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"DARKNESS IS DIFFERENT FOR ME NOW. I KNOW ALL ITS DEPTHS AND TEXTURES": THE PANOPTICAL GAZE IN SARAH WATERS'S *AFFINITY*

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ABSTRACT. *The aim of this essay is to analyse Sarah Waters's novel* Affinity *(1999) from the perspective of the panoptical system of surveillance, based on the controlling power of the gaze, that was widely employed as a system of repression in Victorian society. It seeks to explore Milbank prison as a perfect example of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon and Michel Foucault's ideas about punishment and imprisonment. Drawing on Laura Mulvey's notion of scopophilia, the essay goes on to explore the characteristics of the interaction and mutual attraction felt by two of the main characters, with the aim of proving that the gaze can be a powerful weapon to subjugate another person. Finally, it tackles the relevance of the third protagonist, Ruth Vigers, a lady's maid whose job makes her invisible both to the readers and to other characters in the novel. The analysis shows that it is precisely her social invisibility that allows her to escape the gaze of this panoptical society and become the master puppeteer controlling everything from the shadows.*

Keywords: desire, gaze, (Neo-)Victorianism, panopticon, Sarah Waters, scopophilia, surveillance.

"DARKNESS IS DIFFERENT FOR ME NOW. I KNOW ALL ITS DEPTHS AND TEXTURES": LA MIRADA PANÓPTICA EN *AFINIDAD* DE SARAH WATERS

RESUMEN. *El objetivo de este artículo es explorar la novela de Sarah Waters* Afinidad *(1999), desde la perspectiva del panóptico como sistema de vigilancia y represión implementado en la sociedad victoriana, siendo el poder de la mirada una de sus principales herramientas. Principalmente, se analiza la prisión Milbank como un excelente ejemplo del panóptico diseñado por Jeremy Bentham y estudiado por las ideas de prisión y castigo de Michel Foucault. Además, la noción de escopofilia discutida por Laura Mulvey se emplea para analizar la relación y la atracción entre dos de las protagonistas, comprobando cómo la mirada puede ser una de las armas más poderosas para subyugar a otra persona. Finalmente, también se analiza la importancia de una tercera protagonista, Ruth Vigers, una sirvienta cuyo trabajo es invisible tanto para los lectores como para los demás personajes. El análisis demuestra que es precisamente esta invisibilidad la que la ayuda a escapar de la mirada de esa sociedad panóptica y convertirse en una titiritera que controla todo desde las sombras.*

Palabras clave: deseo, escopofilia, mirada, (Neo-)Victorianismo, panóptico, Sarah Waters, vigilancia.

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The publication of her second novel, *Affinity*, in 1999, one year after the publication of her debut novel, *Tipping the Velvet* (1998), confirmed Sarah Waters as a popular lesbian writer of historical romances. The novel was shortlisted for numerous awards and had an excellent reception among the general public and the academia. Due to its thematic complexity and stylistic and generic richness, the novel has been classified, among others, as an instance of the (neo-)Gothic, of historical romance, of Neo-Victorian fiction, and of Queer fiction. While Lucy Armitt and Sarah Gamble describe Waters's creativity in general as a "curious intermingling of passion, crime, sensationalism and social injustice" (2006: 141), Rachel Caroll acknowledges the complexity of *Affinity* when she asserts:

> On the one hand, *Affinity* is a historically grounded and plausible reconstruction of marginalized women's histories: the spinster, the spirit medium, the working-class servant. [...] The past is then experienced both through the framework of revisionary feminist historiography and through the past's own conventions of representation; the novel's attempt to reconstruct a "lost" past is qualified by a consciousness of the ways in which the meanings of the past change with every attempt to "return" to it. (2006: 143)

The difficulty to ascribe Waters's fictional works to a particular genre or trend is echoed by the difficulty to pin down the author herself. As Pauline Palmer

points out, "while claiming several different authorial identities including 'historical novelist, woman writer or just a writer', she [Waters] argues that 'it makes sense to call me a lesbian writer since I am a writer who is lesbian'" (2008: 72). Indeed, Waters's protagonists are usually lesbian women who fight against mainstream society in various historical periods ranging from the late nineteenth century to the nineteen sixties. Therefore, as Jerome de Groot explains, her novels "work backwards and forwards, commenting upon contemporary lesbian identity and the workings of sexuality in modernity" (2013: 62). As far as the historical context is concerned, it is clear that *Affinity* resembles *Tipping the Velvet* and also her third novel, *Fingersmith* (2002), in that they are set in the Victorian Era, and are aimed at rendering visible the stories of different female outcasts. As Armitt and Gamble state, "all three of them share a fascination with the past as spectre haunting the present, and explore the effect of this haunting on the lives and loves of dissident women" (2006: 141). More concretely, *Affinity* is set in London in the 1870s. It tells the story of Margaret Prior, an upper-class lady in her thirties who is still living with her mother. Pinpointed as a spinster, Margaret sees her brother Stephen and her sister Priscilla marry and make a life of their own, while she is still in the clutches of her possessive mother. After the death of her father and the unfortunate ending of the secret relation she had been leading with Helen—who gave her up in order to marry her brother—Margaret becomes so unhappy and depressed that she attempts to commit suicide. Following the doctor's recommendation to find a form of entertainment, she becomes a lady visitor at Millbank Prison, where she will meet the working-class spiritualist Selina Dawes. After several encounters, Margaret starts feeling a growing fascinated attraction towards this mysterious inmate. Thus, Selina will use her charm to escape, both from prison and from England, with her true love, the socially invisible maid Ruth Vigers.

The novel alternates diaries entries, some written by Margaret and some by Selina. At first sight, they seem to provide different perspectives on the same action, but the events recorded in each diary are dated at different times: Selina's diary is written in 1874 and that of Margaret in 1872 and 1873. As Susana Onega has pointed out, each diary belongs to a different type, reflecting their personality and social status. While Margaret's diary is a lady's journal, Selina's "extraordinarily laconic and factual entries, evincing an illiteracy that responds to her humble social position, [belong to] the type of pocket diary or memorandum created in the eighteenth century for women to keep track of daily observations and cash expenditures" (133). Margaret, a scholarly lesbian woman, shows her naivety in believing Selina, her journal showing how easily she was bewitched by her alluring spiritual tricks. By contrast, Selina's much shorter and factual entries show her working-class background, thus "serv[ing] as a counter-narrative to

Margaret's version and vision" (Heilmann and Llewellyn 2010: 186). At the same time, however, it is Selina's entries that provide the readers with the main clues to understand what is really going on in the *séances* where she invokes the spirit Peter Quick, who turns out to be the puppeteer Ruth Vigers.

One of the main settings of the novel is Millbank Prison, Britain's first national penitentiary, located on the riverside of the Thames, and designed by Jeremy Bentham as a panopticon, that is, a circular prison in which cells are arranged around a single watch tower. This setting offers important clues for the understanding of the novel. As is well known, Bentham's model of the panoptical penitentiary was taken up and developed by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975) as a metaphor for the powerful and sophisticated internalised coercion exerted by society on the individual through constant observation and isolation. The starting hypothesis for this essay is that a similar relation can be established between the main characters of the novel. As I will attempt to demonstrate, while Selina submits Margaret to a power–bondage relationship, she is herself in turn controlled by Ruth, who exerts constant panoptical surveyance on both the lady and the medium from her invisible position as a lady's maid. Central to this game of control and surveillance is the gaze, a key weapon in any panoptical system. Therefore, in order to explain how power relations are depicted in *Affinity*, I will relate some aspects of Foucault's theory of the panopticon to some important points made by Laura Mulvey on the use of the gaze in the film industry.

While exploring the birth of the modern prison by drawing on Bentham's penitentiary structure, Foucault, in *Discipline and Punish*, describes the panopticon as an "enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point" (1991: 197), in which vigilance is omnipresent.[1] As far as the layout of the building is concerned, Foucault provides a concrete and minute description of Bentham's panopticon which is worth reproducing in full:

> at the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up

1 "[T]he individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded, in which an uninterrupted work of writing links the centre and periphery, in which power is exercised without division, according to a continuous hierarchical figure, in which each individual is constantly located, examined and distributed among the living beings, the sick and the dead – all this constitutes a compact model of the disciplinary mechanism" (Foucault 1991: 197).

> in each cell a condemned man […] By the effect of backlighting, one can observe from the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery. They are like so many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible. The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately […] Each individual, in his place, is securely confined to a cell from which he is seen from the front by the supervisor; but the side walls prevent him from coming into contact with his companions. He is seen, but he does not see. (1991: 200)

Significantly, the first diary entry written by Margaret provides a detailed description of Millbank Prison. Some of the sentences she employs perfectly match the above definition of the panopticon. As the Director, Mr Shillitoe, slyly remarks while he is showing the building to the new Lady Visitor, "you will see the logic of the design of it" (Waters 1999: 10). Margaret describes the women's jail as "not charming. Its scale is vast, and its lines and angles, when realized in walls and towers of yellow brick and shuttered windows, seem only wrong or perverse. It is as if the prison had been designed by a man in the grip of a nightmare" (8). She then gives further details about the things she saw when walking the corridors for the first time. She admits that "the organization of the prison, of course, is so peculiar I soon grew lost" (9), and describes the building as a series of pentagons with a "hexagon-shaped building" in the middle (9). It is there that the matrons have their rooms and, of course, that the central tower is found: "the tower is set at the centre of the pentagon yards" (10). At the top of the tower there is a "bright, white, circular room, filled with windows" (10). The most obvious reference to the function of this panoptical structure comes next, when Margaret writes: "it was impossible, on entering that room, not to long to walk at once to one of its curving windows and gaze at the view beyond it […] Now, was that not a very marvellous and terrible sight? […] There was all the female gaol before me; and behind each of those windows was a single cell, with a prisoner in it" (11). Still, as Armitt and Gamble note, it should not be forgotten that, "though working with such historical source material in *Affinity*, [Waters] deliberately skews the relationship between historical fact and historical fiction, and by extension, truth and knowledge" (2006: 142). Therefore, as they go on to argue, the appearance of Millbank in such a predominant position, "carries a greater narrative significance" (143), an argument that will prove essential for the main purpose of this article.

One of the main ideas in Foucault's panopticon theory is that power is ubiquitous, and that it is exerted not only in buildings especially designed to control people, but in society at large, even, as Ariadna Serrano Bailén argues,

in its most private circles (2008: 95). In *Affinity*, the panoptical gaze is not only used as a punishing and correcting tool for outlaws, but is also easily found in such an affluent Victorian home as that of the Priors. Margaret is controlled, not only by Selina—and more cunningly, by Ruth both inside and outside Millbank Prison—but also by her mother, Mrs Prior, who employs her position of power to exert constant control and surveyance on her daughter, whose deviant sexual orientation defies the patriarchal moral standards. Therefore, gainsaying Lynda Johnston and Robyn Longhurst's argument that "home spaces are a private and secure location, a locus of identity, and an area where inhabitants can escape the disciplinary practices that regulate the body in the public sphere" (in O'Callaghan 2014: 123), Margaret's home is a kind of prison, perhaps toughest than Millbank Penitentiary. Some scholars have studied this issue in depth. For example, Mark Llewellyn, in his article "'Queer? I should say it is criminal!': Sarah Waters' *Affinity*" (2004), provides a very thorough study of panopticism in the novel, both at the prison and in society, together with a detailed analysis of the different "crimes" a woman such as Margaret would be committing from a Victorian perspective.

Describing the way in which power is exerted in the panoptical system, Janet Semple argues that "power is visible but shrouded, unverifiable and disindividualized. Those subject to power have no knowledge of it, no control over it, but are themselves the subject of knowledge and control" (1992: 115). This description is perfectly applicable to Margaret, who cannot see the plot of deceit constructed around her, blinded as she is by a love for Selina that grows into an uncontrollable state of romantic longing: "Now I have more freedom than I ever had at any time in my life, and I do only the things I always have. They were empty before, but Selina has given meaning to them" (Waters 1999: 304). Regardless of her supposedly privileged social position, Margaret becomes the main subject of the plot. This leads to another central aspect of Bentham's panopticon: the fact that criminals were considered a different kind of beings—"another order of men"—not even fully human (Semple 1993: 29). Social differences are highlighted at certain points, as for example, when one of the wardens, Miss Ridley, tells Margaret that the inmates "are not like you and me, miss […] the sort of women who pass through here! They hold their lives very cheap…" (Waters 1999: 62). Helen expresses a similar view on the social inferiority of the inmates when, while listening to her stories about the prison, she tells Margaret: "but you cannot mean really to *befriend* these women? They must be thieves, and – worse!" (32; emphasis in the original). However, Margaret is both a closeted lesbian and a thirty year-old spinster—which was at the time regarded as something disgraceful–, thus doubly marginalized from the perspective of Victorian standards. This double

marginalisation, places Margaret on a par not only with Selina but with all the women belonging to this outcast group.[2] As Rosario Arias puts it in "Talking with the Dead: Revisiting the Victorian Past and the Occult in Margaret Atwood's *Alias Grace* and Sarah Waters' *Affinity*," "Selina is under constant surveillance by matrons at Millbank prison, and Margaret is subject to the control of her mother's disciplinary gaze" (2005: 98). In relation to this, Mrs Prior openly blurts out that "you [Margaret] wouldn't be ill like this […] if you were married" (263). Even more telling is the moment in which Mrs Prior addresses Margaret as "Mrs Anybody," adding: "You are only *Miss Prior*. And your place—how often must I say it?—your place is here, at your mother's side" (253; emphasis in the original), making clear her outcast social position. Yet another socially disgraceful aspect of Margaret's behaviour is that, after being left by Helen, she attempted to commit suicide, a crime that would have condemned her to jail, were it not for her status as a lady.

Together with disciplinary control, the gaze is one of the most important features of the panoptical system. As Foucault explained, "Inspection functions ceaselessly. The gaze is alert everywhere" (1991: 195). In the panoptical system there is not a single moment in which prisoners could be free from the scrutinizing gaze of the jailers. This powerful weapon works without interruption, "induc[ing] in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (1991: 201). While describing Millbank, Margaret explains that "at the side of each gate, there is a vertical iron flap which can be opened any time the matron pleases, and the prisoner viewed: they call this the 'inspection'; the women term it *the eye*" (Waters 1999: 23; emphasis in the original). Of course, the fact that Margaret writes "the eye" in italics enhances the importance of its function. In relation to the main point of this paper, it conveys the idea that surveillance is constant and ubiquitous, that no one can possibly escape from the controlling gaze, in this case, of a matron. In an illuminating article titled "Diary as Queer Malady: Deflecting the Gaze in Sarah Waters's *Affinity*" (2009/2010), Kym Brindle explores the role of the gaze in relation to the diary form, bringing to light how "[u]nseen letters escape the panoptic principle to drive both the plot and the actual love affair that plays in the shadows and sub-text of the novel" (2009/2010: Abstract). As she suggests, "the gaze and the diary work in tandem to demonstrate who reads, who writes, and who interprets and distributes textual power. The panoptic principle of the gaze is juxtaposed with the privacy of the diary to raise questions about textual manipulation and power within the author/reader relationship" (77).

2 In Llewellyn's words, "Margaret and Selina are thus both criminals in society's eyes and are punished for breaking cultural taboos, for being unacceptably different. Although the difference is never explicitly named, women who do not conform are by definition monsters and must be watched and restrained to enforce conformity upon all women." (2004: 209; emphasis in the original).

Starting from this premise, we can address the role of the gaze in *Affinity* by having recourse to Laura Mulvey's main ideas exposed in her seminal work, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1999). According to Mulvey, the female image has been used in films as a way to maintain the dominant patriarchal order as woman is always considered the object of the look. Although *Affinity* is a piece of writing—and one about a homosexual relationship—, the same idea can be found in the novel: the female image, in this case Margaret, is constantly looked at in order to maintain the "correct" social system, especially from her mother's perspective. Margaret feels constantly scrutinised by those aligned with the social order, and she is acutely conscious of the existence of a "judgemental gaze, surmising her status and in some senses acting as an aspect of her punishment" (Llewellyn 2004: 207). When Selina asks for her help to accomplish the escape plan, she expresses her fear that both of them "would be cast off, by society" (Waters 1999: 274). The same feeling of being scrutinised arises from the constant "sharp, odd look" (200) of her mother on her, who thus becomes the ward of the house-prison. Margaret is perfectly aware of this aspect of her mother, as she proves when she decides to stop the key-hole of her room in order to gain some privacy: "it is possible to be careful, even with the chloral in me—that she might come and press her ear to the panels of my door, she would not hear me. She might kneel and put her eye to the key-hole. I have stopped it up with cloth" (224). As her allusion to the chloral makes clear, Margaret is kept under control by means of a drug treatment originally prescribed by the doctor and administered by her mother in order to cure her from her depression, that developed into a dangerous drug addiction: "and then, more laudanum, or chloral again, or morphine, or paregoric—I never tried that" (349). Margaret seems to have no escape from the accusing gaze. Consequently, "as panoptic object, under vigilance by family, staff, and doctors, it is unsurprising that Margaret seeks private communion within the confessional pages of her private diary" (Brindle 2010: 70). However, even the private sphere of her bedroom will be violated by Vigers, acting as another, more formidable because unsuspected, panoptic observer. According to Brindle, "Margaret's diary is breached to become a facilitator of surveillance that betrays its role as confidante. Mediated access to Margaret's private journal enables Selina's 'panoptical' view and allows her to violate the most private areas of Margaret's life" (2010: 74). Thus, even what Margaret believes to be absolutely private—"I said *that* book was like my dearest friend. I told it all my closest thoughts, and it kept them secret […] And where can I say it, except here?" (Waters 1999: 111, 220)—is also being gazed at, adding a definitive element to the constant and omnipresent system of control exercised over Margaret in multiple forms. As she eventually realises, Margaret had also been observed at Millbank. Even if, for a moment, she believes that her visits to this prison are a form of freeing herself from the control

she endures at home,[3] she will eventually discover that she was wrong: "I would rather sit with the prisoners at Millbank than sit with Priscilla now. I would rather talk with Ellen Power, than be chided by Mother. I would rather visit Selina, than go to Garden Court to visit Helen" (176). In the prison, Selina will act as her main "ward," even if, as is discovered later on, Selina is another puppet of Ruth Vigers, who is indeed in control of everything. As Brindle puts it, "Vigers is the master of observation and the gaze" (2010: 76). Once Selina's final trick has taken place, Margaret will be looked at suspiciously by every prison ward. They will harshly interrogate her as if she knew something about Selina's escape: "When I appeared with Miss Crave they turned their eyes on me; and one of them—Mary Ann Cook, I think—made a gesture" (Waters 1999: 324).

As the novel develops, Margaret and Selina's relationship becomes more intense and intimate, and this process is perfectly shown by means of the great number of times they look at each other. As Brindle remarks, "configurations of the 'gaze' are repeated more than one hundred times throughout Waters's novel" (2010: 81). Perhaps, one of the clearest examples of Selina's control over Margaret is the episode of the locket with Selina's hair she keeps in her room. After Margaret gives up the hope of finding it, the locket suddenly appears as if she had been the victim of a trick played by the spirits. This leads Margaret to think that she is being watched by Selina: "her eyes are open, and she is looking at me" (Waters 1999: 117). These words close the diary entry of that day, the image of Selina's gaze on her resonating in Margaret's mind. As their relation advances, Margaret becomes more and more trapped by Selina's spiritualist tricks. For example, the horrifying moment when Selina talks as if she were channelling the voice of Margaret's dead: "When she looked at me now it was a kind of horror, as if she saw it all […]. She looked at me, and *her* eyes had pity in them! I could not bear her gaze. I turned away from her and put my face to the bars. When I called to Mrs Jelf, my voice was shrill" (88; emphasis in the original).[4] In her essay on the gaze, Laura Mulvey defines scopophilic desire as a feeling arising from the act of "looking itself as a source of pleasure" (1999: 835). This is exactly what happens in the final encounter between Margaret and Selina, when Selina gets undressed and Margaret can do nothing but stare at her beauty. In the journal, Margaret explicitly acknowledges the hypnotic effect of looking at Selina's body: "Still I gazed at Selina, not speaking—hardly breathing I think" (Waters 1999: 310), and describes Selina's act of undressing in sexually charged power-bondage terms, with her assuming the role of butch voyeur and

3 According to Serrano Bailén, this freedom is only momentary (2008: 37).

4 Since Selina "knows Margaret's secrets, [she] succeeds in inverting the power balance by turning her pitying gaze upon Margaret" (Brindle 2010: 73).

Selina that of demure and coy *femme*: "She held herself stiffly, and kept her face turned from me—as if it hurt to have me gaze at her, yet she would suffer the pain of it for my sake" (309). Margaret's voyeuristic attitude corresponds to Mulvey's association of voyeurism with sadism. As she explains, sadism is "a battle of will and strength, victory/defeat" (1999: 840), in which, for a moment, Margaret seems to have the upper hand. This would be one of the few occasions on which the sad and depressed spinster is allowed to assume the position of powerful observer. As Beth Newman remarks, "the gaze can serve to destabilize the viewer as well as to confer mastery, especially if the gazer is caught looking by another subject who sees the gaze and perceives it as an expression of desire" (1990: 1034).

Newman's cautionary warning that the position of the gazer can be destabilised when she is caught looking is perfectly applicable to the novel, as this precisely the role of Ruth Vigers "the maid addressed by Selina as 'Ruth' and by Margaret as 'Vigers', whose presence in both diaries is rendered doubly invisible by her condition as a humble servant and an apparitional lesbian. (Onega 2017: 134-135). This double position of invisibility allows her to control the whole plot from the shadow, freely looking at and organising everything without being noticed. As Heilmann and Llewellyn explain, "while from her first visit to Millbank Margaret is aware of and sensitive to the panoptical gaze—a gaze which she realizes is also, increasingly, turned on her, both at home and in the prison—she never considers the potential dangers of the maid's gaze" (2010: 189). However, even if, as explained before, in Foucault's system, to be freed from a scrutinizing look seems impossible there is indeed a place in Millbank Prison where the inmates could be freed from the panoptical gaze: the dark cell. As Margaret acknowledges when she reaches this part of the prison, "Beyond the bars there was darkness—a darkness unbroken, so intense, I found my eyes could make no purchase on it" (181). Conceived of as a place of punishment for particularly unruly inmates, the dark room is an awe-inspiring, chilling place, that the inmates try to avoid at all costs. As Margaret notes, this room, situated at the subterranean centre of the prison, is the counterpart of the watching tower:

> We took a passage […] which, to my surprise, led away from the wards, towards the heart of Millbank – a passage which wound downwards, via spiraling staircases and sloping corridors, until the air grew even chiller and more rank, and vaguely saline, and I was sure we must be below the level of the ground […] They [the walls] were not whitewashed, like the walls above, but rough, unfinished, and quite glistening with damp. Each was densely hung with iron – with rings and chains and fetters, and with other, nameless, complicated instruments whose purposes I could only, shuddering, guess at. (179)

As Miss Haxby, the warder leading the way, tells Margaret, "The darkness is the punishment" (182). The fact of entering the darkness has explicit connotations of non-existence, since once "in the darks" nobody looks at you, and so, you do not exist anymore. However, taken as a metaphor for lesbian invisibility, the apparent non-existence and marginalization provided by the darks, becomes an instrument of liberation. It is her position in the dark margin of Victorian society that allows Ruth Vigers to cast a "faceless gaze" (Brindle 2010: 76) on the other characters and to freely move and progress towards the centre of society, eventually assuming the name and position of Margaret. As Heilmann and Llewellyn remark, it is the "blinding power of the subaltern's gaze" (2010: 189) that is the most dangerous, since it acts from the shadows without being noticed by anyone. This interpretation is enhanced by little hints in Selina's account in relation to Ruth and the act of gazing alerting readers about the wrongness of assuming that Ruth's social position automatically renders her powerless. For example, when Selina remarks in one of her entries that "all the time Ruth sits and watches [...] Ruth only watches, with her black eyes" (Waters 1999: 174).

As Mulvey points out, Freud "associated scopophilia with taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a *controlling and curious gaze*" (1999: 835; my emphasis). This idea can be easily applied to the way in which Vigers gazes at Margaret at different moments in the novel, while Margaret's gaze is inevitably turned towards her main object of desire. As her personal lady's maid, Vigers controls Margaret to the point of having access to the innermost feelings expressed in her intimate diary. Margaret's shocked discovery of her intrusion is forcefully recorded before making the decision to burn the diary and drown herself: "I seemed to see the smears of Vigers's gaze upon the pages" (Waters 1999: 348). As Margaret lets us know, "once or twice she [Vigers] has come to my room and gazed *strangely* at me […] I have seen her looking *curiously* at the lock upon the velvet collar" (305; my emphasis). The fact that she walks softly "like a ghost" (119), equates her with an inspector. Vigers becomes an inspector since, according to Foucault, "an inspector arriving unexpectedly at the centre of the Panopticon will be able to judge at a glance, without anything being concealed from him, how the entire establishment is functioning" (1991: 204). Traditionally, the fact that Vigers lives in the attic of Margaret's house, in the most undesirable and, appositely enough, dark place, associates not only with selfhood but also with madness, as Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar suggest in *The Mad Woman in the Attic* (1979), thus enhancing the liminality of her position. However, it is precisely this ominous darker place of the house that allows Vigers to control Margaret from a position which is ironically situated on the highest storey of the house. What is more, it is precisely in this room that the most passionate and secret encounter between Selina and Ruth takes place, forcefully shattering the stiffness of

the Victorian rules of decorum: "She had had Selina here, above my head. She had brought her past my door, and up the naked stairs–all while I sat, with my poor shielded candle. All while I waited through the long hours of the night, they were here, lying together" (Waters 1999: 341). Consequently, the reversibility of Vigers's position sets into question Foucault's assertion that "[t]he panopticon is a machine for disassociating the see/being seen dyad: in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen without ever seeing; in the central tower, one sees everything without ever being seen" (Foucault 1991: 202). Thus, we are led to consider Newman's warning that "discourses and representations are not likely to function as monolithic, total systems in which a single aspect (however powerful) cancels all internal resistance to or questioning of the status quo" (1990: 1038-9).

As this article has attempted to show, the gaze is a central aspect of *Affinity*. Approached from Foucault's and Mulvey's perspectives on the gaze, the novel reveals a subtle game of looks that creates a whole net of control and surveillance beyond the bricks of Millbank Prison to engulf Victorian society at large. As O'Callaghan puts it, in *Affinity*, "Waters illustrates how nineteenth-century domesticity reinforced normative moral imperatives to ordain strict sexual mores. Waters achieves this by paralleling the Victorian middle-class home as analogous to a prison" (2014: 125). As I have tried to demonstrate, Margaret is oppressed by society's patriarchal rules, forcefully endorsed and defenced by her mother. She is also the victim of a medical practice that sees lesbianism as a malady and prescribes drugs to combat depression. Finally, she is also oppressed, though in a subtler way, by the matrons and the inmates of the prison, who distrust her role as Lady Visitor for opposite reasons. In agreement with Foucault's premises and ideas, it seems that the despotic gaze is found everywhere, the apparent unbreakability of the system becoming the main source of ideal control. However, Vigers's invisibility allows her to subvert the strict class and sexual Victorian norms from the darkest part of the panopticon, which, ironically enough, is the one nobody dares to enter, thereby proving "how powerful the seeing but unseen woman can be" (Armitt and Gamble 2006: 158). The failure of this apparently transparent panoptical system of surveillance and punishment sets into question its irreversibility, thus destabilising the monolithic discourse of the patriarchal society it is meant to preserve.

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"THE BOUNDARY WE NEED": DEATH AND THE CHALLENGE TO POSTMODERNITY IN DON DELILLO'S *WHITE NOISE*

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ABSTRACT. *Don DeLillo's* White Noise *is often taught as an exemplar of postmodern literature because of its concern with the postmodern themes of identity and spectacular commodification. There is much in the text, however, to suggest that DeLillo's central characters are searching for certainties, some of which are related to earlier cultural paradigms. This paper argues that Don DeLillo's novel explores ways to overcome the persistent displacement of meaning in postmodern texts by establishing death as one concept outside the systems of signs which is irreducible, certain and universal. DeLillo's characters are in search of a "transcendental signified" (Derrida) able to bring a halt to the potentially infinite postmodern regressions of late twentieth century American culture. Here I argue that in* White Noise *it is death which provides this exterior metaphysical principle.*

Keywords: Don DeLillo, White Noise, Postmodernism, Modernism, Death.

"THE BOUNDARY WE NEED": LA MUERTE Y EL RETO DE LA POSTMODERNIDAD EN *WHITE NOISE*, DE DON DELILLO

RESUMEN. White Noise*, de Don DeLillo, se enseña a menudo como ejemplo de literatura postmoderna debido a que aborda temas postmodernos como la identidad y la mercantilización del espectáculo. El texto de la novela sugiere en numerosas ocasiones que los personajes principales están buscando certezas, algunas de las cuales están relacionadas con anteriores paradigmas culturales. En este artículo se defiende que esta novela de Don DeLillo explora maneras de sobrellevar el persistente desplazamiento de significados que se localizan en textos postmodernos, y que lo hace considerando a la muerte como concepto que se sale de los sistemas de signos y que es irreductible, cierta y universal. Los personajes de DeLillo van en busca de un "significado transcendental" (Derrida) capaz de detener las regresiones potencialmente infinitas de la cultura estadounidense de finales del siglo XX. Mi postura es que en* White Noise *la muerte es lo que prorporciona este principio metafísico externo.*

Palabras clave: Don DeLillo, White Noise, Postmodernismo, Modernismo, muerte.

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Don DeLillo's 1984 novel *White Noise* and its criticism find themselves caught in a dilemma. On the one hand *White Noise* is taught on university English courses as the prime postmodern text, displaying the characteristics of postmodern literature identified by central theorists such as Jean Baudrillard (1994), Fredric Jameson (1991) and Linda Hutcheon (1988). After all, DeLillo represents a world in which culture and the experience of reality are motivated by television and the image, in which identity is decentred, and technology provides an elegant solution to any problem. As a consequence, critics have explored in detail the ways in which the novel can be read as a postmodern novel, a novel about postmodern society, or a critique of postmodern culture and theory, leading Peter Knight, for example, to ask whether DeLillo's writing here is "a symptom, a diagnosis, or an endorsement of the condition of postmodernity" (2008: 27). On the other hand, critics have suggested that DeLillo's central character, college lecturer Jack Gladney, is our guide to postmodernism from the perspective of a nostalgic modernist (see for example Cantor 1991: 58; Lentricchia 1991a: 14; Olster 2008: 79), while his colleague, Murray Jay Siskind, is his "tutor in the new semiotic regime" and "a postmodern savant" (Wilcox 1991: 350; Moses 1991: 68). The tensions between these two positions are illustrated by the novel's postmodern thematics of identity, technology, language and the nature of reality and the way they are contained by the familiar narrative stabilities of perspective and chronology, as well as appeals to earlier modes of representation. Critical perspectives on *White Noise* generally recognise DeLillo as either a postmodern writer or as a writer who challenges

the late-twentieth century postmodern consensus. This contestation is reflected in interpretations of the title: some critics (Lentrichia [1991b], for example) see the white noise experienced by the characters in the novel as the whine of electrical systems of communication, while others (such as Maltby [1996] and Packer [2005]) see it as a spiritual hum representing potentially spiritual, sacred and redemptive experiences.

In this paper I argue that while DeLillo's characters are immersed in postmodern phenomena and are persistently seduced by the appealing surfaces of the spectacular commodity realm and the technology that motivates it, the text itself demonstrates DeLillo's suspicion of literary and cultural theories which propose postmodernity's potentially infinite deferrals and regressions. As such, my argument relocates the novel as a text which explores postmodern themes, while at the same time demonstrating DeLillo's parodic intentions towards postmodern culture by consciously locating textual authority at the moment of death –at the juncture between being and not being, between knowing and the impossibility of knowing. In *White Noise*, DeLillo is parodying the features of postmodernity as well as dramatising the pervasive power of postmodern commodity culture and postmodern discourse in the academy. This is in part because, as Stacey Olster has noted, DeLillo's task is to find "a critical position from which to delineate a cultural phenomenon without being wholly absorbed by it" (2008: 79). The postmodern cultural phenomenon that Olster identifies and DeLillo explores is one in which the certainties of metaphysics –the concepts that guarantee meaning– have been deconstructed by post-structuralist and postmodern thinking. Jacques Derrida observes that the "history of metaphysics, like the history of the West, is the history of these metaphors and metonyms [of central authority]". He goes on to describe how it "could be shown that all the names related to fundamentals, to principles, or to the center have always designated an invariable presence [...] (essence, existence, substance, subject), alètheia [truth], transcendentality, consciousness, God, man, and so forth" (1988: 109-10). It is the loss of these certainties, amongst them identity, history and scientific progress, that Gladney mourns in *White Noise*. Jean Baudrillard contemplates the nature of the relationship between the sign and the guarantee of meaning when he argues that:

> All Western faith and good faith became engaged in this wager on representation: that a sign could refer to the depth of meaning, that a sign could be exchanged for meaning and that something could guarantee this exchange - God of course. But what if God himself can be simulated, that is to say can be reduced to the signs that constitute faith? Then the whole system becomes weightless, it is no longer itself anything but a gigantic simulacrum - not unreal, but a simulacrum, that is to say never exchanged for the real, but exchanged for itself, in an uninterrupted circuit without reference or circumference. (1994: 6)

God, then, could be one candidate for the foundational or metaphysical principle able to provide a basis for meaning in a language system because He is external to the system of signs. However, Baudrillard identifies that religious belief and worship are themselves constructed through a system of signs and potentially subject to the same processes of deferral as language. Derrida goes on to demonstrate that once the concepts of authority have been deconstructed (dismantled through their own contradictions), then the systems of meaning to which they had given stability collapse and appear to contribute to the chaos of life rather than the organisation of experience. It is the nostalgic desire for a transcendental signified, a concept able to give authority to all signs in a system of meaning, which motivates DeLillo's characters in pursuit of some sacred or spiritual experience that will no longer be subject to the processes of deferral and referral that shape late twentieth century America in the novel.

The absence of the transcendental signified results in meaning in language being deferred from one signifier to the next without arriving at the solid object of signification the language user craves. Derrida argues that a moment arrived:

> when language invaded the universal problematic, the moment when, in the absence of a center or origin, everything became discourse [... .] [T]hat is to say, a system in which the central signified, the original or transcendental signified, is never absolutely present outside a system of differences. The absence of the transcendental signified extends the domain and play of signification infinitely. (1988: 110)

The transcendental signified, then, is the language component that will bring a halt to the process of deferral, or "play" as Derrida characterises it, and a material and stable meaning can be arrived at. However, the nature of this authoritative concept cannot be linguistic or it will itself be implicated in this process of play, referral and deferral in language and meaning.

It is my contention that the fear of death inhabits the lives of DeLillo's characters as an example of what Baudrillard would see as a simulation of death. In contrast, for DeLillo, the material fact of death is able to provide an exterior metaphysical principle able to bring to a halt the potentially endless deferrals proposed by postmodern culture. Death then acts as Derrida's transcendental signified precisely because it is not constructed within the discourses of language. Death is, of course, also beyond the characters' narratives and so while we and DeLillo see the futility of the pursuit of a halt to these regressions, Jack Gladney and his wife, Babette, are unable to and are condemned to live in a perpetual postmodern representation of a technologically motivated reality. Paul Maltby argues that "to postmodernize DeLillo is to risk losing sight of the (conspicuously

unpostmodern) metaphysical impulse that animates his work" (1996: 260). While Maltby locates un-postmodern impulses across DeLillo's work in the Romantic sublime, the innocence of childhood and spiritual redemption, I want to pay far greater attention to death as a guarantee of meaning in this text. Indeed, while DeLillo's narrative focuses in a manifest way on spectacular commodification and the culture of the image, and on the influence of multi-national culture and technology, it is death that is a consistent presence in his debates here. DeLillo's working title was *The American Book of the Dead* and he has said that the book is about "death on a personal level" (Moses 1991: 79 and DeLillo quoted in Engels 1999: 769). Death, then, is itself problematised in the text. It does not inhabit the lives of the central characters in a direct way, but is instead experienced through a number of deferrals: as a fear of something that can be managed and medicated technologically. As a consequence, the fear of death becomes another symptom of the postmodern condition, while the material experience of death itself remains a distant but distinct possibility for the establishment of a metaphysical concept.

DeLillo's central character, then, is on an unstated quest to find the transcendental signified that will give meaning to the systems of thought and experience through which he moves. To do this, as both Derrida and Baudrillard have shown us, Jack needs to establish a position outside of postmodern culture so that he is able to get a purchase on it and, to some extent, resist it. However, both Baudrillard and Jameson identify that the realm of the image and its commodity environment provide little opportunity to establish a critical position outside of postmodern culture. Baudrillard cites an "*implosion*" between the poles of cause and effect such that "nothing separates one pole from another anymore", resulting in "an absorption of the radiating mode of causality" (1994: 31, original emphasis). This implosion mimics the flattening of so many aspects of contemporary experience, culture and theory in postmodern thinking: time and space, or the television screen and its surrogate, the image, for example. Jameson reinterprets Baudrillard's "gap" between the poles of cause and effect in an analytical model of "critical distance". For Jameson, postmodernism has abolished, or collapsed, the earlier forms of critical distance with the result that "[w]e are submerged in its henceforth filled and suffused volumes to the point where our new postmodern bodies are [...] incapable of distantiation" (1991: 48-9). Within the logic of the text, DeLillo's characters are condemned, to one extent or another, to occupy these undistantiated cultural spaces. However, DeLillo's position, outside the text, gives him an authorial distance which allows him to generate a parodic interpretation of postmodern culture. As I will demonstrate, DeLillo's scepticism of endless deferrals finds its expression in death as a certainty, with his concerns given voice by a minor character, Winnie Richards, who draws our attention to the tension between

the fear of death and death itself. Before demonstrating the strategies adopted by Jack Gladney to evade the endless processes of postmodern deferral, I want to explore the postmodern features of the novel. These are both thematic and generic. DeLillo borrows from the genres of the family drama, disaster narratives and the detective form, while his dominant postmodern themes are identity, commodification and television.

I

Jack Gladney is a character in search of an identity. He describes himself as a college lecturer who "invented Hitler Studies in North America in March 1968" (DeLillo 1984: 4). At the time, the college chancellor had advised him that his name and appearance let him down. As a consequence, Jack changes his name to J. A. K. Gladney: a "tag [he] wore like a borrowed suit" (DeLillo 1984: 16). Equally, Jack has a "tendency to make a feeble presentation of self", particularly his physical self. The solution, he tells us in his first person narrative, along with wearing the medieval academic robes of a departmental chairman, is to "gain weight" because:

> [the chancellor] wanted me to "grow out" into Hitler. [...] The glasses with thick black heavy frames and dark lenses were my own idea [....] Babette said she liked the series J. A. K. [....] To her it intimated dignity, significance and prestige.
>
> I am the false character that follows the name around. (DeLillo 1984: 17)

These gestures of self-hood are symptomatic of the decentering effects of post-structuralism and the consequent destabilisation of identity in a postmodern world. Jameson describes this move away from the stable self as "the *decentering* of that formerly centered subject or psyche" (1991: 15, original emphasis). This decentering has the effect of liberating the self from the destructive forces of modernism and modernist anxieties about the distortion of individuality because "the liberation, in contemporary society, from the older *anomie* of the centered subject may also mean not merely a liberation from anxiety but a liberation from every other kind of feeling as well, since there is no longer a self present to do the feeling" (Jameson 1991: 15, original emphasis). In the case of Jack Gladney, his original conception of self is evacuated by the stereotype of a college don provided by his chancellor (a man who is both large and successful) leaving a vulnerable sense of identity which will later be occupied by stereotypes drawn from popular culture. The conflicted individual, struggling against the chaotic world of commodified forces to construct a stable and coherent sense of who they are, is neatly embodied in the figure of Orest Mercator who wants to break the world record for sitting in a cage with poisonous snakes. Gladney describes

how Mercator is "creating an imperial self out of some tabloid aspiration" (DeLillo 1984: 268). What Jack does not see is that his own imperial self, the distant academic, is equally crafted with dark glasses and the robes of a departmental chairman.

Jack's most complete sense of selfhood comes when he embraces the commodity environment and allows himself to be immersed in shopping. The supermarket and the mall are iconic postmodern spaces in that they exemplify the overwhelming plenitude of the commodity environment, they organise consumption, and they are prime examples of the triumph of the image over material reality. The Mid-Village Mall in *White Noise* is "a ten-storey building arranged around a center court of waterfalls, promenades and gardens" (DeLillo 1984: 83) where the commodity spectacle and the image offer Jack a temporary refuge from the insecurities of postmodern identity. When he catches sight of his own image in the store mirrors, he reflects: "I began to grow in value and self-regard. I filled myself out, found new aspects of myself, located a person I'd forgotten existed" (DeLillo 1984: 84). An interesting contrast to this fantasy world of consumption is the terrain in which the mall sits. The postmodern landscape of commodification and consumption is imposed like a palimpsest over the archaeological remains of America's past. Residues of the area's industrial past remain inscribed on the landscape in the form of names which capture a modernist past dedicated to production rather than consumption. The local towns are named for the substantial practices of industrial production and the immigrant communities who peopled them. Fredric Jameson describes how the "postmodern is [...] the forcefield in which very different kinds of cultural impulses –what Raymond Williams has usefully termed "residual" and "emergent" forms of cultural production– must make their way" (1991: 6). The towns of "Farmington", "Coaltown", "Blacksmith", "Watertown", "Bakerstown", "Glassboro" and "Iron City" are all expressions of the area's residual industrial past and provide Jack with a nostalgic focus for earlier certainties, but certainties that are, none the less, lost to the postmodern cycles of renewal and innovation (DeLillo 1984: 12, 58, 85, 97, 222, 275 and 300). Iron City, for example, is "sunk in the confusion [...] of abandonment" (DeLillo 1984: 85). It is the city's main street which displays the most profound features for both nostalgia and the irretrievability of the certainties of earlier times because it is close to "a classic photography of regret" (DeLillo 1984: 89). This isn't just the main street of Iron City, it is the sepia tinged stereotype of the decay of the small town Main Street in the face of the onslaught from suburbanisation and advanced capitalism which the mall represents. Though Jack seems to be drawn to these earlier cultural impulses, the narrative makes it clear that these potential modernist escapes from postmodern indeterminacies provide only nostalgic dead-ends.

DeLillo draws the reader's attention to the power of the commodity image many times in *White Noise*, but the clearest example comes in the supermarket where products are arranged "backed by mirrors that people accidentally punched when reaching for fruit in the upper rows". Here the consumer is first seduced by the "burnished" fruit and then drawn to the reflection of the commodity rather than to its already improved physical reality (1984: 36). Baudrillard extends Derrida's explanation of play in language to a system of images, such as that produced by advanced capitalism, consumerism and advertising. What he discovers "is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal", resulting in the "desert of the real" (Baudrillard 1994: 1). In the supermarket, the image dominates the culture of advanced capitalism and exceeds the reality of the physical object. Baudrillard argues that in the postmodern realm, rather than reality motivating the image, reality is preceded by the image –"a precession of simulacra" he calls it (1994: 1). Meaning for the image-sign in this system, then, is not generated by its relation to a material reality, but by "the orbital recurrence of models and [...] the simulated generation of differences" (1994: 12). Because all these image-signs are related in a synchronic plane, endlessly referring to each other, the depth of meaning Jack craves is absent.

Perhaps the most famous and commented-upon example of the irreferentiality of the image in American literature takes place in *White Noise*. Jack takes Murray to a tourist attraction signposted "THE MOST PHOTOGRAPHED BARN IN AMERICA". Of course, Murray is obliged to give a theoretical commentary on those taking and selling images of the barn. "'No one sees the barn'", he perceptively tells Jack:

> Once you have seen the signs about the barn, it becomes impossible to see the barn [....] We're not here to capture an image, we're here to maintain one. Every photograph reinforces the aura [....] we've read the signs, seen the people snapping the pictures. We can't get outside the aura. We're part of the aura. (DeLillo 1984: 12-13)

The barn itself is never described to us, but Murray describes exactly the way in which the tangible reality of the barn itself recedes from its image simulacrum, the photograph, in the realm of potentially infinite reproduction because "[t]hey are taking pictures of taking pictures" (DeLillo 1984: 113). Borrowing from Benjamin, he attributes an aura to the experience of the image of the barn which mimics, but isn't, the unique and religious quality possessed by great works of art. In effect, the image and the process of capturing it take on the spiritual qualities earlier art retained within itself and the experience of its physical presence. Jack and Murray witness a new postmodern sublime that is the equivalent of the earlier Romantic sense of the sublime –in its inexplicability and awe-inspiring qualities– but which is motivated by technologies of reproduction

and consumption (for an extended discussion of the Romantic sublime in the novel, see Maltby 1996: 269-71). As Lentricchia puts it, the real subject of this scene "is the electronic medium of the image as the active context of contemporary existence in America" (1991b: 88). Murray recognises, too, the implosion between the poles of analysis and interpretation described earlier, and the problematic nature of delineating "a cultural phenomenon without being wholly absorbed by it" (Ostler 2008: 79). In many ways, this episode encapsulates Jack's emerging experience of postmodernity in the novel: he can no longer contemplate his own experience of postmodern America precisely because of the signs directing him to it.[1]

Television dominates as the site for both the transmission and the depthlessness of the image in *White Noise*. Jameson describes how television "articulates nothing, but rather implodes, carrying its flattened image surface within itself" (1991: 37). He goes further and, it could be argued, establishes a set of terms which trace quite closely the experiences of DeLillo's characters in *White Noise*. For Jameson, communications technology, with television as its most common manifestation, is one of the fundamental components of what he calls "a postmodern or technological sublime", establishing a relationship between reality and TV similar to that we have seen between the barn and the commodified circulation of its image (1991: 37). It is significant that Gladney family life revolves around television. When Babette unexpectedly appears on the family TV, Gladney describes how the picture is "animated but also flat, distant, sealed off, timeless [....] she was coming into being, endlessly being formed and reformed [...] as the electronic dots swarmed" (DeLillo 1984: 104). Babette here is more real, more authentic for being reproduced on the TV screen. She is actively taking part in the postmodern process of image production as she is constituted and then re-constituted electronically in the form of light. The experience for the family demonstrates that Babette has a more secure presence in the postmodern world if that presence is validated by electronic media. "[I]t is TV that is true", Baudrillard argues. "Truth [...] is no longer the reflexive truth of the mirror, nor the perspectival truth [...] of the gaze" (1994: 29). In other words, the medium meant to reflect reality is now active in shaping it. For many of the characters in *White Noise*, the transformation of reality into the form of the image on television validates and legitimises the image rather than the reality, paradoxically giving the image greater substance.

1 The barn takes on similar qualities to the Lascaux caves in France, which Baudrillard considers. By creating an exact replica to preserve the original, the custodians of the caves have created a "duplication [which] suffices to render both [the duplicate and its original] artificial". In essence, the real recedes and is replaced by a copy of itself which then stands for both the artificiality of the image and at the same time the new reality of the original (Baudrillard 1994: 9).

The ecological disaster that forms the central part of Jack's narrative produces a poisonous cloud which is also a key trope for postmodernity in the novel. Most significantly, the cloud is a postmodern spectacle which, Jack is told, contains a "'whole new generation of toxic waste'" (DeLillo 1984: 138). Commentators on the postmodern identify waste as an inevitable by-product of the culture of consumption which then forms the poisonous residue of contemporary living. Ordinarily, these residues are denied and hidden, and so when they escape back into the realm of consumption they create horror and panic. In *White Noise*, however, the cloud of poisonous by-products is also spectacular and has many of the qualities of the technological sublime. Guy Debord, in his influential study of commodity culture, describes the spectacle as "not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images" (1983: no. 4 no page). Once again we can see the image dominating the social realm, here mediating relationships among citizens whose only social role is to become consumers in an image-saturated society. Debord goes on to relate the social relations between people to the mode of production in society. "The spectacle, grasped in its totality, is both the result and the project of the existing mode of production [...]", he argues. "In all its specific forms, as information or propaganda, as advertisement or direct entertainment consumption, the spectacle is the present *model* of socially dominant life" (1983: no. 6 np, original emphasis). We can see the toxic cloud, then, simultaneously as a spectacular expression of the processes of production that generate the consumer goods occupying the commodity realm, the dangerous residues of industrialisation, and the means of motivating and maintaining consumer desire in the realm of the image. This latter at first seems counter-intuitive because the toxic cloud of industrial residues should be the hidden consequence of consumerism, but Jack becomes immediately aware of the cloud's relationship to the image and to commodity consumption. "In its tremendous size, its dark and bulky menace, [...]" he informs the reader, "the cloud resembled a national promotion for death, a multimillion-dollar campaign backed by radio spots, heavy print and billboard, TV saturation" (DeLillo 1984: 157-8). The media are not covering the toxic event, but its manifestation is taking on the qualities of light and spectacle that TV generates, as we have already seen with Babette's live appearance. Debord would see the toxic cloud as the "apologetic catalogue" of the totality of the relations of production, consumption and advertising in an advanced capitalist system (1983: no. 65 np).

DeLillo uses the medical consequences of exposure to pollution to explore the relationship between the signifier and the signified. Amongst many examples, the development of the side-effects of exposure to Nyodene D suggested by radio accounts is significant for its exploration of the relationship between media, the

signifier and material reality. First Jack's daughters experience "sweaty palms"; then "nausea, vomiting, shortness of breath"; and finally "*déjà vu*" (DeLillo 1984: 112 and 116, original emphasis). The girls respond to the directions of the media, in a media saturated world, rather than to their own biological states. In a statement that demonstrates his awareness of the transmission and effects of information and knowledge in a postmodern society, Jack asks the reader: "Are we talking about mere symptoms or deeply entrenched conditions? Is a symptom a sign or a thing? What is a thing and how do we know it's not another thing?" (DeLillo 1984: 125-6). These indeterminacies demonstrate Jack's discomfort with his place in the new postmodern order. DeLillo uses him to illustrate the unsettling effects of postmodern regress when, unlike Murray, the subject is insufficiently aware of post-structuralist questioning of the stability of meaning in language. If, as Jack suspects, a thing could be another thing or a symptom could substitute for a cause, then, as Derrida argues, "the domain and play of signification" (1988: 110) could extend infinitely. Jack is aware of the potential irreferentiality of language and his anxiety over the distinction between a signifier, a symptom and the thing to which they are supposed to refer demonstrates the urgency of his quest for metaphysical certainties in each episode of his narrative.

The power of the TV and the mystical quality of the commodity spectacle are illustrated when Jack overhears Steffie mumbling in her sleep. Watching children sleep, like shopping, gives Jack a spiritual lift. The connection between the mystical and the commodified is amplified when Steffie utters, in an "ecstatic chant", the name of a Japanese automobile: "*Toyota Celica*". Jack reflects on the transcendental possibilities of this name. "The utterance was beautiful and mysterious, gold-shot with looming wonder", he tells us:

> It was like the name of an ancient power in the sky [....] She was only repeating some TV voice. Toyota Corolla, Toyota Celica, Toyota Cressida. Supranational names, computer-generated, more or less universally pronounceable. Part of every child's brain noise, the substatic regions too deep to probe. Whatever its source, the utterance struck me with the impact of a moment of splendid transcendence. (DeLillo 1984: 155, original emphasis)

Jameson, the philosopher of multi-national capital, would recognise how advertising has invaded the consciousness of the child with meaningless terms able to resonate with consumers regardless of language and culture. Millard too recognises that the "subjectivity of the novel's characters is fashioned for them by the imperatives of consumer culture and its media images and narratives" (2000: 124-5). There is a quality to this experience which is paradoxically personal, religious and sublime but, once again, the sublime qualities are motivated by technology to generate a peculiarly postmodern moment. The name Celica provides celestial

possibilities of the sacred and spiritual, in which Maltby identifies "a mystical resonance and potency", able to transcend the mundane nature of a mere car (1996: 261). The personal and mystical experience of the commodity signifier here is due, in part, to the very nature of language in the postmodern environment. The meaning that Jack craves is subject to a process of referral, a movement from sign to sign, concept to concept, image to image along a chain of signification in which metaphysical stability and linguistic authority is evaded. Jack's present, Jameson might argue in a reflection of the mystical nature of the experience of the signifier,

> suddenly engulfs the subject with undescribable vividness, a materiality of perception properly overwhelming, which effectively dramatizes the power of the material –or better still, the literal– signifier in isolation. This present of the world or material signifier comes before the subject with heightened intensity, bearing a mysterious charge of affect [....] which one could [...] imagine in the positive terms of euphoria, a high, an intoxicatory or hallucinogenic intensity. (Jameson 1991: 27-8)

The euphoric effect of the sign in isolation transports Jack ever more deeply into Baudrillard's hyperreality, into a realm where the sign exchanges for the advertising image and vice versa in a continuous play of "the simulated generation of differences" (1994: 3). Maltby mistakenly sees Steffie's commodity incantations as indicative of the "Romantic notion of insight, of the child as gifted with an intuitive perception of truth" (1996: 268). However, there is no indication that Steffie's unconscious chanting of commodity names is able to anchor meaning for either her or Gladney. Once again, Jack's euphoria does not lead to the metaphysical certainties that are the subject of his quest.

II

If language and culture refuse to offer any stable concepts upon which to establish meaning, can the act of representation, literature itself, offer any certainties? *White Noise* starts off as a campus novel, in which post-structuralism has triumphed as the dominant critical discourse at the College-on-the-Hill. The department of American environments has become dedicated to the interrogation of the languages of popular culture and commodity objects, with "'full professors [...] who read nothing but cereal boxes'" (DeLillo 1984: 10). Jack's debates with his fourteen year old son, Heinrich, contribute to the unsettling instabilities of post-structuralist discourse by problematising the nature of language, its capacity to represent reality, and the status of knowledge. Heinrich adopts a position which, in DeLillo's hands, parodies the linguistic uncertainty explored by post-structuralism and the insistent relativism of postmodernism. In an exchange about the weather Heinrich poses the question: "'How can I say it's raining now if your so-called 'now'

becomes 'then' as soon as you say it?'" (DeLillo 1984: 23-4). In exchanges such as this, Heinrich adopts a Baudrillardian stance in which signs that point to reality –here the vocabulary of weather radio reporting –merely substitute for the subjective experience of time, space and language. The campus novel is clearly being used by DeLillo here to demonstrate and explore the paradigmatic dominance of post-structural thought which has been so central in shaping critical approaches to the postmodern culture that his characters negotiate. Heinrich is Jack's son by an earlier marriage and much of the narrative takes the form of a family drama. However, because none of the children living in the Gladney household are the product of the marriage of Jack and Babette, the family drama is not a traditional one. Instead, the family as an idea is disrupted by a series of unconventional kinships, multiple marriages and a complex series of step and half-sibling relationships creating "a fearful symmetry" that parodies the American nuclear family (Ferraro 1991: 16). However, instead of heralding a breakdown of social order, these new and chaotic structures merely propose different ways for the family to remain what Gladney terms "the cradle of the world's misinformation" (DeLillo 1984: 81). The narrative is also driven by a mystery, and Jack –his identity already fragmented between academic, happy consumer and family man– becomes a reluctant detective to solve it. Jack must find out about Dylar, the mysterious drug Babette takes to treat the symptoms of her fear of death, and confront its creator, Mr Gray. DeLillo's narratives have always been characterised by a pronounced self awareness of plot, and the detective component of *White Noise* draws this metafictional device to the surface. Jack frequently acknowledges the relentless drive of the plot that he is involved with towards conventional resolutions. "'All plots move in one direction'" Jack tells Babette during one of their conversations about their shared fear of death (DeLillo 1984: 199). The detective form moves inexorably towards a violent conclusion and death because, as Packer notes, "sacrificial conclusions are a staple of narrative", and Jack becomes increasingly aware that he must fulfil the destiny of his genre form (2005: 660). By constructing Jack from the conventions of the different genres which shape his narrative, DeLillo is demonstrating that Jack is more than a character subjected to the forces of a new cultural paradigm, he is also a metafictional device contrived to explore the competing forces of residual modernism and expanding postmodernism.

III

Where then should Jack Gladney look for an escape from the infinite regress and deferrals in the decentered systems of meaning at the end of the twentieth century? Jack's metafictional awareness of his own plot moving him deathward provides a compelling example of the capacity of death to be the

sign which brings to a halt the deferrals of postmodern experience –including that of literary form. However, as we have already seen, Jack and Babette are more concerned with one of the signs for death, fear, than they are with death itself. In *White Noise*, the fear of death becomes a symptom of the late twentieth century, which can be medically controlled and which defers the materiality of the end of life along a chain of signification. As Wilcox observes, "even death is not exempt from the world of simulation: the experience of dying is utterly mediated by technology and eclipsed by a world of symbols. The body becomes simulacrum, and death loses its personal and existential resonances" (1991: 352). But Wilcox is conflating death with the fear of death. When focusing only on the fear of death, we once again find Jack faced with the unstable relationship between "a sign and a thing" when indicated by a symptom. However, the fear of death is what is visible from the characters' perspectives, while death itself is observable from a perspective external to the text for DeLillo and the reader and, for the first time in the novel, we can see the process of deferral potentially coming to a halt.

Death operates in a number of ways in the novel. Advanced capitalism's technological mediation between death and its deferred surrogate, fear, is symbolised by the drug Dylar. In contrast, early in the narrative, Jack seeks certainties about death in "THE OLD BURYING GROUND *Blacksmith Village*" (DeLillo 1984: 97, original emphasis). Here, beyond the noise of traffic and factories, beyond the reach of the twentieth century, Jack finds "great strong simple names, suggesting a moral rigor" faintly inscribed on the headstones (DeLillo 1984: 97). Jack interprets this earlier age as signalling a greater immediacy to death able to fulfil his nostalgic desire for certainty and a more stable set of moral beliefs on which to build a system of meaning. He is aware, however, that he is only able to interpret his contemporary encounter with ancient death through the representational codes of "the landscapist's lament" (DeLillo 1984: 97). Here, Jack's late twentieth century condition is mediated by the representational codes, the traditions and the generic conventions of American landscape painters (of the Hudson River School, for example) in a similar way to how he will go on to interpret his experiences through the generic codes of the TV detective mystery. Significantly, Jack and Babette do not discuss the corporeal realities of pain or trauma that will lead to death, or the mysteries of an afterlife. Instead, in *White Noise*, late twentieth century society has found ways to simulate death and so technologise its experience, and to medicate against the fear it creates with elegant technical solutions. When, for example, passengers at Iron City airport report their airplane falling four miles after an engine failure, they describe how a voice from the flightdeck leaves a message for the flight-recorder: "'It is worse than we ever imaged. They didn't prepare us

for this at the death simulator in Denver. Our fear is pure, so totally stripped of distractions and pressures as to be a form of transcendental meditation'" (DeLillo 1984: 91). While a death simulator has been created, it is only proximity to death that can begin to strip away technological and philosophical mediation. Crucially here, when the flightdeck voice is faced with the reality of death, he is able to see death much more directly as a potentially transcendental experience.

Babette's attempts to overcome the symptoms of her death anxiety are focused on Dylar. Dylar medicates the patient against the fear of death and hence moves it from the purely personal and emotional into the realm of technological consumption. To guarantee a supply of the drug Babette sells her body to Dylar's renegade creator, Willie Mink, known through most of the novel as Mr Gray, in a "capitalist transaction" which also provides the motivation for Jack's narrative of pursuit and vengeance in the last third of the novel (DeLillo 1984: 193). The purpose of the drug is not to tranquilise the patient, but to inhibit the fear of death by interacting with neurotransmitters to isolate "'the-fear-of-death part of the brain'" (DeLillo 1984: 200). Dylar, as Moses observes, is the ultimate postmodern drug because "it makes no claims to treat causes, only to alleviate symptoms [...]; manipulate the signs, deconstruct the symptoms, and the cause or referent in effect disappears" (1991: 76). Dylar and the fear of death, then, operate in the novel to emphasise the deferrals of meaning from signifier to signifier rather than the relationship of the signifier to material experience, and to illustrate further the extent of the penetration of the commodity realm into America's emotional life at the end of the twentieth century.

The postmodern thematics of identity and the image-driven culture of television intersect with the issues of death and literary form in the confrontation between Jack and Willie Mink. First Jack takes on another identity, that of the detective who tracks down the evil genius and the violator of his wife. Then, demonstrating a profound awareness of the power of plots and plans (as he has throughout the novel), Jack takes on the role of violent avenger that his narrative predicts for him. Jack's own prophesy, that plots inevitably direct their participants' narratives deathwards, seems to be coming true as his narrative draws towards the violent climax that its formula demands.

Jack tracks down Mink to the Roadway Motel in Germantown, an industrial area of Iron City. With a plan to shoot Mink and disguise his crime as a suicide Jack senses a new order that allows him to become more "aware of processes, components, things relating to other things" (DeLillo 1984: 304). This moment represents the point at which Jack's identity is most fully colonised by the popular discourses of postmodern culture and he relinquishes his nostalgic desire for earlier cultural certainties. When he looks through the motel room

window and sees Mink bathed in the flickering light of the TV Jack feels that he has become "part of a network of structures and channels" which will result in "violence, a smashing intensity" (DeLillo 1984: 305). Mink, even when given his full name and a more developed characterisation, remains a figure constructed from the lexicons of popular culture. When challenged by Jack he responds in what Wilcox terms the "drone of the mediascapes" with TV documentary information about animals fitted with radio transmitters, pet diets and how to convert Celsius to Fahrenheit (1991: 356). Because the room is saturated with the chatter of communication systems, Jack is more aware than ever of the "sublitoral" hum[2] of the late twentieth century. The Dylar Mink has consumed disrupts the relationship between language and the world for him and forces him to conform to the gestures of contemporary culture. Derrida and Baudrillard would recognise the problematical linguistic effect that Dylar causes. When Jack says "'Plunging aircraft'", because Mink confuses the sign with its referent, he adopts the crash position. And because he does it "in a somewhat stylised way" we can see that both he and Jack are being actively shaped by the forces of the culture that surround and act on them (DeLillo 1984: 309-10). The televisual nature of the episode is reinforced when, at the point at which he wishes to inflict a fatal gunshot wound on Mink, Jack advances "into the area of flickering light, out of the shadows, seeking to loom" (DeLillo 1984: 311). At this moment, because Jack's actions are illuminated by the glow of television's beam and at the same time he conforms to the noir stereotype of the avenging television detective, he becomes totally absorbed into the realms of popular culture. Jack repeats his plan, his generic plot, many times during this narrative sequence. The planned denouement –a "scene of squalid violence and lonely death at the shadowy fringes of society"– conforms to the stereotypes of the TV detective mystery which are now shaping Jack's narrative (DeLillo 1984: 313). However, the violent steps Jack takes in achieving his plan reveal DeLillo's suspicion of post-structural regression in systems of language and meaning. Violence and the proximity to death reveal to Jack the possibility of establishing meaning in a much more direct way than Derrida, for example, proposes. When Jack shoots Mink he witnesses a linguistic clarity that has so far evaded him: "I fired the gun, the weapon, the pistol, the firearm, the automatic. [...] I watched the blood arc from the victim's midsection. A delicate arc. [...] I saw beyond words. I knew what red was, saw it in terms of dominant wavelength, luminance, purity. Mink's pain was beautiful, intense" (DeLillo 1984: 312). At first the instabilities of language are evidenced here by the surplus of signifiers for gun. But once

2 DeLillo uses this coastal analogy earlier in the novel (1984: 168) to describe the constant but indistinct waves of sound which make up the white noise soundscape of late twentieth century America.

Mink's experience of violence becomes visceral, intense and evident to Jack he is able to see beyond the potential regress of language and identify experience as it really is, beyond the structures of representation which, up to this point, both contain and direct his actions. Jack soon experiences the immediacy of pain and the materiality of potential death himself when Mink, in an unscripted disruption to the plan, shoots him. Pain and pity hijack Jack's plot and Jack becomes Mink's rescuer rather than his killer. The role of vengeful husband in Part III of the novel comes into conflict with the serious academic and sentimental father from Parts I and II. As a result, Murray's earlier assertion that life is "'a plot, a scheme, a diagram [....] to shape time and space'" is shown to be an inadequate explanation of events (DeLillo 1984: 291). Dragging Mink to hospital becomes a "redemptive" act for Jack: he feels "virtuous" and his "humanity soared". By describing how Jack's actions are driven by "an epic pity and compassion", DeLillo once again draws attention to how Jack seeks to understand his actions in the terms of narrative tropes but, as we saw in the Old Burying Ground, he is drawn to a narrative form which predates modernism and postmodernism (DeLillo 1984: 314-5).

Despite Jack's desire to establish an understanding of his own position in relation to competing cultural paradigms, DeLillo has one more example of postmodern indeterminacy for him to face. The hospital is run by nuns who are the last Germans in Germantown. But instead of providing a connection to religious certainties from an earlier age they take a decentred attitude to faith. In a gesture which demonstrates the urgency of Lyotard's question: "Where, after metanarratives, can legitimacy reside?", the nuns renounce the need for faith in favour of dedicating themselves to a pretence of faith (1984: xxiv-v). A deity able to give authority to a system of meaning is, of course, one of the metanarratives held in suspicion by postmodern critics. Baudrillard has shown us how God would be the anterior metaphysical principle able to halt the potentially infinite deferrals of language and give authority to meaning. For Baudrillard, in a postmodern world, God can be simulated, causing the system of meaning to become "weightless" (1994: 6). However, DeLillo demonstrates that even when the sign no longer exchanges for a material reality, individuals find a nostalgic comfort in believing that it does, and the nuns understand this. "'As belief shrinks in the world'", a nun tells Jack, "'people find it more necessary than ever that *someone* believe [....] Those who have abandoned belief must still believe in us'" (DeLillo 1984: 319, original emphasis). Similarly, Jack finds the nun's German litanies beautiful and comforting, both central characteristics of religion (DeLillo 1984: 320). The nun's incantations are recognisably religious to Jack but they are without semantic or linguistic meaning to him.

IV

We can see these nuns as another diagnostic trope for DeLillo's reading of the postmodern condition: they represent the residues of earlier economic and cultural paradigms, while at the same time embracing and exploiting the indeterminacies of the postmodern age. Consequently, Cantor is only partially correct when he describes this as the "perfect postmodern moment: a nun who is a simulacrum of faith" because DeLillo is acutely aware of the nostalgic impulse for the earlier certainties that the nuns represent (1991: 60).

I have argued that while *White Noise* appears to be a text manifestly concerned with the depthless surfaces of postmodern culture, DeLillo's textual treatment of late twentieth century American culture is much more complex than a straightforward binary opposition between modernism and postmodernism. His suspicion of the infinite regress of meaning in sign systems under the conditions of postmodernity is demonstrated most clearly by the distinction between the postmodern symptom of the fear of death and the potential halt to the infinite regress of deferral arrived at with death itself. Jack Gladney's narrative demonstrates the nostalgic need for metaphysical certainties as a response to postmodern estrangement. The culture that Gladney negotiates illustrates Fredric Jameson's analysis of the late twentieth century, where postmodernism is the "forcefield in which very different kinds of cultural impulses [...] must make their way" (1991: 6). However, while Jack is being seduced by postmodern culture, DeLillo's text demonstrates that death, as we have seen, is the only concept able to halt the potentially infinite deferrals of language and textuality. Winnie Richards, a neurochemist who analyses Dylar for Jack, gives voice to DeLillo's concerns and those of the reader, when she asks him: "'Isn't death the boundary we need? Doesn't it give a [...] definition? [....] a border, a limit'" (DeLillo 1984: 228-9). Winnie understands that Jack's and Babette's anxieties are focused on the symptom rather than the cause and that to become immune to the fear of death could radically alter how they live. Maltby argues, like Winnie, that "the non-figurability of death seems like a guarantee of a domain of human experience that can transcend hyperreality" (1996: 269). Death is also the concept which will give meaning to all the signs in the system of language because, of course, it cannot be escaped. In addition, it is external to systems of signs, so while it could guarantee meaning in language, for example, it is simultaneously beyond its grasp.

Winnie is a figure who rarely attracts the attention of critics, but she is central to understanding DeLillo's response to postmodernity. While the novel acknowledges the power of postmodern ideas and the manifestations of postmodern technological cultures, DeLillo also wants to draw attention to the human need for metaphysical

certainty. We can identify Gladney with characters in DeLillo's work who Peter Boxall sees as exemplifying the "trajectory that […] in DeLillo's oeuvre suggests […] that the mediation of the culture is not yet total, that there are other histories that can be written and imagined […] - that there is an ongoing struggle to discover the counternarrative, to angle oneself against the historical current" (2002: 6-7). The novel's persistent concern with death parodies postmodernity's obsession with both endless deferral and the quest for a concept to bring it to a halt. While DeLillo demonstrates that until the point of death we cannot evade the indeterminacies of postmodern culture, he also shows that nothing can transcend death and so the endless deferrals of meaning that we have experienced through the three parts of *White Noise* must come to a halt at the transcendental signified that is death. As Lentricchia points out, death is "nature's final revenge on postmodern culture" (1991b: 103).

The satire is, of course, that the transcendental revelation will come too late for Jack Gladney to understand his own late twentieth century condition. Because this text deals with death in such an insistent way, it can be argued that DeLillo is exploring ways in which to overcome the persistent displacement of meaning in postmodern texts by establishing one concept outside of a system of signs which cannot be subject to deferral or commodification and is irreducible, certain and universal. Or to paraphrase DeLillo himself: those who have abandoned belief can still believe in death.

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JADED SELVES AND BODY DISTANCE: A CASE STUDY OF COTARD'S SYNDROME IN *INFINITE JEST*

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ABSTRACT. *This article attempts to betoken the relevance of emotions and sensations arousing from the body for the reviving of the self in David Foster Wallace's* Infinite Jest. *The novel discerns a world where the oversaturation of choices and the external stimuli from entertainment has established a tradition of ennui and addiction as part of the hedonistic search for pleasure. This is particularly important for the understanding of the effects it may have on the mapping of the self and on agency which can consequently be framed among mental disorders. Taking a neuroscientific approach, Wallace's characters are discussed as having a possible connection to Cotard's syndrome. This delusion helps to reveal how a lack of emotions disables correct self-awareness giving way to the belief that one may be dead or non-existent.*

Keywords: agency, embodiment, David Foster Wallace, self-awareness, addiction, cognitive literature.

SERES HASTIADOS Y DISTANCIA CORPORAL: UN ESTUDIO DE CASO DEL SÍNDROME DE COTARD EN *INFINITE JEST*

RESUMEN. *Este artículo pretende mostrar la importancia de las emociones y las sensaciones que emergen en la representación del cuerpo y en el (r)establecimiento de la identidad en la novela* Infinite Jest*, de David Foster Wallace. En ella se percibe un mundo donde la sobresaturación de elecciones de entretenimiento ha creado una tradición de hastío y adicción como parte de la búsqueda hedonística del placer. Esto es relevante para comprender los efectos sobre el "yo" y la agencia y que, consecuentemente, se pueden enmarcar en desórdenes mentales. Desde un enfoque neurocientífico, la descripción de los personajes que narra Wallace es analizado en su posible conexión con el síndrome de Cotard. Este delirio ayuda a mostrar cómo la falta de emociones invalida una representación correcta del cuerpo, dando así lugar a la creencia de uno mismo de estar muerto o ser inexistente en la novela.*

Palabras clave: agencia, experiencia corpórea, David Foster Wallace, conciencia de sí mismo, adicción, literatura cognitiva.

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David Foster Wallace's *Infinite Jest* (1996) explores a world where the constant search and (ab)use of entertainment represents the pitfall for characters' agency and awareness of choice. *Infinite Jest*'s characters seem to be entrapped in a downward spiral of anhedonia, solipsism and addiction due to the accessibility and oversaturation of the dominant entertainment. Among other things, Wallace appears to reflect on how the cultural obsession and (ab)use leads to disorders in characters' agency. Characters are portrayed through emphasis on or descriptions of body disturbances (Chapman 2019), defined as being machine-like, anomalous or prosthetic (Russell 2010) and through the effect of these body disturbances on the mind. Under normal circumstances, individuals believe they have a body and that they are the agent behind movement and influence of their actions in the world. The importance of body defragmentation has also been discussed in the text/narrative construction itself (Cioffi 2000; Burn 2003, 2013). Nonetheless, embodied self-awareness i.e. ownership of experience and body (Fogel 2009), and the possible mental disruptions are also pivotal for what Wallace apparently points at as the contemporary societal malaise. For this reason, a review on emotions in the novel plays a key role to discuss disturbances in sense of agency and self-awareness. The narrative exposes characters' experiences as a dichotomy where internal and external stimuli and its emotional effect in the search for unreachable pleasure results in an abnormal perception of oneself and of one's sense of agency. Wallace's work can be interpreted as what the author perceives as an inherent response to and result of entertainment in American society.

More specifically, this paper aims at associating traits observed in Wallace's fiction to Cotard's syndrome (also known as the Walking Corpse syndrome) that are linked to patients with substance abuse, schizophrenia and/or depression (Sahoo and Josephs 2018). Most characters are addicted to some kinds of entertainment; substance (tennis players, Joelle, Ennet interns, among others) or TV series (e.g. Steeply's father or Joelle's father). This criticism towards dependence on entertainment is epitomized with the Entertainment, a cartridge that is a deadly national threat to those who watch it.

The affective spectrum is pivotal to the connection of these conditions in the narrative. The major search for unreachable pleasure gives rise to the range of emotional/affective disorders in the story as discussed in the following pages. One mental disorder affecting emotions is schizophrenia. Although it can be said that schizophrenia is an "organizing trope in his fiction" (Burn 2013: 70), the novel can be further analyzed to reflect on how Wallace diagnoses contemporary society's infirmity that leads to the death of the self by giving away to dependency on the external. This sensation of annihilation as examined in *Infinite Jest* connects to Cotard's syndrome as a possible textual trope. This delusional condition comprises a belief that patients lost or never had specific body parts or that the self does not exist or is dead. (Berrios and Luque 1995; Debruyne *et al.* 2011). Furthermore, Tomassetti *et al.* state that "the main psychopathological cornerstone [in Cotard's delusion] is the progressively ingravescent cognitive misinterpretation of bodily sensations by the mind, as if they would have been somehow disconnected" (Tomasetti *et al.* 2020).

This manuscript will address issues of the entertainment effects on somatosensory and mind matters and how this may be linked to the narrative reflection on death and characters' lack of correct body sensations for a normal integrity of the self. This parallelism with cognitive studies on disruptive images of the self appears to be valid owing to Wallace's knowledge of the mind. As Burn reflects, *Infinite Jest* possesses "a set of nested allusions [that] come together to interrogate and dramatize a range of theories of consciousness" (2013: 65) and which he believes that "could not take place, [for Wallace] without reference to neuroscience" (65) in the examination of "being alive".

The current analysis is divided into, first, identifying the scientific terms related to agency and the sense of feeling, the disorders that may arise from them and then, discovering these traits in *Infinite Jest*. The first term that needs to be defined is agency. Agency is shaped by two significant aspects: fact and sense (Gallagher 2000; Tsakiris and Fotopoulou 2013; Haggard and Eitam 2015). Fact of agency alludes to purposefully making things happen by dint of the neuroanatomy of voluntary action (i.e. I want to perform an action or accomplish a specific

outcome through actions). On the other hand, sense of agency corresponds to the conscious experience of agency. In other words, sense of agency implies that the subjective feeling of agency is a consequence of initiating and controlling our actions to influence the outside world and experiencing "that one actually achieves the intended goal, through one's actions" (Haggard and Eitam 2015: xii). Sense of agency is an addition to somatic experience, a sort of body-mind (physical matter and thoughts) interface, that comes to be defined as the feeling of carrying out an action individually. Sense of agency has a major attribute; it is intimately bound up with notions of freedom and responsibility traits that pave the way towards our understanding that if we feel the experience, we consider ourselves initiators of the acts. Farrer and Frith among others, identify that "[a]gency has been assigned a key role in self-consciousness" (2002: 596). And that is why according to Gallagher (2000) self-consciousness is constituted in part by a "minimal self". This direct self-awareness includes self-ownership, or the sense that "it is my body that is moving" and self-agency, or the sense that "I am the initiator of the action and thus that I am casually involved in production of that action" (16).

When sense of agency fails it may show itself in two possible ways, schizophrenia (the primary source analysis here) or anosognosia for hemiplegia. Schizophrenic people fuse the environment to their own body creating an unclear limit between one's body and external entities. This blurred delimitation entails the schizoid's detachment from any veritable feeling of induced movement. The body yields to an externally commanded site lacking self-control although they still consider that they possess their body. One example in the novel is when Hal Incandenza expresses, "I believe I appear neutral, maybe even pleasant, though I've been coached to err on the side of neutrality and not attempt what would feel to me like a pleasant expression or smile" (Wallace 2006: 3). He continues to express uncertainty of his movements when he states: "I have committed to crossing my legs I hope carefully, ankle on knee, hands together in the lap of my slacks. My fingers are mated into a mirrored series of what manifests, to me, as the letter X" (3). He then also discloses: "I compose what I project will be seen as a smile" (5) although he seems to show "grimace" (5) as in pain.

Hal who at this point has very possibly taken DMZ (a hallucinogenic drug) is clearly an epitome of this state of the body control and sense of agency which most characters lack insight into. This section hints at the possibility that Hal has become aware at this point, though late, of how entertainment takes control of your sense of agency and body: "I'm not a machine. I feel and believe. I have opinions […] I could, if you'd let me, talk and talk […] I'm not just a creãtus" (12). However, no real language production and body expressions arise correctly in him.

Infinite Jest has a myriad of characters attached to TV series, cartridges, drugs or for example, tennis players whose tennis rackets become part of their body, "something so much an extension of you [that] deserves a sobriquet" (2006: 173). Notwithstanding, almost all characters are ontologically unaware of their state of body-mind, external-internal binary opposition in the schizophrenic world present in *Infinite Jest* (some instances are found on pages 47-48, 244, 262, 435).

Somatic passivity symptoms are a hallmark for the identification of schizophrenic patterns. The passivity symptoms characteristic of schizophrenia include actions, thoughts and sensations that are under external control. Schizophrenia patients with these symptoms report a loss of clear boundaries between the self and others and the idea or feeling that their thoughts and actions are controlled by external forces. However, characters' inefficiency to accept that their actions have become externally driven is what varies from real schizophrenic patients. It is possible that this recognition is left out for readers to discover. Frith (2006) asserts that one of the most extensively accepted explanatory models of these symptoms indicates a dysfunction in the forward model system, whose role consists of predicting the sensory consequences of actions. That is why if there is no feeling of doing (due to damage or disturbances in a specific sector of the brain) the individual perceives senses as externally controlled. One of the features defining psychopathy and schizophrenia is the failure to accept or to be aware of the responsibility of one's own actions and therefore, the instigator is not one's self. This disorder encompasses the paranoid, obsessive-compulsive (Swets *et al.* 2014) and depressive (Upthegrove *et al.* 2017) among others.

The key to understanding how this annular and schizophrenic search for pleasure has become jaded and unreachable also lies in obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD). As Freudenthal (2010) proposes, OCD in *Infinite Jest* may be linked to what she defines as "anti-interiority", a confluence of the mind and both the external objects and the body. OCD can be described as the loss of sense of self and agency which echoes schizophrenic conditions. Performance becomes an automatic/involuntary action which voids the self of any control over its actions in OCD. Although Cotard's syndrome and OCD have not been found to be connected scientifically (see DMS-5), the parallel study of both disorders allows us to interpret how OCD actions may emerge as a feeling observed in Cotard patients (i.e. the lack of having and feeling agency).

In *Infinite Jest,* Wallace develops a vision of a society whose hedonistic pursuit of pleasure confines them away from true feeling and experience. Fromm's joyless pleasure is reached by characters' OCD patterns that remove true feelings from their repetitive acts. Wallace's vision results in nihilistic traits that derive from entertainment pursuit. The annihilation is the annulment of the self enslaved

in its drive towards stultifying entertainment. One of the reasons for Wallace to put the limelight on entertainment and addiction is his belief that substance abuse represents "a kind of a metaphor for the sort of addictive continuum that [he] think[s] has to do with how we as a culture relate to things that are alive" (Lipsky 2010: 81). He finds this addiction rooted in America as "a community of sacred individuals which reveres the sacredness of the individual choice. The individual's right to pursue his own vision of the best ratio of pleasure to pain: utterly sacrosanct. Defended with teeth and bared claws all through our history" (Wallace 2006: 424).

However, pleasure and freedom of choice are paradoxically the opposite outcome achieved through OCD patterns. OCD is defined as a disorder characterized by its distancing from true emotions and its consequent removal of them. Freudenthal also suggests how this OCD attitude is "a continuous [attempt to] re-establish […] selfhood contingent on external material reality" (2010: 192) and that it also leads to "the voluntary objectification of personality" (193). This emotion erasure is closely connected to what Wallace outlines in his interview with Lipsky (2010). He expresses that what is sad about this obsessive need for entertainment is that it cancels out any emotional response by only adding excessiveness and vapid addiction to entertainment. Wallace conveys these symptoms in *Infinite Jest* through Avril Incandenza (also known by the family nickname of the Moms) when she says that "[t]he drugs both blunt the real sadness and allow some skewed version of the sadness some sort of expression" (767). In an interview with Miller he describes his purpose in writing *Infinite Jest* as he states that he

> wanted to do something real American, about what it's like to live in America around the millennium […] There's something particularly sad about it, something that doesn't have very much to do with physical circumstances, or the economy, or any of the stuff that gets talked about in the news. It's more like a stomach-level sadness. I see it in myself and my friends in different ways. It manifests itself as a kind of lostness. (2012: 59)

Therefore, in order to describe this *lostness* he maps it onto the symbolic world of entertainment. This conflicting approach to entertainment underlies a sense of anhedonia and lack of excitement observable in the story. The basis of this particular situation constructs a world where external objects have no effectual stimuli on characters. If what is sought allows no stimulus, it thus comes down to vapid addiction whereby it puts characters in a reality of emotionless response to the world. In other words, the body is unable to feel any emotion arising from inside as the self is annulled and that condition of cancellation is caged in addiction.

This irremediable need to search for pleasure makes characters reject individual control. The state of individuals in *Infinite Jest* entails a dualistic approach due to their willingness to allow external control over agency while, at the same time, they attempt to regain control in order to feel agency and their bodies. For instance, drugs are described as possessing multiple level effects on characters. "[A]ddiction is either a disease or a mental illness or a spiritual condition (as in 'poor of spirit') or an O.C.D.-like disorder or an affective or character disorder" (2006: 203). Interestingly, Wallace subtly implies within these lines that characters may have reached that state due to powerless self-control. Gene M. conceives addiction in a dualistic form as he says "you can spell the Disease *DIS-EASE,* which sums the basic situation up nicely" (278). He associates addiction with a double-edge weapon as by "changing *DISEASE* to *DIS-EASE* [it] reduces a definition and explanation down to a simple description of a feeling" (203). The addition of a hyphen illustrates the contradictory *feeling* that addiction can arouse in characters. The relief the characters are searching for is in the habit of stupefying but dependence is at the core of what they have lost and therefore, a state of "*Analysis-Paralysis*" (203) is conferred upon the characters. Another instance of this OCD duality state is seen in "wanting to but not" (203) get high in a section where sitting around is the major course of action as if in a limbo state of paralysis.

As *Infinite Jest* progresses, addictions do not end with substances. Steeply's father's dependency on TV series that made him seem "misplaced" (647), Ennet's interns' obsessive thinking, i.e, that are "addicted to thinking" (203), and Orin and his sex relationships with Subjects. Wallace points out the universal human trait of shoving yourself so desperately into something that will give you joy and purposeful meaning to yourself. In Hal Incandenza's words:

> We are all *dying* to give our lives away to something, maybe. God or Satan, politics or grammar, topology or philately – the object seemed incidental to this will to give oneself away utterly. To games or needles, to some other person. Something pathetic about it. A flight-from in the form of a plunging-into. (900; italics added)

When it comes to entertainment, the media world has a significant role in its "addictive continuum" (Lipsky 2010: 81). That relationship of addiction/entertainment is made explicit through the ghostly ubiquitous presence of the cartridge Entertainment also called Infinite Jest (which Canadian terrorists are searching for as the ultimate deadly weapon to destroy American society). The cartridge is an unlabeled entertainment with a "vapid USA-type circular smiling head" (36) that could distort natural bodily needs towards catatonia or death. The creator of such a piece, Jim Incandenza, revealingly

> had a thing about entertainment, being criticized about entertainment v. nonentertainment and stasis. He used to refer to the Work itself as "entertainments." He always meant it ironically. Even in jokes he never talked about an anti-version or antidote for God's sake. (Wallace 2006: 940)

Cartridges are a fundamental necessity for many characters as a form to attain emotions and to ironically feel *aliveness*. There are two clear examples of this in *Infinite Jest*. On the one hand, there is the medical attaché who stops biologically functioning by submitting to utter pleasure (by watching Infinite Jest); and on the other hand, there is Steeply's father who becomes so absorbed by the TV series M*A*S*H that he is slowly consumed by it and he ceases to exist organically. Both characters become a source for Wallace's personal depiction of entertainment as they kill the self and their *aliveness* in the pursuit of unreachable pleasure. Characters are left with dysfunctional bodily sensations that could be interpreted as the death of the self.

It is not a coincidence that the Year of Glad coincides with Hal's withdrawal, speech impairment and with his success in achieving a good rank in tennis. The Year of Glad ironically does not intentionally imply a truthful type of emotion but is applied to an existing brand of handle-tie trash bags. Substance addiction is behind the enhancement of entertainment performance in Hal while also achieving the ultimate stage of the paralysis of agency. The name Glad for the year jars as it is incongruent with a happy state. Glad grates as it is false and non-descriptive; it is only an adjective with nobody/nothing to describe. As a verb, it is also inharmonious/out of place because it is not making anybody or anything happy. There is then an uneasy paradoxical lack of gladness in the name of the year and in the novel. Hence, characters search for emotions and the self that they have already thrown away with their (ab)use of vapid entertainment. The repeated theme of waste and the image of the trash bag in *Infinite Jest* represents the discarded self entrapped in a cage. Moreover, the novel begins in the Year of Glad and ends in the same year ascribing self-reflexivity and possibly locked in annularity to the representation of characters in the novel.

The representation of individuals is dichotomous, on the one hand solipsistic as they view the self in the egocentric and hedonistic form in their ability to discharge anything or any connections to the world for the sake of pleasure, but on the other hand, they are paradoxically able to erase their very own self in this pursuit.

Hal Incandenza's plot is of his growth from childhood into adulthood. However, it is not a conventional bildungsroman as it becomes a degradation and confinement of adult expression to communicate in the form of an affirmation of his own self. This, in turn, is also suggested in the circularity of the novel, where the beginning and the

end of the novel coincide in the year of Hal's loss of communication and body control. However, although Hal becomes aware of the excess and effects of entertainment, his development towards adulthood degrades to the extent of annulment of agency. He is located in a liminal state that is on the margins of two (op)positions. This state of the self is seen in the section where Hal boils down tennis success to the fact of expelling part of one's own soul as a kind of "self-erasure" (Wallace 2006: 791). He identifies that the major fight in the match is against oneself:

> How promising you are as a Student of the Game is a function of what you can pay attention to without running away. Nets and fences can be mirrors. And between the nets and fences, opponents are also mirrors. This is why the whole thing is scary. This is why all opponents are scary and weaker opponents are especially scary. Next paragraph See yourself in your opponents. They will bring you to understand the Game. To accept the fact that the Game is about managed fear. That its object is to send from yourself what you hope will not return. This is your body […] You will have it with you always. (176)

A tennis court is represented as the individual's struggle to eliminate part of their self as their opponent is no other than themselves. This is reminiscent of how characters interpret entertainment when it comes to rejecting a part of themselves. Your opponent is in you. This is also concealed by President Johnny Gentle in his speech against new terrorism on America's horizon. However, it is no accident that his main fear is of the waste created within his territory. Žižek identifies this fear of the power of the external as something that comes from within:

> [I]t is no longer that "one wants to make you/us fear," but that "one fears," which means that the enemy stirring up fear is no longer outside "you/us," […] it is here, amongst us […] corroding our unity from within. (Žižek 2008: 167)

Wallace confers on this situation a state of having the ability to "bonk the head" (Wallace 2006: 429) by numbing your choices. This condition becomes the dualistic approach of destroying your choice awareness and sensation by addiction to entertainment in the impossible quest for stimuli. As John L. and Gately reveal, the degradation of oneself is where

> the Substance seem[s] like the only consolation against the pain of the mounting Losses, and [where] of course you're in Denial about it being the Substance that's causing the very Losses it's consoling you about. (346)

This circling state can be translated into a syndrome with symptoms that are contradictory in themselves. It then symbolically comes down to addiction and subsequent neuropathologies, as key concepts in *Infinite Jest*. As the narrator underlines in the following section:

> That a little-mentioned paradox of Substance addiction is:
>
> > that once you are sufficiently enslaved by a Substance to need to quit the Substance in order to save your life, the enslaving Substance has become so deeply important to you that you will all but lose your mind when it is taken away from you. (201)

Wallace portrays the illusion of instant gratification from substance addiction to highlight the disruption of the self.

As stated before, an individual with complete cognitive capacity would have a reaction to stimuli including some kind of feeling or emotion feedback or return, it being of excitement or displeasure. As "[f]or instance, a roughly and incompletely composed happy facial expression [leads] to the subject's experiencing "happiness," and angry facial expression to their experiencing "anger," and so on" (Damasio 1995: 147-8). Entertainment resources should allow characters to attain some kind of emotional response and this is why contemporary entertainment is invalidated in *Infinite Jest* as it now projects no true emotions in characters.

The lack of stimulation of internal sense or interoception of the characters unites addiction and OCD as major causes of caging the self. Research on the brain has shown the relevance of perceiving emotions in the representation of the body and thus, in shaping the self. For instance, Craig's research maintains that

> [a]s humans, we perceive feelings from our bodies that relate our state of well-being, our energy, our mood, our disposition. Recent functional anatomical work has detailed an afferent neural system that represents all aspects of the physiological condition of the physical body. This system constitutes a representation of the 'material me' and might provide a foundation for subjective feelings, emotion and self-awareness. (2002: 655)

Therefore, as no material world provides feelings in me, I cannot feel my body, I cannot see my boundaries clearly. This, in turn, is strongly mirrored in *Infinite Jest* with the representation of separable body parts, machine-like, malleable and deformed bodies (Wallace 2006: 118, 100, 636). Craig continues to observe that

> [i]n humans, a meta-representation of the primary interoceptive activity is engendered in the right anterior insula, which seems to provide the basis for the subjective image of the material self as a feeling (sentient) entity, that is, emotional awareness. Recent findings suggest that interoception should be identified as the sense of physiological condition of the entire body and not only visceral […This] constitutes a basis for the subjective evaluation of one's condition, that is, 'how you feel'. (2003: 500)

This is clearly impaired in the novel as the major feeling is taken from a nihilistic approach of characters to their self and thus interoception, i.e. feeling the body from inside, is impaired.

Craig's findings discover the significance of "the cortical representation of feelings from the body as the likely basis for human awareness of the physical self as a feeling entity. This association provides a fundamental framework for the involvement of these feelings with emotion, mood, motivation and consciousness" (663).

The oversaturation of choices has numbed characters' ability to consciously feel any entertaining excitement due to personal selections and thus consequently agency is void. This oversaturation is translated into a state of anhedonia which disables characters' ability to truly perceive any external stimulus or exteroception over their choices. Anhedonia is an early signifier of depression as the neurological suppression of pleasure or desire, i.e. the pre-conscious suppression of the ability to produce an identity. Hence, an anhedonic state can develop into a sense of a lack of body and thus self, due to the lack of response to external stimuli.

Cotard's syndrome is categorized (among other ways) as a nihilistic delusion within a depressive episode with psychotic features (Grover *et al.* 2014). This syndrome is seen as a new type of depression which is characterized by a sense of damnation or rejection, insensitivity to pain and the delusion of non-existence. As mentioned, *Infinite Jest* is a novel where schizophrenia, obsessive compulsion, depressions and the annihilation of the self are axiomatic.

Whether the syndrome is a distinct disorder or a symptom of other disorders has been a subject of debate (Debruyne *et al.* 2011). For the purpose of the analysis, where characters show a composite of symptoms denoted as relating to Cotard's syndrome they will be considered as patients suffering from the distinct Cotard disorder.

Cotard's syndrome is characterized by the appearance of nihilistic delusions concerning one's own body. It is also affected by mood-congruent alterations whereby body sensations and emotions are altered by the lack of external stimulus transmission. From a scientific standpoint, the most prominent symptoms for Cotard's syndrome are depressive mood (89%), nihilistic delusions concerning one's own existence (69%), anxiety (65%), delusions of guilt (63%), delusions of immortality (55%), and hypochondriac delusions (58%) (Berrios and Luque 1995).

In *Infinite Jest* the state of the body is depicted as malleable, separate and deformed and the mind disrupted and unstable. Ortho "resembles a poorly spliced photo, some superhuman cardboard persona with a hole for [his] human face. A beautiful sports body" (Wallace 2006: 636), Hal who is unsure of his facial expressions (875), Pemulis' paranoid feelings of objects moving and people listening and Marathe's wife who has no skull are some examples

of these body and mind disturbances and representations in the novel. These frames of mind and body shed light on the importance of feelings in the representation of the corporeal and the influence of the psyche. Feeling one's body plays a major role in representing and attributing one's body and actions to one's self. Characters in *Infinite Jest* suffer a schizophrenic state of external control which they seem unaware of. Therefore, this groups them together with typical symptoms such as the lack of sense of agency and the lack of feeling their body and actions. It correlates to Ramachandran's observation that "[o]ne attribute of the self is your sense of 'being in charge' of your actions and, as a corollary, of your belief that you could have acted otherwise if you had chosen to" (Ramachandran 2011: 286). This supports Damasio's statement that interoceptive body-mapping is thought to be the foundation of elementary feelings that one may exist (Damasio 2010).

The Cotard's delusion is associated with the belief that one may be dead. Thus, it also shows nihilistic symptoms of the loss of the self together with the distorted vision of the external world (i.e. the misidentification of one's position in the world). Moreover, Cotard's syndrome is frequently observed in psychotic patients with schizophrenia or depression which interestingly connects both to the novel and to the author's personal experience with depression.

Cotard patients not only suffer the monothematic delusion where one denies ownership of a limb or an entire side of one's body, or what is also called somatoparaphrenia, as it "is not simply a consequence of primary sensorimotor deficits, but a specific failure in the linkage between primary sensorimotor experience and self" (Fotopoulou 2011: 3947). A normal state of somatoparaphrenia implies the rejection of one part of one's body as if it were someone else's. However, Cotard's syndrome consists of the rejection of your whole self. This syndrome makes you feel disconnected from emotions and reality, thus it all seems unreal and stimuli fail to evoke emotions in you. As Ramachandran states, "cotard syndrome is apotemnophilia [also known as Body Integrity Identity Disorder or BIID] for one's entire self, rather than just one arm or leg, and suicide is its successful amputation" (2011: 282).

In *Infinite Jest,* it is not the rejection of the body (which has already occurred) that is the major concern of narration but the willingness to recuperate the feeling of those parts which have been rejected in the pursuit of pleasure. In most of the patients the somatoparaphrenia symptoms normally last a few days or weeks but it can persist for years as is the case in *Infinite Jest*. In the case of Cotard, "first hit produces abnormal perception and second hit leads to persistence of abnormal perception despite being presented with evidence to the contrary" (Sahoo and Josephs 2018: 64) and therefore, it presents first with a disturbed sensation of

body and then an utter rejection of the body. In the novel, they "walk […] around making you think they are alive" (Wallace 2006: 733).

When Don Gately is describing blackouts, it can be metaphorically connected to the feeling of the death of the self. He describes that blackouts for him were "like [if] your mind wasn't in possession of your body" (2006: 464).

Due to the lack of sense of agency and body, readers may sense that characters feel dead in the novel. As Tsakiris identifies, "motor cognition operationalizes the self as a physical entity through multisensory and motor signals creating experience of ownership over body and agency over actions" (2010: 703). Therefore, as they do not grasp their own deformed bodies they do not sense a self. This occurs through the schizophrenic examples discussed above. The character portrayals then are a consequence foregrounded in the symbolic use of the schizophrenic sense of being externally driven.

At the level of our physical existence we experience our body from the inside. The proposal is that "when one feels a sensation, one thereby feels as if something is occurring within one's body" (Martin 1995: 267) in other words, you seem to be

> contained or *bounded* within your body. Hence anything outside of your body seems distinct from you. This experience of boundedness in your body is related to the sense of having your own experience […] Any time something impacts on your boundaries you know where on your boundary that impact occurred […] Thus in generating a sense of what and where your boundaries are you are able to generate your own perspective. This is another component of this sense of embodiment. (Carruthers 2008: 1303)

Embodiment is consciously depicted by Wallace as separate or deformed, leading the readers to question why boundaries are blurred or invalidated. Specific examples can be found in Mario Incandenza's deformities, Lyle's crustacean hands, tennis players with disproportionate limbs among many others. Moreover, the fact that characters do not question these abnormal bodies highlights the degree of disruptions in cognition of the sense of embodiment and self.

Carruthers adds that embodiment is "used primarily for self recognition" (2008: 1303) which strongly shows how the representation of the body and the feeling of aliveness are misinterpreted in *Infinite Jest*. Carruthers includes three conditions that are needed for self recognition: sense of embodiment, sense of agency and the capacity to compare visual and non-visual representations. So far, only the two have been discussed. The major analysis on the following pages, focusing on the self in connection to the body, is largely based on sensory information from the body, such as proprioceptive, kinaesthetic and vestibular information, as well as the senses of touch, heat, cold and pain.

> Ramachandran discloses the experience of a Cotard patient:
>
> > A patient in Chennai: "Ali where are you?"[…] "Not much can be done: I am a corpse"[...] "I don't exist. You could say I am an empty shell. Sometimes I feel like a ghost that exists in another world" "I don't know what you're saying. You know the world is illusory as the Hindus say. It's all *maya* [the Sanskrit word for "illusion"]. And if the world doesn't exist, then in what sense do I exist? We take all that for granted, but simply isn't' true" "Well, I am dead and immortal at the same time." (2011: 280)

Damasio suggests that one under normal circumstances is able to represent one's body as it has been lately (1995: 239) which in *Infinite Jest* seems to be impaired. Patients suffering from Cotard's delusion are unable to identify their body as their own and that is why they claim that they do not exist or that they are dead. It is often assumed that this delusion arises out of a profound feeling of detachment from the world. Therefore, if you cannot sense your own body, you may feel dead. Furthermore, Carruthers suggests that "the Cotard patient lacks appropriate responses to certain stimuli (say faces or anything they come into contact with). As such, they fail to represent how their body changes and can potentially change when coming into contact with these stimuli" (2008: 1314).

Hal Incandenza's smiles are inappropriate or impossible to project as he lacks a crucial part of the perception of his body. Furthermore, in *Infinite Jest* the involvement with addictions entraps characters in their symptoms. By templating the description behind the nosology of neuropsychological conditions like schizophrenia, OCD, depression and Cotard on the personae in the novel, it can be suggested that characters do feel as if they were dead because they are unable to feel their bodies and so they can be associated with these diseases. In a regular Ennet House meeting where interns share their experiences, John L. describes what substance addiction does to free will in close connection to feeling non-existent: "A fuckin livin death, I tell you it's not being near alive, by the end I was undead, not alive, and I tell you the idea of dyin was nothing compared to the idea of livin like that for another five or ten years and only *then* dyin" (2006: 347).

The use of the word undead is no coincidence. It contains in its form the duality of most characters in the novel. Hence, the lack of agency over their bodies that only function mechanically with no will control. This recalls another depressive patient, Kate Gompert, who mentions that her "fondest dream [she comes to discover is] anhedonia, complete psychic numbing. I.e. death in life" (698). At Ennet Recovery House, an intern that we assume is Lenz states that "most of them ain't real. So watch your six. Most of these fuckers are –: metal people […] walking around, make you think they're alive [b]ut that's just the layer […] There's a micro-thin layer of skin. But underneath, it's metal. Heads full of parts" (733).

Death is a major topic in the novel which appears in the form of Cotard's syndrome, the living dead and the actual or close death of many of its characters. Jim Incandenza commits suicide, the medical attaché and Steeply's father give themselves away to entertainment, Poor Tony dies of perhaps Too Much Fun (although officially from a venereal disease: 300-301), Steeply's wife is a living corpse, and Orin seems to be stuck in a kind of limbo with addiction towards Subjects. Most tennis players are paralyzed awaiting the destiny of their selves immersed in never-ending drills whilst attempting an emotional escape through drugs. Joelle revealingly, has had ironically Too Much Fun and wants to stop it. Cotard's delusion is also perceived in the suggestive name of the brothers Anti-toi, the *anti-you* who are killed in the Assassins' pursuit of a copy of Infinite Jest. Death also comes through the pleasure of seeing death which is the case of the schizophrenic intern Lenz who is obsessed with killing pets (695).

A clear drama over death is Don Gately who is struggling to keep alive in hospital. Another example is the tennis player The Darkness who becomes more significant in the novel the more he achieves the ability to deny selfhood or personality. Interestingly, *Infinite Jest* begins with *I* and ends with *he*. But if we consider the end to be the endnotes then an even more impersonal end is revealed with a corporation and registered trademark symbol as a story of self-forgetting and degradation.

The idea expressed by Marathe about American citizens that "you cannot kill what is already dead" (319) is also seen in Hal Incandenza. The contradiction is seen in the case studies of Cotard, the living dead who want to commit suicide (Moschopoulos *et al.* 2016). Hal becomes a living corpse unable to communicate due to Too Much Fun. What is noteworthy is the fact that Hal's competitive leap happens when he became addicted to marijuana, "the coincidence of Hal's competitive explosion and the year of his addiction," indicates that "both have drawn on the same erasure of self" (Burn 2003: 50). Hal appears to share his father and grandfather's view of turning the self into machine, soul into body to achieve sport success which parallels the destruction of self due to addiction. As Hal says, his "eyes are two great pale zeros" (Wallace 2006: 10). This is a landmark in the novel which is iterated as the consequence of their "choice for death of the head by pleasure [which] now exists" (319).

He states that God is more pro-death while he is anti-death (39). Hal confesses that he hasn't had "a bona fide intensity-of-interior-life-type emotion since he was tiny" (694). Mario realizes that Hal does not feel any control over his movements after a match, as he tells Hal "I don't get how you couldn't feel like you believed, today, out there. It was so *right there.* You moved like you totally believed […] How do you feel inside, not?" (41). Hal construed his body actions as individually

questionable. Sense of controlling is damaged and impaired but apparently Hal, together with his father and Don Gately, are more aware of this than most characters in the novel.

With this limbo state, time stops on the course of expectation for drugs when Hal awaits a woman to bring him Bob Hope. He closes windows and leaves a message on the phone (19-20). He "is insufficiently committed to the course of action" (20) which highlights the idea that if there is no action or agency you may feel as if you were dead.

Death lingers throughout the novel as OCD and addiction have removed what was left of characters' feelings while entertainment is accurately represented by Wallace as vapid and/or stultifying and responsible for the *nobodiness*. Vapid entertainment is a major symbol of dehumanizing bodies that become machine-like losing their souls to the entertainment world in general and specifically to cartridges, series and the Entertainment. As suggested in the novel, "[a]ll the different people you know. So-called. They're the *same machines*" (753). In close connection to media entertainment, Steeply suggests that Canadians had a pleasurable entertainment called the myth of *L'Odalisque de Sainte Thérèse*. It is an enchanted enthrallment over those who look straight into her eyes, casting over them death as a consequence of her great beauty. More interestingly, even those who are aware of the fatal outcome are willing to look at her beauty. The myth represents the descent into bodiless non-agent selves and into the loss of the soul to become a mere object. The concept of blindly surrendering to the external becomes a true representation of the living dead in *Infinite Jest*.

The character Kate Gompert, a 22-year old depressive patient on suicide watch in a psychiatric unit brings us to a germane type of Cotard's syndrome. The purity of her descriptions makes her sections in the novel a major source of what may go through a depressive person's mind and, at the same time, it represents a valuable perspective for the exploration of Cotard's syndrome in my discussion. As in much of Wallace's writing, this passage portrays the apprehension that deals with the nature of existence and the "paralytic thought-helix" (335) of isolation and true feeling of emotions. Wallace's utterly emotional words come together in what is considered a key section in the novel. The descriptions where Kate Gompert appears are an intimate and powerful account owing to Wallace's insight that contributes to the reflection upon the sadness and loneliness apparent in the novel. The author was fully aware of the afflicting effects isolation had. Kate Gompert's sections entail a rather intimate description of self-obsession and the pain unbearable for any human to endure.

It is this pain that will be analyzed in depth and in close connection to embodiment. Kate Gompert identifies her depressive symptom to a feeling all over her body. However, what I suggest is that it does not spring from body sensations in themselves but that it is a "psychic pain" (69). She is aware of how the external has erased her very own agency and sense over her body and, thus, she identifies this *feeling* to be all over her whole body. What is proposed here is that what she feels is a rejection of her whole body which makes her not want to "play anymore" (73), i.e. commit suicide. This feeling is conceived in Cotard's delusion as the feeling of repulsion or rejection of your own somatosensory system or the body that she is unable to truly perceive. As Kate Gompert conceives it, she does not want to feel pain but to cease that particular sensation she describes that overcomes her body. She frames this feeling as a nauseous sensation not only coming from the guts, but "[a]ll *over*. My head, throat, butt. In my stomach. It's all over everywhere. I don't know what I could call it" (73). She attributes this feeling to "inside. All through you. Like every cell and every atom or brain-cell or whatever was so nauseous it wanted to throw up, but it couldn't, and you felt that way all the time, and you're sure, you're positive the feeling will never go away" (74).

In the face of being identified as a feeling, that feeling is connected to a body sensation disorder which is seen in studies that recognize body actions as metarepresentations of feelings. Additionally, a profound state of unease or dissatisfaction may accompany depression or anxiety which can also appear as a feeling of not being comfortable in the current body. This disorder called dysphoria can be associated with Kate Gompert's emotional state in the novel. And as characters in the novel have lost sense of body ownership and agency towards external control this situation yields to the figure of self-rejection. The former can be observed in Gompert's reaction to *repulse* her own corporeality. Her feeling or thought comes in the form of disgust. That is why the only way she can remove this feeling of bodilessness is by committing suicide. As she says, it "isn't a state" (73). As recognized, states refer to clear confirmations of who we are as well as referring to a condition or a feeling as in "I am hungry", I feel it inside and I can connect it to the need of food. That is why she insists that she "didn't want to especially hurt myself"[…] just wanted out [of the body while she reiterates that idea that she] wasn't trying to hurt myself. I was trying to kill myself. There's a difference" (71).

Death appears again represented as an important trope in the novel. Kate Gompert connects this feeling to a source of horror as someone jumping off a building in flames who does not want to die by the flames but knows that they will die after the jump. She declares that "everything gets horrible. Everything you

see gets ugly. *Lurid* is the word […] And everything sounds harsh, spiny and harsh-sounding, like every sound you hear all of a sudden has teeth. And smelling like a smell bad even after I just got out of the shower" (73). Thus, Gompert's statement once more represents a connection to the sense of disgust: "I fear this feeling more that I fear anything, man. More than pain, or my mom dying, or environmental toxicity. Anything" (73).

Anhedonia is a clear promoter of this body state due to the fact that, if no emotions arise, then consequently the sense of bodilessness emerges

> this form of depression [is] not overtly painful [and] its deadness is disconcerting. Kate Gompert always thought of this anhedonic state as a kind of radical abstracting of everything, a hollowing out of stuff that used to have affective content. Terms the undepressed toss around and take for granted as full and fleshy – *happiness, joie de vivre, preference, love* – are stripped to their skeletons and reduced to abstract ideas. They have, as it were, denotation but not connotation. The anhedonic can still speak about happiness and meaning et al., but […] has become incapable of feeling anything in them. (692-3)

The following paragraph continues reflecting upon these concepts:

> Hal isn't old enough yet to know that this is because numb emptiness isn't the worst kind of depression. That dead-eyed anhedonia is but a remora […] Authorities term this condition *clinical depression* or *involutional depression* or *unipolar dysphoria*. Instead of just an incapacity for feeling, a deadening of soul, the predator-grade depression Kate Gompert always feels as she Withdraws from secret marijuana is *itself* a feeling. It goes by many names – *anguish, despair, torment*, or q.v. Burton's *melancholia* or Tevtushencko's more authoritative *psychotic depression* – but Kate Gompert, down in the trenches with the thing itself, knows it simply as *It*. (695)

Thus, it is not a feeling that we would define as coming within a normal interoceptive and exteroceptive state. It is a psychic pain that arises from the despair and thus an OCD search to understand and regain your body. Therefore, the former description entails that the body state in the novel reflects no self-stimuli as no true and/or direct feelings are sensed. Kate Gompert connects despair to the external control over your own body, as she names it "*It*" which has to do with the self,

> the essence of conscious existence. *It* is a sense of poisoning that pervades the self at the self's most elementary levels. *It* is a nausea of the cells and soul. *It* is an unnumb intuition in which the world is fully rich and animate and un-map-like and also thoroughly painful and malignant and antagonistic to the self, which depressed self *It* billows on and coagulates around and wraps in *Its* black folds and absorbs into *Itself*, so that an almost mystical unity is achieved with a world every constituent of which means painful harm to the self. *Its* emotional character, the feeling

> Gompert describes *It* as, is probably mostly indescribable except as a sort of double bind in which any/all of the alternatives we associate with human agency – sitting or standing […] living or dying – are not just unpleasant but literally horrible. (696)

This analysis holds that the feeling is horrible as they cannot have any sensory feedback. It becomes the lurid torment of realizing you are *non-existent* or *dead*. This is observable when, walking with Ms. Ruth van Cleve, she wonders how she can walk "without any sort of conscious moving-forward-type volitions" (699). And yet, she cannot attain any firm sense of doing as "all she's capable of concentrating on is one foot and then the other foot" (699). In this section there is a clear focus on separate body parts as if they had no self attached to them. It also reveals to the reader a sense of the deadened state of Cotard's syndrome. Body delusion related to the syndrome is also illustrated through the description of detached or separate parts for example when Kate Gompert describes "heads [that] glide by in the darkened windows" (699), while she struggles to identify her own body in the reflection: "She looks at […] just heads that seem to float across each window unconnected to anything. As disconnected floating heads. In doorways by shops are incomplete persons in wheelchairs with creative receptacles where limbs should" (699).

When it comes to the external pleasure pursued by most in *Infinite Jest,* it is observable that this does not provoke any stimuli in their bodies. Kate Gompert's feeling has a profound impact on body perception. It is as if the external stimulus and the impaired internal body state of what is supposed to be stimulated have turned around on her, cancelling her out. This is observable when conceived by the fully meaningful representation of her feeling as that of "remora on the ventral flank of the true predator, the Great White Shark of pain" (695). Thus, what is significant here is the wrong allowance of trying to survive on what may kill your agency and senses.

She confines her problems of why she feels the way she does to Bob Hope. But it is due to stopping using it and not being dependent on substance addiction that she becomes aware that her body was externally controlled and that without Bob Hope she considers it impossible to overcome this disorder. Hence, substance addiction for her is translated to "hope springs eternal" (75). The abjection of the self over Bob Hope onsets the feeling of disgust and body rejection (75-76). Wallace gives her description yet another obscured and uncertain aspect by including again the random and involuntary sniff that many characters enact throughout the entire novel without any particular reason. "The doctor was oddly sure that Kate Gompert pretended to sniff instead of engaging in a real sniff" (76). The inconsistency in self, body and action in *Infinite Jest* truly affects how characters and we, as readers, perceive and feel the course of narrated actions.

The findings in contemporary neuropathology research alongside theories of agency, self and body suggest a correlation between mental conditions like depression and schizophrenia (both associated with Cotard's syndrome) and OCD. Characters in the novel are figurative case studies mirroring these studies that explore concepts influencing self-awareness and thus, the self. As shown, all the mental disturbances presented here are linked to dysfunctional bodily sensations. Firstly, introductory notes to concepts related to disruptions in body and mind have been put forward to support the main argument of the living dead. Examples of these disruptions in the novel suggest how the search for hedonistic pleasure in the fallacy of choice is what may trigger anhedonia, solipsism and addiction. It is then, the reason why Wallace considers that these states arise from the threat that the entertainment world poses to the integrity of the self and to "living in your body" (2006: 158).

David Foster Wallace had an extensive library knowledge of neuropsychological disorders and also experienced many difficulties personally. This particular article has explored the theme of death in relation to Walking Dead syndrome and it is my belief that Wallace consciously constructed this novel using the related theories and conditions in a medium of addiction to entertainment or substances in order to portray the lack of self as societal malaise.

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GLORIA VELÁSQUEZ'S ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL SERIES: TOWARDS QUALITY MULTICULTURAL LITERATURE THROUGH RAINBOW COALITIONS[1, 2]

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ABSTRACT. *The goal of this paper is to study several YA novels by Chicana writer Gloria Velásquez, the Roosevelt High School series (1994-2018), as an educating tool within the framework of multicultural education. The analysis takes into account Velásquez's choice of problematic situations (related to racism, sexism, or homophobic harassment, among others) and the solutions her novels propose, which include both individual responses and community-organized measures. Special attention is given to the criticism according to which Velásquez's Latinx and multi-ethnic characters are steeped in stereotypes, which would cancel the books' potential capacity to inspire social change. In contrast with this negative vision, this paper proves that Velásquez's series offers empowering role models for teen Latinxs of various ethnic backgrounds and effectively calls for the neutralization of race, class and gender stereotypes, thus contributing to the implementation of Jesse Jackson's 1984 proposal that ethnic minorities should form a "rainbow coalition".*

Keywords: young adult literature, Gloria Velásquez, multicultural literature, race, class and gender stereotypes, rainbow coalition.

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1 A preliminary and shorter version of this paper, entitled "Rainbow Latinxs' Fight for Justice in Gloria Velásquez's Roosevelt High School Series", was presented at the XI Congreso internacional sobre literatura chicana y estudios latinos. Hacia nuevas interpretaciones de la "Latinidad" en el siglo XXI, which was held at the University of Salamanca on May 28-30, 2018.

2 Research for this paper was carried out in the summer of 2017 at the University of California at Berkeley, where I was a Visiting Scholar integrated in the Beatrice Bain Research Group. I should also thank the University of Oviedo, which provided me with funding for my research stay at Berkeley. Finally, I must express my gratitude to Gloria Velásquez, whose help to write this paper has been invaluable.

LA SERIE ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL DE GLORIA VELÁSQUEZ: LITERATURA MULTICULTURAL DE CALIDAD A PARTIR DE COALICIONES ARCOÍRIS

RESUMEN. *El objetivo de este artículo es estudiar varias novelas juveniles de la escritora chicana Gloria Velásquez, la serie Roosevelt High School (1994-2018), como una herramienta educativa dentro del marco de la educación multicultural. El análisis tiene en cuenta la selección de situaciones problemáticas de Velásquez (relacionadas con el racismo, el sexismo o la homofobia, entre otras) y las soluciones propuestas por las novelas, que incluyen tanto respuestas individuales como medidas organizadas por la comunidad. Se presta especial atención a la crítica según la cual los personajes latinxs y multiétnicos de Velásquez son estereotipados, lo cual cancelaría el potencial de los libros para inspirar un cambio social. En contraste con esa visión negativa, este artículo demuestra que la serie de Velásquez ofrece modelos de empoderamiento para la juventud latina multiétnica y colabora eficazmente en la deconstrucción de los estereotipos de raza, clase y género, lo cual, a su vez, contribuye a la implementación de la propuesta de 1984 de Jesse Jackson de que las minorías étnicas deberían formar una "coalición arcoíris".*

Palabras clave: literatura juvenil, Gloria Velásquez, literatura multicultural, estereotipos de raza, clase y género, coalición arcoíris.

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1. GLORIA VELÁSQUEZ AND CRITICAL MULTICULTURALISM: "I WANT TO EDUCATE OUR YOUTH"

An early pioneer of the Chicano Art Renaissance, Gloria Velásquez has dedicated both her teaching and her literary career to the promotion of social justice: "I want to inspire social change", she has claimed, and also: "I want to educate our youth. I want to politicize them" (Velásquez, cited in Day 1997b: 170). Equipped with her acute social conscience and a PhD from Stanford University in Latin American and Chicano Literatures, in 1985 she was hired as a professor in the Modern Languages and Literatures Department at California Polytechnic State University in San Luis Obispo, California.[3] Simultaneously, she started to develop a literary corpus that comprises both poetry and fiction which have appeared in journals and anthologies throughout the US as well as in Europe. Her literary accomplishments have led to her inclusion in numerous literary biographies such as *Chicano Writers: Second Series* (Lomelí and Shirley 1992), *A-Z Latino*

3 Back in 1985, Gloria Velásquez was the first Chicana professor on Cal Poly's campus, a fact she takes pride in (Herzog 2017). She became Emeritus Faculty in 2017.

Writers and Journalists (Martinez Wood 2007); *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Latino Literature* (Kanellos 2008a), and, among others, *Latina and Latino Voices in Literature for Children and Teenagers* (Day 1997a). Besides that recognition, Velásquez has received many honors for her writings. In 1989, for example, she was the first Chicana to be inducted into the University of Northern Colorado's Hall of Fame; in 2001 she was honored by The Texas House of Representatives for her outstanding contributions to literature; in 2006 she was featured in the PBS Documentary, *La Raza de Colorado* (Olken 2005-2006); besides, the Special Collections at Stanford University has honored her literary production with "The Gloria Velásquez Papers", archiving her life as a writer and humanitarian.

Among Velásquez's poetic compositions, there stand out two bilingual collections of poetry: *I Used to Be a Superwoman* (1997 [1994]) and *Xicana on the Run* (2005). A song writer, too, Velásquez is the author of "Son in Vietnam", a song that appeared in the PBS Documentary, *Soldados: Chicanos in Vietnam* (Trujillo and Rhee 2003). In the field of prose, she must be especially commended for being the creator of the popular Roosevelt High School Series (henceforth, RHSS), which includes ten novels to date. With the first one in the series, *Juanita Fights the School Board* (1994), Velásquez expressed her desire to write a collection of novels where young adults of different ethnic backgrounds would find themselves represented. Following Jesse Jackson's 1984 proposal that ethnic minorities should form a "rainbow coalition", she opted to model her fictional High School as a multicultural setting where Latinxs of multiethnic ancestry have to battle with numerous problems: racism, sexism, harassment based on their sexual orientation or on their inter-racial relations, among many others. The last one so far, *Forgiving Moses* (2018), introduces one further bone of contention in terms of race relations in the US: the high rates of incarceration of men of color.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the contribution of Velásquez's RHSS as an educating tool within the framework of multicultural education. The study will take into account Velásquez's choice of problematic situations and the solutions her novels propose, which include individual responses as well as community-organized measures. Special attention will be given to some critiques the series has received. According to these, Velásquez's characters and the situations they find themselves in are steeped in stereotypes. This, it has been argued, further denigrates Latinxs and, consequently, cancels the book's potential capacity to inspire social change, which is the author's intention, as she herself has claimed. In contrast with this negative vision, my paper will prove that Velásquez's series offers empowering role models for teen Latinxs of various ethnic backgrounds and effectively calls for the neutralization of race, class and gender stereotypes. Before I embark upon the analysis of the series, a few things must be said about

the reality of US schools, multicultural education and multicultural literature for young adults.

More than 50 years after the Supreme Court's Brown decision (1954), there are still sociologists like Pedro Noguera who assert that US schools remain segregated on the basis of race and class (2003: 153). In fact, Noguera claims that "[r]ather than serving as the 'great equalizer' […] schools in the United States more often have been sites where patterns of privilege and inequality are maintained and reproduced" (2003: 42). One of the terrible consequences of this segregation is that minority students develop "oppositional identities" that lead them to view schooling "as a form of forced assimilation" (Noguera 2003: 52). In order to avoid this outcome, it has been suggested that educators should teach students to "read the world" (Freire, cited in Noguera 2003: 16), and educators should also help kids acquire an understanding of the forces that maintain imbalances in wealth and power so that they can see their situation as an historical reality susceptible to transformation (Noguera 2003: 16). In other words, what these voices claim for is the implementation of "multicultural education", a concept "built upon the philosophical ideas of freedom, justice, equality, equity, and human dignity" and used to refer specifically to "a process that takes place at schools and other educational institutions" (Grant 2015: 83-84). The goals of multicultural education are these: to work toward structural equity; to develop positive self-concepts; to provide knowledge about the history, culture and contributions of the diverse groups that have shaped the history, politics, and culture of the US; to bring about change of current social issues involving race, ethnicity, socio-economic class, gender and disability; to teach critical-thinking skills and democratic decision making; finally, to build upon students' diverse learning styles (Grant 2015: 84).

Thus presented, multicultural education would be nothing to object to. However, the concept has been problematized and considered "haunted" by the "ontological and epistemological hierarchy that universalizes Eurocentric knowledges as the cutting edge of universal human progress while racialized and indigenous knowledges are marginalized" (Taylor and Hoechsmann 2011: 223). Because of this, Sneja Gunew has differentiated between "state multiculturalism", which is "often framed by a liberal pluralism where cultural differences are paraded as apolitical ethnic accessories celebrated in multicultural festivals of costumes, cooking, and concerts" (1997: 24), and "critical multiculturalism" (1997: 26), which can be "usefully invoked to counter hegemonic practices or appeals to nostalgic histories" (1997: 27). For this reason, I opt for "critical multiculturalism" as the framework for my analysis, as its goals (listed in Taylor and Hoechsmann 2011: 224) show a greater awareness of the dangers of incurring in Eurocentric practices. Among scholars, there is an agreement that "critical multiculturalism", as

a pedagogy, should heavily rely on reading "multicultural literature" in class, an activity that has been considered as "an exercise in developing social awareness and agency" (Torres-Padilla 2005: 23).

2. MULTICULTURAL LITERATURE FOR YOUNG ADULTS: "A LITERATURE OF INCLUSION"

Multicultural literature has been defined as literature that represents voices typically omitted from the traditional canon (Glazier and Seo 2005: 686-687), and "[a]s a component of multicultural education, [it] is often considered a powerful instructional tool for helping students develop understanding and respect for people of cultures different from their own as well as gain an appreciation of their own heritage" (Dressel 2005: 750). Its main goals are these: to help students to identify with their own culture in order to empower them and affirm their identities; to expose students to other cultures, thus promoting their inter/intra-cultural understanding and appreciation and challenging stereotypes; lastly, to open the dialogue on issues regarding diversity. Multicultural literature has also been defined as "a literature of inclusion" (Madigan 1993: 169) that deals with people of color, shows a world view that rejects the global centrality of any single culture or historical perspective, most immediately, Eurocentrism, and is not limited to including bits of other cultures, or adding a little color (Madigan 1993: 171). Besides, it implies "a social change agenda", and it forces us "to reevaluate the whole system" (Madigan 1993: 171).

The positive consequences of using multicultural literature in the classroom are, according to many educators, numerous and far-reaching. It can help change the popular and simplistic perception of multicultural education as being a brief tour of foods and festivals (Godina 1996: 546). Thanks to it, students begin to see reflections of themselves in text, and this provides them with a familiar path for thinking critically (Godina 1996: 546). It gives voice to teens whose voices have gone unheard and whose lives are underrepresented or misrepresented; it challenges the single story, as it presents the complexity of racial and ethnic identity formation, and it helps readers to consider how the world looks to groups of people that have been marginalized and oppressed, raising awareness of the inequalities that those individuals face on a daily basis (Hughes-Hassell 2013: 215). Moreover, it can encourage and empower teens of color and indigenous people to take action and to show that they can overcome the constraints placed on them by the dominant culture (Hughes-Hassell 2013: 217). Kerri J. Richard and Gisela Ernst have reached similar conclusions, emphasizing, too, that multicultural literature can empower students to engage in social action, help avoid intercultural

misinterpretation or "cultural noise", and examine the social norms and ethnic values that shape our views of the world (1993: 89).

The often lauded potential of multicultural literature does not obscure the fact that identifying quality multicultural literature is no easy task. A number of authors have issued guides or made recommendations on how to select quality texts. They all agree that quality multicultural literature should promote cultural understanding (Doll and Garrison 2013), where "culture" should refer to the social, economic and political systems of a society, and not to the so-called "5 Fs" (food, fashion, fiestas, folklore and famous people), which is a "touristic" approach that stresses the exotic and oversimplifies the complexity of the culture being "visited" (Begler 1998). Besides, quality multicultural literature should show insider perspectives and cultural pluralism (Doll and Garrison 2013); in other words, it should acknowledge that distinct differences exist within a cultural group and that it takes many books to create a multi-dimensional look at a culture, as it is not possible for one book to authentically represent all the elements of an inherently pluralistic culture (Naidoo and Dahlen 2013: 10).

Further reflection on the issue of authenticity (as carried out by Dresang 2013 and Madigan 1993), and, in particular, on authentic representations of the Latinx experience in the US, agrees that quality multicultural literature should comply with these requisites: be based on substantiated fact, offer a faithful reproduction of features, and be true to the creator's cultural personality. Authenticity likewise requires that the characters included in the texts and the themes dealt with are both positive and negative (Dresang 2013), as mature literature represents both; stereotypes, in any case, should be avoided by all possible means (Quiroa 2013). Thus, images of the *barrio* filled with crime and poverty may well be overstated; peasants riding *burros* and wearing *sombreros* are surely simplistic representations of Latin American countries; in terms of the presentation of gender, one should note the void of literature with LGBT themes and the abundance, by contrast, of stereotypical portrayals of Latinas whose figures are often rounded and stooped and who are frequently assigned the roles of nannies, housekeepers, storytellers, cooks or nurses. When it comes to the use of Spanish, it is advisable to avoid texts that include misspelled Spanish words, which are clearly intended for a monolingual English reader who will not notice, as well as concurrent translation of Spanish phrases into English, which results in unnecessary doublespeak for the bilingual. Finally, quality multicultural literature should deal with a variety of themes like, among others, family issues, untold history, important people, immigration and deportation, the specific challenges faced by protagonists with special needs, the implications of growing "mixed up" or of having a multiracial identity (Quiroa 2013; Chaudhri 2013).

The experience of being of mixed-race descent and its portrayal in multicultural literature call for a few extra considerations. In 1967 the US Supreme Court overturned the law banning interracial marriage between non-whites and whites. In 2000 the US Census allowed Americans to choose more than one of the five prescribed racial categories, and 6.8 million people opted for more than one race; the figure rose to 9 million in the 2010 census. Despite the increase of people who chose more than one race in the last two censuses, it has been pointed that "[i]n the world of children's and young adult (YA) literature, the inclusion of mixed-race experiences has been slow and sporadic" (Chaudhri 2013: 95). Educators entrusted with the responsibility of choosing materials that their students can relate to should try to bridge the gap between the growing reality of multi-racial Americans and their literary representation. Besides, special care should be applied when selecting texts that portray the experience of mixed-race people. According to Amina Chaudhri (2013), one should avoid books in which mixed-race characters live in unstable homes and rarely have two parents; the site of conflict is the fact of being mixed; the resolution comes from a solitary transformation process, not from changes in the attitudes of society; the character's lack of group membership is a consequence of her being mixed, not of the rigidity of her environment; characters have to change to be accepted, as they are not able to enact change in their environment and remain true to themselves.

As already pointed out, the portrayal of mixed-race experiences in children's and YA's literature has not advanced at the pace that the US census has reflected the increase in multi-racial Americans: "While the identifying of various US ethnic literary canons has been taking place for some time now, their respective YA components continue to be disparaged by English Language Arts (ELA) teachers" (White 2015: 192). What is worse, Latinx teens, who are often of a very complex and varied ethnic and racial descent, "are routinely depicted in the mainstream discourse as 'low achievers, high school dropouts, teen parents, or violent gang members, all stereotypes that paint a picture of an unassimilated population marked primarily by exclusion and difference'" (Hughes-Hassell 2013: 216). Despite this bleak picture, with few YA texts portraying ethnic minorities and mixed-race characters, and with many among the existing texts offering stereotypical images, there are critics who manage to see some silver linings: "Although Latino/a YA and children's texts remain especially disproportionately underrepresented and somewhat invisible in the classroom and in publishing houses, the number of texts available in these categories is growing exponentially" (White 2015: 192). It is in this context of underrepresentation and/or misrepresentation that I want to look into the role played by Gloria Velásquez's RHSS.

3. VELÁSQUEZ'S "RAINBOW SERIES"

Gloria Velásquez's RHSS presents its readers with a cast of ethnically diverse characters and addresses a number of poignant social issues: racial discrimination, for example, is dealt with in *Juanita Fights the School Board* (1994); interracial dating and growing mixed-up feature in *Ankiza* (2000); teen pregnancy affects Celia, a character in *Teen Angel* (2003); divorce and sexism are major themes in *Maya's Divided World* (1995a); domestic violence and alcoholism appear in *Rina's Family Secret* (1998); *Tyrone's Betrayal* (2006) delves into teen addiction to alcohol and school dropout; the challenges of living with grandparents who suffer from Alzheimer's disease complicate the main character's life in *Rudy's Memory Walk* (2009), while the problem of having one's parent in jail touches the protagonist of *Forgiving Moses* (2018); homosexuality, to cite one more thematic concern, is the main topic in both *Tommy Stands Alone* (1995b) and *Tommy Stands Tall* (2013). The author certainly showed determination when approaching this issue, as her first Tommy novel was met with incomprehension and bigotry. Indeed, it was banned in the Longmont school district, Colorado in 1997, and at Heritage Middle School, Colorado, while presenting her work, school authorities demanded that Velásquez refrain from mentioning the words "homosexual" or "gay". Despite opposition to non-heteronormative stories, she nonetheless gave Tommy Montoya one more chance to lead and shine in 2013.

Velásquez's resolve may well be related to the incident that inspired her to create the whole series. Back in the early 1990s, while watching an interview of Judy Blume in "The Joan Rivers Show", Velásquez noticed that none of Blume's successful YA novels were about adolescents of different ethnic backgrounds (Linn 2014), a realization that led her to a firm resolution: "Someone needs to write books that feature Chicanos, African-Americans, Puerto Ricans and I am going to do it" (Velásquez, quoted in Trom 2014). The author's intention was also given shape by the belief that she should follow Jesse Jackson's 1984 proposal that ethnic minorities form a "rainbow coalition": "I often will refer to the RHS Series as my 'Rainbow Series' since I modeled it after Jesse Jackson's concept of the rainbow coalition" (Velásquez 1994: 151).

The RHS novels have been praised by a number of critics who have acknowledged Velásquez's success in making her authorial intent a reality. Thus, the novels have been commended as "one of the first series to focus on a racially diverse cast of characters" (Trom 2014). For his part, Phillip Serrato (2015) considers Velásquez an innovative figure whose Latinx protagonists, who come from diverse economic backgrounds, tackle the same difficult issues that all adolescents face: Juanita, for example, is the daughter of farmworker parents, while Maya belongs in an upper-middle-class household. Serrato has lavished special praise on *Tommy*

Stands Alone: "a breakthrough novel that portrays the homophobia, parental rejection and suicidal tendencies that too many gay adolescents endure" (2015: 321). Nicolás Kanellos has emphasized Velásquez's "outstanding sensitivity in interpreting teenage angst and social conditions" (2008b: 1218), and has deemed her "the Chicana Judy Blume" (2008b: 1218).

Like Trom (2014) and Serrato (2015), Frances Ann Day (1997b) has seen many merits in Velásquez's RHS novels. In her own words, the series plays a fundamental role, because it is "crucial to feature people of color in literature for young readers" (1997b: 170). Besides, it incorporates important issues (racism, harassment, etc.), it presents "stories that are very readable, interesting, and well written", its characters are "multiracial high school students", and, generally speaking, the author is "adept at capturing teenage emotions and thought as well as the nuances of Latino/a culture" (1997b: 170).

Focusing on *Tommy Stands Alone* (1995b), Alexia Kosmider has pointed out that the book brings to the foreground "important issues that affect all people of Hispanic communities", it "opens a sophisticated discourse for young people to investigate issues regarding sexual preference and racial prejudice", and, "without being too obviously didactic for teens, [it] explores the intricate relationship between the need to belong and the need to assert one's individualism by showing young readers how cultural constructs operate and by giving these readers ways to counter racial and sexual discrimination" (1997: 130). Kosmider has also praised the book because it "demonstrates that there are people in a community who may be of assistance and who can provide comfort and support" (1997: 131), specifying that Dr. Martinez, a character that plays a fundamental role in each novel, is a "crucial link to the Hispanic community" (1997: 130). All in all, Kosmider has celebrated that Velásquez's novel "sensitively explores the frequently painful process of young teens becoming aware of their sexual preference" and that it "communicates an important message that tolerance and human dignity are essential ingredients for living in this world" (1997: 131).

Despite these laudatory reviews, other critics have shown a more negative attitude towards Velásquez's series. Thus, for example, Janie Irene Cowan, in her 2011 doctoral dissertation *Becoming "American": Race, Class, Gender, and Assimilation Ideologies in Young Adult Mexican Immigrant Fiction*, has chosen to study Velásquez's first novel in the series, *Juanita Fights the School Board* (1994), in the second chapter of her study, which is entitled "'Sellout' or Surrender: Assimilation as Conformity" (211-235). Cowan differentiates four types of novels as regards their "ideology of assimilation": first, novels that show assimilation as unattainable and immigrants as unmeltable "others"; second, novels that present assimilation as conformity to European-American society (and are therefore based

on the myth of the country's motto, "E pluribus unum", and the metaphor of the melting pot); third, novels that feature assimilation as adaptation and/or bicultural practice (in keeping with the metaphor of the salad bowl); lastly, texts that inscribe assimilation as hybridity, and put emphasis on the fluid and evolving nature of mixing and remixing cultures.

Cowan's rationale for placing Velásquez's first novel under the second group is based on the conviction that Juanita's story presents assimilation as being possible only through conformity to Anglo dictates, and that it shows rejection or minimization of Mexican culture as a necessary and/or desirable requisite for successful life in the US. Cowan argues that Velásquez's first book offers a superficial, "heroes and holidays" approach, to Mexican culture (2011: 216); gender roles follow patriarchal conventions; material gain is equated with and attributed to assimilation; racism is inevitable; besides, relationships with European Americans are deferential, immigrants being forced to play by the hegemonic rules. Cowan's reading of Juanita's story, indeed, seems to validate the novel's integration into the group of texts that show assimilation as conformity, and an immigrant's only way upward on the social scale as depending on "'sellout' or surrender". As a matter of fact, for Cowan, the character of Dr. Martinez "suggests conformity to European American society to be the desirable route for an immigrant" (2011: 214). Mexican immigrants' problems (*barrio* life, poverty, racism) are portrayed as insurmountable and immigrant characters as powerless and incapable of solving their problems (2011: 227), which is why they need the assistance of Anglo benefactors. In this sense, she cites Sam Turner, the Anglo attorney that gains readmission for Juanita but who is unable to challenge the racist behavior of her classmate (2011: 228), and also Dr. Martinez, who attributes her success to her Anglo husband (2011: 214). According to Cowan, the narrative supports the conviction that racist behavior should be ignored or endured, and the novel's adults believe Juanita should conform to Anglo expectations (2011: 229): Dr. Martinez thinks Juanita should develop strategies to deal with racism; the attorney stresses the importance that Juanita shows the school board she is getting "rehabilitated" and attending a therapist's sessions; Sheena, the racist bully that molests Juanita, is not reprimanded by school authorities; the burden of getting along is placed upon the shoulders of the marginalized character.

As Cowan sees it, Mexicans' powerlessness in the novel is reinforced by their being presented as volatile and aggressive; Juanita, for instance, is noted to be in "some sort of blind rage" (2011: 214). Moreover, there is a superficial approach to Mexican culture (2011: 217), which explains why little Spanish is used (2011: 223), Juanita is often called by an American name: "everyone at school calls me Johnny" (Velásquez 1994: 30), and Mexicans are addressed by means of denigrating epithets,

like "wetback" (Velásquez 1994: 32), that univocally present them all as illegal immigrants. On top of this, Mexican characters rarely incorporate Mexican culture in their daily lives (2011: 218). The shallow treatment of Mexican culture is made worse by the fact that Juanita looks down upon her Mexican heritage (Cowan 2011: 217) and Dr. Martinez expresses "no sense of responsibility to her people" (Cowan 2011: 217). In truth, says Cowan, Dr. Martinez may want to help Juanita, yet she does not address the institutional hegemony within the school system that continues to ignore the racist behavior of students, staff, and administration (2011: 218). Cowan is particularly critical of the character of Dr. Martinez, whom she sees as a successful immigrant, but one who shows "extreme conformity to European American culture" and keeps "no ties to [her] Mexican family" (2011: 232). In terms of socio-economic status, the novel gives only two options: first, Juanita's family, who comes "from a large family struggling to find the American Dream" (Velásquez 1994: 120), thus impersonating the newly-arrived immigrants who have not integrated yet; and second, Dr. Martinez, who has achieved the eagerly-awaited integration, but only because she has opted for conformity and assimilation. As regards gender roles, the novel likewise fails to offer much respite: Juanita's mother is a homemaker, and though Dr. Martinez "offers a more assertive option for women, yet even she is concerned with 'politely' addressing a European American male school board" (Cowan 2011: 233-234). Cowan rounds off her devastating criticism by concluding that "Veláquez's novel underscores the fallacy of simplistically assuming that we can predict what – and how – an insider (or outsider) to a culture will write" (2011: 214).

At this point, one should recall the above mentioned admonition that "it is not possible for one book to authentically represent all elements of an inherently pluralistic culture" (Naidoo and Dahlen 2013: 10), as "it takes many books to create a multicultural look at a culture" (Yokota, quoted in Naidoo and Dahlen 2013: 10). Not bearing this in mind is, I think, Cowan's main mistake in evaluating Velásquez's first novel. Indeed, Cowan analyzes only one book of the RHSS despite the fact that she defended her dissertation in 2011, when eight of the books had already come out. In order to assess Velásquez's work more adequately, it becomes necessary to take into account the ten novels in the series, and not simply the first one. In so doing, several aspects stand out: the diversity of characters and settings; the recurrent denunciations of racism and discrimination; the non-negligible use of Spanish, code-switching and syncretic words; the persistent denunciations of sexism and homophobia, as well as of women's double discrimination. Moreover, when considered as a whole, the series succeeds in offering women plenty of positive roles, shows ample instances of the Latinx culture of resistance, and most importantly, in my view, of Latinxs' capacity to establish multiple alliances

among different races, ages, social classes and sexual orientations. My analysis of Velásquez's series will show the novels' varied and complex portrayal of Latinxs after considering a number of issues, namely: (1) the characters' socio-economic backgrounds and their racial and ethnic ancestry; (2) school achievement; (3) the novels' different settings; (4) the treatment given to racism and discrimination; (5) the use of Spanish; (6) the topics of sexism and homophobia; finally, (7) Latinx resistance.

3.1. THE CHARACTERS' BACKGROUNDS

Velásquez's Latinxs come from different socio-economic groups. Some are first-generation immigrants, while others are second- or third-generation immigrants, as a few examples will prove. Maya's parents, for instance, are both liberal professionals and her family have been in the States for a long time. Her mother, in particular, is a university professor who teaches Ethnic Studies at Laguna University. Juanita's father, however, is a farmworker and her mother is a housewife, though sometimes she goes to the fields too; both are first-generation immigrants and their English is poor. In terms of racial ancestry, there is also great diversity. Many Latinxs are of Mexican descent, like Juanita, Maya, Dr. Martinez or Sonia (Maya's mother). Ankiza, for her part, is the daughter of an African-American father and a Latina mother with Native American ancestry, while her step-mother is a Chicana. The characters often establish inter-racial relationships. For example, Dr. Martinez, a Chicana, is married to an Anglo; Ankiza, who is African-American, Latina, and Native American, dates Hunter, an Anglo; after her divorce, Sonia, Maya's Chicana mother, starts dating Glenn (a High School Anglo teacher); Maya, a Chicana, dates Tyrone, who is African American; finally, the main characters' friends at high school are also from a wide variety of contexts: Puerto Rican, Jew, etc.

3.2. SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

At school, each character faces their own challenges, but there abound the Latinx teens that are presented as successful students. Maya, for once, is a high achiever at Roosevelt High School. Not only does she get very high grades, but she is also a great tennis player at the school's tennis team. Her story is not one of perfect success, though. Her difficulties to understand her parents' divorce lead her to hang out with new friends: *cholos* who smoke, go to bars, skip classes… By the end of the novel, she nonetheless manages to go back to her old friends and her usual academic achievements. Juanita's case is totally different. She is a hard-working student, but never as brilliant as her friend Maya. However, despite the difficulties she encounters (as, for example, expulsion from school

or having a low-income family), she makes good use of the opportunities she has and manages to pass all her tests and complete her assignments. Tommy Montoya, another class mate in Roosevelt High School, has his own worries too (discrimination, bullying…), but he makes considerable efforts to get high grades and, in the 2013 novel, realizing the importance of education, he becomes a tutor for a younger Latino student: "The only way we can get past fear and hatred is through education", he states (Velásquez 2013: 89).

3.3. SETTINGS

Character diversity is not only shown through socio-economic status and school performance, but also through the characters' place of residence. Some of Velásquez's Latinxs live in the *barrio*, as for instance Juanita's family; others, like Maya's family, live in upper- or middle-class neighborhoods. Laguna, California, the fictional city where the series is set, is mostly an Anglo city, and Roosevelt High School is typically a white school, which gives rise to a number of problems Latinx and minority ethnic kids endure.

3.4. RACISM

The challenge of underrepresentation is frequently denounced in the series, as it triggers stereotyping of ethnic minorities and numerous cases of blatant racism. "Most people think we're only the gardeners or the cooks", denounces Tommy (Velásquez 2013: 56). Immigrant bashing is unfortunately too common in this mostly white community of Laguna: "Why was it that immigrants were always blamed for society's problems?" (Velásquez 2013: 76). The picture the series draws does not fail to show the higher rates of school dropout, prison inmates, teen pregnancy and pesticide poisoning among the Hispanic population. However, the novels never argue that Latinxs are to be blamed for their problems; on the contrary, they denounce the institutionalized racism that prevents minorities from rising above society's negative stereotypes and low expectations.

3.5. USE OF SPANISH

As seen, Janie Cowan (2011) has denounced the first novel's scarce use of the Spanish language. This, however, needs to be qualified. Velásquez does use a few words and expressions in Spanish, most of which are mainly related to food, traditions and festivals (like *Cinco de Mayo*), family or personal relations (*abuelita, maestra, mamá, m'ija*), terms of endearment (*flaca, mocosa*…), names (Dr. Martinez, Mr. Villamil, Sonia, Sandra…), sayings like "No hay mal que por bien venga" (Velásquez

2000: 135), and, among other things, political slogans such as "¡Qué [sic] viva La Unión de Campesinos!" (Velásquez 1995a: 92). In most volumes there is a glossary where the words in Spanish are clarified for the English-speaking reader, though the words and expressions used in Spanish never compromise the understanding of the story. It should be underlined that the said words and expressions do not simply refer to food, as Cowan (2011) denounces in her diatribe against the first book in the series. As a matter of fact, Velásquez resorts to syncretism on a number of occasions, a frequent phenomenon in the Spanish used by US Latinxs, to refer to activities unrelated to food: "I really like Mr. Villamil because he never disrespects us when we use words like *plogear* and *wáchale",* says Tommy (Velásquez 2013: 27). It is undeniable that Juanita strongly favors English over Spanish, seems to enjoy being called "Johnny" by her classmates, and admires Maya's parents, who speak only English at home. As Cowan has put it, this might imply a connection between English proficiency and intelligence or social achievement. But it is no less true that Juanita, as Cowan herself acknowledges (2011: 224), also claims to "really love Spanish" and admits that in the future she would like to "be a Spanish teacher" (Velásquez 1994: 32). To this, one could add that Maya confesses most of her classes are "boring, except for Spanish and Art" (Velásquez 1995: 17), and Maya's mom tells Juanita "how much she loves speaking Spanish" (Velásquez 1994: 95), all of which further complicates Cowan's simplistic assumptions that Velásquez's Latinx characters have given up on their Spanish in order to blindly and uncritically embrace English.

The character of Dr. Martinez adds further diversity to the language question by being a proud Chicana who is perfectly fluent in English and Spanish, and who actually code-switches from one to the other depending on what the circumstances demand. Eventually, Juanita learns to admire Dr. Martinez's ability to communicate in English when it is required, and to speak "perfect Spanish" to her parents, who are practically monolingual (Velásquez 1994: 18). Apparently, most of the conversations in the novels take place in English, because that is how the narrator presents them to readers. But the narrator often warns them that a certain conversation is taking place in Spanish (for example between Dr. Martinez and Juanita's parents). Therefore, the question of language use in the series is far more complex than Cowan has been able to show, and it features aspects like Juanita's eventual admiration for Dr. Martinez's bilingual competence that one book alone cannot possibly display.

3.6. SEXISM AND HOMOPHOBIA

One of the recommendations for choosing quality multicultural literature has it that selected books should show positive and negative aspects of any given

culture. The RHSS offers both. As regards negative aspects, it strongly denounces sexism in Hispanic communities (and in society at large). Thus, readers are told that Chicanas are often "raised to be voiceless", and this, coupled with the fact that they are women of color, makes them "even more invisible" (Velásquez 2013: 98). Frequently, in their Hispanic circles, women are deemed responsible for divorce and it is considered that they should not get a PhD nor have a profession (that is the case of both Dr. Martinez and Sonia). With relative frequency, women are controlled by their fathers, boyfriends or partners (Juanita and her sister Celia, for example, are strictly monitored by their father); they are told to attend to their husbands' needs (Dr. Martinez's mother insists on that), and, given these circumstances, it is no wonder they often feel trapped in abusive relationships (Maya with Shane, and Dr. Martinez with Raúl, her first husband). Men, as is characteristic in patriarchal systems, are taught to fight over women (Hunter and Mark over Ankiza; Tyrone and Shane over Maya). Lastly, women endure double standards: Sonia, for instance, is worried that she is older than Glenn, her second partner, and is afraid of society's "double standard with regard to aging" (Velásquez 2000: 130).

The novels' representation of women's condition does not only show the infamies Latina women are forced to endure. In fact, Velásquez's novels also feature women of color who act as positive role models; female readers can feel empowered by them and find inspiration in their fictive "sisters". Despite their communities' admonitions against women's liberation, both Dr. Martinez and Sonia divorced when they thought they should, obtained college degrees, and managed to have successful careers. Maya, too, extricates herself from an abusive relationship with Shane thanks to the support of three women: her mum, her "shrink" (Dr. Martinez) and her friend Juanita. Celia, for her part, overcomes the challenges of her teen pregnancy thanks to Dr. Martinez's support, her mother, her sister Juanita and other girlfriends. Dr. Martinez, whose success, according to Cowan, was solely attributable to her being married to an Anglo, comes, in fact, from several other sources too. When devastated by her fertility problems and a series of miscarriages, she manages to overcome her mental issues thanks to her husband's support, but also, to a large extent, to her friend's constant support. Though, as seen, Cowan has accused Dr. Martinez of showing "no sense of responsibility to her people" (Cowan 2011: 217), the reality is that she is a pillar for her community, especially for the Latinx teens that resort to her as a mentor or a therapist, and who continue to pay her frequent visits even after their recovery. Undeniably, Juanita is admitted back in school thanks to Dr. Martinez, who found a legal advisor for the student. Like other female characters, Dr. Martínez has also endured sexism and racism, among other problems, but these have made her and

her Latina friends resilient survivors, not helpless victims. As she herself puts it when she thinks about Sonia's and Maya's recovery processes: "It would take some time and hard work, but Maya would survive. So would Sonia. After all, weren't women of color the greatest survivors?" (Velásquez 1995a: 71).

If there is a topic that makes Velásquez's series especially noteworthy it is that of homophobia and, more generally speaking, LGBT issues, since, as already discussed, the latter are to some extent underrepresented in YA literature. Just as sexism among Hispanics is often denounced in the novels, so is the homophobic attitude of many Latinxs and of society at large. LGBT-related themes dealt with in the books include the following: the violence endured by the members of the LGBT community (homophobic harassment, insults, murders…); high suicide rates; family rejection; fears to come out and the challenges of coming out; the impact of HIV/AIDS,[4] discrimination at school and teachers' lack of empathy (many educators fail to reprimand homophobic behavior, which is why the series calls for the need of sensitivity training for teachers); religious condemnation and Christian bigotry; the formation of "new" families; and, to cite but one more, legal bigotry, especially conspicuous in the banning of same-sex marriage by Proposition 8 (passed in California in 2008). As with sexism, though, Velásquez does not stop at presenting LGBT-related themes of a negative nature, but moves on to offer a way out of the homophobic trap. On the one hand, she does so by introducing gay characters with central roles: most notably, Tommy Montoya, the protagonist of the 1995b and the 2013 books, but also Frank's brother (Bryan), who is HIV positive, and Dr. Martinez's deceased brother (Andy), a young gay man who did not dare to come out, and then died in a car accident which, his sister suspects, might have actually been a suicide intended to end his suffering. Most importantly, the series shows that characters discriminated against on account of their sexual orientation can fight for their rights, and they can choose from a number of strategies of resistance which include both individual tactics and collective approaches.

3.7. STRATEGIES OF RESISTANCE

Not only do the Tommy books show ways of contesting discrimination and bigotry, but the other novels in the series present instances of various strategies of

4 Gross *et al.* argue that there has been an increase in the number of young lives affected by HIV/AIDS (2008: 398), which demonstrates that teens' need for information related to the virus infection persists. However, they state that "[f]rom the very beginning of the AIDS epidemic, it has been difficult to provide information about HIV/AIDS to young people" (2008: 399). Because of this, they argue that fiction should be called to play a role in transmitting accurate information. Velásquez's *Tommy Stands Alone* (1995b) appears among the YA novels they list as showing a concern with HIV/AIDS and, to some extent, performing that role (Gross *et al.* 2008: 415).

resistance. *Maya's Divided World* (1995a), in particular, offers numerous examples of Latinx resistance to segregation and discrimination. The novel, indeed, tackles some of the specific problems that migrant workers are confronted with, as, for example, housing problems and pesticide poisoning. Many of their strategies of resistance rely on the support of groups such as the United Farmworkers labor union and MEChA.[5] This novel, like others, often brings to mind the outstanding work carried out by the leaders of the Chicano Movement, namely César Chávez and Dolores Huerta, as well as some of their most successful stratagems, like the 1965 Grapes boycott. The concept of Aztlán, that mythical land that is home to the Mexican-American, is called forth in an attempt to ground the Hispanic community, to remind it of its belonging in North America, despite the bigots' insistence that all Latinxs are aliens. Apart from historical groups and activists, the novels also stress the importance of each individual's contribution to the cause of social justice, regardless of the person's notoriety. Thus, both Sonia (Maya's mother) and Dr. Martinez are shown to be long-term activists who have found countless ways of fighting for justice. Sonia's activism is materialized through her work as an Ethnic Studies professor who is keen to help students from low-income families by, for instance, giving them extra classes. For her part, Dr. Martinez, as a psychologist, uses her position to help Latinx teens without economic resources: she volunteers her time to counsel them, works as their therapist, sometimes for free, or helps them find proper legal advice. Of particular salience is the fact that Latinxs fighting to end discrimination are not simply concerned with conflicts or injustices they are directly affected by; on the contrary, they are fast to involve themselves in multiple fights, and to show solidary with whoever finds themselves discriminated against.

4. THE ULTIMATE STRATEGY OF RESISTANCE: "THE RAINBOW COALITION"

Despite Janie Cowan's assertion that the Latinx characters in *Juanita Fights the School Board* (1994) are powerless and incapable of solving their problems, and that they capitulate in front of the alleged superiority of the Anglo characters, thus impersonating sellout and surrender, my analysis has proved that, when the whole RHSS is considered, there is no room for such a negative piece of criticism. On the contrary, it is my contention that Velásquez's YA novels can be rightfully said to feature countless characters that are neither defenseless nor unable to pull themselves up. As seen, Latina characters show ample examples of resilience, and their strength is based both on their individual resolve to fight injustice and fence for themselves, and in their capacity for sorority and to form coalitions of different

5 MEChA is the acronym for Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana/o de Aztlán. It unites Chicanx students and its goal is to enhance the development of La Raza through education.

kinds. It is true that Dr. Martinez, for instance, relies heavily on her Anglo husband, but she counts on her Chicana friends with as much confidence; besides, she acts as a central pillar for the Latinx community, volunteering her job to help the young and the needy. Similarly, Tommy overcomes the difficulties of being a gay youth in a homophobic environment by plucking up courage and deciding to look the beast in the eye; but, even more importantly, by relying on others, as when he sets up the GSA (Gay and Straight Alliance) Club at school, and by generously giving back to the community the support he himself has received, which results in his becoming a tutor for a Mexican kid who barely speaks English.

Quality multicultural literature requires that books cover a variety of topics, that they show cultural understanding, an insider perspective, and authenticity; they should also avoid stereotypes and offer not only positive characters and themes, but also negative ones. All of these characteristics are present in Velásquez's RHSS when the whole collection is taken into consideration. To prove this point further, I will insist on the fact that Latinx characters do not always triumph over all the difficulties and challenges they are confronted with. Dr. Martinez, for example, never overcomes a sense of frustration every time she recalls her brother's death and fears that the car crash that took his life might well have been a suicide. She has to live with the awareness that she failed her brother, as she was unable to help him come out of the closet. Her own fertility issues are left unresolved, and her desire to become a mother is never realized. Tommy, for his part, is given an award for setting up the GSA Club and in recognition of his contribution to the normalization of non-heteronormative choices at school. He also succeeds in gradually moving his father to discard some of his homophobic ideas. But this is only a partial advance, as at the end of the second book Tommy's dad does not fully accept his son's sexual preference, and therefore refuses to attend the Awards banquet where his son's activism in favor of gay rights will be recognized (Velásquez 2013: 106). On top of that, Tommy also dismally fails to persuade Albert, another gay student who is bullied at school for his sexual orientation, to come out. In fact, by the end of the 2013 book, Albert is still in denial, pretending he is not gay, unable to join the GSA group, and he even accepts his mum's advice that he visit a shrink who will allegedly cure his "illness", circumstances which, for Tommy, amount to a dismal failure on his own part.

Especially noteworthy in the series is the fact that Velásquez's Latinxs deploy different strategies of resistance, both personal and collective, and that all forms of discrimination are systematically confronted, contrary to Cowan's critique that racism is accepted as inevitable. In the case of homophobia, for instance, characters who endure this form of discrimination rely on friends and colleagues for support, as when Albert calls Tommy for help (Velásquez 2013: 56-57). On other occasions,

it is organizations that back them up. In *Tommy Stands Tall* (2013), for instance, they resort to the GSA Club, to PFLAG (Parents and Families of Lesbians and Gays), to LGBT at University, and to the American Psychological Association. The intervention of individuals and collectives may not magically solve all conflicts, as already said, but they do bring about important changes. At Roosevelt High School, for once, there will be sensitivity training for teachers, who will also have to attend a conference on Teaching Tolerance; besides, the school authorities agree to modify the anti-discrimination school policy to include sexual orientation, an issue about which the school code had said nothing until Tommy started his crusade.

Hate speech is another problematic reality the Roosevelt High School community has to face. In the past, the school's attitude had been deplorable, but in *Ankiza* (2000), some of the Latinx teens, led by Rina, decide that it is high time that the situation changed: "Rina, who knows how uncaring the school administration has been toward students of color, tells Mr. Marshall [the principal], something better be done about this or else!" (79). As in other novels of the series, the main characters resort to associations that can help them in their endeavor. In *Ankiza*, in particular, the kids turn to both MEChA (Velásquez 2000: 30) and NAACP (Velásquez 2000: 81). Some individuals also volunteer to get into the fray, as for instance Ankiza's father, who likewise recognizes the need to count on larger collectives as NAACP: "I'm calling the school principal first thing in the morning. And I'm going to demand an investigation as well as a formal apology in writing. I'm also going to contact the local chapter of the NAACP" (Velásquez 2000: 81). Similarly, Sonia threatens to call the NAACP (Velásquez 2000: 95), and she also organizes a cultural diversity panel at school with three speakers: Sam Turner, a white Civil Rights lawyer, Connie Koger, the African-American author of *Rainbow Voices*, a documentary that celebrates cultural diversity (Velásquez 2000: 103), and Sonia herself, in her capacity as a Chicana professor of Ethnic Studies.

Regardless of what biased criticism of the series may state, the truth remains that racism is always confronted in it, even if not systematically eradicated. If the latter were to happen, in fact, the novels would appear to be naïve and unrealistic, and they would not meet the requirements for quality multicultural literature. What is worth praising here is that the series acknowledges racism as a monstrous beast against which there are no easy or ready-made solutions. Each new attack of the beast will have to be fiercely fought against, and the fight will have to go on for decades to come. As Sam Turner sadly, but realistically, admits in *Ankiza*: "The school administration will most likely try to give you the run-around, try to sweep the racial incident under the rug. They tried to do this with Juanita" (Velásquez 2000: 94). In other words, racist episodes have occurred in the past and will go on taking place, but that should not deter anyone from combating them each and every time.

Indeed, the series transmits the belief that one of the keys to eventual success will be Latinx teens' untiring perseverance. Even more importantly, that dogged determination of theirs will have to go hand in hand with their capacity to not base their resistance exclusively on identity politics, but to resort, instead, to multiple alliances that defy essentialized identities. The examples, in the series, of those coalitions are manifold. The Gay Straight Alliance Club of *Tommy Stands Tall* (2013) illustrates gay and straight cooperation. Chicanxs and African Americans are shown to share a common past of brutal racist treatment: "some Chicanos, like African-Americans, were also lynched during the nineteenth century" (Velásquez 2000: 106), so it makes much sense to have Connie Koger, the African American director of *Rainbow Voices,* invited to the school panel that will discuss racial intolerance against Latinxs (Velásquez 2000: 103). Jews and Gentiles are likewise willing to come together to confront racism; thus, for example, Marsea Schaller, the Jewish dean of students, is quick to side by the teens that are being the butt of hate speech at school, and she finds it easy to empathize with them because of the long history of discrimination her own people have endured: "how disturbed I am by the racial incident that happened at our school. […] I know what it feels like to be attacked for who I am" (Velásquez 2000: 88). The alliance between the working class and the middle class is symbolically represented through the friendship between Maya, a middle-class student and the daughter of parents with liberal professions, and Juanita, whose parents are first-generation immigrants with no education and low-income jobs in the fields. Whites and people of color are also shown to have no trouble in working together towards the common good and a fairer society. Thus, Sam Turner, Juanita's Anglo lawyer, is said to be working for the NAACP to revise "Roosevelt's racial harassment policy so that it will include a step-by-step procedure on how to respond to acts of intolerance" (Velásquez 2000: 135); Frank, Dr. Martinez's white husband, supports his wife in her activism and behaves as a cooperative partner who does not see household chores as being beneath his masculine ego; Glenn, Sonia's Caucasian partner, is another case in point, just as Turner, Ankiza's white boyfriend.

To cite but one more example of collaboration between representatives of heterogeneous identities, I will conclude by referring once more to the bond between Juanita and Sam Turner. Juanita, whose character spawned the series, is a young Chicana woman who meets the Anglo attorney Sam Turner on her live journey. The distance between them is apparently too large to be bridged. Indeed, in terms of race, ethnicity, immigrant status, education, social class or sex they stand on opposite ends. Velásquez's books, however, construct a universe where such separated identities can come together to help one another. They can form that "rainbow coalition" Jesse Jackson called for at the Democratic

National Convention on July 18, 1984, in which he invited Arab Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, the youth, disabled veterans, small farmers, lesbians and gays to join with African Americans and Jewish Americans for political purpose. In my view, the success in building up a fictive world where such a rainbow coalition is possible, though not unrealistically all-powerful, is ultimately what I see as Velásquez's major contribution to YA multicultural literature, and the proof that her novels offer quality multicultural reading.

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INFORMATION-STRUCTURE STRATEGIES IN ENGLISH/SPANISH TRANSLATION

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ABSTRACT. *This paper discusses information structure-based strategies that could be used in translating from English to Spanish. It is widely observed that many problems arise in translation when establishing the theme/topic and providing the focus content in the target language, given the grammatical instruments available in the source language. It is extremely important to use similar discourse mechanisms to present the same message in exactly the same terms from an information-structure point of view. This means that the syntactic configuration may be different in the source and target texts. I focus on three information structure phenomena, namely Passive, Topic Fronting and Negative Preposing in the two languages, to analyse the preservation of the discourse flow in various translations for the optimal use of the relevant constructions.*

Keywords: Information structure, translation strategies, passive, topic, focus, English/Spanish.

ESTRATEGIAS BASADAS EN LA ESTRUCTURA INFORMATIVA PARA LA TRADUCCIÓN INGLÉS/ESPAÑOL

RESUMEN. *Este artículo trata sobre diversas estrategias basadas en la estructura informativa que podrían ser utilizadas en la traducción inglés/español. Se ha observado que en traducción surge un gran número de problemas a la hora de establecer el tópico o tema y el foco en la lengua meta, siguiendo los instrumentos gramaticales disponibles en la lengua origen. Es muy importante usar mecanismos discursivos similares en las dos lenguas para presentar el mensaje exactamente en los mismos términos desde el punto de vista de la estructura informativa. Esto conlleva que la construcción sintáctica pueda variar en el texto meta con respecto al texto original. En este artículo nos centramos en tres fenómenos discursivos: la pasiva, la anteposición de tópico y la anteposición negativa en las dos lenguas, lo cual permite analizar el nivel de preservación del flujo discursivo en varias traducciones para un uso óptimo de estas construcciones.*

Palabras clave: estructura informativa, estrategias de traducción, pasiva, tópico, foco, inglés/español.

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]

My goal in this paper is to discuss information structure (IS) strategies that may be used in the field of translation, and more precisely in translating from English to Spanish. It is a widespread observation that many problems arise in translation when setting the theme/topic and providing the focus content in the target language, based on the syntatic tools provided by the source language (Vasconcellos 1992; Albrecht 2005; Baker 2006; Dejica 2009; Korzen and Gylling 2012).

I argue that the information structure partition in terms of topic (i.e. given information; what the sentence is about, *sensu* Reinhart 1982) and focus (new information) should be most naturally preserved when translating from a language to another.[2] This is particularly problematic when English is translated into Spanish, since English is a very rigid language in that it basically makes

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2 In the relevant literature on information structure topic is sometimes referred to as theme, as opposed to the term rheme, which covers what other linguists call comment; see Halliday (1985).

use of the SVO word order in all discourse situations, whereas Spanish is much more flexible and allows other patterns such as OVS, VSO and VOS, for information-structure reasons (Zubizarreta 1998; Jiménez-Fernández 2010; Leonetti 2014).

In light of this, it is extremely important to use similar discourse strategies to present the same message in exactly the same terms from an information-structure point of view, as Dejica (2009) clearly states. This means that the syntactic configuration may be different in the source and target texts. One such case is passive. In English, passive is more productive than in Spanish (middle-passive is preferred in the latter). Even if this is the case, the proposed translation may possibly respect the topic-focus partition, thereby satisfying the Information-Flow Principle, according to which the syntactic ordering of a sentence moves from given to new information.

Here I discuss different discourse phenomena which influence the use of a specific word order, such as Topicalization, Negative Preposing and Passive. I analyse cases of real translations where these information-structure devices have been succesfully used alongside other translations where they have not been employed, and propose alternatives based on these discourse strategies to improve the translation. By using this methodology, I intend to show the importance of IS-based strategies in translation, which will prove to be clearly useful for translators, translation teachers and translation trainees in that it establishes necessary instruments from a practical perspective. In discussing the different examples I skip to the idea of giving equi-functional or functionally equivalent translations, given that what is important is to retain the flow of information provided in the source language (Newmark 1988).

The outline of the paper is as follows. In Section 2 I revise some key concepts concerning information structure; in particular, I address the notion of Information-Flow Principle and the partition of a sentence in terms of the double articulation topic-comment / focus-presupposition. In Section 3 I deal with the three IS-based phenomena at issue: Topic Fronting, Negative Preposing and Passive, which are proved to be crucial as translation strategies.[3] In Section 4 I present practical cases of translations in which IS is most relevant for a dicourse-natural translation; I discuss some problems that the translated texts pose and present solutions taking into account the fact that the target text is informationally faithful to the original text. Finally Section 5 concludes the paper.

3 The use of the term 'translation strategies' is a rather broad one here and it differs from but complements what Hurtado Albir (2001: 271-278) describes as such. In this work I use the term to refer to instruments to be used in translation, based on the interface of syntax and information structure.

2. SOME BACKGROUND ON INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND ITS USEFUL FUNCTION IN COMMUNICATION

As said earlier, my goal in this article is to discuss information structure strategies that can be used in translating from English to Spanish. Given that information structure is in charge of establishing which part of a sentence is more informative in relation to a specific discourse context, it can be said to "package" linguistic information with the aim of optimising the information transfer in discourse in a coherent and cohesive way (Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998; Krifka 2007). In this view, it is very important how the message is organised in a given context so as to produce in the hearer what the speaker intends to do.

The organization of the message is ruled by the Information-Flow Principle, which is related to the normal ordering of information in discourse both in English and Spanish, i.e. moving from given to new information (Prince 1981; Chafe 1987). Let us illustrate how the Information-Flow Principle works by the question and the two possible replies in (1):

(1) Where did you see Mary?

Answers:

A) *I saw her* in the supermarket.

B) In the supermarket *I saw her*.

In the two responses, the new information is underlined and the given information is italicised. The most adequate reply in this particular discourse is A). The given-new order of information contributes to the cohesion of a text, because the given information at the beginning links the sentence to the previous discourse while the new information is usually taken up in the continuing discourse. In addition, this given-new order also helps the addressee to interpret the message in terms of meaning.

Let us imagine now that the question is different, as shown in (2):

(1) Who did you see in the supermarket?

Answers:

A) *I saw* Mary *in the supermarket*.

B) *In the supermarket I saw* Mary.

This time the discourse question is different, and the most suitable answer is B) since the given information is placed at the beginning, whereas the new information occupies the sentence final position, in compliance with the End-Focus Principle.

This states that the newest and hence most relevant information is kept for final position (Birner 1994; Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2010; Leech and Svartvik 2013).[4]

In terms of word order, two points of emphasis have been held to exist in a sentence, namely the final position (for new information) and the initial position (for already shared information). The former is identified as the primary point of emphasis, while the latter is said to be a secondary point of emphasis. The primary point of emphasis has been illustrated with answer A) in (1) and answer B) in (2).

In addition to this final position, the beginning of a clause is the secondary point of emphasis, which is exemplied in (3-4):

(3) Relaxation you call it! (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1377)

(4) To this list I believe we must now add the maintenance of a clean and attractive environment.

In (3) the secondary emphatic position is used to convey the speaker's disbelief on what he/she has heard before. In (4) the primary focus falls upon the underlined part in final position, whereas *to this list* in initial position has been preposed to allow the heavier element *the maintenance of a clean and attractive environment* in final position, thereby being given more informative prominence. In addition, preposing the prepositional phrase also provides a cohesive link due to the use of the demonstrative determiner, connecting the sentence with the previous context.

The two positions of emphasis are clearly related to the information-structure partition in terms of topic and focus. Recall that in the previous section a definition was provided of the double articulation of utterances in terms of topic vs. comment and presupposition vs. focus (Krifka 2007). Since these two partitions play a pivotal role in my analysis of translated texts, I will illustrate them very briefly in (5) and Table 1:

(5) Q: Who wrote the Quixote?

A: The Quixote was written by Cervantes.

Table 1. IS partitions.

Topic	Comment	
The Quixote	was written	by Cervantes
Presupposition		Focus

4 See Biber *et al*. (1999), Birner and Ward (1998) and Lozano and Mendikoetxea (2010) for the integration of the End-Focus Principle and the End-Weight Principle, the latter stating that the end of a clause is the most important point of emphasis.

Across languages a wide array of linguistic means can be identified that can be employed to yield a specific information structure. These are allowed in natural languages either in isolation or in combination. First, intonation and prosody in speech is usually the device used in English to mark the focus of a sentence in terms of a specific pitch (Gussenhoven 1994; Büring 2016).

A second device used in language to express an explicit IS partition is morphology. There are languages such as Japanese in which a specific suffix can be added to a lexical item so as to mark it as the sentence topic. This is the case of the *-wa* suffix in (6) (Miyagawa 2012; Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014):

(6) *Hanako-ga* *[piza-wa Taroo-ga* *tabeta* *to]* *itta.*
Hanako-NOM pizza-TOP Taro-NOM eat-PAST that say-PAST
'Hanako said that pizza, Taro ate.' (Miyagawa's 2012, example (41))[5]

In this example *pizza-wa* carries a discourse-associated suffix to the effect that it qualifies as the topic of the subordinate clause in brackets.

Finally, languages can opt for a characteristic syntactic structure and word order rearrangements in order to display a distinct IS interpretation. For example, passive and middle passive and their distribution in a given language correlate with a specific discourse interpretation (Quirk *et al.* 1985; Fernández-Soriano 1999; Huddleston and Pullum 2002). This has been illustrated for English in (5). In other languages such as Spanish, whose word order is determined by IS, passives are much more restricted (maybe limited to descriptive texts), and instead a middle construction (7) or one involving Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) (8) is preferable:

(7) *Los resultados* *se* *pueden* *ver* *en* *la* *página* *web.*
the results SE can-PRES.3PL see on the page web
'The results can be checked on the website.'

(8) *Los resultados* *los* *pueden* *ver en la* *página* *web.*
the results them can-PRES.3PL see on the page web
'The results you can ckeck on the website.'

If the word order in Spanish is compared with that in the English translation, it can be observed that the starting point of the sentence is the same, namely *los*

5 Throughout this article, single inverted commas are used for the English glosses of examples from other languages.

resultados 'the results', which stands as the topic of the sentence. However, the comment is developed by means of a passive construction in English and a middle passive in (7) in Spanish.

One of the functions of the passive construction is to partition the sentence into clearly distinguished informative sections. As always, in the initial portion we find the topic and in final position is the focus, included in the comment. In order for the item *the results* to be the topic, English resorts to the passive construction (Cheng 2012; Stevens 2013). In Spanish the topic is simply the subject of the middle construction and hence the predication part *se pueden ver en la página web* is left behind in the comment position. As is clear, the two strategies are comparable from a discourse point of view since the IS partition is identical in both languages, albeit the different syntactic tool used.

As for the option provided by CLLD, the object is preposed as a topic, which is resumed by the clitic *los* 'them' in the comment part. The focus *en la página web* 'on the website' occupies the sentence-final position reserved for new information.

The problem, as I mentioned earlier in Section 1 for the field of translation, lies in that sometimes the IS of the original text cannot or is not preserved, leading to an informative mismatch between the original and the target message. In Section 4 I will explore the informational strategy provided by passives in translation. Before doing this, in Section 3 I present the syntactic devices to be used to attain a specific IS interpretation.

3. SOME SYNTACTIC INSTANTIATIONS OF IS

As was seen in the previous section, sentences involve a double articulation with respect to the information they convey. On the one hand, givenneness and aboutness are associated with the initial portion, whereas newness and comment-related material are connected to the final position of the sentence. This complies with the Information-Flow Principle. In order to satisfy this principle, syntax offers a series of formal mechanisms which help us in delivering the message we want to give accurately.

These syntactic manifestations of IS are Passive, Existential *there*, Clefting, Extraposition, Dislocation, Fronting and Inversion. Here I concentrate on three IS-oriented phenomena, namely passive, and two types of fronting (Topicalization and Negative Preposing).[6]

6 For the discourse interpretation of existential constructions in English, see Kim (2003) and Kuno and Takami (2004), who agree that existential constructions have a presentational reading, which basically are used as all-focus sentences (Erteschik-Shir 2007). The reader is referred to Haegeman (2012) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) for the IS interpretation of Clefting, Extraposition, Dislocation and several types of Inversion in English.

3.1. THE IS OF PASSIVES

One important discourse function of passives is to accommodate information structure by presenting information from given to new and complying with the end-focus and end-weight, as we have seen earlier.

Most frequently, the subject contains given information while the agent presents new information, which means that in most passive sentences, the subject has a higher level of givenness than the agentive phrase. Almost all agent phrases convey new information (Biber *et al.* 1999). The examples I used before to illustrate passive and its discourse interpretation have involved an IS partition in terms of subject topic but the focus was developed by some element other than the by-phrase –see examples (5) for English passive and (7) for middle passive in Spanish. In (9) I offer an example including the agentive phrase:

(9) Q: What causes so many diseases in Brazil?

A: Most diseases are caused by mosquitos.

Here it can be observed that the new information request in the question is fully satisfied by the agentive phrase in the answer, which most naturally occupies a sentence-final position. Hence *by mosquitos* is the information focus in the passive. Note that if the active counterpart were used instead, this would be pragmatically non-felicitous, though syntactically acceptable:

(10) Q: What causes so many diseases in Brazil?

A: #Mosquitos cause most diseases.

The answer in (10) violates the Information-Flow Principle in that the given information follows the new information. Prosody can rescue the construction by putting a special stress on *mosquitos* and selecting it as the focus. If this strategy is used, the anomaly in (10) disappears.

In addition to maintaining the information flow, passives can also help to keep the topic continuous so that the discourse is coherent. The importance of topic continuity is illustrated in (11):

(11) a. The town is a major attraction for tourists and <the town> is surrounded by natural countryside housing a lot of wildlife.

b. The town is a major attraction for tourists and natural countryside housing a lot of wildlife surrounds it.

In (11a) the topic of the two clauses (the town) is continuous. Silent topics, represented here between angles, play a crucial role in the discourse interpretation of the sentence in that they serve the purpose of continuing the topic across sentences (Frascarelli 2007; Jiménez-Fernández 2016). On the other hand, in (11b) the topic is discontinuous. For the first clause, the topic is *the town*, but this changes in the second clause, selecting as topic *the town natural countryside housing a lot of wildlife*. The continuity in (11a) makes this option preferable from the point of view of cohesion, and it can be achieved by using the passive.

In Spanish, topic continuity can also be provided by passive (in this case, a statal passive; Huddleston and Pullum 2002):

(12) *La ciudad tiene mucho atractivo para los turistas y <la ciudad> está rodeada por parajes naturales que albergan una rica vida salvaje.*

'The town has much attraction for tourists and is surrounded by natural settings which house a lot of wildlife.'

As is clear, the topic *la ciudad* 'the town' is continuous in the two clauses, giving coherence to the whole sentence.

A different discourse function can also be developed by passives, namely broad focus. This type of focus involves all-new sentences. More precisely, the information in the sentence is new to the hearer/reader, as Zubizarreta (1998) describes it. English passive can exhibit this broad-focus function. In an out-of-the-blue context, a sentence such as (13) is fully felicitous:

(13) Full payment will be required upon reservation.

In this case there is no partition in the information structure of the sentence since this is topicless. The most natural equivalent in Spanish may be a middle passive construction which follows that word order VS, as shown in (14):

(14) *Se requerirá el pago total a la hora de reservar.*

SE require-FUT.3SG the payment total at the time of to.reserve

'There will be required full payment upon reservation.'

In middle passives the subject may be said to be a hidden object. In all-focus sentences the canonical pattern SVO is the most natural option (López 2008: 150). However, the post-verbal position of subjects in a middle passive can be explained by comparing it with the corresponding active:

(15) *Requerirán el pago total a la hora de reservar.*
require-FUT.3PL the payment total at the time of to.reserve
'They require full payment at the time of making a reservation.'

Given their semantic equivalence, the object in the active sentence and the subject in the (middle) passive counterpart start by occupying the same syntactic position, i.e. as complements of their respective verb.

3.2. TOPIC FRONTING

Fronting or preposing involves placing in initial position a clause element which normally follows the verb. It is used for achieving focus and cohesion as it takes advantage of both final and initial points of emphasis. In English, the fronted element usually refers to given information, or forms a contrast with respect to a previously mentioned element. In other words, the preposed element functions as a topic.

Examples of English Fronting are given below:

(16) a. What they will buy, we don't know.

b. *That kind of behaviour*, we cannot tolerate in a civilised society.

(Radford 2009: 329)

The italicised fronted object involves a special point of emphasis and a contrast with respect to some implicit or explitic alternative. Hence topic fronting in English is an instance of contrastive topic (Frascarelli 2007; Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014). In other words, sentence (16) involves a tacit contrast with some other behaviours. Also the use of demonstratives displays the shared status of the information conveyed by the preposed element. Additionally, the end-focus falls upon new information. In this case it is *in a civilised society*. In conclusion, the message follows the structure given information + new information in compliance with the Information-Flow Principle.

Spanish also allows other linear possibilities which seem to involve some kind of rearrangement of the canonical pattern SVO. Alongside (17), we find the additional word orders in (18):

(17) *Ángela pintó la pared.* (S-V-O)
Angela paint-PAST.3SG the wall
'Angela painted the wall.'

(18) a. *Pintó Ángela la pared.* (V-S-O)

b. *Pintó la pared Ángela.* (V-O-S)

c. *La pared pintó Ángela.* (O-V-S)

d. *La pared(,) la pintó Ángela.* (O-cl-V-S)

e. *La pared Ángela la pintó.* (O-S-cl-S)

f. *Ángela la pared la pintó.* (S-O-cl-V)

From a first look at these sentences, the descriptive conclusion is that elements can be freely reordered in Spanish. Nevertheless, in my view this rearrangement is not completely free. It is subject to discourse rules. Radford (2009) holds that optional movement is not truly optional in that it reflects some type of discourse-like properties. This is exactly what we may find in (18): all these sentences have a different informational reading. To be more precise, in (18a) we may have a case of broad focus used typically in descriptions; in (18b) a special discourse emphasis is placed on the subject, which is seen as the informational focus (new information). In (18c) a contrastive focus is detected when preposing the object, whereas in (18d) the object has been displaced to the left periphery and it is the topic of the whole sentence (CLLD). This latter phenomenon can also be observed in (18e-f), where multiple topics can be stacked in the left periphery of the sentence.

From the data in (18) the following generalisation can be extracted: in Spanish movement of constituents is not optional, it has a discourse-determined motivation.

A final note is in order with respect to the relation between topic fronting and passive. In sentence (16b) the subject *we* shows a very vague reference. In those cases, Spanish may opt for a middle passive, given that the content import of the English subject is minimal. In this view, (19a-b) are perfect equivalents to (16b):

(19) a. *Ese tipo de comportamiento no lo podemos tolerar*
this kind of behaviour not it can-PRES.1PL to.tolerate
en una sociedad civilizada.
in a society civilized
'This kind of bevabiour, we can't tolerate in a civilised society.'

b. *Ese tipo de comportamiento no se puede tolerar*
that kind of behaviour not SE can-PRES.3SG to.tolerate

en	*una*	*sociedad*	*civilizada.*
in	a	society	civilized

'This kind of behaviour can't be tolerated in a civilised society.'

In both sentences the given information occurs in initial position, thereby qualifying as topic, whereas the final position is reserved for new information, satisfying the Information Flow Principle.

3.3. NEGATIVE PREPOSING

Negative Preposing is a subtype of Focus Fronting (Radford 2009; Haegeman 2012; Miyagawa 2012; Jiménez-Fernández 2018), which exhibits a contrast in terms of polarity. It may be classified with other independently identified fronting types such as Quantifier Fronting (Leonetti and Escandell 2009), since the preposed element shows a clear negative polarity. This IS phenomenon is very common both in Spanish and in English, and may involve fronting of both arguments and adjuncts which are connected somehow to the polarity of the sentence. This is illustrated in (20-21) for English and in (22-23) for Spanish:

(20) Not a single book did he buy. (Haegeman 2012: 9)

(21) On no account should you eat an apple before breakfast.

(Haegeman 2012: 43)

(22) *Nada*	*tengo*	*que*	*añadir*	*a*	*lo*	*que*	*ya*	*dije*	*en*	*su*
nothing	have-PRES.1SG	that	to.add	to	it	that	already	say-PAST.1SG	in	its
day										
día.										

'I have nothing to add to what I said at the time.'

(Leonetti and Escandell 2009: 156)

(23) *En*	*modo*	*alguno*	*se*	*puede*	*tolerar*	*tal*
in	way	some	SE	can-PRES.3SG	to.tolerate	such
actitud.						
attitude						

'By no means can such an attitude be tolerated.' (Bosque 1980: 34)

As observed in the previous examples, Negative Preposing involves the negation of the whole sentence and it applies to both arguments and adjuntcs. In this case the Information Flow Principle is deliberately violated in order to achieve the focalization of the fronted element.

A syntactic property which describes this type of IS strategy is that in both languages the subject occurs after the finite verb. In English this verb is an auxiliary; in Spanish it may be either an auxiliary or a lexival verb. From this it follows that non-inversion ends up in ungrammaticality:

(24) *Not a single book he bought.

(25) **Ni un solo libro él compró.*

not a single book he buy-PAST-3SG

'Not a single book did he buy.'

To conclude this section on the description of the three IS phenomena that I will consider as strategies for translations, three ideas can be highlighted. First, the information structure of a sentence has two parts –one for given information and one for new information, and old information is normally presented before new information (Information-Flow). Second, information structure is manifested in a great variety of sentence structures in English and Spanish. Although Spanish is a language with a relatively free word order in comparison with English, the latter has its own syntactic devices to achieve the presentation of any message in terms of given/new information. And finally, in some constructions the Information-Flow Principle is intentionally not taken into account, which has been exemplified by Negative Preposing, in order to achieve a specific discourse effect.

4. IS AND WORD ORDER AS STRATEGY IN TRANSLATION

At the beginning of this paper, I mentioned the importance of strategies provided by IS in the correct expression of the message that a speaker conveys. The equivalence in terms of the topic+focus partition is crucial when translating from a language to another since if the IS of the original text is not preserved the message in the target language can be different as far as discourse intentions in the original language are concerned.

In this section I present a number of texts/sentences which have been extracted from English novels and the corresponding Spanish translations in order to show that a translation which does not stick to the original IS is misleading in the

discourse effect expected in the interlocutor. As stated earlier, I concentrate on the three phenomena introduced in the previous section, namely Passive, Topic Fronting and Negative Preposing.

It is extremely important to use similar discourse strategies to present the same message in exactly the same terms from an information-structure point of view and within an equi-functional translation framework. This may mean that the syntactic configuration will be different in the source and target texts. One such case is passive. In English, passive is more productive than in Spanish, where middle-passive is preferred in the latter.

In a context where we already have information about *bread*, this is elligible as a topic in a passive sentence such as (26):

(26) From my barrack-room alone a basketful of bread was thrown away at every meal. (from Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, p. 10)

However, the Spanish passive is hardly natural in the same context, as observed in (27), and we usually find the use of the active counterpart, as in (28):

(27)	*En nuestro*	*barracón*	*solo, una*	*canasta de pan*	*era*
	in our	barrack-room	alone a	basketful of bread	be-PAST.3SG
	tirada	*en cada comida.*			
	thrown	at every meal			

'In our barrack-room alone a basketful of bread was thrown away at every meal.'

(28)	*En nuestro*	*barracón*	*solo, tiraban*	*una canasta*	*de*
	in our	barrack-room	alone throw-PAST.3PL	a basketful	of
	pan	*después*	*de cada comida.*		
	bread	after	of every meal		

'In our barrack-room alone They threw away a basketful of bread at every meal.'

Ideally, the translation may preserve the IS of the original text by selecting *a basketful of bread* as the topic and highlighting *at every meal* as the focus. In order to achieve this discourse effect I suggest the translation provided in (29):

(29)	*En nuestro*	*barracón*	*solo, una*	*canasta de pan*	*se tiraba*
	in our	barrack-room	alone a	basketful of bread	SE throw-PAST.3SG

en cada comida.

at every meal

'In our barrack-room alone a basketful of bread was thrown away at every meal.'

Here the topic (*a basketful of bread*) and the information focus (*at every meal*) coincide in both source and target language, thereby satisfying the information-flow Principle, and hence the syntactic ordering of a sentence moves from given to new information. This shows what an IS accurate translation adds to decide whether the message is conveyed in the same way in both source and target languages.

In light of the crucial role of IS in translation, I analyse cases of real translations where these information-structure devices have successfully been used alongside other translations where they have not been employed, and propose alternatives based on these discourse strategies to improve the translation.

4.1. PASSIVE AND ITS IS PACKAGING

In this section I analyse a passive sentence which has been translated using the corresponding active. This is given in (30), from the novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Nelle Harper Lee, p. 57, and its translation into Spanish by Baldomero Porta:

(30) a. Calpurnia's message had been received by the neighborhood.

b. *Los vecinos* *habían* *recibido* *el mensaje* *de Calpurnia.*

the neighbours have-PAST.3PL received the message of Calpurnia

'Neighbours had received Calpurnia's message.'

This sentence is produced in a context where Calpurnia wants to spread the word that there is a mad dog in the street and wants to warn the neighbours. Word order has fully changed, since the English subject has *Calpurnia's message* in subject position whereas in the Spanish translation this constituent functions as object. Consequently, the organization of the message is thoroughly different. On the one hand, topics are different in the two languages, i.e. *Calpurnia's message* is the English topic, while the Spanish topic is *los vecinos* 'the neighbours'. On the other hand, the information focus has shifted from the by-phrase in the English text to *el mensaje de Calpurnia* 'Calpurnia's message' in the Spanish one.

To preserve the information structure of the original sentence, two alternatives emerge:

(31) *El mensaje de Calpurnia había sido recibido por los vecinos.*
the message of Calpurnia have-PAST.3SG been received by the neighbours
'Calpurnia's message had been received by the neighbours.'

(32) *El mensaje de Calpurnia lo habían recibido los vecinos.*
the message of Calpurnia it have-PAST.3PL received the neighbours
'Calpurnia's message, the neighbours had received it.'

In (31) Spanish passive is used, whereas in (32) CLLD has been used instead. In both sentences the topic *Calpurnia's message* is maintained favouring the discourse interpretation of the whole sentence being about this entity. In addition, the information focus is also in its right position (final part of the sentence), either via a the by-phrase or a postverbal subject. Since CLLD is much more natural in Spanish than passive, it is preferred.

Now let us turn to one particular example in which the original IS has been preserved. I concentrate on the passive sentence in italics in the context provided in (33), also from *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee, p. 32, translated into Spanish by Baldomero Porta. The relevant sentence and its translation are given in (34):

(33) There are no clearly defined seasons in South Alabama; summer drifts into autumn, and *autumn is sometimes never followed by winter*, but turns to a days-old spring that melts into summer again.

(34) a. […] autumn is sometimes never followed by winter.

b. […] *al otoño a veces no lo sigue el invierno.*
to.the autumn sometimes not it follow-PRES.3SG the winter
'Autumn, winter sometimes doesn't follow it.'

This time the IS packaging has been preserved. In both English and Spanish sentences the topic occurs first. Note that in the immediate context (33) autumn has already been mentioned and this qualifies it as given information in the following sentence. The translation in (34b) is an instance of CLLD in which the topic has been displaced to the beginning of the sentece and it is resumed by the clitic *lo* 'it' inside the clause.

Next I will turn to a case of translation where passive is involved in English and the translator has decided to use middle passive and postverbal subject. The relevant example is taken from Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, chapter I, translated by José Luis López Muñoz:

(35) "My dear Mr. Bennet," said his lady to him one day, "have you heard that Netherfield Park is let at last?"

(36) *–Mi querido Sr Bennet –le dijo un día su esposa a este caballero–, ¿te has enterado de que por fin se ha alquilado Netherfield Park?*

In this case there is a new topic or a shift of topic (Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010; Frascarelli 2007) in the English version; and as such Netherfield Park is at the beginning of the sentence. In Spanish this has not been kept. Much to the contrary, the subject of the middle passive construction is placed in the usual position of information focus, at the end of the sentence. The alternative that I suggest in order to comply with the information flow of the English text occurs in (37):

(37)	¿te has	enterado	de que Netherfield Park se
	SE have-PRE.2SG	heard	of that Netherfield Park SE
	ha	alquilado	por fin?
	have-PRES.3SG	let	at last

This alternative translation respects the original IS in that Netherfield Park is displaced to the beginning of the sentence, the typical positon for topics, and the adverbial *por fin* 'at last' takes final position as information focus.

4.2. TOPIC FRONTING

In this section I discuss cases of topic preposing in English and how this is dealt with in translation. As I showed earlier, both English and Spanish make use of this phenomenon, placing the topic in initial position. For this operation I have chosen examples from Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. Let us consider the italicised sentence in the text (38):

(38) "I can but die," I said, "and I believe in God. Let me try to wait His will in silence".

These words I not only thought, but uttered; and thrusting back all my misery into my heart, I made an effort to compel it to remain there—dumb and still.

Here the object *these words* have been preposed to qualify as the topic of the sentence. However, the translation does not follow this particular IS partition and instead it leaves the object in its original position.

(39) *No sólo había pensado aquellas palabras, sino que mis labios*
not only have-PAST.1SG thought those words but that my lips
las habían pronunciado en alta voz; […]
them have-PAST.1PL pronounced in high voice
'I did not only think these words, but uttered them in high voice.'

Typically, topic fronting has an equivalent in Spanish, namely Clitic Left Dislocation. Hence the improved translation that I suggest is as in (40):

(40) *Estas palabras no sólo las había pensado, sino que mis labios*
these words not only them have-PAST.1SG thought but that my lips
las habían pronunciado en alta voz. […]
them have-PAST.1PL pronounced in high voice
'These words I did not only think, but uttered them in high voice.'

In (40) IS package has been preserved since the topic is kept and the strength of the message remains.

In the following instance the IS packaging is preserved. Let us consider the italicised sentence in (41), extracted from a passage in Edgar Alan Poe's *The Black Cat*:

(41) To those who have cherished an affection for a faithful and sagacious dog, I need hardly be at the trouble of explaining the nature or the intensity of the gratification thus derivable.

Here the information provided by the fronted prepositional object is shared information, which is clearly supported by the use of the demonstrative. In the corresponding version in Spanish (42), the equivalent CLLD is found, which makes it an optimal translation in this context. The resumptive dative clitic *les* 'them' is inserted to indicate the original position of the preposed constituent:

(42) *A los que han mimado con afecto a un perro fiel*
to the that have-PRES.3PL pampered with affection to a dog faithful
y sagaz, apenas necesito molestarme en explicarles
and sagacious hardly need-PRES.1SG to.bother.myself in explaining

la naturaleza o la intensidad del placer que de ello se deriva.

the nature or the intensity of.the pleasure that of it SE derive-PRES.3SG

'To those who have pampered a faithful and sagacious dog with affection, I need hardly be at the trouble of explaining the nature or the intensity of the pleasure that derives from it.'

Finally, I will discuss another case in which the text in the target language does not conform to the ordering of constituents of the source language, thereby leading to a loss of strength in the discourse properties of the sentence. Let us focus on the italicised sentences and the context provided in (43), from Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*:

(43) I left Lowood nearly a year since to become a private governess. I obtained a good situation, and was happy. *This place I was obliged to leave four days before I came here. The reason of my departure I cannot and ought not to explain*: it would be useless, dangerous, and would sound incredible.

The translation offered in the target language does not take into account the two instances of topic fronting that the source language sentences contain, thereby making the discourse dumb. This is given in (44):

(44) *Cuatro días antes de llegar aquí tuve que dejar el empleo.*

four days before of arriving here have-PRES.1SG that quit the job

No puedo decir ni debo decir por qué.

not can-PRES.1SG tell neither must-PRES.1SG tell for what

'Four days before arriving here, I had to quit the job. Neither I can nor I must tell why.'

As argued earlier, the most natural equivalent IS pattern that we find in Spanish is CLLD. Accordingly, the suggested improved version, preserving the topic-focus partition, follows:

(45) *El empleo lo tuve que dejar cuatro días antes de llegar*

the job it have-PRES.1SG that quit four days before of to.arrive

aquí. Las razones que me llevaron a esto no puedo ni

here the reasons that me lead-PAST.3PL to this not can-PRES.1SG neither

debo decirlas.

must-PRES.1SG tell.them

'The job I had to quit four days before arriving here. The reasons that led me to this I neither can nor must tell.'

The IS partition is kept to the original version. Hence for the first sentence the topic is *el empleo* 'the job' and the information focus is *cuatro días antes de llegar aquí* 'four days before arriving here', whereas for the second sentence the topic is *las razones que me llevaron a esto* 'the reasons that led me to this' and the information focus is *no puedo ni debo decirlas* 'I neither can nor must tell'. This gives the discourse coherence and the information flows from given to new.

4.3. NEGATIVE PREPOSING

The phenomenon of Negative Preposing involves fronting of a negative constituent that triggers subject/(auxiliary) verb inversion in English and Spanish. This strategy is used to emphasize the negative polarity of the sentence. In this section I present cases of translations from English to Spanish, instantiating this IS strategy.

Examples have been extracted from different English sources and their Spanish translations. All of them are contextualised so as to understand the precise informational import of the message delivered by the relevant sentences. I start with a sentence from Alan Poe's *The Black Cat*:

(46) Neither by day nor by night knew I the blessing of Rest any more!

Here we find an archaic expression in which the negative element has been fronted and this produces an inversion between the subject and the lexical verb. In more current terms, this sentence would involve subject/auxiliary inversion, as in (47):

(47) Neither by day nor by night did I know the blessing of Rest any more!

In any case, what is important is that the phenomenon of Negative Preposing is also quite common in Spanish, and as such it has been the translators' choice:

(48)	*¡Ni*	*de día ni de noche*	*volví*	*a conocer*	*la bendición*
	neither	of day nor of night	return-PAST.1SG	to know	the blessing
	del	*descanso!*			
	of.the	rest			

The target sentence entirely sticks to the sourse sentence in terms of word order and IS strategy, which contributes to present an identical flow of information.

Next I turn to a couple of cases in which the IS partition changes from source to target language. Let us start with a brief passage from *Jane Eyre* by Charlotte Brontë in (49) and one of the Spanish translations I have found in (50):

(49) […] never did his manner become so impressive in its noble simplicity, as when he delivered the oracles of God.

(50) *[…] jamás sus modales eran tan impresionantes en su*
never his manners be-PAST.3PL so impressive in their
noble simplicidad como cuando hacía escuchar los oráculos
noble simplicity as when make-PAST.3SG listen the oracles
de Dios.
of God

As is clear, the translation involves fronting of the negative element but does not convey the same effect of emphasized polarity since the subject has been left in preverbal position. The alternative is to have subject-verb inversion in Spanish, which according to Leonetti and Escandell (2009), is also obligatory in the target language. Hence the fronting has a prominent highlighting function. This alternative in (51) is just a clear instance of the information-structure strategies that translators may take into account to provide a natural translation.

(51) *[…] jamás eran sus modales tan impresionantes en su noble simplicidad como cuando hacía escuchar los oráculos de Dios.*

Let us move now to another example from *Jane Eyre* in which the subject is pronominal and the translator has decided to use a null subject, typical in null-subject languages such as Spanish. However no Preposing at all takes place in Spanish, losing the emphatic flavour of the English original sentence:

(52) A pang of exquisite suffering—a throe of true despair—rent and heaved my heart. Worn out, indeed, I was; not another step could I stir. I sank on the wet doorstep: I groaned—I wrung my hands—I wept in utter anguish.

(53) *Un sufrimiento inmenso, una desesperación infinita colmaron*
a suffering immense a despair infinite fill-PAST.3PL
mi corazón. No pude dar un solo paso. Me senté
my heart not can-PAST.1SG to.give a single step me sit-PAST.1SG

en el	*peldaño*	*de la puerta, con los*	*pies sobre el*	*suelo mojado,*
on the	doorstep	of the door, with the	feet upon the	floor wet

junté	*las manos y*	*lloré*	*con angustia.*
wring-PAST.1SG	the hands and	weep-PAST.1SG	with anguish

The alternative I suggest, focussing on the target sentence is as follows:

(54) Ni un solo	paso	pude	dar.
not a single	step	can-PAST.1SG	to.give

In this case the Negative Preposing of the original sentence is preserved, thereby keeping with the emphatic meaning that the particular context requires. To sound natural in Spanish, a null subject has been used.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this work, I have shown that IS packaging in the two languages involved in a specific translation (source and target languages) is quite important to preserve the organization of the message conveyed, displaying hence similar emphatic features.

The partition in terms of topic/focus may ideally be kept in the target language, though this may lead to a change in the syntactic construction used, as we have seen with English passives, which may have two equivalents in Spanish from a discourse perspective. On the one hand, a middle pasive may be suggested when the whole sentence expresses broad focus. On the other hand, CLLD where the object is displaced to the sentence initial position is the best option when the English passive subject is the topic in the IS partition.

Research should be carried out in the near future regarding the IS-based processes that inverse translation may take into account given the different word order properties of English and Spanish.

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LANGUAGE IN MOTION IN MARILYNNE ROBINSON'S *HOUSEKEEPING* AND THE BOOK OF *RUTH*

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ABSTRACT. *The terminology used to describe people living in socially or legally ambiguous housing conditions is contradictory and contested in often unpredictable ways. Homeless people, as well as the laws and government discourses designed to limit their behavior, frequently choose language that is at odds with what their bodies are actually doing in the spaces they occupy. In this essay I will discuss the oxymoronic verbal formulations for how transients, especially transient women, move through and live in social space by looking at two texts that focus on homeless women and their social power, Marilynne Robinson's novel* Housekeeping*, and the biblical Book of* Ruth *(on which it is partially based). By placing these works in the context of the legal discourses of homelessness and squatting, and gender analyses of mobility, I hope to identify a mode of gendered embodiment based in the language of motion.*

Keywords: Marilynne Robinson, Ruth, homelessness, Bible, mobility, squatter's rights, gender.

EL LENGUAJE DEL MOVIMIENTO EN *HOUSEKEEPING*, DE MARILYNNE ROBINSON, Y EL LIBRO DE *RUTH*

RESUMEN. *Resulta contradictoria, y a menudo refutable de maneras impredecibles, la terminología usada para describir a personas que viven en condiciones de alojamiento ambiguas social o legalmente. Las personas sin hogar, así como las leyes y discursos gubernamentales diseñados para poner límites a su comportamiento, escogen frecuentemente un lenguaje que se contrapone a lo que sus cuerpos están realmente haciendo en los espacios que ocupan. En este ensayo me ocuparé de casos de oxímoron en expresiones verbales que abordan cómo los transeúntes, y en especial las mujeres transeúntes, se mueven y viven en el espacio social, analizando dos textos que se centran en mujeres sin hogar y en su poder social: la novela de Marilynne Robinson* Housekeeping *(cuyo título en español es* Vida Hogareña*), y el bíblico* Libro de Ruth *(en el que la novela está parcialmente basada). Espero identificar un modo de personificación genérica basado en el lenguaje del movimiento, ubicando estas obras en el contexto de los discursos legales de la falta de hogar y la okupación, así como de los análisis de género aplicados a la movilidad.*

Palabras clave: Marilynne Robinson, Ruth, sinhogarismo, Biblia, movilidad, derechos de los okupas, género sexual.

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Two women lie in an open field, asleep, arms wrapped around each other. Should we describe them as homeless or travelling? A family sits around a table, eating a meal in a mostly-empty building. Should we describe them as lodging or squatting? The terminology used to describe people living in socially or legally ambiguous housing conditions is contradictory and contested in often unpredictable ways. Homeless people, as well as the laws and government discourses designed to limit their behavior, frequently choose language that is at odds with what their bodies are actually doing in the spaces they occupy. In this essay I will discuss the oxymoronic verbal formulations for how transients, especially transient women, move through and live in social space by looking at two texts that focus on homeless women and their social power. The biblical Book of *Ruth* has long been a touchstone for feminist discussions of female community in the context of homelessness and migration. Marilynne Robinson's 1980 novel *Housekeeping*, which is partially a retelling of the biblical story, offers insight into the relationship between domesticity and transience in contemporary American literature. By placing these works in the context of the legal discourses of homelessness and squatting, and gender analyses of mobility, I hope to investigate how the descriptions of the body's motion and stillness in space can grant agency to socially disempowered populations

through identifying a mode of gendered embodiment based in the language of motion.

Feminist Geographers such as Susan Hanson have analyzed women's embodied mobility to understand how power is distributed in social space (2010). Mobility theorists such as Tim Cresswell and Tanu Priya Uteng have focused on the ways in which gender is created through "the dialectics of fixity and flow –of place and mobility. [...] How people move (where, how fast, how often etc.) is demonstrably gendered and continues to reproduce gendered power hierarchies" (2012: 2). I would like to look at the language used to describe embodied movement, and the social and political impact of that movement, to understand how verbal formulations can call into question these gendered hierarchies of power. The Book of *Ruth* begins with two women breaking free from patriarchal structures and redefining their embodiment as at once interdependent and mobile. As the story progresses they reestablish a stable family structure, but the radical dislocation that founded their relationship continues to undermine and redefine the system of marriage and motherhood they inhabit together. Robinson's novel reverses the narrative, with the motion into perpetual transience for Ruth, the novel's narrator, occurring at the end. Together the stories offer models of radically mobilized women whose agency in motion, and in combination with one another, redefines their social roles, gender positions, and bodies.

Housekeeping focuses primarily on the conflict between the habitual behavior of transients and the expectations of middle class domestic life. Sylvie, a homeless drifter, returns to her childhood home in the rural Idaho town of Fingerbone to take care of her teen-age nieces Ruth and Lucille after her sister commits suicide and her mother dies. While Sylvie attempts to create a relatively stable domestic life for the girls, her instincts and behaviors are those of a homeless person, so she largely fails. Sylvie's sleeping habits are a prominent point of contention.

> She slept on top of the covers, with a quilt over her, which during the daytime she pushed under the bed also. Such habits (she always slept clothed, at first with her shoes on, and then, after a month or two, with her shoes under her pillow) were clearly the habits of a transient. They offended Lucille's sense of propriety. […] Once, because it was warm, Sylvie took her quilt and her pillow outside, to sleep on the lawn. […] I was reassured by her sleeping on the lawn, and now and then in the car. […] It seemed to me that if she could remain transient here, she would not have to leave. (Robinson 1980: 103)

Ruth posits an oxymoronic and ultimately untenable suggestions that one can "remain transient here." In this verbal formulation, transience is robbed of its essential meanings of temporal impermanence and physical motion; it signifies a set of quirky domestic behaviors that may be frowned upon by Lucille and her

over-proper friends but that are harmless and, above all, immobile. By contrast, Sylvie's mode of being in the world is constantly setting stable terms in motion. A particularly traumatic incident for Lucille occurs when "on our way to the Post Office …we saw, in the fallow little park that memorialized war dead, Sylvie lying on a bench, her ankles and her arms crossed and a newspaper tented over her face" (105). Robinson's description offers up a series of words gesturing toward governmental and social institutions: the post office, the public bench as community gathering place, the park as public memorial, and the newspaper as social document. Sylvie's sleeping body has the power to transform these: the bench becomes an inappropriately exposed bed; the park becomes a "fallow" field; the newspaper becomes an ephemeral "tent."

It is no surprise that where and when Sylvie sleeps should precipitate a crisis. Legislation relating to homelessness almost invariably focuses on sleeping. In *Watters v. Otter* (2012), Occupy Boise argued that Idaho's anti-camping law was restricting their right to free speech. The court found that the ban on "sleeping" in public was reasonable, but that Occupy could continue their 24-hour presence as long as they did not fall asleep. A homeless group in Portland was able to circumvent the principle of sleep crime in *Anderson v. City of Portland* (2011) by arguing that laws against their tent city interfered with their right to travel. The traveler served as a socially acceptable category that justified the behavior of the homeless. Taken together the two cases demonstrate that sleep becomes a signifier for immobility. An Occupy Boise participant who was sitting still, or standing still, or even lying down, was considered to be sufficiently in motion to be legal. A homeless person in Portland who was sleeping, however, was imagined still to be travelling, so that the stillness of their sleeping body was only a technicality, a pause in the arc of their motion.

The legal logic of the Portland case has been taken up by a variety of homeless advocacy groups who attempt to apply legal standards for recreational hikers and campers to their homeless counterparts. Campers who sleep in the open by necessity, Wesley Jackson suggests, should be legally held to the standard of those who sleep there by choice.

> When the privileged decide to live like the homeless, they bring with them their expectations of constitutional protections, and courts generally respect these expectations as the "reasonable expectations of privacy" that society is willing to afford. […] Historically, society has not valued the presence or challenges facing homeless individuals. But society's value for outdoor recreation is growing, and these values can influence the expectations of privacy that individuals bring with them when they sleep in the wilderness without a traditional "home." (Jackson 2013: 935, 959)

The hiker may sleep for one night or several in a tent or under the stars, but those are still just brief pauses in a longer arc of motion from their stable place of residence out into the wilderness and back; if we imagine this longer story of recreational travel for one group, we must do so for all. Such legal language does not so much try to clearly establish the location of its citizens as to clearly establish their condition in a binary of mobility or immobility. Occupy Boise's argument failed because it tried to argue that society should accept immobile sleeping bodies. Jackson's and Occupy Portland's arguments succeeded because they accepted the social standard of mobility and labeled sleeping homeless bodies as actually in motion.

The term "squatter," used to describe homeless people living illegally in unoccupied houses or apartments, offers a similar reimagining of the body's motion. Someone sleeping illegally in a room or building is not imagined to be lying down, but squatting, with feet on the ground and legs bent, not fully relaxed, and ready, at any moment, to resume their movement. The implication is that while they may appear to be staying in one place they are not really staying, or lodging, but are still in motion; the intermediate posture points to their intermediate legal status. *Movimiento Okupa*, a squatters' rights organization in Spain, linguistically asserts the stability of those living in empty buildings using *okupa* – a neologism based on *ocupar*– to occupy (Gonick 2016: 836). Sophie Gonick describes how female housing activists, known as *afectadas*, shift the language further, rejecting "the standard descriptor of *okupa*. In their words, families who squatted were not engaged in *okupación*. Rather, they were liberating and *recuperating* dwellings for their own use" (845). While occupation suggests a forceful seizing of property, recuperation emphasizes the process of healing or repair. The struggle over definitions of whether the homeless body is moving or not is also apparent in the Spanish Penal Code of 1995, enacted in response to squatters' rights movements, which introduced a penalty of 3 to 6 months for squatters who demonstrated the "will to remain" (Martinez 2011). As in the Boise and Portland cases and the homeless hiker legislation, what is really at stake is not the physical posture or behavior of homeless bodies, but the imaginary narrative of mobility they are participating in. Those whose bodies may be still but who the state imagines to be travelers or outsdoorsmen are tolerated; those who imagine themselves to be residents are criminals.

The use of contradictory language to reimagine one's social status based on where one moves and sleeps is also central to the Biblical story of Ruth. The story begins with Ruth's surprising declaration of fidelity to her mother-in-law Naomi, which has become something of a poetic set-piece of emotional fealty, and is often repeated in marriage vows. Ruth's husband Mahlon has died, along with his

father and brother, and Naomi, bereft of her husband and sons, bids farewell to her Moabite daughters-in-law and determines to travel back alone to Israel, her country of origin. Ruth then declares:

> Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God: Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: the LORD do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me. (Ruth 1:16-17).

Ruth's choice of words, while apparently innocuous, resonates in complex and unexpected ways. She configures her life with Naomi as one lived in physical motion, and in opposition to the spatial location of women required by patriarchal conventions. Ruth's vow that "where thou lodgest, I will lodge," does not suggest that, upon their arrival in Israel, she and Naomi will share a stable homecoming: the verb לוּן (luwn) is consistently associated with short-term, insecure, or even dangerous lodgings. It is first used in Genesis 19:2, when the angels visiting Sodom propose to "abide in the street all night" and Lot strenuously objects, given the likelihood that they will be sexually assaulted there. Whether the Sodomites are mainly condemned for homosexuality or for a failure of hospitality, the passage makes clear that to lodge, or abide, in the street is the antithesis of a safe or welcoming resting space. The next instance comes when Jacob, fleeing from his brother Esau, "lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took up stones of that place, and put them for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep" (Gen 28:11). The passage places great emphasis on the dangers and uncertainties of such transitional lodging. Jacob only chooses his sleeping place "because the sun was set" and his only sleeping arrangements are stones for pillows. The term "tarried" identifies his quarters as a space where he waits for the sun to rise –like a chair in a bus station-- rather than even a temporary form of housing. Sleeping on his stony pillows, Jacob dreams of a ladder to heaven with angels ascending and descending, suggesting a kind of spiritual itinerancy in which the relationship between God and humanity remains in constant motion

Ruth's promise, then, is not to occupy a home with Naomi, but to abide with her in the street, or to sleep uncovered with her in the wilderness. Ruth intentionally chooses terminology suggesting the conditional, unstable nature of their lodging. This is also apparent when she promises "wither thou goest I will go." The version of "go" she chooses ("yalak" יָלַךְ), often appears when movement or travel involves a resulting change in one's relationship to society. Its first occurrence, in Genesis 3:14, is directed at none other than the serpent, whom God curses for facilitating Eve's temptation by saying "upon they belly shalt thou

go." The verb form next appears in God's initial command to Abram to "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee" (Gen 12:1). Abram, and his descendants, become wanderers for the next 600 years, and Jewish identity remains profoundly linked to a nomadic, exilic, or diasporic geographic trajectory for most of its history. While Abram and the serpent may occupy opposing positions on the spectrum of God's favor, "going" for both involves a radical and irreversible transformation in which itinerancy and social rejection go hand in hand. Ruth's choice of this form of "going" with Naomi represents more than a promise of companionship; she is proposing a redefinition of their identities toward one of mobile contingency and marginality. As Jennifer L. Koosed notes in her discussion of Ruth and Naomi's relationship, the "uncertainties and ambiguities" of Ruth's oath define her as "a border crosser who embodies plurality" (2011: 63).

It is worth noting that both Ruth in the Bible and Ruth in *Housekeeping* are not seeking a clear spatial definition for themselves, but one that is oxymoronic, or even nonsensical, in its bridging of mobile and immobile identity. Robinson's Ruth wants Sylvie to "remain transient here," the first and last words sit like immovable objects surrounding but not containing an irresistible force. The Bible's Ruth clearly means to convey an immovable emotional commitment to her mother in law, but the certainty of that commitment is enacted through the uncertainty of their lodging and social place. Their verbal strategy differs from that of the *afectadas*, who wish to establish the stability of their position in society through a process of renaming. This sort of political activism responds directly to legal language that attempts to clearly define the mobility or immobility of a given transient body. Both Ruths, by contrast, encourage errant or wandering terminology that refuses to participate in the spatial clarifications the law requires.

Such sleeping that is not sleeping in a place that is not a place is exemplified in *Housekeeping* when Ruth sleeps in a tiny rowboat in the middle of a lake beneath a railroad bridge. Sylvie, who has spent much of her adult life riding the rails, is initiating her niece into a transient consciousness through their physical bonding in this terrifyingly unstable resting place. "Our little boat bobbed and wobbled, and I was appalled by the sheer liquidity of the water beneath us. If I stepped over the side, where would my foot rest? Water is almost nothing, after all" (1980: 164). The railroad bridge, a monument to mobility is at once megalithic and precarious; Ruth's grandfather died when his train inexplicably derailed from it before her birth. When the train at last arrives, and the bridge begins to "rumble and shake as if it would fall" (167) Sylvie stands in the boat, making it nearly founder. Yet despite all of this, Ruth does successfully sleep there, nestled between Sylvie's legs, their two bodies configuring a mother/child tableau.

> I lay down on my side in the bottom of the boat, and rested my arms and my head on the splintery plank seat. Sylvie climbed in and settled herself with a foot on either side of me. […] I slept between Sylvie's feet, and under the reach of her arms, and sometimes one of us spoke, and sometimes one of us answered. (161, 163)

Physical discomfort and disorientation leads to communion; their conversation ceases to be two separate voices asking and answering and becomes a murmur of sound indicating their shared presence. Like a horizontal Jacob's ladder, the bridge, which they will later cross to escape Fingerbone and become permanent transients, disrupts the earthly order of things, allowing them to reimagine sleep as a welter of contingent embodiment.

Maggie Galehouse and Elizabeth Klaver have demonstrated Sylvie's relationship to the culture of railroad tramping, the mobility and social marginality of which serves as the counterpoint to her attempts at housekeeping. Galehouse, who also notes the parallels between *Housekeeping* and the Book of *Ruth*, enunciates the historical disruption of social definitions that tramping caused.

> Whether it is promiscuity, or class, or both, female hoboes threaten the status quo by reminding the nontransient population that women can and do exist outside the polarities of prostitution and domesticity, and that many women might find themselves, given a certain set of circumstances, sleeping in boxcars. (2000: 125)

Writing in 1933, criminologist Olof Kinberg distinguishes between prostitutes and vagrants, suggesting the first are an "initial stage" of "a socially noxious phenomenon," while the second are "an advanced stage" (553).

> A woman with regular work, a domestic servant, factory hand, shop assistant, etc., can very well now and then engage in sexual relations with men for payment without, for that reason, becoming an asocial or antisocial parasite against whom it is the right and duty of society to interfere. (552-553)

What makes a woman a true threat to society is not sexual immorality, but a lack of clarity in the status of her mobility and thus her social position. To be "asocial," that is, without clear social category determined in part by occupying a certain space, is to be "antisocial," and the law must inevitably step in, as it does in *Housekeeping*. After their night on the lake, Ruth and Sylvie catch a freight train and ride back to town, where their appearance is sufficiently alarming to the community that the sheriff is called, and the legal process to remove Ruth from Sylvie's custody begins. Such radical sleeping, they discover, is not without social consequences.

In the biblical story, Ruth and Naomi also undergo a drastic change in their social and legal power through a night spent sleeping in the wrong place, but unlike

Ruth and Sylvie they are able to use the law tactically to empower themselves. When they arrive in Israel, Ruth becomes a migrant laborer in the fields of Boaz, whose interest in her is manifested in his attempt to fix her disempowered social status by controlling her movements and the space she occupies. "Go not to glean in another field, neither go from hence, but abide here fast by my maidens: Let thine eyes be on the field that they do reap, and go thou after them: […] At mealtime come thou hither, and eat of the bread" (2: 9-15). Boaz's kindness is protective, but also rigorously limiting. He determines where Ruth will work, who she will accompany, where and what she will eat and drink, even where her eyes will focus. His first words "Go not" uses ("yalak" לָלֶכְתִּ), the same form of "go" Ruth used in her oath to Naomi, and thus represents an inversion of the mobility-based transformation that vow implied. Because Boaz is a distant kinsman of Elimelech, Ruth and Naomi decide to enact a risky plan to gain legal power over him through the strategic use of Ruth's sleeping body. Naomi instructs Ruth to go to Boaz's threshing floor and, after he is tired from work and woozy from drink, to sneak in and lie at his feet. Ruth thus enters a male space in defiance of convention, and at her peril, and sleeps there in order to establish her legal rights. She leaves the threshing floor with greatly increased social power, having acquired Boaz promise to marry her and care for Naomi, by using her body to establish a legal claim. Her strategy thus resembles that of squatters, whose engagement with the legal system is based entirely on the strategic location of their bodies in combination with an awareness of legal technicalities. Raymundo Larraín Nesbitt, writing for a website targeted at English-speaking owners of Spanish vacation homes, describes squatters' tactics with rueful admiration.

> Squatters –smartly– will not break into a property that has inhabitants so as not to be criminally prosecuted. […] The only article that dealt with this problem pre-reform was art 202 of the Spanish Criminal Code which referred to illegal trespassing. […] There was a legal loophole which squatters exploited to the fullest. (2012)

Jackson's use of backpacking laws to empower the homeless involves a similarly alternative application of the law. His describes it as "a backdoor method to provide Fourth Amendment rights to an otherwise marginalized group of citizens" (2013: 959). These architectural metaphors –back doors and loop holes– underscore that the strategies operate through the unconventional access to and use of space.

Ruth's evocation of Mosaic law, as both Jennifer Koosed and Danna Fewell note, is imprecise, tricky, full of double meanings and evasions (Koosed 2011: 63; Fewell 2015: 91). She asks Boaz to be her "redeemer," gesturing toward the law of the redeemer, which allows kinsmen to buy back the land of the poor to keep it in

the family (Leviticus 25: 25-28). Yet she mentions no land, and there is no reason for Boaz to know if she owns any. She refers to him as her "kinsman," alluding to the law of leverite marriage which requires a dead man's brother to marry his widow (Deuteronomy 25: 5-6), even though Boaz is not Mahlon's brother. As Koosed notes, "People, especially people on the margins, often use law and custom in creative and imprecise ways in order to live and flourish" (Koosed 2011: 92). Fewell describes Ruth's strategy in terms of Michel De Certeau's discussion of tactical space. "She insinuates herself into the proper spaces of others, seizing opportunities to 'make do' in ways that stretch, manipulate, and transgress the social boundaries" (2015: 87). Ruth's success can be measured both in the promises she receives from Boaz, and from his language. He responds, "Tarry this night, and it shall be in the morning. [...] I do the part of a kinsman to thee" (Ruth 3: 13). Where his previous command that Ruth "Go not to glean in another field" inverted her language from her oath to Naomi, this command begins with לוּן (luwn), the same word Ruth used to indicate her and Naomi's socially marginal relationship to lodging. Ruth has not only convinced Boaz to take up her legal cause, she has influenced him into adopting her language. In using their bodies as political tools for their own empowerment, the two women manipulate and obscure language to gain social power.

The radical dislocation of embodied language associated with transient mobility also tends to unbind gender definitions. This is apparent in legal battles over transgender bathroom rights, which turn on scenarios of spatial mobility and emplacement. House Bill 2, the North Carolina "bathroom bill," defines a public bathroom as a "facility designed or designated to be used by more than one person at a time where persons may be in various states of undress in the presence of other persons" ("Public Facilities" 2016). Such a description seems tangential to, and in some cases untrue of, what actually occurs in bathrooms; it envisions them as something like bedrooms or dressing rooms where people choose and don their clothing. Such a reimagination of public toilets as places of immobility is particularly apparent in American English. Restrooms are places where no one rests; bathrooms are places where no one bathes; men's or lady's lounges are places where no one lounges. Squatting, by contrast, is a term never used to describe what people do in public toilets. Establishing bathrooms as places of static rather than dynamic physical behavior enables the state's efforts to stabilize the gendered nature of these spaces.

Successful legal arguments for transgender rights tend to recast the bathroom as a transitional space within a larger mobility narrative. In *Joel Doe et. al. v. Boyertown Area School District* the lawyers of transgender students presented bathroom use in the long narrative arc of the school day, arguing that students

not allowed to use the bathroom matching their gender identity would avoid the bathroom entirely. "The result is that those students 'avoid going to the bathroom by fasting, dehydrating, or otherwise forcing themselves not to use the restroom throughout the day.' This behavior can lead to medical problems and decreases in academic learning" (7). The apellants' argument, by contrast, focused on a single moment of revelation, describing a student who felt "surprise […] when in an intimate space with a student they understood was the opposite biological sex" (17). The successful argument in favor of transgender rights recast the bathroom as a brief waystation in a given student's path through the hallways, classrooms, cafeteria, and bathrooms of the entire school. While a necessary stop to promote a student's health and learning, it did not represent the central staging place of a student's social identity, and thus of their gender. Gender is not defined as an unveiling of unexpected body parts in an "intimate space," but as a "lasting, persistent" (5) bodily engagement with the social spaces students move through.

In his discussion of the cultural implications of bathroom architecture, Lucas Cassidy Crawford points to a history of hygienic theories which have successfully reimagined public toilets as stable rather than transitional spaces (2014: 626). Crawford's analysis of a bathroom architectural design by the diller scofidio + renfro presents horizontal motion as a kinetic symbol of gender queering. He describes a long sink that moves through the wall connecting the men's and women's bathrooms with a common outflow.

> The more unusual consequence of this drain, however, has to do with another kind of fluidity: the horizontal movement of all water in the sink, as it moves slowly sideways, often under the hands of other users, to reach the drain. This movement literally defies the meaning of "sink," as the water does not spiral downwards, but travels laterally. This reconfiguration of water flow effects a transing of movement in a literal sense: it moves "across, through, between" rather than down and out of sight. (627)

Bodies and their fluids become less gender-defined the more we imagine bodies in bathrooms as in motion between other social spaces, rather than as stable walled-off forms in stable walled-off spaces. Gayle Salamon, in her discussion of transgender embodiment, coins the term "homo*erratic*," using a spatial metaphor to describe how transgender bodies can "wander or stray from their customary or expected courses in unpredictable and surprising ways and whose energy depends on the very unfixability of those erotic identifications and exchanges" (2006: 576-577). Her gloss of the term points to the combined moral and geographical quality of its origin; erratic is related to err, which can mean either to travel in a socially-approved fashion or to wander in what Kinberg would call an "asocial or antisocial" manner. A knight errant's motion serves a policing

function, while the erring criminals he pursues stray off their "expected courses." In Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queen*, the Red Cross Knight's first encounter is with the female monster Error, who is notable for her transgressive, unpredictable, body parts and reproductive power.

In *Housekeeping*, we see a similar disruption of spatial and gender mobility at Sylvie's bodily margin. When Sylvie first appears in the novel she is wearing a "raincoat [that] was so shapeless and oversized that she must have found it on a bench" (Robinson 1980: 45). Ruth assumes a causal relationship between shapelessness and homelessness: a garment that eliminates the physical markers of gender "must" have come from the world of vagrant bodies that repurpose public furniture into places to sleep and store their clothes. The gender fluidity imbued on Sylvie by the coat is transferred to Ruth just before their night on the lake. "She buttoned it up, bottom to top, and pulled the wide man's collar up around my ears" (161). She thus envelopes Ruth in the gender indeterminacy and social marginality the coat represents, even as she initiates her into the culture of railroad tramping from which those social ambiguities derive. Tim Cresswell, in his study of the social dynamics of female homelessness, describes how, during the "tramp scare" of the early twentieth century, female tramps become an "impossible category"; they could not fit into the labor-based roles society used to define itinerant homeless men, and were thus shifted into a liminal condition of transgressive gender ambiguity. The "gender treachery" of female tramps was most fully expressed in "the act of mobility itself" (1999: 185). Jacqui Smyth points to the continued "lack of a clear category for female transients" (1999: 281) throughout the twentieth-century, noting the appearance of the popular term "bag lady," a designation which, like Sylvie's coat, imaginatively blurs the body's boundary, during the early 1980s when *Housekeeping* was first published.

A similar association between unfixed location in space, social position, and gender definition appears in the Book of *Ruth*, which has long been notable to Hebrew scholars for "gender discord" in its pronouns. Immediately after Ruth's declaration of loyalty to Naomi, the two women are described using male pronouns as they travel to Israel and arrive in Bethlehem (Ruth 1: 19, 22). Andrew Davis argues that "women who are isolated from support systems and who must act on their own behalf with the resources available to them," like Ruth and Naomi, are described with masculine pronouns to "hint at the masculine roles they have assumed in the absence of male support" (2013: 510-511). A third example comes at the end of the story, when the Israelite women compare Ruth to Rachel and Leah (Ruth 4:11). As Davis notes, Jacob's wives are notorious tricksters, associated with the "bedtrick" (2011: 510) reminiscent of the one Ruth and Naomi pull on Boaz. In leveraging their gender to gain social power, then, women destabilize

their gender definitions. Even instances when Ruth, Naomi, Rachel, and Leah are using their sexual appeal and reproductive power to manipulate men lead to their being described with male pronouns.

A peculiarity of the Hebrew describing Ruth and Naomi's "bedtrick" suggests that we need to add the dislocation of individual identity to our collection of spatial, power, and gender dislocations. Naomi's instructions to Ruth in chapter 3 portray the women's bodies as interchangeable. She tells Ruth to dress and go down to the threshing floor, where she, Naomi, will take her place beside Boaz (Koosed 2011: 59). As we have seen, a similar bodily blending occurs when Ruth and Sylvie sleep in the boat, and this is even more pronounced earlier in the same section of the book, when Ruth dons Sylvie's gender-disrupting coat. The coat transforms Ruth into a transient, while also enabling a bodily blending with Sylvie that offers Ruth the maternal care and consolation for which she has always yearned.

> She opened her coat and closed it around me, bundling me awkwardly against her so that my cheekbone pillowed on her breastbone. She swayed us to some slow song she did not sing, and I stayed very still against her and hid the awkwardness and discomfort so that she would continue to hold me and sway. [. . .] When we got up to leave, Sylvie slipped her coat off and put it on me. She buttoned it up, bottom to top, and pulled the wide man's collar up around my ears, and then she put her arms around my shoulders and led me down to the shore with such solicitude, as if I were blind, as if I might fall. [. . .] I wore her coat like a beatitude, and her arms around me were as heartening as mercy, and I would say nothing that might make her loosen her grasp or take on step away. (Robinson 1980: 160-161)

Robinson emphasizes the emotional intensity, and the bodily awkwardness, of this strange embrace. Ruth finds in this bundling together of bodies and clothing the emotional swaddling she lost with her grandmother's death and her mother's suicide. The coat encases Ruth up to her ears even as Sylvie wraps her in her arms. Ruth says that Sylvie "led me down to the shore," but with both Sylvie's arms around her shoulders, "grasping" her close, they can only walked like people tied together for a three-legged race. Robinson leaves us confused about just where one body ends and the other begins, and both blend into the amorphous identity fostered by the coat.

Bodily blending and strange, miraculous rebirth also occur at the end of the book of *Ruth*. When Ruth gives birth to a baby boy with Boaz, "Naomi took the child, and laid it in her bosom, and became nurse unto it. And the women her neighbours gave it a name, saying, There is a son born to Naomi" (Ruth 4: 16-17). Despite being elderly and barren, Naomi's body has become so fully bonded with Ruth's that she can nurse her child. Such an amalgamation is at once

miraculous and transgressive, like the body of Spenser's monster Error, suggesting a reproductive disorder that, while channeled back into the patriarchal line, implicitly undercuts the rigorous boundaries it requires. Under Mosaic law the baby is legally Mahlon's heir, and thus Naomi's grandson. Jennifer L. Koosed points to an array of shocking implications in these overlapping triangles of mothers, husbands, and sons: "[Naomi] functions as both husband to Ruth and wife to Boaz, father to Obed and mother to Obed" (2011: 58-59). The same laws that Ruth and Naomi used to gain social power, now consolidate their place in society by subverting all of its fundamental categories of family, gender, and identity.

Housekeeping ends where the Book of *Ruth* begins, with two women leaving home and recreating themselves as wanderers. Threatened with separation by society and the law, Ruth and Sylvie burn their house and cross the railroad bridge in the night. The town presumes them dead, so they effectively become non-persons. "Perhaps all unsheltered people are angry in their hearts, and would like to break the roof, spine, and ribs, and smash the windows and flood the floor and spindle the curtains and bloat the couch" (168). As Stefan Mattesich notes, such anger emerges from a desire to destroy the distinction between inside and outside, public and private, motion and stasis "figured both as house and body" (2008: 70). The word the biblical Ruth uses for "lodgest" --לוּן (luwn)– has one additional, rarer, meaning: it can signify a verbal complaint –to "murmur" or "grumble." This usage appears almost exclusively in Exodus and Numbers, when the children of Israel are always "murmuring" angrily to Moses about of the privations of their wandering lives.

> And the whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness: […] Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh pots, and when we did eat bread to the full; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger. (Ex 16:12-13)

The Israelites' main complaint is that they have been shifted from stable beings, who "sat by the flesh pots," to transient beings who do not have a clear home or a reliable source of food. Their לוּן (luwn), or unreliable lodging, leads to their לוּן (luwn), or murmuring. The relationship between these meanings derives from the notion that remaining somewhere all night involves a sort of obstinacy one would expect from a grouchy troublemaker. Those who tarry the night in a place that is not their home are always murmuring, creating a noise, generating a background hum of dissatisfaction that disrupts those with comfortable beds to sleep in. Ruth's oath to Naomi thus resonates, or perhaps murmurs, with all those who are displaced and deracinated. Not only does it redefine what it means to go, stay, and be at home in relation to gender and power; it involves a constant murmur of moving language that, like their own moving bodies, is never at rest.

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SEMANTIC PRIMES IN HISTORICAL LANGUAGES. THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH EXPONENT FOR DO[1]

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ABSTRACT. *This journal article follows the research line opened on the search for semantic primes' exponents in Old English within the frame of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage theory (Goddard 1997, 2012; Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002). The aim of this study is to complete the line of research on prime identification opened on the category Actions, events, movement, contact by establishing the Old English exponent of the prime DO. With this purpose, this paper discusses the adequacy of different OE verbs as possible prime exponent on the basis of textual frequency, morphology, semantics and syntactic complementation. Relevant data of analysis have been retrieved mainly from the lexical database of Old English Nerthus, the* Dictionary of Old English *(Healey* et al. *2018) and the* Dictionary of Old English Corpus *(Healey* et al. *2009).*

Keywords: Natural Semantic Metalanguage, semantic primes, historical linguistics, Old English, valency options.

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PRIMITIVOS SEMÁNTICOS EN LENGUAS HISTÓRICAS. IDENTIFICACIÓN DEL EXPONENTE EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO PARA *DO*

RESUMEN. *Este artículo continúa la línea de investigación basada en la búsqueda de exponentes de primitivos semánticos en inglés antiguo dentro del marco de la teoría del Natural Semantic Metalanguage (Goddard 1997, 2012; Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002). Este estudio tiene como objetivo completar la investigación desarrollada en la identificación de primitivos semánticos dentro de la categoría* Actions, events, movement, contact *estableciendo el exponente en inglés antiguo para el primitivo DO. Con este fin, este artículo evalúa la aptitud de distintos verbos en inglés antiguo como posibles exponentes del primitivo en cuestión mediante un análisis basado en la frecuencia textual, morfología, semántica y complementación sintáctica del verbo en cuestión. La información para el análisis ha sido extraída, principalmente, de la base de datos del inglés antiguo Nerthus, del* Dictionary of Old English *(Healey* et al. *2018) y del* Dictionary of Old English Corpus *(Healey* et al. *2009).*

Palabras clave: Natural Semantic Metalanguage, primitivos semánticos, lingüística histórica, inglés antiguo, valency options.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (henceforth NSM) theory is based on the assertion that there is a set of core concepts that can be found cross-linguistically. These concepts are called semantic primes and they are described as simple, indefinable terms. The main assumption of the NSM model is that by means of the principle of reductive paraphrase and by applying the appropriate grammatical rules, these primes are able to describe complex concepts in terms of simple ones in every natural language.

These concepts have the property of being universal, this is, they can be found cross-linguistically and they are able to express any meaning in a natural language. It is precisely this universality what has led many researchers to identify these concepts in several living languages. However, to test this universal property, some researches have emerged on the identification of primes in historical languages such as Old English (hereafter OE).

The latest studies within this line of research have been conducted in the category *Actions, events, movement, contact* from which the OE exponents TOUCH, HAPPEN and MOVE have been identified (Mateo Mendaza 2013, 2016a,

2016b).[2] In order to complete the work conducted on this category, this research intends to select the OE exponent for the semantic prime DO and, by focusing on the conclusions derived from each analysis, to establish a proper methodology to study semantic primes in historical languages.

This article is organised as follows: in section 2, an explanation of the main hypothesis of the NSM model is provided along with a description on the work made on semantic primes in OE to date. Section 3 describes DO from the NSM perspective and lists the possible candidates for prime exponent in OE. At this point, the relationship between the Present-Day English exponent of DO and the candidate *(ge)dōn* emerges. The following section proposes a methodology based on an array of criteria for exponent selection, which is later applied to the verb candidates (Section 4 and Section 5). Section 6 discusses prime selection and secondary meanings related to the dichotomy *do/make*; finally, the main conclusions drawn from this research are presented in Section 7.

2. SEMANTIC PRIMES

After the first proposal on semantic primes presented by Anna Wierzbicka in the early seventies, along with the work by Cliff Goddard, the NSM theory has been refined and expanded to reach its current status as one of the most important theories within the field of lexical semantics. This semantic theory is based on the assumption that:

> Semantics can have an explanatory value only if it manages to "define" (or explicate) complex and obscure meanings in terms of simple and self-explanatory ones. If a human being can understand any utterances at all [...] it is only because these utterances are built, so to speak, out of simple elements which can be understood by themselves. (Wierzbicka 1996: 12).

These simple elements are referred to as semantic primes and they share the property of being also universal, that is, they can be found in all languages.

The inventory of primes, which was first published in 1970, was comprised of fourteen semantic primes. This initial inventory has been updated by adding and rearranging semantic primes to adapt them to current thinking. Nowadays, the list of semantic primes consists of sixty-five primes divided into seventeen different categories. Figure 1 displays the inventory of primes in English and, some of them, are presented along with their *allolexes* or *allomorphs*, which represent the language dependent variant forms that the prime may adopt depending on the context (indicated by ~).

2 The NSM research team has recently updated the inventory of primes and some of them have been rearranged. This affects the category under analysis, which is currently called Actions, events, movement. Therefore, it leaves out the prime TOUCH, which is now included within the category Possession. Nevertheless, the results obtained from this analysis will also be compared with TOUCH in the review.

I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING~THING, PEOPLE, BODY	substantives
KIND, PART	relational substantives
THIS, THE SAME, OTHER~ELSE	determiners
ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MUCH~MANY, LITTLE~FEW	quantifiers
GOOD, BAD	evaluators
BIG, SMALL	descriptors
KNOW, THINK, WANT, DON'T WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR	mental predicates
SAY, WORDS, TRUE	speech
DO, HAPPEN, MOVE	actions, events, movement
BE (SOMEWHERE), THERE IS, BE (SOMEONE/SOMETHING)	location, existence, specification
(IS) MINE	possession
LIVE, DIE	life and death
WHEN~TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT	time
WHERE~PLACE~SOMEWHERE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, ON ONE SIDE, INSIDE, TOUCH	place
NOT~DON'T, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF	logical concepts
VERY, MORE~ANYMORE	augmentor, intensifier
LIKE~AS~WAY	similarity

Figure 1. Semantic primes: English exponents and allolexes (NSM webpage).

As explained by Wierzbicka in the quotation above, the NSM theory relies on the principle of *reductive paraphrase*, which stipulates that complex meanings can be expressed in terms of simple ones. Thus, semantic primes combine with one another to define the meanings of complex concepts in a such a way that they avoid unnecessary abstraction, circularity and the use of obscure definitions. The resulting product obtained from the combination of primes is called *explication*. Explications make use of semantic primes and, in cases in which meanings are much more complex, of *semantic molecules*. Semantic molecules are defined by Goddard (2011: 71) as: "non-primitive meanings that function, alongside the semantic primes, as conceptual building blocks in the meaning structure of other, yet more complex words". Semantic

molecules include terms such as *hand*, *long*, *round*, etc. They are marked by the notation [m]. Figure 2 sets an example of how explications work within the NSM model and how semantic molecules can be inserted within these descriptions.

head (someone's head)
a. one part of someone's body
b. this part is above all the other parts of the body
c. this part is like something round [m]
d. when a person thinks about something, something happens in this part of this someone's body

Figure 2. Explication for the word *head* (Goddard 2012: 7).

Although the NSM relies on semantic grounds to manifest the universality of primes, it should be remarked that primes have an inherent grammar, which has also the quality of being universal. This means that the combinatorial properties of primes are found cross-linguistically, although its formal realisation may vary from one language to another. In this sense, each prime has a canonical syntactic frame –minimal frame– in which a predicate such as HAPPEN can be found along with a substantive phrase, such as SOMETHING. However, the nature of a predicate may allow for extended syntactic configurations in which this prime may occur. These optional syntactic frames are called *valency options* within the NSM theory and each option is labelled under the traditional set of semantic roles. An example of the valency options proposed for HAPPEN and its semantic roles is displayed in Figure 3.

something HAPPENS	[minimal frame]
something HAPPENS to someone/something	[undergoer frame]
something HAPPENS somewhere	[locus frame]

Figure 3. Minimal frame and valency options for HAPPEN (Goddard 2015: 3).

This said, many researchers, led by Wierzbicka and Goddard, have contributed to the improvement and enlargement of the NSM theory, thus giving rise to the Natural Semantic Metalanguage Research Programme (NSMRP). This program involves research on different disciplines such as

language acquisition, ethnography and non-verbal communication, although the most productive research has been conducted in the identification of these primes in several languages. Semantic primes exponents have been researched in more than 70 languages, including Russian, French, Arabic, Malay, Amharic (Ethiopia), Korean, East Cree (Canada) or Yankunytjatjara (Australia), among others.

Against this background and given that the identification of primes has been made on living languages, a new line of research that focuses on the identification of primes within historical languages has been pursued in the last years. The language selected for these studies was OE and research on this language has been conducted, initially, by Martín Arista and Martín de la Rosa (2006), who deal with the OE exponents for the primes included within the categories *Substantives, Determiners* and *Quantifiers*. After that, de la Cruz Cabanillas (2007) and Guarddón Anelo (2009) continued this work by establishing the OE exponents for the descriptors BIG and SMALL and of some adpositions, respectively. Their studies are grounded on the assumption that there is no direct way to check the adequacy of prime exponents due to the lack of native speakers of this language. This situation entails to select prime exponents by means of indirect methods based mainly on corpus work. These authors propose text-frequency as the central criteria in their analysis, although the syntax of the candidates is also taken into consideration by some of them (Martín Arista and Martín de la Rosa 2006; de la Cruz Cabanillas 2007). From these studies the idea of expanding on this line of research emerged. Recent research on OE semantic primes has focused on the primes TOUCH (Mateo Mendaza 2013), HAPPEN (Mateo Mendaza 2016a) and MOVE (Mateo Mendaza 2016b), included within the previously called category *Actions, events, movement, contact*. These studies elaborate on the idea that exponent identification in historical languages should rely on an array of textual, morphological, semantic and syntactic criteria that determine the suitability of a word as prime exponent. At the same time, by refining the methodology in the course of each study, this research line aims at establishing a principled methodology that motivates the identification of prime exponents in other historical languages.

3. THE SEMANTIC PRIME DO: SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR PRIME EXPONENT

From the NSM perspective, DO is described as a semantic prime associated with the concept of "action" and, as such, it belongs to the category *Actions, events, movement, contact*.

Within this framework, the meaning of DO is closely related to that of "perform, accomplish, effect". It is described as a transitive verb with an obligatory agent slot and an action complement, and it is inherently related to a time adjunct. This canonical syntactic frame also allows for variation in manner, as "SOMEONE DOES SOMETHING LIKE THIS (=IN THIS WAY)" (Goddard 2008: 72). Apart from this minimal frame, valency options associated to patient, instrument and comitative slots are available in universal grammar for the primitive DO (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002: 52).

Against this background, the search for the OE exponent for DO requires a revision of all the OE transitive verbs conveying the meaning "to do" in order to select all possible candidates for prime exponent. With this purpose, the *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth HTOED, Kay *et al.* 2009) has been consulted. This source provides a list of ten different candidates for prime exponent, viz., *gegān, (ge)gearwian, (ge)lǣstan, (ge)macian, (ge)dōn, (ge)þēon, wracian, (ge)drēogan, (ge)wyrcan* and *gedihtan*. Apart from the information of the thesaurus, it is important to check the full meaning of these verbs in other OE lexicographical sources, such as Bosworth-Toller's (1973), Hall's (1996) and Sweet's (1976) dictionaries and the *Dictionary of Old English: online A to I* (Healey *et al.* 2018), to examine the centrality of "to do" within each candidate. After this search, some candidates are directly discarded from this research as they do not include "to do, perform" as their primary meaning. This is the case of *(ge)dihtan*, whose core meaning is "to put in order, dispose, arrange"; *gegān* which is defined as "to go"; *(ge)gearwian,* which means "to prepare, make ready"; and *(ge)lǣstan,* which gives preference to the meaning "to follow, attend". The same happens to *wracian* which is listed on the dictionaries with the meaning "to be banished, be in exile" and, indeed, is marked in the *Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts *et al.* 2000) as a very infrequent word. In the case of *(ge)wyrcan*, it is a highly used verb in the OE language, but both its semantics and etymology directly relate this verb to the meaning "to work, labour" (Orel 2003: 457).

On the other hand, the verbs *(ge)macian, (ge)dōn, (ge)þēon* and *(ge)drēogan* are defined with the meaning "to do" as their core meaning and, thus, they can be proposed as potential candidates for prime exponent. Nevertheless, a first sight at the list of candidates reveals that, in formal grounds, the verb *(ge)dōn* stands out from the rest of verbs. It seems to be a strong relationship between the verb *(ge)dōn* and the Present-Day English (hereafter PDE) exponent of DO, that is, the verb *do*. Regarding their etymology, different authors including Skeat (1993: 121), point out that these words are closely related. This is also confirmed by Orel (2003: 73), who traces back to the Indo-European origins of the PDE meaning "to do, make" as follows: **dhē* (IE) < **ðōnan* (ProGr) < *dōn* (OE).

Indeed, many authors such as Visser (1984), Mitchell (1985) and Denison (1993) concur on the grammatical relationship between the verb *(ge)dōn* and the PDE verb *do* and, on this basis, they establish the evolution of *do* from the OE period to the present. During the OE period, the verb *(ge)dōn* was able to assume different functions in the language and most of them are also available nowadays. The attested uses for *(ge)dōn* were the full verb *do,* proverb(al) *do* and causative *do*. In its full form, the transitive use of *(ge)dōn* as "perform, accomplish" concurs with the main meaning of the PDE form. However, in some early texts *(ge)dōn* was also used transitively with the meaning "to put, place" (Denison 1993: 256), but this use is not attested anymore. Furthermore, although less frequently, *(ge)dōn* was also used as an intransitive verb meaning "to act" and "was usually cataphoric or anaphoric for another verb" (Denison 1993: 256). This intransitive use is still found in PDE in sentences such as "They are free to do as they please" (Oxford Learner's Dictionary 2020). The general term *proverb(al) do* corresponds to what other authors call *substitute do* or *vicarious do* (Denison 1993: 271). Proverb(al) constructions with the verb *do* are frequently found in PDE. Its origins go back to the OE period, when the verb *(ge)dōn* could be used in reference to a foregoing verb. As a proverb, *(ge)dōn* could copy the constructions of the verb which it stood for. This use is thought to have influenced the existence of the auxiliary use of *do* in the language (Denison 1993).

On the contrary, the causative use of *(ge)dōn* is not represented in PDE due to the evolution undergone by this construction. In OE causation was expressed by the verbs *(ge)dōn, hatan,* and *lætan* (Ringe and Taylor 2014) although other verbs could also perform this function[3]. In the Middle English period, new verbs such as *cause, get, have*, and *make* developed this causative meaning. This fact contributed to the disappearance of the causative meaning of *do*, which was attested during the 16th century for the last time (Denison 1993: 257).

All these reasons determine the connection between the OE *(ge)dōn* and PDE *do* and strongly suggest that *(ge)dōn* could be seen as the OE exponent for the semantic prime DO. However, the search of prime exponents is a synchronic issue and, thus, it is necessary to study the different candidates proposed on their own to check their role within the OE language.

With this purpose, these candidates are going to be studied under an array of different criteria that will establish their suitability as prime exponent. However, due to prior arguments, the results of *(ge)dōn* will be taken as the benchmark for the comparative analysis carried out within each criterion.

3 See Royster (1922) for a thorough analysis of OE causatives.

4. SELECTING CRITERIA FOR PRIME EXPONENT

As in previous studies (Mateo Mendaza 2013, 2016a, 2016b), the methodology of this research consists of two steps. Firstly, potential candidates for prime exponent are selected on the basis of the information provided by lexicographical sources. Secondly, the prime exponent is identified by means of a set of morphological, textual, semantic and syntactic criteria. Some of these criteria have proved more conclusive than others for the identification of prime exponents in OE, specifically the semantic and syntactic ones (Mateo Mendaza 2016a). This is due to the fact that the results provided by morphological and textual criteria are prone to be affected by different linguistic phenomena, such as polysemy and homonymy; whereas the syntactic and semantic criteria would turn out more consistent results since they are the core of the NSM theory. Nevertheless, the four types of criteria must be taken into account in order to test the centrality of the word selected as prime exponent.

The requirements involved by the morphological and textual criteria are based on the notion of productivity posed by Bauer (2001). Bauer states that the productivity of a given process can be decomposed into availability and profitability (2001: 205). Availability entails that a process is accessible to create new words in a given period; whereas profitability is a quantitative concept that assesses the number of words created under the process at stake. In this sense, the morphological criterion stipulates that the prime exponent is a core word within the language available for the speaker to create a significant number of new words, thus being profitable. Therefore, this exponent is expected to be the base of derivation for several words or even the primitive of a large lexical paradigm in which words of different categories are created by means of different word formation processes.

Regarding the textual criterion, the exponent selected is expected to be frequent within the language since this would imply that this word is maximally available for the speaker of that language. For this reason, the number of textual types found for the verb under analysis, that is, the different inflected forms and realizations of the verb at stake, and tokens, the occurrences of each type within the corpus, are taken into account when gauging the textual criterion[4].

Finally, semantic and syntactic criteria stipulate that the exponent resembles the requirements of the semantic prime as much as possible. In this respect,

4 The term "textual type" as used in this article makes reference to the unlemmatized forms of the verb found within the corpus; as opposed to the term "type" which refers to the lemmatised form found as the entry of a dictionary.

although polysemy may affect the candidate, the word selected should have a core meaning similar to that of the semantic prime. Regarding syntax, as explained in section 2, semantic primes present a basic syntactic configuration -minimal frame-, but there are also other possible syntactic frames -valency options- associated with each prime (Goddard 2015). Therefore, the word selected as prime exponent must conform to the prototypical minimal frame, but also to the valency options of the prime under analysis.

The identification of the semantic prime exponent in terms of the criteria mentioned above, calls for the use of different lexicographical and textual sources to gather relevant data of the candidate words. In order to check the category, status and inheritance relations of the verb selected, the lexical database of OE *Nerthus* (www.nerthusproject.com) has been consulted (accessed on the 21st February 2019). This database contains ca. 30,000 entries based on Hall's (1996) Bosworth-Toller's (1973) and Sweet's (1976) dictionaries. For each entry semantic information, as well as a description on the inflection and derivational paradigms of each word, is given. On the other hand, the type frequency of the exponent and the token frequency presented by each form, have been counted up by consulting the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC, Healey *et al.* 2009). Additionally, *the Dictionary of Old English: online A to I* (DOE, Healey *et al.* 2018) has been consulted in order to retrieve the semantic frames and syntactic behaviour of the verbs at stake. For those verbs not included in the DOE, Bosworth-Toller's (1973) dictionary has been used. Finally, in order to find instances of the selected candidate corresponding to the different frames of DO, the DOEC (Healey *et al.* 2009) has been accessed. The excerpts selected as relevant examples belong to some of the most important OE works, such as, *The Old English History of the World: An Anglo-Saxon Rewriting of Orosius* (Godden 2016), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People. Part I 1* (Miller 1959a), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People. Part I 2* (Miller 1959b) and *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Thorpe 2011).

5. ANALYSIS

On the basis of previous studies on OE semantic primes (Mateo Mendaza 2013, 2016a, 2016b), the methodology applied to the selected verb for the OE exponent for the prime DO consists of an array of criteria in which the morphology, semantics, syntax and textual occurrences of *(ge)dōn* and the rest of candidates are revised.

The first step of analysis is to look at the morphology of the candidates. As previously commented, the morphological criterion requires that the word selected

as prime exponent constitute a base of derivation of a productive paradigm. A search for the lexical paradigm of the verb *(ge)dōn* on *Nerthus* database launches 38 results. These results are displayed in the following lines, where the members of the paradigm are itemized in terms of their status and category and each word is presented along with their PDE translation:

Primitive

- Verb:

  (ge)dōn (to do, make, act, perform; to put, place; to reach, achieve; to make, cause, effect; to take (from, to or away); to give, confer, bestow; to consider, esteem; to observe; to keep; to remove, put away; to put to death; to expend, apply (money); to shew mercy, do honour; to give, supply, furnish)

Prefixation

- Verb:

  Ādōn (to take, take away, remove; to send away, set free, cast out, expel, banish; to destroy; to put, place), *ætdōn* (to take away, deprive), *bedōn* (to shut); *forðdōn* (to put forth); *fordōn 1* (to undo; to bring to nought, ruin, destroy, kill; to seduce, defile, corrupt); *forgedōn* (to undo, bring to naught, ruin, destroy, abolish, kill; to corrupt; to seduce, defile), *framādōn* (to do or take from or away; to cut off); *fuldōn* (to perform, complete, satisfy; to arrange); *misdōn* (to act wrongly, err, offend, transgress, do evil); *oðdōn* (to put out); *ofādōn* (to pull out, tear out), *ofdōn* (to put out, put off, take off (clothes)); *oferdōn* (to overdo, do to excess); *onādōn* (to put on); *ondōn 2* (to put on (clothes)); *tōdōn* (to apply, put to, add; divide, separate, distinguish; undo, open, unbind); *ðurhdōn* (perficere); *undōn* (to undo, open, loosen, separate; cancel, discharge, abrogate, destroy); *ungedōn* (not done); y*mbdōn* (to put round, encompass)

- Adjective

  fordōn 2 (corrupt, wicked; abandoned); *onfordōn* (destroyed)

Suffixation

- Noun:

  Dōere (doer, worker); *ondōung* (injection)

- Adjective:

  Dōnlic (active); *undōnness* (state of being undone)

Compounding

- Verb:

  Ingedōn (to put in); *underdōn* (to put under); *weldōn* (to do well; benefit, satisfy, please);

- Noun:

  Ælmesdōnd (almsgiver); *gōddōnd* (Benefactor); *Unrihtdōn* (evildoer); *Yfeldōnd* (evildoer)

- Adjective:

  Ærgedōn (done before); *Rihtdōnde* (doing what is right); *Welgedōn* (well-done, good, beneficent)

Zero derivation

- Adjective:

  fordōn 2 (corrupt, wicked; abandoned)

Regarding the status of *(ge)dōn*, this anomalous verb is the primitive of lexical derivation from this paradigm. Moreover, the derived words of the paradigm are created directly from the primitive. Therefore, all of them maintain part of the core meaning of the verb, as in the case of *framadōn* "to do or take from or away; to cut off" or *dōnlic* "active" among others. Besides, these words are created by means of the most significant word formation processes, this is, prefixation, suffixation, compounding and zero derivation and they belong to major lexical categories (nouns, verbs and adjectives).

As for the rest of candidates, whereas *(ge)þēon* is a derivationally unrelated verb without derivatives on its own, *(ge)drēogan* and (*ge)macian* are also the primitive word of their lexical paradigms. In this sense, as displayed by *Nerthus* database, *(ge)macian* only creates one prefixed verb and one suffixed noun, so its paradigm cannot be seen as a productive one. On the contrary, *(ge)drēogan* presents 13 derivatives that belong to all major lexical categories and are formed by means of suffixation, derivation and zero derivation.

Despite the results of *(ge)drēogan* satisfy the requirements of the morphological criterion, the data displayed by *(ge)dōn* exceeds by far these results with 38 derivatives of its own and, thus, it is considered a more suitable candidate for prime exponent.

Moving to the textual criterion, which examines the frequency of the verbs under analysis within the OE period, the DOEC (Healey *et al.* 2009) presents the results conveyed in Table 1.

Table 1. Textual occurrences for the candidate verbs in the DOEC (Healey *et al*. 2009).

Type	Occurrences	Textual types	Textual tokens
(ge)dōn	*do* (2094), *dyde* (1629), *don* (1318), *gedon* (830), *dom* (759), *deað* (647), *deð* (635), *dydon* (573), *donne* (275), *gedo* (268), *dæde* (244), *dydest* (220), *gedyde* (218), *deþ* (201), *dest* (171), *dem* (139), *donde* (133), *gedeð* (117), *dide* (115), *doeð* (83), *gedydon* (81), *doa* (67), *gedone* (58), *det* (56), *doe* (50), *des* (46), *didon* (45), *dydan* (43), *gedeþ* (40), *dondum* (38), *doo* (37), *gedoð* (37), *dydes* (34), *dede* (32), *dydun* (30), *dyden* (29), *doende* (26), *doem* (25), *doas* (25), *done* (24), *does* (23), *gedydest* (22), *gedest* (21), *gedoe* (21), *didest* (20), *diden* (17), *ðo* (17), *gedoeð* (17), *gedoeð* (17), *dydyst* (16), *doest* (15), *gidoe* (14), *dedon* (13), *doam* (12), *doon* (12), *dondes* (11), *dæþ* (10), *dæð* (10), *gedonne* (10), *gedoa* (10), *doeþ* (9), *gidyde* (8), *gedydan* (8), *doan* (7), *doanne* (7), *doen* (7), *dondan* (7), *doynde* (7), *doend* (7), *gedoo* (7), *gedoen* (6), *gidoa* (6), *gedoþ* (6), *deden* (5), *gedide* (5), *gedoon* (5), *dedun* (4), *doendo* (4), *gedom* (4), *gedoað* (4), *duden* (3), *dedan* (3), *doom* (3), *dædon* (3), *dydo* (3), *gedoan* (3), *gedidest* (3), *gidoas* (3), *gidoeð* (3), *gedoest* (3), *destu* (2), *doæs* (2), *doenne* (2), *doyndum* (2), *doendum* (2), *doynne* (2), *ðeð* (2), *dædun* (2), *deodan* (2), *dudest* (2), *didan* (2), *dydestu* (2), *gedyden* (2), *gedoaþ* (2), *gedem* (2), *gedede* (2), *dyst* (1), *ðeþ* (1), *dyð* (1), *dot* (1), *dood* (1), *dydæ* (1), *dydede* (1), *dyd* (1), *dydost* (1), *dides* (1), *dedest* (1), *dedyst* (1), *dudon* (1), *deodon* (1), *deoden* (1), *dydyn* (1), *doane* (1), *doonde* (1), *dode* (1), *dondne* (1), *doyndys* (1), *doyndan* (1), *dodum* (1), *donden* (1), *donan* (1), *gedoom* (1), *gedæst* (1), *gedet* (1), *gidoes* (1), *gedoæs* (1), *gedoas* (1), *gido* (1), *gedeo* (1), *gædo* (1), *gedydyst* (1), *gedydost* (1), *gedidon* (1), *gededan* (1)	*144*	*12,023*
(ge)drēogan	*dreogan* (34), *drugon* (23), *dreogað* (18), *dreah* (16), *dreogende* (14), *dreogeð* (12), *dreoge* (10), *dreag* (8), *dryhð* (5), *drogan* (4), *drihð* (3), *dreogest* (3), *druge* (3), *drugan* (3), *dreoh* (2), *drigen* (2), *drigð* (2), *gedreogeð* (1), *gedrihð* (1), *gedrigð (1), gedreah* (1), *droge* (1), *drigast* (1), *drihst* (1), *drigiþ* (1), *dreogaþ* (1), *dreagæð* (1), *druh* (1), *drohgende* (1), *dreogendes* (1), *dreoganne* (1), *dreogenne* (1), *dreigen* (1), *dricæn* (1)	*34*	*179*

Type	Occurrences	Textual types	Textual tokens
(ge)þēon	*þeode* (513), *þeo* (302), *ðeode* (177), *þeoden* (89), *þeod* (85), *geþeode* (83), *ðeo* (62), *þeoh* (47), *geðeode* (37), *þeonde* (30), *ðeod* (26), *geþeod* (25), *geþeon* (22), *ðeoden* (13), *ðeonde* (12), *þeon* (12), *geðeod* (10), *ðeoh* (10), *geðeon* (7), *geþeo* (7), *geðeo* (4), *þeodað* (3), *geþeodað* (3), *geþeoh* (3), *geðeodað* (3), *ðeon* (2), *ðeodað* (2)	*27*	*1,589*
(ge)macian	*maciað* (48), *macian* (28), *macode* (18), *gemacod* (10), *macodon* (6), *maca* (5), *gemaciað* (2), *macast* (2), *macaþ* (2), *macie* (2), *gemacie* (1), *gemacedon* (1), *gemacion* (1), *maciæn* (1), *maciende* (1), *maciende* (1), *macion* (1)	*17*	*130*

The textual criterion asks for a maximally available word as prime exponent, so, a high number of both textual types and tokens within the OE corpus will determine the candidate that was regularly accessible for the speakers during the OE period.

In this respect, the results select the verb *(ge)dōn* as prime exponent, as it clearly outnumbers the rest of candidates in terms of frequency, with 144 types and 12,023 tokens. Indeed, the figures displayed by *(ge)dōn* also surpass the ones presented by other verbs selected as prime exponent for the semantic primes included within the same category as DO identified in previous research. This is the case of the verb *(ge)hrīnan*, exponent of TOUCH, which presented 31 types and 216 textual tokens; *(ge)limpan*, exponent of HAPPEN, with 30 types and 584 tokens; and *(ge)styrian*, exponent of MOVE, showing 52 types and 272 occurrences within the OE Corpus (Mateo Mendaza 2013: 460; 2016a: 584; 2016b: 551). The high frequency of *(ge)dōn* is determined by different reasons. Regarding its inflectional morphology, there is agreement on the statement that, despite the group of anomalous verbs, such as *(ge)dōn*, is quite small, their frequency is exceptionally high (Diamond 1970: 33; Quirk and Wrenn 1994: 53; Hogg and Fulk 2011: 308). On the other hand, it is important to highlight that, as discussed in previous research (Mateo Mendaza 2016a), the textual criterion is the less conclusive one given that the results derived from the counting of tokens can be altered in different ways. Within this criterion, results are affected by homonymy, as some types of *(ge)dōn* share the same form to other words in OE that do not belong to the same paradigm. This is the case, for example, of the form *dom,* an attested form for the present indicative of *(ge)dōn*, that can be misled with the noun *dōm* "judgment, sentence, doom, ordeal", given that

the corpus does not show the length of the vowels. Besides, as discussed in section 3, apart from the core meaning "to do, perform", *(ge)dōn* is polysemic in its transitive form and there are other uses attributed to this verb, such as the intransitive, proverbal and causative ones. These uses might also influence the number of tokens.

Similarly, the second candidate in terms of frequency, this is, the verb *(ge)þēon* with 27 types and 1,589 tokens, is also affected by homonymy. Within the OE language there are three different verbs that share the form *(ge)þēon* in their infinitival form. Dictionaries show an entry for *(ge)þēon* meaning "to tame, oppress", another one for *(ge)þēon* defined as "to grow, increase" and a third entry for the verb under investigation. The occurrences of these verbs would undoubtedly overlap each other. Furthermore, homonymy also takes place between *(ge)þēon* and other frequent OE words such as *ðēod* "people, nation"; *ðēoden* "ruler, chief; lord, prince, king" or *(ge)ðēodan* "to join, associate with", among others.

The other verbs, *(ge)drēogan* and *(ge)macian*, show low figures in the corpus and, thus, they cannot be considered proper candidates. In fact, even the results for these candidates are altered by polysemy, as many other meanings are attributed to these verbs in dictionaries.

Despite the setbacks affecting this criterion, the significant high frequency of *(ge)dōn* within the corpus suggests that, undoubtedly, it is considered a suitable candidate for prime exponent.

According to previous studies, the semantic and syntactic criteria will be studied at the same time. Coming back to the description of DO in terms of the NSM theory made in section 3, this prime refers to a transitive verb used to talk about actions in general. The meaning DO is closely related to that of "perform", "accomplish" or "effect".

In these terms, all verbs selected as candidates convey the meaning "to do, perform" as their primary meaning. However, at this point, it is necessary to describe the semantics of these verbs in detail. In the case of *(ge)drēogan*, the definitions for this verb found in different dictionaries suggest that *(ge)drēogan* contains certain nuances that imply a figurative meaning related to spiritual life. For example, Sweet's (1976) dictionary describes it as "to do (with effort)"; Hall's (1996) as "to lead a certain life, do, work"; Bosworth-Toller's (1973) reads "to do, work, perform, to pass life, to fight" for the simplex form and "to perform, finish, bear, suffer" for the complex one. This assertion is reinforced by the DOE, which states that the 175 occurrences of *drēogan* found in the corpus belong primarily to poetry (the complex form only displays 4 occurrences, as shown in Table 1). This poetical use implies that this verb is used in a metaphoric way.

In the case of *(ge)þēon*, it is important to highlight that this verb is not included in Sweet's (1976) dictionary for the meaning under investigation, whereas it provides entries for the two other homonymous verbs. In Hall's (1996) dictionary, the entry for *(ge)þēon* with the meaning "to perform, do" is marked as occurring exclusively in poetical texts. Similarly, although Bosworth-Toller's (1973) dictionary provides an entry both for its complex and its simplex form, there is only one example of each one to justify the existence of this meaning in the OE language. Within these examples, the simplex form is found in a poem, as suggested by Hall (1996), whereas the example for *geþēon* belongs to the Holy Gospels.

Moving on to *(ge)macian*, it is usually found in dictionaries with the meaning "to make, do, act; to make, cause" (Bosworth-Toller 1973); "to arrange, manage" (Sweet 1976), "to make, form, construct, do" (Hall 1996). The entries of the dictionaries imply that for *(ge)macian* there is a certain intention to do something and the focus is placed on the result, instead of in the action itself. This description of *(ge)macian* suggest that its meaning is far from the semantic prime, since it is more restricted than that displayed by other candidates. At this point, the semantic differences between *do* and *make* arises. This issue, affecting the identification of prime exponents in several languages, is thoroughly examined in the following section.

All in all, the semantics of *(ge)þēon*, *(ge)drēogan* and *(ge)macian* does not conform to the prototype and, thus, it does not make them good candidates for prime exponent and, consequently, their syntax is not examined in this research.

Concerning the semantics of *(ge)dōn*, all dictionaries consulted concur on the primary meaning "to do, perform, make" as its primary meaning. The DOE (Healey *et al.* 2018) provides detailed information on the semantic frames of *(ge)dōn*, which are displayed in Figure 5. The frames in the DOE (Healey *et al.* 2018) match with those described by Denison (1993) in section 3. Hence, we can find the prototypical transitive use of *(ge)dōn*, other secondary meanings of this form, the intransitive, the causative, and its use as a pro-verb; although, as previously explained, only the former is considered in this research.

As this candidate does satisfy the requirements proposed by the semantic criteria, the next step of analysis calls for the study of the syntactic complementation of *(ge)dōn*. Along with the information on the semantic frames of *(ge)dōn,* Figure 5 also displays the syntactic patterns found for *(ge)dōn* when adopting the primary meaning "to do".

Predicate	Semantic Frames	Syntactic complementation (*to do*)
dōn	*1. to do, perform, act, achieve, make* *2. to place, set, put (with preposition or adverb of place)* *II. as pro-verb (used to avoid repetition)* *III. causative (make, cause)*	*1.a in various phrases (to do service (to), to do hateful evils, to inflict pain,…)* with noun complements 1.b with adjective complement 1.c with adverb or adverbial phrase 1.d in various adverbial phrases 1.e with adverbial clause of manner
gedōn	*1. to do, perform, act, achieve, make* *2. causative* *3. to place, set, put* *4. to give* *5. to arrive, to encamp* *6. pro-verb (to avoid repetition)*	*1.a. with noun complement (in various phrases)* *1.b. with adjectival complement (in various phrases)* *1.c. with adverb* *1.d. with various adverbial phrases* *1.e. with adverbial clause of manner*

Figure 5. Semantic frames and syntactic behaviour of the verb *(ge)dōn* as found in the DOE (Healey *et al.* 2018).

In terms of syntax, the NSM theory defines the primitive DO as an action predicate (realised as a direct object) that opens an obligatory agent slot (subject) and an obligatory action complement slot. Regarding this complement, Goddard (2008) points out that only a subset of primes can occur with a substantive complement, as it is the case of DO. Besides, the prime DO requires an (obligatory) time slot, and an optional place slot (Wierzbicka 1996; Goddard 1997). Recent studies have detected that DO and other predicate primes also allow for variation in manner (Goddard 2008). As it is shown in Figure 5, *(ge)dōn* satisfies the syntactic requirements of the primitive, given that, with the meaning "to do", both the simplex and complex forms of the verb are primarily followed by a substantive complement in order to fulfil its meaning. Apart from the more canonical substantive complement, the OE exponent *(ge)dōn* is also able to appear with adjectival complements or adverbial phrases and clauses acting as complements. Indeed, in both cases, adverbial clauses are specified to be "of manner". In this way, the manner property associated to the prime DO is satisfied as exemplified in 1a. Moreover, the examples provided by the DOEC (Healey *et al.* 2009) show that the optional locative is also found in some sentences with *(ge)dōn*, as in 1b; and the obligatory temporal reference is always present in an implicit (1a) or explicit manner (1b-c).

(1a.)

[Bede 2 025100 (9.132.1)]

Dyde se cyning swa hit ær cweden wæs; nales þæt an þæt he ðone wreccan to cwale ne gesealde, ac eac swylce him gefultumade, þæt he to rice becwom.

The king did as it has been said; he not only did not give up the exile to death, but also aided him in attaining to the throne. (Miller 1959a: 132)

(1b.)

[Or 4 025400 (8.100.27)]

Æfter þæm Scipia se consul, þæs oþres Scipian broþor, wæs monega gefeoht **donde on Ispanium**, & Magonem Pena latteow gefeng.

After that the consul Scipio, brother of the other Scipio, fought many battles in Spain and captured the Carthaginian general Mago (Godden 2016: 267)

(1c.)

[Bede 2 030100 (11.140.11)]

& he noht elles **dyde eallum þam dagum from ær morgenne oð æfen**, þon þæt cumende Cristes folc þider of eallum tunum & stowum mid godcundre lare timbrede <ond> synna forlætnesse bæðe aðwog in þæm streame þe <Glene> is nemned.

And every day from early morning till evening he did nothing but instruct Christs people in the word of God, who flocked there from all villages and places, washing them in the 1aver of the remission of sins at the river called the Glen (Miller 1959a: 141)

As explained at the beginning of this article, there are universal correspondences between the lexical meanings of primes and also between the ways these primes can combine to each other. These universal combinations are termed *valency options*. In this case, apart from the prototypical syntactic frame - minimal frame- of the semantic prime DO, this predicative prime accepts other valency options (optional arguments) related to patient, instrument, body-part or comitative slots:

a. someone DOES something	[minimal frame]
b. someone DOES something to someone else	[patient1 frame]
c. someone DOES something to something	[patient2 frame]
d. someone DOES something with something	[instrument frame]
e. someone DOES something with part of the body	[body-part frame]
f. someone DOES something with someone	[comitative frame]

Figure 6. Valency options of DO (Goddard 2015: 3).

As a universal aspect, these valency options can be also found in the OE language with the verb *(ge)dōn*, as demonstrated in the examples in (2a-f), retrieved from the DOEC (Healey *et al*. 2009).

(2a) Minimal frame

[Bede 2 009900 (4.108.5)]

Ac þeah þe **he þas þing dyde**, hu swiðe him speow, nu gen þas ondweardan tide, þa ilcan þeowas cyðað.

And though he did so, the present times and the same usages prove, how little he succeeded. (Miller 1959a: 109)

(2b) Patient frame1

[Or 6 027500 (34.152.28)]

On þæm ðriddan geare his rices, **þa he þæt mæste woh dyde wið þa Godes þeowas**, þa adrifon hine Gotan ut of hiora earde, & hie foran siþþan ofer Donua þa ea on Ualenses rice, & wilnedon to him þæt hie mosten on his rice mid friðe gesittan.

In the third year of his reign, when he was doing great injury to the servants of God, the Goths drove him out of their territory and then advanced over the river Danube into Valens› territory; and asked him to give permission for them to settle in his empire under protection (Godden 2016: 405)

(2c) Patient frame2

[ÆCHom I, 26 006100 (392.115)]

Simon ða mid deofles cræfte **dyde þæt ðæs deadan líc styrigende wæs**.

Simon then, through the devil›s craft, made the corpse of the dead to move. (Thorpe 2011: 372)

(2d) Instrument frame

[Or 3 033100 (11.80.7)]

& heo gedyde mid hiere lare þæt ealle Mæcedonie wæron þæm cyninge wiðerwearde, oþ hie fundon þæt hie sendon æfter Olimpeadum, Alexandres meder, þætte hio him gefylste þæt hie mehton ægðer ge þone cyning ge þa cuene him to gewildum gedon.

Through her advice she caused all the Macedonians to be opposed to the king, to the point that they devised a plan to send for Olympias, Alexander›s mother, to help them so that they could overpower both the king and the queen. (Godden 2016: 212)

(2e) Body-part frame

[Bede 4 025700 (14.294.23)]

Mid þy he ða hefgad wæs mid þa foresprecenan untrymnesse, & he onget þæt him deaðes dæg toweard wæs, þa ongon þæs cynelecan modes monn him ondrædan, þonne he to deaðe cumende wære & mid micle sare wæced þy læs he owiht unwyrþes oðþe ungerisnes **dyde mid his muþe**, oðþe mid oðerra lima styrenesse.

Now when he was overpowered with the aforesaid infirmity, and felt that his death›s day was at hand, then, being a man of royal character, he began to fear, lest on the approach of death, enfeebled by great pain, he might do something undignified or unbecoming, through the words of his mouth or the movements of his other members. (Miller 1959b: 294)

(2f) Comitative frame

[Bede 4 049100 (24.332.20)]

Þa onfeng heo anes heowscipes stowe to norðdæle Wiire þære ea, & þær efenlice an ger munuclif **dyde mid feawum hire geferum**.

Then she received, to the north of the river Wear, ground sufficient for one family, and there similarly she lived one year, under conventual discipline with a few associate. (Miller 1959b: 332)

In fact, apart from these examples that demonstrate the adequacy of *(ge)dōn* to the valency options of DO, the NSM proposed another syntactic configuration for this semantic prime, as it can be found in the 2017 updated version of its webpage (https://intranet.secure.griffith.edu.au/schools-departments/natural-semantic-metalanguage: accessed on the 25th January 2019). This valency option refers to "someone does something good (for someone else)/bad (to someone else)› and one example for each meaning is displayed in (3a-b):

(3a) Do something good

[Bede 5 035200 (14.440.27)]

Þæt he cwæð, þæt hie ærest ða fægran boc & ða hwitan englas forðbrohton, & æfter þon deofol þa sweartan, & hi þa englas swiðe medmicle ond þas unmætan, þæt is to ongeotene, þæt **he in ðære ærestan ældo his lifes hwelchwugu god dede**, ða he hwæðre in midfeorum life ealle ðurh his unrihte dæde aðeostrade & fordilegade.

Whereas he said that the angels brought forth first the fair and white book, and after that devils the black book, and the angels a very small and the others a monstrous one, by this we are to understand that he did some good in the first years of his life, which in middle age he obscured and blotted out completely by his unrighteous deeds. (Miller 1959b: 440)

(3b) Do something bad

[Or 6 026800 (34.152.11)]

He þa Ualens oðewde openlice þæt he ær diegellice gehyd hæfde, swa þæt he bebead þæt munecas, þe woroldlica þing forgan sculon & wæpna gefeoht, þæt hie wæpena namen, & mid þæm fuhte, & **yfel dyde mid oþrum monnum**.

Valens then revealed openly what he had previously hidden and ordered the monks, who were meant to abstain from worldly things and fighting with weapons, to take up arms and fight with them and do harm to other people. (Godden 2016: 402)

All this said, it can be concluded that both in terms of semantics and syntax, the verb *(ge)dōn* makes good candidate for the OE exponent of the semantic prime DO. This verb satisfies the requirement proposed by the prime DO, given that it expresses the core meaning of the primitive both in its simplex and complex form and, at the same time, the syntax of *(ge)dōn* resembles that of DO both in complementation and valency options.

6. DISCUSSION: THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN *DO* AND *MAKE* WITHIN THE NSM THEORY

This study has revolved around the semantic prime DO, which is portrayed by the PDE verb *do* and, as demonstrated by the current analysis, the OE verb *(ge)dōn*. As previously commented, the prime DO refers to actions in general and it is used as a simple form to describe complex meanings similar to those implied by the verbs "perform", "accomplish" or "effect". However, within the description of this prime, the question on the differences between the English verbs *do* and *make* may emerge.

In terms of the NSM perspective, Goddard (2011) and Goddard and Wierzbicka (2002) have already pointed out that some semantic primes can have a secondary meaning in certain languages. There is attestation of polysemy involving the prime DO and *make* for some languages such as Malay, Arrernte, Samoan or Kalam (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002: 25; Goddard 2008: 5) and this polysemy is also found for the OE verb *(ge)dōn* as shown in the meanings provided by the DOE in Figure 5 displayed in the previous section. As the meaning of *make* is quite close to that of DO, the NSM theory considers *make* a semantic molecule included within the category of verbs of creation along with other verbs such as *build* or *carve*. Therefore, the meaning of *make* presents some nuances that Goddard and Wierzbicka explain in their research on the English lexicon of doing and happening:

> *[M]aking something involves ‹doing something for some time› and, moreover, doing it with physical things. Likewise, making something requires a degree of forethought and intention: having a clear outcome in mind* (2016: 14).

Hence, the semantic difference between *do* and *make* is clear, being *do* a general -simple- term and *make* a more elaborated concept in which other nuances such as place and time references and a deliberate purpose take place.

Indeed, the reason for the manifestation of these dubious cases, as it is the distinction between *do* and *make*, is not merely semantic, but it is based on what Goddard (2011) describes as a tendency to *anglocentrism* found within this kind of studies. He talks about a natural predisposition to *ethnocentrism*, this is, describing the concepts of a given culture in terms a different cultural perspective, although no equivalents are found cross-culturally (Goddard 2011: 14). Nowadays, becoming the English language a global way of communication, linguistic theories are revolving around *anglocentrism*. However, it should be pointed out that the NSM is a universal theory and the problems derived from the exponent selection on each study are language dependent. Therefore, the dichotomy *do/make* present in English does not affect all languages, so it should not be taken as a general question in exponent selection.

To clarify this question, some examples in Germanic and Romance languages are proposed. In the case of German, it presents the same distinction found in PDE, represented by the verbs "tun" (do) and "machen" (make), being the meaning of *make* closely related to that explained by Goddard in the citation above.

(4)

in einem Projekt etwas tun (do something in a project)

ein Armband machen (make a bracelet)

On the other hand, Romance languages do not make a difference in this context. The verbs "hacer", "faire" and "fare", express both the meaning of "do, perform" and "make, create" in Spanish, French and Italian, respectively, with a single word.

(5)

Hacer algo en un proyecto

Hacer una pulsera

Faire quelque chose dans un projet

Faire a bracelet

Fare qualcosa in un progetto

Fare un braccialetto

Coming back to OE exponent selection, the study on the semantics of the candidate verbs *(ge)macian* and *(ge)dōn* has determined that their meaning clearly differ from one another. Whereas *(ge)macian* (to make, do, produce, form, construct, arrange) presents a more restricted meaning which focuses on the resulting product and the process of the action, *(ge)dōn* (to do, make, act, perform) displays a general and more simple meaning to talk about actions. Therefore, it is *(ge)dōn* the verb selected as prime exponent of DO.

Furthermore, the competition between *(ge)dōn* and *(ge)macian* has called the attention of other authors such as Kuhn (1980), who dealt with the semantic overlapping of these two verbs within the Middle English period. This author remarks that both verbs have a common West Germanic origin; however, *(ge)dōn* was more common -and thus more available- in the OE lexicon than *macian* and *gemacian*, which were considered rare. Kuhn adds that, whereas attestations of *(ge)dōn* are found in all OE dialects, *(ge)macian* is only found in the West Saxon dialect and, indeed, there was no attestation of its use before the Alfredian period (1980: 5). Against this background, the selection of *(ge)dōn* as the OE exponent of DO is reinforced both by semantic and historical reasons.

All things considered, it is important to bare in mind that the NSM is a universal theory in the sense that semantic primes can be found cross-linguistically and they represent meanings existing in every natural language. However, the selection of semantic primes is language dependent. Hence, the different language specific semantic phenomena that may arise during the identification of primes should not be considered as a general rule or compared to one another, but primes should be studied within a particular cultural context.

7. CONCLUSION

This article aims at completing the exponent selection of the semantic primes included in the category *Actions, events, movement, contact* by establishing the OE exponent for the prime DO. With this purpose, the conclusion is drawn that the OE verb *(ge)dōn* is established as the OE exponent for the semantic prime DO. This research has proved that the results provided by *(ge)dōn* surpass those obtained by the rest of candidates, viz. *(ge)þēon, (ge)drēogan* and (*ge)macian*, in

all the criteria analysed and fulfils the requirements proposed to be selected as the best prime exponent in this respect.

From a methodological point of view, this article has adopted the perspective of previous studies on this category by relying on an array of criteria to determine the adequacy of the candidate to be a proper prime exponent. However, the selection of candidates as prime exponents has entailed a change in methodology. At this point, etymological and grammatical arguments have given priority to one of the candidates over the others. For this reason, especial emphasis has been put on a single candidate, whose results obtained from the different criteria have been carefully contrasted to those of the rest of candidates to check its accuracy as prime exponent. This has allowed to narrow the scope of analysis and provide an in-depth description of the selected prime exponent.

This article has completed the line of research opened on the identification of semantic primes in OE within the category *Actions, events, movement, contact*. All these studies follow the same methodological principles, which converge on the analysis of candidates under a morphological, textual, semantic and syntactic perspective to determine their adequacy as prime exponents. However, within each study, the analysis has been continually improved and adapted to the requirements of each prime and, at the same time, it has been updated to the developments of the NSM theory. For instance, the research on HAPPEN revealed that some criteria are more conclusive than others (Mateo Mendaza 2016a). This is, the textual criterion is more sensitive to polysemy and homonymy, whereas the semantic and syntactic ones are more consistent given the semantic-syntactic basis of the NSM theory. Subsequent research made on the semantic prime MOVE, required an in-depth analysis on semantic-syntactic properties of the prime in order to restrict the selection of candidates to those verbs expressing motion in a transitive way (Mateo Mendaza 2016). And finally, the present study has also involved some modifications on candidate selection by using relevant literature to narrow the scope of analysis, establishing a single candidate as a benchmark for contrastive analysis.

All this confirms that the search for exponents for semantic primes in historical languages is not a straightforward task, but it needs to be continually refined and updated to the demands of each semantic prime and the novelties introduced by the researchers of the NSM theory. Nevertheless, the study carried out in this article, along with the results and discussion provided in previous research, allows us to establish the methodology proposed as the most effective process in the search for semantic primes in historical languages. In this sense, this approach lays the foundations of prime identification by validating the effectiveness of the criteria and by exposing the various issues that arise in this kind of analysis, as

well as potential solutions that can be applied to solve them. The studies on the category *Actions, events, movement, contact* altogether can be considered as a significant contribution to the NSM theory as they are the foundation for further research on semantic primes identification in other historical languages. Indeed, the selection of primes exponents in historical languages would undoubtedly benefit the assessment of the universal validity of the semantic primes and the NSM theory.

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MIXING PLEASURE AND BEAUTY: POSITIVE AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

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ABSTRACT. *This article analyses 23 different lexical items in Old English denoting positive aesthetic emotion, more specifically, related to the expression of appearance, moral qualities, and personal pleasant experience with the aim of gaining a better understanding of aesthetic standards in Anglo-Saxon England. Using different lexical tools, corpora and software, I have built a database where I have annotated the attestations from the corpus taking into account different sociolinguistic criteria. An in-depth analysis of these fragments and their statistical treatment has shown that descriptions of beauty in Old English poetry have two main routes: a) one that addresses the object's aesthetic qualities objectively and b) another that focuses on the subject's response to it. Furthermore, these two alternatives were often complementary in texts of a religious nature.*

Keywords: Old English poetry, Old English beauty, aesthetics, historical linguistics, cognitive linguistics, history of emotions, aesthetic emotions.

MEZCLANDO LA BELLEZA Y EL PLACER: EXPERIENCIA ESTÉTICA POSITIVA EN LA POESÍA EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO

RESUMEN. *Este artículo analiza 23 lexemas que denotan emociones estéticas positivas en inglés antiguo, más en concreto, relacionados con la expresión de la apariencia, la moralidad y la experiencia personal agradable, con el objetivo de entender mejor la experiencia estética en la Inglaterra anglosajona. Valiéndome de distintas herramientas lexicográficas, corpus textuales y software informático, he creado una base de datos donde he anotado las atestaciones del corpus atendiendo a distintos criterios sociolingüísticos. Un análisis en profundidad de estos fragmentos y su tratamiento estadístico ha demostrado que las descripciones de belleza en la poesía en inglés antiguo tienen dos rutas principales: a) una que se centra en las cualidades objetivas del objeto y b) otra se limita a la respuesta del sujeto. Estas dos posibilidades a menudo son complementarias en textos de una naturaleza religiosa.*

Palabras clave: poesía anglosajona, belleza anglosajona, estética, lingüística histórica, lingüística cognitiva, historia de las emociones, emociones estéticas.

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]

Descriptions of superb beauty and aesthetic pleasure populate Old English poetry. These are usually quite lengthy passages where the aesthetic objects are described with a great variety of aesthetic emotion lexis. However, very limited research has been done on how these terms are used and what type of aesthetic judgment they carry out.

The present article aims at answering questions related to the nature of the aesthetic emotion episode in Old English poetic texts, chiefly how passages depicting aesthetic emotion combine lexis relating to the aesthetic object's objective qualities and the subjective feelings experienced by the subject. Secondary aims of this paper include answering questions as to how the nature of the stimuli depicted in the poetic fragments affects the emotion episode, and what type of stimuli is more frequent in these texts, either cognitive or sensory.

In order to do so, I will look into two of the principal thematic groups, that is, lexical domains, in positive aesthetic emotion vocabulary. Drawing on corpus linguistics methods (e.g. Gries 2010; Gries and Otani 2010), aesthetic emotion

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theories (e.g. Juslin 2013; Menninghaus *et al.* 2019) and different lexical tools—including thesauri of Old English—, I have analysed the usage of a number of lexical items and their context—the poem in which they occur—, and cotext—adjacent lexis—, to gain a better understanding of the aesthetic criteria implicit in these descriptions of beauty and pleasure. Thereafter, I have highlighted the most illustrative examples of usage of these lexical items in order to support the findings of the data-driven remarks derived from the analysis of the complete poetic corpus.

2. BEAUTY, AESTHETIC PLEASURE AND AESTHETIC EMOTIONS

Over the last few years, the study of Old English texts from a cognitive perspective has adopted new perspectives that yield new readings into the cultural and emotional models of the Anglo-Saxons. For instance, Gevaert's (2007) diachronic analysis of ANGER in Old English following metaphor theories, Lockett's (2011) volume on Anglo-Saxon psychology and figurative expressions or Díaz-Vera's (2015) exploration of the Anglo-Saxon emotion of AWE stand out as perfectly illustrative examples of how cognitive linguistic research can provide insights that traditional literary analysis cannot. However, the field of Anglo-Saxon aesthetics is yet to fully embrace the cognitive approach, as most publications on Old English beauty do not take into consideration the ground-breaking research being carried out on the experience of beauty as a fundamentally embodied phenomenon, which leaves aside the idea of beauty as a philosophical and theological reality.

The study of aesthetic emotions has bloomed during the last two decades. The development of emotion theories at the end of the last century (Izard 1977; Scherer 1982; Frijda 1988; Lazarus 1991; Damasio 1999; or Roseman *et al.* 2001) allowed for more exhaustive research into aesthetic experience and how humans feel pleasure and beauty when experiencing artworks and other everyday objects. Since Berlyne's (1974) foundational treatises on experimental aesthetics, many researchers have put forth their theories on aesthetic emotions, focusing more frequently on positive reactions to aesthetic objects. Therefore, there is an abundance of academic material on positive aesthetic experience, that is, all the different aesthetic emotions that range from the sheer pleasure of beholding a pleasant aesthetic object, to the experience of beauty and wonder.

Among these works, there are some with particular relevance to this study that can potentially contribute to the present analysis of beauty and pleasure in Anglo-Saxon poetry. One of the most fertile branches in the study of aesthetic emotions is what Munteanu (2009: 117) calls the "reception of art". This branch "focus[es] on the manner in which audiences, more specifically viewers and readers, experience

emotion" (Munteanu 2009: 118). There are researchers like Munteanu (2009), Shibles (1995) or Hagman (2005) who frame aesthetic experience within an exclusively artistic context, while others like Scherer (2005), Menninghaus *et al.* (2019) or Marković (2012) acknowledge that aesthetic experience is also extensive to everyday objects.

Scherer (2005), who highlights the nature of aesthetic emotions as being a non-utilitarian one, defines aesthetic emotions as follows:

> aesthetic emotions are produced by the appreciation of the intrinsic qualities of the beauty of nature, or the qualities of a work of art or an artistic performance. Examples of such aesthetic emotions are being moved or awed, being full of wonder, admiration, bliss, ecstasy, fascination, harmony, rapture, solemnity (Scherer 2005: 705).

It is, therefore, reductive to limit aesthetic experience to only the experience of beauty. In this regard, when carrying out research on aesthetic emotions, the notions of what qualifies as aesthetic experience must be broadened to encompass a wider lexical domain. Nevertheless, what is clear from Scherer's (2005) paper is that aesthetic emotions are seen as emotions which lack utility and are not action-oriented.

Following on theories of appraisals proposed by Frijda *et al.* (1989) and later by Roseman and Smith (2001), Scherer (2005) and Menninghaus *et al.* (2019) propose some appraisals for aesthetic emotion. Scherer (2005: 703) proposes the appraisal of intrinsic pleasantness as central to aesthetic experience, while Menninghaus *et al.* (2019: 28) produce a more extensive list that includes appraisals of novelty, familiarity, goal relevance, goal conduciveness and coping potential. The study carried out by Menninghaus *et al.* (2019) stresses an important connection between the familiarity and the novelty in an aesthetic object: it will be perceived as appealing if it is novel and also if it is familiar. Although this may pose a contradiction, it is, in fact, in the combination of these appraisals where the full potential of aesthetic experience develops: when an aesthetic object is presented as novel in some way in a familiar context, the perceived "intrinsic pleasantness," following the terminology used by Scherer (2005), will be remarkably strong. In fact, it has been shown how in some OE texts the novel is precisely appreciated because it is anchored in the familiar. As Bitterli (2016: 160) and Kim and Mittman (2010: 687) explain as regards OE texts, most of the patterns of novelty or strangeness are not so radical as to severe all connection with the idea of the familiar, but they are rooted in the formulaic (and, hence, familiar) and anthropomorphic patterns that contribute to a more intense and/or easily accessible aesthetic experience.

As for the aesthetic emotion episode, many models have been proposed over the last years. Especially interesting are those put forth by Markovic (2012) and Juslin (2013). Both these models acknowledge the separate action of the sensory and the cognitive evaluation of the aesthetic object in order to produce an aesthetic judgment, which, following Cupchick (2016: 12), will result in an aesthetic emotion if this judgment is above the subject's aesthetic threshold and, therefore, salient. If not, the subject will still experience changes in his emotional state as a result of their interaction with the aesthetic object. Therefore, three levels of action should be highlighted within positive aesthetic experience: the sensory, the cognitive and the emotional, with their pertinent subdivisions. The sensory unfolds in the different senses involved in the aesthetic emotion episode (chiefly, sight, smell and hearing). The cognitive involves different ideas like morality, spirituality and social considerations. The emotional dimension of aesthetic emotions entails the affection felt towards a given aesthetic object, as well as the subject's emotional background.

Another concept that is emphasised in most theories of aesthetic emotions is the importance of expression. It was already noted in the 19th century by Bosanquet (1894: 155): "the expression of beauty reduces itself to expressiveness". Scherer (2005: 707) enumerates a list of ways in which the subject may express this (aesthetic) emotion. Since aesthetic emotions are less action oriented, as stated by Scherer (2005: 12), the fundamental data source for research into the historical expression of aesthetic emotions has to necessarily rely on the linguistic expression of this emotion. In the aesthetic emotion episode, as proposed by Juslin (2013: 248) the sensory, emotional and cognitive information is filtered by the subject's aesthetic criteria, which are heavily influenced by the culture in which the subject lives or is raised in. This idea reflects Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2013: 324) metaphor of 'culture sieve': in the emotion episode, culture acts as a sieve that permeates it with cultural meanings. This implies that by analysing a given linguistic utterance which represents the expression of an aesthetic emotion, aesthetic criteria and, therefore, the cultural models of aesthetic experience can be reconstructed within certain limits.

There are no works in the literature that address aesthetic experience in OE texts as such. While there exist many volumes written on the Western canon of beauty, and there are few publications on Old English beauty, there is not a consistent or exhaustive line of research for aesthetic emotions in the Anglo-Saxon period, not even one limited to the experience of beauty. These publications include an article by Ramey (2017) on one of the lexical descriptors of beauty, OE *wrǣtlic* 'wondrously beautiful', a book on the aesthetics of Beowulf and other Anglo-Saxon poems edited by Hill (2010), an article by Trilling (2009) describing the aesthetics of nostalgia, and the work by Tyler (2006), who produced a volume

on the aesthetics of the familiar. Most of these works, however, address beauty from a literary perspective, and while this methodology is perfectly valid, the inclusion of linguistic methods can benefit the study of Anglo-Saxon beauty.

Likewise, the literary and artistic approach of the myriad treatises on (Medieval) beauty can provide data that can inform the linguistic analysis of the data in the concordance. Of special importance to the data in this study are the ideas discussed in Umberto Eco's (2004) *On Beauty: A History of a Western Ideal*, and Arthur Marwick's (2004) *It: A History of Human Beauty*. In the initial section, Eco (2004) sets the bases of how Medieval beauty was construed, whereas Marwick (2004) focuses on how important or otherwise beauty was at a personal level.

Eco (2004) points out some of the ideas that are applicable and central to beauty as represented in OE poetry. First, he emphasises the connection between moral beauty and physical beauty, already discussed by Minaya (2019) in the context of Old English texts. In this sense, for a person to be beautiful in Medieval time (and in the Anglo-Saxon period) they had to be perceived as morally beautiful or *clean*. Secondly, he reinforces the idea of light as connected to the beauty of the divinity and reflected in the beauty of human beings as a result of their spiritual purity. Thirdly, Eco (2004) applies this idea of light to ornaments: they are valuable not only because they are made of precious materials, but because they reflect light. Finally, Eco (2004) points out how, contrary to popular belief, the usage of colour in Medieval times was a usual practice for higher classes, in manuscript decoration, and in adorning churches, as well as in poetic texts.

However, Marwick (2004) deems this experience of beauty as elitist, and goes on to explain how trivial was beauty in everyday life for Medieval common people. Marwick (2004: 25) points out that "personal appearance was scarcely a matter of great concern". Moreover, the priority of common people was "rearing of (comparatively) healthy children for continuance of the family and [...] support when earning powers failed. The imperatives, then, were far other than those of sexual aesthetics" (Marwick 2004: 25). These remarks have several implications in light of the study of aesthetic emotions in OE. First, due to the nature of the historical research, and because everyday aesthetic experience is not documented in the sources, it is not possible to have access to first-hand accounts on aesthetic experience. Second, that most of the written material with aesthetic content will belong to a higher stratum of society: those who could write and had access to beautiful objects, mainly the clergy. Third, that, despite any resilient native Anglo-Saxon substratum, these considerations on beauty will inevitably be influenced by centuries of Christian tradition and religious aesthetic imperatives. For this, the present study focuses exclusively on poetic texts: not only will they be more accurate in representing the native Anglo-Saxon aesthetic model (with due

limitations), but they will also serve to show how the Anglo-Saxon scribe or poet, using the analysed lexical items, aims at engaging the subject in a full-blown aesthetic experience.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. DATA

As I have mentioned before, it is now nearly impossible to aim at a reconstruction of the Anglo-Saxon everyday aesthetic experience. The absence of living informants and the formal characteristics of the extant visual and written material notably limit the scope of the research carried out here. Therefore, the objectives of this partial reconstruction of the Anglo-Saxon cultural model for positive aesthetic emotions are limited to the intentional creation of beauty on the part of poets and translators.

There are several corpora available to conduct linguistic research on Old English. One of the most frequently used corpora is *The Diachronic Part of Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, whose section on Old English contains 415,000 Old English words. This corpus is designed to contain a balanced number of texts in terms of genre and periods. The *Helsinki Corpus* contains two main offshoots: the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry* (with 71,490 words) and the *York-Toronto Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (circa 1.5 million words). Lastly, there is the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (henceforth, *DOEC*), with a grand total of 3 million Old English words. This corpus is a record of every extant Old English text and sometimes two or more copies are included if they are interesting to look at in terms of period or dialect. More specifically, the verse section of the *DOEC* contains around 177,000 OE words.

Two of these corpora would have suited the purposes of this study. The *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry* was one of the choices, since it contains the relevant part of the *Helsinki Corpus*. However, when compared in terms of words to the *DOEC* (71,490 against 177,480), it is clear that *DOEC* is the better choice. As Möhlig-Falke points out:

> the DOEC may be the better choice for linguistic investigations that are interested in, for instance, lexical, semantic, pragmatic and discourse phenomena of Old English, for which it is often necessary to take a closer look at the cotext and the context of a specific utterance or for which the full text needs to be considered (2016: 397)

Since the analysis of the lexical items in this study is not only carried out in linguistic terms, but also taking into consideration the contextual and cotextual information of the occurrence, in this regard the *DOEC* is also the best choice.

Moreover, given the fact that the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Corpus of Old English Poetry* is parsed, the continuous reading of selected fragments of poems under analysis becomes more time-consuming.

In this sense, this piece of research is not strictly corpus based, but rather data driven, as the *DOEC* is a faithful representation of the known poetic material. It was compiled in the 1970s, and finally released in 1981. It was last updated in 2009. Concerning the poetry section, most of the texts contained therein are written in the West-Saxon dialect and, following the sub-periods of the larger OE period proposed by the *Helsinki Corpus* (see Kytö 1996), written down between 950 and 1150 (OE III and OE IV) in four main manuscripts: the *Junius Manuscript*, the *Exeter Book*, the *Vercelli Book* and the *Beowulf Manuscript*. Nevertheless, the oral nature of poetry in Anglo-Saxon and the archaisms present in the poems indicate that these poems might have been in circulation since many centuries before they were attested in writing.

3.2. CHOICE OF LEXICAL ITEMS

The selection of lexical items for this research was guided by the *Thesaurus of Old English* (henceforth, TOE). In this thesaurus, OE vocabulary is divided by different themes and subthemes. Section 7, which concerns "Opinion," more specifically "Judgment, forming of opinion" (TOE, n7) contains a subdivision devoted to "Beauty, fairness" (TOE, n7, 10) and yet another subdivision more particular to "Elegance, beauty, comeliness" (TOE, n7, 10, 2). For other positive emotions, like pleasure, the subdivision "Pleasantness, agreeableness" (TOE, n8, 1, 1, 3, 9), within the category of "Emotion" (TOE, n8) was used.

The TOE provided an initial list of 41 lexical items denoting positive aesthetic emotions. This list was then complemented and contrasted by the definitions in two OE dictionaries, the *Dictionary of Old English* (henceforth, DOE) and the *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (henceforth, BTD). This provided a list of 69 words. The inclusion of some additional lexis will be discussed in section 4 in the relevant thematic group. This lexis was sorted out in the following thematic groups, which are modified from the categories proposed by the TOE: a) adornment, b) appearance, c) cleanness, d) colour, e) excellence, f) intricacy, g) light and h) pleasure. Due to space limitations, this article focuses exclusively on aesthetic experience as related to appearance and pleasure. Far from being an arbitrary choice, contrasting these two groups further illustrates the nature of the Anglo-Saxon aesthetic emotion episode from its two perspectives: the subject's experience and feelings of pleasure when facing the aesthetic object, and the object's perceived aesthetic qualities.

3.3. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION, CATEGORISATION, TREATMENT AND ANALYSIS

This study combines methods from different disciplines, from corpus linguistics to cognitive sociolinguistics or ethnopragmatics. The corpus mentioned before, the DOEC, was loaded onto a concordance software, where the instances of the different spelling varieties of the lexis mentioned in the preceding section were systematically annotated according to their thematic group and standardised spelling. However, this was not enough to carry out an in-depth analysis of the lexis in the poetic texts. Aided by the tags in the texts and by the relevant translations of the OE texts—chiefly Williamson's (2017) translation of the complete poetic corpus—, the occurrences were imported onto a database after a continuous reading that could provide full contextual and lexical information for its categorisation.

In this sense, this methodology draws upon lexical semantics, in other words, the "study of lexical items, their distribution, and what their distribution reveals about their semantics and pragmatics / discourse function(s)" (Gries and Otani, 2010: 121). Traditional lexical semantics aims at broadly considering some of the linguistic context in which the occurrence appears. Similarly, this approach allows for a thorough analysis of the word in question which ultimately can provide information as to its cultural and cognitive associations in a language. In this case, the aim is identifying the encoded aesthetic judgment in the selected terms and their lexical companions. However, this methodology as described by Miller and Charles (1991) and the usual methods of corpus linguistics have the main drawback that the occurrence is often isolated in the larger cotextual context. The Behavioural Profiles (BP) methodology, which was designed by Gries (2010), Gries and Otani (2010) and Gries and Divjak (2009) aims at overcoming some these limitations. It implements the usage of a database where substantial fragments containing the lexical items are imported onto a database, in which they are manually annotated and are treated statistically.

Gries (2010: 327-9) methodology proposes the following steps: a) retrieving "(a representative random sample of) all instances of the lemmas of the word(s) to be studied form a corpus in the form of a concordance," b) creating a concordance with "(so far largely) manual analysis and annotations of many properties[2] of each match in the concordance of the lemmas," c) to convert "these data into a co-occurrence table that provides the relative frequency of co-occurrence of each lemma/sense with each ID tag," and, finally, d) to evaluate "the co-occurrence data [...] by means of statistical techniques". This

2 For specific properties, Atkins (1987) points out a list of identification tags that distribute lexical items according to morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria.

methodology was followed with marked exceptions for the categorisation of the instances in the corpus.

After the initial systematic annotation of the occurrences in the corpus, I manually introduced the fragments containing the attestation into the database. These fragments contained at least one full sentence, two if it was the case of an omitted subject. If the passage was particularly interesting in aesthetic terms, larger fragments were imported. Afterwards, these passages were analysed, translated and categorised on the basis of the following criteria:

> a) the emotion represented, whether it was the experience of beauty or pleasure;
>
> b) the standardised spelling of the term in the fragment;
>
> c) the thematic group it belongs to;
>
> d) the nouns, adjectives, adverbs and/or verbs that collocate with the analysed lexical item;
>
> e) text name and citation; and
>
> f) the three main categories designed for this study, designed as follows. The fragments were tagged in three different blocks depending on the evaluation that took place. As mentioned in Section 1, aesthetic judgment operates on two fundamental domains: the sensory and the cognitive. However, these are extremely broad categories. For the purposes of this study, I created specific tags for each of these domains of action:
>
> > 1. The sensory: depending on the sensory treatment that the aesthetic object received, the occurrences were categorised in one of the following subcategories: 1) sight, 2) taste, 3) smell, 4) touch, 5) hearing, 6) unknown/ experiential, 7) temperature[3]. Tag number 6 was specially challenging, as some instances showed clear sensory evaluation, but it was unspecified or referred to the experiential domain of aesthetic experience. Sometimes, instances did not evaluate in sensory terms.
> >
> > 2. The cognitive: several considerations took place in the evaluation of aesthetic objects or people. These tags were created *ad hoc* after individual occurrences surfaced and then were finally edited, grouped or split in a second revision. They are the following: 1) morality, 2) religiousness, 3) holiness, 4) cleanness, 5) royalty, 6) value, 7) goodness (generally speaking and unspecified) and 8) familiarity. Tentatively, an additional tag 9) novelty was included, but it proved not to be lexically rendered in any excerpt. Some instances were specific enough to facilitate a straight-forward categorisation, but other instances were not so detailed and were grouped under 2.7) goodness.

3 Even if temperature could be considered as part of the sense of touch, in this study they are tagged separately in order to test whether temperature plays a specific role in aesthetic experience or not.

> 3. The behavioural: formerly considered by most researchers as part of the cognitive. I followed the practice of Gladkova and Romero-Trillo (2014), who include the behavioural dimension of aesthetic judgment as a separate domain of action in the semantic explications of Present-Day English *beautiful*. The tags contained in this division are the following: 1) acting according to God's wishes and law, 2) acting according to human laws, 3) peaceful behaviour, 4) actions resulting in prosperity, 5) pleasurable behaviour, 6) acts of power, 7) eloquent speech acts, 8) favourable circumstances, 9) elegant displays. In this context, tag number 3.5 'pleasurable behaviour' understands the experience of pleasure in the behavioural dimension, in order to dissociate the emotion of pleasure from cognition and sensory experience, which remains, to a certain degree, unprocessed cognitively.

Furthermore, these fragments were assessed in cognitive and sensory terms. One of the most discussed ideas in aesthetic emotion theories is the extent to which aesthetic experience is more sensory or cognitive, or to what degree they are combined. The last tag indicates whether the fragments are exclusively sensory or cognitive, or whether there is a combination of the cognitive and the sensory in the aesthetic judgment. Sorting the occurrences using these different tags will make it possible to create tables of co-occurrence for these categories and also for the accompanying lexis that ultimately provides information about what a lexical item means and how it was once conceptualised.

Finally, this study draws from the methodology used in similar studies in the field of OE. These studies include the works of Díaz-Vera (2011, 2014, and particularly 2015), Díaz-Vera and Manrique-Antón (2015), or Gevaert (2007), who reconstruct the cultural model for a given emotion in OE departing from linguistic data to arrive at cultural and social conclusions.

4. THE LEXICAL FIELD OF POSITIVE AESTHETIC EMOTIONS

There is an abundant variety of poetic lexis to express positive aesthetic emotions in OE. They represent the Anglo-Saxon poet's *wordhoard* to designate beautiful and pleasant entities, objects and circumstances. This is not to say that these are the only possible terms that once existed in OE: they are the ones that were written down and that have been passed onto us. Most of these terms, much like the rest of the OE poetic vocabulary[4], did not survive into Present-Day English, having been replaced over the centuries by Latin and French words.

4 For a more detailed account of the survival of OE poetic lexis, see Juzi (1939).

The lexical items have been arranged and distributed in thematic groups to facilitate a more straight-forward analysis and exposition of the results[5]. The information provided in the following subsections is the result of a fine-grained analysis of the concordance, and, therefore, the groups proposed are representative of the Anglo-Saxon conceptualisation of aesthetic experience. Moreover, and since this study combines quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, it should be highlighted that aim of this section is to provide a data-driven and qualitative discussion of the concordance, while the next section will assess it in quantitative terms.

4.1. APPEARANCE

Traditionally, the first and foremost domain of aesthetic experience is the sensory. The first concept that inevitably comes to mind when discussing beauty is outer appearance. There are 12 lexical items in this group, belonging to 6 different lexemes.

a) OE *cȳm-* : this lexeme is represented by three OE terms, the adjectives OE *cȳme,* OE *cȳmlic* and the adverb OE *cȳmlice*. The DOE defines it as "fine, comely, handsome" (DOE, s.v. *cȳme,* adj. 1), which is applicable to OE *cȳmlic*. An approximate translation of the adverb would be "beautifully". This is one of the few surviving OE aesthetic terms, even if its usage is rather archaic by now. The OED acknowledges the usage of PDE *comely* as "literary" and defines it as "(especially of a woman) pleasant to look at" (OED, s.v. *comely*, adj. 1). It refers to the outward appearance of aesthetic objects, used to stress a pleasant and strictly visual appearance, as it can be seen in the following example:

(1) Hierusalem, geara ðu wære swa swa cymlic ceaster getimbred (PPs 121.3)[6]

'in the old days, you, Jerusalem, were built as such a beautiful city'[7]

BTD also reinforces the idea of pleasantness and adds the nuance of convenience, defining OE *cymlīc* as "comely, convenient, lovely, beautiful, splendid" glossed alongside Latin *aptus, commodus, splendidus* (BTD, s.v. *cymlīc*, adj. 1). This lexeme is limited in terms of attestations, with only 3.

5 Due to space limitations, this article features only two thematic groups, the remaining (adornment, cleanness, colour, uniqueness, intricacy and light) will be explored in further publications, using the findings presented in this papers as a theoretical basis.

6 Texts are cited using the DOE's Short Title nomenclature available from their website <https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/#listoftexts> (Accessed 11 Nov 2019).

7 The translation proposed for these excerpts is my own.

b) OE *fæg(e)r-*: this lexeme comprises the different derivates of one of the most important terms to refer to beauty in OE. It includes the adjective OE *fæger* 'beautiful', the adverb OE *fægere* 'beautifully', and the verb OE *fægrian* 'to become beautiful'. It is one of the most attested lexemes in the concordance, with a grand total of 142 occurrences. In 2019, I conducted a full analysis of the adjectival form (see Minaya 2019), in relation to the connection it exhibited between inner and outer beauty. One of the most remarkable conclusions from this study is that this adjective occurs 10 times more in poetic texts than in prose, justifying thus the choice of poetic texts for this analysis.

OE *fæger-* evaluates in sensory, cognitive and behavioural terms. The DOE points out that OE *fæger* is applied to three main senses: sight, smell and hearing.

(2) [englum] singað ful healice hludan stefne, fægre feor ond neah. (ChristA,B,C 385)

'the angels sing highly with loud, beautiful voices, far and near'

(3) ðone wudu weardaþ wundrum fæger fugel feþrum strong, se is fenix haten (Phoen 85)

'the woods are guarded by a wonderfully beautiful bird with strong feathers called the Phoenix'

However, there is evidence that OE *fæger* was likewise used in close personal experience. In PPs 108.24, the oils that are used for anointing are referred to as OE *fægrum ele* 'beautiful* (pleasant) oils'. In this case, OE *fæger* could refer to both smell and touch. The adjoining lexical evidence does not clarify it. However, there is an additional and rather obscure instance in the concordance where OE *fæger* evaluates in terms of taste:

(4) Ys sawl min swetes gefylled, swa seo fætte gelynd, fægeres smeoruwes (PPs 62.6)

'my soul is sweetly filled [by God's grace], just as if it were filled with beautiful* (pleasant) grease'

This exemplifies an interesting conceptualization of the Christian state of grace, compared to an everyday sensory phenomenon, like tasting grease. OE *fæger* also evaluates in moral, cognitive and spiritual terms. This is often the case when the adjective is applied to religious figures, like God, Christ, or the Saints or to actions carried out by them:

(5) Ne ic him mildheortnesse mine wille fægere afyrran (PPs 88.31)

'I will not remove him from my beautiful mercy'

Sometimes, it is not possible to separate instances in terms of exclusively sensory or cognitive.

However, one of the most recurrent usages of OE *fæger*, which connects with the fourth sense in the DOE "fair, favourable, benign; not disturbed" (DOE, s.v. *fæger*, adj. 4), is the experiential domain of human existence. OE *fæger* is frequently used to convey the pleasant and undisturbed state of those who follow God's wishes and the retribution that they will achieve when they arrive to heaven. In El 945, the love of the lord, OE *lufan dryhtnes*, is described as OE *þone fægran gefean* 'the beautiful* (pleasant) joy'. While this last sense of OE *fæger* was typically connected to weather and sea, it also made reference to "(way of) life, state, condition" and "religious belief" (DOE, s.v. *fæger*, adj. 4b and 4c). In this sense, the OE adjective *fægere* is used with similar meaning, depicting the behavioural dimension of aesthetic experience.

The usage of the OE verb *fægrian* 'to become beautiful' is more rare, with only one attestation in the concordance and visual evaluation. Semantically, it is similar to the OE verb *wlitegian,* 'to become/make beautiful' with the exception that OE *fægrian* is only used as intransitive, while OE *wlitegian* can be used both as intransitive and as transitive. For instance:

(6) Bearwas blostmum nimað, byrig fægriað, wongas wlitigiað, woruld onetteð (Sea 48)

'the woods catch blossoms, the cities become beautiful, and the fields, too; the world is quickened'

In this fragment from *The Seafarer*, the OE verb *fægrian* establishes a contrast between the cold and desolate world of the outlawed seafarer and the aesthetic richness of a world that is quickened by the arrival of spring.

c) OE *frēolic* and OE *æðele*: it is not entirely unusual to find polysemy in aesthetic terms. Words like OE *frēolic* and OE *æðele*, which in their first senses mean 'noble/royal', are also used in aesthetic contexts as synonymous of beautiful. For OE *frēolic,* the DOE points out a third sense defined as "of things: excellent, noble, beautiful" (DOE, s.v. *frēolic*, adj. 3). The same could be said of OE *æðele:* while the main sense of the adjective is "noble, famous" (DOE, s.v. *æðele,* adj.), the DOE acknowledges an aesthetic dimension to it in sense number 3. See for instance:

(7) Syleð us fremsum god fægere drihten, þonne us eorðe syleð æðele wæstmas (PPs 84.11).

'give us your kind goods, beautiful lord, when the earth gives its noble* (beautiful) fruits'

This excerpt is particularly interesting because it features the usage of OE *æðele* in an aesthetic context (there is nothing noble about an apple), but it should be taken with extrema care; as the DOE (s.v. *æðele*, adj. 3.b) points out OE *æðele*, and other aesthetic lexis like OE *fæger*, in the Paris Psalter is "often of little meaning, but useful for vocalic alliteration". In the following example, the aesthetic evaluation is more evident:

(8) mon secan sceal be sæwaroðe and be ea ofrum æþele gimmas, hwite and reade and hiwa gehwæs (Met 19.20)

'men shall seek around the shore and the running water the noble* (beautiful) gems, white, red and of every other colour'

In order to avoid this semantic ambiguity, I have followed the practice of categorizing both of these terms in the thematic group of "appearance," but only when it was clear from the individual analyses of the attestations of these words that there was a degree of aesthetic judgment. These two terms reinforce the idea that what was royal was innately conceptualised as beautiful, and, by extension, when this term was aesthetically applied to non-royal people or entities, it alluded to sensory qualities of extreme beauty, characteristic of those who were royal:

(9) ac him brego engla of lice ateah liodende ban, wer unwundod, of þam worhte god freolice fæmnan (GenA,B 178)

'the Lord of Angels drew forth that burgeoning bone from his body, the man unwounded, and from there God created a beautiful woman'

The nobility of these entities is not only related to their position as kings or queens, but also as connected with ideas of divinity and holiness. While this is a clear combination of a visual and spiritual evaluation, there are other possible combinations.

The DOE points out that the OE adjective *æðele* can be used in aesthetic contexts as synonymous of sweet: "æðele stenc 'sweet smell' used figuratively; also the odour of sanctity and of the resurrected Christ" (DOE, s.v. *æðele,* adj. 3.d.). This event is further developed in Phoen 583, where the Phoenix and Christ are said to depart together with a OE *eadwelum æþelum stencum* 'blessed noble* (sweet) smell'. One characteristic of Anglo-Saxon religious texts is that they often depart from oculocentrism, and depict spiritual phenomena involving unusual senses, like smell.

d) OE *hīw* represents a similar phenomenon. While its main sense is "form, figure" (DOE, s.v. *hīw,* n. 1), its usage as a positive aesthetic emotion marker is

acknowledged in sense number 2: "2.b. specifically: beautiful appearance: beauty" (DOE, s.v. *hīw*, n. 2.b). Moreover, the DOE also contemplates the spiritual and moral extension of this physical beauty in a subdivision: "in spiritual or figurative sense" (DOE, s.v. *hīw*, n. 2.b). This polysemy becomes increasingly challenging in some contexts, where it is unclear whether OE *hīw* refers to shape or beauty. For instance, in Jul 244, the demon who visits Juliana in jail and tries to trick her OE *hæfde engles hiw* 'has an angel's shape/beauty'. The case of angels is not as misleading as it could be elsewhere, as they are one of the entities that are traditionally depicted as always beautiful. It could be said, therefore, that in this example, as in many others in the database, OE *hīw* refers to both beauty and shape.

e) Similar to OE *hīw* is the case of OE *wlite*. According to BTD, it can either mean "aspect, countenance" (BTD, s.v. *wlite*, n. I) or "beautiful appearance" (BTD, s.v. *wlite*, n. II). In some cases, the context is clear enough to provide a straight-forward reading of OE *wlite* as 'beautiful', but in other cases OE *wlite* could refer both to appearance and to beauty, like its usage in the OE poem *Daniel:*

> (10) Ne mihte þeah heora wlite gewemman owiht wylm þæs wæfran liges, þa hie se waldend nerede.
>
> 'not one bit was their beauty/appearance stained by the boiling of the quivering flames when the Lord saved them'

In this passage, God has sent an angel to save the three youths from the oven in which they were going to burn. The usage of OE *wlite* alongside OE *gewemman* 'to stain' not only introduces the idea of stain as ugliness, but it also connects beauty to cleanness. In other cases, for instance in the poem *Christ and Satan*, we find the collocation *hæfdon wlite* (Sat 149) 'to have a beautiful appearance'. In this case, having "appearance" would not make sense.

f) Alongside OE *fæger,* OE *wlitig* is one of the main lexical indicators of beauty. Etymologically, it comes from the Proto-Indo European root ***uel-* 'to see' (Pokorny, 1959: 3290). In the Germanic branch, this sense prevailed (for instance, OE *wlītan* 'to see') but it also evolved to mean appearance, and by extension positive appearance, that is, beauty (for instance, Gothic *wlits* 'shape', but also Gothic *wulþus* 'splendor'). BTD indicates two domains of evaluation. First, "of beauty that appeals to the senses" (BTD, s.v. *wlitig*, adj. I). It includes both celestial and earthly beauty, and contemplates visual, aural and olfactory sensory treatment. In fact, sometimes OE *wlitig* groups both the visual, the olfactory and the experiential (see the usage of OE *wynn* 'pleasure'):

(11) Wlitig is se wong eall, wynnum geblissad mid þam fægrestum foldan stencum (Phoen 7)

'all the land is beautiful, rejoicing with the pleasure of the most beautiful perfumes of the earth'

When the poet refers to the beauty of the OE *wong* 'land, plain' it explicitly alludes to smell, but it also has a visual implication. Moreover, God's voice (OE *stefn*) is described in Jul 282, as OE *wlitig* 'beautiful/pleasant'. Second, OE *wlitig* refers to "beauty that appeals to the mind" (BTD, s.v. *wlitig*, adj. II). In this case, the context is almost always religious, to the point that OE *wlitig* becomes nominalized in describing those that are saved by God in Doomsday:

(12) Wile þonne gesceadan wlitige and unclæne on twa healfe, tile and yfle (Sat 608)

'then [on Doomsday] He will separate the beautiful and the unclean on two halves, the good and the bad'

This moral beauty, like in many other instances, refers to the morality and behaviour of those who act according to God's wishes. The contrary implies the uncleanness of being stained with sin.

4.2. PLEASANT PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Rather than focusing on pleasure, which qualifies as a fairly broad emotion, this subsection focuses on lexical items describing personal pleasant experience as a result of the aesthetic emotion episode. People, objects and situations in this category are defined as pleasant, lovely or delightful because of their cognitive or sensory characteristics. This group contains 5 different lexemes, with 7 different lexical items.

a) OE *leōflīc* and OE *luflīc* are two terms that have also survived into Present-Day English *lovely*. They translate as "lovely, beautiful, delightful, pleasant, lovable, dear" (BTD, s.v. *leōflīc*, adj.). In his discussion on the nature of aesthetic emotion, Thornton (1940: 199) pointed out that there was a fundamental element of affection in aesthetic experience. This is reflected in some of the terms in this thematic group, which connect affection and mild aesthetic experience. In the aesthetic emotion theory proposed by Juslin (2013: 248), when the sensory data is cognitively processed and is just above the aesthetic threshold, the aesthetic experience that is triggered is not that of the experience of beauty, but that of simply "liking" an object, or finding it "lovely". These terms refer to this mild aesthetic experience, somewhere below beauty and above liking. The emphasis in these cases is not on the object's qualities, but rather on the feelings of pleasure it provokes on the subject:

(13) þone wlitigan wong ond wuldres setl, leoflic on laste (Phoen 437)

'the beautiful plain and settlement of glory, lovely on their steps'

It is clear how OE *leōflic* refers to the aesthetic response on the part of the subject, rather than to the qualities of the aesthetic object. However, this term is not very frequent in the concordance, with only 4 attestations.

b) There are other three terms that denote pleasant personal experience but that are likewise not very frequently attested. First, there is OE *swinsian* "to make a (pleasing) sound, make melody or music" (BTD, s.v. *swinsian,* vb.). It is the only lexeme so far where the idea of close personal pleasant experience is lexically encoded in the root. According to Pokorny (1959: 3016) it is derived from the Proto-Indo-European root **suen-,* meaning "to sound". This connection with pleasant sounds is not found in other Germanic languages. Furthermore, it reinforces the important role of music in Anglo-Saxon society, inherently thought of as pleasant. One of the two poetry attestations is found in Phoen 124, where the bird is said to OE *swinsað ond singeð* 'make a pleasant sound and sing'.

Second, we find OE *wilsele,* also with one attestation. It translates as "pleasant hall" (BTD, s.v. *wilsele*, n.), and it is a compound of two OE terms: OE *wil* 'will', but also 'pleasant or desirable thing' (BTD, s.v. *wilsele,* n. 2).

(14) Wyrta wearmiað, willsele stymeð swetum swæccum

'[when the sun comes up] the plants are warmed, and the pleasant hall emits the sweetest smells'

The idea of 'hall' is metaphorical in this excerpt, as this fragment refers to the Phoenix's nest, reimagined as hall. It is expressed as pleasant because the herbs it is made of are warmed at sunrise and they emit sweet smells. Yet, the role of alliteration in this excerpt cannot be overlooked. Some of the figurative usages of aesthetic emotion terminology can be explained by the alliterative constraints of the sentence under analysis.

Also in the OE *Phoenix*, there is a third term which is only attested once in poetry: OE *gefeālīc* 'pleasant, joyous, delightful' (BTD, s.v. *gefeālīc,* adj.). The sign of the Phoenix is described as OE *fæger ond gefealic fugles tacen* (Phoen 508) 'beautiful and pleasant, the bird's token'. In this excerpt, both types of aesthetic experience are lexically rendered: the subjective (related to the subject's feelings) and the objective (related to the object's qualities).

c) Lastly, one of the most fertile lexemes in the category of personal pleasant experience is OE *wyn-,* containing the nominal OE *wyn* 'pleasure, delight' and

the adjectives OE *wynsum* 'pleasant' and OE *wynlīc* 'delightful, pleasing'. There is no difference between the two adjectival derivatives in terms of meaning; in terms of usage, OE *wynsum* is more frequently attested. BTD points out two meanings for OE *wynsum,* which are similarly applicable to OE *wynlīc*: "winsome, agreeable, pleasant" (BTD, s.v. *wynsum*, adj. I) and acknowledges the three typical domains of aesthetic evaluation: the senses, the mind and people's conduct. The other sense indicated is as a synonym of *joyous* (BTD, s.v. *wysum,* adj. II). This term is also frequently used to convey the religious experience of the state of grace of the arrival of the soul to heaven, as Blake (1964: 30) points out in relation to the usage of this lexeme in *The Phoenix*: "the difficulty the poet came up against was how to express in positive terms what heaven means to the soul, a difficulty he tried to solve by a heavy reliance on adjectives expressive of joy, majesty, light and bliss".

(15) þæt wæs swete stenc, wlitig ond wynsum geond woruld ealle (Pan 64)

'it was a sweet smell [that of Christ resurrected], beautiful* and pleasant through the world'

There are several reasons for the combination of OE *wlitig* and OE *wysum*. On the one hand, they alliterate and introduce ideas which are similar. On the other hand, one term makes reference to the seemingly objective qualities of the smell of Christ, while the other alludes to the effect that this smell has on the subject.

Lexis referring to appearance is often found in combination with personal pleasant experience, creating poetic passages of hyperbolic depictions of beauty:

(16) wordum spræcon ymb þæs wifes wlite wlonce monige [...]. Hie þæt cuð dydon heora folcfrean and fægerro lyt for æðelinge idese sunnon, ac hie Sarran swiðor micle, wynsumne wlite wordum heredon, oðþæt he lædan heht leoflic wif to his selfes sel (GenA,B 1847)

'many words were spoken about that woman's [Sarah's] beauty [...]. They explained to their people, many words were heard about the woman's pleasant beauty, and said that there have been very few women as beautiful as she was standing before the king until the moment that he ordered the pleasant/lovely woman to be brought to his own hall'

This excerpt features a great array of aesthetic lexis: OE *wlite* 'appearance/ beauty', OE *fæger* 'beautiful', OE *wynsum* 'pleasant' (to be discussed in this section), and OE *leoflic* 'lovely'. However, the first two refer to the beauty of Abraham's wife as a perceptual quality connected to her, while the last two refer to the physical effect the aesthetic emotion episode has on the beholder.

More specifically, this combination of appearance and pleasant experience lexis displays an attempt to express disembodied concepts. Spiritual experiences like seeing Christ or Jesus, much like the arrival of the soul to heaven discussed before, are difficult to conceptualise. For instance:

> (17) He bið þam godum glædmod on gesihþe, wlitig, wynsumlic, weorude þam halgan, on gefean fæger, freond ond leoftæl, lufsum ond liþe leofum monnum to sceawianne þone scynan wlite (ChristA,B,C 918)
>
> 'he is good to those who are visibly glad, beautiful and pleasant to his people, beautiful on his rejoice, friend and dear, kind and gentle for the men who behold his shining beauty'

Every aesthetic term in this description places the focus on the sensory, the cognitive and the experiential. The Theory of Embodiment (see Rosch, Thompson and Varela 1991) stresses the impossibility of having disembodied cognition: all human experiences are filtered through the lenses of physicality. In consequence, Anglo-Saxon poets resorted to lexis that was traditionally associated with feelings of positive bodily experience as well as lexis used to carry out visual and cognitive judgments to create poetic descriptions of supernatural experience that could be easily understood by Anglo-Saxon audiences on the basis of their connection with their everyday experience. By constructing aesthetic experience in these terms, spiritual ideas become not only understandable for a broader audience, but at the same time they are enjoyed aesthetically.

5. DISCUSSION

The in-depth analyses of these 23 lexical items, distributed in 313 different fragments with 411 tokens, sheds some light about the intentional creation of beauty on the part of the Anglo-Saxon poet and about the role that these terms had in conceptual, semantic and stylistic terms. In this section, I will quantitatively asses the pertinent sections of the concordance as a whole in order to statistically contrast the remarks made in the previous section with the data extracted from the different tags. Table 1 displays the number of attestations for the different aesthetic lexis analysed. Among them, OE *æðele, fæger* and *wlitig* stand out as the main poetic aesthetic descriptors for cognitive, behavioural and sensory beauty, while OE *wynsum* is noted as the most frequently used term to refer to personal pleasant experience. These terms are part of the core poetic vocabulary in OE and they carry semantic associations that make them more suitable in particular contexts.

Table 1. Number of attestations.

Term	Theme	Translation	Attestations
æðele	Appearance	noble, eminent, beautiful	89
fæger	Appearance	beautiful	75
fægere	Appearance	beautifully	66
wlitig	Appearance	beautiful	49
wlite	Appearance	beauty, appearance	37
wynsum	Pleasant exp.	pleasant	33
freōlīc	Appearance	comely	19
wynlic	Pleasant exp.	delightful, pleasing	7
wyn	Pleasant exp.	pleasure, delight	6
wlitescine	Appearance	of brilliant beauty	6
gewlitegian	Appearance	to make beautiful	6
leōflīc	Pleasant exp.	lovely, beautiful	4
bīw	Appearance	colour, appearance	4
cyme / cymlic	Appearance	lovely, beautiful	2
swinsian	Pleasant exp.	to make a pleasant sound	2
wilsele	Pleasant exp.	pleasant hall	1
wrǣst	Appearance	elegant	1
gefeālīc	Pleasant exp.	pleasant, joyous	1
fægrian	Appearance	to become beautiful	1
cymlice	Appearance	beautifully	1
ansȳn	Appearance	face, countenance	1
Total tokens analysed:			**411**

Other terms like OE *leōflic* or those derived from OE *cyme* are not so frequently attested. The fact that their Present-Day English derivates are part of the everyday aesthetic vocabulary may indicate that they were too in OE times. However, these assumptions have to be empirically proved in further research, for which I will engage in an analysis of the complete prose and poetry corpora.

As for the categorization of these occurrences in the categories specified in section 3 (Table 2), it becomes clear that there are two main domains of sensory evaluation, the visual and the experiential. The rest of the senses are also present in the corpus, but with a notably lower frequency. Touch, including temperature, is less frequently treated in the poetic corpus. The tags related to cognitive aesthetic evaluation reflect the religious nature of the poetic material: most of the cognitive aesthetic judgments are carried out on the basis of holiness or religiousness. The value of the aesthetic object is also an important part in its perception as object of beauty or pleasure. Familiarity, a key appraisal of aesthetic experience, while present on the aesthetic emotion episode, is not very frequently lexically rendered. As for the behavioural, a great proportion of the instances where a person's conduct is deemed beautiful or pleasant is connected with their adherence to God's wishes. Other fairly often attested behavioural evaluations include a person's eloquence or displays of power as pleasant or beautiful, or the evaluation of a given period as favourable.

Table 2. Categorisation.

Sensory		***Cognitive***		***Behavioural***	
1. Sight	60%	Morality	8.96%	God's wishes	58.90%
2. Taste	1.66%	Religiousness	18.62%	Human law	3.42%
3. Smell	8.01%	Holiness	46.20%	Peaceful behaviour	4.10%
4. Touch	0.27%	Cleanness	6.89%	Prosperity	6.16%
5. Hearing	6.63%	Royalty	3.44%	Pleasurable behav.	3.42%
6. Experiential	22.10%	Value	10.34%	Power	6.85%
7. Temperature	0.83%	Goodness	4.13%	Eloquence	7.53%
		Familiarity	1.37%	Favourable	6.85%
				Elegance	2.74%

One of the questions I aimed to answer was whether the construction of beauty in the poetic corpus was carried out in exclusively sensory or cognitive terms, or if the combination of cognitive and sensory stimuli was more frequent. The results are unclear: the combination of sensory and cognitive aesthetic judgments is as frequent as the individual aesthetic evaluation. Therefore, there is not a clear preference for one type of aesthetic judgment.

Table 3. Evaluation.

Combination	
Yes	49,84%
No	48,24%
Undetermined	1,91%

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thematic separation of some of the aesthetic lexis in this study highlights the dual dimension of Old English depictions of beauty, basing on two different responses to aesthetic emotion. On the one hand, lexical items grouped in the thematic group concerning appearance were more used in evaluations focusing on how the aesthetic object is (both cognitively and in sensory terms). In this sense, this construction of beauty aims at being more objective. On the other hand, terms in the pleasant personal experience group place the emphasis, not on the qualities of the subject, but on how it makes the subject feel. As such, they are more subjective.

Lexis concerning appearance does not only refer to sensory aesthetic experience; they are multi-purpose words. As I already showed in Minaya (2019), terms like OE *fæger,* referring to outer beauty, also evaluated inner beauty and people's behaviour. Other terms like OE *cyme* only evaluate in sensory terms. Nevertheless, the tendency for the lexical items in the appearance thematic group evaluate in all the different areas of human experience. The sensory semantic meaning is made extensive to the cognitive and the behavioural, and sometimes it becomes difficult to determine whether a lexical item evaluates in one or the other sense. The same phenomenon occurs as far as polysemy is concerned: some lexical items that do not have a main aesthetic meaning are taken to mean 'beautiful', showing a connection between a given word and the idea of beauty. This is also the case of words meaning 'appearance', which are taken to mean 'beauty' in particular context. Furthermore, future research is to determine whether this is also the case of other lexical domains.

While there is a marked predominance of the visual, OE poetry also took pleasure in aesthetic representations involving other senses. Some of them are more unusual, like aesthetic experiences involving taste, whereas others involving hearing and smell are configured around experiences of a religious nature that give the event an everyday flavour. This is one of the most notable poetic displays in the instances analysed, and where the importance of the lexis

for personal pleasant experience is reinforced. By mixing terminology typically associated with everyday visual, olfactory, aural and experiential phenomena, the poet tells the audience not only how the aesthetic object is, but also how they should feel about it. In other words, by mixing beauty and pleasure, the Anglo-Saxon poet evokes embodied feelings and emotions on the subject and then contextualises them in a disembodied context, one that is not so easily understood due to its abstract nature. Skilfully describing religious experiences in embodied terms as pleasant or appealing gives the poet the opportunity of causing the subject to envision and physically experience abstract and spiritual events, which accompanied by poetic descriptions of light and colour, and precious and wondrous objects and people, engage the subject in an aesthetic emotion episode where the invisible is lived through previously-lived phenomena of superb beauty and aesthetic pleasure.

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EFFECT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CLIL AND KNOWMAD COMPETENCES ON STUDENTS´ MOTIVATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT. *The development of language skills in a second language as well as knowmad skills are key to the future employability of students. This research aims to analyze the impact of the introduction of a specific methodology involving the development of both types of skills on students' motivation and satisfaction in order to foster the development of a bilingual itinerary. The methodology is based on Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and the sample involved 227 students of the Degrees in Tourism of the University of Córdoba (Spain). Through a model of structural equations, the data analysis revealed that the development of language skills in L2 and the development of knowmad skills had a significant direct effect on the students' motivation towards learning a second language. The indirect effect of the development of these skills on the students' satisfaction with the teaching experience was also significant.*

Keywords: CLIL, knowmad, language skills, tourism, motivation, student´s satisfaction.

EFECTO DE LA IMPLEMENTACIÓN DE LAS COMPETENCIAS DE CLIL Y KNOWMAD EN LA MOTIVACIÓN DEL ESTUDIANTE EN LA EDUCACIÓN SUPERIOR

RESUMEN. *El desarrollo de habilidades lingüísticas en un segundo idioma, así como las habilidades knowmad, son clave para la futura empleabilidad de los estudiantes. El objetivo de esta investigación es analizar el impacto de la introducción de una metodología específica que implica el desarrollo de ambos tipos de habilidades en la motivación y la satisfacción del estudiante para fomentar el desarrollo de un itinerario bilingüe. La metodología se basa en el Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenido y Lengua (AICLE) y la muestra involucró a 227 estudiantes de los Grados en Turismo de la Universidad de Córdoba (España). A través de un modelo de ecuaciones estructurales, el análisis de datos reveló que el desarrollo de habilidades lingüísticas en una segunda lengua y el desarrollo de habilidades knowmad tuvieron un efecto directo en la motivación de los estudiantes para aprender un segundo idioma. El efecto indirecto del desarrollo de estas habilidades en la satisfacción de los estudiantes con la experiencia docente también fue significativo.*

Palabras clave: AICLE, *knowmad,* habilidades lingüísticas, turismo, motivación, satisfacción del estudiante.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The design of competences to be included in university education is essential in our globalized and hyperconnected world, where workers must be able to adapt to numerous, rapid changes in the fields of technology, means of communication and management styles. The need for multilingual citizens is becoming a reality in different social spheres, which not only affects the labour market, but also education and research. As a result of this global trend, second language learning is currently essential in numerous educational systems all around the world (Nunan 2003; Knell *et al.* 2007). These changes have also led universities to face a double challenge: i) to become international centers of excellence with teachers and students from all over the world (Graddol 2006), and ii) to prepare students for a multicultural, multilingual society.

One of the main objectives of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), launched within the framework of the Bologna Process, has been the strengthening of the internationalization of higher education. Universities, to adapt to this new environment, must promote the implementation of programs taught in a second language –which, in most cases, tends to be English.

According to Altbach and Knight (2007) this is mostly developed by the adoption of different approaches such as English-medium Instruction (EMI) and CLIL (known in Spanish as Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras - AICLE). This situation opens up a wide variety of research (Coyle 2007), as it is based on the use of the second language as the language of instruction.

CLIL methodology refers to any learning context in which content and language are connected to address a specific training situation. This educational model was developed within a European initiative to use second languages as languages of instruction. The popularity of this methodology began with the publication in 1995 of the *White Paper* by the European Commission, which set the fourth general objective - "to speak three languages". After this milestone, numerous studies have analyzed and aimed to systematize the competences needed for the correct implementation of CLIL.

The language learning process must pay special attention to how to objectively define the competences acquired, not with the implementation of rigid principles, but adapting to the circumstances of the academic context (Álvarez *et al.* 2009). In the same way, there is extensive literature that highlights the importance of professional versatility in changing environments, where autonomy in decision-making processes and the capacity to adapt to technological, social and organizational changes have a direct influence on people's employability.

Regarding competences, since the OECD launched the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 1997, there have been numerous efforts to define the concept and the importance of the different elements affecting the learning process. In 2005, the OECD broadened the definition of competences, and released the first report of the project Definition and Selection of Competences (DeSeCo), in which competences were defined holistically. DeSeCo also highlighted a series of basic or essential competences, named *key competences*, which should include the following characteristics:

- To contribute to valued outcomes for societies and individuals.
- To help individuals meet important demands in a wide variety of contexts.
- To be important not just for specialists but for all individuals.

In line with the above and to strengthen the aforementioned characteristics, we turn to the concept of knowmad. The term knowmad, coined by Moravec (2013), is a neologism created from the words 'know' and 'nomad'. It is used to make reference to the set of abilities and knowledge that today's society requires

for employment, and that allows workers to move from one job to another thanks to their versatile training. Moravec (2013) coined the term knowmad to make reference to the professional profile in the new context of Society 3.0, which is characterized by:

- Accelerated social and technological change.
- Constant globalization, and horizontal redistribution of knowledge and relationships.
- Information society driven by *knowmads*.

The formal principles established in the Bologna Process, which support students' autonomy and their leading role in the teaching-learning process, require teachers to make an extra effort to develop activities, methodologies and tools, taking ICT into account. Nevertheless, there is a paradox: despite general awareness of this necessity, some studies carried out on teacher training related to ICT show undesired findings. This happens even though Administrations are making significant efforts to provide teachers with these tools (Píriz 2015).

ICT enables constructivist learning, where students have at their disposal numerous tools (e.g. wikis, podcasts, repositories of thematic information, fora, blogs) that help them to build up their own knowledge (Hernández 2008). Here it is important to mention Web 2.0, a term first used by Dale Dougherty, member of O'Reilly Media, which was subsequently defined by Tim O'Reilly. From this concept, we would like to highlight the idea of 'participation architecture', where every user becomes both an information consumer and provider, thus enriching the contents (O'Reilly 2005). Although this author suggested some years ago that this stage had been overcome in favor of higher mobility and the prevalent use of cloud services (O'Reilly 2011), this concept is still valid. This is especially true in this context, as the most frequently used tools in CLIL are mainly based on ICT resources, which enable information exchange and participative building of knowledge, including a playful component. The use of students' natural means of communication helps them to have a better learning experience.

The role of the team of teachers involved in a plurilingual project of this nature does not only require adequate command of both the content of the subject and the foreign language, but also of the technology necessary to support their contents and activities. Teachers' work, as opposed to traditional lectures, would enrich the contents, which would be available to students through the use of tools such as Moodle, teaching repositories (which can also be shared with other teachers), and in some cases even being incorporated into MOOCs (Massive Online Open Courses).

Nevertheless, experience shows that the use of ICT is not as widespread as it should be in learning-teaching processes. There are numerous reasons that try to justify this situation, including organizational culture, teacher training, facilities and infrastructure, and even the relevance given to these tools by the teachers themselves (Ballestero *et al.* 2010). Despite this situation, most teachers claim that they are aware of the importance of ICT in their research, and they consider this is more important than using ICT for their lessons (Balanskat *et al.* 2006).

This paper aims to analyze whether the development of both language skills in a second language and of knowmad competences, through the use of CLIL in an ICT context, has a positive influence on students' motivation towards second language learning, and consequently on their satisfaction with the learning experience.

2. CLIL METHODOLOGY

In an emergent globalized world, the current system of higher education has experienced increasing diversity and interconnectivity providing students with multilingual and multicultural competences. As a consequence of the focus on internationalization, we are witnessing today a need to introduce one or more foreign languages, especially English, in all disciplines of university classrooms. (Sánchez and Salaberri 2017). The predominant approaches in these teaching contexts in which English is used as the vehicular or instructional language are EMI (English-Medium Instruction) and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). Dearden (2016) states that:

> There appears to be a fast-moving worldwide shift, in non-anglophone countries, from English being taught as a foreign language (EFL) to English being the medium of instruction (EMI) for academic subjects such as science, mathematics, geography and medicine" (Dearden 2016: 4)

The implementation of EMI "produces more challenges than opportunities for Higher Education teachers and students" (Macaro *et al.* 2018: 68). While EMI makes learning academic content the absolute priority and relegates the learning of the language of instruction to second place, CLIL is characterized as "a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Do Coyle *et al.* 2010: 1). According to Marsh and Langé (2000), CLIL is:

> a generic term and refers to any educational situation in which an additional language and therefore not the most widely used language of the environment is

> used for the teaching and learning of subjects other than the language itself. (Marsh and Langé 2000: iii)

Although EMI is the most widespread approach in Spanish universities, the CLIL approach holds immense potential on linguistic, pedagogical, psychological, and institutional levels, as witnessed by numerous studies (Lasagabaster and Ruiz de Zarobe 2010; Lorenzo, Casal and Moore 2010; Madrid and Hughes 2011). In this sense, Morgado and Coelho (2013) understand that CLIL is a much more effective and inclusive solution than EMI for both teachers and students, since it allows both to work at the same time on the different linguistic skills in the vehicular language and the assimilation of disciplinary contents in a balanced way. In CLIL methodology, language learning does not only take place when students focus consciously and intentionally on it. Invisible learning also occurs when learners' attention is not directly on the language, but on another topic. This is then what happens when the didactic approach aims at teaching curricular content by using a foreign language as the language of instruction. This methodology harmonizes the learning of curricular content with learning the language in an integrated way.

According to scientific literature, the CLIL approach provides numerous benefits (Navés and Muñoz 2000; Pavesi *et al.* 2001; Wolff 2007). The research available, albeit still limited, suggests that content and language are processed more deeply through CLIL. This is likely due to the higher cognitive effort that entails learning content using a second language, and mental schemes and concepts built during the learning process are more complex. Furthermore, most of the students show the same or higher performance regarding the content of the subjects than students taking the subjects following the traditional system. CLIL also fosters students' motivation, as they are 'challenged' and 'able' to solve problems and perform actions using the second language. This enables a spontaneous, natural use of the second language in real situations. CLIL seems to influence students' motivational levels as it provides them with situations in which the second language is used for communicative purposes.

This research was conducted on students of the bachelor's degree in Tourism in the academic year 2016/17. CLIL methodology had been implemented in Córdoba University in 2014 and the Tourism degree was one of the degree courses involved in the initial stage of the implementation of the CLIL approach. Córdoba University constituted, as a strategic action, the Plan for the Promotion of Multilingualism following the guidelines of the European Commission regarding language policies in the field of higher education.

3. KNOWMAD COMPETENCES

CLIL is not addressed by using a single, specific methodology. Similarly, there is not a uniform way to interpret this educational approach. According to Álvarez *et al*. (2009), bilingual education integrating language and contents has great potential, but it should not be limited with rigid dogmatic principles: the implementation of this method must be adapted to the context. Furthermore, CLIL fosters the use of active methodologies as well as cooperative and collaborative learning. CLIL can be implemented with methodologies that develop knowmad competences, such as the use of technology, creativity, teamwork and research capacity. The origins of the term *knowmad* are in the concept of *knowledge worker*, coined by Peter Drucker in his book *The Landmarks of Tomorrow* (1959). Forty years later, in 1999, this author defined the main features that distinguish these new *knowledge workers*, namely:

- Ability to assume responsibilities.
- Innovation in their field.
- Ability to act with a high level of autonomy.

Education is facing a paradigm shift. Students become knowmads. A Knowmad is a creative, imaginative and innovative person who can work with almost anybody, anytime, and anywhere. Universities face a very different climate than they did a generation ago. Globalization and the increasingly technology-centric economy has impacted the demand for highly skilled and highly knowledgeable professionals. Graduates need to meet the knowledge and skill requirements of the workplace (Harkema and Popescu 2018) and CLIL definitively helps to achieve this through the planning of different activities within the design of the experience, which has favoured the development of three basic Knowmad skills:

(KC1) The experience has improved your teamwork skills
(KC2) The experience has improved your creativity
(KC3) The experience has improved your research capacity

There are degrees in which the range of subjects is especially wide, as is the case of the Tourism Degree. This degree requires students to develop very diverse competences of a multidisciplinary nature (L'Espoir Decosta and Grunewald 2011), such as economics, statistics, sociology, geography, etc., where mastering other languages features prominently. Moreover, the sociodemographic profile of today's university students is permanently linked to technology in their interpersonal, academic and even professional relationships. Consequently, the relevance of ICT in university education is undeniable.

In a social context in which students are continuously exposed to digital stimuli, the work of the teacher to motivate and guide students in the teaching-learning process is becoming more and more complex. In the field of foreign language teaching, numerous studies –at different educational stages– have demonstrated that the use of ICT enables a better understanding of the subject among students (Molina and Sampietro 2015). ICT, such as audio-visual tools, may fill gaps in language learning, while at the same time enriching the contents by incorporating access to complementary tools such as dictionaries or grammar references, among other resources (Sharples *et al*. 2015) and are very useful for developing knowmad competences.

4. STUDENTS' MOTIVATION AND SATISFACTION

Motivation is a key element in significant learning, as it bears particular relevance to academic performance (Cardozo 2008). Nevertheless, motivation is a complex concept, whose definition is difficult to address, as shown in the extensive literature on this subject (intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, or motivation as a process versus motivation as a goal).

Tapia (1997) suggests that motivation has a direct influence on our way of thinking, and consequently on learning. From this perspective, it could be understood that different motivational orientations may have different consequences for learning.

Pintrich and Schunk (2002) define motivation as an active, sustained process of the behavior focused on a goal. In this way, motivation can be defined as a series of observable behaviors, indicative of lower or higher motivations.

Minera (2009) considers that motivation is an impulse that drives a person to set their objectives or goals, by establishing the beginning, continuation/maintenance, or end of the behavior.

Motivational processes have been studied from different methodologies and approaches, the most relevant being the following: i) correlational (Pintrich and de Groot, 1990), ii) experimental (Schunk 1982), and iii) qualitative-ethnographic (Meece 1991). Boza and Méndez (2013) carried out an exhaustive analysis of motivation in the academic context in Spain by structuring the different approaches and methodologies.

Learning a second language is a complex process, which requires significant effort, years of practice, and the ability to overcome the different stages of the learning process. There are numerous, diverse factors that may determine the learning process, and that may make aspects such as oral and written production,

interaction, and understanding the foreign language easy or difficult. Research on this field of study has devoted significant effort to finding a way to increase students' success in their learning process (Guillén *et al.* 2013). One of the key elements may be motivation.

The question is: how can we increase motivation towards second language learning? This paper suggests an approach of invisible learning by means of CLIL, based on a methodology that involves the use of ICT and the development of knowmad competences. It is termed invisible learning as both the development of language skills in a second language and knowmad competences take place unconsciously, as learning is focused on curricular content.

One of the objectives of this research is to analyze the relationship between students' motivation and students' satisfaction. Carratalá (2004) established the motivation-satisfaction relationship when explaining that being intrinsically motivated can be defined as the engagement in an activity for the pleasure and satisfaction that people experience while they learn or try to understand something new. Therefore, our working hypothesis is that the higher the motivation towards the second language, the higher the satisfaction with the learning experience.

5. RESEARCH METHOD

5.1. OBJECTIVES

The general aim of this research is to search for empirical evidence endorsing the hypothesis that the development of linguistic competences in a second language and the development of knowmad competences in the process of the implementation of CLIL methodology, affect the motivation of the students towards learning in a second language in a positive manner and, consequently their satisfaction towards the learning experience.

> Hypothesis 1: The development of linguistic competences increases motivation towards the learning of a second language.
>
> Hypothesis 2: The development of knowmad competences increases motivation towards the learning of a second language.
>
> Hypothesis 3: Students´ motivation to learn and work in a second language improves their satisfaction with the learning experience.

Figure 1. Research model. Source: own elaboration.

5.2. CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS

The research took place during the academic year 2016/17at all stages of the degree course. The aim of this study is to analyze the results of the implementation of CLIL in non-linguistic subjects, involving a total of 9 subjects representing 21.25% out of the 240 ECTS of the Degree in Tourism. The 9 subjects involved in this research belong to different areas of knowledge. The distribution was as follows: 4 subjects belong to the area of Business Organization, 3 subjects belong to the area of Economics, 1 subject belongs to the area of Accountancy and 1 subject belongs to the area of Art History. Most students participated in this project by means of subjects related to the area of Business Organization (59.92%), while 21.14%, 16.74%, and 2.2% participated by means of subjects related to Economics, Art History, and Accountancy, respectively (see Table 1).

Table 1. Subjects and students.

Subject	**Year**	**Area of knowledge**	**No. of students**	**%**
Subject 1	Year 1	Accountancy	5	2.20
Subject 2	Year 1	Economics	20	8.81
Subject 3	Year 2	Economics	5	2.20
Subject 4	Year 2	Art History	38	16.74
Subject 5	Year 2	Business Organization	19	8.37
Subject 6	Year 2	Business Organization	31	13.66
Subject 7	Year 2	Business Organization	52	22.91
Subject 8	Year 3	Economics	23	10.13
Subject 9	Year 3 and Year 4	Business Organization	34	14.98
Total			227	100

The sample involved a total number of 227 students of the Degrees in Tourism of the University of Córdoba (Spain). A brief sociodemographic description of the participants in this study was carried out (see Table 2). A total of 66.5% of the sample were women, while 33.5% were men. The age of most of the participants ranged from 18 to 21 years old (77.97%). Regarding the participation of the different years of the Degree, the year with the highest representation was Year 2 (60.79% of the participants), followed by Year 3 (19.38%), Year 1 (13.22%), and Year 4 (6.61%). Almost half of the students had a B1 level of English (49.34%). However, 21.14% of the students had a level of English lower than B1 (A1 or A2), while 29.51% had a level of English higher than B1 (B2, C1 or C2).

Table 2. Socio-demographic profile of the students.

Variable		**Students**	**%**
Gender	Female	151	66.52
	Male	76	33.48
Age	18-19	85	37.44
	20-21	92	40.53
	22-23	25	11.01
	≥24	25	11.01
Current year	Year 1	30	13.22
	Year 2	138	60.79
	Year 3	44	19.38
	Year 4	15	6.61
Level of English (ESL)	A1	9	3.96
	A2	39	17.18
	B1	112	49.34
	B2	61	26.87
	C1	5	2.20
	C2	1	0.44

5.3. PROCEDURE

Stipek (1996) stated that an adequate design of materials has a direct influence on student's motivation. According to the model proposed by Debnath (2005), the structural elements used by the teacher in the lessons (e.g. variety of activities, value of the activities, identity of the activities, autonomy, assessment, feedback) are essential for motivation.

Following these premises, in the design of our study CLIL had to be implemented in each subject involving a minimum of 2 and a maximum of 5 sessions. In order to carry out the research, 11 teachers and 2 language assistants participated in the project creating didactic materials. In these sessions, teachers had to carry out at least one of the following activities:

> - Activity 1. TELL ME: students recorded podcasts or similar files on a key area of the subject, which would later be listened to and discussed by the students.
>
> This activity improved linguistic competences such as the production of dialogues or monologues. In addition, the students improved knowmad competences such as creativity or teamwork.
>
> - Activity 2. LESSONS IN POCKETS: students created videos in English by using contents studied in the lessons; then they developed traditional class notes on different topics but by using a different layout and type of file.
>
> This activity improved linguistic competences related to speaking and writing. Furthermore, the students improved knowmad competences such as research capacity, creativity and teamwork.
>
> - Activity 3. TELL ME ABOUT…: students prepared short presentations (maximum 10 minutes) in English.
>
> This activity improved linguistic competences related to speaking and writing and knowmad competences such as creativity.
>
> - Activity 4. LET'S READ TO THE WORLD: students read different documents in English related to one of the areas of the subject, and then they answered a series of questions about these documents.
>
> This activity improved linguistic competences related to reading and writing. Likewise, the students improved knowmad competences such as research capacity and teamwork.

All these activities were designed for working in groups of 4 or 5 students. Moreover, teachers had to prepare the activities so that students improved the competences related to creativity, innovation and other skills such as the use of information technologies or the ability to assume responsibilities and act with a high level of autonomy.

5.4. DATA- GATHERING INSTRUMENTS

The data for this research was obtained by means of a questionnaire. The survey used in this study is based on previous research (Tatzl 2011). From the initial survey, and by means of subsequent improvements (including a 15-survey

pre-test), the final layout was achieved. The final version of the questionnaire aimed at obtaining the optimum clarity of the questions, the highest adjustment of the answers in order to achieve the goals of the research, and the highest specificity possible to each of the questions.

The questionnaire assessed the development of language competences (5 items) and the development of knowmad competences (3 items), as well as motivation (3 items) and students' satisfaction (2 items). All the items were measured by using a 5-point Likert scale. Other studies on students' motivation have also used the same scale (Cardozo, 2008, Boza and Méndez, 2013, Gutiérrez and Del Barrio, 2014).

The questionnaires were completed online by the students of the 9 subjects involved in the project. A total of 250 responses were obtained, of which 227 were valid, during the academic year 2016/17 (more specifically, from October 2016 to April 2017).

The structural model was analyzed by using the partial least squares (PLS) approach, instead of the approach based on covariance (CB), for several reasons. Firstly, our conceptual model has exploratory characteristics. Secondly, our sample size was not very large (n = 227), but it was considered a good sample size for PLS-SEM. Finally, the use of PLS-SEM was due to the small number of items (2) in students' satisfaction with the teaching experience (Hair, Hult, Ringle and Sarstedt, 2014).

6. RESULTS

In order to address the hypothesis formulated in this study, we will present the obtained results.

6.1. EVALUATION OF THE MEASUREMENT MODEL

In order to evaluate the reflective measurement model, the indicators reliability, the reliability of the internal consistency, and the convergent and discriminant validity are considered (Hair *et al.* 2011).

In this study, the analysis of indicators reliability showed that all indicators have loadings over 0.7, the threshold set for this test (Hair *et al.* 2011). The indicators of individual reliability are thus positive, as loadings above 0.70 indicate that the construct explains over 50% of the indicator's variance (see Table 3).

Table 3. Assessment of the measurement model.

	Mean	Standard deviation	Loading	T-test	Composite reliability	AVE
Language competences (LC)					**0,9341**	**0,7396**
(LC1) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *speaking* (dialogue)	2.8973	1.1917	0.8958	37.9852		
(LC2) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *speaking* (monologue)	2.9823	1.2085	0.8975	43.8073		
(LC3) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *listening*	2.9159	1.2742	0.8675	29.4298		
(LC4) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *writing*	2.9244	1.1567	0.8119	19.0085		
(LC5) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *reading*	2.9558	1.0705	0.8236	18.6640		
Knowmad Competences (KC)					**0.9094**	**0.7691**
(KC1) The experience has improved your teamwork skills	3.4868	1.1813	0.8550	31.0090		
(KC2) The experience has improved your creativity	3.3465	1.0947	0.8815	30.1814		
(KC3) The experience has improved your research capacity	3.2544	1.0779	0.8941	28.8676		
Motivation (MT)					**0.9137**	**0.7779**
(MT1) The experience has increased your motivation towards learning the language	3.4561	1.2590	0.9050	45.7503		
(MT2) The experience has increased your self-confidence to work academically in a foreign language	3.4342	1.2087	0.9330	66.2958		

(MT3) This experience would help you to participate in an academic program with 30 ECTS taught in English	3.5263	1.3430	0.8026	15.7128		
Global Satisfaction (ST)					**0.8858**	**0.7916**
(ST1) Assessment of the materials used in this experience	3.6667	0.9783	0.8549	14.0066		
(ST2) Overall assessment of the experience	3.3026	0.9927	0.9232	44.0719		

The analysis of the internal consistency for each construct showed that all values of composite reliability were over 0.85, which are over the critical values set for this type of assessment (Nunnally and Bernstein 1994).

To test convergent validity, the average variance extracted (AVE) values were considered. An acceptable AVE is 0.50 or higher, as it indicates that on average the construct explains over 50% of the variance of its items (Hair *et al.* 2011). In our case, all the constructs studied obtained AVE values over 0.7.

Discriminant validity was assessed using two criteria. First, the Fornell-Larcker criterion was met; the correlations between constructs are lower than the square root of AVE. The square root of AVE is shown in bold in the diagonal of Table 4. Discriminant validity is confirmed since the values in the diagonal are higher than the correlation between any construct and the rest of the constructs of the model.

Table 4. Correlations between constructs and square root of AVE.

AVE		LC	KC	MT	ST
0.7396	LC	**0.8600**			
0.7691	KC	0.7156	**0.8770**		
0.7779	MT	0.7343	0.6172	**0.8820**	
0.7916	ST	0.6253	0.6421	0.6044	**0.8897**

Another method to assess discriminant validity consists of examining cross loadings. The most recommended process for this approach is that an indicator variable should show a higher loading on its own construct than on any other construct included in the structural model (Hair *et al.* 2014). If the loadings of the indicators are consistently higher on the construct with which they are associated,

then the construct shows discriminant validity. The results are shown in Table 5 below, and all of them are positive.

Table 5. Correlations between manifest and latent variables.

	CL	CK	MT	SG
(LC1) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *speaking* (dialogue)	**0.8958**	0.6481	0.6479	0.5460
(LC2) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *speaking* (monologue)	**0.8975**	0.6204	0.6333	0.5607
(LC3) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *listening*	**0.8675**	0.6325	0.6143	0.5458
(LC4) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *writing*	**0.8119**	0.6067	0.6065	0.5136
(LC5) The experience has improved your linguistic competence related to *reading*	**0.8236**	0.5687	0.6515	0.5208
(KC1) The experience has improved your teamwork skills	0.6647	**0.8550**	0.5670	0.5707
(KC2) The experience has improved your creativity	0.6277	**0.8815**	0.5699	0.5804
(KC3) The experience has improved your research capacity	0.5803	**0.8941**	0.4734	0.5306
(MT1) The experience has increased your motivation towards learning the language	0.7333	0.5810	**0.9050**	0.5841
(MT2) The experience has increased your self-confidence to work academically in a foreign language	0.6776	0.6106	**0.9330**	0.5773
(MT3) This experience would help you to participate in an academic program with 30 ECTS taught in English	0.5017	0.4144	**0.8026**	0.4133
(ST1) Assessment of the materials used in this experience	0.5121	0.5030	0.4500	**0.8549**
(ST2) Overall assessment of the experience	0.5939	0.6268	0.6074	**0.9232**

Once the reliability and validity of this measurement model has been validated, the structural model can also be assessed in order to test the relationship among constructs.

6.2. EVALUATION OF THE STRUCTURAL MODEL

The structural model was evaluated by using the determination coefficient (R^2) of each dependent construct and the significance of the paths (Hair *et al.* 2011). Table 6 shows the R^2 values of the endogenous variables considered in the structural model, with their respective strength specified in accordance with Hair *et al.*'s (2011) considerations.

Motivation presents a moderate R^2 value, as 55.64% of this construct's variance is explained by the model; while the R^2 value for satisfaction is weak-moderate, as it explains 36.53% of the construct's variance. The analysis was completed with the evaluation of the explained variance of the endogenous constructs by means of the latent variables. This test was carried out by multiplying the coefficient path by the corresponding correlation coefficient for both variables, and then obtaining the absolute value of the result (Falk and Miller 1992). The analysis showed that the main antecedent of motivation is the development of language competences, followed by the development of knowmad competences.

Table 6 Effects on endogenous variables.

	R^2	**Direct effect (beta)**	**Correlation**	**Explained variance**
Motivation	**0.5564 (moderate)**	-	-	**55.64%**
H1(+): LC → MT	-	0.5999	0.7343	0.4405
H2(+): KC → MT	-	0.1879	0.6172	0.1159
Overall satisfaction	**0.3653 (weak-moderate)**	-	-	**36.53%**
H3(+): MT → ST	-	0.6044	0.6044	0.3653

An additional analysis of the significance of the paths (Hair *et al.* 2011) showed that the three hypotheses are statistically significant. Consequently, they all have empirical support from the results of this study (see Table 7). The final results of the evaluation of the model are shown below (see Figure 2).

Table 7. Results of the structural model.

Hypotheses	**Path coefficient**	**T-value**	**Support**
H1(+): LC → MT	0.5999	9.2035***	Yes
H2(+): KC → MT	0.1879	2.8821**	Yes
H3(+): MT → ST	0.6044	11.1237***	Yes

*Notes: critical t values: * p <0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.*

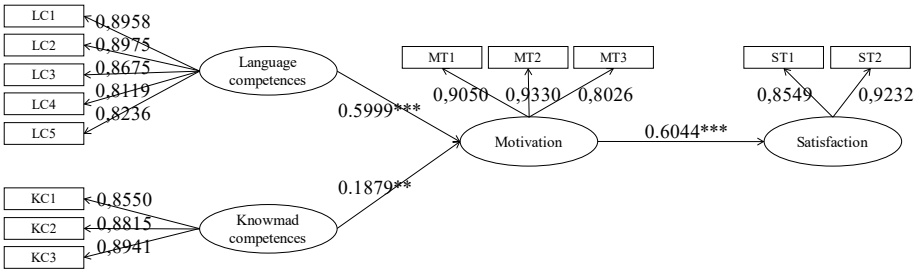

Figure 2. Results of the PLS analysis. Source: own elaboration.

6.3. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The general objective of this research is to analyze the development of CLIL in higher instructional settings and its influence on students' motivation towards second language learning. This paper suggests an approach of invisible learning by means of CLIL, based on a methodology that involves the use of ICT and the development of knowmad competences. It is termed invisible learning as the development of both language skills in a second language and of knowmad competences takes place unconsciously, as learning is focused on curricular content.

Our results show that the implementation of CLIL methodology increases linguistic competences. We found evidence that the students' skills of writing, speaking, listening and writing had improved in the areas of business organization, economics, accountancy, and history of art because of this experience. We also found evidence that the development of CLIL increases knowmad competences. The data show that students improved their teamwork skills, creativity and research capacity in the aforementioned content areas, thus linguistic competence is the first antecedent of motivation to work by using CLIL (see Table 3).

Our first working hypothesis is that the better the development of the language competences, the higher the motivation to continue learning and working in a second language. In this light, Pintrich and de Groot (1990) conducted research that established the relationship between cognitive and motivational variables, and results in academic performance. In their conclusions, they highlighted the positive correlation between the different learning and motivational strategies. These are key elements in explaining good academic performance as well as setting new learning goals. The data of the relationship between the improvement of language

competences and the motivation towards a second language presents empirical support in the context of the Degree in Tourism (see Table 7 and Figure 2).

With regard to our second hypothesis concerning the relationship between knowmad competences and motivation towards learning a second language, the study also presents empirical support for this relationship. The development of knowmad competences has a significant and direct influence on the motivation to work in a second language. Competences regarding the use of ICT, language skills in a second language, and knowmad competences are key elements in students' future and potential employability (see Table 7 and Figure 2).

Finally, this study also found empirical support for the relationship between motivation and satisfaction as is shown in Table 7 and Figure 2. Students' motivation is one of the most relevant concepts in an educational context, and several studies have found a certain relationship between motivation and academic performance in a foreign language (Lozano *et al.* 2000; Gardner 2007; Bernaus and Gardner 2008).

7. CONCLUSIONS

Motivation has been widely studied in the context of education, as well as in the field of foreign language learning. Nevertheless, the number of studies carried out in a context with the specific characteristics of this research is more limited. This particular study involves the use of the CLIL approach by using activities based on ICT which entail the development of knowmad competences in a Spanish university. As a consequence, the results obtained in most previous studies on motivation in foreign language learning (Tremblay and Gardner 1995; Bernaus, Moore and Cordeiro Azevedo 2007; Bernaus and Gardner 2008) cannot easily be extrapolated to this context, although they can be used as a reference. Moreover, there are few studies on knowmad competences in the educational field, and there are no previous studies conducted in the specific field of foreign language learning. Currently, we are not aware of any study addressing together the development of language competences, the development of knowmad competences and the motivation towards second language learning.

Considering all the evidence provided by previous studies on the role of language competences in a foreign language, the role of knowmad competences, and the key role of students' motivation towards second language learning, the authors suggested the design of a study involving all these constructs. Moreover, the authors aimed to explore to what extent the development of a CLIL approach based on a methodology which entails the development of knowmad competences may increase students' motivation to learn and be taught

in English as a Foreign Language, and consequently increase their satisfaction with the teaching experience.

By using partial least–squares structural equation modeling (PLS-SEM), the data analysis shows that, under a CLIL approach, both the development of language competences in a second language and the development of knowmad competences had a significant direct effect on students' motivation towards second language learning. In this context, the development of language competences in a second language was the component with a higher impact on students' motivation. Moreover, the indirect effect of the development of both competences on students' satisfaction with the learning experience mediated by motivation was also significant.

As practical implications, this study concludes that higher education institutions could use the CLIL approach by using methodologies with ICT tools, that involve the development of knowmad competences as an experience prior to the implementation of a bilingual module, with the aim of increasing students' motivation to take these bilingual modules in the subsequent years of their Degrees.

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NEW WAYS OF LOOKING INTO HANDWRITTEN MISCELLANIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THE CASE OF *SPES ALTERA*

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ABSTRACT. *A large number of copies of Shakespeare's Sonnet 2 circulated in handwritten miscellanies from the second quarter of the Seventeenth Century. Eleven of those copies have significant variant readings that have led critics to put forward different hypotheses regarding their nature and quality. Most critics, taking into account stylometric analyses, have regarded them as early drafts of Shakespeare's printed version, and have agreed on their poor quality.*

*By paying due attention to the text's context of production and reception, we have reached a different conclusion regarding both the nature and quality of the handwritten versions of Sonnet 2. In our view, they are the product of a conscious rewriting on the part of some educated member of the universities or Inns of Court. Close reading of the manuscript copy text (*Spes Altera*, Bellasys Ms, c.1630), and a line by line comparison with the 1609 Q text, suggest a deliberate attempt on the part of its adapter at increasing the poem's metrical regularity and structural coherence.*

Keywords: Rewriting, Spes Altera, 1630, handwritten miscellanies, Shakespeare Sonnet 2, 1609 Quarto.

NUEVA APROXIMACIÓN A LOS VOLÚMENES MISCELÁNEOS MANUSCRITOS DEL SIGLO XVII: EL CASO DE *SPES ALTERA*

RESUMEN. *Numerosas copias del Soneto 2 de W. Shakespeare circularon en volúmenes misceláneos manuscritos del segundo cuarto del Siglo XVII. Once de esas copias presentan variantes importantes, que han dado lugar a diferentes hipótesis respecto a su naturaleza y calidad. La mayoría de los críticos, partiendo de análisis estilométricos, las han considerado como bocetos tempranos de la versión impresa posterior, y, en consecuencia, les han atribuido un escaso valor.*

*En este trabajo se presta la atención necesaria al contexto de producción y recepción de estos textos, lo que ha permitido alcanzar conclusiones distintas respecto a la naturaleza y calidad de las versiones manuscritas del Soneto 2. Opinamos que son el fruto de una reescritura consciente por parte de una persona culta perteneciente a un entorno universitario. El análisis pormenorizado del texto base (*Spes Altera*, Bellasys Ms, c. 1630), y una comparación verso a verso entre este texto y el Quarto impreso en 1609, ponen de relieve una intención deliberada, por parte del adaptador, de incrementar la regularidad métrica y la coherencia estructural del poema.*

Palabras clave: Reescritura, Spes Altera, 1630, volúmenes misceláneos manuscritos, Soneto 2 de W. Shakespeare, edición en Quarto de 1609.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Our approach to the study of the handwritten version of Shakespeare's Sonnet 2 follows Arthur F. Marotti's guidelines, as put forward in his *Circulation of Verse at the Inns of Court and in London in Early Stuart England* (2016b), "Historical evidence, textual analysis, literary interpretation, and cautious conjecture need to be combined in order to lead to a greater understanding of individual texts, compilations of texts, and their contexts" (64).

This is exactly what we have done when assessing both the nature and quality of the handwritten versions of Sonnet 2 as contained in manuscript miscellanies from the second quarter of the Seventeenth Century. Having collated the eleven texts with substantial variant readings, we have chosen the version contained in Margaret Bellasys' miscellany, dated c. 1630, on account of its accuracy.[1]

1 Following Taylor (1985), most editors have chosen the Westminster Manuscript as their copy text taking into account its closeness to the first printed edition of the poem. See Wells, Taylor, Jowett and Montgomery (1987/1997: 444, 445 and 447); Kerrigan (1986/1999: 449-450); Blakemore Evans (1996/2006: 268-269); Greenblatt, Cohen, Howard & Eisaman Maus (1997: 1985); Burrow (2002: 691); Taylor, Jowett, Bourus and Egan (2017, vol 1: 438). In our view, the text contained in the Bellasys manuscript should be preferred as a control text in view of its greater accuracy.

We have next paid close attention to the text's context of production and reception, as it is essential in order to understand the capacities, attitude, and approach of compilers to the texts included in their miscellanies. Even though the exact identity of the compiler of the Bellasys miscellany cannot be ascertained, attention to the texts in the miscellany reveal that he was educated and must have taken pride in rewriting the texts of authors as relevant as John Donne. As a matter of fact, the miscellany includes eight of his poems, substantially rewritten according to the adapter's personal taste. A.L. Crowley (2018) draws attention to the extent to which these poems have been rewritten (173-211), as well as to the consistency of their pattern of re-envisioning (179). She concludes, "these supposedly corrupt texts (very corrupt indeed by traditional editorial standards) provide evidence of a sensitive literary mind at work with Donne's poems" (181) This is precisely the conclusion we have reached after analysing the handwritten version of Sonnet 2 — here titled *Spes Altera*— and comparing it to the 1609 printed version of the poem.

We agree with Schoenfeldt (2007) on the "chronic inscrutability of Shakespeare's Sonnets" (125), and with Burrow's (2007) view that "the sonnets invite close inward attention" (145). That is why we have paid close attention both to the 1609 printed version of Shakespeare's Sonnet 2 and to the 1630 manuscript version of *Spes Altera*. Our conclusion, however, widely differs from that reached by Roberts (2003) when she says, "the claims made in modern criticism for the daring originality, singularity, unconventionality and unorthodox brilliance of Shakespeare's Sonnets stands at odds with the transmission and reception of the Sonnets in print and manuscript in early modern England" (2003: 189). We assume this conclusion stems from her previous contention that *Spes Altera* "reads as a conventional love poem" (180), an instance of a *carpe diem* lyric addressed to a female beloved (177). Close attention to the poem, however, makes that conclusion difficult to sustain, as *Spes Altera* (A Second Hope) can have both a male and a female addressee. Besides, it is not common for a *carpe diem* poem to persuade its addressee to have children. Its aim is rather that of taking advantage of the present time by enjoying it to the full. The content of *Spes Altera,* however*,* can be easily related to Erasmus's *Encomium matrimonii*, a letter addressed to a bachelor who was reluctant to marry, and which was translated into English by Thomas Wilson, and included in his popular *Arte of Rhetorique*.

Finally, as Marotti has pointed out, "well educated, socially sophisticated, politically aware gentlemen carried over from their youthful university years into their later careers a taste for witty verse and prose" (2016a: 875). This is precisely the conclusion O'Callaghan (2006) reaches when analyzing the different versions of "The Parliament Fart" in manuscript miscellanies from the period. Although he recalls the political significance of the incident it refers to –that of the Union of the kingdoms under James I, whose defence at Parliament by Sir John Croke was interrupted by H. Ludlow's fart—

he highlights the fact that the poem, also included in the Bellasys miscellany, was read "as much for its humour as for its politics" (133). O'Callaghan's conclusion resembles that of Marotti, as he claims that "jesting, including licentious raillery, was perceived to be an appropriate mode of recreation for the cultivated gentleman. The witty jest was a cultural marker of his civility and of membership in an exclusive social group" (2006: 134). This, in our opinion, is the context which gave rise to the 1630 rewriting of Shakespeare's Sonnet 2, which, far from looking like the outcome of inattentive copying on the part of a scribe (Duncan Jones 1997: 456), has signs of deliberate rewriting aimed at achieving greater metrical regularity and structural coherence. In the pages that follow, the texts of 1609 Q and 1630 Bellasys MS are transcribed, followed by a collation of their variant readings, a line by line comparison between Q and MS, and an assessment of their differences in the light of their respective contexts of production and reception.

2. 1609 QUARTO AND 1630 BELLASYS MS

2.1. 1609 QUARTO TEXT

2

WHen fortie Winters ſhall beſeige thy brow,

And digge deep trenches in thy beauties field,

Thy youthes proud liuery ſo gaz'd on now,

Wil be a totter'd weed of ſmal worth held:

Then being askt, where all thy beautie lies,

Where all the treaſure of thy luſty daies;

To ſay within thine owne deepe ſunken eyes,

Were an all-eating ſhame, and thriftleſſe praiſe.

How much more praiſe deſeru'd thy beauties vſe,

If thou couldſt anſwere this faire child of mine

Shall ſum my count, and make my old excuſe

Proouing his beautie by ſucceſſion thine.

This were to be new made when thou art ould,

And ſee thy blood warme when thou feel'ſt it could,

2.2. 1630 BELLASYS MS TEXT

(British Library, Add. MS 10309, f. 143r, c. 1630. [B1])

ſpes Altera

When threſcore winters ſhall beſeige thy brow
And trench deepe furrowes in y^{t} louely feild
Thy youths faire Liu'rie ſoe accounted now
ſhall be like rotten weeds, of no worth held.
Then being aſk'd where all thy beautie lies
Where's all y^{e} Luſtre of thy youthfull dayes
To ſay wTHin theſe hollow-ſunken eies,
Were an all-eaten truth, & worthleſſe praiſe.
O how much better were thy beauties uſe
If thou couldſt ſay, this pretty childe of mine
ſaues my account, & makes my old 'excuſe
Making his beautie by ſucceſſion thine.
This were to be new borne, when y^{U} art old
And ſee thy blood warme, when y^{U} feel'ſt it cold.

3. COLLATION OF Q AND THE MANUSCRIPT VERSIONS[2]

For this section we draw on Taylor's (1985: 211; 1987/1997: 447) and Blakemore Evans' (1996: 268-269) collations. B1+ indicates that all the MSS. agree with B1 unless otherwise noted.

Title 2] *Q;* Spes Altera] B1, B2, B3; Spes Altera A song F3; To one y^{t} would dye a Mayd B4, B5, F2, W, Y; A Lover to his Miſtres N; The Benefitt of Mariage R

1. fortie] Q; threſcore] B1; fortie W, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, F2, F3, Y, R

1. Winters] Q, B1+; yeares R

2 List of witnesses according to Beal (1980: 452-453), followed by Taylor's sigla (1985: 211; Wells and Taylor 1987/1997: 444), and the dates he provides for them (2017: 437).

2. digge] Q; trench B1+; drench R

2. trenches] Q; furrowes B1+

2. thy beauties field] Q; y^{t} louely feild, B1+; cheeke B2, B3

3. youthes] Q, B1+; youth B5, F3

3. proud] Q; faire B1+; fairer R

3. liuery] Q; Liu'rie B1; liuerie B2, B3, B4, B5, F2, F3, N, W; field R

3. gaz'd on] Q; accounted B1+; accompted B3; e ſteemed N

4. Wil be a totter'd weed of smal] Q; Shall bee like rotten weeds of no B1+; Shall be like like rotten weeds of no B5; Shall bee like rotten cloaths of no F2

5. being askt] Q; being a ſk'd B1+; if we A ſk B2; if wee aske B3; a ſkt R

5. thy] Q, B1+; this B3

5. lies] Q, B1, B5, F2, Y; lyes B2, B3, B4, F3, R; lye W (cropped)

6. Where] Q; Where's] B1, B2, B3, F3, N, R; Where W

6. treaſure of thy lusty] Q; Luſtre of thy youthfull B1+

7. thine owne deepe ſunken] Q; these hollow-ſunken B1+; these hollow ſuncken W; thoſe hollow-sunken Y; hollow-sunken B4

8. all-eating ſhame, and thriftleſſe] Q; all-eaten truth, & worthleſſe B1+; all-beaten truth, & worthlesse F2

8. praiſe] Q; prayſe B1+; prayſ W (cropped); prayes B4; pleaſure B5

9. How much more praiſe deſeru'd] Q; O how much better were B1+; how much better were B5; O whow much better were B4; O how far better were Y; how better were B5

9. beauties] Q, B1+; bewtious Y

ShW 8, British Library, Add. MS 10309, f. 143r, c. 1630. (B1)
ShW 9, British Library, Add. MS 21433, f. 114v, c. 1630s. (B2)
ShW 10, British Library, Add. MS 25303, f. 119v, c. 1620s. (B3)
ShW 11, British Library, Add. MS 30982, f. 18r, c. 1631-3. (B4)
ShW 12, British Library, Sloane MS 1792, f. 45r, c.1630s. (B5)
ShW 13, Folger, MS V. a. 170, pp. 163-4, c. 1630-55. (F2)
ShW 14, Folger, MS V. a. 345, p. 145, c. 1620s. (F3)
ShW 15, University of Nottingham, Portland MS Pw V 37, p. 169, c. 1630. (N)
ShW 16, Rosenbach Foundation, MS 1083/17, ff. 132v-133r, c. 1638-42. (R)
ShW 18, Westminster Abbey, MS 4, f. 49r, c. 1620s-40s. (W)
ShW 19, Yale, Osborn Collection, MS b 205, f. 54v, 1623-35. (Y)

10. anſwere this faire] Q; ſay this pretty B1+; say this little B2, B3

11. Shall ſum my count] Q; ſaues my account B1+; Saud my account Y; saues mine account N; saues my accompt B3

11. make my old] Q; makes my old] B1, B2, B3, B5, F3, W, makes me old B4; makes no old F2; yeilds mee an N; makes the old R; make no old Y

13. new made] Q; new borne B1+; made younge B2, B3

14. feel'ſt] Q, B1+; felſt B2, B3, B4

4. LINE BY LINE COMPARISON BETWEEN Q AND B1

The following section consists of a line by line comparison between Q and B1, in order to assess their differences in terms of poetic structure, imagery, rhythm and style. The MS text precedes the Q text.

Title: ſpes Altera (MS) This added heading is typical of the educated milieu where the manuscript was presumably compiled, and where, as Marotti points out, "authors lost control of their texts and others felt free to transcribe, alter, and arrange them as they saw fit" (2007: 185).

l.1. When threſcore winters ſhall beſeige thy brow,

WHen fortie Winters ſhall beſeige thy brow,

"Threſcore" is interchangeable with "fortie" in terms of rhythm. It means "three times twenty; sixty" (OED adj. a), and makes the idea of devastating old age clear, as the youth does not have to add forty years to his age.

"Threſcore" followed by "ten" appears in Psalm 89 in a context that, like Sonnet 2, reminds the reader of the brevity of his life: "The dayes of our age are iij. score yeares & ten […] so soone passeth it awaye, & we are gone". The passage concludes with a message comparable to that of the Sonnet: "O teach vs to nombre our dayes, that we maye applie oure hertes vnto wyßdome".

Sonnet 2, like Psalm 89, later illustrates the passage of time through an image related to the field of nature. The Psalm's "they […] fade awaye sodenly like the grasse. […] In the mornynge it is grene and groweth vp, but in the euenynge it is cutt doune and wythered" can be related to the Sonnet's "lovely field" that ends up as "rotten weeds".[3]

3 The sonnet's biblical overtones recur at other points in the sonnet, especially in ll. 10-11, that read "[…] this pretty child of mine / Saues my account", which can be easily related to man's final reckoning at the judgement seat of God.

l.2. And trench deepe furrowes in y^t louely feild

And digge deep trenches in thy beauties field,

This line shows the compiler's attention to sound, as "trench deepe furrowes" reads better than "digge deep trenches", and the repeated lateral sound "l" in "y^t louely field" sounds smoother than the "plosive "b" in "beauties field".

The use of the deictic "that" in "y^t louely field", moreover, makes the line's tone more dramatic and direct than the variant in Q.

l.3. Thy youths faire Liu'rie ſoe accounted now

Thy youthes proud liuery ſo gaz'd on now,

Q "proud" highlights the youth's awareness of the admiration he draws from those around him, whereas "faire" continues the tone started in line 2 with "louely" [field].

Q "Gaz'd on" fits in with the idea of a proud livery drawing the admiration of onlookers, whereas "ſoe accounted now" anticipates the sonnet's changed perception of the addressee in the future, and highlights the contrast between the present time, when everybody agrees that he is good-looking, and the future, when his sunken eyes will lead to a different perception of his looks.

The MS's use of the syncopated form "Liu'rie" makes the stress fall on "ſoe", thereby highlighting the contrast between the current appraisal of his "faire Liu'rie" ("ſoe accounted now") and the world's future opinion of it: "of no worth held".

If we take into account the polysemic nature of "Liu'rie" and "faire", the meaning of "thy youths faire Liu'rie" could be extended beyond the idea of the youth's beautiful appearance, and include that of God's substantial allowance which the youth is expected to put to good use, as he will later have to account for it. "Fair" (OED A. adj. I.1.) "Beautiful to the eye; of attractive appearance; good-looking"; (A.adj. I.5.) "Of amount or extent: great, considerable, generous, large in size or amount"; "Livery" (OED II.) "Senses relating to clothing or other uniform which serves as a distinguishing characteristic"; (III.8.a.) "The food, provision or clothing dispensed to or supplied to retainers, servants, or others; an allowance or ration of food served out". The second meaning is exemplified by T. Brooks Wks VI.47 (1670) "They serve God for a livery, for loaves, and not for love".

l.4. ſhall be like rotten weeds, of no worth held.

Wil be a totter'd weed of ſmal worth held:

The impression that the youth's livery is going to lose all its beauty and lustre is made clearer in MS, as "no" is stronger than "ſmal", its force being highlighted by the fact that no final consonant limits the possibility of lengthening its vowel sound when emphasized by a speaker. Conversely, "ſmal" has a short vowel which is followed by a consonant sound, and cannot be lengthened.

The adjective "rotten", that precedes "weeds" in MS, is more forceful than "totter'd". Besides, it further develops the idea of the young man's face as a beautiful field that will rot and cease to be fruitful unless cultivated. "Weeds" in the plural points to the agricultural image in the first place, and only then to the idea that the youth's beauty is his livery, that may wear away with the passage of time. In Q, "a totter'd weed" has not lost its value completely because it still covers his body, unlike the rotten weeds that signify barrenness.

ll. 5-6. Then being aſk'd where all thy beautie lies

Where's all y^e^ Luſtre of thy youthfull dayes

Then being askt, where all thy beautie lies,

Where all the treaſure of thy luſty daies;

MS "Luſtre" follows from "beautie" in the preceding line. The passage of time is made explicit again by relating "Luſtre" to the man's "youthfull dayes", which will then be over. It must be noted that "Luſtre", apart from meaning "splendour of countenaunce" (OED n.3) has the additional figurative meaning of "splendour of renown; glory" (OED n.4.a.). It is also associated with the idea of bright eyes, as in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, where Cornwall, while removing Gloucester's eyes, constrasts their past lustre with their present hollowness, "Lest it see more, prevent it. Out, vile jelly! Where is thy lustre now?" (III.vii.85-86).

Q "treasure" and "lusty" are polysemic words and may hint at the youth's sexual activity, or may be limited to the value of the time when he was full of energy and beauty.

"Where's" in MS may be considered a grammatical mistake, as it seems to ignore the rules of reported speech. It might, however, be intentional, in line with the direct tone of the sonnet.

l.7. To ſay w^TH^in the ſe hollow-ſunken eies,

To say within thine owne deepe ſunken eyes,

Again the MS version reads better and has a more dramatic tone than Q. MS replaces "thine owne" with the deictic "theſe", far more effective when the addressee points to his hollow eyes. It has the additional advantage of being shorter, which leaves room for two bisyllabic adjectives fully stressed "hollow-ſunken", instead of Q's "deepe ſunken", where the first adjective only receives a secondary stress.

l.8. Were an all-eaten truth, & worthleſſe praiſe.

Were an all-eating ſhame, and thriftleſſe praiſe.

MS "all-eaten truth" is a hollow truth, because it contains nothing. It is as hollow as the man's eyes, now the reflection of approaching death. If someone says his youthful beauty lies in his sunken eyes, his answer makes no sense, as it does not provide a satisfactory justification for his niggardly behaviour. The image echoes its meaning: the truth is as empty and full of holes as an all-eaten trunk or a pumeise stone.[4] "Eat", (OED II) "To destroy by devouring"; (10. transf. a.) "Of slow and gradual action, as of frost, rust, cancerous or similar disease, chemical corrosives, the waves, etc.". Some recent editors, however, offer an interpretation of "all-eaten" that is difficult to sustain in the context of the line. Thus, according to Greenblatt (1997: 1985) "an all-eaten truth" is "an accurate statement that you had been gluttonous".

Q "all-eating shame" is an "all-devouring shame". "Eating" (OED, adj.1.a.) "That eats, chiefly in combination with prefixed object. Formerly also greedy, voracious". It has been fittingly paraphrased by Bate and Rasmussen (2007: 2435) as "gluttonous shame that totally consumes you". Other editors, however, offer less convincing explanations. Thus, Greenblatt (1997: 1924) and Taylor, Jowett, Bourus and Egan (2016: 2820) explain "an all-eating shame" as "a shameful admission of gluttony".

MS "worthleſſe praiſe" is in line with the clear and forceful tone of the line, and verbally echoes "no worth" in line 4.

Q "thriftleſſe" is interchangeable with "worthleſſe" in terms of meaning (OED, adj. 2) "Unprofitable, worthless, useless", as in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (1623) II.ii.39 "what thriftlesse sighes shall poore Olivia breath?" or M.Fotherby's *Atheomastix* (1622) I.vi.4.47, "the most thriftless and vnprofitable part of all the whole tree". Some recent editors, however, have pointed out additional meanings, which make little sense in this context. Thus, Kerrigan suggests the possibility of reading "thriftleſſe praiſe" as "praise for your wasteful profitableness" (1986: 449), an interpretation similar to that of Greenblatt, who explains it as "a boast of excessive expenditure" (1997 [1986], 1924), or Taylor, Jowett, Bourus, and Egan (2016: 2820), who paraphrase it as "a boast of extravagance".

4 A marginal note to J. Brinsley's English translation of Virgil's *Eclogues*, Ch. 8, explains "In the trunke of an eaten tree" as "of a tree all eaten with rotennesse" (1620: 108).

l.9. O how much better were thy beauties u ſe

How much more prai ſe de ſeru'd thy beauties vse,

Both texts are rhythmically equivalent. However, MS is more dramatic, as the exclamation "O" introduces the line. It is clearer and more direct than Q, as "to be much better" is more direct and effective than "to deserve much more praise", since what is at stake here is not so much the degree of praise the youth deserves as the awareness that beauty can be put to good use (the outcome will naturally be praiseworthy).

l.10. If thou could ſt ſay, this pretty childe of mine

If thou could ſt an ſwere this faire child of mine

MS reads better and emphasizes the key words in a natural way. "ſay" is monosyllabic, and makes it possible for the adjective "pretty" to be stressed, thereby highlighting the father's pride in his loving child. "Pretty" is more appropriate than "faire" to refer to a child, and better conveys the father's feeling of affection for it. The second syllable of "anſwere" in Q, however, is unstressed, and, due to the line's iambic rhythm, has the negative effect of leaving "faire" unstressed and clumsily placed between "this" and "child".

l.11. ſaues my account, & makes my old 'excu ſe

Shall ſum my count, and make my old excu ſe

The MS uses the present tense ("ſaues", "makes"), which is more forceful than the future in Q. Besides, it starts the line with an effective trochaic inversion (ſáues my) that highlights the idea of the child rescuing his father from eternal damnation when answering before the Almighty for the use he has made of his gifts (beauty and youth).

Conversely, Q describes a future action by using two verbs in the future tense ("shall sum", "shall make"). The auxiliary "shall" is placed at the beginning of the line and takes up space, so that "account" must be replaced with "count", with the effect that the idea of "summing one's count" is less forceful than "saving one's account".

MS "account" has the additional advantage over "count" of its biblical overtones. In Luke xvi, 2 we read "Giue an accompt of thy stewardship". It must be noted that MS B3 has the variant "accompt" for "account", which could be explained as a wish to echo the biblical text more closely.

"Account" (OED n. III.5.) "A statement accounting for the administration of money held in trust or required by a creditor"; (III.7. I) "Christian theology: the final reckoning at the judgement seat of God".

MS and Q offer the same reading for the second half line: "makes my old excuſe"/ "[shall] make my old excuſe". When analyzing the substantial number of variant readings for this half line, we realized its puzzling nature, which had led most Seventeenth-century compilers to look for alternative readings that could make greater sense. As recently as 2006, Blakemore Evans, whose commentary notes are usually accurate, tried to explain this crux by saying: "the syntax encourages misreading […] the adjective "old" is made to stand for "old age", and the noun "excuse" given a verbal force with the legal sense of declaring him innocent of the crime of wasting his youth". Blakemore Evans, accordingly, paraphrased "make my old excuse" as "justify (through offspring) my old age" (1996/2006: 111). The difficulty of making sense of these words made Burrow (2002: 384) go as far as to suggest that "make my old excuse" could be understood as "the excuse I habitually make", which makes no sense in this context.

My contention is that "old" could be understood as "clever, knowing" (OED, adj. 5, slang), as in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, II.i.254 (1598) 'thou art an old love-monger, and speakest skilfully'. This way, we would not have to look for grammatical inconsistencies, as a "clever excuse" would make full sense in the context of the line.

l.12. Making his beautie by succeſſion thine.

Proouing his beautie by ſucceſſion thine.

The variant "Making" in MS echoes the verb "makes" from the previous line and underlines the idea that the boy's beauty proves an effective excuse in his old age. That connection is less marked in Q's "proouing".

l.13. This were to be new borne, when yᵘ art old

This were to be new made when thou art ould,

"New borne" in MS sharply contrasts with "old", and proves more effective than "new made". Moreover, it comes closer to the natural images of the sonnet, where the young man has been compared to a lovely, fruitful field that risked becoming barren unless put to good use.

l.14. And ſee thy blood warme, when yᵘ feel'ſt it cold.

And ſee thy blood warme when thou feel'ſt it could,

This final line extends the contrast between life and death by opposing "warm blood" to "feeling cold". It follows naturally from the previous line, where a new born was opposed to old age.

In 1985, Taylor drew attention to certain verbal parallelisms between some variants in the MS versions and Thomas Wilson's translation of Erasmus's "Epistle to Persuade a Yong Iengleman to Marriage", included in his *Arte of rhetorique*, first published in 1553. Reflecting on the verbal closeness between "new borne"… "old age" (l. 13), and "pretty" (l. 10) in both texts,[5] he put forward the hypothesis that MS could be an early draft of the Sonnet. This hypothesis was further supported by Burrow (2002), in whose view it provided the most conclusive evidence of the variants early dating: "This is the strongest argument that the poem reflects an early draft" (106).

It must be remembered, however, that *The Art of Rhetoric* was extremely popular and went through eight editions between 1553 and 1585 (Medine 1993: 8-9). It could be easier to think that the compilers of the manuscripts that chose these words were familiar with Wilson's translation of Erasmus's *Encomium matrimonii*. Besides, according to Judith R. Henderson, "Schoolmasters continued throughout the century to anthologize, abridge, and adapt Erasmus's instructions on letter writing for their use in their own classrooms" (149).

Finally, Mowat-Werstine (2004: 619-624) reproduced passages from Erasmus's *Epistle* without relating them to the manuscript versions of Sonnet 2, but only to some of the sonnets printed in Q, which suggests that the Sonnet's verbal closeness to passages in *The Art of Rhetorique* may have been introduced either before or after Q.

5. THE TEXTS' CONTEXTS OF PRODUCTION AND RECEPTION

The context of production of the 1609 Quarto widely differs from that of the handwritten miscellanies presumably compiled during the second quarter of the Seventeenth century. Whereas the printed edition supplies the reader with specific information about the date of publication and the identity of the poems' author, the handwritten miscellanies seldom specify the identity of their compilers, and

5 Erasmus' *Epistle*, translated by Thomas Wilson, reads as follows:
Now again, what a ioye shal this be vnto you, when your moste faire wife, shall make you a father, in bringyng furthe a faire childe vnto you, where you shall haue a *pretie litle boye*, runnyng vp and doune youre house, suche a one as shall expresse your looke, and your wiues looke, suche a one as shall call you dad, with his swete lispyng wordes […] You haue them that shal comforte you, in your latter daies, that shall close vp your iyes, when God shall call you, that shall bury you, and ful|fill all thynges belongyng to your Funerall, by whom you shall seme, to bee *newe borne* […] *Old age* cometh vpon vs all, will we, or nill we, and this waie *nature prouided for vs*, that *we should waxe yong* again in our children […] what man can be greued, that he is old, when he seeth *his awne countenau~ce* whiche he had beyng a childe, to appere *liuely in his sonne*? […] as a *yong graffe buddeth out*, when *the old tree is cut doune*. Neither can he seme to dye, that, when God calleth hym, leaueth a yong child behinde hym (1553, fol. 31) (my italics).

the texts they contain are predominantly unattributed. They have often been compiled over a number of years, and it is not easy to determine their exact date of composition. However, most of the manuscripts containing a handwritten transcript of Sonnet 2 date from the 1620s and the 1630s, and are associated with the universities or the Inns of Court. They typically contain texts in prose and verse of a varied nature that includes love lyrics, political and religious texts, with a surprising diversity of approaches within the same compilations.[6] It is thus possible to find idyllic pastoral poems alongside bawdy epigrams, or anti-monarchic libels close to cavalier lyrics.

The text we have selected as our copy text is contained in the British Library Add. MS 10309, f.143r, a duodecimo miscellany of verse and prose made up of 155 leaves, compiled around 1630. The final page of the volume (f.155v) has a table of contents and the signature of someone called "Margrett Bellasys", whose identity has not been determined yet, even though different attempts have been made on the part of several critics.[7] This far, none of them is conclusive, and their hypotheses include the possibility of connecting her with royalist and republican circles (Crowley 2018: 181). Even though some critics initially thought the handwriting of the signature was identical to that of the manuscript (Ennis 1941: 141), close attention to it rules out that possibility. The manuscript is written in a neat italic hand that looks like that of a professional scribe, who could have been commissioned by Margaret Bellasys herself, or by someone in her circle, to transcribe the text. She seems to have owned it at some point, and to have handed it down to some members of her family, who deemed it worthy of preservation, which is the reason why it has reached us.[8] Different hypotheses have been put forward regarding her part in the volume, and, although some miscellanies by female compilers have been preserved,[9] it is unlikely that she had an active part in the transcription of some misogynist and utterly bawdy poems in the collection such as "Comit. Somers", which immediately follows Shakespeare's Sonnet 2. Moreover, the fact that her signature follows a table of contents that does not list all the texts in the volume, but merely a few of a moralistic nature —"Characterismes of Vices"— sets her apart from certain texts in the miscellany for whose compilation she probably would not like to be held responsible. This attitude would not be surprising if one takes into account that some authors,

6 See Marotti (2003: 52-79); Moulton (2000: 28); Smyth (2010: 99).

7 Beal (1980), Taylor (1985), Roberts (2003), among others. Moulton (2010) highlights the difficulty of determining who Margaret Bellasys was, as there were at least five separate women with that name in the early seventeenth century (p. 16).

8 See Roberts (2003: 181) for detailed information on the manuscript's transmission.

9 See Burke (2004) for an interesting contribution on four Folger Shakespeare Library MSS by female compilers.

aware of the controversial nature of their texts, made sure their poems circulated anonymously.[10] This would be the case with John Donne, for example, who held strict control over the circulation of his texts, especially those that could affect his reputation due to their risqué tone —his *Elegies and Paradoxes*— or their ideological stance —his *Satires*, *Biathanatos,* or *Essays in Divinity.*[11] As Marotti (2006: 35) points out, Donne's poems did not reach a wide audience until the 1620s, when they were copied into manuscript anthologies by students from both universities.

The texts preserved in the different miscellanies from the period show signs of rewriting, which accounts for the significant variants in the texts they transmit. In the case of texts potentially controversial for their political or religious stance, this might go as far as to modify them so that they may adapt to changing contexts (Smyth 2006: 79). This would be the case, for example, with the libel on the Duke of Buckingham following his assassination in 1628,[12] or the popular poem "The Parliament Fart",[13] that were adapted to agree with royalist agendas.[14] Poems with opposite views on the same subject often come together, as would be the case with *Spes Altera*, that encourages marriage and procreation, and appears in the same manuscript as the anonymous poem whose first line reads: "Why should passion leade the blind" (fols 95v-96r). This poem has often been attributed to the Earl of Pembroke, famous for his reluctance to get married,[15] and argues against the idea of haste in love matters, as it may cut off all hope of a fruitful autumn. It circulated in different miscellanies, among others in BL MS Add 30982, which also contains Sonnet 2, although with a different heading: "To one yt would dye a Mayd". This manuscript also adds a heading to Pembroke's poem: "On a made not marriagable" (fol. 19v), which is untitled in BL Add. MS 10309. The substantial differences between the versions in both manuscripts point to what was common practice among the compilers of these miscellanies, that of freely rewriting what came down to them, in line with their capacities and tastes. In the case of the

10 See Ezell (2015: 12); Love (2002: 205); Love (2013: 198).

11 See Marotti (2006) and Pebworth (2006). Both authors quote from Donne's letter to Sir Henry Wotton, asking him to restrict the circulation of the texts of the *Paradoxes* he was sending him: "to my satyrs there belongs some feare, and to some elegies, and these perhaps, shame" (Leicester Record Office, ff.308v-309, as cited in Pebworth 2006: 28). See also Marotti (2011: 74) on the tight control Donne held over the circulation of his *Holy Sonnets*.

12 See Smyth (2006: 78).

13 See Smyth (2010: 99); O'Callaghan (2006: 138.)

14 We share Smyth's (2006) views that "the reading of the politics of a collection, and the search for political consistency, is a delicate business" (75).

15 Jackson (2001), while discussing the efficacy of vocabulary evidence to date the *Sonnets*, suggests that Henry Herbert, earl of Pembroke would provide an acceptable chronological fit as the youth of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, as he refused to marry Elizabeth Carey (1595-1596), Bridget Vere (1697), a niece of Charles Howard (1599), and Mary Fitton (1600-1601) (76).

last poem mentioned, these differences affect its tone and style, and evince their compilers' different levels of literary competence.

The substantial differences between the handwritten and printed versions of Sonnet 2 similarly point to their authors' diverse approaches to its subject matter, together with their varying levels of literary competence.

6. ASSESSMENT OF *SPES ALTERA* (B1) AS COMPARED TO SONNET 2 (Q)

The comparison between Shakespeare's Sonnet 2, published by T. Thorpe in 1609, and the handwritten version contained in the British Library MS Add. MS 10309, here selected as the copy text for its accuracy, reveal a deliberate rewriting of the poem that is compatible with its author's connection with educated circles.

The manuscript version in no way can be deemed the result of careless or inattentive copying, as it shows a distinct and consistent pattern that tries to improve on what its author probably regarded as an inconsistent and faulty structure. At the same time, it evinces its author's meticulous attention to the poem's rhythm, which he carefully adapts to its logical pattern. Accordingly, he employs metrical inversions, such as the initial trochee in "ſaves my account" (instead of the regular iambic pattern in Q "ſhall sum my count"), in order to stress key words, in this case, the verb "ſave", which is in the present instead of the future tense. This change highlights the lyric I's confidence that the young man's child will rescue him from destruction.

The MS also underlines the pride the young man will feel as a father, by having the stress fall on the adjective "pretty" in "If thou couldſt ſay this pretty childe of mine" (l.10), where Q has "If thou couldſt anſwere this faire child of mine". In order to do so, it replaces the bisyllabic "answere" in Q with the monosyllabic "ſay". This way, the stress no longer falls on "this" and "child" –leaving the adjective "faire" unstressed (Q)– but on "pretty".

At the structural level, a number of variants in MS reveal its author's wish to highlight the contrasting alternatives open to the youth at the devastating passage of time, which consist of either letting his beauty be buried by making a niggardly use of it, or letting it be born anew by bequeathing it unto his child. To this end, he rewrites "Thy youthes proud liuery ſo gaz'd on now, / Wil be a totter'd weed of ſmal worth held" as "Thy youths faire Liu'rie ſoe accounted now / ſhall be like rotten weeds, of no worth held" (ll. 3-4). MS highlights the contrast between the youth's present splendour ("faire Liu'rie") and his eventual loss of it, by replacing Q's "totter'd" with "rotten", and Q's "ſmal worth" with "no worth".

The variants in lines 6-8 can similarly be understood as their author's search for consistency in the development of a central idea, in this case, that of the youth's progressive loss of beauty, which in Q has additional overtones. Q's "Then being askt, where all thy beautie lies, / Where all the treaſure of thy luſty daies; / To ſay within thine owne deepe ſunken eyes, / Were an all-eating ſhame, and thriftleſſe praiſe" is changed into: "Then being aſk'd where all thy beautie lies / Where's all y^{e} Luſtre of thy youthfull dayes / To ſay wTHin theſe hollow-ſunken eies, / Were an all-eaten truth, & worthleſſe praiſe". The manuscript's "y ^{e} Luſtre of thy youthfull dayes" (l. 6) develops the idea of youthful beauty started in line 1 ("louely feild"), continued in l. 3 ("faire Liu'rie"), and contrasted with its presumed disappearance in forty years' time, when "hollow-ſunken eies" will be all that is left of his splendid beauty and bright eyes ("Luſtre"). Q does not sustain the idea of the loss of beauty as consistently as MS does. Instead, it refers to the youth's livery as "proud", and does not allude to the loss of youthful beauty in terms of its splendour, but of its "lusty" (with the obvious connotations of lustful) "treasure". The ironic allusion to the youth's "ſunken eyes", which can be related to the excesses of his youth, lead naturally to the all-eating shame he experiences when asked about the use he has put his beauty to. The MS version, conversely, pursues its logical argument to the end. That is why it replaces "all-eating ſhame" with "all-eaten truth", as a way of stating that it makes no sense to affirm that the youth's beauty lies in his hollow eyes. At the same time it prefers the adjective "worthleſſe" over "thriftleſſe" to qualify the noun "praiſe", probably because "worthleſſe praiſe" in line 8 echoes "of no worth held", from line 4.

MS pays careful attention to the relative position of words within the different lines of the poem. That is why, in the previous example, both "no worth" and "worthleſſe" were located at the end of their respective lines. Similarly, the repetition of two words with the same root, "makes", "making", in lines 11 and 12, intensifies their relationship, so that "makes my old excuse" directly connects with "making his beautie by succeſſion thine", where Q has "proouing".

The contrast the final lines of the poem offer between the poet's imagined old age and the renewal he may experience if he fathers a child, is more marked in MS than Q, as MS has "new borne" where Q has "new made", thus establishing a sharper contrast between "new borne" and "old". This substitution has probably been prompted by its greater closeness to "warme blood" in the following line, that occupies the same position as "new born", and contrasts with "cold".

Having stated the importance the author of MS attaches to repetitions as a structuring feature of the poem, it is difficult to agree with Taylor's contention that the repetitions that fulfil this function in Q are absent from MS (1985: 241), for two out of the three instances he mentions of the repetition of "thy beautie"

are identical in both texts (ll. 5 and 9). There is just one case in MS where Q "thy beauties field" (l.2) has been replaced with "that louely feild", which has the advantage over Q of employing the deictic "that" that increases its sense of immediacy.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the variant readings of *Spes Altera* (British Library, Add. MS 10309, f.143r) alongside the text of the 1609 printed edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnet 2* suggests that the text was consciously rewritten during the first third of the Seventeenth century by an educated adapter who tried to improve on the sonnet's inner structure, imagery and rhythm. This conclusion differs from previous approaches to the manuscript version, that, taking into account stylometric findings, regarded it as a Seventeenth century transcription of an early draft of Shakespeare's sonnet, and, accordingly, deemed it stylistically inferior to the 1609 printed text. Taking into account the inconclusive nature of the stylometric analyses that related the rare words in the MS version to Shakespeare's early works, we have, instead, paid close attention to the text's context of production and reception, where we have found similar instances of conscious rewriting of literary texts with an educated readership in mind.

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ON *SHAPELINGS* AND *CHILDLINGS*: A LINGUISTICS APPROACH TO THE EMERGENCE OF NEW CULTURAL BORDERS BETWEEN THE UNBORN AND THE NEW-BORN CHILD IN EME (1500-1700)

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ABSTRACT. *This contribution aims at exploring the emergence of early-age stereotypes in Early Modern England from a Cultural Linguistics approach to Age Studies, using the Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary as a corpus. Results demonstrate that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a new intersubjective conceptualization of embryos and new-borns emerged in English, confirming a more general social perception of the child as an autonomous human being. Moreover, the combined analysis of newly created synonyms for both embryos and infants in Early Modern English (EME) seems to suggest the existence of a temporary cultural understanding of infancy, later failed by the preponderance of science over subjective perceptions. Under this EME construal the current borders separating the unborn and the new-born seem to have been remapped.*

Keywords: Early Modern English, Age Studies, Childhood, Cultural Linguistics, Lexicon.

SHAPELINGS Y *CHILDLINGS*: SURGIMIENTO DE NUEVAS FRONTERAS LINGÜÍSTICO-CULTURALES ENTRE EL NIÑO NO NACIDO Y EL RECIÉN NACIDO EN INGLÉS MODERNO TEMPRANO (1500-1700)

RESUMEN. *El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar la aparición de estereotipos relacionados con las primeras etapas de la niñez desde la perspectiva de la Lingüística Cultural, utilizando como corpus el* Historical Thesaurus *del Oxford English Dictionary. Los resultados demuestran que durante los siglos XVI y XVII surge en inglés una nueva conceptualización intersubjetiva de embriones y recién nacidos, que confirma una percepción social del niño como "ser humano autónomo" más general. Junto a ello, el análisis combinado de los sinónimos que aparecen en inglés moderno temprano para referirse a embriones y a recién nacidos parece sugerir que durante el Inglés Moderno Temprano existió una interpretación cultural de la infancia temprana de naturaleza transitoria, según la cual las fronteras conceptuales que separan actualmente a los niños no nacidos de los recién nacidos se verían modificadas. Esta interpretación desaparecería en siglos posteriores, debido al papel cada vez más preponderante que ha jugado la ciencia sobre las percepciones subjetivas en lo que se refiere a la representación de las categorías afectadas.*

Palabras clave: inglés moderno temprano, *Age Studies*, Infancia, Lingüística cultural, Léxico.

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]

From a twenty-first century position, it may be tempting to assume that the definition of life stages is fixed and unchanging; that is, that notions like childhood, youth, adulthood and later life are chronologically defined or age-based universal concepts. Moreover, a contemporary –and most likely WEIRD-biased–[2], mindset may hinder the perception of a different mapping of borders separating apparently clear-cut categories such as the unborn and the new-born child. However, the belief that the definition, even the existence of specific life-stages is conditioned by ideological changes, cultural values and socially shared expectations is becoming an ever more salient tenet in the social sciences and the humanities. The efforts to unearth the complexities of this assumption have been increasingly growing since the 1990s and frequent calls for theoretical innovation and interdisciplinary

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2 WEIRD is an acronym for "western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic", often used in social studies (Azar 2010: 11; Henrich 2010; Brookshire 2013).

approaches have been recurrently made in the scholarly literature. (Settersen 2003, 2007; Charise 2014; Katz 2014; Segal 2014; Pickard 2016, among many others).

At the same time, there seems to be academic consensus that Linguistics has failed to adequately address age and age-stage related concerns thus far. The dearth of studies focusing on age as a research theme, and not merely as a social marker, has led some scholars to assert that Linguistics has been "age-blind" until very recently (Eckert 1997; Coupland *et al.* 1991; Coupland 2009). Indeed, as a science much underutilized in social and humanistic studies, Linguistics has been slow in responding to the age-challenge, a practice that has directly affected the linguistic definition of life-stages (Tejada 2019a). And furthermore, whereas the call to integrate more language-centred analyses in the understanding of life stages and age identities (Nikander 2009) seems to have recently triggered a list of scattered investigations from various approaches (Bait 2009; Coupland 2009; Love 2011; Benczes *et al.* 2017; among others), most recent contributions are focused on mid-life and later-life experiences affecting present-day citizens, as a response to the increasing concern on old age and its social effects. This implies that the lack of linguistic commitment to life-stage research becomes more blatant when the gaze is turned on childhood, historical understandings of life stages, or both.

Following this train of thought and to minimally redress the gaps of research identified above, the present study constitutes a further contribution to a long-term project focusing on the linguistic conceptualization of EME childhood from a Cultural Linguistics approach. More particularly, it intends to dive more deeply into the lexicographical and cultural conceptualization of EME infancy as a coherent childhood sub-stage. Our contention is that both the emergence of new lexical stereotypes separating the unborn and the new-born from the young child, and the consideration of the unborn and the new-born categories together, away from contemporary delineations, may reveal hidden socio-cognitive construals of the earliest stage of life in EME. The study draws on previous results obtained in Tejada (2018) and Tejada (2019b), where linguistic evidence was provided that a historical "discovery of childhood" would have occurred in English during the period 1500-1700, thereby ratifying what had been previously argued in the social sciences.

This study is divided into 5 sections, as follows. After the introduction, Section 2 will be devoted briefly to review the cultural construction of childhood. In Section 3, the theoretical tenets and methodological procedure driving this study will be succinctly exposed. Section 4 comprises the analysis and discussion of results obtained concerning the notions of ['child' as EMBRYO] and ['child' as INFANT], further suggesting the cross-border category of the [VULNERABLE SMALL PERSON]. The main concluding remarks will be included in a final Section 5.

2. THE CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF (HISTORICAL) CHILDHOOD

The child allegedly constitutes a recent topic in academic social discourse. There seems to be academic agreement that it was only after the release of Phillipe Ariès' pioneering and contentious essay, translated into English as *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (1962), that the child was discovered by historians, becoming thereby not only an autonomous object of historiography, but a cultural category (Frijhoff 2012; Ferraro 2012; among others). Since the 1970s and much more clearly since the turn of the century, essays advocating a move away from nature in favour of cultural understanding of childhood have sprouted, directly or indirectly following Ariès' scheme of thought (Qvortrup *et al.* 2009; Fass 2012; Biddle 2017; Wyness 2018; among many others). However, to date most studies on childhood focus on social issues and contemporary socially demanding concerns. And, as hinted above, there is still little or no trace of purely linguistic pondering.

The scarcity of cultural definitions of past childhoods has been even more severe. Although the ground-breaking tenets put forward by Ariès specifically concerned the so-called discovery of childhood in Renaissance Europe, it is the past reconstruction of this notion that seems most slippery. Assertions that up to very recently childhood has been a "forgotten category" in the life-course, or the "silent" and obscure years in the social sciences (King 2007; Frijhoff 2012) gain full meaning when applied to history. Not only is there still a lack of studies concerning pre-adulthood in the past (Settersen 2007; Mawhinney 2015); scholarly depth also seems to fluctuate by historical period and childhood sub-stage. Various factors seem to be at work in this context. First, any definition of past childhood presents specific problems to the contemporary scholar, one of the most significant being the blurry connection of childhood with age. It is well known that in pre-industrial societies, age-stages were not finely grained, (Mintz 2008), childhood and youth representing "fluid categories that are given definition and meaning by their social, cultural, political, institutional, locational, governmental, and economic contexts" (Wyn 2015: 1). Secondly, the speculative clash between *childhood* –as a socially-shared conceptual category– and the actual reality of *children's* past lives has not only been responsible for the wide controversy initially unleashed on the validity of Ariès' tenets (Pollock 1990; Heywood 2001; Orme 2001; Lowe 2004; Cunningham 2006; Dekker *et al.* 2012; Retford 2016; among others); it has also unbalanced the nature of historical research. It is on *children*, rather than past construals of childhood, that information is largely to be found. And moreover, it is not uncommon that evidence must be tracked indirectly. Frequently, children come up as secondary characters in historical works devoted to a diversity of topics, from

the economic development of the family through to education ideologies and types of schooling, or child-labour conditions (Thane 1981; Fawcett 2005; Berry and Foyster 2011; the Routledge series *Women and Men In History*, etc.). As a consequence, research turns difficult when it comes to trace specific discussions on conceptual perceptions of childhood.

In conjunction with this, academic works privilege most recent historical periods. As expected, the abundance of nineteenth-century data, likely concurrent with a new legal concern about children and an emergent marketing of childhood (Denisoff 2008), has made of this stage the centre of greatest attention. This implies that lower levels of evidence make it more difficult to generate hypotheses. Likewise, not all childhood developmental stages have received equal consideration along time. In this case, it is prototypical children or children between three and their teenage years that have drawn widest interest. As for EME infants in particular, historical attention may be said to have concentrated on death rates and infanticide accounts thus far. It is only recently that an increased awareness of infants has been raised by gender and medical scholars focusing on mothering, child sickness, and further histories of women's lives, experiences and emotions. Researchers like Spivack (2007), Copeland (2008), Harrington (2010), Spence (2011), Scott (2013), Newton (2014), Wiedenbeck (2015) or Zeiter (2018), among others, have newly contributed key insights to the understanding of historical pregnancy and early childhood. It is to them that this article is much indebted.

The above-mentioned reasons may explain why linguistic research into the social perception of EME childhood has been almost non-existent and, more precisely, why very little has been explored to date to determine whether there is linguistic evidence on the discovery of childhood in England, expanding Ariès' proposal. This topic was tackled in Tejada (2018, 2019b). In Tejada 's first essay, a lexicographical model was devised to assess whether there was any linguistic hint of a new modern intersubjective conceptualization of childhood during the EME period. Drawing on the premise that the EME conceptual category 'child' might be reconstructed using a lexicographical approach, a table of new HTOED[3] synonyms and word senses associated to the senses of ['child' as PERSON] was produced, to which a list of similar terms applying to ['child' as EMBRYO] was added, considering that the first OED definition for 'child' with reference to state or age is "The unborn or the newly born".[4] Synonyms were interpreted as markers of meaning profiles, the assumption being that examined together, they would be revelatory about the thinking of a society (Cf. Kay 2010).

3 HTOED stands for the Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary.

4 Cf. "child, n." OED Online, Oxford University Press, September 2019, www.oed.com/view/Entry/31619. Accessed 12 September 2019.

Results in Tejada (2018) confirmed the corpus as a coherent set of terms providing cumulative evidence of a clear change in the perception of childhood. Seemingly, by the eighteenth century childhood was no longer a blurred stage defined in terms of youth and short stature, but a category encompassing different sub-stages, each anchored around well-defined lexical stereotypes, and delineated along distinct features; a *man-boy* would have become gradually separated from the *lap-child*, before a *child-in-arms* and a *womb-infant* got more neatly profiled. Though requiring further discussion, the existence of a *woman-girl* also came up into the EME lexical typology of childhood identities as the female counterpart of the *man-boy*, if only in contrastive terms. All in all, findings confirmed an EME re-evaluation of childhood in social practice, reflecting a strengthening of emotional ties and a highly subjective appraisal. In this initial construal of children as autonomous human beings, the *lap-child* and the *man-boy* were revealed as the two most conspicuous sub-categories, their core value being mirrored in a most profuse lexical sketching. It is probably not random that these two prototypical identities, as it were, have been the focus of most forthcoming discussions.

Unlike prototypical children, the identities of the ['child' as EMBRYO] and ['child' as INFANT] have remained somewhat peripheral to research. According to Astbury (2016) "we know very little about the earliest part of life in Early Modern England". It is not only that in the effort to split childhood from adulthood research into this sub-stage may have been thought unnecessary, granting that the difference between infancy and adulthood was clearest; the connection between the confined child and the delivered new-born baby may also have passed unnoticed to the contemporary mind, given the unchallenged role birth has progressively acquired as a major turning point in the life-cycle. It is to counterbalance these insufficiencies that this article comes up, bearing in mind Hall's 1983 statement that "culture has always dictated where to draw the line separating one thing from another (as in Dahl 2004). These lines are arbitrary, but once learned and internalized they are treated as real. More particularly, this study addresses a combined analysis of the initial phases of childhood, before and after birth, as drawn from the lexicon. It aims hence at expanding and reconsidering what was already stated in Tejada (2019b) adopting a fresh cross-bordering perspective. In this line, research questions may be stated as follows: Is there any lexical evidence to assert a difference between the born and the unborn? In which terms? Are babies in any way different from older children? Is there any connection between the unborn and the new-born as inferred from lexical creativity?

3. THEORETICAL TENETS AND METHODOLOGICAL STRATEGIES

To assess whether a new intersubjective conceptualization of embryos and babies emerged in EME and further explore to what extent the lexicon enlightens the existence of new categories remapping the borders between pregnancy and infancy as we perceive them today, we followed the model in Tejada (2018) to analyse the rate and nature of lexical and semantic innovation registered in the HTOED, restricting it to the categories of the ['child' as EMBRYO] and the ['child' as INFANT], and informed the results with further social and historical readings.

Behind the model lie three central tenets of Cultural Linguistics. First, the idea that human conceptualization (that is, cognitive processes of schematization and categorization that serve as patterns of understanding and reasoning), is as much a collective as it is an individual phenomenon. Second, conceptualizations change through time and across groups of identity. And third, conceptualizations are alleged to be largely transmitted through language; putting it more plainly, language is seen as a collective memory bank for cultural conceptualizations (Wierzbicka 1997; Bartmiński 2009b; Mierzwińska-Hajnos 2010; Sharifian 2011, 2014; among others). The above-mentioned view of language linking Cultural Linguistics and Ethnolinguistics to a sustained tradition stemming from Sapir (1921, 1957) stresses the idea that "vocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people" (Sapir 1957: 34, 36; Brinton and Closs-Traugott 2005; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2007; Bartmiński 2016). The assumption that the vocabulary of a language constitutes the institutionalization of social meaning, words representing access nodes to shared knowledge, implies that lexicographical studies are deemed adequate to explore whether sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English shows "new conceptual categories, schemas, and propensities for certain perspectives" on infancy reflecting the cultural cognition of those who spoke the language at the time (Tomasello 1999: 169).

The steps followed in this study may be summarized as follows. After a global assessment of ['child' as EMBRYO] and ['child' as INFANT] synonyms registered in the HTOED from Old English to the twentieth century, a closed corpus of sixteen new words and word senses (i.e. extended meanings of pre-existing words) emerging in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century associated with the two child meanings in focus was compiled. Then, to obtain quantitative and qualitative results, the terms were analysed following the previously devised chart of twenty-four study parameters, including stylistic and axiological information, register connotations obtained from cross-reference definitions of the terms, etc. (Cf. Appendix 1). Also, in order

to identify the degree of lexical and semantic innovation occurred during the Renaissance, the period was divided into eight 25-year subcategories, from period 1 (1500-1525) through to period 8 (1676-1700). For a qualified assessment of each term, the analysis required not only a close reading of definitions and dictionary labels, but also frequent cross-reference acts through the dictionary and the thesaurus. The study finally entailed the reading of secondary literature on midwifery manuals, the development of embryology, the perception of pregnancy, and EME notions of abortion, in an ever-richer literature building history from below.

4. EME LEXICAL NOVELTY FOR THE ['CHILD' AS EMBRYO] AND ['CHILD' AS INFANT]

As shown in Tejada (2018) the period 1500-1700 confirms a remarkable growth of new terms and extended meanings to refer to the five selected subcategories of ['child' as PERSON].[5] In global terms, the general analysis of EME childhood vocabulary shows a clear index of novelty. However, the distribution of novelty is not balanced in quantitative terms. As shown in chart 1, neither embryos nor infants represent core categories of the new EME conceptualization of childhood, their synonyms representing 6% and 11% of innovation, respectively. EME attention seemed to be rather focused on children older than two.

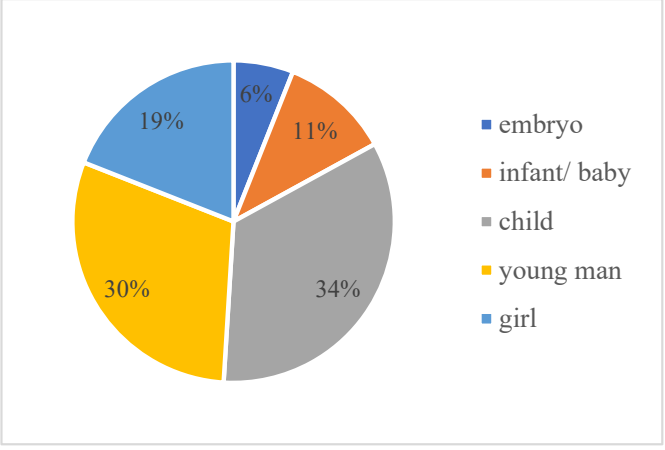

Chart 1. 16th -17th century innovation per child-meaning.

5 ['child' as EMBRYO]; ['child' as INFANT]; ['child' as CHILD]; ['child' as young MAN]; ['child' as GIRL].

At the same time, innovation concerning embryos and babies seem to take place comparatively late in the period (1651-1675), that is, after a new conceptualization of young men and older children was well on its way. A new portrayal of young men, lexically stereotyped as the *man-boy*, reached momentum in period 4 (1576-1600) and that of the so-called *lap-child* (also called the *two-year-old*) in periods 4 and 5 (1576-1625). However, the lexical innovation for embryos and babies seem to explode during the mid-seventeenth century (Cf. chart 2)

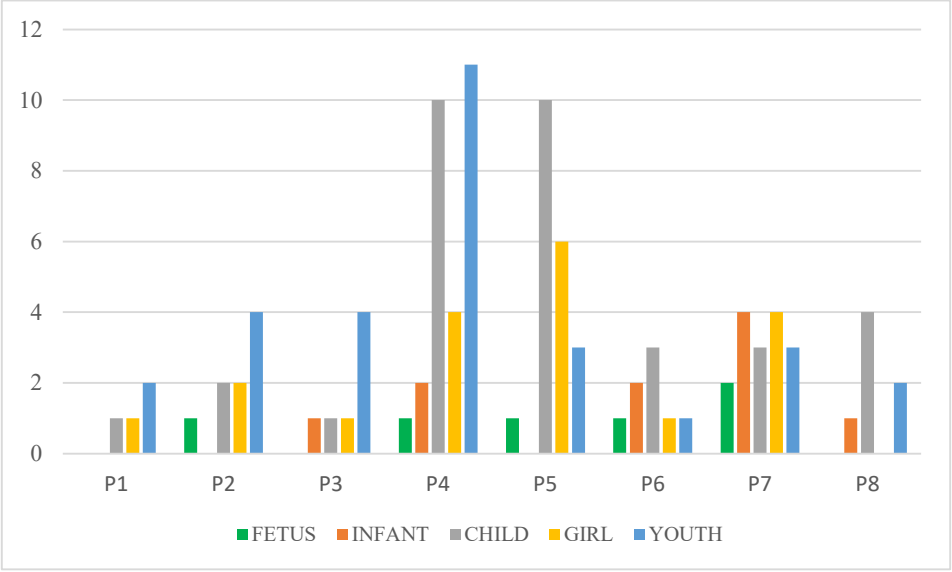

Chart 2. Lexical and semantic innovation per child meaning and time-period.

With regard to vocabulary changes, table 1 schematizes the terms featuring lexical or semantic innovation for both ['child' as EMBRYO] and ['child' as INFANT] during the period under scrutiny. Two new words or senses for 'embryo' appear in English during the sixteenth century, namely *feture* and *embryo*, while the remaining four synonyms come up during the 1600s: *womb-infant*, *hans in kelder*, *geniture* and *shapeling*. As for 'infant', *chrisomer*, *chrisom* and *tenderling* are registered in the HTOED as sixteenth-century innovations, prior to a higher level of novelty in the seventeenth century, encompassing *childling*, *flosculet*, *bratling*, *lullaby-cheat*, *stranger*, *child-in-arms* and *hoppet*.

Table 1. New synonyms registered for ['child' as EMBRYO] and ['child' as INFANT] in the HTOED for the period 1500-1700.

PERIOD	EMBRYO	INFANT
1500-1525	-	-
1526-1550	*feture (1540)*	
1551-1575		*chrisomer (1574-5)*
1576-1600	*embryo (1576)*	*chrisom (1596)* *tenderling (1587)*
1601-1625	*womb-infant (1611)*	
1626-1650	*hans-in-kelder (1640)*	*childling (1648)* *flosculet (1648)*
1651-1675	*geniture (1672)* *shapeling (1674)*	*bratling (1652)* *child in arms (1675)* *lullaby-cheat (1665)* *stranger (1674)*
1676-1700		*hoppet (1695)*

The corpus also informs that just half of the new synonyms for 'embryo' constitute new terms (rather than meaning extensions or reinterpretations of existing words), whereas this figure rises to 70% of new terms created to refer to the ['child' as INFANT].

As for the degree of obsolescence, according to the OED, 83% of the newly created terms for 'embryo' are currently obsolete and over 80% of the EME new synonyms for 'infant' are either obsolete or rated as *rare* in current use.[6] Hence, EME creations for both 'embryo' and 'infant' may be said to have been short-lived, an insight already pointed out by Glover (2018: 56) in passing: "many of the terms used in the EME period are unfamiliar to modern readers because they eventually fell out of fashion and were replaced". Yet, no further discussion is offered.

4.1. THE ['CHILD' AS EMBRYO]

Though scarce in absolute terms, lexical or semantic innovation in the sixteenth- and seventeenth century represents 55% of the total number of synonyms compiled in the HTOED for this category along history. From the Old English period to the fourteenth century embryos were referred to through the

6 According to the OED, by the eighteenth century *chrisomer* and *bratling* had fallen out of use; *chrisom*, *tenderling*, *stranger*, *hoppet* disappeared in the nineteenth century, and *lullaby-cheat* and *flosculet* apparently represent the shortest-lived terms for infants. As for foetuses, only the term *embryo* has survived.

general term *child*. It is only in scientific discourse that some direct borrowings from the Classical languages had been introduced at the turn of the fifteenth century (*fetus* 1398 and *embryon* 1400). Further fourteenth-century terms, specifically *fruit of the loins* (1340) and *conception* (1398), entailed a vague meaning, aligning human embryos with those of animals, plants or any other creature and false fruits that might possibly grow in the womb (Spivack 2007: 9; Buklijas and Hopwood 2014). Moreover, according to the OED, fourteenth-century terms for embryos focused on the idea of 'progeny' or 'offspring', a major social concern widespread in medieval times (Fawcett 2005). Emphasizing embryos either as future inheritors or as progenitors of lineage, these terms blurred the difference between the born and the unborn.[7]

As drawn from the corpus, a growing number of words for the unborn child becomes ever more visible from 1576 onwards. This reflects an increasing social awareness and interest in the establishing of boundaries, likely triggered by the development of embryology in Early Modern England. According to Glover (2018), this was a time of great change when English practices and traditions regarding conception, pregnancy, and childbirth widely developed.

From 1576 onwards, new terms and word senses for embryos seem to be divided into two stylistic registers: namely, the specialized and the familiar level, the latter being of particular interest in this study. An initial lexical innovation in the specialized field is carried out through borrowing from Latin or French, a predictable move, considering the marked increase experienced in the translation of midwifery and medical books from the late sixteenth-century onwards (Astbury 2017; Glover 2018; Carrillo Linares 2018). As described in the OED, this is the case of *feture, embryo* and *geniture* (a term close to *conception* in French, generally referred to the generation of an animal or plant). The EME creations exhibit a very low degree of novelty, representing close variations from the already existing terms *fetus* and *embryon*. A subtle –yet interesting– restriction of sense is apparently observed in the words *feture* and *geniture*, evolving into "embryo or foetus", from a wider idea of "offspring". It should be stressed that the semantic emphasis in these words was laid on the underdevelopment of beings, not necessarily human, before they got the features of their species.

7 According to the OED, a *fetus* was the "offspring of a human or other animal during its development within the uterus or egg. In later use: spec. the developing offspring". In turn, *fruit of the loins* is defined as "offspring, progeny. Also, an embryo, fœtus". And *conception* as "that which is conceived in the womb; an embryo, fetus; a child, offspring". Likewise, it should be noted that the cultural notion of progeny was responsible for a good deal of medical interest in the womb, according to Buklijas and Hopwood 2008; medical doctors were tightly connected with inheritance laws, and had an expert say on the birth of legitimate heirs, who would decide the destinies of families and states.

However, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there seems to arise in England a familiar perception of embryos, channelled by the nativization of vocabulary, the introduction of popular metaphors or both. As we know it from the OED, the word *shapeling,* a diminutive apparently confected by Fairfax[8] to refer to animals and plants as living entities "getting shaped", provides evidence of contemporary attempts to nativize foreign vocabulary concerning embryos. According to Glover (2018),[9] the vernacular writing of medical and midwifery manuals apparently escalated from the mid-seventeenth century, a moment directly connected with the Royal Society's puritan project of linguistic renewal, characterized by the desire for plain, native style and the reaction against Latinism and scholastic obscurity (Connor 2019). No matter how restricted its use, the nativized word *shapeling* would certainly have contributed to rendering embryos more clearly and immediately perceptible to the socially-shared knowledge. Also, the diminutive formative *-ling* in *shapeling* would bring about the idea of smallness –already present in terms like *embryo*– to a new realm of domesticity and popular interpretation.

Closest to popular knowledge, a different perception of embryos seems to emerge from the two remaining terms, *womb-infant* and *hans-in-kelder*. Familiar metaphors of confinement are perceived in *womb-infant*. The defining term *womb* would be hastily interpreted as a container, an image also elicited in the more complex *hans-in-kelder*, the latter implying a second metaphorical level. But furthermore, a strict distinction seems to arise between these terms and the former *feture, embryo*, *fetus*, and *shapeling*. The presence of the term *infant* and the name *hans* as word-forming elements in these expressions should be underscored as lexical indexes of personhood; that is, of a fresh awareness of embryos as human beings. This leads us into the concept of 'quickening', a major cultural notion in EME, referring to the first perceptible movements of the fetus during pregnancy. According to Scott (2013: 82), "quickening held a place of huge significance within the complex 'conceptual scheme' of pregnancy, where 'when the child was felt to move… its life had begun'". Similarly, Müller (2012) asserts as common belief "that when the unborn child had formed extremities like arms and legs it signified personhood" (see also McClive 2002; Zeiter 2018: 2). Hence, the moment when the foetus was formed and animated seems to constitute a turning point among the EME society marking that the not-yet-human had turned a *child*. Key to this conventional interpretation of personhood is that before 1800 pregnancy of a human child was only legible to mothers. Consequently, it is the mother's

8 For Nathaniel Fairfax and his views on language, cf. Connor 2019.

9 See also Astbury (2017: 503), citing Mary E. Fissell's estimation that by 1700 there was one vernacular medical work in circulation in England for every four families.

inner individual experience, turning the embryo into a *child*, that also triggers the creature's recognition as a public category (Buklijas and Hopwood 2014; Glover 2018; Steinway 2018). This formulation buttresses the significance –both private and public– of such terms as *womb-infant* and *hans-in-kelder*. Speculatively, these terms would constitute a landmark incident, wherefrom all individual and socially shared expectations linked to procreation would be unchained.

Our contention in Tejada (2019b) was that the emergence of descriptive and metaphorical expressions in the familiar register would mostly contribute to expand the new intersubjective conceptualization of the embryo category as different from the new-born child. To our view, *womb-infant* would operate as an anchoring word; that is, a descriptive term denoting a particular sub-stage which stood in contrastive relationship to other focal terms sketching the human childhood lifecycle. However, *womb-infant* goes well beyond this interpretation. It apparently establishes a new category, the viable human child, as decided by the mother. In other words, the recognition of the embryo as a person links this creature to the supra-category of childhood, removing it from that of foetus. A *womb-infant* or *hans-in-kelder* is no longer a developing creature, but a *confined child*. By the eighteenth-century boundaries have apparently become established between medical and popular *shapelings* and *womb-infants*. As the lexicalization of a childhood stereotype, womb-infants would anchor the unborn child as a [PERSON FOETUS] in contrast to other categories or identities of childhood.

In historical terms, this EME construal seems to constitute a transitory cultural framework, later failed by the greater attraction exerted by science over the subjective perception in the construction of early life-stages. Linguistic results show that after the EME period the construction of embryos gradually moves into a present-day interpretation. From the eighteenth century onwards, the central EME notion of the preborn child as a confined person gradually fades away, overridden by that of a child in development and not fully shaped, birth subsequently gaining strength as a major turning point. A quick look into the lexical change occurring along the past two hundred years confirms that most popular EME creations for embryo fall into disuse; only two new synonyms appear in the twentieth century, both reinforcing the contemporary idea of a not-fully formed and developing creature: *pudding* and *bun in the oven*.

Summarizing the above, EME new terms for embryo constitute two most important advances in the separate conceptualization of childhood sub-stages with respect to the medieval period. First, in the seventeenth century the unborn child seems to gather fresh attention, creations showing a strengthening of emotional ties and a new separate concern, away from the previous instrumental attitude that portrayed embryos as offspring. And second, under the new cultural scheme,

a new stereotype is created, that of the *womb-infant,* recognising the transition from womb to light; yet this stereotype plays a provisional twofold role: not only does it establish a difference between the embryo and the new-born child; it also links preborn children to the newly-born.

4.2. THE ['CHILD' AS INFANT]

Moving on into the next childhood sub-stage, the ['child' as INFANT] emerges as a late perception, similarly to what happened to the ['child' as EMBRYO]. It is only from the seventeenth century onwards – once the categories of 'child' as *lap-child* and 'child' as *man-boy* had been distinctly identified– that a more explicit discernment of babies is proved**,** through the creation of an increasing number of new synonyms.

Assessed in relative terms, innovation in this category exhibits the largest degree of lexical creativity in the period. Casting a detailed view on the corpus, we observe that 70% of the total amount of synonyms for ['child' as INFANT] constitute new coinages, which might lead to the conclusion that this sub-stage represents an intended invention. Delayed in time, there seems to be an acute need for Early Modern contemporaries to assert these creatures as distinctively different from their older counterparts, stereotyped as the *two-year-old* or *lap-child*.

Not surprisingly, before the sixteenth century babies were referred to through the most general term *child*, or through foreign –also rather vague– terms introduced from French in the fourteenth century. That would be the case of *infant*, defined in the OED as "A child during the earliest period of life (or still unborn)", from which two short-lived, somewhat expressive derivations came up*: fauntekin, fauntelet,* both most likely restricted to French-speaking contexts and elites. Alongside, *baban, babe* had also emerged in the fourteenth century as natural creations reproducing infantile vocalization, with the still too vague meaning "very young child", "a child of any age".[10] Last, a nativized *baby* surfaced at the turn of the fifteenth century showing "considerable overlap with *babe*", according to the OED. It is in the mid-fifteenth century that a more subjective conceptualizing tendency tentatively appears, with the creation of words like the dialectal and short-lived *lakin* ("plaything") and the semantic expansion of *mop,* a term of uncertain origin and obscure etymology, formerly meaning 'fool' or 'simpleton'.

However, from the sixteenth century onwards a distinctively vernacular lexicalization of babyhood is perceived away from French, and furthermore, both

10 It is to note the Latin meaning of infant as a non-speaking child, explaining the prevalence of this image in the construal and lexical portrayal of new-borns.

a more complex and precise portrayal of this childhood sub-stage emerges. The situation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to confirm that during this period babies aroused an increasingly greater social interest in England, promoting not only the nativization of the lexicon for this stage but also a neatly profiled identity, largely cast in emotional subjective terms.

From a qualitative perspective, results show that the conceptualization of EME babyhood moves apparently from a religious description to a more expressive and evaluative perception, lexicalized in native terms. At the beginning of the period, the lexicon seems to mirror a social pressure to publicly ratify the new-born in religious terms. Though the term *chrisom* was already in use as the first element of such compounds as *chrisom child* or *chrisom babe*, the creation of new independent nouns like *chrisomer* (in period 3: 1551-1575) and *chrisom* (in period 4: 1601-1625) suggests not only a plain insistence on the religious innocence of babies (symbolically represented by the white robes at baptism), but also a wish to reinforce the official recognition of the child at church, preventing the parents from unwanted legal consequences in case of an untimely death of the child. An indication of the parents' concern, the terms *chrisom* or *chrisomer* allowed the institutional identification of a new-born not only different from still-borns, but also from objects of infanticide.

As for subsequent lexical creations concerning the ['child' as INFANT], both a move away from institutional attention and a more physical and descriptive definition is appreciated. The baby appears to be increasingly understood and conceptualized as a small and fragile being, as illustrated by *tenderling, childling, flosculet* or *bratling*.[11] Considering the prior existence of *child* and *brat* as correlate synonyms for the category of two-year-olds, these formations are probably best described as denotational diminutives, evaluating size over bare affection. Accordingly, the new construal of new-borns would stress their physiological distinction from older children focusing on infants' small size and tender bodies (Newton 2014). Moreover, this lexical weight on physical tenderness in *tenderling* may reveal ever more meaningful, in the face of the EME extended practice of swaddling babies to protect their limbs until the age of two.

Notwithstanding the above, it is also important to note that, as diminutive formations, *childling*, *tenderling*, *bratling* or *flosculet* add to the large collection of expressives that characterizes the new global conceptualization of childhood in Early Modern England.[12] As shown in Tejada (2018) during the period under

11 According to the HTOED, these expressions, as well as *lullaby-cheat*, *hoppet*, *child-in-arms*, *chrisom* or *chrisomer*, are restricted to babies under two years of age during this period. Childling expands its meaning to refer more generally to "a little child" in 1903.

12 I have taken the term "expressive" from typological scholarship (Tufvesson 2007; Steriopolo

study almost 80% of the terms newly applied to the notion of childhood could be classified as expressives. The ['child' as INFANT] would be no exception.

Much in line with this tendency towards subjectivity, a final phase of innovation in the EME lexicalization of infants comprising metaphorical perceptions of babyhood is perceived. A combination of affection and description of daily behavioural routines, the cant and dialectal expressions *lullaby-cheat* and *hoppet* ("a child danced in the arms") explicitly depict new-borns as distinct from the *lap child*. Daily cares and attention towards new-borns and older children would certainly require different activities adequate to either identity. In turn, (*little*) *stranger* introduces a different nuance in the social construction of EME infants. Through this playfully used term, a new-born seems to be further construed as a not yet well-acquainted visitor, someone not seen before, in clear contrast to the confined *womb-infant*. To this respect, it should be noted that up to the eighteenth century there were no available images or pictures of an evolving embryo (Buklijas and Hopwood 2014). A metaphorical perception of infants is also observed in the above-mentioned *flosculet* ("little flower"). Despite the scarcity of data, the presence of *flosculet* in the present corpus might arguably reinforce the lexical dividing line between babies and older children. As described in the above-mentioned study, two-year-olds were most often represented by animal metaphors, plants being more conspicuous in the symbolic construction of EME male adolescents.

Last in our account of EME new infant synonyms, the term *child-in-arms* contributes the most descriptive and objective social construction of infants. Also, the most historically stable. This expression becomes the best candidate to act as an anchoring word, or stereotype, around which the whole characterization of identity revolves. Stereotypically, an EME *child-in-arms* would be a child, unable to walk, requiring specific caring actions, smaller and more tender than the *lap-child*. Not too surprisingly, it is their size and inability to walk that persists in many of the new synonyms generated in forthcoming centuries.

The above-mentioned remarks help us conclude that in the seventeenth century the definition, the perception and the way people felt about babies had changed. As a *child-in-arms*, a baby seems to have been construed as a small child in need for special care and arising affection. It is their size, their frailty and their inability to walk that separates babies from older children, a category that had already been perceived as autonomous and depicted along similar lines of intimacy and fondness.

2016) to encompass diminutives, nicknames, metaphors, sound-symbolism, alliterative terms and terms indicating emotions, attitudes and evaluations.

4.3. A REMAPPING OF BORDERS?

The late recognition of infants as different from older children and the significant lexicalization of viable foetuses as 'children' may speculatively suggest a remapping of cultural borders in the Early Modern understanding of earliest childhood. Lexical innovation in the seventeenth century may hint at the existence of a transitory category connecting infants to the viable unborn, and highly linked to both the mother's experience and a disrupted household space. This definition of infancy not against adulthood but against the not-yet-born may well have passed unnoticed to the contemporary researcher, unconsciously driven by their own predefined taxonomies and assumed stability of embryos and babies and as "social types". As stated above, the idea of childhood seems ultimately dependent on common ways of thinking about life-stages. Far-removed from scientific and objective indicators, EME pregnancy and infancy appear to have been contingent to a female awareness and concern, dragged along a stretched process, extending from the recognition of personhood at quickening to the survival of the child after its first year of age. In this line, the EME *womb-infant* and the "tiniest child of tender limbs" might represent a joint cultural category of [VULNERABLE SMALL PERSON], unknown to us. Both socially and individually, the period comprising the latest stages of pregnancy and the first year of life would be felt as a precarious stage in Early Modern England, a site of unpredictable and sudden changes endangered by the threat of death. Hence, it might be argued that the triumph over menacing death would represent a more categorical turning point than birth itself. Moreover, the tentatively advocated EME childhood sub-stage would constitute a time when the symbiotic relationship between mother and child reached its highest degree, and boundaries between the inside body and the outside world were experienced as thinnest. According to social and medical historians, mother and child would face a "rough and long passage" before and after birth (Pollock 1990; Astbury 2017: 518-519). And furthermore, having babies was perceived as an ongoing process that did not end with the birth of a child, but –we may argue– with the overcoming of death. It should be recalled that not all EME new-borns would become children or youth, a condition bringing infants closer to foetuses in practice and thought. On the one hand, death rates topped their highest levels during the first year of age. On the other, the borders between a new-born, a stillborn and an abortion remained blurred, considering the number of undeliberate or conscious killings of children at birth, first-year infanticides, abandonments and further fortunes experienced by not-yet-borns and new-borns alike (Spivack 2007; Ferraro 2012; Scott 2013; Glover 2018). Under these circumstances, the two-year-old would constitute a more factual landmark, the prototypical EME turning point in the perception of infancy. The collective mind would feel that around this age the child had safely become

a social child, beyond the individual experience of maternity, globally construed. And the reverse, *womb-infants*, *childlings*, and *tenderlings* could not be said to belong to public life, staying yet peripheral to it (Laoutaris 2013). This would explain the EME late need to lexicalize this experience, establishing a clear-cut stereotype of the ['child' as INFANT] as a *child-in-arms*, separate from older children and connected to the human unborn. A stronger awareness that life depended on care –as perceived in diaries, letters, narratives and midwifery books (Spivack 2007; Astbury 2017; Glover 2018)– would explain the strengthening of emotional ties, lexicalized in terms representing both viable embryos and infants as objects of increasing affection and concern.

Before concluding, a brief note on the short-lived nature of EME expressions thus far considered seems pertinent. As has been noticed, a high proportion of words defining infancy during the sixteenth- and seventeenth century appear to be popular and emotional formations. Similar to what occurred in the vocabulary of core sub-stages of childhood, the lexis of infancy proves deeply connected with subjectivity and intimacy. Though further research is needed, in the case of infancy this may imply that we are attending an incipient moment of vocabulary creation in the colloquial and informal edges of language, reflecting private needs to mark off a time of strong "emotional toll" that would be endured within the household walls (Astbury 2017: 513). It is this local and private nature of innovation that may explain why the EME lexicon for infancy did not have a lasting effect on the language, words being either rejected or ignored by the later speech community. Future scientific understandings of the lifecycle would combine with further public policies to bring up a new childhood construal and lexicalization, this time institutionalized from above.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This project adds to the increasing number of lexicographical studies that have been pursued in the last ten years based on the HTOED, yet with other purposes. This case has ultimately confirmed the utility of the OED and the HTOED as tools to expand linguistic research to areas conventionally covered by the social sciences, starting thereby a creative interdisciplinary dialogue of mutual gain.

More particularly, our study has explored the existence of linguistic evidence supporting a new EME construal of infancy, an apparently overlooked life stage along the English Linguistics space. Findings have shown that neither embryos nor babies constitute universal, predefined categories, but cultural constructions. The

analysis of lexical and semantic innovation concerning the concepts of ['child' as EMBRYO] and ['child' as INFANT] in EME has demonstrated that new common ways of thinking about these two sub-stages of childhood emerged at the time. Though in quantitative terms, neither embryos nor infants seem to typify core categories in the conceptual transformation of childhood, the lexically neat delineation of both embryos and infants reflect a significant qualitative transformation in cognitive and social patterns.

As for embryos, they are no longer reduced to the scientific realm or to the wider idea of *progeny*. Alongside, there seems to arise a more familiar perception of these entities, channelled through vernacular words and popular metaphors of size and confinement. However, it is the construction of embryos as [PERSON] through such terms as *womb-infant* or *hans-in-kelder* that proves most significant. Concerning infants, results seem to confirm that during EME babies aroused an increasingly greater social interest in England, promoting not only the nativization of the lexicon for this stage but also a neatly profiled identity. The perception of babies moves from an institutional need to assert the new-born in religious terms, to more subjective notions of vulnerability, physical helplessness and dependency in terms of smallness, tenderness and inability to walk, commonly brought about through metaphorical expressions.

Finally, linguistic data may suggest a remapping of borders in EME, corroborating what has been put forward in recent social and historical studies. Jointly considered, the existence of the expression *two-year-old* as a synonym for the *lap-child*, the deferred need to creatively separate new-borns away from older children, and the presence of word-formations like *womb-infant* and *hans-in-kelder*, seem to open up a cognitive and cultural EME provisional framework that would alter the current borders delineated by birth as major turning-point in the life-cycle. To the EME mind, a distinct childhood identity, that of [VULNERABLE SMALL PERSON], would be marked by the threat of death and the split between the private space of infancy and the social space of older children. In historical terms, the triumph of a scientific mindset would gradually stress the idea of embryo as a not-fully-formed developing creature, establishing birth as the relevant turning point and gradually realigning infancy with the notion of early childhood. It goes without saying that the exploratory nature of the present study invites further linguistic research into the definition of historical childhood identities, and more particularly into the definition of infant identities raised in periods where pregnancy, still-births or death were not as clearly delineated as they are today.

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APPENDIX 1

PARAMETERS	
	New Word (Y/N)
	Period
CHILD SENSES	Embryo/ Fetus
	Infant/Baby
	Child
	Girl
	Young Man
	Meaning
CURRENCY	Currency: Obsolete
	Last Quotation
	Last Quotation after 1900
ZOOSEMY AND NATURE METAPHORS	Plants
	Animals
AXIOLOGICAL NUANCES	Diminutive/ Hypocoristic
	Contempt/ Depreciative
	Affection/Endearment
	Irony/Playful
	Negative Overtone
	Positive Overtone
STYLISTIC LABELS	Slang
	Coll
	Regional/ Cant
	Gendered
	Uncertain/ Unknown/ Obscure Etymology

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HOT POTATOES ACTIVITIES TO IMPROVE GRAMMATICAL ACCURACY ACROSS DIFFERENT PROFICIENCY COURSES

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ABSTRACT. *Few studies have gauged the effects of Computer Assisted Language Learning –CALL– on the verbal accuracy of students. The current study explores the use of Hot Potatoes JCloze-type exercises as supplementary classroom work to enhance the English tense accuracy of university students enrolled in three EFL proficiency level courses -high-intermediate (B2) and advanced (C1 and C2). Tense marking was measured before and after a period of autonomous, self-paced CALL work in which students could access theoretical information and practiced with Hot Potatoes exercises. The comparisons revealed that the experience was mainly beneficial for the C1 level course group, the other two experimenting non-significant gains. Results only partially support a boosting effect of CALL additional practice. They also suggest that proficiency should be taken into consideration as it can affect the effect of treatment as not all*

the proficiency level courses experienced advantages. Alternatives to improve effectiveness are then suggested.

Keywords: CALL, tenses, proficiency, grammar, technology, EFL.

HOT POTATOES PARA LA MEJORA DE LOS TIEMPOS VERBALES EN CURSOS DE DISTINTOS NIVELES LINGÜÍSTICOS

RESUMEN. *Este estudio explora el efecto de realizar ejercicios en Hot Potatoes sobre la utilización de los tiempos verbales de tres grupos de diferente nivel de inglés como Lengua Extranjera, ILE, - B2 (intermedio alto), C1 y C2. Para ello, se midió la utilización de los tiempos verbales antes y después del tratamiento. Este consistió en completar ejercicios en Hot Potatoes y acceder a explicaciones teóricas sobre los usos y funciones de los tiempos verbales. Los resultados indicaron que la intervención solo fue beneficiosa para el grupo de C1, ya que los otros dos grupos no experimentaron mejoras significativas. Los resultados, por lo tanto, solo sustentan parcialmente los beneficios del Aprendizaje de Lenguas Asistido por Ordenador (ALAO) para la mejora de la gramática y remarcan la importancia de considerar el nivel de competencia lingüística al diseñar experiencias ALAO. Finalmente, se sugiere que, para aumentar su incidencia, estas prácticas deberían ser más personalizadas y dinámicas y estar mejor integradas.*

Palabras clave: ILE, ALAO, gramática, proficiencia, tiempos verbales, nivel.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Acquiring a proficient language competence is necessary for students enrolled in English Studies-oriented Degrees. However, it is often the case that the content stipulated in the curriculum and the practice implemented by the teachers is not sufficient for all students to reach the desired standards. In particular, inaccurate use of certain aspects of language, such as verb tense, aspect and agreement has been reported to be pervasive (Hinkel 2004; Ayoun and Salaberry 2008; García Mayo and Villarreal 2011; Villareal 2011; Garrido and Rosado 2012).

Many studies have underscored the merits of Computer Assisted Language Learning –CALL– for language learning as it seems to foster flexibility (Macedo-Rouet, Ney, Charles, and Lallich-Boidin 2009), student motivation (Bueno-Alastuey and López Pérez 2014), participation (Hung 2015), as well as learner autonomy (Gimeno-Sanz 2009). Availability, amount of individual practice and the student's level of control over the treatment have been deemed the reasons for the success of CALL practices (Penning

deVries, Cucchiarini, Bodnar, Strik and van Hout 2015). Despite these benefits, few studies have specifically addressed the effect of CALL on grammar development (Sagarra and Zapata 2008; Penning de Vries *et al.* 2015; Swain and Swain 2017), and of verb tense in particular (Salaberry 2000; Izquierdo 2014; Alimah 2015; Stelea and Girón-García 2017). One possible reason might be that current teaching approaches focus on the communicative goals of language (Council of Europe 2001), and negative perceptions regarding drill practice are associated with traditional and outdated language teaching approaches. Consequently, CALL initiatives have been aimed mainly at skill development and the rationalization and promotion of skill-based activities (Kawauchi 2005; Blake 2016), neglecting repetitive drill practice which, nevertheless, contributes to the automatization of language forms (DeKeyser 2007, 2010).

Likewise, a number of CALL studies have looked into several factors that mediate CALL effectiveness. But although the type of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), the type of task, the feedback provided or the skill or language area targeted (Ayoun 2001; Sagarra and Zapata 2008; Penning de Vries *et al.* 2015; Blake 2016) have attracted attention, little is known about whether students' proficiency mediates CALL effectiveness (Kawauchi 2005; De la Cruz Villegas and Izquierdo 2014; Izquierdo 2014; Swain and Swain 2017).

One of the areas in which even advanced L2 groups –CEFR B2, C1 and C2 levels–, who are communicatively competent users, have been reported to experience difficulties is grammatical competence. The heavy workloads of teachers, however, make "it impossible for a teacher to tailor grammatical exercises to the needs of each individual learner" (Penning de Vries *et al.* 2015: 550), even more with the large number of students included in standard university groups. Providing opportunities for extensive practice seems, thus, important. In addition, few studies have looked at whether learners at different proficiency levels benefit equally from using CALL when learning the same grammatical points (Kawauchi 2005; De la Cruz Villegas and Izquierdo 2014; Izquierdo 2014; Izquierdo *et al.* 2015; Swain and Swain 2017) The current study aims to contribute to this line of research by investigating whether CALL fosters increased tense accuracy among students attending varying EFL proficiency level courses at university. The students were invited to practice English verb tenses autonomously with Hot Potatoes fill-in the gap-related exercises, on-line grammar explanations and pronunciation guidelines.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. CALL AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

With the advent of technology, technological resources have been included in many different ways in language courses (Gallardo del Puerto and Gamboa 2009)

and have been reported to offer a myriad of possibilities to teachers and students. Including ICT in language courses has been reported to help students take ownership of their own learning (Brown 2002), to increase exposure to language and promote autonomy, to boost students' motivation to engage with learning, to improve the classroom atmosphere, to provide immediate feedback and to relieve teachers' workload (Sagarra and Zapata 2008; Bueno-Alastuey 2009; Erben, Ban and Castañeda 2009; Bueno-Alastuey and López-Pérez 2014; Soleimani and Raeesi 2015). In addition, two meta-analyses that have been conducted to gauge the effectiveness of CALL for language learning (Zhao 2003; Grgurovic, Chapelle and Shelley 2013) have concluded that FL instruction supported by technology is at least as effective as instruction without technology, and in rigorous case design studies, CALL groups have been reported to be better than non-CALL groups (Grgurovic *et al.* 2013). Most importantly, Grgurovic *et al.* (2013) concluded in their meta-analysis that among the studies with a pre-post experimental design, learners that were supported by CALL improved from the pre-test to the post-test when they used a CALL program as an add-on (that is, additionally to instruction in a traditional language course). Their study also reported that learners improved regardless of the treatment length, their native language, the size of the sample or the setting of the study. The authors, however, could not clearly establish how CALL efficiency was mediated by language proficiency as only one study involving advanced participants had been included in the meta-analysis. The present study will contribute to advance the knowledge in this respect, as a wider range of proficiency level courses will be included.

2.2. CALL AND THE TEACHING OF GRAMMAR

Although the potential of technology to improve language skills has been widely defended (see Blake 2016 for a recent summary), studies which have focused on the effects of technology on specific areas of language are still lacking (Bueno-Alastuey and López Pérez 2014). The current view on language learning and teaching by which communicative language competence is promoted has emphasized research on skills development while pushing investigations on the teaching and learning of specific language areas into the background (but see e.g. Nutta 1998; Salaberry 2000; Torlakovic and Deugo 2004; Kiliçkaya 2015).

However, linguistic competence is a basic component of communicative language competence and, among others, it comprises grammatical competence described as "the knowledge of, and ability to use, the grammatical resources of a language" as stated in the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001: 112). Hence, scaled descriptors for grammatical accuracy knowledge and abilities have been developed

for language learning and teaching (2001: 114) and consistent grammatical control of complex language is expected at advanced levels of proficiency. Mastery of grammatical aspects is, therefore, included within communicative language competence and thus, neglecting it might hinder speakers' opportunities to progress towards higher accuracy levels.

Grammar teaching through CALL has been the focus of some studies which have yielded mixed results, some advocating for its positive impact (Nutta 1998; Salaberry 2000; Torlakovic and Deugo 2004; Sagarra and Zapata 2008; Kiliçkaya 2015), while some others have obtained comparable or even worse results when compared to face-to-face instruction (Swain and Swain 2017).

Different grammatical aspects like phrasal verbs (Mohammadi and Mirdehghan 2014), articles, tenses and plurals (Al-Jarf 2005), the passive voice (Abu Naba'h *et al*. 2009; Abu Naba'h 2012), past simple and present perfect tenses (Stelea and Girón-García 2017) or overall grammar (Sagarra and Zapata 2008) have been shown to be favored by CALL practice. These studies have shown that the aspects contributing to the CALL advantage are that CALL: i) helps students consolidate class content, ii) caters for individual differences, iii) raises motivation, iv) increases opportunities for grammar practice, v) allows for multiple attempts vi) provides immediate feedback, and vii) respects students' own working pace.

Attempts have also been made to determine which factors mediate CALL instruction effectiveness including its (a)synchronous nature (Salaberry 2000; Abrams 2003), its input or output-focus (Nagata 1998a, 1998b), the task (Hampel 2006; Blake 2016), presence or absence of feedback (Ayoun 2001), the target grammatical aspect (Nagata 1998a, 1998b; Salaberry 2000; Torlakovic and Deugo 2004; Martínez Pardo 2014) or the effect of textual-enhancement (Doughty 1991). Some studies have also underscored the need of CALL research to explore the impact of learner profiles on L2 learner results (Kawauchi 2005; De la Cruz Villegas and Izquierdo 2014; Izquierdo 2014; Izquierdo *et al*. 2015; Swain and Swain 2017). However, the impact of different proficiency levels has been scarcely looked into (Izquierdo 2014; Swain and Swain 2017).

In one of the few studies contrasting multiple proficiency students, Swain and Swain (2017) compared first year beginner and second year beginner learners of Spanish in blended and face-to-face instruction programs with varying experience in ICT. The technology-enhanced content was related to classroom content (Sagarra and Zapata 2008) and included level appropriate vocabulary and grammar exercises accessible through an integrated learning platform. Students were required to complete the assignments before attending the following class. Course scores and final vocabulary, grammar, language comprehension and oral

proficiency tests were compared. When the results from the two proficiency groups were aggregated, face-to-face groups outstripped the technology-enhanced groups in both metrics. When proficiency differences were examined, face-to-face groups obtained higher overall scores across proficiencies, but unlike the first year beginner group, the second year one improved more than the face-to-face group. They concluded that the difference was related to experience with ICT and underscored the importance of extended ICT use before advantages associated with blended learning can be observed (Sagarra and Zapata 2008) and highlight the need for ICT literacy to minimize side effects.

Izquierdo (2014) examined multimedia effects on the development of French past forms. Learners who were at early and late stages of past-tense development were contrasted after having received four weeks of multimedia instruction in class. Learners were tested before, immediately after and three weeks after the experiment was over. The results revealed that only those at the initial stages improved past-tense provision. The author concludes by emphasizing the need to consider multimedia instruction design variations as learners' L2 grammar evolves.

All in all, among the two studies targeting the effect of proficiency, just one has included late/advanced stages of development. The investigation of upper-intermediate and advanced learners seems to be mandatory as higher level students still show pervasive difficulties with tense accuracy also common among other advanced learners (Hinkel 2004; Collins 2007; Garrido and Rosado 2012). Our study will fill this gap by examining students enrolled in an English Studies-oriented degree (in B2 to C2 courses).

2.3. TENSE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Tense is one of the six devices used to encode time in natural languages and is realized through inflectional morphology in the verb, frequently, in combination with an auxiliary (Klein 2008). As different languages employ different (combinations of) devices to express time, difficulties in marking time among L2 or FL learners are abundant (Bardovi-Harlig 2000). In fact, a lack of consistency when producing target verbal endings is a characteristic of most L2 or FL learners regardless of their mother tongue (L1), the language they intend to learn and their proficiency level in the target language (Hinkel 2004; Ayoun and Salaberry 2008; Garrido and Rosado 2012; Villarreal 2011). These difficulties have often been attributed to an unstable FL system (Ayoun and Salaberry 2008), to mapping problems (DeKeyser 2007; Villarreal 2011; Garrido and Rosado 2012; Gutiérrez-Mangado and Martínez Adrián 2018) or to usage difficulties (Hinkel 2004). To overcome those difficulties, some authors have proposed systematic

practice and repetition to extend the range of accessible grammatical structures, to raise grammatical awareness and to automatize knowledge (Hinkel 2004; DeKeyser 2010; Garrido and Rosado 2012).

As a particularly error-prone area, tense marking usage could improve with intensive pedagogical intervention and practice (García Mayo 2008; Villarreal 2011; DeKeyser and Criado 2013; Martínez Adrián and Gutiérrez-Mangado 2015; Gutiérrez-Mangado and Martínez Adrián 2018). ICT (i.e. Hot Potatoes) used as an add-on or a complement to classroom face-to-face teaching could provide extended practice on English tense marking (Hinkel 2004; Collins 2007; Garrido and Rosado 2012).

2.4. HOT POTATOES AND GRAMMAR LEARNING

Hot Potatoes (https://hotpot.uvic.ca/) is an authoring tool that allows the creation of online exercises specifically suited for a given language topic, often grammar. Hot Potatoes is popular (there are over 150000 registered users) because it is a free resource for educational institutions, it can be used to teach any subject, it is rather intuitive and easy to use, it offers different exercise types, it can be integrated in institutional language learning platforms like Moodle, it provides feedback and scoring, and it allows for the upgrading and editing of already created materials. Although currently Hot Potatoes is no longer supported technically, it is still widely used among language teachers (Gimeno-Sanz 2016).

Research has signaled that the effectiveness of technological resources such as Hot Potatoes might be compromised by the language aspect being investigated (see Nagata 1998a, 1998b; Salaberry 2000; Martínez Pardo 2014; for earlier accounts using different CALL tools) and by the integration of the learning activities into the broader teaching method (Sagarra and Zapata 2008; Soleimani and Raeesi 2015). Nevertheless, there is a paucity of research exploring the benefits of Hot Potatoes to teach grammar and the few studies that exist are based on similar samples of intermediate secondary learners learning present tense by using different exercise types provided in Hot Potatoes Quiz and JCloze. Arumsari (2014) measured whether teaching present simple through Quiz favoured simple tense provision (n = 33). The pre-post comparison yielded positive results and he concluded that Hot Potatoes helped in the learning of present simple tense. The results by Alimah (2015) are parallel and similarly positive results were reported for the learning of the present tense by using JCloze (n = 44). Both studies showed that Hot Potatoes can improve students' grammar usage and encouraged using it for the teaching of grammar.

In order to contribute to the ongoing efforts to identify the effects of CALL on grammatical tense accuracy, the present study investigates the potential effects of complementary tense practice in terms of accuracy scores across three English proficiency level courses: B2, C1 and C2. The following two questions are addressed:

> 1. Do the three English proficiency level courses improve from the pre-test to the post-test regarding tense accuracy after the CALL treatment they were engaged in?
>
> 2. Do the various proficiency level courses benefit equally or differently from the training?

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. PARTICIPANTS

This study was part of a larger project that was carried out at a university in Northern Spain. It aimed at reinforcing the command of verb tenses in three EFL groups through the use of CALL.

Participants were Basque-Spanish bilingual students (49 females and 14 males) ranging in age from 17 to 30 in their 1st, 2nd and 3rd year of the BA in English Studies. These students must have passed the English university entrance exam, which guarantees a B1 CEFR level in reading and writing skills in English. At the moment of testing, the first year students were receiving English lessons (English Language I) in a skill-oriented language course which designed practice and assessment towards B2 CEFR level provision with added practice on grammar and vocabulary. The second year learners were taking 'English Language III' (C1 CEFR level), while the third year students were doing 'English Language V' (C2 CEFR level). The participants were grouped according to the language class they were taking at the time of data collection. In other words, the participants in the targeted CEFR level B2 were all taking English I, those targeting CEFR level C1 were taking English III and those targeting CEFR level C2 were taking English V. All the students in each class participated in the study and participation was voluntary. However, only those participants who actually completed all the tasks were included in the final analysis. From the 130 participants who participated in the study, only 63 completed all the tasks part of the study, which are described below. That is why the number of participants in each group varies. Table 1 shows the characteristics of the participants.

Table 1. Details of participants: number of participants in each group, age range, gender, English subject and year course taken and CEFR level.

Group	N	Age range	Gender Male female	Year	Subject	Targeted CEFR level
B2	17	17-23	3 14	1st	English Language I	B2
C1	27	18-30	8 19	2nd	English Language III	C1
C2	19	19-24	3 16	3rd	English Language V	C2

3.2. INSTRUMENTS

The project was conducted following a pre-test/post-test design during October-December, 2013. Students were asked to read specific tutorials on the use of verb tenses (see Appendices 1A and 1B) before completing different on-line tasks as homework on a weekly basis (see Appendices 2A and 2B). Both the tutorials and the activities were created by the members of the project.

All the items were revised by a native speaker who verified that the sentences provided enough information for the identification of the verb tenses included (present, past and future as well as simple, perfect and continuous forms) and, hence, for the gap to be filled. Additionally, the battery of correct answers considered various possible answers for each gap. A total of 17 sets of written exercises with 36 gaps to be filled amounting to a total of 612 sentences with a gap were designed for each language level.

The instrument used as pre-test and post-test provided initial and final data for this study. A total number of 110 tense gaps were presented in 48 items in sentence frame and short paragraph frame, which the students had to fill in with a suitable verb tense (see Appendix 3).

The same written test was administered as pre-test and post-test for all proficiency groups. It was completed during class time in the same room in which students received regular instruction.

3.3. PROCEDURE

The pre-tests were administered at the beginning of October, while the platform activities were available throughout mid-October to end-November. The post-tests were collected in December. The weekly exercises which made up the treatment were delivered in Hot Potatoes JCloze format in the on-line learning platform offered by the institution (Moodle), which the instructors of the respective language courses used. Students were invited to complete the activities proposed

in the platform as outside-class supportive additional practice to the tense contents covered in class. The verb tenses added to each level were representative of the tense forms included in each language course programmes.

3.4. DATA ANALYSIS

Scores were coded in SPSS.15 and computed as percentage correct. The variables exhibited normal distribution and hence parametric tests were applied with a 95% confidence interval. T-tests were performed to contrast the pre-tests and post-tests results across the courses. To identify differences between proficiency level courses at the pre and post-tests, one-way ANOVAs were run. Finally, normalized gain scores were calculated to establish differentiated course gains.

4. RESULTS

So as to ascertain the effects of the CALL treatment, we first performed T-tests between pre and post-test for the average scores of all the groups (Grand Mean): It indicated that there were significant differences between the two testing phases when all the groups were taken into consideration ($t = -3.64$, $p = .001$). As can be seen in table 2, post-test scores were higher than pre-test scores, indicating that the students were able to provide more accurate tenses after the CALL treatment.

Table 2. Pre-test and post-test correct %, standard deviations (SD) and Normalized Gain values for B2, C1 and C2 proficiency level courses.

Course level	**Pre-test %**	**(SD)**	**Post-test %**	**(SD)**	**Normalized Gain**	**(SD)**
Grand mean	61.28	*11.75*	65.67	*12.67*	1.00	*.00*
B2	55.25	*11.56*	58.51	*8.16*	0.31	*.24*
C1	68.11	*8.65*	75.12	*10.25*	0.22	*.23*
C2	56.51	*10.85*	58.36	*10.51*	0.17	*.25*

Further T- tests for each experimental group revealed significant differences between pre-test and post-test for the C1 proficiency level course ($t(24) = -5.3$, $p = .000$) only. No significant differences between times were found for the B2 course ($p > .05$) or C2 level course ($p > .05$). Although all level courses experimented some improvement in tense provision in the post-tests, results indicated that such improvement was only significant for the C1 level course.

A one-way ANOVA test with course level (B2, C1 and C2) as a between-subjects factor revealed that there were significant differences between courses for pre-test ($F(2,53) = 10.21$, $p = .000$) and post-test ($F(2,53) = 10.21$, $p = .000$) , as might be expected, given their different proficiency levels. However, post-hoc pair-wise Bonferroni analyses applied to the pre-test indicated significant differences between the C1 course and B2 course ($p = .000$) and between the C1 and C2 courses ($p = .005$) but not between the B2 and C2 courses ($p > .05$) indicating that the C1 level course scored significantly higher than the B2 and the C2 level courses as can be seen in figure 1.

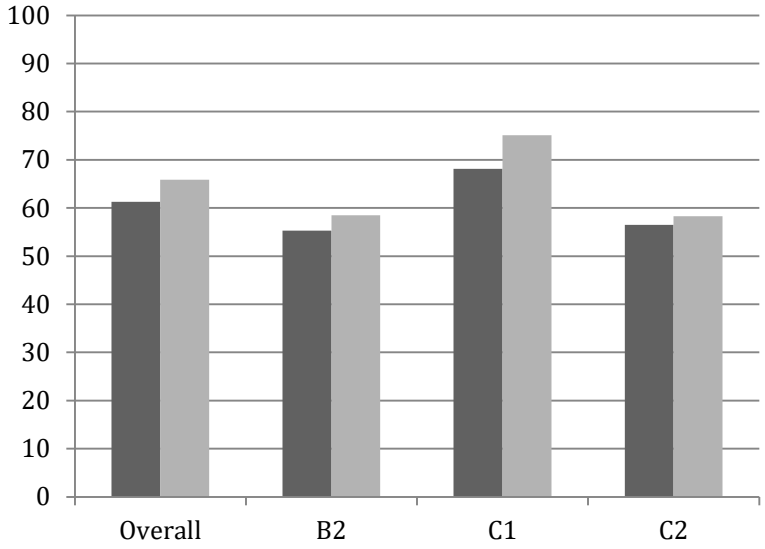

Figure 1. Correct % in pre-test and post-test for all the courses (overall) and for the B2 level course, C1 level course and C2 level course.

Differences between the courses in the post-test (one-way ANOVA) remained within the same trend observed in the pre-test phase. They were significant between the B2 and C1 courses ($p = .000$), and between the C1 and C2 courses ($p = .000$), but not between the B2 and C2 level courses ($p > .05$).

As the groups exhibited varying onset levels, normalized gain scores were calculated and statistically compared with one-way ANOVA and pair-wise Bonferroni comparisons. The tests confirmed that there was a course level effect ($F(2, 57) = 4.54$, $p = .015$), that is, that courses underwent gains differently. Post-hoc comparisons between level courses revealed near-significant differences between

the C1 and C2 level course ($p = .051$) and significant differences between the C1 and B2 courses ($p = .045$), suggesting, once more, that the gain experienced by the C1 level course was significantly higher than the gain experienced by the other two courses.

5. DISCUSSION

The main objective of the present paper was to explore the effects of a CALL treatment across three proficiency level courses belonging to a BA in *English Studies*. They were exposed to extra English verb tense practice and revision outside class on the institution on-line platform. Their pre- and post-performance on a fill-in-the-gap written task was analysed to explore possible improvements.

The preliminary analysis of pre-test scores revealed that learners exhibited 61% of accuracy in their delivery of English verb tenses before the intervention. Given the proficiency level courses analysed, this finding suggests that, even at high levels of English proficiency, learners still exhibit difficulties in the use of verb tenses. Our results coincide with those of previous investigations which have attested that tense and aspect provision are problematic in L2 acquisition (Bardovi-Harlig 2000; Hinkel 2004; DeKeyser 2007, 2010; Ayoun and Salaberry 2008; García Mayo and Villarreal 2011; Villarreal 2011; Garrido and Rosado 2012).

As we interpreted the previous results as existing room for improvement, our first research question sought to ascertain the potential effect of computer-supported additional practice within three tertiary language courses in an *English Studies* degree in Spain. We first explored overall differences between pre-test and post-test for all the groups. A higher post-test mean was found to significantly differ from the pre-test score, suggesting that the CALL treatment may have helped these learners in delivering more accurate verb tenses.

Our second aim in this study was to explore the effects the same treatment might have in different proficiency level courses. While the three proficiency groups showed gains, only one of them (C1 level course) presented significant differences between testing times. These results merit some comments. First, our design may be lacking statistical power to evince a more compelling result for the other groups, which only exhibited moderate gains. Second, in the case of the B2 level course, it might be that it did not maximally benefit from the affordances that the CALL treatment offered as the subtle form-meaning distinctions might still be challenging for them. DeKeyser and Criado (2013) have acknowledged the potential power of systematic practice for grammatical development, which in this context may come in the form of more contexts or more time. The C2 level course,

however, presents a different profile. Despite the fact that the institutional system has granted this group of students a C2 English proficiency level (they have passed all the previous assessment requirements), the two tests administered under the present experimental design (pre-test and placement test) failed to acknowledge this proficiency level for these students regarding verb tense accuracy. The results for this group hint at two possible interpretations: on the one hand, results could be indicating that there may not necessarily be a direct relationship between general competence and verb tense accuracy (Martínez Adrián and Gutiérrez-Mangado 2015). In the case of this particular intact group, there may be more variability in tense use than in the C1 level course, which may have included individuals with better tense provision skills. On the other hand, it may be that, although granted a C2 level because of having passed C1 assessment requirements, they still do not hold such competence level and, hence, better performance may not necessarily be expected from them. This supports recommendations for extended exposure and practice of tense form-meaning mappings even at advanced stages of proficiency to ensure that verb tense functions are better acquired (Collins 2007; DeKeyser 2007, 2010).

In addition, the results indicated that not all forms of practice may work equally well for distinct proficiency level courses. Interestingly, our intra-group comparisons have disclosed uneven treatment effects. Thus, our findings partially support those which have concluded that CALL treatment can become an aid in language learning, more particularly for grammar (e.g. Nutta 1998; Salaberry 2000; Al-Jarf 2005; Sagarra and Zapata 2008; Kiliçkaya 2015; Penning de Vries *et al*. 2015) and verb tense learning (Abu-Naba'h *et al*. 2009; Abu-Naba'h 2012; Arumsari 2014; Izquierdo 2014; Alimah 2015; Stelea and Girón-García 2017). The distinct effect observed as regards different proficiency level students seems to compromise its usefulness and it suggests that maybe CALL treatments would require certain characteristics so as to be more advantageous. As Izquierdo (2014) suggests, design variations may need to be considered as learners' L2 grammar evolves. It seems that although learners might struggle with similar forms, the practice and scaffolding teachers provide them with to overcome such difficulties should be tailored to their proficiency levels and thus, differentiated learning activities might be needed. Several suggestions can be put forward. First, not all groups may benefit from mechanical repetitious tasks and may need more communication-oriented tasks to establish the form-meaning relationships in the long-term memory (DeKeyser and Criado 2013).

An additional feature that could have undermined the effectiveness of the treatment could be related to the fact that although the contents and tasks were complementary to classroom materials and tasks and that the instructors did remind

learners about the possibility of reporting doubts, there were very few interactions between the instructors and the students regarding the CALL activities. This lack of integration might have affected the success of the treatment as participating in integrated CALL courses can shape attitudes toward CALL tools (Sagarra and Zapata 2008; Bueno-Alastuey and López Pérez 2014).

Furthermore, another issue in the current study is that various tense forms were targeted and some of them might be harder to acquire than others as they might lack saliency and be more difficult to attain (DeKeyser 2007, 2010). The studies that have used Hot Potatoes or other CALL initiatives for discrete grammar points like present tense learning, passives or nominal modifiers (Nagata 1998a, 1998b; Abu Naba'h 2012; Arumsari 2014; Alimah 2015) have identified positive results. The current study, however, was not designed to explore whether the CALL intervention affected tense forms differently, and thus how CALL affects the distinct tense forms and how these are mediated by proficiency cannot be established.

Uses of dynamic exercise systems (as in Galloway and Peterson-Bidoshi 2008) or of what is referred to as intelligent computer assisted language learning or iCALL were also lacking from our pedagogic intervention. iCALL integrates natural language processing and artificial intelligence knowledge into CALL to design learning programs "that come closer to natural language interaction between humans than has been the case in traditional CALL" (Heift 2010: 443). iCALL goes beyond simple notification of an error and provides deeper analysis of learners' input and individualization of the learning process, which yield immediate benefits for teachers and students. iCALL would have provided a more meaningful interaction and learning context by incorporating personalized learning itineraries for example, and, as a result, more differentiated, tailored instruction. Further improvement could also come from the combination of the current intervention with a more collaborative one using other types of ICT tools such as Google Docs or wikis which would promote collaborative language learning (see Storch 2013 for an overview of computer mediated collaboration).

Albeit the limitations identified, our findings raise pedagogical implications for the design of CALL grammar interventions. Students' proficiency should be considered when making decisions about the type of practice needed to help students improve their grammar use. Proficiency seems to mediate CALL grammar learning and different instructional designs may be considered to support L2 grammatical development (Izquierdo 2014; Izquierdo *et al.* 2015). Despite common tense difficulties, it seems that the practice designed should be assorted, integrated, dynamic and tailored to student proficiency levels.

Further research should also concentrate on the investigation of more profitable uses of CALL where tense practice hinges on meaningful tasks, that is, on tasks that are more engaging and less systematic, in combination with interactive and collaborative practices where learners are able to pool their knowledge together and progress further (Storch 2013).

6. CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate whether CALL tense practice with JCloze type Hot Potatoes activities boosted English verb tense provision among B2, C1 and C2 tertiary students, and whether differences in the treatment effect could be found between them. We only found significant improvements for the C1 level course. The other two courses experienced improvements which were not statistically significant. Our findings suggest that tense marking may be permeable to CALL treatments and partially support studies pointing towards the potential positive effects of autonomous supplementary CALL practice on tense marking (Al-Jarf 2005; Abu-Naba'h *et al.* 2009; Abu-Naba'h 2012; Alimah 2015). We suggest that further improvements might be achieved if the treatment proposed was combined with supplementary Hot Potatoes activities designed to be more interactively dynamic and better integrated in the language course. Our findings also suggest that competence may cut across the effects of treatment and highlights the importance of varying the design of teaching materials and practice to meet distinct proficiency needs.

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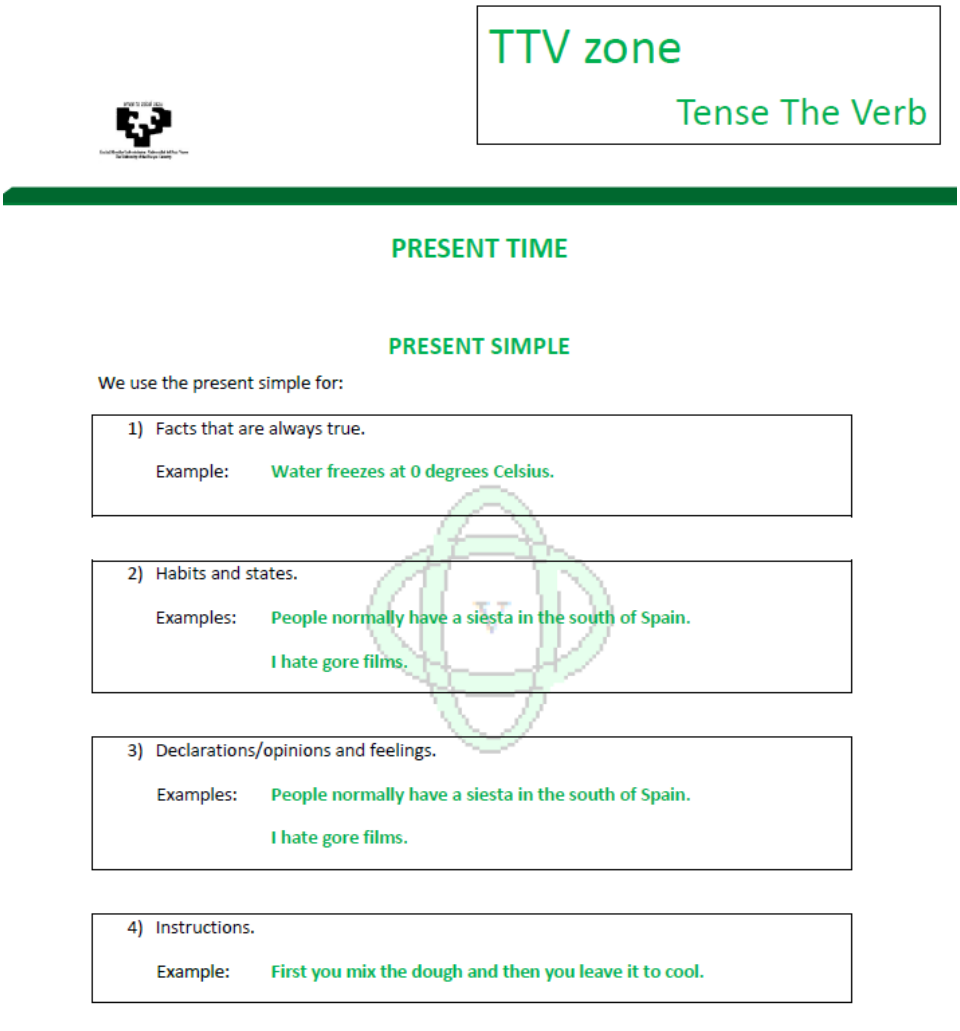
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1A: FIRST PAGE OF THE 15-PAGE C1-C2 TUTORIAL



TTV zone

Tense The Verb

PRESENT TIME

PRESENT SIMPLE

We use the present simple for:

1) Facts that are always true.

   Example: Water freezes at 0 degrees Celsius.

2) Habits and states.

   Examples: People normally have a siesta in the south of Spain.

   I hate gore films.

3) Declarations/opinions and feelings.

   Examples: People normally have a siesta in the south of Spain.

   I hate gore films.

4) Instructions.

   Example: First you mix the dough and then you leave it to cool.

APPENDIX 1B: FIRST PAGE OF THE 14-PAGE B1-B2 TUTORIAL

PRESENT TIME

There are two main ways of using a verb to refer to the present time: the Present Simple and the Present Continuous.

PRESENT SIMPLE

The Present Simple is the most common way of expressing present time.

The Present Simple has three major meanings:

1) The Present Simple is used when the speaker thinks of something as a fact which is always true or generally true.

   Examples: The sun rises in the east.

   Love makes the world go round.

2) The Present Simple often indicates a state which exists now. It refers to a state with no definite start and finish time but true now.

   Examples: Where does Mary live?

   My dad works in Panama.

   She looks like her mother.

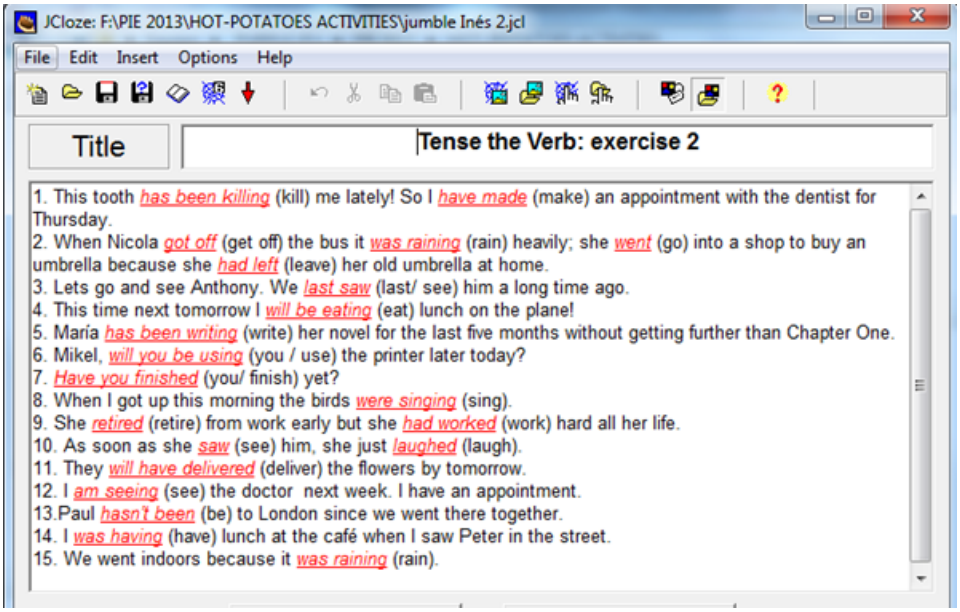
3) The Present Simple can also refer to an action we repeat regularly, i.e. a habit or custom, often with frequency adverbs e.g. 'usually', 'always', 'never', 'sometimes', etc.

   Examples: My children play handball three times a week.

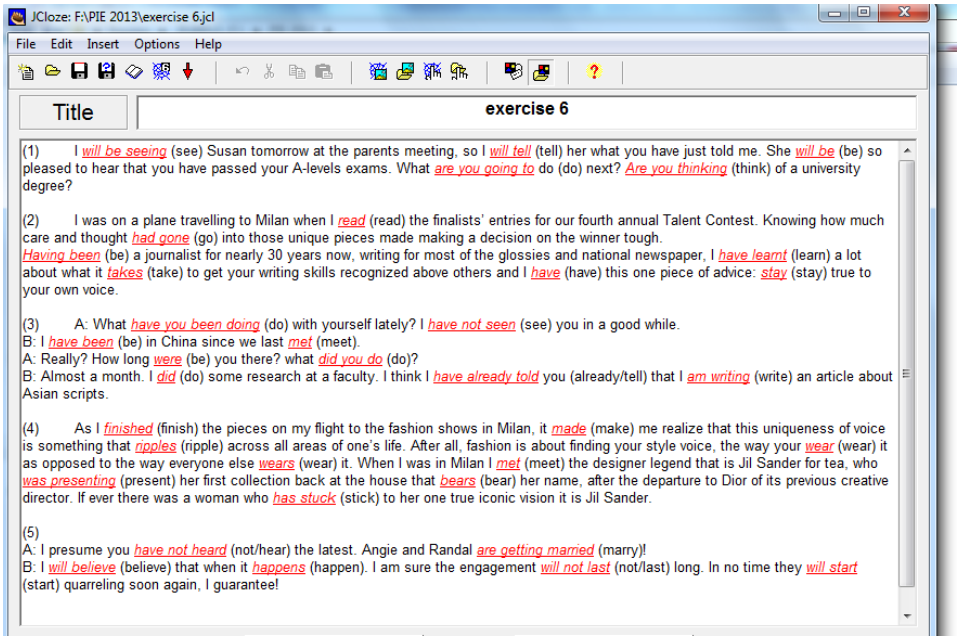
   I usually take the bus to work.

   She never gives me presents.

APPENDIX 2A: SAMPLE JCLOZE ACTIVITY (WITH ANSWERS PROVIDED HERE) FOR HOMEWORK PRACTICE LEVEL B1-B2



APPENDIX 2B: SAMPLE JCLOZE ACTIVITY (WITH ANSWERS PROVIDED HERE) FOR HOMEWORK PRACTICE LEVEL C1-C2



APPENDIX 3: IMAGE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE PRE/POST-TEST (WITH ANSWERS)

TTV zone

Tense The Verb

PRE-TEST

(WITH ANSWERS)

1. He has never uttered (never/uttered) the words 'I'm sorry' in his whole life.
2. Where did you get (you/get) those boots from? They are so funky!
3. In less than twenty-four hours I will be relaxing (relax) on my sail boat in Menorca, Spain.
4. Mark: You have been (be) on the phone for ages. Have you not nearly finished /Are you nearly finished (you/not/nearly/finish)?
   Jane: I haven't got through (not/get through) yet. I have been trying/'m trying (try) to get our New York office but the line has been (be) engaged all morning.
5. What are you doing (you/do) this Sunday evening? Fancy a movie?
6. Get a move on or we will miss (miss) the bus!
7. Can you send the results as soon as you have (have) them, please?
8. He would always do/always used to do/was always doing (always/do) something like that when we were kids.
9. Sir George and Lady Bannister will have been married (marry) for 25 years next November. They are celebrating /are going to celebrate (celebrate) their wedding anniversary with a dinner party at Handcliff Castle. I'm sure lots of good food will be served (serve). Tom and Andy have been invited and are going (go). Keenan was invited too. but she cannot make it as she will have left

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES (JES)
Editorial Policy, Guidelines for Contributions and Stylesheet

1. Editorial Policy

1.1. Journal description. JES is the journal of the English Studies Division at the University of La Rioja. It accepts for publication, after favourable reports from two anonymous referees, original scholarly contributions in all research areas within the domain of English studies (linguistics, literature, literary theory, cultural studies, film studies, etc.). Proposals for publication may fall under one of the following three categories:

A. Research papers involving empirical investigations and methodological or theoretical studies within the field of English Studies (min. 6,000 and max. 10,000 words in double-spaced pages, including bibliographical references, notes, appendixes, figures and tables).
B. State of the art reports of recent books covering issues relating to the area of interest of the journal (max. 3,000 words in double-spaced pages).
C. Notes and squibs (max. 1,500 words in double-spaced pages).

Exceptionally, and with a positive report by the Editorial Board, contributions which exceed these maximum lengths may be considered for publication on the grounds of their scientific relevance.

1.2. Language. JES only accepts for publication contributions written in English.

1.3. Evaluation. Contributions for publication will be sent to two anonymous referees proposed by the members of the Editorial Board and/or Advisory Board. In order to be accepted for publication in JES, contributions should be informed positively in relation to the following criteria:

– Originality and interest concerning the subject-matter, methodology, and conclusions of the study.
– Relevance concerning current research in the field.
– Knowledge of previous research in the same field.
– Scientific rigour and depth of analysis.

- Accuracy in the use of concepts, methods, and terms.
- Relevance of the theoretical implications of the study.
- Use of updated bibliography.
- Correct use of language and correction in the organization of contents and other formal aspects of the text.
- Clarity, elegance, and conciseness in the exposition.
- Suitability to the range of topics of interest for the journal.

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

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

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

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

2. Submission of proposals

Proposals should be sent online via http://publicaciones.unirioja.es/revistas/jes.
In order to be sent off for evaluation, proposals must follow the guidelines below.

3. Instructions for contributors

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

Attached to the message, authors should send two Word or RTF documents. In the first document, authors should include the title of the proposal (in **bold face**), the name/s of the author/s (in Small Capitals), their institutional affiliation (in italics) and any other relevant information, such as e-mail and postal address and telephone and fax number.

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

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

The second document should include the full proposal to be sent off for

evaluation. Authors should be extremely careful to avoid any kind of information which might reveal their identity.

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

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

4. Manuscript preparation

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5. Paragraphs. Paragraphs in the main text should not be separated by a blank line. The first line of each paragraph will be indented 1 cm. from

the left-hand margin. Words will not be divided at the end of a line either. There should be only one space between words and only one space after any punctuation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.12. Quotations. Quotations should normally appear in the body of the text, enclosed in double quotation marks. Single quotation marks will be used to locate a quotation within another quotation (e.g. "toward a unified policy that 'natural' English was altogether preferable").

Quotations of four lines or longer should be set in a separate paragraph, without quotation marks, typed in 11-point Garamond and indented 1,5 cms. from the left-hand margin. They should be separated from both the previous and the following text with one blank line.

Omissions within quoted text should be indicated by means of suspension points in square brackets (e.g. […]).

4.13. In-text citations. References must be made in the text and placed within parentheses. Parentheses should contain the author's surname followed by a space before the date of publication which, should, in turn, be followed by a colon and a space before the page number(s). Example:

> "Certainly, the conventional romance plot is a construction of the ideology of patriarchy" (Brush 1994: 238).

If the sentence includes the author's name (example 1) or if it includes the date of publication (example 2), that information should not be repeated in the parentheses:

Example 1:

> Johnson has drawn our attention to the fact that we are aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers (1987: 21).

Example 2:

> In appearance and aspirations he is culturally androgynous like Frankie. He is sexually ambivalent and "Light Skinned" (McCullers 1962: 155) and "could talk like a white school-teacher" (48).

If the quotation includes several pages, numbers will be provided in full, as in the example:

> In the world she would create "there would be no separate coloured people […] but all human beings would be light brown colour with blue eyes and black hair. There would be no coloured people and no white people to make coloured people feel cheap and sorry all through their lives" (McCullers 1962: 114-115).

If several authors are parenthetically cited at the same time, they should be arranged chronologically and separated with a semi-colon:

> (Richards 1971: 210; Arabski 1979: 43; Selinker 1991: 16)

If there are two or more works by the same author published in the same year, a lower-case letter should be added to the year, as in the example:

> (Montrose 1986a: 332) (Montrose 1986b: 9)

Parenthetical citations should be placed immediately after each quotation, both when the quoted passage is incorporated into the text and when the passage is longer than four lines and needs to be set in a separate paragraph. Put this parenthetical citation after the quotation marks but before the comma or period when the quotation is part of your text:

> The readers being addressed are mainly white and anglophone, for, as Atwood said "survival was part of the English-Canadian cultural nationalism that peaked in about 1975" (1981: 387).

When the quotation is set off from the text in indented form, the parenthetical citation follows all punctuation:

> Even Cranny-Francis points to the subversive potential of the romance plot:
>
> > Romance is often written into texts dominated by other genres, such as SF, utopian or detective fiction, where it may operate as one of the conventions of those genres. Feminist revisions of these genres also use romance and, in dialogue with other generic conventions, it has been used successfully to interrogate the construction of masculinity and femininity and of interpersonal relationships. (1990: 190)

4.14. Bibliographical references. All (and only those) books and articles quoted or referred to in the text (those quoted in the footnotes included) should appear in a final bibliographical list of references, which completes the information provided by the in-text citations provided in the text.

The heading for this list should be REFERENCES.

Hanging or reverse indentation (i.e. indentation of all lines of a paragraph except the first one, which is a full line) of 1 cm. from the left-hand margin should be used.

This list should be arranged in alphabetical order and chronologically, when two or more works by the same author are cited. The author's full name should be repeated in all cases. Example:

Langacker, R. 1991. *Foundations of cognitive grammar 2: Descriptive application*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Wierzbicka, A. 1992. *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Books. References to books will include: author's surname and name; year of publication (first edition in parentheses, if different); title (in italics); place of publication; publisher's name. If the book is a translation, the name of the translator should be indicated at the end. Contributors are requested to pay special attention to punctuation in the following examples:

Taylor, J. R. 1995 (1989). *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Kristeva, J. 2000. *The Sense and Non-Sense of Revolt.* New York: Columbia University Press. Trans. Jeanine Herman.

Articles. Titles of articles should be given in inverted commas. Titles of journals should appear in italics. Volume, number (between parentheses) should follow. Then page numbers, separated by a colon:

Haiman, J. 1978. "Conditionals are topics". *Language* 54 (2): 564-589.

Frye, N. 1940. "The Resurgent". *Canadian Forum* 19: 357-61.

Books edited. Volumes edited by one or more authors should be referred to as follows (notice the use of abbreviations ed. and eds.):

Miller, N. C., ed. 1986. *The Poetics of Gender.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Richards, J. C. and D. Nunan, eds. 1990. *Second Language Teacher Education.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Articles in books. References to articles published in works edited by other authors or in conference proceedings should be cited as in the example:

Fowler, R. 1983. "Polyphony and Problematic in Hard Times". *The Changing World of Charles Dickens.* Ed. R. Giddings. London: Vision Press. 91-108.

Traugott, E. C. 1988. "Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization". *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.* Eds. S. Axmaker, A. Jaisser, and H. Singmaster. Berkeley, Ca.: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 406-416.

Several authors. A journal article with three authors:

Golberg, H., Paradis, J. and M. Crago. 2008. "Lexical acquisition over time in minority first language children learning English as a second language". *Applied Psycholinguistics* 29: 41-65.

Magazine article in a weekly or biweekly publication:

Allen, B. 1995. "Leaving Behind Daydreams for Nightmares". *Wall Street Journal,* 11 October, A12.

A **review** in a journal:

Judie Newman. 2007. "Fictions of America. Narratives of Global Empire", by P. Martín Salván. *Atlantis* 31 (1): 165-170.

An **unpublished dissertation:**

Arús, J. 2003. *Towards a Computational Specification of Transitivity in Spanish: A Contrastive Study with English*. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Spain.

An **on-line** publication:

Pierce, 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 recensiones 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 el en ejemplo:

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

4.10. Puntuación. La puntuación ortográfica (coma, punto, punto y coma, dos puntos, etc) deberá colocarse detrás de las comillas (";).

La escritura en mayúsculas conservará, en su caso, la acentuación gráfica correspondiente (v. gr., INTRODUCCIÓN, LINGÜÍSTICA, BIBLIOGRAFÍA).

Se utilizará un apóstrofe (') y no una tilde (´) en abreviaturas y genitivos sajón.

4.11. Notas al pie. Las notas al pie serán breves y aclaratorias. Como regla general, se evitará el uso de notas al pie para registrar únicamente referencias bibliográficas. Se incorporarán al final de página. Los números de nota sobreescritos estarán separados del texto de la nota por un espacio.

Las notas irán numeradas con cifras arábigas consecutivas que se colocarán detrás de todos los signos de puntuación (incluidos paréntesis y comillas).

4.12. Citas. Las citas textuales de hasta cuatro líneas de longitud se integrarán en el texto e irán señaladas mediante comillas dobles. Las comillas simples se utilizarán para ubicar citas dentro de las citas (v.gr., "toward a unified policy that 'natural' English was altogether preferable").

Las citas de extensión igual o superior a cuatro líneas se presentarán en un párrafo separado del texto por una línea, tanto al principio como al final, y sin comillas, en letra Garamond 11 y sangradas a 1,5 cms. del margen izquierdo.

Las omisiones dentro de las citas se indicarán por medio de puntos suspensivos entre corchetes (v. gr., […]).

4.13. Referencias en el texto. Las referencias a las citas deben hacerse en el propio texto entre paréntesis. Dentro del paréntesis deberá incluirse el apellido del autor, seguido de un espacio, seguido de la fecha de publicación, seguida de dos puntos y un espacio, seguidos del número o número de páginas. Ejemplo:

> "Certainly, the conventional romance plot is a construction of the ideology of patriarchy" (Brush 1994: 238).

Cuando en la frase se cita el nombre del autor (ejemplo 1) o la fecha de publicación (ejemplo 2), esa información no debe repetirse en el paréntesis:

Ejemplo 1:

> Johnson has drawn our attention to the fact that we are aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers (1987: 21).

Ejemplo 2:

> In appearance and aspirations he is culturally androgynous like Frankie. He is sexually ambivalent and "Light Skinned" (McCullers 1962: 155) and "could talk like a white school-teacher" (48).

Cuando la cita incluye varias páginas, los números de página aparecerán completos, como en el ejemplo:

> In the world she would create "there would be no separate coloured people […] but all human beings would be light brown colour with blue eyes and black hair. There would be no coloured people and no white people to make coloured people feel cheap and sorry all through their lives" (McCullers 1962: 114-115).

Cuando se citan varias obras a la vez en el mismo paréntesis, éstas deben ser ordenadas cronológicamente y separadas entre sí por un punto y coma:

> (Richards 1971: 210; Arabski 1979: 43; Selinker 1991: 16)

Cuando se citan dos o más obras del mismo autor publicadas en el mismo año, se debe añadir una letra minúscula al año, como en el ejemplo:

> (Montrose 1986a: 332) (Montrose 1986b: 9)

Las referencias entre paréntesis deben colocarse inmediatamente después de cada cita, independientemente de si la cita se incluye en el propio texto como si aparece en un párrafo aparte. La referencia debe colocarse después de las comillas pero antes de la coma o del signo de puntuación si la cita aparece en el propio texto:

> The readers being addressed are mainly white and anglophone, for, as Atwood said "survival was part of the English-Canadian cultural nationalism that peaked in about 1975" (1981: 387).

En cambio, si la cita está en un párrafo aparte, la referencia se sitúa después del signo de puntuación:

> Even Cranny-Francis points to the subversive potential of the romance plot:
>
> > Romance is often written into texts dominated by other genres, such as SF, utopian or detective fiction, where it may operate as one of the conventions of those genres. Feminist revisions of these genres also use romance and, in dialogue with other generic conventions, it has been used successfully to interrogate the construction of masculinity and femininity and of interpersonal relationships. (1990: 190)

4.14. Referencias bibliográficas. Todos (y solamente aquellos) libros y artículos citados o parafraseados en el texto (incluyendo los que aparecen en la notas al pie) deben aparecer en una lista de referencias bibliográficas al final del documento, de modo que complete la información dada en las citas entre paréntesis a lo largo del texto.

Esta lista se agrupará bajo el título REFERENCES, escrito en mayúsculas, en letra Garamond 12 común, sin numerar y en un párrafo a doble espacio separado del texto por dos espacios en blanco.

Cada una de las referencias bibliográficas aparecerá en un párrafo a doble espacio, con una sangría francesa (en la que se sangran todas las líneas del párrafo excepto la primera) de 1 cm., en letra Garamond 12 común.

La lista estará ordenada alfabéticamente y cronológicamente, en el caso de que se citen dos o más obras del mismo autor. El nombre completo del autor se repetirá en todos los casos. Ejemplo:

Langacker, R. 1991. F*oundations 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.

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