DETQ[cnt=c, n=sg, quant=ap]</p>

The CoreRP operator number is present as an attribute in many of the lexical rules described, but the only case in which this operator instantiates in a POS is in the category numeral with the function determiner, which we have tagged as DETN. Table 8 presents a sample of the values and attributes that characterize cardinal numerals (DETNC) and ordinal numerals (DETNO) and the lexical rules for the specific realization of two members of each category.

In this section, we have presented the codification of the information contained in the most relevant categories for the description of RPs in ASD-STE100. The representation of the corresponding function words relate to operators belonging to the three levels of the LSRP. Although there is a reduction of the possible realizations of the function words in ASD-STE100, this does not seem to influence the values of the operator projection of the LSRP.

Table 8. Numerals. Description and realizations in ASD-STE 100.

<b>DETNC (cardinal numbers) in ASD-STE100</b>	
Category Type="DETNC"> <Attribute ID="Num"/> </Category>	<i>One:</i> DETNC [n=s] <i>Five:</i> DETNC [n=pl]
<b>DETNO (ordinal numbers) in ASD-STE100</b>	
Category Type="DETNO"> <Attribute ID="Num"/> </Category>	<i>First:</i> DETNO [n=pl   sg] <i>Fifth:</i> DETNO [n=pl]

## 6. CONCLUSION

While in ARTEMIS, for parsing purposes, lexical content can be retrieved either from the FunGramKB Core Ontology or from the Satellite Ontology, there is a need for a specific catalogue of function words for ASD-STE100 tailored to the restrictions imposed on this controlled language. Within ARTEMIS, function words are stored in the GDE and described as lexical rules, one of the three possible types of rules in such component together with syntactic and constructional rules. Once available in the GDE, function words can be inserted in the syntactic rules, both at clausal or phrasal level. Function words prove fundamental for processing language since they instantiate the realizational possibilities of the operator projection in RRG, both at clause and phrase level. Given that in the ARTEMIS GDE there is no operator projection -as it follows the paradigm of unification

grammars- the information provided by operators has to be formalized as AVMs. As we have seen, such descriptive devices, which characterize a given category by means of different attributes and their corresponding values, can be a) integrated or unified with syntactic rules or b) used to create the lexical rules which describe function words.

In the process of creating a catalogue of function words in ARTEMIS for ASD-STE100, we have designed the primary lexical rules necessary to parse the simple sentence and the RP in this controlled language. Further research would be necessary to account for the complex sentence. Nevertheless, the values of the categories and the whole range of functionally motivated AVMs designed for the description of the function words presented here make an important contribution to the characterization of function words, as some of their properties are reflected on the constituent projection both of the LSC and the LSRP, assessing, therefore, the suitability of RRG for NLP tasks.

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## APPENDIX I

Simplified rule for the LSC Nucleus node in ASD-STE100:

NUCàPRED || AUX PRED || AUX NEG PRED || MODD PRED || MODD NEG PRED ||  
MODST PRED || MODST NEG PRED

Examples of the possible realization of the clausal nucleus (NUC) node according to the previous rule:

NUCà PRED: eg. install ||  
NUCàAUX PRED: eg. is installed (passive) /do install (emphatic) ||  
NUCàAUX NEG PRED: eg. is not installed (passive)/ do not install (periphrastic) ||  
NUCàMODD PRED: eg. must install ||  
NUCàMODD NEG PRED: eg. must not install ||  
NUCàMODST PRED: eg. could install ||  
NUCàMODST NEG PRED: eg. could not install

Updated rule for the NUC node containing attributes:

NUCà PRED [concept=?, illoc=?, num=?, recip=?, reflex=?,per=?, tpl=?, t=?] || AUX [illoc=dec|imp, emph=e|null, per=1|2|3, syn=APAR|NEG|VERB, t=pres|past|fut] PRED [concept=?, illoc=?, num=?, recip=?, reflex=?,per=?, tpl=?, t=?] || AUX [illoc=dec|imp, emph=e|null, per=1|2|3, syn=APAR|NEG|VERB, t=pres|past|fut] NEG [pol=neg] PRED [concept=?, illoc=?, num=?, recip=?, reflex=?,per=?, tpl=?, t=?] || MODD [illoc=dec, mod= abl|obl|perm, pol= pos |neg, syn= verb|null, t=pres|past|fut] PRED [concept=?, illoc=?, num=?, recip=?, reflex=?,per=?, tpl=?, t=?] || MODD [illoc=dec, mod= abl|obl|perm, pol= pos |neg, syn= verb|null, t=pres|past|fut|null] NEG [pol=neg] PRED [concept=?, illoc=?, num=?, recip=?, reflex=?,per=?, tpl=?, t=?] || MODST [illoc=dec, sta=poss, t=pres|past] PRED [concept=?, illoc=?, num=?, recip=?, reflex=?,per=?, tpl=?, t=?] || MODST [illoc=dec, sta=poss, t=pres|past] NEG [pol=neg] PRED [concept=?, illoc=?, num=?, recip=?, reflex=?,per=?, tpl=?, t=?]

## APPENDIX II

ADVI	Interrogative adverb
APAR	Verb in the past participle form
ART	Article
ARTEMIS	Automatically Representing Text Meaning via an Interlingua-based System
ASD-STE100	The Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe Simplified Technical English
AUX	Primary Auxiliary
AVM	Attribute Value Matrix
CLS	Conceptual Logical Structure
COREL	Conceptual Representation Language
DETD	Demonstrative determiner
DETI	Interrogative Determiner
DETN	Ordinal numeral
DETNC	Cardinal numeral
DETP	Possessive Determiner
DETQ	Quantifying Determiner
FunGramKB	Functional Grammar Knowledge Base
GDE	Grammar Development Environment
L1-Construction	Level 1 (argumental) construction
LSC	Layered Structure of the Clause
LSRP	Layered Structure of the Referential Phrase
MODD	Deontic Modal Auxiliary
MODST	Epistemic Modal Auxiliary
MP	Modifier Phrase
NLP	Natural Language Processing
NLU	Natural Language Understanding
POS	Part of Speech
PROI	Interrogative Pronoun
RP	Referential Phrase
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
UML	Unified Modelling Language



**MARGARET ATWOOD'S VISIONS AND REVISIONS OF  
THE WIZARD OF OZ**

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**ABSTRACT.** *L. Frank Baum's The Wonderful Wizard of Oz (1900) and Victor Fleming's film The Wizard of Oz (1939) play an important intertextual role in Margaret Atwood's critical and fictional writings. Atwood has often been inspired by both versions of this modern fairy tale and has drawn attention to the main issues it raises (e.g. the transformative power of words, gendered power relationships, the connection between illusion and reality, the perception of the artist as a magician, and different notions of home). She has creatively explored and exploited themes, settings, visual motifs, allegorical content and characters (Dorothy, her three companions, the Wizard and the witches, especially Glinda the Good and the Wicked Witch of the West), subversively adapting her literary borrowings with a parodic twist and satirical intent. Parts of Life Before Man (1979) may be interpreted as a rewrite of a story defined by Atwood as "the great American witchcraft classic".*

*Keywords:* Margaret Atwood, *The Wizard of Oz*, *Life Before Man*, fairy tales, intertextuality, parody.

## VISIONES Y REVISIONES DE *EL MAGO DE OZ* EN LA OBRA DE MARGARET ATWOOD

**RESUMEN.** *La novela de L. Frank Baum El maravilloso mago de Oz (1900) y la versión cinematográfica dirigida por Victor Fleming El mago de Oz (1939) desempeñan una importante función intertextual en las obras críticas y de ficción publicadas por Margaret Atwood. A menudo Atwood se inspira en ambas versiones de este cuento de hadas moderno y presta atención a las principales cuestiones planteadas por él (por ejemplo, el poder transformador de las palabras, las relaciones de poder asociadas al género, el juego entre ilusión y realidad, la percepción del artista como mago y los diferentes conceptos del hogar). Atwood ha explorado y utilizado de forma muy creativa determinados temas, escenarios, motivos visuales, el contenido alegórico y los personajes (Dorothy, sus tres compañeros, el Mago y las brujas, especialmente Glinda la Bruja Buena y la Malvada Bruja del Oeste), adaptando subversivamente sus préstamos literarios con giros paródicos e intención satírica. Cabe interpretar algunas secciones de La vida antes del hombre (1979) como reescrituras de un cuento que Atwood definió como “el gran clásico americano de la brujería”.*

*Palabras clave:* Margaret Atwood, *El Mago de Oz*, *La vida antes del hombre*, cuentos de hadas, intertextualidad, parodia.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

L. Frank Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900) and the 1939 Victor Fleming<sup>1</sup> film based on this book have engaged Margaret Atwood's imagination since her childhood and have provided a rich source of inspiration for both her critical and fictional writings. Atwood has often referred to the themes and the main characters of this popular story as well as drawn quotes from the book and the film. Moreover, she has creatively exploited some prominent visual motifs, such as the grayness of the Kansas environment in contrast with the greenness of the Emerald City of Oz, the yellow brick road, the melting of the Wicked Witch of the West, Dorothy's whirlwind-borne house, and the magical ruby slippers worn by Judy Garland in the MGM film (which, in fact, correspond to the silver shoes of the novel).

Through her articles and book reviews Atwood offers a great deal of information about what *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* has meant for her over the years. In the volume entitled *In Other Worlds: Science Fiction and the Human Imagination*

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<sup>1</sup> Although Victor Fleming is the credited director, it should be pointed out that four directors participated in the making of the 1939 Hollywood production.

(2011) she notes that she read L. Frank Baum's book at an early age and records how impressed she had been by the scene in which "the wizard goes soaring away in a basket lifted by an enormous hot-air balloon" (17). Additionally, she indicates that this tale was at the time one of the sources of her core ideas about superpowers (18). In an interview conducted in 1979 she had observed that in many fairy tales "women rather than men have the magic powers" (Hammond 1990: 115), an aspect which perhaps underlies her continuous attraction to Baum, because his story exemplifies precisely the feature so highly praised by Atwood. Undoubtedly, in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* it is the Witches and Dorothy – the latter thanks to wearing the silver shoes handed to her by Glinda the Good – that exercise genuine magic powers, whereas those claimed by the Wizard turn out to be false.

Atwood is not the only contemporary writer to have openly acknowledged Baum's influence on their own fiction. Likewise, Salman Rushdie has explained the significance of *The Wizard of Oz* for his literary career, recalling how at the age of ten, while still living in Bombay, he wrote his first story, entitled "Over the Rainbow". At the beginning of his essay *The Wizard of Oz: A Short Text about Magic* he affirmed: "I remember that *The Wizard of Oz* – the film, not the book, which I didn't read as a child – was my very first literary influence" (1992: 9). Then, he went even further in his tribute by declaring: "When I first saw *The Wizard of Oz* it made a writer of me" (18). Unlike Rushdie, Atwood first read the book and later saw the film. Though both the book and its 1939 cinematic adaptation are equally relevant to the development of her writings, neither has played for her the central role that Rushdie – when measuring the impact of this story upon his work – assigned to the film, which he considered "one of the rare instances of a film improving on a good book" (14). In her case, the fairy tales of the Grimm brothers have probably played a more crucial part than *The Wizard of Oz*. Yet her comments on how she learned about the transformative power of words while reading an unexpurgated edition of the *Grimms' Fairy Tales* in the 1940s can be applied to her approach to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* in the same period. She ended her contribution to *The Reception of Grimms' Fairy Tales* with the following question: "And where else could I have gotten the idea, so early in life, that words can change you?" (1993: 292). There are reasons to believe that the transformative power of language she found in the *Grimms' Fairy Tales* was not restricted to them, but extended to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (see Tatar 2010: 60-63).

In order to ascertain the extent of Atwood's literary debt to *The Wizard of Oz*, we must survey her fiction in search of quotes, echoes and allusions so as to trace how she has adapted, refashioned and reinvented Baum's story. But, if we want to

make a complete assessment, we should examine her critical writings beforehand, because they contain pertinent hints about her borrowings. In particular, her remarks about the manner in which other authors may have rewritten *The Wizard of Oz* – either deliberately or unintentionally – will guide our exploration.

## 2. *THE WIZARD OF OZ* IN MARGARET ATWOOD'S LITERARY AND SOCIAL CRITICISM

There is much to be learned about Atwood's attitude to *The Wizard of Oz* by scrutinizing her articles, book reviews and published lectures. One soon realizes how she sometimes takes for granted that all her readers are familiar with the fairy tale whereas on other occasions she deems it necessary to summarize its plot, give a brief outline of its characters and explain some of its details as if to make sure that no one will miss the background information essential to understanding what she means. She probably assumes that many of her readers are not acquainted with the book, but only with the MGM film, which was released during World War II (in 1939, exactly the year Atwood was born) and is still considered one of the best known and beloved in cinema history, one whose fame extended well beyond America's borders.

Atwood's literary and social criticism signals the facets of *The Wizard of Oz* she considers worthy of attention, including the existence of good witches, a subject which many early readers of the tale found disturbing. Those who assume that all witches should be considered wicked are upset by the presence of the Good Witch of the South, Glinda the Good, "the most powerful of all the Witches" (1900: 215). But, rather than being keen on discussing the goodness or the wickedness of witches, Atwood prefers to concentrate on issues of power. Witches are frequently on her mind because of her longtime interest in exploring power relationships in general and gendered power relationships in particular. Indeed, she sees witchcraft and power as inextricably linked. For instance, in an address entitled "Witches", delivered in 1980 and reprinted in the volume *Second Words: Selected Critical Prose* (1982), she explained witch-hunting as "an attempt by the powerful to control the potentially subversive" (332). Then, in her 1984 review of John Updike's *The Witches of Eastwick*, a novel which connects witchcraft with feminism via its female protagonists (three divorced feminists who gain evil magical powers when they achieve independence but lose them when they remarry), Atwood clearly expressed an idea which would become recurrent whenever she addressed the topic of witches in her literary and social criticism: "What a culture has to say about witchcraft, whether in jest or in earnest, has a lot to do with its views of sexuality and power, and especially with the apportioning of powers between the sexes"

(2005: 9).<sup>2</sup> Using her emblematic anti-patriarchal satirical tone to appraise Updike's anti-feminist satirical novel, Atwood suggested that *The Witches of Eastwick* could be interpreted as a rewrite of *The Wizard of Oz*.<sup>3</sup> Hailing Baum's tale as "the great American witchcraft classic" (2005: 9), she summarized its plot and set some of its characters in contrast with Updike's:

In the original, a good little girl and her familiar, accompanied by three amputated males, one sans brain, one sans heart and one sans guts, go seeking a wizard who turns out to be a charlatan. The witches in "Oz" really have superhuman powers, but the male figures do not. Mr. Updike's Land of Oz is the real America, but the men in it need a lot more than self-confidence; there's no Glinda the Good, and the Dorothy-like ingenue is a "wimp" who gets her comeuppance. It's the three witches of Eastwick who go back, in the end, to the equivalent of Kansas - marriage, flat and gray maybe, but at least known. (2005: 9)

Atwood's review of *The Witches of Eastwick* can be fruitfully analyzed in relation with her review of *The Echo Maker*, entitled "In the Heart of the Heartland" (2006). Here she speculates at length about "the possible connection" between Richard Powers's novel and *The Wizard of Oz* – both the book and the film version – to which she pays detailed attention. She begins her discussion by quoting two well-known "snippets" drawn from the children's tale and interprets them as "clues to Powers's intentions". Then she highlights the context in which Baum's book was written: "the rise of feminism and the advent of Darwinism – hence those power-packed witches and winged monkeys". After giving a summary of *The Wizard of Oz*, she proposes that one may find in *The Echo Maker* the counterparts for Dorothy (through the ironic figure of Karin), the girl's three companions (Mark, Daniel and Robert Karsh), the Wizard (Dr. Weber), Glinda the Good and the Wicked Witch of the West (both of them blended in Barbara) and even the winged monkeys (Mark's sometimes destructive and sometimes helpful pals). The Nebraska depicted in *The Echo Maker* can be matched in some ways with Kansas, but in other ways with the Land of Oz and its Emerald City. The main parallelisms between the two novels are succinctly recapitulated by Atwood in the following words: "Deficient males, powerful females, in a land of imitations, in the heart of the heartland of America". Curiously enough, Salman Rushdie had reached a similar conclusion when he wrote about the distribution of power between the

<sup>2</sup> A number of characters in Atwood's fiction also voice (albeit sometimes humorously) the author's concerns in this area. For example, the focalizer of "Isis in Darkness", a short story included in the volume *Wilderness Tips* (1991), has only published two papers in his unproductive academic career, one of them on "witchcraft as sexual metaphor" (74).

<sup>3</sup> This is one of the many instances in which Atwood, instead of using the full original title of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, refers to Baum's book as *The Wizard of Oz*, which is also the title of the 1939 film.

sexes in *The Wizard of Oz*: “The power of men, it is suggested, is illusory; the power of women is real” (1992: 42).

In her Introduction to *Women Writers at Work: The Paris Review Interviews* (1989), a collection of interviews with women writers, Atwood explained why some people avoid an interview with the author of a book they admire. She observed that those who “have a superstition about peeking” (2005: 80) may refrain from satisfying their curiosity because they want to avert disenchantment. In order to illustrate her point, she turned to a famous scene: “As Dorothy discovered in *The Wizard of Oz*, the fire that burns yet is not consumed may turn out to be – much to our disappointment – just a trick pulled by some wizened old fraud from Kansas” (2005: 80). This is one of Atwood’s references which give us just a glimpse into *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, but on other occasions she devotes rather thorough attention to this classic of children’s literature. For example, in the fourth chapter of *Negotiating with the Dead: A Writer on Writing* (2002), a book which grew out of the six Empson Lectures she delivered at the University of Cambridge in the year 2000, she considers how every artist works in “relation to the outside world – to what we call society” (97). Starting from a quotation of Gwendolyn MacEwen, “Poets are magicians without quick wrists”, Atwood notes the similarities between the artist figure and “three fictional characters, all of them quasi-magicians” who have in common an existence “at the intersection of art with power, and therefore with moral and social responsibility” (2002: 111). One of these three illusionists is the Wizard of Oz, whom she likens to the artist because both of them are magicians “creating illusions that can convince people of their truth” (2002: 113). Focusing on the scene in which Dorothy told the Wizard of Oz that he was a “very bad man” and he replied “I’m really a very good man; but I’m a very bad Wizard” (Baum 1900: 187), Atwood remarks that “moral perfection won’t compensate for your badness as an artist”, although moral goodness and badness is “*not* beside the point if you happen to be a good *wizard*” (2002: 113). Atwood defines the book’s title character as a “*soi-disant* magician, wielder of power, manipulator, illusionist, and fraud” (2002: 113) before she goes on to trace his long genealogy of ancestors – including Marlowe’s Dr. Faustus and Prospero of *The Tempest* – who combined these functions.

In her 2002 review of *Tishomingo Blues*, Atwood compared Tunica, Mississippi, as depicted by Elmore Leonard with the Emerald City of Oz, which she branded as “a city of illusions controlled by a scam artist who deceives people and holds out false promises” (2005: 231). “The connection between illusion and reality, lie and truth—and also the gap between them”, identified by Atwood as “one of the leitmotifs that runs through *Tishomingo Blues*” (2005: 231) although not explicitly related to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, must have been one of the reasons which

prompted her to refer to Baum's tale because it is one of the main themes that both novels have in common.

The Richard Ellmann Lectures in Modern Literature, delivered by Atwood in 2010 and published as the three first chapters of her volume *In Other Worlds*, gave her an opportunity to briefly put Baum's tale in a place of honor, next to Shakespeare's plays. Among the many examples of flying non-humans acting as messenger-servants for humans which can be found in world literature – including Puck, Ariel, Eros (or Cupid) and the djinni of *A Thousand and One Nights* – she cited “the winged monkeys in *The Wizard of Oz*: airborne, powerful, hard to control except through magic” (2011: 34). In her third lecture, while reflecting on her unfinished Ph.D. thesis – which was about the nineteenth and early twentieth-century fictions she collected under the label of “Metaphysical Romance” – she alluded to the fighting trees in the nineteenth chapter of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (the ones invested with the power to keep strangers out of the forest) as prototypes of “hostile trees” along the same lines as those of *The Lord of the Rings* (2011: 80).

In 2012, when Atwood wrote “SURVIVAL: A Demi-Memoir”, a new preface for her thematic guide to Canadian Literature (first published in 1972), she commented on “the raucous though unlikely success of *Survival*” which, according to the author, caused her “to morph overnight from a lady poet with peculiar hair to the Wicked Witch of the North” (2012a: v). By using this epithet, she took the liberty of departing from Baum's story by humorously presenting herself as the *Wicked Witch of the North*, rather than as the *Good Witch of the North* which appears in the tale together with three other witches: the Good Witch of the South, and the two Wicked Witches, one of the East and one of the West. Apart from the obvious reference to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, in Atwood's amusing self-definition as the Wicked Witch of the North we can also identify an allusion to her national identity if we bear in mind her strong sense of Canada as a northern country. In addition, the ironical self-deprecation of this comic verbal image can be related to an equally comic pictorial image. Atwood had already made fun of herself posing as a witch in a caricature dated in 2005, when she drew her long nose and voluminous hair, and placed an A (that is, the first letter of the alphabet and her own initial) on her head as if it were a peaked hat very much like the one worn by the Wicked Witch of the West in the MGM film.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The caricature has been reproduced on the front cover of *Margaret Atwood: A Reference Guide 1988-2005* (Hengen 2007). In “Witches” Atwood stated how proud she felt that her “favourite ancestor”, Mary Webster, who was accused of witchcraft in the seventeenth century, survived after being hanged from a tree (1982: 331). She wrote the poem “Half-Hanged Mary” (1995) in her honor. Mary Webster was one of the two people to whom Atwood dedicated *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), a novel in which the Salem witch trials are evoked. The other person was Perry Miller, the Harvard professor who taught

In Ray Bradbury's obituary Atwood mentioned *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* twice. Her first reference was to the melting of the Wicked Witch of the West: "People don't die as such in his work; or they don't die in the ordinary way. Sometimes they melt – the Martian in the story of that name dissolves, like the Wicked Witch of the West in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, one of Bradbury's influences" (2012b). Her second reference was to the farmhouse swept away by the cyclone and carried from Kansas to the magical Land of Oz: "Space ships are not miracles of technology, but psychic conveyances, serving the same purpose as Dorothy's whirlwind-borne house in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, or the trance of the traditional shaman: they get you to the Otherworld". Both remarks are appropriate in this eulogy not only because Bradbury singled out Baum's story as one of his sources of inspiration, but also because he had written the foreword for the Kansas Centennial Edition.

The Tin Woodman makes a swift appearance in "Are Humans Necessary? Margaret Atwood on Our Robotic Future" (2014), an article published in *The New York Times*. Here Atwood refers to the Tin Woodman as "a character whose influence on the world of robots has not been duly recognized" and rightly points out that Hugo the Robot in the story "The Perfect Servant" looks very much like him.

Three days after the results of the 2016 American presidential elections were known, Atwood published "Just like the Wizard of Oz, Donald Trump has no magic powers", a scathing satirical article in which she addressed her bewildered Martian friends, rather than the equally bewildered readers of *The Guardian*.<sup>5</sup> In her imaginary speech, the immediate aftermath of the Republican victory is explained to the extraterrestrials in terms of the 1939 *The Wizard of Oz* film. The "wizard who claims to have huge and magical powers but who turns out to be a fraud" stands for Donald Trump, the new president-elect. Furthermore, Atwood humorously recalls how Hillary Clinton was "branded as the Wicked Witch of the West" during the campaign, but suggests that the Democratic contender "may actually have been Glinda the Good". The voting public is symbolized by Dorothy, to whom everything appeared to be green in the Emerald City of Oz because she had "put on the glasses of illusion" and now cannot get back to normal life because she has no magical ruby slippers.<sup>6</sup> Although a highly desired happy ending such as the one in the film

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Atwood about the American Puritans (some of whom were her forebears) and helped her discover the roots of totalitarianism in the United States.

<sup>5</sup> Atwood had used a similar device in "Hello, Martians. Let Moby-Dick Explain", a very amusing article written as a reported conversation with a group of Martians in which she argued, providing examples, that the essence of America can be best discovered through its literature (2012c).

<sup>6</sup> Although Atwood specifically tells her Martian audience that she will refer to the film, in fact the detail about the green-tinted glasses is drawn from the novel. On the other hand, the ruby slippers only appear in the film, instead of the silver shoes of the novel.



does not seem to be at hand, the author concludes: "All may yet be well, in the long run", considering that "less than half of America's voters chose the false wizard". In this opinion article Atwood shows her ability to expand the subversive potential of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, reiterating Baum's intention to satirize authority through the character of whom he calls "the false Wizard" twice (1900: 186 and 189). What is more, her witty references to the current political scene in America are in tune with former interpretations of the story as a cleverly crafted political parable or a monetary allegory rather than just "a modernized fairy tale" "written solely to please children of today", as Baum claimed in his Introduction (1900: 5).<sup>7</sup>

### 3. INTERTEXTUAL REFERENCES TO *THE WIZARD OF OZ* IN MARGARET ATWOOD'S FICTION

Frank Baum's book and the 1939 MGM film are primary intertexts in Atwood's *Life Before Man* (1979), a novel which is conventionally realistic on the surface, but contains so many elements of fantasy underneath that it may be interpreted as a modern anti-fairy tale.<sup>8</sup> *Life Before Man* underscores the dreary aspects and the spiritual emptiness of the modern urban world by focusing on the day-to-day lives of three characters – Elizabeth, Nate and Lesje – over a span of about two years, between 1976 and 1978.<sup>9</sup> Atwood's novel is set in Toronto, a city described in terms strikingly similar to the ones of the bleak Kansas farm where the plot of

<sup>7</sup> In a highly controversial and much debated article, Henry M. Littlefield put forward an interpretation of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* as a political parable on late-nineteenth-century American Populism, contending that "Dorothy is Baum's Miss Everyman" (1964: 52) and that the Wizard "might be any President from Grant to McKinley" (54). Hugh Rockoff, interpreting Baum's tale as a monetary allegory, argued that "Dorothy represents America – honest, kindhearted, and plucky" (1990: 745). Discussing whether Baum deliberately meant to write a political allegory is beyond the scope of this article. The point I want to make is that the children's story can both work as a political allegory for an adult readership and inspire new allegories which may be useful for political commentary such as Atwood's.

<sup>8</sup> Carol L. Beran was probably the first scholar to draw attention to *The Wizard of Oz* as one of the many sources of references which "combine to create a rich cultural context for Margaret Atwood's *Life Before Man* (1979)" (1992: 199). Sharon Rose Wilson thoroughly examined *The Wizard of Oz* and the 1939 film as major intertexts in *Life Before Man* and established numerous correspondences (1993: 165-184). Other scholars, however, overlooking the influence of fairy tales, have discussed *Life Before Man* as "Atwood's first attempt at social and domestic realism" (Grace 1980: 135) and as a "novel of manners" (Goetsch 1985: 137).

<sup>9</sup> The novel is divided into five parts, which contain a total of 59 sections, all of them dated as entries in a journal. They are arranged chronologically from October 29, 1976 until August 18, 1978, with some flashbacks. Each of these sections is told by a third-person narrator alternatively using as a focalizer one of the three main characters, whose name heads the section. This technical device allows readers to compare the perspectives of Elizabeth, Nate and Lesje, who have different perceptions and interpretations of the same people, facts and events.

*The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* begins. The grayness of the first setting presented in Baum's fairy tale is an important feature that cannot possibly be overlooked, because the word "gray" is repeated ten times in the rather short initial chapter of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. The dull atmosphere of the little farm in the midst of the desolate Kansas prairies is visually conveyed in the film by the choice of a brownish sepia tone for the opening and the ending scenes, an effect which is enhanced by the stark contrast with the vibrant technicolor scenes that take place in the magical Land of Oz in the central part of the film. Everything is gray in the Kansas farm described by Baum:

When Dorothy stood in the doorway and looked around, she could see nothing but the great *gray* prairie on every side. Not a tree nor a house broke the broad sweep of flat country that reached the edge of the sky in all directions. The sun had baked the plowed land into a *gray* mass, with little cracks running through it. Even the grass was not green, for the sun had burned the tops of the long blades until they were the same *gray* color to be seen everywhere. Once the house had been painted, but the sun blistered the paint and the rains washed it away, and now the house was as dull and *gray* as everything else. (1900: 12, emphasis added)

Not only the landscape and the farmhouse have turned gray, but even people have been transformed by the inclement weather, except for Dorothy, who was saved by her black dog Toto "from growing as gray as her other surroundings" (13). The once beautiful Aunt Em has lost her former liveliness to the point that her lips are not red, nor even pink, but as gray as her eyes, which no longer shine: "When Aunt Em came there to live she was a young pretty wife. The sun and wind had changed her, too. They had taken the sparkle from her eyes and left them a sober *gray*; they had taken the red from her cheeks and lips, and they were *gray* also. She was thin and gaunt, and never smiled now" (12, emphasis added).

As for Uncle Henry, he "never laughed" and "was *gray* also, from his long beard to his rough boots" (13, emphasis added). Likewise, in *Life Before Man* we find a group of gray characters in the equally gray urban setting of Toronto. The association of Elizabeth, one of the three protagonists of Atwood's novel, with the color gray is emphasized by the triple repetition of the word to describe her sofa in the first paragraph of one of the early sections of the novel: "Elizabeth sits on the *grey* sofa [...]. The sofa is not really *grey*, not only *grey*; it has a soft mauve underfigure, a design like veining; a batik. She chose it because it did not hurt her eyes" (23, emphasis added).

Apart from deliberately choosing a gray shade for her sofa, "Elizabeth sits on the *grey* bench in the Ossington subway station" (99, emphasis added). At home, in the midst of an emotional crisis, she observes how "the cracks between the boards of the table are widening; *grey* light wells from them, cold" (205, emphasis

added). After her mother's funeral, her Auntie Muriel brings home the flowers – “*greyish* chrysanthemums” and “festering gladioli” – thus making Elizabeth feel that “the house stinks of death” (177-178, emphasis added). Depressed and anxious, Elizabeth is surrounded by a gray atmosphere not only when she is indoors, either at her own home or in Auntie Muriel's house, but also when she goes outdoors. The first sentence of the next section of the novel reiterates the overwhelming presence of the color gray: “Elizabeth walks west, along the north side of the street, in the cold *grey* air that is an extension of the unbroken *fish-grey* sky” (57, emphasis added).<sup>10</sup> Although she generally wears black, she attends one particular dinner “wearing a loose *grey* chiffon number” (153, emphasis added). Being uninterested in politics, she does not care who wins in the elections, because she perceives the candidates as “collections of *grey* dots” (59, emphasis added).

Early in the novel, Elizabeth's husband, Nate, “runs for pleasure, taking it easy, jogging over dying grass *grey* in the street lights” (47, emphasis added), an image which reminds us of how “even the grass was not green” in the Kansas prairies of the fairy tale (1900: 12). Two pages below, Nate imagines his wife “inside the *grey* buildings” of the Royal Ontario Museum where she works (49, emphasis added). The grayness of the building is emphasized as the third protagonist of the novel, Lesje, “climbs the *grey* steps of the Museum” when tracing her daily path to her office (208, emphasis added). Lesje's family name, Green, is meant to be understood ironically as an allusion to the fact that greenness is completely absent from her ordinary life (91). Greenness is only present in the daydreams of this young paleontologist who seeks refuge in the intensely chromatic world of prehistory. “She mixes eras and adds colors: why not a metallic blue Stegosaurus with red and yellow dots instead of the dull greys and browns postulated by the experts?” (18-19). Lesje mentally resurrects a number of multicolored prehistoric animals, dismissing the gray shades of the plastic models “made in Hong Kong” (144) because she knows better: “Only when the camptosaurus are dead do they turn *grey*” (19, emphasis added).

If Lesje travels in time to the prehistoric past in order to evade the dullness of her present reality, Elizabeth only sees the four symbolic colors of the four regions of the Land of Oz when she looks at paintings, such as the one on the refrigerator of her kitchen, drawn by her daughter Nancy, in which “a girl smiles a red smile, the sun shines, bestowing spokes of yellow; the sky is blue, all is as it should be. A foreign country” (37).<sup>11</sup> But the innocent child's colorful painting,

<sup>10</sup> The grayness of the sky is emphasized in the first chapter of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, as follows: “Uncle Henry sat upon the doorstep and looked anxiously at the sky, which was even grayer than usual” (1900: 13).

<sup>11</sup> In the first section of the novel there is a clear indication of the absence of bright colors in Elizabeth's

which is also described by Lesje later in the novel (169), ends up causing Elizabeth to have an ominous hallucination. Apart from seeing “malice” in “the yellow hair” of the girl, she imagines how the yellow “sun is blackening” and fancies that, rather than the “white enamel” of the refrigerator, “the dark of outer space” is behind the blue sky, which is just “an illusion” (205).

Nancy’s painting can be compared with the picture which attracts Elizabeth’s attention in the last episode of the novel, while she is paying a visit to an exhibition about contemporary China. Looking at the picture, she observes some “bright green leaves spread with the harmonious asymmetry of a Chinese floral rug; purple fruits glow among them” (315). She feels strongly moved by the sight of this idealized representation, and although she interprets such a utopic vision as communist propaganda, “she longs to be there” (317). The closing words of the novel show that the last movement of Elizabeth’s imagination is not towards home, like Dorothy’s, but towards this fake version of China, conceptualized as a sort of Land of Oz, a wonderful world full of illusion and fantasy. Nevertheless, we are given to understand that the actual physical step which Elizabeth will take next, once the novel is finished, will be towards the supermarket, “since there’s nothing in the house for dinner” (317). Having evaded the dull world of reality for a short while, Elizabeth will certainly go back to her daily routine with her two daughters who are waiting for her, very much like Dorothy returned to the home she had missed so much.

Throughout her life, Elizabeth identifies with the iconic character of Dorothy in many respects. Both girls are orphans entrusted to an uncle and an aunt. The word “orphan” is only mentioned once in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* – “Dorothy, who was an orphan” (12) – and also only once in relation to Elizabeth in *Life Before Man*, when she notes that, in spite of being already an adult mother of two children, whenever she is with Auntie Muriel she “is still part child. Part prisoner, part orphan, part cripple, part insane” (123). Having been abandoned by her father and left in the care of an alcoholic mother who was unable to take charge of her two daughters, Elizabeth lived as an orphan with her uncle and aunt even before the untimely death of her mother. Dorothy’s Aunt Em and Elizabeth’s Auntie Muriel share certain features, such as the same inability to smile.<sup>12</sup> As Aunt Em’s gray eyes have lost their “sparkle” (1900: 12), they resemble those of Auntie Muriel, which are “like two pieces of gravel, cold

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life: “But when she thinks about food she doesn’t see the bright colors, red, green, orange, featured in the *Gourmet Cookbook*” (13).

<sup>12</sup> Atwood draws attention to Dorothy’s “gray, unsmiling Auntie” in her review of *The Echo Maker* (2006). Cf. Aunt Em “never smiled, now” (Baum 1900: 12). In *Life Before Man* Aunt Muriel smiles at Elizabeth only once, but hers is “a disquieting smile” (1984: 217).

and unreflecting" (1984: 119), "pebble-colored eyes" (263). But the similarities between Aunt Em and Auntie Muriel stop here, because Elizabeth invariably perceives her Auntie Muriel as the Wicked Witch of the West. Her childhood fantasy is recalled as follows: "Auntie Muriel was the Witch, of course. Elizabeth's mother was Glinda the Good. One day she would reappear and kneel down to kiss Elizabeth on the forehead" (139). Elizabeth's idealized notion of a biological maternal figure leads her to expect a protective kiss like the one which Dorothy received from the Good Witch of the North in Baum's fairy tale (1900: 27), but from Glinda the Good – who is the Good Witch of the South – according to the 1939 cinematic version of the story.<sup>13</sup>

This dichotomy of evil and goodness is so deeply ingrained in Elizabeth's mind that it persists even when she realizes that it must be false. In one of the sections of the novel where Elizabeth is used as the focalizer of the story, the third-person narrator remarks: "Elizabeth knows her view of Auntie Muriel is exaggerated and uncharitable. Such ogres don't exist" (119). Although Elizabeth blames her aunt by saying that there are "no shades of grey" for her because she is "a purist as well as a puritan" (138), in fact it is the niece herself who paradoxically cannot perceive the "shades of grey" in Auntie Muriel's behavior. When Elizabeth was a young girl, she used to "put herself to sleep with a scene from *The Wizard of Oz* [...] the part where Dorothy throws a bucket of water over the Wicked Witch of the West and melts her" (139). As a mature woman, Elizabeth visits Auntie Muriel wasting away from cancer in a hospital, and sees that at last her childhood fantasy has turned real: the dying old lady is "falling in on herself, she's melting, like the witch in *The Wizard of Oz*" (279). However, far from being relieved by the disappearance of the aunt she so much hates, Elizabeth feels terrified and immediately remembers that Dorothy was very much afraid when the Wicked Witch of the West melted like brown sugar before her eyes.<sup>14</sup> But Elizabeth has a different reason to be frightened: the sight of death increases her consciousness of her aging self, and she realises that she has already begun to melt like the candles on her birthday cake and the melting woman in one of the pictures in Nancy's *Little Riddle Book* (252).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This detail proves that Elizabeth has drawn the scene of the protective kiss from the film, not from the book.

<sup>14</sup> L. Frank Baum had written: "Dorothy, who was truly frightened to see the Witch actually melting away like brown sugar before her very eyes" (1900: 154). Atwood closely followed Baum's text when she wrote: "Dorothy was not jubilant when the witch turned into a puddle of brown sugar. She was terrified" (1984: 279).

<sup>15</sup> Nancy's *Little Riddle Book* contains another two pictures illustrating riddles related to death: one of a coffin and one of an hourglass which makes Elizabeth feel the sands of time running out for her inside her own body "from her head down to her feet" (1984: 89).

If L. Frank Baum's authorial choice to create a protagonist who is an adopted orphan has earned him a place – however small – in the tradition of orphan-girl fiction, Atwood's exploration of the relationship between Elizabeth and Auntie Muriel may be regarded as a parody of the portrayal of the relationships between adoptee and adoptive parent both in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and in the turn-of-the-century orphan-girl novels.<sup>16</sup> Though Baum does not stick to the typical plot of these extremely popular novels, since his protagonist's progress evolves while being away from her adoptive parents, his happy ending conforms to the readers' expectations. It has been argued that "Baum's text not only advocates sentimental adoption but also educates readers about its psychological ramifications" (Taylor 2009: 381). According to this interpretation, "Dorothy's adventures represent the journey toward self-integration" achieved through a metaphorical quest which begins in Kansas, then follows across the Land of Oz and successfully ends back in Kansas (Taylor 2009: 381). Dorothy's quest allows her to define home as where Aunt Em dwells and where the girl is determined to return for the reasons summed up in her sentence "There is no place like home" (1900: 45). The affectionate welcome which Dorothy receives from Aunt Em once she completes her journey confirms for her the rightness of her decision to come back home (1900: 260). Conversely, Elizabeth always depicts Auntie Muriel's house as where she hated to be when she was a child and where she does not want to return as a grown up. Elizabeth's sarcasm when dealing with issues related to Auntie Muriel, with whom she is in permanent conflict, is the antithesis of Dorothy's sentimentality regarding Aunt Em.

Elizabeth's numerous references to *The Wizard of Oz* attest to the significant impact the tale has had and continues to have on her life, because she remembers the book well although it was left behind when she moved to Aunt Muriel's (139). But rather than showing reverence, she tends to display a sardonic attitude towards the much-acclaimed story. For instance, rehearsing the conversation she plans to have with a psychiatrist, but which never happens because she cancels the appointment, Elizabeth says in what becomes an interior monologue: "I've already been down this particular yellow brick road a couple of times, and what I found out mostly was that there's no Wizard of Oz" (99). By mocking "the road of yellow brick that led to the Emerald City" "where the Great Oz dwelt" in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900: 90, 110), Elizabeth conveys her frustration about her failed efforts to attain a good outcome when proceeding along what is supposed to be the path to enlightenment.

<sup>16</sup> John McLeod mentions Dorothy Gale alongside Scarlett O'Hara, Tom Sawyer and other famous fictional adoptees, highlighting how "the prevalence of such figures across a range of cultural media indexes the long-standing fascination with and demand for adoption and concomitant stories" (2015: 230).

Not only Elizabeth, but also her husband Nate makes ample use of the popular children's story to define himself. The names of Nate (from Hebrew, *Nethanel*) and Dorothy (from Greek, a variant of *Dorothea*, which is a reversal of *Theodora*) mean exactly the same: "gift of God".<sup>17</sup> However, the male protagonist of *Life Before Man* does not identify with Dorothy, but with her three companions. Nate combines the main features of the Scarecrow, the Tin Woodman, and the Cowardly Lion because he thinks that he lacks intelligence, love, and courage, whereas what he lacks in fact is self-confidence.

Nate recurrently casts himself as the Tin Woodman, described by Margaret Atwood in *Negotiating with the Dead* as someone "who claims to be missing a heart" and is "in search of personal life-enhancement and increased self-esteem" (2002: 112).<sup>18</sup> Like the Tin Woodman, Nate is the son of a widow with whom he has maintained a close child/parent relationship well into adulthood, though this analogy is not overtly indicated in *Life Before Man*.<sup>19</sup> In Atwood's novel, the first explicit allusion to the Tin Woodman comes up with the explanation of the reason why Nate does not want to wear the built-up heel he would need because his right leg is shorter than his left: "He refuses to join the ranks of the tin woodmen, those with false teeth, glass eyes, rubber breasts, orthopedic shoes. Not yet, not yet" (48).<sup>20</sup> Indeed, Nate finds himself confirmed in the role of the Tin Woodman when he considers not only his body, which "heats like metal" (312), but what he wrongly believes is a distinctive aspect of his personality: "What he suspects is the truth. That he's patchwork, a tin man, his heart stuffed with sawdust" (246). Later on, there is a third unequivocal allusion to the Tin Woodman when Nate expresses his fear that the worthy causes which make appeals to people's generosity will

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<sup>17</sup> Atwood plays with the idea that Nate (Nathanael) may or may not be a gift of God for his mother, his wife Elizabeth and his lover Lesje. The third-person narrator explains the meaning of Nathanael's name early in the novel, in one of the sections under the heading of Elizabeth: "Nathanael: Gift of God. His shameless mother takes care to point out this meaning" (1984: 50). The importance of this meaning is stressed again when the narrator observes in a scene involving Nathanael and Lesje within a section under the heading of the latter's name: "Is he about to cry? No. He's making a gift of himself, handing himself over to her, mutely" (1984: 116).

<sup>18</sup> Atwood wrote in *Negotiating with the Dead*: "After many adventures she gets there, along with a Cowardly Lion who believes he lacks bravery, a Scarecrow who thinks he has no brain, and a Tin Woodman who claims to be missing a heart" (112).

<sup>19</sup> When the Tin Woodman tells his story in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, he says: "When I grew up, I too became a woodchopper, and after my father died I took care of my old mother as long as she lived" (1900: 58).

<sup>20</sup> The Tin Woodman in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, was once an ordinary Woodman, a human being of flesh and bone, but after falling under the spell of the Wicked Witch of the East, he kept on chopping off parts of himself which were replaced one by one by a tinsmith until his whole body was made of tin (1900: 59-60).

“suck him dry, despite his sawdust heart” (314).<sup>21</sup> Actually, Nate is far from being insensitive. He is full of tender sentiment, always reacts in a compassionate manner and shows caring emotions towards Elizabeth, his two daughters, his mother and his lover Lesje. In this sense Nate behaves as gently and kindly as the Tin Woodman, who “knew very well he had no heart, and therefore he took great care never to be cruel or unkind to anything” (1900: 72).

In line with the Scarecrow’s self-perception, Nate defines himself as a “feeble-minded creep” (35) and would like “Superman to take over his body” (35). Recalling another modern hero of the American film industry, Nate wishes to “walk like Spiderman up the wall” (72), but feels paralyzed by “cowardice, failure of nerve” (246), thus matching the apparent role of the Cowardly Lion. However, as is the case with the three comrades in the Land of Oz, readers suspect that Nate may already have within himself the qualities he is seeking. Nate makes some smart choices, just like the Scarecrow does at crucial moments (e.g. feeding apples to Dorothy when she is hungry and freeing her when she is held captive). He also performs some brave tasks, as the Cowardly Lion does (e.g. when fiercely confronting the Wicked Witch of the West). The characterization of Nate, a former lawyer turned into a wood toy maker and finally turned into a part-time lawyer again, represents Atwood’s first attempt to explore individual male subjectivity alongside female identity. The fact that she resorted to parodying *The Wizard of Oz* not only to depict some of her female characters, but also to portray a man engaged in a quest for life-enhancement because he feels dissatisfied with himself, is the best homage that Atwood as an accomplished writer could offer to the author who had haunted her imagination since she was a child.

Having made extensive use of *The Wizard of Oz* – including its gray Kansas setting – in order to illustrate the theme of home in *Life Before Man*, Atwood evoked the fairy tale again for a similar, albeit not identical, purpose in *The Blind Assassin* (2000). When Iris Chase, the protagonist of this novel, writes her memoir, she recalls how her nanny Reenie used to sing “Home, Sweet Home” and twice quotes from it a sentence which is repeated several times both in the song and in *The Wizard of Oz* MGM film, although it is only used once in Baum’s book: “There’s no place like home” (1900: 45).<sup>22</sup> The elderly Iris records two different episodes which happened many years apart. First she gives an account of the one

<sup>21</sup> In *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, the Tin Woodman was finally given a heart stuffed with sawdust: “So Oz brought a pair of tinsmith’s shears and cut a small, square hole in the left side of the Tin Woodman’s breast. Then, going to a chest of drawers, he took out a pretty heart, made entirely of silk and stuffed with sawdust” (1900: 197).

<sup>22</sup> The song, with lyrics written by John Howard Payne (1791-1852) for the operetta *Clari, or the Maid of Milan* (1823), was recorded by several singers, but Iris does not specify which version is sung by Reenie.



which took place later in time, when she was a middle-aged woman distressed by the failure of her marriage and the mysterious disappearance of her sister. Afterwards she reports the episode pertaining to her adolescence. She initially remembers a very sad meeting with Rennie at the end of which her former nanny sang "Home, Sweet Home". At this point the second line of the lyrics is cited in full, "Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home" (447), rather than the last line of each stanza, the more oft-quoted "There's no place like home, there's no place like home!". Rennie's casual singing is simply intended to encourage her daughter Myra to go home, since the three or four-year-old is reluctant to leave and must be promptly brought back to Dad, who is waiting. Although Rennie does not mean to hurt Iris, she causes her enormous pain, because the old song summons for her a mournful memory of her younger sister Laura, who is missing. Immediately after Rennie's departure, Iris feels abandoned and remembers Laura's odd reaction to their dear nanny's singing the same song many years earlier:

"There's no place like home," Laura said one day, when she was eleven or twelve.  
 "Reenie sings that. I think it's stupid."  
 "How do you mean?" I said.  
 "Look." She wrote it out as an equation. *No place = home. Therefore, home = no place. Therefore home does not exist.* (447)

Laura, who suffered from "a mild form of autism" according to Atwood, had difficulty in understanding figurative meanings and tended to use language literally (Heilmann 2001: 141). Her interpretation of the phrase "There's no place like home" as a negation of the existence of home seems nonsensical, but it gains a sensible meaning if examined in the context of a novel where home – customarily understood as a site of comfort and security – actually does not exist. Home is no place. Home is nowhere. There is no place we can call home. By rejecting the conventional notion of home, Laura conveys a powerful insight into the sense of homelessness which pervades *The Blind Assassin*, a novel which actually contains a manifold critique of prevailing concepts of home.<sup>23</sup> As soon as Iris recollects this past episode, the proverb "Home is where the heart is" comes to her mind. Since she is undergoing a particularly difficult period of her life, in which she feels heartbroken and homeless, this idiom triggers a chain of thoughts about her current miserable condition:

I had no heart any more, it had been broken; or not broken, it simply wasn't there any more. It had been scooped neatly out of me like the yolk from a hard-boiled egg, leaving the rest of me bloodless and congealed and hollow.  
 I'm heartless, I thought. Therefore I'm homeless. (447)

<sup>23</sup> Eleonora Rao contends that "*The Blind Assassin* destabilizes received notions of home, with their conventional meanings of comfort, security, and custom" (2006: 100).

In Baum's book, Dorothy had explained her desire to go back to her Kansas home in spite of all its drawbacks: "No matter how dreary and gray our homes are, we people of flesh and blood would rather live there than in any other country, be it ever so beautiful. There is no place like home" (1900: 45). She did not say it again in the book, but in the MGM film *Glinda the Good* repeats "There's no place like home" three times while she instructs Dorothy to repeat it also as the magic refrain which – together with the help of the ruby slippers – will allow her to quickly return home. Dorothy goes on repeating the phrase many times while she is waking up in her own bed – with the melody of "Home, Sweet Home" playing in the underscore – and says it again at the very end, so that these are the last words of the movie.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from quoting the phrase "There's no place like home" in *The Blind Assassin* for the deconstruction and reversal of clichés about the meaning of home and homelessness, Atwood has also clarified her position about this issue on other occasions. For instance, in her review of *The Echo Maker* discussed above, she stated: "'There's no place like home' has taken on a modern, ominous meaning: there is, literally, no trustworthy home" (2006). Many years earlier she had expressed a resembling idea in her short story "A Travel Piece", whose narrator made the following comment: "Once, it seemed a long time ago, staying home meant safety, though tedium as well, [...]. Now it was the reverse, home was the dangerous place and people went on vacation to snatch a few weeks of uneventfulness" (1989a: 131). However, ironically citing the phrase "There's no place like home", as Atwood does in *The Blind Assassin* and in her review of a novel she compared with *The Wizard of Oz*, produces a much more striking effect. Salman Rushdie uses the same subversive device and achieves comparable results in the final paragraph of his response to *The Wizard of Oz*:

So Oz finally *becomes* home. The imagined world becomes the actual world, as it does for us all, because the truth is that, once we leave our childhood places and start to make up our lives, armed only with what we know and who we are, we come to understand that the real secret of the ruby slippers is not that "there's no place like home" but, rather, that there is no longer any such place *as* home – except, of course, for the homes we make, or the homes that are made for us, in Oz. Which is anywhere – and everywhere – except the place from which we began. (1992: 57)<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> In the book, the phrase which Dorothy says while knocking the heels of the silver shoes together three times is: "Take me home to Aunt Em!" (1900: 258). Her final words are: "And oh, Aunt Em! I'm so glad to be at home again!" (1900: 260).

<sup>25</sup> Rushdie's commentary about displacement involves issues of exile and nationality, a dimension also treated by Atwood on other occasions. For instance, the protagonist of her novel *Cat's Eye* –

## 4. CONCLUSION

Margaret Atwood gives ample evidence of the adaptability of L. Frank Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900) and the 1939 film based on it. Throughout her literary and social criticism not only does she resort to evoking the textual and cinematic versions of the story in order to illustrate her views on a wide range of topics (including issues of gendered power relationships, the links between illusion and reality, as well as the role of the artist as a magician) but she even successfully transposes the allegory of the tale to present-day political debates. Her interpretation of two novels (*The Witches of Eastwick* and *The Echo Maker*) as possible – though perhaps unintended – rewritings of the fairy tale and the numerous hints she provides about her own borrowings can be understood as an invitation to explore her fictional writings in search of intertextual connections. The results are fruitful. The literary debt owed by Atwood to *The Wizard of Oz* regarding *Life Before Man* extends to details of setting, theme, characterization and imagery, all of which the novelist adapts selectively with a subversive, parodic twist. Though the impact of *The Wizard of Oz* on *The Blind Assassin* seems to be restricted to two short episodes designed to challenge traditionally idealized representations of home, they prove once again Atwood's ability as a satirist of our contemporary culture, as an exceptional creative writer working "at the intersection of art with power, and therefore with moral and social responsibility" (Atwood 2002: 111).

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prompted by the sight of a female stranger who is probably a war refugee asking for help – reflects: "homelessness is a nationality now" (1989b: 314).

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## JEAN RHYS: THE WRITINGS OF A WOMAN TOUCHED BY THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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**ABSTRACT.** *The starting point of this essay is the assumption that The British Empire, while it lasted, but also after its collapse, produced literature extolling its virtues and faults, which influenced some English authors in favour of or against colonialism. Along with these authors it is necessary to consider those born in the British colonies. Some of whom, without dealing with the subject head on showed in their work the less amiable face of The Empire, and the consequences that this had on the lives of its citizens. A representative case is the Dominican writer Jean Rhys. Although her novels and short stories resist labels of race and gender, it is worth considering to what extent her colonial upbringing marked her life as a creole and a woman. To illustrate this impact, we look at one of her novels and analyse in detail her last collection of short stories.*

*Keywords:* Jean Rhys, British Empire, Creole, colonialism, West Indies, gender.

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## **JEAN RHYS: LA OBRA DE UNA MUJER TOCADA POR EL IMPERIO BRITÁNICO**

**RESUMEN.** *El punto de partida de este trabajo es la asunción de que el Imperio Británico, mientras duró e incluso tras su desmoronamiento, produjo una literatura específica que permitió a una serie de escritores ingleses manifestarse a favor o en contra del colonialismo. Pero, junto a ese grupo de autores está también el de los nacidos en los territorios ocupados, los cuales, sin escribir directamente sobre el tema, mostraron en sus obras la cara menos amable del Imperio y las consecuencias para sus súbditos. Un caso representativo es el de la escritora Jean Rhys, nacida en Dominica. Aunque sus novelas y relatos resisten las etiquetas basadas en la raza o el género, es necesario considerar en qué medida las prácticas coloniales marcaron su vida como mujer y criolla. Para mostrar dicho impacto nos detendremos en una de sus novelas y analizaremos de manera exhaustiva el último de sus libros de relatos.*

*Palabras clave:* Jean Rhys, Imperio Británico, criollo, colonialismo, Indias Occidentales, género.

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Robert Giddings, when addressing the subject of imperialism and its relationship with literature, maintains that the Empire produced its own literary works. In order to have a better understanding of the texts published at that time, it is useful to refer to political and economic aspects of this period, since the race for colonies the consequential contact between “the advanced industrialized nations and undeveloped societies” was reflected in these publications (Giddings 1991: 1), referred to by Elleke Boehmer as colonialist writing: “the literature produced in and about the British Empire” (2005: 10).

Accordingly, if the British Empire generated a certain kind of literature, its collapse, after World War II, should have brought an end to colonial or imperialistic writing. However, John M. Mackenzie points out how the imperial myth of the past, incarnated in Lawrence, continued to live throughout the 1950s and grew in the 1960s and 1970s, producing many publications in praise of and debunking the hero. It also proves that a certain amount of colonial writing was published in Britain after the end of World War II that helped to keep imperialist beliefs alive, and Mackenzie suggests that “perhaps the Lawrence myth was ideal for a declining empire” (1991: 177). It seems that the line between colonial and post-colonial literature is not as clear-cut as Boehmer suggests. Thus, what allows, for instance, Luis de Juan to read two Roald Dahl’s short stories, produced after the late 1940s, as colonialist literature is their distinctive feature of dealing with the encounter between the First World and the Third World (2017: 57).



To these two assertions, the first, that colonialism produced a specific kind of literature, and the second, that it was still alive in the 70s, it is necessary to add a third. Colonialism also generated writers, usually born in the colonies, whose lives were marked by this circumstance long after the Empire was gone. That may have been reflected in their books even when the subject of Colonialism was not central to the story. That is why the Jean Rhys's short stories in *Sleep it off Lady*, the last collection to be published while she was still alive, and therefore, the most removed from times of Empire, can still be read as colonial literature. Adding the prefix *post-* to them seems irrelevant. The important fact here is that all of them were written by a West Indian woman trying to make a living in Europe.

In the same way, gender-based literary appraisal of these stories also seems redundant, since all her literary work revolves around women, or if we are to believe her biographer Carole Angier, around herself. Angier, in her introduction to her book *Jean Rhys*, states that "she explored her own age, its mood and changes, almost by accident. What she set out to explore were her own personal feelings" (Angier 1985: 18). Therefore, the novels of Jean Rhys were "necessarily autobiographical" (19), since she herself confessed: "I just wrote about what happened. Not that my books are entirely my life...but almost" (19). The autobiographical tone of her writings may have been brought about as described by Boehmer:

In writing, as many postcolonial women critics have by now recognised, women express their own reality, unsettle male-focused (and other exclusionary) narratives, and do question received notions of national character and experience. But writing is more than this, too. To write is not only to speak for one's place in the world. It is also to make one's own place and narrative, to tell the story of oneself, to create an identity. (Boehmer 2009: 94)

And her story was that of a Creole woman struggling to make a living in Europe, and in an England that she never considered her own country. This perception of herself as not British can be observed in her fictional writing, and not only in her already mentioned short stories, but in her five novels. *Good Morning, Midnight* like the four previous novels, whilst continuing to be fiction, contains so many biographical details that readers tend to take them as a testimony, and identify the author with the character. In this case, we have Sasha Jansen who (like Jean Rhys, born Ella Gwendolen Rees Williams) has changed her name, lives in Paris sleeping in cheap pensions, surviving as a model or doing other menial jobs, and spending most of her time in cafes and restaurants. The most significant thing is that Sasha's nationality is never revealed, even though her French patronne calls her *L'Anglaise* (Rhys 1974: 79). The hotel owner is puzzled by what he finds written in Sasha's papers, and then asks her to use her nationality by marriage (14), without readers knowing which one it is. At this point in the novel we only know that she is living

in London before she moves to the continent. We also learn soon that she can speak English with the boss from the London branch when he visits the shop in Paris, and that she “understand[s] French quite well”, but that this is not her mother language (19). We presume that it must be English as she gives private English lessons later in the novel, but we are unsure since she says of her Russian pupil that he speaks English as well as she does (131).

Whatever the reason for that, we often see Sasha (or the third voice narrator) referring to English people as a different nationality. She alludes to some customers at the shops as “an old English woman and her daughter” (21), or to a colleague as “an English mannequin” (23). She also becomes surprised, and a little irritated, when a girl asks if she knows an old Englishwoman, assuming perhaps that she may be English herself: “No, I do not know her. Why should you imagine I know her?” (41). Nevertheless, the protagonist of *Good Morning. Midnight* seems to know English people first-hand, and she does not feel sympathy for them. She says of the English mannequin: “Kind, kind, and gentle is she – and that’s another damned lie. But she is very beautiful –” (23); in the same fashion, when she is told that the English manager is “the real English type. Very nice, very, very chic, the real English type”, she can’t help thinking, “Oh, my God. I know what these people mean when they say the real English type”, and she doesn’t want to know him (19). Later in the novel, after having been compassionate with a Spanish-American eager to have a conversation with someone, she thinks: “I had meant to get this man to talk to me, and then be so devastatingly English that perhaps I should manage to hurt him a little in return for all the many times I’ve been hurt” (73).

We do not know whether those who hurt her were English or not, but she has never felt loved by the English, otherwise she would not state to her Moroccan gigolo friend that “love is a stern virtue in England. [...] The indecent necessity – and who would spend money or time on the indecent necessity?... We have our ration of rose-leaves, because rose-leaves are a gentle laxative” (157). This unusual “we” to refer to herself as English is soon contradicted: “We’re on the wrong bed [...]. And with all our clothes on, too. Just like English people”. At the end of the novel, we have not yet learned where Sasha Jensen comes from, only that, like Jean Rhys, she is not very keen on English people, so it is not a surprise that when her Russian student “makes a little speech about English hypocrisy”, she adds “preaching to the converted” (132). It is her gigolo friend who has an explanation for her lack of sympathy for English people when he tells her: “You talk like that because you’re a woman, and everybody knows that England isn’t a woman’s country. You know the proverb – unhappy as a dog in Turkey or a woman in England? – (157)”. Then, she reveals in her thoughts

what she doesn't dare say out loud to her friend who wants to go to England: "He'll find out that he will be up against racial, not sexual, characteristics" (157). For the same reason when her Russian pupil asks her if she thinks that English people will like him, she answers aloud without hesitation: "Yes, I'm certain they will. (I've only to look at you to know that they'll like you in England.)" (139). He is a White Caucasian escaping from the Soviets and not a non-white escaping from poverty.

Judith L. Raiskin in her edition of *Wide Sargasso Sea* includes a letter by Jean Rhys written in 1949 to Peggy Kirkcaldy in which we can see how writing was just a means to escape poverty, not a choice, just another consequence of colonialism: "I never wanted to write. I wished to be happy and peaceful and obscure. I was dragged into writing by a series of coincidences – Mrs. Adam, Ford, Paris – need for money" (1999: 133). Related to her monetary preoccupations, Raiskin also rescued an unpublished Rhys manuscript, "The Bible is Modern", in which she writes that "what is difficult for us black people to understand is the ingenious way they [Englishmen] set about making money out of God said 'Let there be Light'" (149). Then Raiskin adds in a foot note that, despite Jean Rhys identifying herself as a white Creole, "her self-identification here as a 'black' is a political stance to position her in opposition to the metropolitan colonizing culture" (149).

But whereas Jean Rhys's racial identification as a Creole, "who perceived herself to be, as a displaced colonial" (Raiskin 1999: ix), appears not to be problematic, it is a little more difficult to consider her a Creole writer. Veronica Marie Gregg makes an attempt to give an answer to that question in *Jean Rhys's Historical Imagination* (1995), whose subtitle, *Reading and Writing the Creole*, seems to be a response to that inquiry. However, at the end of the book this critic only speaks about a not very precise "Creole mode of subjectivity" (197), through which, she had explained earlier, Jean Rhys managed to rewrite the West Indian history narrated by the dominant European, by means of invoking her West Indian identity to act as historiographer, and to claim "the right to imagine her own past [...] and to reinterpret the Caribbean as she knows it" (73), in accordance with the idea that "national identity rests on received images of national history and topography" (Boehmer 2009: 94).

As we have seen, Jean Rhys's writings resist the narrow frame of race investigations as happened with attempts to classify her work as autobiographical, to make it the subject of colonialism and gender studies, or postmodernist and inter-textual perspectives. For this reason, the aim of this paper is not to label her final collection of short stories, *Sleep it off Lady* (1976), but to point out how any possible analysis of her work needs to be modulated according to the impact that the Empire had on her life, and thereafter on her literary production.

*Sleep it off Lady* appeared in 1976, and yet ten of the sixteen stories in the book are set in the time in which they were written, others are set in the colonial period. Nevertheless, the shadow of Empire is long enough to cast a shadow on some of those stories apparently at a remove from colonialism. The first one “Pioneers, Oh, Pioneers”, is set when “it was still the nineteenth century, November 1889” (Rhys 1979a: 11), and Dominica was one of the Caribbean islands ruled by the British Empire. Unlike its homonymous Walt Whitman poem first published in *Leaves of Grass* in 1865, and also almost homonymous Willa Cather’s novel, *O Pioneers!* (1913), Rhys’s short history “Pioneers, Oh, Pioneers” does not celebrate the spirit of immigrant pioneers marching “so impatient, full of action, full of manly pride and friendship” (Whitman 1909: 223). Rather, it portrays the West Indian colonizers’ struggle to subdue a wild land that never ceased to be remote and strange. At the turn of the nineteenth century Dominican settlers had to cope not just with the tropical weather, but also with the suffocating social and racial Victorian prejudices.

The final story of the book, “I Used to Live Here Once” stands as a confirmation that the European imperial dream had its moment, and then it had to pass. This brief description of what seems to be the return of the author’s ghost to her native land shows the battered remains of the colonial period. The road, which she walks along now feeling extraordinarily happy, is “much wider than it used to be but the work had been done carelessly. The felled trees had not been cleared away and the bushes looked tramped” (Rhys 1979a: 175).

During the colonial period roads were inaugurated with much pomposity as a sign of the modernity and progress that would bring prosperity even to the remotest parts of the Empire. James B. Wolf in “Imperial Integration on Wheels: The Car, the British and the Cape-to-Cairo Route”, takes a look at the writings of casual travellers in British Africa, which reveal their attitudes and responses to the non-Western world. In this chapter, Wolf relates how for motorists, cars, as a Western invention, provide a sense of cultural security, and driving along the African roads had a sort of imperial glamour, which persisted well into the twentieth century (1991: 112-125). We have to assume then that, the so-called Imperial Road in the very centre of Dominica was expected to supply the same kind of feelings to the British visitors and it “was meant to attract young Englishmen with capital who would buy and develop property in the interior” (Rhys 1979a: 19). The opening of this road at the turn of the nineteenth century made accessible a fertile area that had long been unproductive. The hazardousness of the project is related by Peter Hulme in “Islands and roads: Hesketh Bell, Jean Rhys and Dominica’s Imperial Road”, where he relates that the road was never completed, despite the thousands of pounds committed for its construction, because of the bad condition

of the forest, which increased the cost, and as a result sustained investment in the interior failed to arrive (2000: 29-33).

It was at that time of uncertainty for the colony, the last decade of the nineteenth century that Jean Rhys was born in 1890. Her father was an English doctor, and her mother a Creole or West Indian, whose family had had a great influence on the island for generations. Therefore, she must have been one of these children described in “I used to Live Here Once”: very fair, “as Europeans born in the West Indies so often are, as if the white blood is asserting itself against the odds” (1979a: 176). Nevertheless, a quick look at the biographical reference of the Penguin edition of *Sleep it off Lady* is enough to reveal that her privileged position in the island does not prevent her, from living a rootless, wandering life, common to many people when she reached the metropolis, “she was sixteen and then drifted into a series of jobs – chorus girl, mannequin, artist’s model – after her father died” (1). Then, she went to Paris, where the first of her three marriages collapsed and she began to write novels and short stories, whose alienated and stranded heroines seem to act as alter egos of the author.

She carried on doing this until her death. In “Overture and Beginner Please”, another of the short stories included in *Sleep it off Lady*, the autobiographical references are so explicit that it could be read as a chapter of her unfinished memories *Smile Please: An Unfinished Biography*. In the story, a West Indian girl is sent to Perse School in England, “because her [my] English aunt said it was a good school” (65), and after that, she enrolls in the Academy of Dramatic Arts. Jean Rhys left Dominica at sixteen, like many privileged colonial children, to be educated in the metropolis. Most white Creoles considered themselves to be British, and England as their mother country. Therefore, when they sent their children to the land of their ancestors, they did not realize how traumatic this voyage was for most of them. But in fact, these young people, Jane included, must have shared the same thoughts as the protagonist: “What is going to become of me? Why I am here at all?” (70). The journey to England made by Rhys’s fictional, and to some extent quite autobiographical character, exposes the cultural and emotional displacement of colonial children in a metropolis. The Caribbean girl dislikes the cold weather, and the sky “that was of the colour of no hope” (70). She describes the streets as hostile, and the buses as hateful, where she is “always squashed up against perfect strangers, millions of perfect strangers in this horrible place” (71). She is also afraid of appearing before the strange girls at the boarding school in a dress that she finds hideous, because she believes they are bound to dislike her. British people are perceived not as country fellows, but as strangers.

Apart from pursuing an education, natives from the colonies journeyed to the metropolis hoping for work. The heroine from “Overture and Beginner Please”

needs to earn her own living in England. Her father's death makes it quite impossible for her mother to continue sending money to keep her at the theatrical school in London. She manages to stay in England as a chorus girl, which as her aunt says is "not much of a living" (76). Jean Rhys went through the same experience as her character. Therefore, she knew first-hand about the economic exploitation of displaced people. In the case of women this exploitation was also sexual. The Dominican girl of the story has no option but to join a cheap theatrical company, or marry a well-off man, who "may be a horrid boy, but he's got a lot of money" (76). It is almost impossible to refrain from making a comparison with Jean Rhys's own life.

Jean Rhys also exposes the sexual exploitation of the colonized woman in "On Not Shooting Sitting Birds". The protagonist is a lonely expatriate in Europe with only "a few acquaintances and no close friends" (89). She has also started to loosen her ties with the past, her memories from the Caribbean are vague or trivial or meaningless, as explained by Cristina Voicu:

The displacement and resettlement of Rhys's protagonists is condemned to *inbetween-ity*. [...] Thus, the Caribbean islandscape becomes an *illusory psychic space* made out of the flashbacks of second-hand memories.

In dealing with the *loss of the Caribbean Landscape as homeland*, Rhys's fiction foreshadows the issues of homecomings and alienation experiences of the white Creoles who oscillate between the lost ancestral culture, harsh poverty-stricken inland societies and the hostile landscape of the metropolitan host cultures. (Voicu 2014: 35-36)

It is perhaps in reaction against such isolation that this protagonist starts "doing bold, risky, even outrageous things without hesitation or surprise" (89), like agreeing to have dinner with a man who smiles at her. So, they are, "seated at a table having dinner with a bedroom very obvious in the background"; and he is asking her "but you're a lady, aren't you?" (90) implying the opposite.

The vulnerability of colonial women to sexual abuse is denounced in another of the short stories of *Sleep it off Lady*. In "Good-bye Marcus, Good-bye Rose", the old Captain Cardew, while spending the winter in Jamaica with his wife seduces little Phoebe, who is only twelve. He thinks she will be soon old enough to have a lover. He physically abuses her in the Botanic Gardens, which evidences not only the lust of the wanton man, but also the indelicacy of exposing the girl to the gossip of the island. The story relates how the Captain darts his hand towards her, "dived inside her blouse and clamped itself around one small breast [...]" when a couple came around the corner. Calmly, without hurry, he withdrew his hand" (26) although he was breathing very heavily.

According to Boehmer, “the silenced and wounded body of the colonised is a pervasive figure in colonial and postcolonial discourses, although its relevance obviously shifts with the transition from colonial into postcolonial history” (2009: 127). This physical abuse practiced on the island by the white community towards women and coloured natives is exposed bluntly in “Fishy Waters”. The story is set around the trial of a British workman, Jimmy Longa, accused of child-molesting and cruelty in the 1890s. He is found trying to saw a little girl, “one of the vagabond children who infect the streets of Roseau” (45) in two. The episode produces many arguments, gossip, news and letters to the local newspapers, which bring divergent points of view regarding colonists’ behaviour on the island to the surface. A letter sent to the *Dominican Herald*, for instance, and signed *Disgusted*, states that there is “a certain class of person on this island, who seem to imagine that the colour of their skins enables them to behave like gods” (46), and these people resent that “they no longer have power over the bodies and minds of the blacks that they once had” (45-46). *Disgusted* is viewed as someone who tries to stir up racial hatred, whenever possible dragging in the horrors of the slave trade. Despite these disparate perceptions of the facts, the general opinion of the white islanders is that there will be no trouble for the attacker. As one of the characters in the story says: “Why should there be [trouble], Longa is a white man, not a black one” (48). At the end of the trial the magistrate cannot produce any direct evidence against Longa, who is just urged to leave the island in order to stop the gossip. Thus, the Government pays his passage to Southampton, in England. The girl that refused to say anything about what happened is sent to Santa Lucia with an old lady who has no children of her own. In this way, the case is happily settled, but the doubt remains at least for one of the islanders, who wonders if the reason for the Negro child’s silence is “because she has either been persuaded or threatened- probably a bit of both – not to talk?” (55).

The whole episode of “Fishy Waters” shows the difficult position that women had to endure during the colonial period. This position was naturally harder for natives. The quest for identity latent in many of Jean Rhys’s heroines does not include native women. The construction that the author makes of the black female identity has some of the clichés of the age of imperialism. In “Pioneers, Oh, Pioneers”, black women are only described physically, as barefooted, wearing gaily striped turbans and high waisted dresses. In “Pioneers, Oh, Pioneers” the coloured girl that Mr. Ramage marries, Isla Harrison, is defined by her looks: “dressed up to the nines, smelt very strongly of cheap scent and talked loudly in an aggressive voice. No, she certainly wasn’t a nice coloured girl” (15). In any case, native women are almost absent, or just depicted as maids in those short stories that are set in the West Indies. The colonial English community seems to

have had trouble integrating coloured women into its circle. That must have been the reason why “the Ramages were lost to white society” (15), but the author does not make this point clear.

Jean Rhys’s position regarding the colonialism practiced by the British in the West Indies is difficult to gauge. Peter Hulme points out that one of the stories to be included in *Sleep It Off, Lady*, a fictional version of her visit to Dominica in 1936, “The Imperial Road,” was declined by the publisher “considering it to be too anti-negro in tone” (2000: 25). In “Black/White” from *Smile Please*, she relates how after trying to become friends with a coloured girl in the school convent, she is told “Oh, go away” which she recognized as hatred. After that, she writes: “I never tried to be friendly with any of the coloured girls again. I was polite and that was all” (Rhys 1979b: 47-50). The short story collection, *Sleep it off Lady* seems to be the work of a settler rather than an imperialist or anti-imperialist. In “Heat” the author relates the story of the volcano that destroyed Saint Pierre in Martinique in 1902. It “was a very wicked city. It had not only a theatre, but an opera house, which was probably wickeder still. Companies from Paris performed there (41).” The character telling the story resents that the English version of the eruption, discovered in an old pile of newspapers “said nothing about the opera house or the theatre which must have seemed to the English the height of frivolity on a Caribbean Island, and very little about its inhabitants” (41).

However, despite the displacement experienced by some of the Creole characters in the book, they are still the masters of the blacks on the island, and therefore Jean Rhys’s writing also contributed to the production of the cultural representation of the Empire to English people. The short stories of *Sleep it off Lady* contain many allusions to Western Empires. Doctor Cox, for instance, reads *The Times* weekly edition in “Pioneers, Oh, Pioneers”; the lustful Captain Cardew of “Good-bye Marcus, Good-bye Rose”, when young was a subaltern in India; Suzy, the demimonde girl of “Night Out 1923” listens to a java in the company of an Englishman; and the married Dutch man who goes to visit his former lover in Bristol in “Who Knows What’s Up in the Attic” tells the woman how he was brought up in Indonesia by an uncle; then he comments: “I would be with you as often as I could. But you see my job. And there is my wife”, which together with the “attic” of the title, conjures up the Caribbean woman Antoinette Cosway (or Bertha Mason) of *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1967), the most famous novel of the writer.

The author’s longing for her native land expresses itself in small details in the stories set in the metropolis. “Kimora” describes a typical English dinner offered to Baron Mumntael, a naturalized Englishman, who exclaims as he enters his hosts’ house: “What a typical interior” (85). Toward the end of the afternoon, he catches sight of a picture of a naked man, palm trees, and a whale in a dark blue sea,



which his hostess names “Paradise”. Maybe that is just the idea that Europeans have of Paradise. The same as the lady in “Rapunzel, Rapunzel”, when she looks out of the hospital window, she sees “instead of the London plane trees, it was an Arab village or her [my] idea of one, small white houses clustered together on a hill” (139).

That idealistic representation of another side of the Empire causes Edward W. Said to call chapter II of his *Culture and Imperialism* “Consolidated Vision”. There he explains how the colonies provided exotic settings for novels and operas that affected the aesthetic trends in the metropolis often compatible with the colonist ideology, which doesn’t see contradiction in the fact that Imperialism was based on the practice of taking over control of a territory (Said 1993: 62-185). This set of beliefs around the Empire was fortified by assumptions concerning the superiority of the Caucasian Whites over any other race, and Jean Rhys raises the subject with irony when *the femme du monde* of “The Chevalier of the Place Blanche” mocks her interlocutor asking if “the modern Apache” are still brutal and reckless? (121).

This unfavourable image of the Indians, according to Kathryn Z. Derounian-Stodola, was created to justify White society’s lust for more territories. The new literary genre showing the brutality and the cruelty of the Native Americans served to spread propaganda against them among the white Americans emigrating to the West (1993: 22-23), and although the captivity stories are no longer in fashion, the scenes of gangs of violent Indians ransacking a caravan of peaceful pioneers is familiar to anyone that has watched a Western movie.

The division between Whites and any other ethnic group is noticeable throughout all the stories of *Sleep it off Lady*, not just those set in the colonies. “The Insect World” takes place in London during the Blitz, and one of its protagonists, Audrey, is reading a book “set in the tropics”, in which “there was this horrible girl whom the hero simply has to make love to, though he didn’t really want to”. It is not said what race she is, but when Audrey is telling the story of the book to her friend she makes a contrast between “the lovely, cold English girl” (127) that turned the hero down when she heard about the affair with the other woman. Also, the natives, she carries on, were surly and stupid, and “they became cruel, so horribly cruel, you wouldn’t believe...” (128). In the short story, we do not know where Audrey and her friends come from, but they always speak about English people among them: “English People always mix up tropical places. My dear, I met a girl the other day who thought Moscow was the capital of India!” Then she added: “I think it’s dangerous to be as ignorant as that, don’t you?” (130). We assume Jean Rhys, is speaking through Audrey’s mouth, about the incomprehension, as a West Indian Creole, she found in England all her life, something which is showed in *Sleep it off Lady*.

The collection of short stories in *Sleep it off Lady* stretches from the very end of the nineteenth century to the 1970s. These dates coincide with the beginning of the colonial crisis in Dominica, when the effects of the failure of the Imperial Road to attract new investors to the island was being felt, and with the final independence of Dominica from the West Indies Federation in 1978. The dates of Jane Rhys's birth and death are almost the same, and her personal life seems to have been overshadowed by the decline of the colonial experience, which Judith Raiskin summarizes as "a lifetime of writing and struggling to write while suffering the miseries of poverty, isolation, and illness" (1999: ix). And after that, the big success of *Wide Sargasso Sea* in 1996, the WH Smith Literary Award for authors of the British Commonwealth in recognition for her contribution to English literature, the re-edition of all her novels, and the Order of the British Empire (O.B.E) at the late age of 88. She now had fame and money, but maybe, as she has been reported to have said: "it has come too late" (McDowell 2009).

Jean Rhys would have imagined quite a different end for herself, in any of the remote English villages where she had been secluded for decades, probably something similar to Mrs. Verney's death in "Sleep it off Lady". This is the penultimate short story of the book, and the one that gives its name to the whole collection. Although for some critics like Angier (1985) and Gregg (1995), it is in the last story, "I used to Live Here Once", where Jean Rhys has a vision of herself as a ghost returning to Dominica. However, it is in "Sleep it off Lady" where the old protagonist, "certainly over seventy", as an echo of the author, confesses to a friend "I have been thinking a great deal about death lately" (159). She has been dreaming about it as well, and in her dreams, she has seen the shed, which becomes an obsession, and is haunting her throughout the story "changing its shape and becoming a very smart, shiny, dark blue coffin picked out in white" (159). Finally, she dies of shock, cold and alone in the hospital without recovering consciousness after falling on the ground near the shed one evening. Little Deena, a girl of twelve that used to spy on Miss Verney's, had refused to ask her mother for help. Instead she told her: "She doesn't like you and doesn't want to have anything with you. She hates stuck up people. Everybody knows that you shut yourself up to get drunk". And then, as she continues scolding her, the reader learns where the title of the short story came from: "People can hear you falling about, 'she ought to take more water with it', my mum says, Sleep it off lady" (159). It is the postman who finds her the following morning, lifts and takes her inside the house and tries to force her to drink some whisky from an open bottle before calling for an ambulance.

We know very little about this Mrs. Verney: she is old, she drinks, she comes from somewhere else, she lives alone and without a telephone in a cottage in

the least prosperous part of the village. She thinks that children can be cruel and merciless, and that other women “stared at her with curiosity and some disapproval, she couldn’t help feeling” (168), and she is thinking about death and is haunted by obsessions. This is how Jean Rhys is described by Carole Angier in parts five and six of her biography, especially before the success of *Wide Sargasso Sea*. Thus, if we believe the Carole Angier introduction, when she quotes Jean Rhys, “Not that my books are entirely my life...but almost”, she has to be Miss Verney. But surprisingly in this story, there is no reference to the colonial period or the Empire: it is not needed. It is enough to show the havoc it caused its children, specially to these women who moved to the metropolis where they were rejected by a prejudiced White society, which saw them as second-class citizens with dubious morals. These prejudices condemned creole women, in many cases in order to survive, to engage in menial or degrading jobs and deal with unscrupulous people.

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**TOURISM DISCOURSE REVISITED: AN ANALYSIS OF EVALUATIVE STRATEGIES IN TOURIST BROCHURES FROM A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS PERSPECTIVE**

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**ABSTRACT.** *Today, studying tourism discourse has become widespread among scholars in the field of text analysis. However, few, if any, studies which have addressed the language of tourism have examined the verbal content of travel brochures from the point of view of the appraisal model. The major questions addressed in this study pertain to Graduation strategies as part of appraisal strategies in the discourse of tourism as well as the lexico-grammatical resources for the coding of these strategies in texts. The dataset comprised 50 e-brochures released by tour operators across the United States within the period 2012 to 2013. First, the data were examined quantitatively to identify the statistical variations in utilizing Graduation strategies in tourist brochures. The preferences for lexico-grammatical resources for the construal of these strategies were also illustrated in light of a qualitative analysis. The results of the study revealed that the discourse of travel brochures is loaded with Graduation strategies. The subsystems within the system of Graduation were shown to serve as strong tools in promoting various aspects of tourist destinations such as the number and distribution of tourist sites over an area.*

*Keywords:* Appraisal, Graduation strategies, Language of tourism, Tourist brochures.

## EL DISCURSO TURÍSTICO REVISITADO: UN ANÁLISIS DE LAS ESTRATEGIAS EVALUATIVAS EN LOS FOLLETOS TURÍSTICOS DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA LINGÜÍSTICA SISTÉMICO-FUNCIONAL

**RESUMEN.** *El análisis del discurso turístico se ha extendido hoy en día entre los estudiosos en el campo del análisis textual. Sin embargo, muy pocos estudios, si alguno, que han abordado el lenguaje del turismo han examinado el contenido verbal de los folletos de viajes desde el punto de vista del modelo de valoración. Las principales cuestiones que se plantean en este estudio tienen que ver con las estrategias de gradación como parte de las estrategias de valoración en el discurso turístico y con los recursos léxico-gramaticales para el codificado de dichas estrategias en los textos. El conjunto de datos comprende 50 folletos online emitidos por operadores turísticos en Estados Unidos en el período 2012 a 2013. En primer lugar, los datos se han examinado cuantitativamente para identificar las variaciones estadísticas a la hora de utilizar estrategias de gradación en dichos folletos. Se han analizado también las preferencias léxico-gramaticales para la interpretación de estas estrategias desde una perspectiva cualitativa. Los resultados del estudio han revelado que en el discurso de los folletos turísticos abundan las estrategias de gradación. Los subsistemas dentro del sistema de gradación han demostrado ser herramientas sólidas para promocionar los destinos turísticos, concretamente en lo que respecta al número y la distribución de lugares turísticos en un área.*

*Palabras clave:* modelo de valoración, estrategias de gradación, lenguaje del turismo, folletos turísticos.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Today, tourism is known as one of the most important businesses throughout the world. The tourism industry owes much of its success to the way tourist destinations are advertised, that is, to the content of brochures, leaflets, travelogues, etc. This makes the language of tourism of paramount importance. Whereas some researchers consider the language of tourism to be general but only more fertile in diction and style (e.g., Gotti 2003), other scholars regard the tourism language to be the language of promotion and popularization (e.g., Thurot 1989), is a highly organized and encoded system in its own right (Said 1991: 21) which deserves careful consideration. The language of tourism is also described as a discourse object (Bhatia 1993) which falls within the broad category of promotional discourse or the study of attitudes in the social sciences (Dillard and Pfa 2002).

Due to the significant role that the media play in business activities including the tourism industry (Locksley 2009), scrutinizing informative promotional media

(Choi, Xinvan and Alastair 2007) such as websites (Burns and Robertson 1999; Doolin, Burgess and Cooper 2002; Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010; Lähteenmäki 2012), publicity programs (Dore and Crouch 2003) and TV commercials (Pan, Tsi and Lee 2011) has contributed to the tourism literature.

What constitutes the language of tourism? Which aspects of this language do tourist text designers need to focus on? Across the literature of tourism, various studies within different theoretical frameworks have tried to reveal different aspects of the language of tourism. For instance, taking a sociolinguistic approach, certain studies have aimed at describing how intelligently promoters in the tourism industry exert social control over the consumers (Dann 2012) while maintaining the idea that tourists are given absolute freedom (Rokowski 2001). In serving the purpose of promotion here, the language of tourism becomes highly value-laden and ideological biased (Bhatia 1993).

Critical Discourse Analysis has also been applied to a number of studies to uncover the changes that have appeared as a result of new tendencies in tourism sectors (Bruner 1991; Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010; Jonsson and Syssner 2011). For instance, a new positive imagery of Chinatown replaced its demeaning face as a result of the change in the discourse of the brochures promoting this district to attract visitors (Santos, Belhassen and Caton 2009). This indicates how texts can camouflage important aspects of the places that they purport to describe using effective rhetorical devices.

In a review of the literature on advertisements, there are studies employing Systemic Functional Linguistics (hereafter SFL) as their theoretical framework, such as Patpong (2009) who discovered that the use of language in amulet advertisements is one example to demonstrate the persuasive use of language. Yet Patpong deals with the discourse of advertisements in general, but not tourism discourse in particular. Among the studies on travel brochures, some tend to focus solely on the verbal content of brochures (Mocini 2009; Cui, Lu and Hong 2012) while others, in line with the idea of multimodality of travel brochures (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Scollon and Levine 2004; van Leeuwen 2004), investigate both linguistic and visual elements deployed in tourist texts to draw an appealing image of the destination (Ling Ip 2008). Some of these studies (e.g., Kress and van Leeuwen's 1996) have suggested context bound patterns, but it seems that globalization has led to outstretch these strategies for creating images even in eastern countries.

As an offshoot of SFL, the appraisal model (Martin and White 2005) has also been extensively deployed to study the discourses of various genres, including academic discourse (Hood 2006; Jalilifar, Hayati and Mashhadi 2012; Liu 2013;

Mei and Allison 2003), journalistic discourse (A'Beckett 2010; Liu and Stevenson 2013; White 2001, 2003) narrative discourse (Macken-Horarik 2003), as well as the discourse of telephonic conversations (Wan 2008). Demonstrating a vivid interactive context, the above studies have endorsed that these discourses are not value-free but value-laden contextualised, ideological and dialogic. Tourism discourse, however, has received scant attention from scholars working within the area of the language of evaluation. Thus, the present study aims to partly bridge the gap in research on evaluative strategies through working on Graduation resources deployed in the language of travel brochures as a promotional strategy to grab the attention of potential tourists. Since tourism discourse is known as a promotional discourse, the main purpose in writing tourist texts is promoting the services and sites in touristic areas. Graduation is related to tourism discourse in that it is concerned with toning the values up. Graduation also comprises toning the values down, but this is of little concern in tourism discourse. Graduation, as a system within the appraisal model, is concerned with up-scaling and down-scaling of values. All attitudinal meanings, namely, the values of affect, judgment, and appreciation as well as engagement are gradable resources (Hood and Martin 2007; Martin and White 2005: 135). *Force* and *focus* are the two main areas within which the values are scaled in the system of Graduation. Meanings are graded by either a scale from low to high intensity or from a core to marginal membership. The former scale is referred to as *force* while the latter is termed *focus*. Graduation is made either separately or as infused with the attitudinal values (Martin and White 2005: 141). *Force* and *focus* are also subsequently divided into further subsystems. *Force* is concerned with evaluations in terms of the degree of intensity or amount, hence is subdivided as quantification and intensification. *Focus*, on the other hand, deals with sharpening or softening the boundaries between categories.

Notwithstanding the studies cited above, there is a lot to discover about the language of tourism and the lines of investigation are still open. Over the last few decades, tourism industry has been considered as a great source of financial benefit to many countries around the world. This makes the discourse of tourism of paramount importance since a better understanding of the underlying systems for meaning-making in the discourse of tourism would aid the designing of tourist texts which may attract a larger number of people. Studying the language of tourism from an SFL point of view is justified by the fact that SFL is a broad framework for text analysis, an evaluative tool which helps us to understand the construction of texts. SFL provides us with a comprehensive view of the systems deployed in the language of tourism for the purpose of meaning-making. This can, in turn, lead the tourist text developers to design brochures potentially capable of affecting a greater number of clients. Taking an SFL approach to the study



of the language of travel brochures is different from taking other approaches in that the former helps us to view the meanings proposed in tourist brochures not only in terms of the language choices used for their construal, but also with regard to the functions they serve. The appraisal model is regarded as a discourse semantic system within SFL for analyzing interpersonal meanings. Accordingly, employing this framework for the study of travel brochures helps with knowledge construction and locating interpersonal meanings in such texts. This may, in turn, help tour operators raise the power of travel brochures in influencing the potential tourists (Hood 2004). Furthermore, the results of the study provide an assurance on the efficiency of the framework as a useful tool for text analysis. Generally, the study reveals that appraisal, due to its comprehensiveness, has a great potential for the analysis of texts within the genre of tourism. The general intention of the researchers in conducting the present study is summarized in the following research questions:

1. In what ways and through what resources are Graduation values realized in travel brochures?
2. Do the identified resources and patterns through which different values are graded serve any significant function in the context of tourism?
3. Are the frequencies of subsystems linked to the efficiency of the travel brochures, that is, to their power in attracting potential customers?

## 2. METHODOLOGY

### 2.1. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The appraisal taxonomy (Hood and Martin 2007; Martin and White 2005) which provides a general framework for any study in evaluation shapes the background of this study. According to Bednarek (2010: 32), the appraisal model is “the only systematic, detailed and elaborate framework of evaluative language” among critical approaches to text evaluation. This model developed by Martin and White (2005) is an extension of the interpersonal metafunction of the language within the SFL framework. Appraisal is a model of interpersonal meaning, one of the three types of meaning (ideational, interpersonal, and textual) that SFL accounts for. In general, the model comprises three major systems, namely, attitude, engagement, and Graduation. These systems are divided into different subsystems which are, in turn, composed of various subcategories.

As one of the systems of the appraisal model, Graduation is concerned with up-scaling and down-scaling of values. All attitudinal meanings, namely, the values of affect, judgment, and appreciation as well as engagement values hold the general property of being gradable (Hood and Martin 2007; Martin and White

2005). The meanings are graded either according to their *intensity* or *amount* or based on *prototypicality*. Graduation according to intensity or amount, known as force, applies to categories which are scalable based on their size, vigor, extent, proximity, etc. Graduation according to prototypicality, termed focus, is applied to categories which are not scalable. Up-scaling and down-scaling within the category of focus are referred to as *sharpening* and *softening*. (Martin and White 2005). Force and focus are also subsequently divided into further subsystems.

Analyzing the system of Graduation in this study and overlooking the other two systems, namely the systems of attitude and engagement, is mainly due to the generality of Graduation, that is, the other two systems are greatly influenced, or graded (to put it more precisely) by Graduation values which makes this system worth studying in its own right. On the other hand, focusing exclusively on Graduation resources provides an opportunity for a more comprehensive and detailed analysis of this system of appraisal.

## 2.2. THE DATA

The data used in the present study, comprised sample descriptions taken from travel brochures featuring various tourist destinations. To make sure that the brochures are primarily targeted at an English-speaking readership, travel brochures published across the United States were chosen as the data in the study. For the purpose of fair distribution, one brochure was taken from every state of America resulting in the total number of 50 brochures. Since the printed version of the brochures was not easily accessible, e-brochures were taken as the data. In some cases, the PDF version of the brochures was used, but in other cases where the consulted tourism websites had not provided the PDF version, the textual information of the selected brochures as well as the websites' email addresses was copied and saved in text documents to be later used for data analysis. The other criterion for data collection was that the brochures were necessarily released within the period 2012 to 2013 to minimize variation due to the variable of time.

Almost all of the brochures were selected from top tour operators, that is, in cases where there were different competing operators providing tourist brochures featuring destinations within a single state, the tour operator whose website was most visited was selected as the source for data collection. In certain cases where the websites of tour operators from a particular state were not directly accessible, the required brochures were collected from other tourism websites which contained brochures from all over the world. In these few cases, the requirement of consulting top tourism websites was not necessarily observed due to lack of websites to choose from.

Since the collected brochures were inconsistent with regard to their length, the average of the brochures' word count was calculated (350 words was considered as the minimum length), and in cases where there were different brochures from a single state which met all the criteria for data collection but were of varying lengths, the one whose word count was not far more than 350 was preferred over other brochures. The shortest brochure consisted of 350 words, while, the longest one contained 740 words. In addition, no special criteria were set on the type of destinations being promoted by the brochures, but that they covered natural wonders across the United States.

The collected data for the present study were of two types. The first dataset, which comprised about 95% of the data, were regular tourist brochures published by tour operators across the United States and were accessed through the websites of those operators. The second dataset contained travel guides provided by the official tourism bureaus within each state. In certain cases, e-brochures from few states (Connecticut, Maryland, and Maine) were not available or the accessed brochures did not meet the criteria set by this study in terms of the year of publication or the length. Therefore, the travel guides of those states, produced by tour operators, were selected to be analyzed instead. Although tourist brochures and travel guides are two different genres of tourism advertising, they are both regarded within the general category of promotional discourse, and when it comes to promoting a certain destination the language as well as the techniques employed in both genres are almost the same. One of the differences between travel brochure and travel guides lies in their length. Travel guides are of much greater length compared to travel brochures. They usually start with a few accounts on the tour operator and the services it provides. This is often followed by the table of contents, after which different destinations of the state are promoted. The order of the destinations promoted is either determined alphabetically or with regard to their geographical conditions or based on other criteria set by the travel guide developers. In order to have compatible sets of data in terms of length, in each travel guide, the first section which promoted a destination and whose word count was at least 350 was selected to be analyzed.

### 2.3. *PILOT STUDY*

The data were analyzed manually, hence carrying the risk of human error. For the purpose of reliability and to locate the potential errors, the study was first piloted based on 20% of the data. To develop a method to be deployed in the pilot, previous literature was examined to identify the methods used in studies having similar objectives. Firstly, the selected brochures were coded based on the

appraisal taxonomy obtained from Martin and White (2005); that is, the values of Graduation were all identified and characterized within the selected set of texts which constituted 10 out of the total number of 50 brochures. The quantitative analysis proceeded up to two levels within the Graduation system; in other words, the instances of the two main subsystems within the system of Graduation, namely, force and focus were marked in the brochures studied which were, then, characterized and calculated separately in relation to one smaller point in delicacy within each subsystem (e.g., Graduation-force-quantification). It is noteworthy that attitudinal meanings can be realized either directly (inscribed attitude) or less directly (invoked attitude). Analyzing the data revealed that within the discourse of tourism the first trend is highly preferred. For this reason, the analyst only focused on identifying the instances of inscribed attitude and the few examples of invoked attitude within the data were not included in the analysis.

Fourteen items of Graduation were then selected, every single item providing two instances from each part of the Graduation model, up to the point studied, as presented within their contexts. Each selected item was initiated with the analysts' judgment on the two instances provided as shown below:

(Graduation>Force>Intensification)

**A.** Nature lovers can photograph the **highest** waterfall east of the Mississippi...

Agree

Disagree

The items were then distributed to five experts who had worked and published papers in the field of Systemic Functional Linguistics, and more importantly the appraisal model. Ethical considerations were first met by informing the experts of the research purpose and the procedures to be followed before they were given the items. They also indicated that their participation is voluntary. Since the five respondents were not easily accessible, the distribution of the items was made through e-mail. There was no significance in assigning a time limit for filling in the items, and the lack of time restriction raised the chance of a more careful analysis on the part of the respondents. They were asked to verify the analysts' judgments, that is, to decide whether they agreed or disagreed with what was identified and coded. In case of disagreement, the respondents were asked to provide their own judgment. Due to the fact that these items were of dichotomous choices, namely, *agree* and *disagree*, Kuder-Richarson Formula 20 was applied to measure the internal consistency of the analysis. The analysts' judgments were mostly agreed upon, and the reliability coefficient 0.83 was verified. The required rectifications were carried out by the researchers on those parts which were considered to be problematic. This was done with the help of those respondents locating the problems as well as consulting other respondents

for a more confident decision, and then the whole set of texts were analyzed employing the same procedure.

#### 2.4. PROCEDURE

After the pilot study, each brochure was worked through searching for the inscribed values of Graduation which were, then, coded and classified in relation to categories of the appraisal model. Since the discourse of tourism tends to speak in positive terms of the destinations it promotes and the services it offers, negative inscriptions were scarcely found within the brochures analyzed. As a result, the focus of the study was only on positive values of Graduation.

Having analyzed the data both quantitatively and qualitatively, the authors made a list of those propositions over the coding of which we were dubious and they were finally identified and coded through consulting and negotiation. To ensure the intra-rater reliability, however, the analysis was carried out twice by one of the researchers within a time interval of 10 days, and no major discrepancy was observed between the two sets of coding decisions. Following Zikmund (2008) who defines content validity as the subjective agreement among professionals that a scale logically appears to reflect accurately what it aims to measure, the content validity of the present scale was guaranteed through an extensive review of literature (Macken-Horarik 2003; Hood 2006; Wan 2008; A'Beckett 2010).

During the analysis, there were frequent cases where an individual lexical item was used several times in a single brochure. Although the lexical item served the same function in all instances and the coding was the same, the word was used to appraise a different entity in each repetition. Thus, all instances of the same word were maintained in the quantitative analysis. In other cases, however, an individual lexical item repeated several times in the same brochure was coded differently. This is quite convincing with regard to the fact that within the framework of SFL, all texts are interpreted in relation to the functions they serve within their context.

Intensifications within the system of Graduation are, in many instances, realized through the comparative and superlative form of adjectives. Since comparatives and superlatives are made up of two morphemes (the base form of the adjective followed by a suffix used for grading the adjective), they could be either broken into two parts and coded separately or be considered as a single lexical item serving the purpose of Graduation. The latter was applied in the present study, since in case of irregular comparatives and superlatives, it was not precise enough to break the lexical items into their constitutive parts and code them on their own rights as there is no clear-cut boundary between the two morphemes. In

addition, the latter choice was supported by Sinclair in his description of the term *delexicalisation*:

The meaning of words chosen together is different from their independent meanings. They are at least partly delexicalized. This is the necessary correlate of co-selection. If you know that selections are not independent, and that one selection is dependent on another, then there must be a result and effect on the meaning which in each individual choice is a delexicalisation of one kind or another. It will not have its independent meaning in full if it is only part of a choice involving one or more words. (Sinclair 1994: 23, as cited in Martin and White 2005: 143)

The data analysis was carried out on two levels: First, the data were coded, computed, and analyzed quantitatively using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). According to the respective objective of the study, the percentages and frequencies of the lexical items within the system of Graduation as well as its associated subsystems detected in the data were calculated. The second part of the analysis approached the data qualitatively wherein the lexical items and their contexts in each of the categories were analyzed so as to examine the word choices and general patterns as well as the functions these patterns serve in the promotional discourse of tourism.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The goal of this study is to reveal how Graduation resources are exploited in tourism discourse for the purpose of evaluation. The results of the study are presented in this section along with a discussion on how the findings contribute to the goal of the study. First, the findings obtained in the light of the performed quantitative analysis are presented. These are then followed by the qualitative analysis which aims to uncover the patterns through which the resources of Graduation are realized.

The data revealed a great difference between the frequencies of the values of force and focus. More than 90% of the inscribed values of Graduation were identified as force as displayed in Table 1. The two subcategories of force, namely, quantification and intensification, also manifested sharply different frequencies. A careful analysis of the coded values of force in the data marked a sharp preference for upgrading the entities quantitatively. As shown in Table 1, within the whole data set, 510 values were toned up quantitatively while the frequency of the values being intensified was not greater than 212. These findings verify the idea that language of tourism is the language of exaggeration, that is, tourist text writers tend to magnify the number of opportunities for recreation, and the services

available. In other words, they make great use of the strategy of maximization which itself is construed through quantifying lexis. The same reason may also help with interpreting the difference between force and focus in terms of their frequency within the brochures. This latter difference can however be more logically described in relation to the notion of the scarcity of the values of focus in general discourse.

Table 1. Inscriptions of the System of *Graduation*.

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Force	722	93.76
Quantification	510	70.63
Intensification	212	23.13
Focus	48	6.23
Sharpen	44	6.09
Soften	4	0.5

Within the following parts, examples are provided on how this evaluation in terms of amount or intensity and softening or sharpening of boundaries is realized in the language of travel brochures.

### 3.1. FORCE

#### 3.1.1. Grammatical Structures Deployed in the Realization of Quantification

Quantification is a means via which meanings can be graded up or down as force. Quantification involves grading in terms of *Number*, *Mass*, and *Extent* (Martin and White 2005), typically revealed in individual modifiers; that is, Isolation is the dominant mode for the construal of quantification. It is noteworthy that the quantified entity might be either *concrete* or *abstract* as shown in the following examples:

##### *Modification of a Concrete Nominal Entity*

...the **only** professional *dinner theatre* in Ohio.

...the Rocky Mountain National Park is **full of** outstanding *views* and a variety of wildlife.

In addition, **numerous** *vineyards* dot the countryside around Lexington...

There's a story in *every small town*, and an adventure around **every bend**

*Modification of an Abstract Nominal Entity*

...discover the heritage of the United States' **only** native *spirit*.  
...and **every** *shopping fantasy* can come true.

The following examples illustrate how the values of Quantification as Number and Mass are realized in grammar:

*Quantifying as a Specific Number*

...with nearly **a million** acres...

Another abundantly used value of quantification in the brochures was the quantifier *one of*. Tourism promoters attempt to denote the idea that the destination being promoted is one but not the only attraction within that area:

Brave the rapids on a white-water rafting trip, play **one of** our spectacular golf sources...

To the west you can see the Phantom Valley, **one of** the many sources of the Colorado River.

*Quantification as Non-specific Numeration*

Non-specific quantifiers such as *some*, *dozens of*, and *plenty of* were also deployed, some of which amplify the number of attractions within a touristic area:

...Texas has **plenty** to offer.

...as **some of** the island's best surfing locations.

*Infusing Processes as Amount*

Shorebirds **build in number** through May...

Moreover, *infused quantifications* were spotted to a limited extent within the brochures as in:

Texas offers an **abundance** of fun for kids of all ages...

...which have provided a lifetime of memories to **generations** of visitors.

From major festivals to **a wealth of** unique shops...

...with stories of **immense** wealth...

...one of the best known beaches in the world **bustling with** shopping, restaurants and nightlife.

As can be seen in the examples above, quantification is deployed in the language of tourism to promote the touristic areas and the services provided by tourism sectors. The tourists are promised to have a great experience through the abundant opportunities for having fun.

*Quantification as Extent*



According to Martin and White (2005), extent covers the proximity as well as the distribution of entities in time or space. Distribution is concerned with the degree to which entities are “long-lasting” or “widely-distributed”, while proximity involves the degree of recency or adjacency (pp. 148-149). The following are a range of structures via which grading as extent is realized:

*Extent Encoded as Epithet*

...an **extensive** collection of Cookie Jars.  
... as snow begins melting in **early** March...  
...**year-round** recreational activities for the whole family...  
There are **endless** ways to explore Rhode Island's rich cultural...  
...Maine's **protracted** fall migration period...

*Extent as Part of a Nominal Group*

Visitors come to North Dakota for **a variety** of reasons...  
**The entire** Peninsula has a rural nature...  
The park's expansive 227 acres offers **a series** of wooded trails...

*Pre-modification of Quantifiers*

Eastern Idaho offers a **wide** variety of summer outdoor recreational activities and winter recreation.  
...visitors will find this arts and cultural hub filled with a seeming **endless** array of arts and entertainment events.

*Extent as an Attribute in a Relational Clause*

The options to fill a day in this region are **endless**.  
The outdoor recreational opportunities are **limitless**.

*Extent Infused in Verbal Processes*

Prices **range** from purely luxurious to comfortably affordable.

*Extent as an Adverbial Expression Pre-modifying a Verbal Process*

You **immediately** become a motorcycle enthusiast...  
**Closely** located to downtown Chicago...  
...has **quickly** become Georgia's premier mountain destination...

*Extent Encoded as a Prepositional Phrase*

...is scheduled to open **by the end of 2013**.  
Known **around the world** as a literary Mecca...  
You'll find wildlife and natural wonders both **in and outside of its boundaries**.  
The 2013 season runs **from** May, 2013 **through** August 23, 2013. [?]

*Extent in Comparative Structures*

...it will take you **more than a day** to play your way through it all.  
...National Forest is **less than an hour's travel** by car.

*Extent Encoded as Numerical Attribute*

...within a **30-mile** radius of the city.

See buffalo up close at the **400-acre** preserve...

Then tour the **450,000-square-foot** production area...

The use of the values of extent within the travel brochures could be explained in light of the fact that one of the strategies employed in promoting tourist destinations is their description in terms of their geographical condition; that is, how widely they are distributed over an area, how far they are from nearby attractions or services, how easily reachable they are, etc. The instances of extent in terms of time were also made use of for describing the extent of events over time as well as the time it takes tourists to go from one attraction area to another.

*3.1.2. Grammatical Structures Deployed in the Realization of Intensification*

As stated previously, when the attitudinal meanings are realized as a quality or a process, they can be graded as intensity. The following are examples of how intensity is realized in the language of travel brochures. Meanings are intensified in either of the two modes of *infusing* or *isolating*. The former refers to cases where no separate lexical form conveys the sense of up-grading or down-grading, while the latter concerns cases where an additional lexical item is added for the purpose of intensification (Martin and White 2005). Isolating and infusing realizations of intensification are exemplified below since they play an important part in reaching the overall purpose of tourism, that is, the purpose of promotion.

*Pre-modification of an Adjective*

...the dining choices are **practically** limitless.

Baton Rouge is a city where the weather is **always** warm, the food is **always** spicy and the people are **always** ready to have fun!

*Pre-modification of an Adverb*

Marine County is **just** a little out there.

*Pre-modification of Quantifiers*

There are **so** many ways to play in Massachusetts.

It is a **quite** little community in the heart of beautiful lake country.

*Adverbially Modified Verbal Group*

Experience the joy of providing your family with a vacation they'll **never** forget.

You can **almost** hear the voices of residents...

*Adverbially Modified Nominal Groups*

The winding River Road is **merely** a portal to the past.  
...it can be **quite** a challenge to narrow down your pathway to fun and learning.

### *Relative Scaling through Comparatives and Superlatives*

With respect to the second subcategory of force, namely, intensification, a great number of instances within the brochures deployed the superlative form of adjectives particularly the term *best*, suggesting that exaggeration is one of the significant strategies used in building a discourse about an attraction. Note the use of comparatives and superlatives in the examples below:

...one of the **finest** museums in the world.  
...hiking and boating that make the area **most** popular.  
...why Atchison had **more millionaires** per capita than any town in the nation...  
With some of the **coolest** museums on earth...

Intensifications can also be infused in *verbal processes* as in

...**peaking** during its last week

The verbal process *peak* is regarded as an instance of intensification in that it could be unpacked as *reach the highest point*.

### *Maximization*

Maximisers were greatly deployed in the travel brochures as a means of intensifications. Intensifiers of this type are adopted to upscale processes and qualities as being at the highest possible degree of intensity (Martin and White 2005).

Lubbock is the West Texas you've **always** dreamed of...  
...the most selective of tastes will find something **absolutely** delicious.  
...enjoy the **full** richness and diversity of our Great River Road.

### *Lexicalization*

Intensification is in some cases carried out not through the common grammatical intensifiers *very*, *slightly*, *quite*, *fairly*, but via lexical entities "carrying an attitudinal overtone" (Martin and White 2005: 143):

...as **easily** found as a miniature golf course.  
And we **proudly** live our history.  
...are welcome notes to this **eagerly** awaited season.

...are **reasonably** easy to see through July.  
...that **perfectly** capture the feeling and scenery of their American holiday.  
Rural and urban experiences blend **seamlessly**...

Lexicalized items, as seen in the examples above, have within them the explicit attitude of the writer which is in line with the general purpose of promotion.

*Intensification via Repetition*

Missoula is **that** it is all **that** and more.  
...making you feel at home and wanting to return **again** and **again**.  
Des Moines is **easy**, **Easy** to afford, **Easy** to park, **Easy** to fall in love with.

The fact that repetition has a great influence in making people remember things is taken for granted. This strategy is deployed by tourist text developers to impact the memories of the potential tourists, and make them subconsciously remember their intended message. In the example above about Des Moines, we see how everything is attempted to be described as being easy through the strategy of repetition.

*Figurative Modifiers*

...Shoshoni River where you'll find kayaks and rafts enjoying the **crystal** clear waters as well.  
...mountains covered in **a rainbow** of wildflowers.

Meanings were also found to be intensified through figurative modifiers. This is a crucial promotional pattern since the meanings being modified figuratively can affect the ideas of the clients by touching their feelings. This can raise the power of promotion.

*Infused Intensification*

As stated earlier, in some cases intensification is made through no separate lexical item, but the sense of upgrading is infused with other meanings within the sentence. In the first two examples that follow, infused intensification concerns *quality* while the next two instances are infused intensifications of *process*:

...offers **a glimpse** into the lives of America's longest lasting communal society...  
...which have provided **a lifetime** of memories to generations of visitors.  
...campgrounds are closed by the time winter **blankets** the area with snow.  
...and **indulge** in delightful regional cuisine...

Unlike cases where intensification is made through the isolating mode, when meanings are intensified with no separate item they tend to influence the taste of the

clients indirectly. In other words, when infused intensification is deployed in tourist texts, the purpose of promotion is served while the tourists may subconsciously be aware of it.

### 3.2. GRAMMATICAL RESOURCES: FOCUS

As MacCannel (1989) observes, the main tourists' motivation is the search for authenticity. For this reason, the language of tourism is stocked with different manifestations of authenticity which are all construed employing the second subsystem of Graduation, namely, focus. In other words, the subcategory of focus can act as an appraisal resource for construing the authenticity which is, according to Dann (1996), one of the four major theoretical approaches to the language of tourism. Graduation within the category of focus is concerned with sharpening or softening of categorical memberships of phenomena. The resources via which Graduation of this type was realized in the grammar of travel brochures are exemplified below:

#### *An Epithet in a Nominal Group*

...offers more than 40 miles of hiking and **special** programs.  
The interior of the **original** section of the State House...  
From **major** festivals to a wealth of unique shops and eateries...  
Shopping in Sevierville is a must, especially because it is home to Tennessee's largest **authentic** outlet mall, Tanger Five Oaks.

#### *Pre-modification of a Nominalized Quality*

Warm smiles and **genuine** care for everyone are hallmarks of the area's southern hospitality.

#### *An Adverbial Expression with a Clausal Scope*

...**especially** because it is home to Tennessee's largest authentic outlet mall, Tanger Five Oaks.  
...Arizona **truly** is a grand destination.

#### *An Adverbial Expression Modifying an Attribute*

The Small Ship Adventure Company offers **truly** memorable experiences for discerning travelers who value luxury, quality, and intimate up-close encounters.

#### *Infused Coding of Attributes*

...explore Kentucky's **pivotal** Civil War battles.  
Abingdon is one of those **quintessential** All-American towns that people are drawn to for so many reasons.  
...the twenty block historic downtown area is a **focal** point for both locals and tourists.

To sum up, the results of the study revealed that the discourse of travel brochures is replete with the values of Graduation that serve as a strong tool in promoting various aspects of tourist destinations. In other words, in tourism discourse the overall aim is not giving information; all attempts are made in developing the travel brochures to promote the destinations and the services provided for the purpose of attracting a great number of holidaymakers.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The study provides support for the appraisal model itself and offers an approach to explaining the construal of Graduation values within the discourse of tourism. The model was also found to serve as a useful means to account for the diverse meanings and resources adopted in tourist brochures for the purpose of evaluation particularly due to the overuse of values of Graduation within tourist texts. In other words, the appraisal model provided an exhaustive framework to determine whether and in what ways evaluative strategies were encoded in travel brochures.

The study has potential weaknesses as well. As stated earlier, the brochures were selected from the websites of tour operators across the United States. Furthermore, only one brochure was selected as a representative of tourist texts from each state. This can be considered as a limitation for this study since, as Myers (1996: 59) argues, corpus-based studies of a large number of texts can “draw much more subtle relations between the various linguistic features than can be done in more intensive studies of a few texts”. As a result, the greater the number of brochures, the more comprehensive would be the findings of the study. Besides, the corpus used in this study was limited in terms of the context. To arrive at any generalization about the discourse of tourism, similar studies need to be conducted in different cultures, in different English-speaking contexts, and in different languages. It is also noteworthy that the patterns which were considered as being scarce in this context, such as figurative intensifications, might turn out to be quite pervasive in other contexts due to potential variations in linguistic preferences of English and non-English tourist texts.

The format and the visual design of tourist brochures which were the concern of many multimodal studies across the literature were not incorporated into the present study. This could be linked to the intention of the researchers in analyzing only the language of tourism with a closer look.

Technology has facilitated our lives in various ways, including in the area of text analysis. In technology-assisted discourse studies, not only is the analysis facilitated, but also the risk of human error is, to a great extent, reduced. The

present study, however, relied only on human evaluation for the purpose of text analysis.

The findings of the study suggest that language is used to influence potential clients of the tourism sector. Accordingly, certain preferences in terms of lexicogrammatical resources used in grading different values have been identified which serve to keep the content of travel brochures in line with tourists' expectations. The results of the study have a potential application to the growing body of future research on the evaluative language either in tourism discourse or discourses of other types. The resources outlined in this study for the coding of Graduation resources might serve as a point of departure for more comprehensive studies in the field of tourism discourse or be taken to evaluate other types of discourses. In addition, the resources introduced for the encoding of Graduation subsystems in this study can be used as a frame of reference for the staff and students within the tourism sector for the assessment of the effectiveness of tourist brochures. Moreover, it serves as a means to provide them with a clear understanding of the linguistic needs required in developing travel brochures. This might be equally an issue of concern to the stakeholders within tourism industry as their overall aim is to develop the most effective brochures.

The study might pave the path for future studies both in the domain of appraisals and tourism discourse. The work undertaken here can facilitate more detailed studies evaluating the patterns and resources favored in the promotional discourses of similar types within and across languages. Furthermore, the study is expected to provide an opportunity for testing the efficiency of the framework as a tool for text analysis.

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**AN ANALYSIS OF THE PUNCTUATION OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH  
LETTER OF IPOCRAS IN LONDON, WELLCOME LIBRARY, MS 405<sup>1</sup>**

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**ABSTRACT.** *Punctuation in early English has been traditionally considered to lack consistency and systematicity, as shown in the relevant literature. Yet, recent research has uncovered that individual texts followed particular punctuation practices regarding signs and functions that were relatively systematic and consistent, even if they were also quite frequently text-based. In line with this, the present article explores the punctuation practice found in a copy of the Middle English medical text called Letter of Ipocras, the one held in London, Wellcome Library, MS 405. This contribution first reviews research on punctuation practices in Middle English texts and discusses the functions that historical punctuation has been reported to perform. Then, a cursory description of both the manuscript and the text is offered. Next, the punctuation signs found in the text are described and discussed, and their various functions at different levels illustrated with the help of examples. The article closes with a reflection on the global function of the pointing practice of the text, which veers towards the grammatical and pragmatic functions.*

*Keywords:* Middle English, medieval manuscripts, MS Wellcome 405, *Letter of Ipocras*, punctuation, function.

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## **ANÁLISIS DE LA PUNTUACIÓN DE LA *LETTER OF IPOCRAS* EN INGLÉS MEDIO EN EL MANUSCRITO LONDRES, WELLCOME LIBRARY, MS 405**

**RESUMEN.** *La puntuación en inglés temprano se ha considerado poco consistente y sistemática, tal y como muestra la literatura disponible sobre el tema. Sin embargo, investigaciones recientes han mostrado que textos concretos muestran prácticas de puntuación específicas que son relativamente sistemáticas y consistentes en cuanto a los signos y las funciones de estos, si bien dichas prácticas son propias de cada texto. En este sentido, este artículo se detiene en la puntuación de una copia en inglés medio del texto conocido como Letter of Ipcoras, la recogida en el manuscrito Londres, Wellcome Library, MS 405. Así, este artículo revisa, en primer lugar, la investigación realizada hasta el momento sobre la puntuación en inglés medio y discute las funciones que se han atribuido comúnmente a la puntuación histórica. A continuación, se describen tanto el códice como el texto objeto de estudio. Posteriormente, se analizan los signos de puntuación presentes en el texto y las funciones que estos desempeñan a cada nivel, apoyadas en ejemplos. El artículo concluye con una reflexión sobre la función de la puntuación en el texto en términos globales, que está orientada hacia las funciones gramatical y pragmática.*

*Palabras clave:* inglés medio, manuscritos medievales, MS Wellcome 405, *Letter of Ipcoras*, puntuación, función.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Historical punctuation in English has been traditionally disregarded on account of its haphazardness and inconsistency. Such judgement was mainly based on the unsystematicity of punctuation (Jenkinson 1926: 153) and on the overlapping functions that the signs displayed (Lucas 1971: 19). To these claims, authors like Zeeman added that the medieval punctuation system does not match the contemporary one (1956: 11). Petti summarises clearly the main issues regarding English medieval punctuation when stating that the repertoire of signs changed greatly up to the 17th century, “[b]ut even then, punctuation was somewhat haphazardly applied in manuscripts and the significance of a given mark varied almost as frequently as spelling did” (1977: 25). That said, he goes on to remark that “punctuation was not however entirely chaotic in the period” (1977: 25).

After having been neglected for a long time, the study of medieval punctuation has gained momentum over the last decades, especially following the contributions by Arakelian (1975) and Lucas (1971). Some years later, Parkes’ comprehensive study of the punctuation in Western texts (1992) helped to raise awareness of

the importance of pointing practices. Recent studies on individual texts (most of them of scientific nature), like those by Rodríguez-Álvarez (1999), Alonso Almeida (2002), Calle-Martín (2004), Calle-Martín and Miranda-García (2005), Obegi Gallardo (2006), Esteban-Segura (2009), Marqués-Aguado (2009, 2011), and de la Cruz Cabanillas (2014, 2016), have laid bare that medieval punctuation is to a certain extent idiosyncratic, since each text shows a particular inventory of signs, the latter of which display in turn specific uses. This, nonetheless, does not hinder certain regularity. Despite this growing interest in medieval punctuation, Horobin still states that we “lack detailed studies of individual punctuation practices, as well as a clear diachronic overview of developments in usage” (2016: 126), including both literary and non-literary practices (2016: 124).

Two are the key aspects scrutinised concerning medieval punctuation in the relevant literature: its function and its possible modernisation. We will only focus on the former, insofar as a discussion of the latter lies beyond the scope of this article.<sup>2</sup> Historical punctuation has been commonly shown to perform rhetorical (i.e. signalling rest points for oral delivery) or grammatical (that is, marking syntactic relations) functions – the latter of which, Petti remarks, was fully assumed during the 18th century (1977: 25). Lucas added a third function, the macro-textual one (1971), according to which punctuation helped to signal the layout of texts. In the last few years, a new approach has emerged, that of the “visual pragmatics’ [...] of anything on the page that adds meaning to the linguistic message” (Carroll, Peikola, Salmi, Varila, Skaffari and Hiltunen 2013: 56); that is, the pragmatic functions that palaeographic and codicological traits like the use of colours or punctuation perform, thus contributing to “the reader’s construal of meaning” (Carroll, Peikola, Salmi, Varila, Skaffari and Hiltunen 2013: 55). The discourse functions analysed in this approach have been classified at textual, interactional and stance levels, which designate organisational patterns, addressee issues and “authors’ expressions of their evaluative judgements”, respectively (Carroll, Peikola, Salmi, Varila, Skaffari and Hiltunen 2013: 64).<sup>3</sup>

In the light of this, the present article analyses the punctuation practice of the *Letter of Ipcras* held in London, Wellcome Library, MS 405 (ff. 21v-40v).<sup>4</sup> For the purpose, a cursory manuscript and text description is first provided; then, the account of the punctuation repertoire is presented. The article closes with a discussion that brings together the uses found to globally assess the pointing practice of the text.

<sup>2</sup> The issue of the modernisation of medieval punctuation has not escaped debate either, with scholars like Moorman (1975: 85) or Hudson (1977: 50-51) opposing editorial modernisation for various reasons.

<sup>3</sup> See also Rogos-Hebda (2016).

<sup>4</sup> This text forms part of *The Málaga Corpus of Late Middle English Scientific Prose* (Miranda García, Calle Martín, Moreno Olalla, González Fernández Corugedo and Caie 2007-2014), which is a lemmatised and tagged corpus compiled on the basis of transcriptions of late Middle English scientific texts available at <http://hunter.uma.es>.

## 2. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT AND THE TEXT

MS Wellcome 405 (hereafter, W405) is a medical miscellany that collects recipes, charms and prognostications in English and in Latin (Moorat 1962: 273). Despite not being listed in Ker's catalogue of the Wellcome Collection, which gathered only "some texts of special interest and [...] all texts which are not medical or scientific" (1969: 393), W405 has been included in Keiser's *Manual* (1998) and in Voigts and Kurtz's database (2000, 2014).<sup>5</sup> It has also been the focus of study of Edmar's work, which offers a concise MS description of the codex (1967: 1-5) that barely mentions important palaeographic aspects like punctuation.

W405 is an anonymous MS that can be dated back to the early 15th century (Moorat 1962: 272; Edmar 1967: 16). It contains no marks of ownership or signatures (except for Wellcome's), which increases the uncertainty as to the circulation of the codex, although some insights can be gained thanks to a 19th-century letter that accompanies W405 and that was sent from the Very Reverend George William Kitchin to "My dear Jeffrey", possibly a Scottish antiquarian (Edmar 1967: 2). The next known owners of W405, Edmar indicates, are Mears, Davis and Orioli, from whom Sir Henry Wellcome acquired the codex in 1922 (1967: 2; see also Moorat 1962: 273). In his letter, Kitchin commented on the contents, date and dialect of the text, which he believed to have been written approximately in 1360-1370 in the East Anglia area (Moorat 1962: 273).

W405 is a sixteenmo, a size that allows us to speculate on the MS having been used as a portable vademecum by a medical practitioner. That it was not conceived as a quality copy is reinforced by the lack of decoration (with the exception of red and blue, which are used for rubrications, and some punctuation marks) and by the absence of homogeneous margins and of ruling – according to de Hamel, "unruled manuscript [...] are the cheap and ugly home-made transcripts" (1992: 20-21).

The binding is modern, and so is the foliation, which was probably inserted around the time when the codex was rebound owing to the modern shape of the numerals. The material of the flyleaves, which were used to protect the codex, is paper rather than parchment – the material used to render the text instead. This change of material and the fact that no information is written on the flyleaves (a typical location for marks of ownership, scribbled tables of contents, etc.) may suggest that these are contemporary to the modern binding. Another modern trait of the codex is the use of pieces of paper to restore the torn corners of some damaged folios (e.g. ff. 2 and 3).

<sup>5</sup> W405 was not initially included in the *Index of Middle English Verse* (Brown and Robbins 1943), which registered, however, another witness with the same incipit (number 1605). It is now catalogued in the *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (Mooney, Mosser, Solopova, Thorpe and Radcliffe), where the text under scrutiny is assigned number 2688 (<http://www.dimev.net/Records.php?MSS=Wellcome405>).

Various hands intervene in the rendering of W405 (Moorat 1962: 272). Moorat classifies the one in the first 40 folios as a gothic book hand. More specifically, the script used in ff. 7r-40r is text (semiquadrata), which is described by Petti as “usually [having] the lozenge serifs at the head but not at the feet, which generally end in a slight angle, hook or curl” (1977: 13). Edmar uses palaeographic and linguistic evidence to hypothesise that three scribes might have been engaged in copying the text in ff. 21v-40v, with breaks in f. 32v and the middle of f. 38r (1967: 2-3), but concludes that the arguments against outweigh those in favour. It will be interesting to assess whether punctuation can shed some light on this matter.

The text under analysis is the so-called *Letter of Ipcras* (hereafter, *LI*), found in ff. 21v to 40v in W405 (see Keiser 2003 and Tavormina 2007).<sup>6</sup> The textual tradition of the *LI* is attested not only in the English vernacular, but also in Latin and French. In fact, according to Hunt, the *LI* is of Anglo-Norman origin and “was the most influential collection of vernacular medical recipes before 1300” (1990: 100). Despite its importance, no systematic account of all the texts, textual traditions or recipes has been carried out to date, as Hunt (1990: 100) and Tavormina (2007: 633) remark. Nonetheless, individual work on certain witnesses has been conducted, and, in this line, the copy in W405 – or rather parts of it –, has been recently acknowledged to present differences that are substantial enough as to consider it worthy of setting up a different textual family (Keiser 2003: 313; Tavormina 2007: 634).

Regarding its structure, and quoting Hunt, “The ‘Lettre d’Hippocrate’ is an unsophisticated work. It begins with a short introduction [...] and continues with a more extended treatment of urines [...]. There follows a corpus of receipts arranged in the traditional manner *a capite ad calcem*” (1990: 100). Tavormina’s description is more precise, as the *LI* is said to include a prologue that invokes the authority of Hippocrates, a humoural tract, a uroscopy containing a description of six types of urines, and a recipe collection, although “there is a good deal of fluidity in the shape and content of the *Letter*” (2007: 633). The structure of the *LI* in W405 replicates this pattern. After the invocation to Hippocrates and the humoural tract (ff. 21v-22v) comes a brief description of the treatment of six urines – it barely occupies ff. 22v to 23v –. Then follows the recipe collection, and the last folios gather a section in Latin (ff. 37v and 38r) and a recipe to prepare a drink of Antioche (ff. 38v-40v).

<sup>6</sup> The online Wellcome Catalogue labels it as a pseudo-Hippocratic text (<http://archives.wellcomelibrary.org/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28%28AltRefNo%3D%27ms%27%29AND%28AltRefNo%3D%27405%27%29%29>).

### 3. ANALYSIS OF THE PUNCTUATION SYSTEM

The punctuation repertoire of ff. 21v-40r is fairly restricted, as only three signs are employed: the cross, the paragraph mark and the *punctus* (see Fig. 1). Such a reduced inventory hints at each sign displaying a variety of uses at different levels:

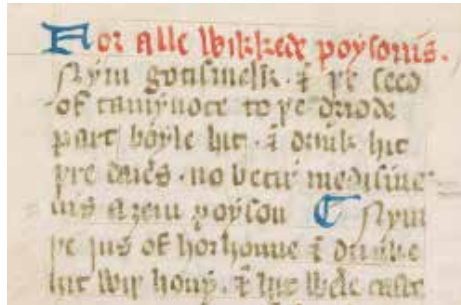


Fig. 1. Sample of punctuation signs (f. 31v). (The Wellcome Collection and Library are thanked for granting permission to reproduce this image).

In this section we will analyse separately the contexts in which each sign appears, and attention will be paid to the uses and function(s) these marks serve.

#### 3.1. THE CROSS

Two crosses are found in the *LI*, both of which are rendered in blue, a visual cue that makes them stand out on the page. Initials in blue follow both occurrences, too.

What particularly calls our attention is the context of these two occurrences, which are located in f. 37v, in the passage in Latin (ff. 37v-38r). Yet, the use of the cross does not seem to be conditioned by the language in which the text is written, but rather by the type of text, as both instances visually mark off the group of words that is typically used to cross oneself, as shown in (1) below:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The examples offered to illustrate the various uses of the punctuation signs are taken from the transcription of the text available at the corpus site. Following the conventions of the corpus, the original punctuation and line division are preserved, along with spelling (including specific letters like thorn, the positionally-conditioned alternation of <u> and <v>, and so on) and capitalisation. Italics stand for expanded abbreviations. The only change implemented with respect to the online transcription is the use of underlining whenever colours (red or blue) are used, and of bold to mark the relevant punctuation and context under scrutiny.



(1) letuse oft **+ In** nomine patris  
 et . Filis . et . Spirito . Sancto . Amen Per crucis hoc sig  
 num et cetera Et per idem et cetera per signum  
 scem **crucis +** Beata appo (f. 37v)

Further evidence from W405 that supports the claim that the use of the cross is motivated by presence of a prayer-related element (although also in Latin) comes from ff. 7r and 7v, where other occurrences of this sign, in either blue or red, are attested in the rendering of a similar string of words (aimed at crossing oneself). Therefore, the cross seems to serve a purpose that goes beyond the grammatical/rhetorical function, even when it helps to mark syntactic boundaries. Looked from the ‘visual pragmatics’ point of view, the function of marking off prayer-related elements can be located at textual level in Carroll, Peikola, Salmi, Varila, Skaffari and Hiltunen’s terminology (2013: 58-63), as it is related to the signalling of organisational patterns.

### 3.2. THE PARAGRAPH MARK

There is a total of 30 paragraph marks in the *LI*. As with the crosses, they stand out on the page owing to the use of blue ink. 10 of these paragraph marks are preceded by *puncti*, but we have not considered these sequences of two signs as a single punctuation symbol since the paragraph mark on its own may also perform the same uses (e.g. separating independent sentences and/or separating independent ideas), as shown in the examples below and further discussed in section 3.3. The distribution of these sequences is also relevant: although in most cases the signs follow one another in the same line (8×), whether in line-final (3×) or medial (5×) position, they also appear in different lines (2×, in ff. 22r and 24r), which reinforces their being considered two different signs.

Petti claimed that the paragraph mark was an indicator of the beginning of a new heading, book or chapter (1977: 27), and Parkes later on argued that it signalled a new section (1992: 44), a use that Carroll, Peikola, Salmi, Varila, Skaffari and Hiltunen agree on calling “shifting, or initiating, function” (2013: 60). Similar views on this widespread function of the paragraph mark are shown in the studies by Calle-Martín and Miranda-García (2005: 33), Esteban-Segura (2009: 102) or de la Cruz Cabanillas (2014: 152). Such statements indicate that the function of this sign goes beyond marking syntactic units to reflect the organisation of the text into different units. This is especially evident with the paragraph marks in ff. 21v, 22v and 23v (totalling 4×; see (2) below), which separate the prologue, the tract on humours, the urines section and the compilation of recipes – the

four structural components of the *LI*. These, of course, overlap with syntactic boundaries, but the grammatical function is not the prevalent one here. It is also remarkable that these paragraph marks are followed by capital letters (rather than by lower-case letters, as in other instances), a visual cue that reinforces the division into sections (see also de la Cruz Cabanillas 2016: 22).<sup>8</sup> This evinces that the paragraph mark helps to separate sections, hence performing a pragmatic function at textual level:

(2) of eueri gras . þat schewid  
was to ýpocras . ¶ Now  
loke þeron wiþ gode wil . eueri  
man. Boþe lowde and stille best ||  
and brid . bodyes þen (ff. 21v-22r)

The other instances of the paragraph mark are also important at the macro-textual or organisational level, even if they simultaneously contribute to signalling syntactic relations at sentence level. In ff. 22r, 23r and 23v (that is, in the tract on humours and the uroscopy) the paragraph mark indicates a new idea or item being put forward (6×), thus also separating independent sentences. For instance, those in ff. 23r and 23v mark off the different types of urines in the uroscopy, as shown in (3). Some of them are preceded by *puncti* (see also 3.3. below):

(3) he be with childe . ¶ vryne  
of wommen þat is as gold cler  
and hem . bý tokneþ þat wommen  
haþ wil to man . ¶ vryne  
of man or of womman . þat (f. 23r)

In the recipe collection, the paragraph mark is used 17× in very specific contexts (which are also discussed by Marqués-Aguado 2009: 59 and 2011: 67): 7 instances signal the beginning of new recipes, which commonly start with a rubricated title, as in (4);<sup>9</sup> and the remaining 10 occurrences precede an alternative remedy or an alternative application of the medical preparation. Most of these 10× are coordinated clauses beginning with ‘other’/‘or’, as shown in (5), although some NP are also attested, as in (6), so that the paragraph mark also shows grammatical functions. It is worth mentioning that these two uses in the recipe collection do

<sup>8</sup> Size is another method reviewed by Carroll, Peikola, Salmi, Varila, Skaffari and Hiltunen regarding visual cues (2013: 57).

<sup>9</sup> The rubricated titles in W405 typically make reference to the purpose of the remedy given next. This is one of the recipe elements Stannard analyses regarding the types of information of recipes, also called *Fachinformation* (1982).

not co-occur in the same folios of the text, since the use of separating recipes is only present up to f. 28r, while the presentation of alternatives begins in f. 30v. Moreover, no paragraph mark is found after f. 37v, which is a remarkable detail as to the distribution of this sign:

(4) *and* hit schal  
make þi mouþ clene ¶ **ffor**  
**ache of teep** Schaue þe her  
tishorn . *and* boyle hit wel in apot (f. 27v)

(5) Tempre þe  
crowmis of wette bred *with*  
water *and* wit gleȝer of an  
eȝ *and* leȝ þer vp on *and* it cha | |  
le it clewe for rankle of blo  
delest binde þe leuis of þe  
rede wortis ¶ **Or nim** hok  
kis *and* þe rinde of withi *and*  
boyle it in win *and* do þer on  
wel hote for wat maner  
gowt þu wilt (ff. 34r-34v)

(6) Or  
nim fresche chese *and* seþ  
hit wel in rede win or in  
water *and* ȝif him to ete  
¶ **Or þe heued of þe crane** | |  
*and* þe fet *and* þe guttis *and* do  
hit to drie inan euen  
for to þou mow make  
poudre þer of (ff. 32v-33r)

The remaining three occurrences of the paragraph mark signal a new sentence (2×), as in (7), where it also marks the next step in the preparation of a remedy; and the enumeration of clausal elements, as shown in (8). As the examples illustrate, these paragraph marks also flag medical information:

(7) *and* ȝif he  
caste hit noȝt men mowe  
hem hele ¶ **After þat ȝif him**  
euerday þre grasas *temperit*  
to gedere wit altil ale (f. 33r)

(8) þat oper to  
þe wombe ¶ **þe dridde to**

þe spleýn . þe ferþe to þe  
bladdre (f. 22v)

In sum, although this mark performs a variety of uses, all of them can be explained through the pragmatic function of punctuation, as it works at textual level to organise the text and to highlight important medical information (recipes, sequencing of steps, alternatives, etc.). The grammatical function is also served alongside the pragmatic one in many cases, but not as the predominant one.

### 3.3. THE PUNCTUS

The *punctus* is used 266x, a frequency that makes it, by far, the most common sign in the *LI*. The same sign has been found to be the most frequent one of the repertoires explored in the studies by Obegi Gallardo (2006: 103) or Esteban-Segura (2009: 96). Compared to the other two punctuation signs, the *punctus* shows a broader range of uses. In fact, the relevant literature (e.g. Arakelian 1975: 620; Brown 1990: 8; Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2005: 37-38; or Marqués-Aguado 2011: 58) has stressed that the *punctus* had a wide variety of functions. Zeeman paid special attention to its various grammatical uses, including those at sentential, clausal and phrasal levels (1956: 14), while for Hector the *punctus* had “other purposes besides punctuation” that comprised marking abbreviations and separating numerals and *siglae* off the rest of the text (1966: 46).

For the sake of clarity, the uses of the *punctus* will be analysed taking into consideration the sections of the *LI* (prologue, tract on humours, uroscopy and recipe collection) where they appear, since some differences can be put down only to content (e.g. some uses related to recipes are, obviously, only spotted in the recipe collection).

Before analysing the instances of the *punctus*, a comment needs to be added on its co-occurrence with the paragraph mark. As already discussed in section 3.2, some *puncti* are followed by paragraph marks, including 2x that separate sections, as shown in example (2) above. In these cases the *punctus* seems to put an end to the preceding section. The same use (i.e. separating sections) applies in the other contexts where the two marks co-occur: the separation of different ideas (see (11) below); the end of an item within the urines section, as in (3) above twice; and the end of a recipe, as shown in (20) below.

The *punctus* performs a variety of uses in the first three sections of the *LI*, many of which veer towards the grammatical function:

- a) To enclose a parenthetical comment that helps to specify (3 pairs of *puncti* and one isolated *punctus*), as in (9) (see also Marqués-Aguado 2011: 61).

Rodríguez-Álvarez also notes that this function may be served by just one sign rather than by a pair (1999: 39):

(9) þei  
mowen knowen . **and** **namelich**  
**body of man.** for he is makid.  
after adam. (f. 22r)

- b) To coordinate clauses (5×), as in (10), which is one of the functions most frequently noticed in the literature (e.g. Rodríguez-Álvarez 1999: 34; Esteban-Segura 2009: 96; Marqués-Aguado 2009: 64 and 2011: 62, 69; or de la Cruz Cabanillas 2014: 145, among others). These clauses, nonetheless, may also signal steps in the preparation of the remedy. Thus, the *punctus* also contributes to signal functions at the textual and interactional levels:

(10) bi  
tokneþ goud hele . **and** **panne**  
**schulle** 3e wel knowe alle þe  
vrynes . of oure bodyes . **And**  
**whanne þu hast** hem knowe  
fele þingis þu most lere. (f. 23v)

- c) To separate independent (but related) clauses (5×), as in (11), which also features a paragraph mark to separate ideas and introduce this four-item listing:

(11) sekuliche.  
¶ þat on is hot . **þat oþer is**  
cold . **þe dridde is** drie . **þe**  
**ferþe is** moist. (f. 22r)

- d) To coordinate phrase components (1×) or to link phrase components (2×), as shown in (10) above, with a *punctus* between the head noun (“vrynes”) and the dependent *of*-phrase (“of oure bodyes”).

In turn, other uses of the *punctus* that are attested across the whole LI are the following ones:

- a) To separate sentences (13×), as illustrated in (12) below. As also commented in section 3.2, some of the items in the urines sections are separated by both a *punctus* and a paragraph mark, as shown in (3) above:

(12) *and* drink hit  
þre daies . **no betir medicine**  
**nis** aȝein poȝson (f. 31v)

- b) To separate main from subordinate clauses (25×), including relative clauses (as in (13)) and also adverbial clauses that indicate time (when something needs to be done, as in (14)), purpose (as in (15)), condition, cause, etc. Some of these, again, illustrate medical procedures or explanations. This is another function that is typically (though not exclusively) linked to the *punctus*, as the studies surveyed show (e.g. Rodríguez-Álvarez 1999: 36; Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2005: 39; Esteban-Segura 2009: 96-97; Marqués-Aguado 2009: 64 and 2011: 63, 69; and de la Cruz Cabanillas 2014: 146-147):

(13) *and* do hit  
to his erin Ore þe jus of  
wermod . **þat wele amendi þi**  
**heringe** Ore þe jus of walwort  
þat makip̃ goud heringe . (f. 28v)

(14) *and* boyle  
hit in apot . **forte hit is half**  
**ýwastid** . *and* sete hit (f. 27r)

(15) *and* do hit to his nose  
terlis . **þat he haue wel þe**  
**smel** . *and* make (f. 23v)

- c) To separate clause components. This function (also performed by the *punctus* in the texts studied by Esteban-Segura 2009: 101; Marqués-Aguado 2009: 64 and 2011: 63, 70; or de la Cruz Cabanillas 2014: 148, among others) is attested 24× across the *LI*, 6× of which are found within the uroscopy section to precede systematically the verb “bitōknen” (6×), which lexically introduces the disease or health problem, as shown in (16), thus signalling important medical information. Another example is provided in (17), where the prepositional phrases headed by “in” are marked off by *puncti*:

(16) vrýne  
of wommen þenne . *and* whit  
zif hit is . wiþ inne þe vrýne  
þat is brygt as siluer . **þý tok-**  
**neþ** for to keste . *and* no wil  
haue to mete . **bi tokniþ** þat  
he be with childe . (f. 23r)

(17) oþer boyle  
þe rote of þe rede coul . **in clene**  
**water** of þe welle to þe hal

uendel . *and* þere wiþ wassche þine  
 heuid . **inbaþ** . (f. 29v)

- d) To coordinate (9×) or to enumerate (2×) phrases, as shown in (18) and (19), the first of which also contains examples of coordinated prepositional phrases that are not punctuated. Coordinating and listing are also mentioned as functions of the punctus in several studies surveyed (e.g. Marqués-Aguado 2009: 64 and 2011: 64; or de la Cruz Cabanillas 2014: 148, among others):

(18) *and* make abait of mariole at  
 þe bottem . **and of ache** *and* of gro  
 oundeswilie *and* of lemke . **and of**  
**ýsope . and of houndistunge** heý  
 hone . (f. 30r)

(19) þat hit wolde  
 helpe eueri **man . Wif and child** (f. 21v)

As with the paragraph mark, the *punctus* is used in the recipe collection section to separate recipes (22×) and to introduce an alternative recipe (1×), among other uses (see also Marqués-Aguado 2009: 64 and 2011: 60, 67), hence displaying pragmatic functions at textual level. As for the separation of recipes, we find cases of *puncti* before a paragraph mark and the rubricated title of the following recipe (2×) and of *puncti* before a rubricated title (17×), both of which are exemplified in (20); and also of *puncti* not followed by rubricated titles or paragraph marks at all (3×; see (21)). Both (20) and (22) show that the *punctus* may also be used to put an end to titles of recipes (28×). Notwithstanding, these practices are not fully systematic: some recipes lack a final punctuation mark, as shown in (22) after “helpe him”, and so do some recipe titles (see the second “Anoþer” in (20)):

(20) tille  
 hit be hol . **Anoþer**. Ným  
 rewe *and* tempre hit wiþ strong  
 eýsel *and* þere wiþ smere wel  
 þyne heuid a bouen. **Anoþer** | |  
 Boýle wel fenel *and* þer wiþ  
 wassche wel þýne heued. ¶  
**For alle achis of þe heuid**  
 Nime þe mole leuis (ff. 25r-25v)

(21) *and* 3if hit  
 him to drinke a morwe *and* an  
 eue . *and* hit schal hele him for soþe.  
**Ným þe sed of ache** *and* of mynte

*and* of pepir *and* of honý *with* alitel  
wine . *and* tempre hit to gedere . (f. 30v)

(22) *and* hit wole helpe him

**For þe feuer quartaïn.**

Nim þe plauntes (f. 36v)

Yet, the most frequent use of the *punctus* within the recipe collection is to mark the coordination of clauses, a function mentioned above. Most of these occurrences reflect the steps in the preparation of a remedy (78x; see for instance (4) (“*and boyle*”), (17) (“*and þere wiþ wassche*”) or (21) (“*and tempre hit*”) above, and also (23) below). This linguistic trait is linked to the features of recipes: as Taavitsainen puts forward (2001: 98-100), recipes are characterised by series of short clauses with a verb in the imperative that are coordinated by means of “*and*” – also called paratactic style (Carroll 1999: 31). In pragmatic terms, this is connected to the textual and interactional levels, insofar as the *punctus* organises the text but also guides the reader through the procedure by marking the subsequent steps:

(23) Ným

agras þat is clepid sentorie

þe mountaunce of a peny

wiþte . **and tempre** hit wiþ vrine

of awomman . **and 3if** hit him to

drinke . **and he schal ouercome**

al his euil . **and he schal passe**

out . **and** afterwardus . **neme** þre

corppis of hertistunge *and* go

tismelk (f. 31r)

Less frequent uses of the *punctus* in the recipes section (but also referred to in the relevant literature explored) include: a) to introduce an alternative item (in the shape of a prepositional phrase or a noun phrase) or course of action (a clause) as in (24), as the paragraph mark also does; b) to coordinate (11x) and to enumerate (4x) noun phrases (most of which are ingredients), as shown in (25); and c) to enclose Roman numerals (4 pairs, as in (26)) and a word in Latin in the English text (another pair, shown in (27)). Some of these also mark grammatical functions:

(24) Tak

þe ius of ground ýui . *and* do

hit to his noseterlis . **or þe**

**ius of dragauns . or tempre**

**wel þe rose** . *and* boyle wel in

wýne wiþ a lite honý. (f. 30v)



(25) Tak a quan  
 tite of Rewe . **a noþer of**  
 ground ýui . **and þe dridde . þe**  
**lef** of lorere . *and* boýle (f. 24r)

(26) violette *and* . **v.** hanful of  
 auence croppis *and* rote *and* . **v.**  
 of erbe water *and* . **v.** of betay  
 ne croppis *and* rote (f. 39r)

(27) *and* let boýle hem  
 to gedere bý þe space of þis  
 psalm sýng. **miserere mei** | |  
**ds** . *and* þanne do þi lýcour in a (ff. 39v-40r)

Finally, the passage in Latin (ff. 37v-38r) offers a very specific use of the *punctus* (7×), which is marking off the components Son and Holy Spirit in the prayer-oriented sequence of words in f. 37v (see (1)), and also to enclose a capital “N” in f. 38r.

Therefore, the uses of the *punctus* in the *LI* reveal that it is conceived as a versatile symbol that performs different grammatical functions at all levels (sentential, clausal and phrasal), along with others that can be placed at the macro-textual or pragmatic domains (textual and interactional). This fully coincides with what the relevant literature reports for this sign.

As with the paragraph marks, it is worth casting light on the distribution of the *punctus* across the whole *LI*. Even if some uses of the *punctus* are common to all four sections, a change is observed after f. 32v, since from this point onwards it gets restricted mainly to marking the end of titles of recipes or the end of recipes themselves, and also to marking off Roman numerals (a use which is only found in the drink of Antioche section).

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The study conducted has disclosed a fairly systematic punctuation practice in the *LI* in W405, which is oriented towards the marking of pragmatic functions at different levels (chiefly textual and occasionally interactional) and of grammatical functions (at sentential, clausal and phrasal levels). Contrariwise, there is no trace of the rhetorical function, even if the invocation to Hippocrates can be placed under a verse tradition. The specific pragmatic functions discussed are context-dependent (see also Marqués-Aguado 2009: 67-68), insofar as the particular uses are conditioned by the specialised nature of text, which includes recipes and their titles,

alternative procedures, and so on. Grammatical functions, in turn, are not bound by the type of text, but rather depend on syntactic structures being clearly deployed.

The findings of this study agree in general terms with those of other studies examined. The analysis has shown that punctuation marks are not systematically added in all the contexts where a particular use is attested (see e.g. de la Cruz Cabanillas 2014: 155-156), but this cannot be taken as an indicator of its fully random nature either. Rather to the contrary, the study conducted points at clear tendencies of use that show “internal coherence” (de la Cruz Cabanillas 2014: 156). The examples offered also evince that some of the uses examined can be served by two signs in the text (i.e. the paragraph mark and the *punctus*), as is also the case of most of the studies surveyed (Rodríguez-Álvarez 1999: 29; Esteban-Segura 2009: 105; Marqués-Aguado 2009: 68 and 2011: 71; or de la Cruz Cabanillas 2014: 156, to mention but a few). Nonetheless, if attention is paid to the relation of functions and signs, the paragraph mark has been found to be more frequently used to signal pragmatic functions, whereas the *punctus* has a wider scope and displays both grammatical and pragmatic functions. This reveals some kind of specialisation of uses or functions for each punctuation symbol.

Quantitative evidence provides us with a general overview of the punctuation practice in the *LI*, but qualitative assessment of the data allows us to uncover interesting scribal practices. As explained in section 2, Edmar suggested that three scribes could have participated in the rendering of the *LI*, with breaks in ff. 32v and 38r. When analysed in detail, the pointing practice changes across the *LI*, since the total number of punctuation signs diminishes drastically after f. 32v (with only 23 *puncti* and 9 paragraph marks out of the total of 298x in the *LI*, and with some folios completely devoid of punctuation). Moreover, the range of uses of the *punctus* becomes unexpectedly reduced, and no paragraph marks are attested beyond f. 37 v (immediately before the text in Latin and the second likely break). This would point at scribal, rather than authorial, punctuation, and would add evidence to the possibility of having several scribes rendering the *LI*, although further work on this textual tradition could bring to light additional evidence along this line.

It is hoped that contributions like this may help to build a diachronic account of punctuation practices in medieval times, with special focus on non-literary texts. In any case, future work in the field lies ahead, including the contribution of recent approaches like the pragmatics-on-the-page one.

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## EMPATHY FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE: THE CASE OF MALALA YOUSAFZAI

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**ABSTRACT.** *This essay demonstrates the effectiveness of human rights life narratives in garnering global support through their appeal to empathy. I focus on Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai's autobiographical texts and their impact on lives outside the written pages, which is first and foremost of an empathic nature. The essay pays special attention to her childhood blog and her teenage autobiography, looking at the narrative strategies employed in both. Autobiographical texts are never neutral, enabling people to see themselves under a new light, spurring them to act. The delicate balance between witnessing and involvement hangs on the creation of an emotional bond.*

*Keywords:* Malala Yousafzai, empathy, human rights, autobiography, blog, narrative.

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## EMPATÍA Y JUSTICIA SOCIAL: EL CASO DE MALALA YOUSAFZAI

**RESUMEN.** Este artículo demuestra la eficacia de las narrativas autobiográficas acerca de derechos humanos en conseguir atención y apoyo global gracias a su llamada a la empatía. Me centro en los textos autobiográficos de la Premio Nobel de la Paz Malala Yousafzai y en su impacto en vidas dentro y fuera de sus páginas, de naturaleza primordialmente empática. El artículo atiende especialmente al blog que escribió de niña y a su autobiografía de juventud, buscando dar luces sobre las estrategias narrativas empleadas en ambos. Los textos autobiográficos nunca son neutrales, lo cual permite al lector verse desde otro punto de vista y moverse a la acción. El equilibrio entre dar testimonio y participar depende en gran medida de la capacidad del texto de promover un vínculo emocional.

*Palabras clave:* Malala Yousafzai, empatía, derechos humanos, autobiografía, blog, narrativa.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

In this essay, I explore Malala Yousafzai's autobiography, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban* (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013), as well as other instances of Malala's life narrative project to show how she deploys empathy to garner support for her cause – education for girls. Born in Pakistan in 1997, Malala has become a public figure, known only by her first name, primarily because of the Taliban's shooting of her in an attempt to silence her activism. She has led a public life from girlhood, beginning with a blog for the BBC when she was eleven ("Diary" 2009). Then, she appeared in two *New York Times* documentaries between the ages of eleven and twelve, but it was the terrorist attack that made her a global icon. That happened when she was fifteen, and, since then, she has become an advocate for the cause of girls' education worldwide, going on to speak at the United Nations and to win the Nobel Peace Prize for her advocacy and message of forgiveness.

Drawing from Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith's seminal work *Human Rights and Narrated Lives*, I use the term "life narrative" "as an umbrella term that encompasses the extensive array and diverse modes of personal storytelling that takes experiential history as its starting point [...] oral or written testimony" (2004: 7). This blend of oral and written text for testimonial purposes is precisely what defines Malala Yousafzai's life narrative as she uses storytelling to narrate her life but also as a vehicle to denounce rights transgressions on a broader scale. Schaffer and Smith claim that "life narratives have become one of the most potent



vehicles for advancing human rights claims” (2004: 1). Further, they note the efficacy of these life narratives in the context of human rights abuse, emphasizing the role these stories may play in society while at the same time acknowledging their dangers:

Stories may generate strong sensations, feelings, and embodied responses for tellers and their audiences, at times of first and subsequent witnessing. [...] Sensations [...] can promote healing and solidarity among disaffected groups and provide avenues for empathy across circuits of difference. They can activate interest [...]. They can also [...] turn subjects of story into spectacle, reduce difference to sameness, and induce exhaustion. While affect offers a potential for change, for becoming, it is impossible to predict how sensations will be channeled into knowledge or practice. (2004: 6–7)

The difficulty inherent to human rights life narratives is also discussed in *We Shall Bear Witness: Life Narratives and Human Rights*, edited by Meg Jensen and Margaretta Jolly (2014). However, despite qualms as to truth claims or the “commodification of narratives of suffering” (Smith and Watson 2010: 17), life narratives have the potential to become “potent weapons in political movements” (219). Indeed, Jolly refers to the need to look “at the mobilization of public concern through personal accounts and life story narrations as a frequently neglected dimension of change and delivery” (2014: 4). Anthropologist Marianne Gullestad notes that life narratives can “have a potentially transformative impact on ‘society’” (1996: 32), as those that describe human rights abuse, such as Malala’s, can influence decisions that are made on a global scale. Malala’s autobiographical exercises, constructed through multiple channels, may have led her to the Nobel Peace Prize and might lead to future legislation. An intrinsic part of her identity as an education activist, her campaign for global access to equal quality education is ongoing.

Empathy is arguably one of the most salient characteristics of life narratives, particularly those associated with human rights causes. Schaffer and Smith have discussed how activists deploy rights discourse to “capture the interest, empathy, and political responsiveness of readers” (2004: 27). Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson explain, drawing on Schaffer and Smith’s theory, that “scenes of witness entwine the narrator, the story, and the listener/reader in an ethical call for empathic identification and accountability, recognition, and oftentimes action” (2010: 133–134). The sort of reaction these highly affective texts will elicit will depend on the socio-political context of reception, on the personal circumstances of the reader, and multiple other reasons. However, these life narrative projects would inevitably be bound for oblivion or disregard without empathy as a narrative tool. Indeed, the testimonial nature of the witnessing act embedded in human rights life narratives

requires the reader to engage with the text in a way conducive to “empathic identification” (Whitlock 2015: 9). Otherwise, without the reader as witness, the testimonial text fails – “the sound of one hand clapping” (68). For rights claims to be recognized, therefore, activists turned life narrators need to ensure their texts succeed in affecting the reader emotionally before they can effect change.

Philosopher Martha C. Nussbaum defines “empathy” as the ability “to see the world from another’s viewpoint” (2012: 36), which bears a close relationship to theories of reader reception: “We integrate what we have read into our reading of other texts and into our way of looking at ourselves and the world” (Schwarz 2001: 15). Cognitivists have pointed to a link between literature and “pro-social behavior” (Hammond and Kim 2014: 7–8). The idea that empathy is related to “prosocial” behavior had earlier been proposed by social psychologists such as Nancy Eisenberg (1982). The “empathy-altruism hypothesis” posed by Daniel C. Batson (1991) has played a vital role, but it has also been subject to criticism. Thus, Amy Shuman argues that an empathic stance may create voyeurs out of readers; in that sense, there might be empathy but no real change: “Empathy offers the possibility of understanding across space and time, but it rarely changes the circumstances of those who suffer. If it provides inspiration, it is [...] for those in the privileged position of empathizer rather than empathized” (2005: 5). However, Richard Rorty (1993), among others, deems life narratives of suffering as more important than reason in constructing new ideas of rights thanks to empathic identification (qtd. in Jolly 2014: 7). Perhaps the key to seeing empathy in relation to altruism lies in a redefinition of altruism acknowledging that the other is already part of us:

We talk about political actions as some kind of obligation that we owe, as individuals, to society, to others: we should be *altruistic*, not “self-centered”. But if we are characters, social creatures by origin and definition, political and philanthropic actions are not performed out of duty to others but as acts of “self”-preservation; if the others are in me, “altruism” – the service of alterity – and selfishness must either not be contrasted at all, or if they are contrasted the lines must be drawn in new ways. (Booth 1988: 243–244)

Cultivating our emotions may therefore have a positive impact on “our reasoning capacity as political creatures” (Nussbaum 2001: 3), even if the danger of falling into self-indulgence needs to be acknowledged (399). Needless to say, empathy is not the panacea to all of humanity’s problems. Shuman points out that there has been major criticism against the risk of over-empathizing: “Appropriation can use one person’s tragedy to serve as another’s inspiration and preserve, rather than subvert, oppressive situations” (2005: 5). The answer may lie in distinguishing empathy from identification, as LaCapra suggests: “empathy may be contrasted

with identification (as fusion with the other) insofar as empathy marks the point at which the other is indeed recognized and respected as other, and one does not feel compelled or authorized to speak in the other's voice or take the other's place, for example, as surrogate victim or perpetrator" (2001: 27). Though I agree with the concerns regarding an overly optimistic vision of empathy, I believe that it has the potential for social good, as it provides insight into other people's lives. Through the lens of empathy, life narratives that deal with human rights abuse lead the public to understand why injustice is unacceptable and consider their role in making changes.

Suzanne Keen's theory of narrative empathy may shed light on activist autobiographical texts. Keen sees authorial "strategic narrative empathy" as "representational techniques aimed at moving their readers [...] especially the case of nonfiction narratives that link up with the advancement in human rights" (2016: 20). Among the three types of authorial narrative empathy discussed by Keen, Malala's texts combine two: "ambassadorial strategic empathy" (20) and "broadcast strategic empathy" (22). Malala's life narrative project deploys "ambassadorial strategic empathy" to bring to light a current cause – the Taliban attacks on girls' education. But, as Keen cautions, such time-sensitive causes have sell-by dates (20). On the other hand, "broadcast strategic empathy" employs "universals that will reach everyone" thus overcoming the durability criteria of "less robust strategic empathizing" (22). Keen concludes that texts may blend "empathetic appeals" to secure durability (22). With this in mind, I argue that Malala deploys both ambassadorial and broadcast empathy to a point where her message will persist the passing of time. As Keen defines it, "strategic empathizing works by calling upon familiarity; it attempts to transcend differences in order to deflect biased reactions to characters from outgroups. It can also rely on representations of universal human experiences to connect through shared feelings" (20). I will focus on precisely how Malala enacts this, as I explore the "narrative devices" that draw the reader in by calling on "common human experiences, feelings, hopes, and vulnerabilities" (22), namely the choice of pronouns, emphatic repetition, rhetorical questions, humor, and the appeal to common human experiences and feelings that binds them all. Indeed, these practices are all intertwined, and progressively combined in her later texts. In what follows, I focus on Malala Yousafzai's autobiographical texts to illustrate what human rights life narratives can do. Specifically, I signal the way Malala's autobiographical texts deploy empathy as a call to action. In order to do that, she uses what Martínez García calls "empathetic mechanisms" (2016), resorting to universal topics that promote the articulation of an emotional bond in such a way as to "*move* people in two distinct ways – emotionally and to action" (127). These mechanisms are designed

to lead people to share her feelings and want to help her in her fight for global education. Thus, she appeals to our shared experience of childhood, adolescence, human emotions and the multiple channels through which she may connect with an international readership and mobilize empathy.

## 2. MALALA, THE CHILD BLOGGER<sup>1</sup>

When she was just 11, the BBC Urdu branch in Pakistan contacted Swati schools because they wanted an inside view on what Talibanization was doing to girls' and women's daily lives. The BBC was interested in a blog, a first-person testimonial on the part of a Swati teacher or a schoolgirl. With growing Taliban presence in the region of Swat valley, and the surge of violence against women in what were considered to be Western attitudes such as clothing, walking somewhere on their own without a male escort, or receiving education other than religious, the situation that women and girls were living was not getting enough attention. Public flogging, for example, had become a common spectacle in the area. For obvious reasons, the BBC insider would be protected by using a pseudonym – Gul Makai.

Malala was not the BBC's first choice. However, there was an element of Malala's personal life that proved decisive: her father. Whereas other girls that were contacted had no qualms whatsoever and were even excited at the prospect of writing for the BBC, their parents were set against it, considering the risk their daughters would be placing themselves in. What set Malala apart from other girls was, ultimately, the fact that her father was fearless. Ziauddin Yousafzai had been vocal about the right of all children to education in the region of Swat since before Malala was born. His fluent Pashto, Urdu and English, even if at times impaired by nerves, made him a prominent figure (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013: 115). Her father's fellow activists were acquainted with her and accustomed to having her sit in their meetings. As she remembers, they would say "Malala is not just the daughter of Ziauddin [...] she is the daughter of all of us" (116). Ziauddin encouraged all the pupils at his school to speak out against the ban on girls' education (117). Malala's step into the limelight was thus the natural response of a committed daughter to one of her father's greatest ideals – girls' education.

The diary had quite a short life, but proved to be very successful. It received so many visits that it was later translated into English ("Diary" 2009) and posted

<sup>1</sup> Douglas and Poletti have discussed Malala's blog in *Life Narratives and Youth Culture: Representation, Agency and Participation* (2016: 203–224). They provide an in-depth analysis of the blog as an example of how youth activism online may influence education policies. Douglas has further analyzed what she calls Malala's "collaborative archive" (2017), paying special attention to the collaborative nature of her life narrative project. However, this essay takes a different stance, as it focuses on strategic empathy as the key to explain how Malala's youth-authored autobiographical texts succeed in garnering support.

on the mainstream BBC website. In the first entry, entitled “SATURDAY 3 JANUARY: I AM AFRAID”, Gul Makai talks about the Taliban edict banning girls from going to school: “On my way from school to home I heard a man saying ‘I will kill you’. I hastened my pace and after a while I looked back [sic] if the man was still coming behind me. But to my utter relief he was talking on his mobile and must have been threatening someone else over the phone” (“Diary” 2009). Malala’s fears were grounded in reality, as later events proved. Crucially, though the blog is personal, her concerns are shared by many other girls in her country and in many other places all over the world where girls are not allowed to go to school. The choice of the pronoun “I” to stand for a collectivity is a narrative device, the first instance of her authorial strategic empathizing (Keen 2016: 20). The testimonial form of the “I” exemplifies Keen’s concept of “ambassadorial strategic empathy” (20), focusing on the group at a disadvantage, here the community of girls from the Global South whose education is at stake. Gul Makai’s blog was designed as an “exemplary narrative [...] strategically deployed to personalize the story [...] [and] lend specificity to the suffering attached to this particular rights violation” (Schaffer and Smith 2004: 175). In Malala’s case, the right that comes under threat is the right to education. Thus, Gul Makai’s first entry makes the reader wonder to what extent she realized the danger she was in while writing. This “I” speaks for millions of girls worldwide who are out of the educational system for many different reasons, but most particularly those whose surroundings make it impossible for them to attend school, either due to war, health hazards, or socio-cultural constraints. In the same blog entry, a second narrative device designed to generate empathy, the reference to a common human experience – going to school – and the feelings attached to it – ranging from acute awareness to actual fear – is present. Moving from “ambassadorial” to “broadcast” narrative empathy (Keen 2016: 22), the text emphasizes common human experiences to increase its chances of transcending time.

Gul Makai’s second entry, “SUNDAY 4 JANUARY: I HAVE TO GO TO SCHOOL”, focuses on how dull holidays have become since the arrival of the Taliban in the region and, again, her fear: “Today I did some household chores, my homework and played with my brother. But my heart was beating fast – as I have to go to school tomorrow” (“Diary” 2009). While she used to love school, now she is too afraid to enjoy it. The nuanced repetition of going to school, present in the title, and in block letters to boot, is quite noticeably a further narrative device for strategic empathizing. Girls cannot possibly wish to go to school while under threat. Instead, if forced to do so, they must see it as an obligation outside their control, thus the use of “I HAVE TO GO” instead of *must*, which would imply a more personal decision. Using Keen’s terminology, this extract deploys

“strategic broadcast empathy” (2016: 20), when it stresses common actions – doing homework, chores, playing – and feelings of many schoolchildren. At the same time, the extract deploys “strategic ambassadorial empathy” (22), as the ominous presence of the Taliban in the region is the reason why she does not want to go to school, not boredom or childhood mischief.

Gul Makai’s third entry, “MONDAY 5 JANUARY: DO NOT WEAR COLOURFUL DRESSES”, explains how first she is told to avoid a uniform, then told off for choosing a pink dress “as the [sic] Taleban would object to it” (“Diary” 2009). In her fourth entry, “WEDNESDAY 7 JANUARY: NO FIRING OR FEAR”, she uses nostalgia to call on our empathic reactions as she compares her home region of Swat to another geographical region inside Pakistan, Bunair, where there is still peace:

I have come to Bunair to spend Muharram (a Muslim holiday) on vacation. I adore Bunair because of its mountains and lush green fields. My Swat is also very beautiful but there is no peace. But in Bunair there is peace and tranquillity. Neither is there any firing nor any fear. We all are very happy. (“Diary” 2009)

The simple way in which the narrating “I” describes the landscape, marking the contrast between Swat and Bunair, war and peace, fear and happiness, magnifies the empathetic experience for readers, who are compelled to witness through the child’s eyes the instability of happiness in warzones. This “child’s-eye” perspective in the context of human rights life narratives has been analyzed, among others, by Sidonie Smith (2006). By focusing on the experience of a universal symbol of innocence whose welfare is endangered, the narrating “I” taking up the position of a child stands to gain emotional support through empathic identification.<sup>2</sup>

Gul Makai’s fifth entry, “FRIDAY 9 JANUARY: THE MAULANA GOES ON LEAVE?”, shows some irony when referring to the Maulana’s going on leave, as he was precisely responsible for the ban on girls’ education and had been talking on the radio for a while on a regular basis. This entry features another narrative device deployed for strategic empathy – rhetorical, irony-loaded questions, both in the title and in what follows, as she asks poignantly, “why do these blasts keep happening in Pakistan?” (“Diary” 2009). This girl’s questions present compelling issues to the reader of the blog; they question our moral understanding of a world that allows situations such as this, where schools are bombed during wartime, to go unnoticed or not given the appropriate attention, for example in the media or by political leaders.

The BBC website chose to leave a blank for entries dated 10–13 January, so there is no way of knowing whether she wrote something those days or not.

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<sup>2</sup> For further analysis of the interplay between the child as a trope and life narrative, see Douglas (2009; 2015); Douglas and Poletti (2016); Smith (2006); Schaffer and Smith (2004).

One might wonder what the fate of the girl in question was, but then silence is followed by relief on reading the following entry, knowing that at least she is alive. What comes next, though, is the expected outcome of the escalation of violence sensed in the previous entries. In “WEDNESDAY 14 JANUARY: I MAY NOT GO TO SCHOOL AGAIN”, her school closes down for the holidays and no reopening date is set: “I looked at the building as if I would not come here again” (“Diary” 2009). Just as her 4th-January entry was entitled “I HAVE TO GO TO SCHOOL”, ten days later it is “I MAY NOT GO TO SCHOOL AGAIN”. This nuanced repetition enhances narrative empathy, and the change of modal verb marks a change of events with serious consequences for daily life. “THURSDAY JANUARY 15: NIGHT FILLED WITH ARTILLERY FIRE” signals the end of the blog, as she almost reveals her true identity. She talks about reading the blog with her parents, and joking about the pseudonym: “My mother liked my pen name ‘Gul Makai’ and said to my father ‘why not change her name to Gul Makai?’” (“Diary” 2009). She goes on to say that she likes the name as well, since “my real name means ‘grief stricken’” (“Diary” 2009). This interesting use of a combination of irony, humor, and rhetoric, already present in the previous question from the 9th-January entry (“THE MAULANA GOES ON LEAVE?”), is a constant in Malala’s narrative, as we shall see later on. By the time this final entry was written, Malala Yousafzai had already appeared in the local news talking about girls’ rights to education and had been identified by first and last name. Her identity as the girl behind the blog must have been no longer easy to maintain secret, which could be the reason why she suddenly stopped writing. It might alternatively have been an editorial decision to protect her from harm.

Though short and short-lived, Malala’s blog exemplifies all the narrative devices she uses for strategic empathizing purposes, as suggested earlier – the use of personal pronouns, nuanced repetition, rhetorical questions, humor, and appealing to common human experiences and feelings. These devices coexist, at times in the same sentence. In her later autobiographical texts, she will refine their usage until they become embedded in her narrative.

Shortly after the episode that inaugurated Malala’s blog, *The New York Times* shot two documentaries profiling her. Her first appearance before the camera is memorable: “I want to go to school to get my education, and I want to become a doctor” (Ellick and Ashraf 2009). She cannot finish her sentence because she begins to cry. With schools under the threat of being shut down or blown up by the Taliban, her tears reveal her frustration and the apparent impossibility of her dreams. Then, because of Operation True Path, an attempt on the part of the Pakistani military to drive the Taliban out of Swat valley (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013: 146), her family is forced, together with all residents of Mingora, to leave the city and spend months as internally displaced people or “IDPs” (148). When they

return home and she turns twelve, her father's influence becomes more noticeable. Instead of wanting to become a doctor, now she wants to be a politician and help to change the situation in Pakistan (Ellick 2009). But she has not forgotten her love for books. When she arrives home after months away and sees her schoolwork, she cannot help her tears (Ellick and Ashraf 2009). This emotional outburst triggers an array of complex emotions on the part of the audience: "anger at the perpetrators; empathy with her suffering; critical awareness and activism" (Schaffer and Smith 2004: 150).

In November 2011, Malala tells CNN in an interview: "I have rights. I have the right of education, I have the right to plea, I have the right to sing, I have the right to talk, I have the right to go to market, I have the right to speak up!" (CNN 2013). This insistence on the issue of rights sets the stage for what would become her activist career. Her emphatic repetition is as evident as in any of her other autobiographical texts, more noticeably because of her final shout, something common to all her public speech acts. Her will seems to be one that will not be deterred. Later that year, on 20 December 2011, she is awarded Pakistan's first-ever National Peace Prize (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013: 179). These documents evidence Malala's maturity: her voice has grown stronger, her outspokenness and growing media presence make her more of a target for the Taliban. On 9 October 2012, three armed men stopped her school bus, entered it, and shot her on the left side of her forehead. For Malala, the shooting becomes an emblem, a part of her identity. For the rest of the world, this became an empathetic moment, the reason we came to care. The world could no longer ignore her plight and that of other girls like her, and the issue of women's education again entered the limelight. Malala now became the subject of global news and campaigns flooded the internet.

Having survived the shooting, Malala's advocacy acquired increased urgency. Her story arguably comes across most powerfully in the speech she gave before the United Nations on 12 July 2013, the day of her sixteenth birthday. The effects of the shooting were there – the once-beautiful face of an innocent girl had, in the short space of less than a year, become the gaze of a sage woman. Her discourse contained more determination, intent on provoking listeners, to react, to do something about crimes against girls and women. This was the perfect audience for Malala's message: "world leaders", as she repeatedly insisted (Yousafzai 2013), needed to do more than offer words of consolation: "We call upon the world leaders to change their strategic policies in favor of peace and prosperity. We call upon the world leaders to uphold their peace deals, [sic] must protect women and children's rights" (Yousafzai 2013). Words are used by Malala as *weapons* in her fight for justice: "We believe in the power and the strength of our words. Our words can change the whole world because we are all together,



united for the cause of education” (Yousafzai 2013). There is a key shift in the pronouns she deploys, preferring the first person plural rather than the singular, and this marks not only a narrative device for strategic empathizing purposes, but a change in her social status and her awareness of her role as a representative of many other girls (Martínez García forthcoming). Malala’s use of the first person plural makes her listeners part of her discourse. We are thus not only recipients of her message, but collaborators. She calls on us to recognize the human rights violations taking place, to empathize and identify with her and her claims and to spur activism (Schaffer and Smith 2004: 192). Thus, Malala creates an emotional bond by appealing to human rights, as well as displaying a universal emotion – forgiveness. Instead of seeking retaliation for the violence that she suffered, she maintains that forgiveness “is the legacy of change”, an attitude she learned from, among others, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, as well as Gandhi, Mother Teresa, and her parents (Yousafzai 2013). In one sentence, she links iconic symbols of contemporary culture associated with the idea of peace, regardless of religion or skin color. That she chose to reference her diverse role models at the United Nations establishes her socio-political agenda.

Following Malala’s UN speech and its impact on the media, she visited Harvard University to receive the Humanitarian of the Year Award, where she argued that the help that countries at war are currently receiving is not what they really need: “instead of sending guns, send pens; instead of sending tanks, send books; instead of sending soldiers, send teachers” (Harvard 2013). This argument connects with her earlier position (Forbes 2014; Yousafzai and Lamb 2013: 131; Westall 2015). Excerpts from Malala’s speech at Harvard reveal her strategy of nuanced repetition as she repeats simple short sentences organized in binaries: “instead of [...] send [...]” (Harvard 2013). Indeed, her rhetoric is designed as one typically associated with politicians or activists. Interestingly, at Harvard she chose a discourse that echoes Martin Luther King: “Let us dream today, a dream of a bright future, a world [...] where there is equality and justice, and let us stand up for our rights [...]. Let us make these dreams tomorrow’s reality” (Harvard 2013). She also appeared on the Daily Show to present her autobiography. Finally, Malala’s increasing popularity allowed her to meet some of the world leaders whose help she needed, including Barack Obama and Queen Elizabeth, whom she presented with her book (ITV 2013).

### 3. MALALA, THE TEENAGE AUTOBIOGRAPHER

Malala’s autobiography is her most famous text to date. I now look at the “empathetic mechanisms” (Martínez García 2016) or “narrative devices” (Keen

2016) that are at work when she writes this text, the particular strategies that she employs to connect to her audience, namely her use of a global discourse that can appeal to wide audiences. The empathetic mechanisms Malala used in her blog and her speeches become much more evident in her autobiography. Specifically, she deploys a sophisticated human rights discourse, insisting on the image of the average teenage girl, referring to God and the idea of the Good; then, her strategic use of fear as a human emotion; and finally, her use of visual testimony to make us participate of her pain, as when she uses photographs or her scribbled notes while in hospital.

The most prominent attempt at transcending difference for strategic empathy is her use of a global discourse (Keen 2016: 20–22). Though some human rights activists focus on the specificities of their culture as key to reading their texts in an appeal to save them while at risk of disappearing, others resort to focusing on what is common to human experience instead. In her text, Malala moves in and out of those two contending discourses, at times presenting what is unique about Pashtun culture, at times revealing what they share with Global North readers. To make a call to empathic identification, these latter remarks are vital. For example, she makes references to popular culture that are not that dissimilar from Global North teenager tastes. She not only mentions literary classics, but also trendy things such as drinking Pepsi (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013: 154), watching *Twilight* movies (4) and the *Ugly Betty* series (165), listening to Justin Bieber (4), or reading the *Twilight* saga: “Moniba and I had been reading the *Twilight* books and longed to be vampires” (91). As she describes herself in these extracts, Malala seems to capitalize on the notion of the average teenage girl.

Furthermore, in an attempt to overcome ethnic and religious differences that might foreclose global understanding, Malala chooses a unifying discourse that might bridge the gap between readers of other backgrounds. True enough, she engages in a dignifying, apologetic, discourse of her religion. But, instead of referring to “Allah” or “Muhammed”, she creates an emotional bond with the reader by making constant references to “God” as the source of her strength, praying to Him and trusting in His eternal Mercy. Choosing the word “God”, she makes it easy for a Western audience to empathize. At a time when a self-proclaimed Muslim identity may be controversial, she makes it clear that Muslims are not the enemy: “At night I used to pray a lot. The Taliban think we are not Muslims but we are. [...] I’d pray to God, ‘Bless us. First our father and family, then our street, then our whole *moballa*, then all Swat’. Then I’d say, ‘No, all Muslims’. Then, ‘No, not just Muslims; bless all human beings’” (199). Malala’s prayer is focused on the reception on the part of the reader, left in wonder at this girl who is capable of enduring suffering and finds the time to pray for the rest of the world. She manages to bind

readers together in her cause by repeating strategically, as a child would: “then [...] then [...]. No [...] No, not just [...]” (199). In a seemingly simple stroke of narrative genius, readers are all included as potential allies. Morally and emotionally, readers feel compelled,<sup>3</sup> and much the same could be said of the following extract:

I wrote a letter to God. “Dear God”, I wrote, “I know you see everything, but there are so many things that maybe, sometimes, things get missed, particularly now with the bombing in Afghanistan. But I don’t think you would be happy if you saw the children on my road living on a rubbish dump. God, give me strength and courage and make me perfect because I want to make this world perfect. Malala”. (72)

This extract features the emphatic close repetition of the term “God” (72), which, because it leaves Islamic terms out, makes all readers, independently of religion, part of the discourse. Whereas Malala’s prayer is not likely to be answered, it displays a universal emotion – human beings would all like to be the best they can, not only for their own sakes but for the sake of society as a whole. Charles Taylor suggests in *Sources of the Self* that:

Practical charity is enjoined in us. The Enlightenment took this up in intensified form, and it has become one of the central beliefs of modern Western culture: we all should work to improve the human condition, relieve suffering, overcome poverty, increase prosperity, augment human welfare. We should strive to leave the world a more prosperous place than we found it. (1989: 85)

In appealing to people’s charity, to their ingrained sense of responsibility, Malala is making her claims for justice affect all readers. Her text calls for a compassionate response, subject to falling complicit into humanitarian readings whereby readers become “spectators of distant suffering” with all the ethical problems this entails (Whitlock 2015: 110).<sup>4</sup> And yet, the cause of education for all children remains an unsolved problem in many countries where conditions, unless more initiatives are supported, will not change. The value of life narratives such as Malala’s is that, in making rights claims more visible, they achieve recognition and may eventually serve the purpose of influencing public opinion and policymakers.

Fear also marks Malala’s narrative. When the Taliban entered the bus, she found herself paralyzed and unable to speak. The exclamation: “I am Malala”, caught in her throat, was left unsaid. Now, Malala’s narrative is her “survivor narrative” (Alcoff and Gray-Rosendale 1996: 220). Even if silent at that time, now

<sup>3</sup> I am inspired by Nussbaum’s theory of moral emotions as “part and parcel of the system of ethical reasoning” and “guides to ethical choice” (2001: 1). She suggests the interconnectedness of feeling and acting according to our intellectual drive for the benefit of society.

<sup>4</sup> See Boltanski (1991), Schaffer and Smith (2004), Chouliaraki (2006) and Hesford (2011), for further criticism on compassionate humanitarian readings of human rights violations.

she is both speaking up and speaking out, raising her voice and raising awareness. Overcoming fear and telling her story, she finds courage: “Who is Malala? I am Malala and this is my story” (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013: 6). That movement from inaction to action makes her all the more relatable. Quite tellingly, she uses both a rhetorical question and a simple repetitive structure to emphasize her transformation into an activist, which appears to coincide with her coming of age. Malala becomes an icon of the fight for gender equality and girls’ education: “Education is education. [...] Education is neither Eastern nor Western, it is human” (136). If education is understood in this manner, as a basic human right, then everybody can relate to her fight. Then again, *education* is repeated three times in a very short extract, which marks her unmistakable narrative style.

Finally, Malala resorts to visual aids to enhance empathy and draw the reader into her experience. Numerous photographs include Malala as a child, from the time she was a baby until she started giving speeches at school (52i–viii). A further set of photographs focuses on the shooting, depicting events that happened shortly before and afterwards (212i–viii). Visual identification is a vehicle of empathy as it heightens connections and supports referentiality. Malala Yousafzai’s strategy is similar to Zlata Filipović’s in highlighting the image of an innocent child as a means to generating humanitarian affects. As Sidonie Smith notes when discussing *Zlata’s Diary* and its use of photographs, “The innocence effect is [...] reinforced through the packaging of *Zlata’s Diary* and the paratextual use of photographs that visualize the young girl’s story as a sentimentalized drama of lost childhood” (2006: 144). Apart from providing a sympathetic reading, the photographs transform the reader into a witness. Among the various photographs we find some of the notes that she, with trembling hand, wrote when recovering from her head wound in hospital: “When will my father come? We dont [sic] have alot [sic] of money- Now my hair is small [sic]. [...] Hwo [sic] did this to me? Stop fights [sic] What happend [sic] to me?” (236–37). The quivering handwriting, emphasized by the spelling mistakes, *shakes* the reader’s consciousness. It is as if one could actually see the shaky hand that wrote those things. The narrating “I” calls for a compassionate “humanitarian reading” (Slaughter 2009), involving the reader, who feels the ethical responsibility to denounce the situation that allows children to be targeted just because they want an education.

Having noted Malala’s empathetic mechanisms in her autobiography, I would now like to turn my attention to some of her public appearances in the year that followed its release. On her seventeenth birthday, she visited Nigeria to ask for the release of abducted girls by Boko Haram and their rights to receive an education (Simpson 2014). Then, after receiving the news that she had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, she attended the Forbes Under 30 Summit. In an interview

with Ronan Farrow, she used her signature humorous anecdotes to connect with her audience, as for example her teacher's reactions to her award: "They treat me like a normal student [...]. My teacher asked me 'where is your homework?' and I said 'Miss, I won the prize and I was quite busy'" (Forbes 2014). She did not need to finish her sentence to prompt enthusiastic applause and sympathetic laughter. She interspersed anecdotes for humor relief, but, turning to more serious matters, she persisted: "it's still my dream, to see every child, in Pakistan and all over the world, to [sic] get quality education" (Forbes 2014). A key moment of this interview is Malala's defense of Islam, as she stresses the common misconceptions against Islam as a religion that does not support women. Instead, she wishes the world to know that their reading of Islam is inaccurate: "in Islam it is not only your right to get education, but it is rather your responsibility [...] and this is both for boys and girls, men and women. So that needs to be clarified – that Islam uses a message of learning" (Forbes 2014). As noticed before, Malala resorts to parallelisms to create simple structures that allow her to emphasize her ideas in a repetitive manner. In order to combat the misuse of Islam by terrorists as well as issues such as child labor, the most important thing, she says, is "raising awareness" (Forbes 2014). Activism and testimonial acts, precisely those that have to do with human rights, entail just that awareness-raising (Schaffer and Smith 2004: 150). Regarding what Western audiences know of Islam to date, she says that it is a religion of "tolerance" (Forbes 2014), which strikes at the heart of the problem – the growing fears that this religion could be behind human rights abuses and terrorism. The answer, for Westerners and Islamic sects alike, she says, lies in "learning the real meaning of Islam" (Forbes 2014). In an interesting comment on her combined vision of feminism and Islam, she recalls the argument from her book (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013: 95) that the Prophet's wife was a "businesswoman" (Forbes 2014), which proves that women are allowed to work outside the home. Most remarkably, Malala points out that she is authentic when she speaks up for the rights of girls and children: "the role I have [...] is not something that has been given to me by someone; it is what I have decided [...] what I have chosen for myself" (Forbes 2014). Her insistence that her activist role was not imposed on her but was a matter of her choice bears an interpretation through the lens of what Smith and Watson call "metrics of authenticity" (2012). Further, Malala reminds her audience that compassion, moving you to help others, in turn makes one feel better (Forbes 2014). Interestingly, the idea that acts of compassion may trigger well-being traces back to Batson's empathy-altruism theory (1991), which would grant an appropriate response to her texts. Yet, the key to understanding the insertion of this remark here is perhaps, as Whitlock points out, that "compassionate concern for strangers and the desire to act on their behalf by a concerned third party is fundamental to modern western understandings of human rights activism" (2015: 39–40).

On 10 December 2014, Malala Yousafzai became the youngest recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. In her acceptance speech before the Nobel Committee in Oslo, she stressed the importance of acts over words. Thinking about children that are kept out of school, she said: “it is not time to pity them; it is time to take action” (Malala Fund 2014). On strategic empathizing grounds (Keen 2016), she resorts to the rhetoric of discursive parallel opposition: “it is not time to [...] it is time to [...]” (Malala Fund 2014). Therefore, even though she has referred to compassion as a basic human need, it is in fact necessary to move beyond. Rather, what we need is an empathic approach, one that overcomes pity “to bring about fundamental social change” (Krznaric 2014: ix). Malala chooses to address the terrorists, blaming them for misusing Islam: “Have you not learnt that in the Holy Koran Allah says ‘If you kill one person, it is as if you kill the whole humanity?’” (Malala Fund 2014). This rhetorical question, which seeks really no answer, comes actually after several similar sentences, all of them starting the same way: “Have you not learnt [...]?” (Malala Fund 2014). Finally, she resorts to standing up for her community, something that she has in common with the tradition of testimony in which her life narrative is inscribed: “I tell my story not because it is unique, but because it is not; it is the story of many girls” (Malala Fund 2014). As we have seen, Malala’s eloquent style resorts to frequent repetition for emphasis. In this speech, though Malala is already close to adulthood, she identifies herself as “one child” and claims that children do not understand the so-called war on terror. Thus, she asks: “*Why is it* that countries that we call strong are so powerful in creating wars but are so weak in bringing peace? *Why is it? Why is it* that giving guns is so easy but giving books is so hard? *Why is it? Why is it* that making tanks is so easy but building schools is so hard?” (Malala Fund 2014; emphasis added). Rhetorical repetition adds tension to her speech. The main issue – *Why is it?* – bears no response, thus challenging readers ethically. Resorting to the use of rhetorical questions emotionally loaded and with nuanced repetition is not new; *Zlata’s Diary*, commented in depth by Sidonie Smith (2006), is highly reliant on this narrative technique, which is not just how children talk, but one of the rhetorical strategies activists of all ages and backgrounds deploy to great effect in their consciousness-raising discourses. For instance, the strategy is clearly visible in one of the multiple entries where Zlata emotionally calls for the end of the war: “*Will this war ever stop? Will our suffering stop [...]?*” (Filipović 1995: 106; emphasis added). As such, emphatic repetition may be read as one of the empathetic mechanisms suggested in the introduction. These questions “ignite an affective charge” and “serve as a means of shaming” readers (Smith 2006: 148), since the answer to those rhetorical questions is far from simple. Indeed, it seems as if that escapes our control and is in the hands of those in power, but Malala reminds us that “we must work, not wait; not just the politicians and world leaders, we

all need to contribute – me, you, we; it is our duty” (Malala Fund 2014). Malala’s call to action cannot possibly be more straightforward than that. Her choice of pronouns involves readers in her fight: “we [...] we all [...] me, you, we” (Malala Fund 2014). The fluctuating rhythmic progress of the narrative, shifting from the first-person singular to the first-person plural is strategically devised to involve readers who are called to redress the situation and compelled to do so in moral terms (“it is our duty”). Enjoining the discourse of humanitarianism with moral ethics is a trademark of rights narratives.<sup>5</sup> Whitlock notes in *Soft Weapons* how rights narratives can elicit an “ethical response” provided “empathic witnessing” takes place (2007: 77). Importantly, the collective pronoun combines the force of testimonial accounts of oppressed others with the “ethical witness” position of readers as part of the fight (77). We are at once distant spectators and operative members of the same community of human beings.

When Malala turned eighteen she inaugurated the first school for Syrian girl refugees that her foundation has funded in Lebanon (Clayton 2015): “Today on my first day as an adult, on behalf of the world’s children, I demand of leaders we must invest in books instead of bullets” (Westall 2015). This shows that Malala remains true to her original discourse favoring education as the most potent weapon (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013: 131). When interviewed by the BBC after the opening ceremony, she said that the place that she is speaking from helps her message: “It makes my voice more powerful, because it’s not just my voice but the voice of all these children” (BBC News 2015). Her ability to speak for those who are not usually heard is part of the reason why she has become an icon worldwide. In the tradition of other activists, she bears witness to the conditions that rob others of their voices. The individual “I” is made to stand for a community of others, narrating the story of a complex plural self, typical of testimonial accounts, which Smith and Watson call collective “I-formations” (2012). By testifying, her life narrative becomes that of a community – girls that are excluded from education. Asked about her turning eighteen, Malala emphasizes the fact that her age has not changed her: “Being an adult does not stop me from continuing my campaign for children’s issues” (BBC News 2015). She purposefully defends her unchanged attitude – “I don’t think much has changed, but I do feel responsibilities which I always have felt” – and stresses that “the worst thing is that world leaders are not paying attention” (BBC News 2015). That has been her discourse for years now, since her speech at the UN when she turned sixteen, a discourse that, following Malala’s story and its impact, succeeds in effecting empathy as a vehicle for change.

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<sup>5</sup> Judith Butler sees discussions of ethics as intrinsic to any life narrative, not just those related to human rights: “The ‘I’ does not stand apart from the prevailing matrix of ethical norms and conflicting moral frameworks” (2007: 7).

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The delicate balance between witnessing and involvement lies in the construction of an emotional bond. Empathy hangs in an almost equally delicate balance, between closeness and distance, appealing as much to our similarities as to our differences. The “affective appeal” Smith and Watson (2017) discuss at length relies on stereotypes of vulnerability and innocence, by emphasizing what is common to human experience, such as childhood and coming of age, while at other times stressing major ethnic differences between the victimized subject and the reader. Emerging out of that productive tension, the self-presentation human rights life narratives manage to convey depends on how successful that appeal is. Malala’s life narrative, like many other examples of human rights life narratives, succeeds in creating such an affective bond. By deploying strategic empathy, these narratives make readers want to act in consequence, thus advancing the possibility of pro-social behavior. The carefully placed propaganda of the Malala Fund at the end of the book is designed to compel an engaged reader to contribute to her cause, highlighting their community projects for girls’ education in Pakistan, Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Jordan and Lebanon. Malala’s school for Syrian girl refugees in the latter country, for example, was the first of its kind (Westall 2015). Such humanitarian discourse is patent on the Malala Fund website, asking for donors’ aid straightforwardly. Combining the appeal of the local and the global, stressing similarities as well as differences among peoples and their ideas on the right to education, the stories featured on the platform converge on the figure of the child as symbolic of hope and future in an attempt to draw the international community to redress injustice.

Despite the need for critical distance, much may be gained from an empathic and respectful approach to life narrative. It may be worthwhile to consider the world anew, from another’s viewpoint (Nussbaum 2012: 36), in an effort to understand the experiences the narrating “I” describes. Empathy may perhaps serve a further role in relation to life narratives dealing with human rights, one that can be “potentially transformative” (Schaffer and Smith 2004: 8):

Within the context of life narrating, claims take on a human dimension, calling for the listener/reader to become more self-reflexive, more informed, more active. Acts of listening and reading, however diverse in location and purpose, seed new awareness, recognition, respect, and willingness to understand, acknowledge, and seek redress for rights violations. While such narrative acts and readings are not a sufficient ground for social change, they are a necessary ground. (226)

Appealing to our sense of responsibility, human rights life narratives can “spur social change” (229). Thus, the discourse of victimization is turned into a narrative of hope: “at this historical moment human rights activism, and the discourse sustaining



it, remains the most viable hope for extending democracy, social justice, and freedom” (234). Malala demonstrates how the multiple stories that construct her life narrative, “taken together, mount a powerful argument for the efficacy of storytelling in advancing the ongoing and constantly transforming pursuit of social justice, emanating from, but not limited to, the human rights project inaugurated with the UDHR” (233).

Despite the fact that human rights life narratives remain “highly problematic” (31), the understandable qualms against naiveté and a positivistic reading of life narrative need to be overcome if human rights claims are to be assessed and redressed. Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown note how, in this globalized circuit of testimony, “individual victims’ narratives seem to be a necessary component in the mobilization of empathy” (2009: 20). Although some criticism may emerge against Malala because of the role of the media in making her a public figure (Ahmed 2014; Aheram 2014; Hines 2014; Rao 2015), her story has moved millions of people.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, “stories mobilize social movements” (Frank 2010: 3). More specifically, human rights life narratives “can affect readers and prompt acts of engagement” (Schaffer and Smith 2004: 226). The key for readers and audiences to react might well be empathy: “Stories and social movements have a natural affinity because stories *move* people, in the sense of generating emotions and in creating agitation that shifts people’s position” (Frank 2010: 133). Malala’s story is moving, mainly because it is true; but it is also moving people to act – as she famously says in her interviews and on her website: “There’s a moment when you have to decide whether to be silent or stand up” (Malala Fund 2014). In the context of globalization, life narratives such as Malala’s that propose global peace and understanding and are aimed at fostering human rights may be both necessary and urgent.

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<sup>6</sup> As Butler noted in the Afterword to *PMLA* special issue “The Humanities in Human Rights: Critique, Language, Politics”, “there can be no rights without media” (2006: 1660).

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## STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND MANAGEMENT TEAMS IN BILINGUAL PROGRAMMES: SHARED PERCEPTIONS AND AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT

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**ABSTRACT.** *This paper explores the shared beliefs and perceptions of students and teachers in CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) programmes. Unlike in most studies, this research considers the perspectives of all categories of teachers involved when implementing CLIL, including the members of the management teams, along with CLIL programme coordinators, CLIL teachers and English teachers. A total of 114 participants from two state secondary schools located in two provinces of Castilla-La Mancha took part in the study. The instruments used for data collection were Likert type questionnaires containing between 21 and 59 questions that were supplemented with open-ended questions and interviews. Results showed various sources of tension among stakeholders, shared lay theories about bilingualism such as idealization of the native language assistant, and revealed some shortcomings in the implementation of the bilingual programmes for issues such as coordination and shortage of resources.*

*Keywords:* CLIL, bilingual programmes, shared beliefs, teachers, students, secondary education.

## **ESTUDIANTES, PROFESORES Y EQUIPOS DIRECTIVOS EN PROGRAMAS BILINGÜES: PERCEPCIONES COMPARTIDAS Y ÁREAS DE MEJORA**

**RESUMEN.** *Este artículo explora las creencias y percepciones compartidas de estudiantes y profesores en programas AICLE (Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras). A diferencia de la mayoría de los estudios, esta investigación da voz a todas las categorías de docentes implicados en la implementación de AICLE, incluido el equipo directivo, junto con coordinadores de los programas AICLE, profesores de contenido y profesores de inglés. Un total de 114 participantes de dos escuelas secundarias públicas ubicadas en dos provincias de Castilla-La Mancha participaron en el estudio. Los instrumentos utilizados para la recopilación de datos fueron cuestionarios tipo Likert con entre 21 y 59 preguntas que se complementaron con preguntas de respuesta abierta y entrevistas. Los resultados mostraron diversas tensiones, teorías compartidas sobre el bilingüismo, como la idealización del lector nativo, y revelaron algunas deficiencias en la implementación de los programas bilingües en aspectos como la coordinación y la escasez de recursos.*

*Palabras clave:* AICLE, programas bilingües, creencias compartidas, profesorado, estudiantes, Educación Secundaria.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

In a multilingual, globalized and inter-connected world, the need to master one or two second languages has become essential for personal, social and academic development; and a priority for institutions within the European Union, since this is conducive to constructing a cohesive Europe and promotes exchange, mobility, collaboration, employability and lifelong learning (Nieto Moreno de Diezmas 2017). In this context, European and national institutions embraced bilingual education, which was considered to be “the potential lynchpin to counter Europe’s deficient language standards” (Pérez Cañado and Ráez Padilla 2015: 1), and coined their own term for it: CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning).

With the support of European and national institutions, CLIL programmes “are burgeoning in European school contexts” (Lasagabaster and Doiz 2015: 1), since bilingual education is deemed to be both “a lever for change and success in language learning” (Pérez Cañado and Ráez Padilla 2015: 1), and an “awesome innovation” in education (Tobin and Abello-Contesse 2013: 224).

The rapid expansion of CLIL “has concomitantly spawned a substantial amount of publications into the way it is playing out” (Pérez Cañado 2016: 2), and although



some authors have shown misgivings about this (Bruton 2011, 2013; Küppers and Trautmann 2013; Paran 2013) in most studies a very positive view of CLIL has been reported (Dalton Puffer 2008, 2011; Nieto Moreno de Diezmas, 2016a, 2016b, 2018a, 2018b; Ruiz de Zarobe 2011; Pérez Cañado 2012), and it is even considered to be “the ultimate opportunity to practice and improve a foreign language” (Pérez-Vidal 2013: 59).

However, now that CLIL programmes have been running in Europe for more than a decade, it is important to move beyond the so-called “evangelical picture” of CLIL (Banegas 2011: 183) and conduct investigations that do not simply focus on “exclusively singing the praises of CLIL” (Pérez Cañado 2016: 2), but on reflecting on the strengths and weaknesses of these programmes (Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer and Smit 2013; Doiz and Lasagabaster 2017). In this way, how all the educational processes involving CLIL develop could be better understood, as well as their implications. Furthermore, areas in need of improvement in order to establish CLIL more effectively could be identified

An invaluable source of information to be studied before reaching these goals is the perceptions, beliefs and insights of all those involved in the implementation of bilingual education, so as to detect “the main needs and problems stakeholders face in their daily practice” (Pérez Cañado 2012: 330). However, further research is needed in this area (Dalton-Puffer and Smit 2013; Pérez Cañado 2012; Doiz and Lasagabaster 2017), and more information concerning all stakeholders who are committed to establishing CLIL should be gathered and analyzed.

Research into beliefs, opinions or perceptions about CLIL programmes have targeted students (Toledo, Rubio and Hermosín 2012; Coyle 2013), parents (Pladevall-Ballester 2015; Relaño-Pastor in press) and teachers. Pena-Díaz and Porto-Requejo (2008) researched the beliefs of primary teachers about bilingual education during the preparation and training process for establishing it; Pavón and Méndez (2017) studied the beliefs of primary and secondary school English and CLIL teachers regarding cross-curricular coordination and professional development; Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013), investigated the lay theories of upper secondary school teachers and learners involved in CLIL instruction and concluded that they are not always in keeping with those of experts and policy-makers; Durán-Martínez and Beltrán-Llavador (2016) looked into the views bilingual teachers at primary and secondary schools had in connection with teacher training, resources and assessment. In other studies, the thoughts university teachers have on this phenomenon are examined; for example, McDougald (2015) explored the perceptions primary, secondary and university teachers had on CLIL; Fernández-Costales and González-Riaño (2015) looked at how satisfied university teachers in bilingual programmes were, and Dafouz, Núñez, Sancho, and Foran (2007) examined the reactions university teachers and students had to CLIL.

Although it seems that investigations conducted so far provide a comprehensive picture of this phenomenon, there is no research that gathers the different points of views of the different categories of teachers involved in establishing CLIL, i.e., members of the management teams, CLIL programme coordinators, CLIL teachers and English teachers. The members of management teams and CLIL programme coordinators are crucial to implementing the bilingual programme on a grass-roots level, but there is little information on how they perceive it or any insights they may have. Only in recent publications, has this issue been addressed. Thus, in a study conducted by Doiz and Lasagabaster (2017) the opinion the members of the management team had were voiced and compared with the beliefs teaching staff had on two controversial issues: Use of L1 and the obligatory nature of CLIL. In turn, Relaño-Pastor (2018) analyzed the narratives of the head teacher, the CLIL programme coordinator, CLIL teachers, parents, and former students of a primary school from an ethnographic perspective; and Nieto Moreno de Diezmas and Ruiz Cordero (2018) evaluated the strengths and weaknesses of bilingual programmes in secondary education in Castilla-la Mancha on the basis of the opinions teachers had, including members of the management team and CLIL programme coordinators.

To bridge this gap, in this study, student opinions have been gathered, along with the perceptions and views of the different categories of teachers involved in the bilingual programme: members of the management teams: head teachers, heads of studies and academic secretaries; CLIL programme coordinators, who are responsible for counselling and coordination within the bilingual programme (among their other duties); CLIL teachers, who teach non-linguistic subjects in English; and English teachers, who have to adapt the subject to the specific demands of the bilingual school.

In addition, and given that “shortcomings regarding CLIL programmes have not been fully addressed” (Doiz and Lasagabaster 2017: 93), this paper specifically focuses on detecting points of tension and mutual perceptions among stakeholders, and to thereby identify the main areas in need of improvement. In addition, a wide variety of practices can be found under the CLIL “umbrella” (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit 2010), and “learning environments differ not only among countries but also among regions within the same country and even among schools” (Navarro-Pablo and García-Jiménez 2018: 72). Therefore, and given that every context needs to be researched specifically (Pérez Cañado 2012), this paper provides a comprehensive overview of the setting, starting with a description of how bilingual programme regulations in the autonomous community of Castilla-La Mancha –where this study is set– were created and how they evolved. Later on, the particular circumstances of the schools where this investigation was conducted are explained.

## 2. BILINGUAL PROGRAMMES IN CASTILLA-LA MANCHA

Castilla-La Mancha is a monolingual autonomous community located in the centre of Spain. Its geographical location in the heart of the Iberian Peninsula and its relatively undeveloped industrial and tourism sectors have resulted in limited contact with foreign language speakers, and therefore, proficiency in English and French (the second languages traditionally taught in the region) has been low, as shown in international assessments such as PISA.

In this culture medium, as in the remaining Spanish autonomous communities, Castilla-La Mancha had to adapt to the European policy promoting acquisition of the mother tongue plus two second languages (European Commission 1995). To attain this objective, European and national institutions supported different lines of action, which included establishing bilingual and multilingual education (CLIL). Bilingual education in Castilla-La Mancha was launched in 1996, as a result of an agreement between the Spanish Ministry of Education (MEC) and the British Council (BC), whereby bilingual and bi-cultural education was set up at seven infant and primary schools and seven secondary schools. Nearly ten years later, in a similar vein to what has occurred in other Spanish monolingual regions, Castilla-La Mancha launched its own bilingual programme under the rubric “European Sections” (Order 07/02/2005). In European Sections at primary and secondary schools, at least 50% of at least two school subjects had to be taught through a foreign language.

The programme started with 36 primary and secondary schools. The addition of new schools to the bilingual programme was regulated by the local administration calls annually. To be selected, schools had to comply with legal requirements, especially one regarding having enough permanent teachers holding a B2 level (CEFR) certificate, as this was the minimum qualification for teaching the required content subjects through a foreign language. All non-linguistic subjects could be taught with CLIL except religion. Therefore, CLIL subjects vary from one school to another, since these are selected by the educational establishments depending on how available CLIL teachers are. Student access to bilingual schools is on non-selective grounds and is governed by the general rules applicable to all schools, and any selection of students on the basis of their linguistic or academic merits is explicitly prohibited. In the European Sections at primary school all students are included in the bilingual programme, while at secondary school there is usually only one bilingual group per level, while the remaining students follow the regular programme.

The initial programme which began in 2005 underwent a slight alteration due to different amendments that changed the name “European Sections” to “Bilingual Sections”, but this did not entail essential variations to the previous regulation.

However, in 2014, Order 16/06/2014 introduced significant changes to the bilingual programme structure by creating a new bilingual regulation called “Linguistic Programmes”. The main objectives of this regulation were ambitious: to improve the quality of the programme, and, also, to progressively spread bilingual education to all primary and secondary schools in the region. To attain these goals, the regulation enabled Linguistic Programmes (LPs) to be developed in three stages: Initiation LPs (one subject taught through a foreign language), Development LPs (two subjects taught through a foreign language), and Excellence LPs (three subjects taught through a foreign language). This standard helped CLIL spread as the entry requirements to Initiation LPs were eased (only one CLIL subject was mandatory); and, additionally, it promoted improvements to the quality of CLIL programmes by providing Excellence LPs (in which three CLIL subjects are taught in the foreign language, and at least one of the CLIL teachers needs to hold a C1 level certificate). In addition, in all LPs it was mandatory to teach the CLIL subjects through the foreign language 100% of the teaching time, thereby increasing student exposure to the target language. The objectives pursued by this regulation have proved to be effective, since the number of educational establishments with bilingual programmes has increased considerably, to such an extent that, in the academic year 2017/2018, more than 600 LPs were running in Castilla-La Mancha.

However, how bilingual education is organized, is at present undergoing amendment by Decree 47/2017 and Order 27/2018, and as a result “Linguistic Programmes” will have two years to adapt to the new requirements for “Bilingual and Multilingual Projects”. The new regulation abolishes the previous system of phases and replaces it with one of percentages, in which schools with bilingual or multilingual projects have to guarantee that for between 20 and 50% of the curriculum, students will be exposed to the foreign language/s. This regulation has arisen due to changes in administrative policy motivated by misgivings that the rapid expansion of bilingual schools might affect the quality of the programmes offered, in light of the fact that the administration has limited resources and therefore, bilingual schools might not be adequately equipped. In addition, the reduced exposure provided in Initiation LPs has been deemed to compromise the effectiveness of CLIL, and therefore, a higher minimum percentage of the curriculum taught in the foreign language (20%) was set.

### 3. METHOD

#### 3.1. PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this study were members of management teams, CLIL teachers, CLIL programme coordinators, English teachers and students from two

secondary schools located in Albacete and Cuenca (Castilla-La Mancha). These schools had been previously selected by the educational authority because they were considered to represent good practice and continuity within the bilingual programme. To safeguard their identities, their original names have been replaced by the first letters of the alphabet.

School A was founded as a training centre for workers until it was transferred to the Ministry of Education in 1983 to become a Vocational Training School. In 1992 the school became a secondary school as well, and in 1996 was chosen to run a bilingual programme (English/Spanish) within the framework of the MEC/British Council agreement. Establishing this innovative programme for learning English was part of a strategy to improve its standing in the local area and to increase new student enrolments. The school is equipped with student accommodation and is attended by 700 students from the surrounding rural area, along with middle-class students from the town where the centre is located. School A provides Compulsory Secondary Education (students aged from 12 to 16 years old), Spanish Baccalaureate (16-18), and Intermediate and Advanced Vocational Training studies in tourism and catering, electricity and electronics, and maintenance services. The school has 21 years of experience in bilingual education and is currently implementing a Development LP in Compulsory Secondary Education (two subjects are taught through English). As part of the MEC/British Council agreement, school A has a language assistant and a native science teacher.

School B is attended by more than 1000 middle-class students and provides Compulsory Secondary Education, Spanish Baccalaureate, and Intermediate and Advanced Vocational Training studies in baking, pastry and confectionery, olive oil and wine, analysis and quality control (also provided in the eLearning modality), quality in the food industry and environmental chemistry. School B was a pioneer for establishing multilingual education. It is outstanding in that it has three different types of Linguistic Programmes with three foreign languages as a means of instruction: English, Italian and German. The school has been running the English-Spanish bilingual programme since 2006, which at present has been praised as an Excellence LP (three subjects are taught in English, and all CLIL teachers have a B2 or C1 language level). The Development LP in Italian (two CLIL subjects in Italian) has been running since 2012 and is the only bilingual programme in Spain with Italian as a language for instruction. Finally, the Initiation LP in German (one CLIL subject in German) has been running in school B since 2014. The educational authority does not provide any language assistant for the Excellence LP, as this is deemed to be a consolidated program. In contrast, the school does have Italian and German language assistants to support the LPs in their development and initiation stages respectively.

A total of 114 participants from both secondary schools took part in the study: 72 students (55.6% male and 44.4% female), and 42 teachers (40.5% male and 59.5% female).

Students were enrolled in the 4th year of secondary education (15-17-year-olds) and 26.1% -who mainly came from School A- had already received bilingual education at primary school, while 73.9% joined the bilingual programme at secondary school. Additionally, 95.8% of the students passed English in the final assessment and 11.1% obtained a mark of 9 or 10 out of 10.

Teachers were split into four categories, according to the different roles they had and their responsibilities within the bilingual programme: 9 members of the management team, 2 CLIL programme coordinators, 11 English teachers and 20 CLIL teachers. The members of the management teams were: 2 head teachers, 1 academic secretary and 6 heads of studies, 55.6% of them had a C1 level of English, and 22.2% had B2. The English level of the CLIL teachers was also high and above that required by law (B2), since 65% of them had C1 (in the CEFR); 25%, had C2, and 10%, had B2.

### *3.2. INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURE*

To gather the data, two types of instruments were applied: surveys and interviews. For the surveys, five-point Likert scales were used: 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly agree. The student questionnaires included 21 questions connected to 3 areas: CLIL subjects, the subject English, and general satisfaction with the bilingual programme. The teacher questionnaires comprised 59 questions for CLIL and English teachers, 50 for management teams and 54 for CLIL programme coordinators. These questions were split into 6 research areas: the role of the management team; coordination within the programme; the bilingual culture at the school; human and material resources; planning, execution and monitoring the bilingual programme; and academic and non-academic results. The questions each area included varied in number and content in order to adapt to the situations and points of view of the different categories of teachers, as shown in table 1.

All the participants were able to include observations and additional information in connection with all the questions in the Likert questionnaire, so that they could explain or qualify any of their answers. Additionally, the Likert questionnaire was supplemented with two open-ended questions in which all participants were given the opportunity to express their opinions more freely about the strengths and areas of the bilingual programme in need of improvement. For the purpose of carrying out more qualitative research, three interviews were carried out with

Table 1. Distribution of questions according to the areas and roles of teachers.

	<b>CLIL teachers</b>	<b>English teachers</b>	<b>Management teams</b>	<b>CLIL programme coordinators</b>
The management team	10	10	10	10
Coordination	8	8	7	6
Bilingual culture at the school	6	6	7	7
Human and material resources	10	10	10	10
Planning, execution and monitoring	14	12	9	14
Academic and non-academic results	11	13	7	7
Total	59	59	50	54

the head teachers at schools A and B and with the CLIL programme coordinator at school A. The interviews were conducted in Spanish, recorded and transcribed.

#### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The degree of general satisfaction with the bilingual programme was high for the teachers, especially for the CLIL programme coordinators, since their average on the Likert scale was 5 points, the maximum score (=strongly agree). The average for the members of the management team was 4.67; for CLIL teachers it was 4.30 and for English teachers, 4.10, which means that the CLIL programme coordinators and the management teams displayed the most positive view on the bilingual programme, whereas English teachers, whilst still having an optimistic opinion about the programme, were the most critical group among the teachers. However, the students, in turn, seemed not to be as satisfied as the teachers, since their average on the scale was 3.82, which means that they were less sure that the bilingual programme was satisfactory, since their opinions lay between the answers “neither agree nor disagree”(=3) and “agree” (=4), on average.

The participants in the study brought up many positive outcomes the bilingual programmes had: students finish compulsory education with a very high level of English, (between B1 and B2 in the CEFR), they are fluent and use the foreign language confidently; all stakeholders, including families, are involved in the bilingual projects; the bilingual school is well viewed in the community, etc. However, this

study does not just explore the positive aspects of these bilingual programmes, but also reflects on their shortcomings and areas in need of improvement.

Thus, once quantitative and qualitative data collected in the questionnaires and interviews were analyzed, the shared perceptions and requests from CLIL teachers, English teachers, management teams and CLIL programme coordinators were identified, along with some points of tension among the different categories of teachers (particularly regarding teachers of English). The opinions of students, in turn, helped to gain a general overview of how the bilingual programme worked.

#### *4.1. MUTUAL VIEWS AND SHARED PERCEPTIONS AMONG CLIL TEACHERS, ENGLISH TEACHERS, MANAGEMENT TEAMS AND CLIL PROGRAMME COORDINATORS*

CLIL and English teachers, CLIL programme coordinators and members of the management team, in general, displayed mutually positive views. All the teachers regarded the members of the management team positively, since CLIL teachers (4.40 on average), English teachers (4.36), and CLIL programme coordinators (4.50) chose between “agree” (=4) and “totally agree” (=5) when asked if the members of the management team had good knowledge of bilingual education (methodology, regulations, etc.); that the members of the management teams were regularly involved in bilingual programme activities both inside and outside the educational centre (CLIL teachers, 4.25; English teachers, 4.18), and that the members of the management team showed public support to teachers participating in the bilingual programme (CLIL teachers, 4.45; CLIL programme coordinators, 4.50; English teachers, 4.36).

Management teams, in turn, had favourable opinions about CLIL teachers, since most of them agreed or totally agreed that CLIL teachers had good knowledge of English (4.50 on average); had specific pedagogical knowledge on CLIL methodology (4.50); and were committed to the bilingual project (5.00). In addition, the members of the management team and the CLIL programme coordinators specified that the greatest asset to the programme was the CLIL teachers themselves, and stressed how committed they were to the bilingual project. Additionally, the members of the management team valued the experience of CLIL teachers very highly as well as their participation in international projects and their continuity at the school. In this respect, CLIL coordinator 1, considered one clear advantage as having at least one permanent CLIL teacher who had been teaching at the school since 2006 and to have had few temporary teachers. The comments made by some students were in keeping with this concept, as they complained about the quality of the classes and the level of English substitute teachers had, and in this respect,



teacher continuity and commitment was deemed to be one of the most important ingredients for successfully implementing bilingual programmes.

The members of the management team also held the CLIL programme coordinators in high regard, who were perceived as being well-trained in terms of English proficiency (4.89) and CLIL methodology (4.50), that they were committed to the programme (4.33) and promoted bilingual activities (4.22). However, they were not so praising about coordination in general (3.63) and on coordination among CLIL and English teachers in particular (3.63). This perception they had was in keeping with the opinion of CLIL programme coordinator 2, who considered one of the greatest shortcomings of the programme to be precisely the lack of coordination and involvement of teachers from the English Department. Even the English teachers themselves admitted that coordination between CLIL and English teachers was not effective (3.40) and they were not very satisfied with how the bilingual programme was coordinated (3.60). In the same vein, CLIL teachers had favourable opinions on the qualities and training of the CLIL programme bilingual coordinator, but also criticized coordination in the bilingual programme. The CLIL teachers considered the CLIL programme coordinators to have good knowledge on the foreign language (4.80) and CLIL methodology (4.47), and experience in bilingual education (4.55). However, they were less certain that the CLIL programme coordinators promoted good bilingual practice (3.32) or coordinated CLIL and English teachers efficiently (3.70).

In short, data collected in this study seem to indicate there are certain points of tension between English teachers and other bilingual stakeholders, i.e., CLIL teachers and CLIL programme coordinators. Therefore, management teams and the educational authority should take note and find ways of how the English Department teachers can better participate in the bilingual programme structure, by, for example, providing them with better defined responsibilities and recognizing the potential they have for contributing to the bilingual programme. Otherwise, the bilingual programme might be squandering the potential contribution English teachers can make.

In sum, coordination is key to the smooth implementation of bilingual programmes (Pavón, Avila, Gallego, and Espejo 2015) and this issue needs more reflection. However, participants did not blame each other, but rather, the educational administration for the coordination problems and shortcomings in the project, and claimed it did not provide enough supplementary hours for effective coordination processes. In the same vein, teachers held the educational authority, and not the management team, responsible for the distribution of resources, since there was a perception that “management teams have their hands tied. And this is a shortcoming” (CLIL programme coordinator 1).

#### 4.2. POINTS OF TENSION BETWEEN THE TEACHERS AND THE EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Points of tension between teachers and the educational authority were mainly identified by analyzing the open-ended questions and interviews. The requests and discontent shown by teachers were related to three main issues: changes in educational regulations, support provided by the educational authority, and finally, the human and material resources granted.

Management teams and CLIL programme coordinators are the groups of teachers most concerned about changes in legislation, probably because they are directly responsible for implementing those changes at schools: “Here the educational system changes from one day to the next” (CLIL programme coordinator 1), and they consider legal uncertainty to be detrimental to developing the bilingual programme smoothly. In a short period of time, schools have had to adapt both to the new regulations provided by the new organic law of education, LOMCE 8/2013 (applicable to the whole of Spain), and to the new regional regulation on multilingualism which transformed the Bilingual Sections into Linguistic Programmes, (Order 16/06/2014). In addition, at the time this study was carried out, Decree 47/2017 was being prepared, which changed Linguistic Programmes into Bilingual Projects and replaced the system of phases in the Initiation, Development and Excellence Linguistic Programmes with one of percentages. Schools with Bilingual Projects will now have to guarantee that between 30% and 50% of school time is devoted to a foreign language. Members of the management teams and CLIL programme coordinators explicitly commented that these changes to multilingual policy had a negative effect on the school atmosphere and the degree of satisfaction teachers felt.

A degree of dissatisfaction with the support received from the educational authority was detected within all groups of teachers, which was sometimes voiced in general terms: “the support of the administration could improve, that’s for sure” (CLIL programme coordinator 1), “There is a lack of real support from the administration” (CLIL teacher 15); sometimes, this was expressed as specific complaints which were generally linked to the shortage of resources. This request from teachers to receive more support from their educational institutions has already been mentioned in previous studies (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2013).

One point of contention in connection with the need for support is the granting of native language assistants. For both schools, language assistants are crucial for developing the bilingual programme successfully. For CLIL coordinator 1 “they are very important. A very good source of resources”. In addition, the member of management team 1, mentioned that the most valuable support provided by the

educational authority was, to be specific, the English language assistant, who was considered to be “very useful” mainly because “he or she reinforces pronunciation”, revealing, incidentally, a widespread conception in which proficiency in English is linked to having a native accent and pronunciation. However, the educational authority only granted a native language assistant to school A, as part of the MEC/ British Council agreement, while school B was denied this due to its Excellence LP. As resources are limited, the educational administration prioritizes language assistants for schools with Initiation or Development LPs, which, in theory, need more support to successfully implement CLIL. In fact, school B has one German and one Italian assistant to reinforce their Initiation and Development LPs respectively. However, School B neither accepts nor understands this policy and continues to request an English language assistant: “in the English LP we have not had a language assistant for years. The Italian and German language assistants have been very useful for the development of both LPs” (Management team 6); “We are still waiting for the English language assistant” (Management team 7). In addition, many CLIL teachers repeatedly mentioned the lack of an English language assistant when asked about the shortcomings of the programme. Some students at school B also shared the same view “I do not like that teachers are not natives” (student 57, 45).

In addition to the need for language assistants, CLIL teachers voiced a wide range of requirements as regards the resources granted by the educational administration. Thus, CLIL teachers mainly asked for a decrease in their teaching work load to compensate for the extra burden of preparing classes, selecting and adapting materials and correcting exercises in English, a language that is not their mother tongue: “we don’t stop working inside and outside the school preparing classes” (CLIL teacher 7), “It would be necessary extra teaching hours to prepare the sessions” (CLIL teacher 11).

Additionally, CLIL teachers mentioned other activities they could not successfully carry out as a result of their excessive teaching work load, such as coordination among teachers, designing interdisciplinary projects inside the school, participating in European programmes and projects, and teacher training. In this respect, CLIL teachers did not so much request more linguistic training, but rather, further instruction in CLIL methodology. In fact, 70% of CLIL teachers had not received any CLIL training, and hence, there were statements such as “I need more hours for specific training about CLIL methodology” (CLIL teacher 4), “teacher training for CLIL teachers is needed” (CLIL teacher 9).

CLIL teachers also complained about the high number of students in the bilingual classes. Bilingual students are usually split into separate classes and mixed with their monolingual peers in the non-bilingual subjects, but they are grouped

together in a single class in the subjects taught in the foreign language. As a result, in subjects taught through CLIL there are too many students per class, which affects the quality of the teaching-learning process and, specifically speaking, reduces possibilities of teacher-student interaction. In fact, some students complained about the excessive number of students in bilingual classes and criticized “the lack of listening and oral activities, particularly speaking” (student 36); “we hardly practice speaking before the exam” (student 63). The CLIL teachers had the same point of view and stated that “the bilingual groups should be more reduced in terms of number of students to adequately implement CLIL methodologies, since with 31 students, it is not possible” (CLIL teacher 12); “we need to improve the ratio of students” (CLIL teacher 17); “the number of students should be reduced in some courses” (CLIL teacher 3).

#### 4.3. *STUDENTS PERCEPTIONS AND DEMANDS*

Students were satisfied with the bilingual programme (3.82). When they were asked what they thought the strengths of the programme to be, they had very positive views on bilingual education: “As in the bilingual subjects we speak only in English, my English level has risen exponentially and in addition, teachers have a very good level” (student 2); “we are speaking English since 1st grade, and now we understand the classes as if they were in Spanish” (student 21); “you learn English much better than the other students that are not in the bilingual programme” (student 53) “you learn words you would never learn without the bilingual programme” (student 57). In addition, according to the students, the best part of the programme, was undoubtedly the teachers: “in my opinion, teachers are very good at English” (student 7); “there are very good teachers and you learn” (student 10); “the best part is that teachers help you to adapt” (student 20) “I like the teachers” (student 32); “the teachers are awesome” (student 41), etc. Some students even mentioned the name of a particular teacher as being the best part of the programme.

In spite of being quite satisfied with the bilingual teachers, students expressed some misgivings they had and mentioned different areas in need of improvement, such as: the lack of student exchanges and participation in international programmes, the inadequacy of some bilingual materials, the qualifications some bilingual teachers had, and other issues regarding the contents and subjects.

Many students especially valued contact with foreign students and complained about the lack of student exchanges and participation in international programmes. School B had taken part in the Erasmus+ programme, but regarding this, students requested more extensive exchanges “instead of only Erasmus+ for five students”

(student 6). In the same vein, other students asked for “more projects and exchanges, since they are very educational, but we have only done one in all our life” (student 56). This point concerns the lack of teacher motivation to organize this kind of activities. English and CLIL teachers admitted that they did not usually participate in these events and CLIL programme coordinator 1 explained there is minimal motivation to set up international links, as carrying out these kinds of actions, that are not specifically valued or acknowledged, entails a lot of extra work for teachers.

Additionally, some students were not satisfied with the materials provided in the bilingual subjects. One of the schools used a digital book and a few students did not consider this to be adequate: “the worst part is the digital book, I don’t like it very much (student 9); “the digital book leaves much to be desired” (student 10); “I don’t like the use of technologies and computers” (student 12), “the worst part is the organization of the digital books, as we waste a lot of time with that” (student 22); “the content has to improve, as we use the book in PDF and presentations of teachers, and the content is not very clear” (student 58).

Just as students held good teachers in high regard, they severely criticized teachers who were perceived to not have a good level of English or that did not speak English during most or all the lesson: “some teachers have not enough English proficiency to teach in English” (student 31); “teachers should speak more time in English, as many times they forget speaking in English” (student 53); “teacher x cannot speak English” (student 54).

Furthermore, some of them commented that contents were reduced or simplified in the bilingual subjects: “We should have more content, I mean, not having less content because the subject is taught in English” (student 5); “the worst part is that we don’t see as much content as in the other non-bilingual classes do” (student 27); “I don’t like that sometimes instead of learning about the subject we learn more English than anything else” (student 48); “I don’t like that sometimes we go very slow regarding learning new things” (student 47); “the worst part is that in the bilingual subjects we are behind because they are in English” (student 51). Other students considered the bilingual programme to be too difficult and questioned whether it was worth so much effort, and some of them suggested changes to the choice of subjects: “What I don’t like is that the difficult subjects are bilingual and not the easiest ones” (student 28).

## 5. CONCLUSION

This paper explores the beliefs, opinions and views students, members of the management teams, CLIL programme coordinators, CLIL teachers and English

teachers had about the roles they play in the bilingual programme, and about its strengths and weaknesses. Data was collected from two secondary schools which were outstanding for the quality of their bilingual programmes, in terms of teacher training, continuity within the programme, and presence of bilingual teachers (School A); and continuity, number of subjects taught through English (3 subjects) and English level of the CLIL teachers (B2 and C1) (School B). Data collected in this study shed light on the shared perceptions of the different stakeholders. The different categories of teachers valued each other positively, including the members of the management teams, although they recognized some areas in need of improvement, such as coordination and participation in international programmes. However, teachers did not blame each other or the management team for these shortcomings, but rather, the educational authority that did not grant enough teaching and supplementary hours to satisfactorily carry out these activities.

Special note should be taken regarding the role English teachers had in bilingual programmes. They were the most critical group among the teachers, probably because how they might contribute and what responsibility they have in developing the bilingual programme remains unclear. This situation could hinder smooth implementation of the programme and might prevent schools from taking advantage of the important asset English teachers are.

Additionally, the teachers who needed most support from the administration were the CLIL teachers, who were usually overwhelmed by the number of students in their classes and by their teaching work load, bearing in mind that they had to make a special effort, especially in terms of class preparation. Regardless, they were motivated and committed “more than anything by own will, because the economic compensation is minimal” (CLIL programme coordinator 1), and the educational authority as well as the management teams should take this fact into consideration, since CLIL teachers seem to be both the weakest link, and the cornerstone of the bilingual programme, at the same time.

On the other hand, some lay theories of the participants about bilingualism emerged in this study. For example, findings showed native teachers, and particularly native language assistants, played an important role in the imagination of students, teachers and management teams. Native teachers or assistants were considered to be a precious resource, a sort of panacea for improving the learning process at bilingual schools. When there was no native assistant at the school –as was the case at School B– students, teachers and management teams felt that there was a gaping gap in the programme, a crucial element that was missing. However, when participants reflected on how native language assistants contributed, they merely mentioned their potential for being a model for pronunciation and accuracy (Management team 6, 7; student 45, 57) and disregarded any other pedagogical

or methodological considerations, which could be interpreted as evidence of a process in which natives are idealized.

Other areas in need of improvement were identified, such as the need for teacher training in CLIL methodology, the need to reduce the student-teacher ratio and the teaching work load for those participating in the bilingual programme directly. Finally, some critical issues, as yet unresolved in the implementation of bilingual education, emerged in this study, such as simplifying or reducing contents, and including or excluding particular subjects within the CLIL programme. In the Castilla-La Mancha regulation on bilingual programmes, all subjects can be taught in a foreign language, except religion and, obviously, Spanish, but the jury is still out on what the best or most suitable subjects to be taught through CLIL are.

As some authors point out (Cenoz, Genesse and Gorter 2014; Pérez-Cañado 2016), after more than a decade of bilingual education, it is time to take stock and reflect on what its points of tension, requirements, needs, shortcomings and unresolved issues are, in order to promote effective CLIL practice.

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## MOULDING MALVOLIO INTO MODERN ADAPTATIONS OF *TWELFTH NIGHT*

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**ABSTRACT.** *This paper explores how target-audience expectations and generic limitations on modern, mass-culture adaptations of Shakespeare's comedy Twelfth Night mould the characterization of his officious steward Malvolio, and dictate the degree of centrality that his subplot holds in each different version. A trans-generic application of Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan's work on characterization will expose how the character of Malvolio is constructed and presented, first in the original play and then in three modern adaptations of Twelfth Night into different popular genres. The works selected for contrastive analysis with the original play each represent different generic fields found on today's mass-culture market – romance fiction, teen cinema and the web-comic. Respectively, they are: The Madness of Love, a contemporary romance novel by Katharine Davies, published in 2005; She's the Man, a Hollywood teen film directed by Andy Fickman in 2006; and a web-comic retelling of Twelfth Night by Mya Lixian Gosling, which was published on her website Good Tickle-Brain Shakespeare in 2014.*

*Keywords:* Malvolio, characterization, popular culture, adaptations, audience expectation, *Twelfth Night*.

## MOLDEANDO A MALVOLIO EN LAS ADAPTACIONES MODERNAS DE NOCHE DE REYES

**RESUMEN.** Este trabajo explora cómo las expectativas del público y las limitaciones genéricas de las adaptaciones modernas de la obra shakesperiana *Noche de Reyes*, en el marco de la cultura de masas, moldean la caracterización del oficioso sirviente Malvolio, y dictan el grado de centralidad del argumento secundario que protagoniza en cada versión. La aplicación trans-genérica de la teoría de Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan sobre caracterización mostrará cómo se construye y presenta el personaje de Malvolio, tanto en la obra original, como en las tres adaptaciones modernas a diferentes géneros populares. Cada una de las tres obras seleccionadas para este análisis contrastivo con la obra original representa un campo genérico diferente, todas típicas del mercado de la cultura de masas de hoy en día – ficción romántica, cine para adolescentes y el web-comic. Respectivamente, son: *The Madness of Love*, una novela romántica contemporánea escrita por Katharine Davies, y publicada en 2005; *She's the Man*, una película hollywoodiense para adolescentes, dirigida por Andy Fickman en 2006; y un web-comic que reelabora la historia de *Noche de Reyes*, creado por Mya Lixian Gosling, y publicado en su página web *Good Tickle-Brain Shakespeare* en 2014.

*Palabras clave:* Malvolio, caracterización, cultura popular, adaptaciones, expectativa del público, *Twelfth Night*.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Just over four hundred years separate us from the first performances of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, and there is no question that our collective psyche has changed enormously in that time. Our social structures as well as individual notions of what one can expect from life bear little relation to those of Elizabethan times, and this shift influences how modern adaptations of the play deal with the character and subplot of the steward Malvolio in order to meet the expectations of their modern audiences and the requirements of their chosen genre. In my exploration of this idea, I first provide a brief analysis of the Shakespearean version of the character and subplot, before discussing three different adaptations of the play – a contemporary romance novel, *The Madness of Love* (Davies 2005); a Hollywood teen film *She's the Man* (Fickman 2006); and a web-comic retelling of the play found on *Good Tickle-Brain Shakespeare* (Gosling 2017) – to reveal the repercussions that audience expectations and generic conventions have on the construction of Malvolio's character and the centrality of his subplot in each.

The foundation of my analysis of Malvolio will be a trans-generic application of Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan's narratological work on character as set forth in her authoritative book *Narrative Fiction*, where she defines a number of "character-indicators" (2003: 59) which, although only applied to narrative fiction in her book, lend themselves to transposition and so serve well in the analysis of character in other genres. These indicators include direct definition, or the "naming of a character's qualities [by] the most authoritative voice in the text" (60), and "indirect presentation" (61) which includes displaying character traits through action, speech, external appearance and environment. A third technique she mentions is "reinforcement by analogy" (67) which refers to how names, landscapes and comparison to other characters can serve to strengthen characterization by emphasizing "the similarity or the contrast between the two elements compared" (68).

My exploration of the differing degrees of centrality of the subplot draws on a wide range of previous *Twelfth Night* scholarship as I discuss the role of the gulling of Malvolio in the original play; and on more recent, genre-specific theoretical work from several scholars to compare how the subplot is rendered in each of the modern adaptations, focusing specifically on how the creators of the adaptation "make [the subplot] 'fit' for new cultural contexts" (Sanders 2006: 46).

## 2. MOULDING THE ORIGINAL MALVOLIO

Direct definitions of Malvolio's personality traits are provided by other characters in Shakespeare's own *Twelfth Night*. Maria refers to him as "some kind of Puritan" (2.3.136), Sir Toby as "an overweening rogue" (2.5.27), and Olivia as a man "sick of self-love" (1.5.73). However, their "personal involvement, ... problematic value-scheme" and, in the case of Olivia, "limited knowledge" (Rimmon-Kenan 2003: 101) render their opinions unreliable. In contrast, the authoritative voice of the playwright, which is never directly heard, depends for characterization on indirect presentation, and it is Malvolio's actions and speech that define his main traits of pomposity, vanity and sobriety as he sneers at the foolery of Feste, condemns the carousing of Sir Toby and Andrew Aguecheek, sneers again at Viola/Cesario in returning the ring to her, and famously believes himself worthy of becoming the object of Olivia's love, despite his more lowly social position, which is marked by his speaking in prose rather than verse. Malvolio's role as steward in Olivia's household stands as an example of what Rimmon-Kenan calls "trait-connoting metonymies" (2003: 66), and in Elizabethan times audiences would have drawn on their real-world knowledge and contemporary typing of domestic staff to complete their understanding of the character of the onstage steward. Shakespeare

also uses analogy to help in his characterization of Malvolio, firstly through the semantic associations that are triggered by his name, which stems from the Italian *mal* (bad, or ill-advised) and *voglio* (want, or desire), hinting at his illicit desires for Olivia and social position; and secondly through a reciprocal analogy with Orsino, who is also enamoured of Olivia. As Rimmon-Kenan notes “[w]hen two characters are presented in similar circumstances, the similarity or contrast between their behaviour emphasizes traits characteristic of both” (2003: 70), and the contrasts between Malvolio’s histrionic, yellow-stockinged, cross-gartered, grotesquely grinning declaration of love for Olivia, and Orsino’s melancholy, poetic pining serves to highlight the steward’s ridiculous vanity, and position him as a social upstart.

John Draper notes that the Elizabethans “regarded the structure of society as divinely ordained and so immutable” (1950: 94). For them, Malvolio’s hankering after the socially superior Olivia would have been transgressive enough to garner audience approval of the humiliating practical joke played upon him. His pompous vanity and officious sobriety would only have added to the disdain his social ambition provoked, since these traits were loosely associated, both within the play and at large, with Puritanism – a religious movement that besides questioning the foundational religious beliefs of conformist England, also sought to close down the playhouses which afforded such popular entertainment and relief from everyday life for a large portion of Elizabethan society (Draper 1950: 87-9). Contemporary audiences would have revelled in the downfall of Malvolio, and the character’s “historically well-founded candidacy as protagonist” (Shakespeare and Elam 2008: 381) is testament to the importance of the social commentary Shakespeare loosely disguises in the character and subplot of Malvolio.

However, the subplot also plays an important dramatic role, providing an “alternative to comedy that makes us value the comic all the more” (Fineman, qtd. in Cahill 1996: 62) and, given the lack of socio-political commentary in the selected modern adaptations, it is this “alternative” – the quasi-tragic elements of Malvolio’s story – that I will be focusing on in my analysis here. Audience complicity with the gulling of Malvolio is paramount to the success of the subplot as comedy, because if we find ourselves unwittingly and unwillingly participating in what we believe to be an act of disproportionate cruelty, the bitterness of Malvolio’s humiliation can outweigh any comedic elements and, as Becky Kemper notes, “so sour the final moments of the play that they ultimately rob the audience of a satisfying conclusion” (2007: 42). As I will show, the generic conventions of the adaptations analysed in this paper and the expectations they create in their target audiences have a significant influence on how the creators of modern adaptations and appropriations construct the character of Malvolio and deal with his downfall.



### 3. MOULDING MALVOLIO IN A CONTEMPORARY ROMANCE NOVEL: *THE MADNESS OF LOVE*

Douglas Lanier writes that “most Shakespop adaptations jettison Shakespeare’s language, instead fastening on some facet of Shakespearian action, character or iconography and drawing it into the realm of popular culture” (2002: 88). This is the case of Katharine Davies’s romantic novel, which can be considered Shakespearean primarily in that it borrows the plotline of *Twelfth Night*, and draws some of the original characters into a contemporary environment. However, Davies also ensures that associations with the play will be activated even by readers unfamiliar with Shakespeare’s work by including both paratextual and textual references to *Twelfth Night*, the former on the back cover blurb which reads “From *Twelfth Night* to midsummer madness, a glittering tragi-comedy of unrequited love and misunderstandings”; and the latter, in the inclusion of a high-school production of the play, complete with lines quoted verbatim in her description of the rehearsals, which constitutes an example of what Julie Sanders calls “embedded texts” (2006: 27).

Set in modern England, the novel tells the story of Valentina, a young writer whose twin brother Jonathan has left on a voyage of self-discovery to their native Sri Lanka, and who finds herself at a personal crossroads at his sudden departure. Wanting adventure for herself, she chops off her long hair, walks out of her steady job in a bookshop and takes up residence as head gardener – a position she secures by lying about her experience and qualifications – at a large estate in the locality of Illerwick, owned by musician and composer Leo Spring. Valentina falls in love with Spring, who, in turn, is in love with local headmistress Melody Vye. Melody, in mourning after her brother Gabriel’s suicide, is not, however, in love with Leo Spring, but finds herself drawn to Valentina, who Leo asks to act as a go-between to press his suit with Melody. Meanwhile, a rather traumatic run-in with the dour Deputy Headmaster Mr Boase during Melody’s leave of absence, leaves schoolboy Fitch at a loose end as he decides not to return to school until the headmistress does. He takes up piano lessons with Leo, and helps Valentina in the garden, eventually becoming embroiled in the love triangle between the three adults. Influenced by the character Maria, who she plays in the school production of *Twelfth Night*, Fitch’s friend Suzy hatches a plan to humiliate Boase, whose bullying, narcissistic, hypocritical behaviour has become intolerable to the children. When Jonathan returns unexpectedly from Sri Lanka he meets and falls in love with Melody, who reciprocates his affection, and the novel comes to its climax at a garden party thrown by Leo Spring, and attended by all of the main characters.

Shakespeare’s Malvolio is brought into this modern story-world in the figure of Mr Boase, and as per the conventions of her genre, Davies eschews social

commentary to concentrate instead on the character's pomposity and vanity, using several techniques of direct and indirect characterization to set the Deputy Head up for an audience-approved humiliation. We first encounter Mr Boase in a chapter in which the narrative is focalized through Fitch, whose schoolboy crush on his teacher Melody provokes feelings of intense jealousy at the apparent familiarity between the colleagues – “Mr Boase put his arm briefly around her shoulder. Fitch hated him” (Davies 2004: 5) –. This immediately calls to mind the tension apparent between Feste and Malvolio in Act one, Scene five of *Twelfth Night* but, even without knowledge of the source play, readers are alerted by Fitch's disapproval that Mr Boase is to be the Proppian villain in this romance and, as such, is worthy of punishment or derision. However, Davies also uses other techniques of characterization to begin to guide her readers to a position that will make the trick played on Boase seem acceptable to them. In this first short glimpse of the man, the author's choice of furtive verbs of movement – he “edged into the classroom”, and “sidled to the front” (2004: 5) – are the earliest intimations we have that he may not be a particularly loveable character, a suspicion that is confirmed in our next encounter with him, after which he seems doomed to suffer a modernised version of the Shakespearean gulling of Malvolio with our tacit approval.

This second contact with Boase comes in a chapter focalized through the man himself, and in it we learn of his unrequited desires for Melody Vye. Having taken over her classes while she is on compassionate leave, he finds himself sat at her desk with the children gone home for the day, and indulges in a sexual reverie about her, accompanied by fetishist actions such as licking her diary and smelling a used handkerchief found in the back of her drawer. Davies manages to elicit a healthy degree of repulsion in her readers throughout this scene, building from a direct description of “his few tufts of hair where the [chalk] dust had mingled with Brylcreem into a kind of stickiness”, to a report of his violent response to what he sees as Fitch's “obtuseness” – a response that places him in direct conflict with readers, who have previously been made aware of Fitch's learning difficulties, and so would expect a teacher to show understanding and patience, rather than “throw the board rubber” (2004: 45-6) at the boy in anger. Finally, we come to the moment in which Boase, sexually excited by his fantasies, begins to masturbate in the classroom without realising that Fitch has crept in to retrieve a textbook and is witnessing the entire episode.

Like Shakespeare, Davies also reinforces her characterization of Boase with analogies of name, environment and character. “Boase” is one letter away from “boast”, which is clearly suggestive of the character's vanity and inflated sense of self-worth; his position as Deputy Headmaster, like Malvolio's as steward, places Boase on a lower hierarchical rung than his love-object Melody, and also provides

scope for him to abuse the power he holds over the children; and the comparisons between his lustful fantasies and Leo's over-romanticised yearning for Melody reinforce the traits of each, and so strengthen our rejection of Boase. In addition to all this, Davies cements his nefarious reputation and has Mr Boase slide further into ignominy by letting him fall off the proverbial wagon and resume the habits of an alcoholic "after twenty-five years" of "lecturing ... on the evils of alcohol" (2004: 49, 149), and his character degenerates chapter by chapter into a hypocritical, pub-crawling drunk who "takes out his hangover on the smallest children" (79) at school, neglects his duties as a teacher, vomits, punishes his students "for laughing" (138) and bullies them, both physically and verbally – "Board rubber', [Pete] said. 'Poor reflexes. And he [Boase] called me a lump of lard'" (161).

Malvolio's narcissism and social ambition pale in comparison to Boase's crimes, but then having social ambition and an inflated ego in today's society no longer justifies even the slightest censure, and readers are not likely to condone the public humiliation required by the plot of the source text without due cause. Therefore, Davies needs to endow her character with traits that are considered morally reprehensible to a modern audience, such as child abuse, alcoholism, and indulging in fetishist, onanistic sexual practices in a school room. Thus, Boase – a thoroughly modern Malvolio – transgresses the accepted social norms to such an extent that he loses any vestige of reader sympathy and, it would seem, can be subjected not only to his later humiliation at the hands of his students, but also to a subsequent exile into rehabilitation – "Mr Boase will be away for a while" (Davies 2004: 279) – with audience approval.

However, as Keir Elam notes, "[i]n many performances [of *Twelfth Night*] ... it is the 'dark room' scene (4.2), with its literal imprisoning of the 'mad' steward, that causes the audience to reconsider its complicity in the events and to change its allegiances" (Shakespeare and Elam 2008: 8). In her novel, Davies has managed to recreate this shift in feeling. The "dark room" scene sees Boase shut himself up in his house with the blinds drawn, after his humiliation at the party. Despite his apparent relegation to a position in readers' estimation from which it appears impossible he be redeemed, Davies manages to manipulate audience opinion and awaken some sympathy for the man in her readers. Fitch, having realised the extent of Mr Boase's suffering, feels certain regret at his part in the plot against the teacher, and visits Boase's house, in what appears to be an act of contrition. Yet it is not simply Fitch's realisation that "they have done something terrible" (Davies 2004: 266) that causes readers to modify their opinion. The closing mention of Mr Boase comes in a chapter focalized through an adult – Melody – and we become aware that up until this point, our own view of the Deputy has primarily been coloured by the juvenile perspective of Fitch and his friends. In fact, of the

fourteen chapters that deal with Mr Boase, six are focalized through the character himself, while eight come to us from the perspective of Fitch. Because we have been guided to reject Boase and sympathise with Fitch, we tend to reject the perspective of the former as unreliable, and accept Fitch's views as authoritative. Melody's sharp disapproval of the children's practical joke – she “could hardly bear to look at the three pained faces in front of her desk...[t]hey had been so stupid” (Davies 2004: 279) – and the children's own apparent regret and worry at the consequences of their actions, make us realise that our allegiance may have been misplaced, and our condemnation of Boase too harsh. Just as in *Twelfth Night*, we feel a jolt of sympathy that, in the words of Ralph Berry “make[s] the audience ashamed of itself” (qtd. in Shakespeare and Elam 2008: 10).

In *The Madness of Love*, Boase and his subplot play as important a narrative role as Malvolio does in the play, fulfilling the generic requirements for a villainous character who in some way threatens the heroine's happiness and is eventually punished for his transgressions. To fit the adaptation to contemporary cultural and generic expectations, Davies has had to mould Malvolio into the darker and more tragic Boase, and provide a definitive closure with his exile into rehabilitation and the promise of forgiveness and a better future upon his return, something that is not afforded to Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*.

#### 4. MOULDING MALVOLIO IN A HOLLYWOOD TEEN FILM: *SHE'S THE MAN*

In an essay entitled “Realising Shakespeare on Film”, Jack Jorgens notes that “in a sense *all* Shakespeare films are translations” and that we “study a translation ... as a creative attempt to recast and reimagine a work conceived in a different language and for a different culture” (1998: 24, original emphasis). Although he was speaking figuratively here of the transposition from theatre to cinema, with their accompanying meta-languages and generic “cultures”, we can also apply his theory quite literally to Andy Fickman's 2006 comedy film, which claims to have been “inspired by the play ‘Twelfth Night’ by William Shakespeare” in its opening credits. Douglas Lanier, writing about screen adaptations of Shakespearean comedies, states that besides musicals, “the other dominant model for Shakespearean comedies in the 1990s and after has been the teen comedy” (2018: 475), and includes *She's the Man* as a paradigm of this trend. He goes on to note that “these films situate Shakespearean comedy within the dynamics of high school social strata, addressing adolescent crises of romance and sexuality, often with an emphasis on young women's empowerment” (475), which is true of this particular adaptation.

The film centres on Viola Hastings, a typical American teenager whose ambition as a talented soccer player is thwarted when her female school team is cut, and

she is refused the opportunity to play on the boy's team. Viola decides to disguise herself as her twin brother Sebastian, who has disappeared off to London for two weeks, present herself at his new boarding school (Illyria) and get a spot on the soccer team there. Needless to say, she falls for her brother's roommate Duke Orsino, who is in love with school sweetheart Olivia Lennox, and much hilarity ensues. This generic "translation" from classical theatre to Hollywood teen flick, has necessitated both a linguistic translation from Elizabethan verse into a twenty-first-century American teenage sociolect, and a cultural translation from canonised "high" culture into a mass-culture product, designed for consumption by the modern American teenager.

Neither the genre nor target audience allow for the type of social commentary Shakespeare indulged in. As Ecaterina Hanțiu has noted in her critique of the film, "it is entertainment and not serious considerations about life and its problems that come first" (2012: 112), and there is certainly no room in *She's the Man* for any hint of the tragic, so it is little wonder that the Malvolio subplot has been all but entirely erased from the script. We still have a Toby, an Andrew, and a Maria, but they are minor characters with few lines and almost no influence on the development of the narrative, except perhaps in the case of Maria, who at one point urges Olivia to flirt with Duke to make Sebastian (Viola) jealous. In contrast to previous critical work on this adaptation which reduces the figure of Malvolio to that of a pet spider, with no active role in the story,<sup>1</sup> I believe that although his subplot disappears from the film, the character of Malvolio is more fully expressed than this, and that while the issues of social mobility and nonconformist religion are not addressed at all, the steward's characteristic pomposity and vanity are. However, rather than creating a single character to represent Malvolio, the writers have splintered him, and shared his defining traits between two characters: the teenage students Malcolm and Monique. These two characters form a tactical alliance at one point in the film and, in doing so, recreate a dualized counterpart for the steward. This not only provides an additional point of contact between the source play and the film, but also allows for the inclusion of two genre-specific character types – the officious prep, and the difficult ex-girlfriend.

As with theatre, characterization in a film relies mainly on the speech and action of the character in question. *She's the Man* challenges viewers who are familiar with the play to identify just who is playing the role of the steward in this adaptation, and it is characterization that provides the answer. While it is true that the name of Malvolio is

<sup>1</sup> For example, in their respective papers discussing *She's the Man* and *Twelfth Night*, Laurie Osborne refers to "Malvolio' the tarantula" (2008: 18); Ecaterina Hanțiu claims that "Malvolio simply becomes Malcolm Feste's pet" (2012: 112); and Divya Walia posits that "though we don't have [...] Malvolio, [...] we don't miss his presence since he is there in the movie as Malcolm's Tarantula" (2017: 5).

given to a pet tarantula, owned by Malcolm Festes, it is Malcolm himself who manifests some of Malvolio's characteristics and so becomes one part of the amalgamated steward character. His human environment, like that of Malvolio and Boase, helps construct his character. He holds a position of menial authority as "dorm director" and officiously reprimands Viola for forgetting to wear shower shoes in the bathroom. Malcolm also has a crush on Olivia Lennox and indulges in a degree of self-pitying lamentation at her unattainability, complaining to his pet tarantula "It just isn't fair, Malvolio. I wait three years for Olivia, and then some transfer student [Viola/Sebastian] comes in and suddenly she's acting like some obsessed, love-struck teenager. I'm not going to take that lying down, Malvolio!" (Fickman 2006: 00:36:26 – 00:36:39).<sup>2</sup> His speech here, and his over-zealous exercise of authority are suggestive of an upstart teen, attempting to take on an adult role, which provides a genre-appropriate reflection of Malvolio's social pretensions, without straying into serious socio-political criticism. Malcolm's actions strengthen his characterization, and in a departure from the source plot, he nastily plans to ruin his rival, discovering that the transfer student "Sebastian" is actually Viola in disguise. Unfortunately for Malcolm, by the time he tries to unmask Viola at a big soccer match, the real Sebastian has returned from London, and when asked to prove his gender, he is able to do so, leading to a moment of mild embarrassment for Malcolm, who, in what one assumes is a deliberate homage to Malvolio, happens to be wearing yellow socks. Yet, to satisfy the requirements of the genre for happy endings all round, even such gentle humiliation of Malcolm is not allowed to stand. When Viola comes out with the truth of her masquerade he is allowed to redeem his pride by shouting over the megaphone "Ladies and gentlemen, I hate to say I told you so, but..." (Fickman 2006: 01:25:01 – 01:25:04), and the generic requirement for a feel-good ending for all is met.

If Malcolm is the reimagining of Malvolio's officiousness and pomposity, it is Sebastian's girlfriend Monique who portrays the narcissistic facet of the steward's personality. The beautiful-but-bitchy girlfriend is a common character in teen films, and Monique fulfils this type in *She's the Man*. She is characterized through her own speech – "Just remind your brother how lucky he is to be in my life" (Fickman 2006: 00:06:09 – 00:06:11), or "Girl's with asses like mine do not talk to boys with faces like yours" (00:30:10 – 00:30:14); through the direct comments of the authoritative Viola – "ugh, but she's so awful" (00:07:45); and through her mincing, über-feminine physical presence which contrasts intensely with that of the tomboyish Viola, in another example of analogy between characters. Monique, like Malcolm, is punished for her character faults in another gentle public humiliation, this time at the hands of Viola herself, who in the guise of Sebastian breaks up very loudly with Monique at a packed student hang-out called "Cesario's". Of course

<sup>2</sup> Quotations from the film are from my own transcription.

her humiliation is short-lived, and she is also granted a happy ending, pairing up with Viola's equally vain ex-boyfriend in the debutante ball finale.

Between them, Malcolm and Monique possess Malvolio's main personality traits and the plot of the film brings them together into a single force as they strive in tandem to unmask Viola. Generic requirements for an exclusively funny plot and specific character types have resulted in this adaptation splitting the steward into three characters (counting the spider) and completely doing away with the subplot, slight embarrassments aside.

##### 5. MOULDING MALVOLIO IN A WEB-COMIC: *GOOD TICKLE BRAIN SHAKESPEARE*<sup>3</sup>

Unlike *The Madness of Love* and *She's the Man*, which both use *Twelfth Night* as a source of inspiration rather than attempting a faithful transposition, this final adaptation is the retelling of Shakespeare's original play in the format of a comic strip populated by stick figures, created by former library cataloguer Mya Lixian Gosling. It is quite difficult to determine Gosling's intended audience from her genre as comics are appreciated by people of all ages and social backgrounds. However, in a podcast interview with Austin Tichenor of the Reduced Shakespeare Company<sup>4</sup>, Gosling said

I try and tailor my work so it can be both accessible to people who really love Shakespeare and people who don't love Shakespeare or don't know Shakespeare. And I've got friends who don't like Shakespeare at all, who have started to get interested in Shakespeare because of the reading of my comics and that's really the most rewarding thing about it all. (2016: 00:08:36 – 00:08:50)

so we can assume that she is targeting a non-elite audience and will adapt her work, at least in part, to suit their needs. Furthermore, her minimalist style within the comic genre places limitations not only on how much text she can include, but also on how much information can be implied visually, making the retelling of any of Shakespeare's plays an interesting challenge, as I will show with the following analysis of how she approaches Malvolio in her version of *Twelfth Night*.

Browsing her website, viewers find the extremely bare-boned 3-Panel version of the play, along with a full scene-by-scene version. In the former, there is no mention of Malvolio at all, and her final "Everyone is happy" (see fig. 1),<sup>5</sup> offers no hint of the subplot or its lack of closure.

<sup>3</sup> Available at [www.goodticklebrain.com/shakespeare-index/#/twelfth-night](http://www.goodticklebrain.com/shakespeare-index/#/twelfth-night).

<sup>4</sup> Available at [www.reducedshakespeare.com/2016/05/episode-493-good-tickle-brain](http://www.reducedshakespeare.com/2016/05/episode-493-good-tickle-brain).

<sup>5</sup> All extracts from the *Good Tickle Brain Shakespeare* website are copyright protected, and used here with kind permission from the artist.

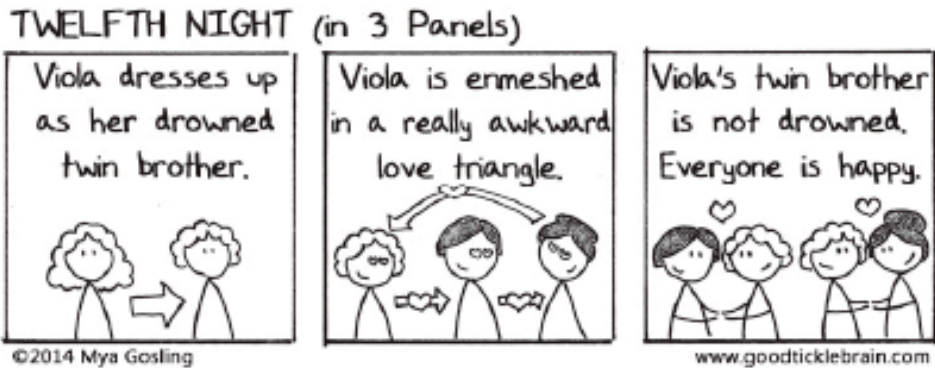


Figure 1. The three-panel summary of the entire play, with no mention of Malvolio.

However, her full version offers the play in its entirety, retold in mainly modern English. Gosling starts with a “Dramatis Personae” page, characterizing her players with a stick figure that shows an identifying hairstyle or other feature by which we will later recognise him or her in the comic, along with their name, and a bullet-point list of their most salient characteristics. Malvolio’s entry shows a slightly frowning, moustachioed fellow with a bobbed hairstyle (see fig. 2).



Figure 2. Malvolio on the Dramatis Personae page.

The implicit grooming that these hirsute features require hints at the steward’s vanity, and together with the brief description, this simple drawing provides information that audiences would usually glean from indirect techniques of characterization such as speech, movement and intonation of the actor playing Malvolio, all of which are clearly inaccessible for this stripped-back medium, whose alternative is a genre-specific type of direct characterization.

Also impossible to reproduce in this format is the full Shakespearean text, a major source of characterization in the play. Gosling prefers to translate most of



the play into modern English although she does include original text from time to time, notably “when a speech is too well known to be passed over in silence” (Perret 2004: 75) such as Viola’s “Patience on a monument” (2.4.114)<sup>6</sup>, Sir Toby’s “cakes and ale” (2.3.112) and Malvolio’s “be not afraid of greatness” (2.5.141). However, Gosling often uses Shakespeare’s text specifically for Malvolio, and this helps create an air of pomposity as his lofty tone is so clearly at odds with the rest of the colloquial, chatty speech in the comic.

One of Gosling’s adaptive techniques that plays an important role in both the characterization of Malvolio and the treatment of his subplot is paratextual authorial comment. Each play is initially posted in a series of weekly uploads and Gosling provides a pre-panel introduction and a post-panel comment on each week’s episode. The introduction to the subplot comes in her post for June 28, 2016:

Twelfth Night: Act 2, Scene 3 (part 1).

So, *Twelfth Night* has basically two plots. One has clearly emerged by now: Viola’s disguise as Cesario and the resulting love triangle between her, Orsino, and Olivia. The second one, which could be called the comedic subplot, is going to get underway in this week’s scenes.<sup>7</sup>

She immediately launches into the carousing scene and ends with the appearance of Malvolio, whose physical portrayal in the panel – fuming and frowning with his hands on his hips and bared teeth – are suggestive of his bossy, officious nature (see fig. 3).



Figure 3. In Act 2, Scene 3 (part 1) Malvolio enters the carousing scene.

<sup>6</sup> To avoid confusion, references to the Arden Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* will follow this format, while those to Mya Gosling’s adaptation will be shown as “Act 1, Scene 4”.

<sup>7</sup> [www.goodticklebrain.com/home/2016/6/28/twelfth-night-act-2-scene-3-part-1](http://www.goodticklebrain.com/home/2016/6/28/twelfth-night-act-2-scene-3-part-1).

Her authorial comment after the panels reads “He might throw good parties, but nothing will shake my conviction that Sir Toby is a jerk”, a claim she will reiterate throughout the play, and one which colours the Malvolio subplot to cater to modern audiences, as we will see in more detail a little further on.

As comics are static drawings, many of the physical actions that actors use to help transmit character are lost, yet Gosling manages to include a sense of movement in some key drawings, and even when the accompanying text which gave rise to a gesture in the first place has been edited out, or modernised beyond recognition, this provides visual echoes of the characterizing gestures. An example of this can be seen when Malvolio is threatening to report the revellers Sir Toby, Sir Andrew and Maria, to Olivia saying she “shall know of it, by this hand” (2.3.121). In Elam’s commentary on this scene he notes that “[i]n Gielgud’s 1955 Stratford production Laurence Olivier raised his hand on this line, causing his pants to fall down from under his nightshirt” (Shakespeare and Elam 2008: 221). In the *Good Tickle Brain* version, Gosling pays homage to the Shakespearean text and Olivier’s theatrical gesture, though both are necessarily changed. Malvolio’s speech bubble reads “My lady shall know of this! You’ll be sorry, you...barbarians!”, while the stick figure Malvolio has a raised hand with tiny movement lines that indicate his shaking fist, which visually cues Shakespeare’s original line (see fig. 4). The sense of frustrated impotence portrayed through this gesture, the textual ellipsis, and the composition of the frame, which places three united characters against the lone Malvolio, plants a seed of sympathy for the steward in readers’ minds, which Gosling’s commentary helps develop over the course of the play.



Figure 4. In Act 2, Scene 3 (part 2) Gosling’s drawing echoes the original text.

Condensation is an essential part of the transposition from play to comic, and as Perret notes, “in most comics pictures of actions speak louder than words” (2004: 75). Although this requires “comic-savvy readers” to “[unpack] the meaning and

resonance of images” (74), it also allows Shakespeare-savvy readers to recognise the underlying original text from a visual prompt, as we have just seen. However, soliloquies, which provide audiences with insight into the character’s personality and motives, present a special challenge for the comic strip medium. Gosling rises to that challenge in Act 3, Scene 4, part 1, where Malvolio’s eighteen-line soliloquy (3.4.62-80), which shows the degree of the steward’s self-delusion, is reduced to two panels containing almost no text. Malvolio’s wordy pondering is replaced by expressive eyebrows and a pensive hand-upon-chin gesture, while his verbose Shakespearean conclusion that “everything adheres together that no dram of a scruple, no scruple of a scruple, no obstacle, no incredulous or unsafe circumstance ... nothing that can be can come between me and the full prospect of my hopes” (3.4.75-79), is cut to a single three-word outburst accompanied by the jubilant flexing of his arms and joyful squinting of his eyes (see fig. 5). Ryuta Minami, in a discussion of Anime and Manga adaptations of Shakespeare, notes that “cute factors ... arouse moe, a feeling of love for a fictional character” (2016: 118), and while we may not come so far as to love Malvolio, reader sympathies are certainly awoken by the “cuteness” of these particular drawings. Our emotional response, or *moe*, serves to further colour the subplot.



Figure 5. In Act 3, Scene 4 (part 1) Malvolio’s eighteen-line soliloquy is represented in two panels.

As noted above, extradiegetic comment from the artist, who in effect becomes the narrator of the adaptation, plays a major role in manipulating reader response in Gosling’s retelling of *Twelfth Night*, and in the box-tree scene, the artist plays with audience sympathies, first seeming to side with Maria and then making us aware of her authorial feelings about Sir Toby and Malvolio, which immediately causes us to reassess our own reactions. In this scene, Malvolio finds the letter Maria has written to trick him into believing that Olivia is in love with him,

and Gosling starts with the following introduction: “In order to get revenge on Malvolio for being a stuck-up and pretentious jerk, Maria plans to drop a fake love letter from Olivia somewhere where he will find it...” (Act 2, Scene 5, part 1). While at first we might take this to be the artist’s own view on Malvolio, and so accept as fact that he is a “stuck-up and pretentious jerk”, it becomes apparent, upon reading her closing comments for the scene, that the narrating instance was actually focalized through Maria, and that the extradiegetic narrator’s own perspective is far more sympathetic towards the steward. The end-of-scene comment, marked as a reprehensible shouted utterance by its capitalization, reads “PUBLIC HUMILIATION IS SO MUCH FUN GUYS. ...GUYS?”, and intimates that whoever has enjoyed the humiliation of Malvolio has now been abandoned and marginalised by their less gauche peers. As we appear to be the addressees – the “GUYS” – we automatically check our own answer to the rhetorical question. If we say “yes”, we too will become social outcasts, therefore the correct answer must be “no, it is not fun”, a realisation that taints Sir Toby and Maria’s actions and leads us to wonder whether Malvolio is really such a bad egg, and deserving of such treatment.

Gosling further encourages us to find Sir Toby and Maria’s delight in the humiliation of Malvolio distasteful with her continuing comments on Sir Toby – “...from where I’m sitting it just looks like Sir Toby is a jerk” (Act 3, Scene 4, part 3), “...by Sir Toby, who is a jerk” (Act 4, Scene 1), “Did I mention that I think Sir Toby is a jerk?” (Act 4, Scene 2). These comments mould our view of the whole affair, and draw our sympathies more firmly towards Malvolio than Shakespeare did, reflecting modern cultural values that find social ambition and inflated egos acceptable, but are less tolerant of the jubilant *Schadenfreude* of the Sir Tobies of this world.

## 6. CONCLUSION

We have seen three very different interpretations of the Malvolio subplot in these popular adaptations of *Twelfth Night*. *The Madness of Love* (Davies 2004), as a romantic novel, favours the darker, more melancholic side of the story, turning a pompous, vain, but fundamentally comedic Malvolio into a drunken abusive pervert, whose downfall results not in his stalking off in a huff vowing revenge, but in his near suicide and exile into rehab, “his pale, bleary face, ... his fingers on the red stretcher blanket like sticks of chalk as they loaded him into the ambulance” (Davies 2004: 279).

In direct contrast, *She’s the Man* (Fickman 2006) removes all trace of tragedy by cutting the subplot out completely and reinventing Malvolio in the guise of

two teen-film character types who, for all their faults, enjoy as happy an ending as the rest of the cast of characters. Finally, *Good Tickle Brain* (2017) creator Mya Gosling manages to balance the comedic and tragic elements of the story but, with authorial intrusion, caters to modern tastes by guiding our sympathy towards the victim of the practical joke rather than its perpetrators.

Each of these adaptations has treated Malvolio and his subplot in different ways to suit the expectations of their respective intended audiences, which in turn are raised by the particular genre into which the play has been transposed. I believe that it is safe to say that the importance and characterization of Malvolio in modern popular adaptations of this comedy is dependent on the anticipated audience of the adaptation, and the varying degrees to which the chosen genres can tolerate tragedy.

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**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, D. "Irish Studies round the world-2007: Introduction." <<http://www.estudiosirlandeses.org/Issue3/Issue3InternationalReviews/PdfIStudiesRoundtheWorldbyDPierce.pdf>>. (Accessed 7 May 2008)

For **films**, just consider them as directed pieces of work, with "dir." for "director" instead of "ed." for "editor," giving the country/ies of production for the place and the name of the production company/ies instead of the publishing house, e.g.:

Kubrick, S., dir. 1980. *The Shining*. USA and UK: Hawk Films Ltd., Peregrine, Producers Circle and Warner Bros.

## ***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 6.000 y máximo 10.000 palabras en páginas a doble espacio, incluyendo referencias bibliográficas, notas, apéndices, figuras y tablas).
- B. Reseñas y reseñones de libros recientes publicados en el campo de los Estudios Ingleses (máximo 3.000 palabras en páginas a doble espacio).
- C. Notas o reflexiones críticas breves (squibs) (máximo 1.500 palabras en 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.

## **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 en el 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 sobrescritos 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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