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## CONTENTS

# ECHOES FROM *FIGHT CLUB*: CATEGORICAL THINKING, NARRATIVE STRATEGIES, AND POLITICAL RADICALISM IN CHUCK PALAHNIUK'S *ADJUSTMENT DAY*[1]

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*ABSTRACT*. This work addresses Chuck Palahniuk's novel *Adjustment Day* as a satirical critique of the political radicalization of the USA and as a warning about the dangerous ideological effects narratives may have on our posthumanist understanding of reality. To reach his purposes, the novelist combines three stylistic strategies. First, he creates a satirical story that exposes the condition of American politics, the dangers of radicalized political correctness, and the present risks of populist revolutions. Secondly, he uses explicit metafictional references to *Fight Club* and to other literary works and critical theories to warn about the dangerous effects that the power of narrative can have. Finally, Palahniuk departs from the minimalist style he used in his earlier and most well-known fiction in favor of a heterodiegetic and omniscience narrative voice that, combined with multiple internal focalizations, endorses a plural, non-categorical understanding of reality.

*Keywords*: Chuck Palahniuk, categorical thinking, Borges, posthumanism, *Fight Club*, *Adjustment Day*.

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# ECOS DE *FIGHT CLUB*: PENSAMIENTO CATEGÓRICO, ESTRATEGIAS NARRATIVAS Y RADICALISMO POLÍTICO EN *ADJUSTMENT DAY, DE CHUCK PALAHNIUK*

*RESUMEN*. Este artículo estudia la novela *Adjustment Day*, de Chuck Palahniuk, como una crítica satírica del radicalismo político de los EE.UU. y como una advertencia de los peligrosos efectos ideológicos que la narrativa ejerce sobre nuestra comprensión posthumanista de la realidad. Para alcanzar sus fines, el novelista combina tres estrategias estilísticas. En primer lugar, crea una historia satírica que denuncia la situación de la vida política estadounidense, los peligros que encierra una corrección política radicalizada y el presente riesgo de revoluciones populistas. En segundo lugar, el escritor utiliza referencias metaficcionales a *Fight Club* y a otras obras literarias y teorías críticas para advertir sobre los peligrosos efectos que el poder de la narrativa puede alcanzar. Finalmente, Palahniuk abandona el estilo minimalista que había utilizado en sus primeras y más conocidas novelas en favor de una voz narrativa heterodiegética y omnisciente que, sin embargo, al combinarse con múltiples focalizadores internos, apunta a la necesidad de entender la realidad desde posiciones que eviten el pensamiento categórico.

*Palabras clave:* Chuck Palahniuk, pensamiento categórico, posthumanismo, Borges, *Fight Club*, *Adjustment Day*.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This work evaluates the ideological implications that Chuck Palahniuk builds in his novel *Adjustment Day* (2018) as a critique of the present political radicalization of the USA and the need to restore more ethical and compromising views in the political and social arena. The novel received a mixed reception among reviewers.[2] A few thought that *Adjustment Day* was a good book, with brilliant and provocative aspects (Sheehan 2018: 2, Mond 2018) but they regretted the lack of a clear chronological line and the eventual disappearance from the plot of a pair of characters—Dawson and Ramantha—who became lost in what looked like a flawed ending (Blum 2018: 2). For some reviewers, the book offered nothing but a new critique of American society, being a mere sequel to *Fight Club* (Arzate 2018) which Palahniuk published in 1996. Other critics, while also remarking the similarities with *Fight Club*, missed a more conventional narrative line and saw authorial failure resulting from what they took to be a weak and disheveled story, which was difficult to understand because it did not follow any apparent chronological order in the presentation of events (Takami 2018: 2, Wolter 2018). In effect, the plot demands very active readers who wish to rearrange the lacking chronological order and make sense of the book. However, efforts to understand the story may also help them to

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[2] At the time of writing this article, no studies on Palahniuk's novel have been found in any peer-reviewed journal.

discover the existence of significant formal and ideological differences between the new novel and *Fight Club*, and the reasons why Palahniuk decided to reevaluate the political situation of the country two decades after the publication of his most famous book.

As argued in the following pages, to forward his new objectives in *Adjustment Day* Palahniuk combines three relevant stylistic strategies. First, he uses a satirical approach to expose the alleged corrupt condition of American politics. Secondly, in what looks like a return to postmodern strategies, the writer uses explicit metafictional references to *Fight Club* but also to other literary works and critical theories to warn about the power that narrative has to create and impose ideologies. Finally, he departs from the characteristic minimalist style he used in his earlier and most popular fiction in favor of a heterodiegetic and omniscience narrative voice that, combined with multiple internal focalizations, helps his novel to offer as ethical solution to the present sociopolitical situation a plural and cooperative understanding of reality. As already discussed by early poststructuralist critics, in post-postmodern times Palahniuk reaffirms again the necessity to avoid categorical thinking because it only leads to one-sided and authoritarian views of reality. Accordingly, *Adjustment Day* becomes a sustained warning about the dangers of returning to traditional categorical views while, at the same time, it denounces the radicalization of both right-winged populist politics and left-winged excessive political correctness.

## 2. OF FAILED REVOLUTIONS AND SATIRICAL EXCESS: FROM *FIGHT CLUB* TO THE CONTROL OF INFORMATION

A novel written in the mode of speculative and dystopian fiction, *Adjustment Day* fits the genre of the satire in its targeting of humanist categorical thinking and the pervasiveness it shows in present political and academic radicalisms. Misleadingly, the book aims its first attacks at the ideological effects of postmodernism, especially at its alleged lack of solid values (cf. Bauman 2000) and at the apparent radicalized views held by some liberal academics. However, Palahniuk's satire mostly focuses on the alarming rise of authoritarian and populist regimes in the first years of the twenty-first century and on the role that mass and social media play in the collective understanding of reality and politics. The publication of the book in 2018 coincided with the period in which Donald Trump held the presidency of the United States, a time in which he received frequent accusations of populism and which led to the failed attack on the Capitol by many of his followers on January 6, 2021. In fact, the first years of the new millennium saw the rise of different populist and authoritarian regimes. From the left to the right of the political spectrum, in Nicaragua, Brasil, Russia, or even in an European country such as Hungary, recent regressive political moves suggest that at present democracy may be experiencing a dangerous backlash.

Satire is a genre that fundamentally invites us to reflect on political and social issues.[3] By speculating on a fictionalized reality, whose flaws are frequently described in exaggerated terms, it induces readers to think about the differences existing between the world as it is and the world as we would like it to be. As exemplified by both classic and modern writers and as defined by critics from Northrop Frye to David Hume, satire is a genre ultimately rooted both in ethics and in the idea that creative literature may play an important role in building a better world (see Frye 1957: 223-224, Weisenburger 1995: 2-20, Hume 2007: 305-306, Bradshaw 2008: 218-231, McFarlane 2011: 153-172). Accordingly, Palahniuk's novel offers a transgressive and grotesque depiction of what a populist revolution might presently signify for the USA.

The political situation that *Adjustment Day* describes in its first pages is conspiratorial and terrifying. After a beginning *in medias res* that anticipates the confusing non-chronological presentation of events in the novel, the author fictionalizes a situation in which the USA Government is ready to declare war on some undefined Middle East countries with the secret aim of getting rid of a whole generation of young American males. A nuclear device will eliminate the conscripted youth soon after the breaking of hostilities. By resorting to the didactic quality that Palahniuk's narrative voices frequently show in his fiction, the unidentified and omniscient narrator openly points the accusatory finger at American politicians. However, the writer also aims his satire at the type of academics who, posing as liberal put into practice a radical version of political correctness and historical revisionism that infects their criticism with a new type of categorical essentialism. Thus, the narrator informs readers that, according to the theories taught by a certain Dr. Brolly, "all major political upheavals in history were due to an excess of young males" (Palahniuk 2018: 11). Dr. Brolly offers, as an example of such theory, the Conquest of America, when legions of young "conquistadores enslaved and pillaged the innocent Maya and Aztecs" (12). Ironically, the narrator later reports that for this type of academics, the "paintings and carvings reputed to show Aztecs" ripping out the hearts or severing heads of other people actually were "successful heart

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[3] There are various and sometimes opposed definitions of satire; some critics even argue that it is not a genre but a mode. For the purpose of this article, Katherine Hume's "family features… present in works generally accepted as satires" are illuminating (2007: 305): "(1) Attack is central to definitions of satire, though theorists quarrel over whether the attack must have a historically specific target or whether general human problems will suffice. (2) Humor or wit modifies the attack and differentiates it from hell fire sermonizing or foul-mouthed name-calling, and part of this wit is (3) The author's glorying in his or her literary performance. (4) Sometimes understood as a manifestation of the wit but often separable from it is a penchant for exaggeration, extrapolation of present patterns to a more extreme future version, and fantasy. (5) Another element that sets satire apart from extravagant insult, say, is a hard kernel we are asked to recognize as moral or existential truth, however much we may sense that it is being twisted or distorted. (6) Since attacks are rarely launched out of loving kindness, another element is some version of authorial malice, disgust, righteous indignation, or an attitude of mockery and ironic disparagement. (7) The approach, however, may include inquiry rather than confident condemnation" (305).

transplant surgeries" and "successful full head transplants" (187). The story also
evokes episodes of recent history to suggest the lack of parallelisms and the political
differences that allegedly exist between the country's present time and the
countercultural 1960s. As Senator Daniels realizes, no protesters opposed the new
conscription and the declaration of war at the National Mall; the protests against the
Vietnam War that took place fifty years earlier were not repeated now (20). The
senator also adds conspiratorially that the "mass media had done its state-instructed
job to demonize draft-age men, greasing the skids for their induction" (21).

Nevertheless, Daniels proves to be wrong and soon social unrest leads to a
revolutionary uprising against the current status quo, whose perversity the story
unambiguously links to the results of the countercultural revolution of the 1960s and
the subsequent rise of liberal criticism, as well as to the power that narrative exerts
over our lives. Thus, *Adjustment Day* describes as fundamental factors that motivate
the new revolution issues directly related to race, gender, and sexual option, which
have been predominant in Palahniuk's early fiction as well as key matters in the
postmodern revolution. However, in the satirical analysis of the novel it soon
becomes clear that for the young protagonists of the twenty-first century novel, the
values of freedom and social equality proclaimed in the countercultural 1960s were
never attained. Accordingly, Talbott Reynolds,[4] the main theoretician of the new
revolution in *Adjustment Day* and one of the clear targets of Palahniuk's satire, sees
the failure of the counterculture and the postmodern period in their impossibility to
build new values and put them into action: "Talbott's intuition had been spot-on.
The 1960s had torn down all the patterns for living. Since then, generations had
wandered through their lives in search of a shared blueprint" (Palahniuk 2018: 275).

Wrapped in the excesses of the satire, Palahniuk's story mixes the gore of popular
culture motifs (Larman 2018: 1, Mond 2018, Blum 2018: 4) with explicit political
theory while subtly evaluating the present condition of American politics and the
risks it is exposed to. Hence, the theoretician offers his marginalized young followers
an old categorical recipe for a new social design, which represents the core of his
revolution: "As Talbott saw it, race and sexual preference had to become the last
bastion for community" (Palahniuk 2018: 275-276). Populism and the young people's
aversion to the extremely biased opinions of some liberal academics combine with
the humorous notion of "identity fatigue" (108), resulting in the collapse of the
"united states" [sic] and the subsequent establishment of a new political (dis)order.
As a result, following a satirical Declaration of Interdependence, Reynolds's theories
take Palahniuk's story to a critical evaluation mostly concerned with the effects of
race and gender politics. In the resulting sinister division of the country in three
disunited and confronting territories, the writer plays with stereotypes and
categorical excess to build his satire. Thus, Caucasia becomes the new kingdom for
pure heterosexual whites only, with their breed building up a new Eurocentric Dark
Ages. Led by Chieftain Charlie, the young whites' simplicity and wish to reestablish

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[4] T. R., perhaps a reference to Theodor Roosevelt and the implication that the 26th President
of the United States was a "populist conservative".

patriarchal traditions take them even to reinstate the cult to Odin and Thor (173). The narrator also informs readers that "Generation Sex" was their motto (180). Grotesquely echoing the command given by God to humankind in Genesis 1:28, Palahniuk has Caucasia's main aim to repopulate the country with as many white babies as possible. Meanwhile, they force women to serve only as wombs for procreation and labor hands to cultivate the fields, in what turns out to be a patriarchal return to an agricultural economy that clearly echoes Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985). Gaysia, the new nation where gays live, is the only place where race miscegenation is allowed. Eventually, their economy fails and, as happened to the whites, they need to rely on increasing the number of births to overcome the crisis, which means the need to carry out a general conscription of men and women to be used in assisted reproduction. Thus, in these two new states parenthood becomes a central political issue that clearly results in new types of slavery and human trafficking, one of the major concerns of present western societies. Finally, Blacktopia becomes a fantastic technological and magical paradise that only African-Americans can populate. Palahniuk portrays it as hilarious parody of a utopic high-technological realm that reviewers soon associated to the Black Panther's Kingdom of Wakanda, from the Marvel Comics and Cinematic Universe (Arzate 2018, Larman 2018: 2).

However, what looks like a disarranged and strongly grotesque satire also grows increasingly metafictional. Readers who are familiar with Palahniuk's early fiction may soon realize the existence of both explicit and covert references to his first-published novel, *Fight Club* (1996). The following pages contend that by evoking and parodying his famous book, the writer denounces that social conditions do not seem to have improved much since the 1990s, which reinforces his satire on contemporary times. Thus, the young men who follow the new populist doctrine described in Talbott Reynolds's book—metafictionally called "Adjustment Day"—carry out a new revolution that strongly echoes *Fight Club* and especially Tyler Durden's radical project because their living conditions and social expectations have not changed much in the last twenty-five years. They still belong to the social group that Jon-Arild Johannessen denominates the "precariat", the ever-increasing number of people whom globalization and technology have enslaved in poorly paid jobs or condemned to short-spam lives as work-vagabonds and underpaid workers (2019: 4-21).[5] Evoking some episodes in the earlier novel, the uprising promoted by Reynolds demands the extermination of the social actors who, in his view, sustain

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[5] Johannessen defines the precariat as people who "feel betrayed by the political and financial elite. They are desperate and angry, but have nobody else to vent their frustration and anger on than the elite" (2019: 8). He also refers to one of the sub-groups of the precariat as "the working poor," a class that strongly recalls Palahniuk's depiction of the "space monkeys" who fell in Durden's fascist trap in *Fight Club*: "The working poor thus struggle against the feeling of hopelessness, and are forced to take bad jobs at bad wages. In terms of economic survival, they are constantly moving towards the bottom and almost falling into poverty. The working poor also constitute the future labor reserve, and they are willing to do any job for low wages so as not to sink deeper into the swamp of poverty" (11).

the status quo that resulted from the previous postmodern revolution. However, on this occasion, Palahniuk conspicuously augments the power social media and the new technologies have in contemporary times. The rebellion he describes in *Adjustment Day* is addressed to posthuman beings who have been engulfed by the society of information, even if they belong to its margins (see Hayles 1999: 1-24, Mahon 2017: 18).[6] The revolution starts when, following the results of a referendum on a website created for Reynolds, a number of young hitmen begin killing politicians, reporters, and academics—especially scholars in the field of Gender Studies—because they are the most voted people on the website list. As if it were a videogame, by murdering them the young men earn points that will help them to advance their social status in the new resulting social order. Thus, the website list creates a hyperreality. Jean Baudrillard's third-order simulacrum (1983: 2) enters the story of *Adjustment Day* in an evocation of what actually happened in the case of *Fight Club*, when adepts of David Fincher's film version (1999) started to set up actual fight clubs.

The satirically excessive and brutal condition of Reynolds's revolution becomes evident in the fact that the young murderers have to cut one of the ears of each one of their victims as proof of the killing. The more ears they collect, the higher they advance in the resulting social hierarchy. Hence, Palahniuk warns about the new condition of young men who, engulfed by the society of information, qualify as posthuman and have become enslaved not just by conventional drugs but by addictive social media, which produces their paradoxical regress to a savage kind of primitivism. The Internet list becomes a hyperreal referendum that turns them into murderers. As some of them soon realize, controlling the media will also help them to control the new revolution. Philosopher Biung-Chul Han argues that "without reference, politics deteriorates into a matter of referendum" (2015: 7). In *Adjustment Day*, the apparent transparency of the referendum voted in the Internet becomes the staging of populist activism, reducing the power of political ideology to mere opinions in the form of likes and dislikes. From that point on, information and the effects that it produces on real life, in the form of narrative, turns out to be one of the crucial themes in the book. As the narrator eventually reveals, the only "other task Talbott had ordered [Walter] to carry out, was to build a website. [...] This yammering, grimacing, demented old man had demanded the site be called simply The List" (Palahniuk 2018: 130-31). The List, Reynolds' book, and different and contradictory reports on how the new revolution is progressing in various places, offer a clear indication that Palahniuk roots his fiction on a nominalist approach. About five decades ago, nominalism was brought back to critical

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[6] Strongly relying on Norbert Wiener's ideas, in her book *How We Became Posthuman* (1999) N. Katherine Hayles understands the evolution of human into posthuman as being the result of a strong techno-scientific and cultural change. This critic links the new paradigmatic condition to the increasing cultural understanding that the new posthuman being is the result of information and information patterns, a notion that stands very close to the poststructuralist idea that narrative [semiotic codes] always mediates the relation existing between the self and reality. See also Baelo & Calvo (2021: 1-19).

discussion by postmodernism and its resulting poststructuralisms, which concluded that people are inescapably exposed to the power of narrative, which acts as a Platonic cave that conditions the self's representation of reality (see White 1980 and his notion of "narrativity"). Since then, among relevant American writers such as Thomas Pynchon in *Against the Day* (2006), Corman McCarthy in *The Road* (2006) or Edgar Lawrence Doctorow in *Andrew's Brain* (2014), stories may be viewed as dangerous because they create and destroy social values but also because they may encourage violence and murder, a notion already central in Palahniuk's earlier fiction, as clearly shown in *Lullaby* (2002) and *Haunted* (2005).

In line with the social risks analyzed in *Fight Club*, in *Adjustment Day* Palahniuk decries again the existence of a young generation of men who feel cheated by the status quo. With respect to his early novel, Eduardo Mendieta perceptively contends that "Project Mayhem aims to make us aware of the ways in which social order is predicated on the code of civility, which can also turn into a code of servility" (2013: 49). Accordingly, *Fight Club* aims at disclosing that, as regards the generation of young American men of the 1990s, the political rulers of the country have not fulfilled the social contract, which constitutes the main pillar for democracy and the people's sovereignty. As a result, Mendieta argues, men "cannot but feel betrayed, and they in turn betray that society. They opt out of the social contract of trust that sustains that society" (51). More than twenty years later, Palahniuk describes a younger generation of American males who have been let down again by the status quo. As happened to the earlier generation, they feel the need to rebel against the system, on this occasion specifically represented by politicians, some academics, and the media. Satirically but also reverting to postmodern and poststructuralist theories, Palahniuk implies that Reynolds wants to eliminate these three groups of people because they are the creators and manipulators of the social narratives that give support to the status quo; the control of information is key to political power.

As the writer already fictionalized in *Fight Club*, the disaffected are ready to rise once more against their hypocritical social leaders. When some young men, chosen among those who try to escape from drug addictions, find out that their generation is going to be exterminated in the coming war, they become more and more addicted to Reynolds's populist theories. Strongly echoing *Fight Club*, the young men attend lectures given by their leader "in a basement" that becomes "a clubhouse of sorts" (Palahniuk 2018: 263). Also in clear evocation of his most famous novel, Palahniuk links the beginning of the new social revolution to a love story. If his love for Marla triggered the narrator's mental breakdown in *Fight Club* (Palahniuk 1996: 14, 193-197), in *Adjustment Day* Walter kidnaps Reynolds hoping that the old man may help him to become rich and, thus, conquer Shasta's heart. Instead, Reynolds dictates to Walter the dangerous book that will drastically change the fate of the United States and bring about Walter's own death. As the satirical excess increasingly takes over the story, the pages of *Adjustment Day* evaluate in detail the disastrous results that originate in Reynolds's dangerous book and its populist ideas. More and more, Reynolds's ideas resound of Tyler Durden's authoritarian political beliefs in *Fight Club*. Thus, being both leaders of marginalized young men, they also share an

intense masochistic attraction for their own bodies, which is associated to the old belief that the truth reveals itself by means of suffering. As Robert T. Schultz contends about the schizoid protagonist in the film version of *Fight Club*,

> It is through pain […] that he finds meaning and direction in his life, if not happiness, and he experiences that pain by organizing and participating in a "fight club" that meets regularly in the basement of a bar. Here he learns that the pain he receives and inflicts through bare-knuckled, no-holds-barred street fighting with other alienated white guys is something real in a world of falsehoods. (2011: 584)

Durden founded the fight clubs to experience the reality of feeling alive by means of blows and kicks. Likewise, Reynolds tricks Walter, his kidnapper and amanuensis, into inflicting a large number of little cuts on his body. His wounds make Reynolds almost bleed to death along his *illuminating* process of dictating the revolutionary book to his assistant (Palahniuk 2018: 115). One of the aphorisms of his book casts light on his masochistic practices: "Pain and sickness will always befall men. Choose yours, be it the pain from manual labor or the sickness of overexertion. Schedule it. Savor it. Use your pain so it will not use you" (70).

However, the most important notion that joins the two novels together is the idea that the emphasis on hybridity and liminality that the counterculture and postmodernism held as one of their main ideological banners has given way again to the rule of categorical thinking and the reestablishment of old humanist barriers.[7] While in *Fight Club* authoritarian Tyler Durden pursues the coming back of the virile man and demands the anarchic destruction of society to restore an early stage of alleged freedom, in *Adjustment Day* Reynolds openly demands the reestablishment of ancient categorical frontiers and social prejudice. Consequently, following the success of his revolution, people become separated according to their race and sexual preference. Mulattos, creoles, mestizos, or bisexuals are hybrid beings who cannot find a place to live in any of the three resulting nations and many of them are condemned to abandon their homeland. Categorically, only the pure white, the pure black, and the pure gay can stay in their corresponding zone. However, in a clear stylistic opposition to categorical thinking, in *Adjustment Day* Palahniuk also

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[7] Categorical thinking is the philosophical notion that explains the pervasive existence of binaries in our understanding of reality and the linguistic prevalence of statements over questions. In Section V of his *Categories*, Aristotle affirms that "while remaining numerically one and the same", substance is the only category "capable of admitting contrary qualities". Things other than substance do not possess this mark, which leads the philosopher to proclaim his Law of the Excluded Middle, "one and the same color cannot be white and black. Nor can the same one action be good and bad: this law holds good with everything that is not substance". Furthermore, in the same section of *Categories* the philosopher reminds readers that even substance cannot admit contrary qualities at the same moment, thus giving rise to categorical thinking and to the ideological importance of binaries (see Section IX of *Categories*). For an analysis of the rejection of categorical thinking and its binary understanding of reality in postmodernism and poststructuralist theory, see Solomon (1988: Chapters 13 and 14).

deploys a more conceited metafictional strategy that helps to clarify his political agenda and the abrupt end that he gives to his story.

## 3. SUPPLEMENTING *FIGHT CLUB*: TRAPPED IN JORGE LUIS BORGES'S NARRATIVE SPIDER-WEB

Together with his evocation of *Fight Club* and the characteristic excesses of the satire*,* in *Adjustment Day* Palahniuk uses intertextual references to other influential books in support of the nominalist notion that narrative is an inescapable screen existing between the self and reality. Sometimes metafictional comments prompt misleading comical situations that ironize on the actual power of certain books, as happens when Reynolds finds out that Walter has sent his revolutionary manuscript to the press with a huge error in the title:

> Talbott snarled "What's it called?"
> Walt run a fingertip under the title. "*Adjustment Day.*"
> […] Talbott said, "You, idiot! Stop the presses!"
> It was too late, but Walter didn't say that.
> "I told you to call the book *A Judgement Day*!" (Palahniuk 2018: 278)

The slip is ideologically significant because Reynolds's original title is a clear reference to the Day of Judgment, the most powerful example of categorical thinking in the Bible, a final event that divides humankind between the blessed and the damned, whereas Adjustment Day, semantically speaking, can potentially refer to a process of negotiation that seeks a final balanced situation.

In another key episode, the story becomes a comical self-critique of Palahniuk's fiction. Anticipating the fate that eventually befalls white chieftain Charlie, Reynolds contends that *Fight Club* is not about empowering men, as Walter argues. Reynolds replies, "Palahniuk. All of his work is about castration. Castration or abortion" (157). Clearly, his opinion does not only enrich the laughable character of the satire but also testifies to Palahniuk's acknowledgement that his fiction is open to radically different interpretations.

However, in what seems to be a more serious tone, the importance of Reynolds's "Adjustment Day" volume becomes associated to other, actual books characterized by their social impact, such as the Bible or, more dramatically, Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1925):

> Talbott had explained that while Adolf Hitler had been a prisoner in Landsberg Prison, his cell had been the sight of a constant party […]. The ideas that resonated, that made Hitler's listeners smile in recognition, Hitler collected those ideas into his first draft of *Mein Kampf* […]. And so Talbott had conducted a similar back-and-forth dialogue with the men who made their pilgrimage to consult him. (264)

Reynolds also associates his book to the *Kama Sutra*, to *Ecclesiastes* and to *The Golden Verses of Pythagoras*, "A modern *Mein Kampf* as it were" (265). He tells

Walter that "A Good Book Should Get You High" while his amanuensis gradually realizes that the book the theoretician has been dictating to him "amounted to a pornography of power" (269).

The idea that a single book may become a powerful political weapon makes *Adjustment Day* adhere to the poststructuralist tenet that, since the 1960s, highlights the power of discourse to filter our knowledge of reality (Sarup 1993: 5-90). In addition, the poststructuralist—ultimately nominalist—notion that sustains that the self is always mediated by semiotic codes merges in Palahniuk's fiction with Baudrillard's critical concept of the third order of simulacra. As mentioned above, such notion appeared explicitly in his early fiction; "the copy of a copy of a copy" of a reality inexorably escaping our understanding is a repeated motif in *Fight Club* (Palahniuk 1996: 21, see Baudrillard 1983: 2).[8] In addition, in *Adjustment Day* the third-order simulacrum is already "preceded" by the work of Jorge Luis Borges, an author who has exerted a profound influence on American fiction since the early stages of postmodernism.

There is a key moment in the novel when Reynolds tells Walter to start attending support groups of drug-addicts as a strategy to spread his ideas (Palahniuk 2018: 229). In fact, Palahniuk had already disclosed the importance that support groups have for his own poetica in one of the essays included in his book *Stranger Than Fiction: True Stories* (2004). According to it, one of the main strategies the writer used to gather information before writing a novel was to join support groups and listen to other people's stories. In the meetings he attended, Palahniuk could experience a face-to-face emotional encounter with other people, brought about by the act of telling stories. He expressed his beliefs that the world is made of people who want to tell him their stories, and that his role is to be a listener and then use those stories for his own fiction (Palahniuk 2004: XVII *et seq*, compare to Levinas 1989: 82-84). However, even if in *Adjustment Day* the emotional communion that attending support groups should represent becomes nothing but Reynolds's perverse strategy to trap adepts and use them to start the violent uprising, the novel also refers to the ideological importance of storytelling by means of another, more conceited strategy. *Adjustment Day* reveals a direct influence from Borges's short story "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius" and its implication that reality always hides under several narrative layers.

In Borges's short story, collected in his volume *Ficciones* (1941), the narrator recounts how by chance he learnt about the existence of a pirated copy of volume XLVI of the *Anglo-American Cyclopaedia*, published in New York in 1917, being

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[8] For Baudrillard, postmodern simulation is "a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real" (1983: 2). Then, to clarify his point, he argues the existence of three orders of simulacra. In the first one, the image is a clear counterfeit of the real. In the second order, which he associates to the First Industrial Revolution, the distinction between the image and the preceding real begins to dissolve. Finally, we are confronted with a precession of the simulacrum in what he terms the third-order simulacrum, "the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal" (2).

itself a copy of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Such volume proves to be unique because it has four extra pages about an unknown region in Asia Minor called Uqbar. Eventually, the narrator and his friend Bioy Casares—a real writer and Borges's actual friend—discover that the Uqbar section was the beginning of a more ambitious plan to write an encyclopedia about the invented planet of Tlön. The imprint of the forged copy of the forged encyclopedia, which leads to the subsequent encyclopedia about an inexistent planet, contains the expression "Orbis Tertius" (the tertiary world). Later, the narrator receives the copy of a volume of the *First Encyclopedia of Tlön* and then he realizes that progressively such *Encyclopedia*, copy of a forged copy of a copy of *Encyclopedia Britannica*, is invading his reality, the reader's reality. He finally guesses in an appendix to the tale that "The world will become Tlön" (Borges 1986 [1941]: 36). However, Borges's nominalist approach, that precedes Baudrillard's ideas on the third-order simulacrum, is not the only element that marks the existence of a direct intertextual link with *Adjustment Day*. In his story, Borges's narrator becomes interested in the forged encyclopedia following a conversation with Casares in which they debate about the notion that mirrors and copulation are abominable. This leads Casares to check his forged copy of the *Anglo-American Cyclopaedia* where, in the extra pages dedicated to Uqbar, he finds the following words: "For one of these Gnostics, the visible universe was an illusion or (more precisely) a sophism. *Mirrors and fatherhood are abominable* […] because they multiply and disseminate it" (15, my translation).[9] This characteristic Borgesian idea about paternity understood as the dissemination of an illusory universe finds its correlation in one of the aphorisms of Reynolds's "Adjustment Day" book: "*Whether it's by breeding children or preaching, it's what men do: This constant dissemination of self.*" (Palahniuk 2018: 181; italics in the original). Even if preaching has replaced Borges's mirrors in Palahniuk's novel, Talbott Reynolds's interpretation of reality is similarly nominalist, as he truly believes in the tremendous political power his book will have. Almost at the end of the novel, the narrator describes an early event in which Reynolds repeats to Walter the same aphorism about breeding children. The episode starts with the narrator's voice stating, "According to Talbott, their book would change the world" (303). While Walter does not want the book to interfere in their actual lives, Reynolds is already convinced that, as happens in the case of Borges's *Encyclopedia of Tlön*, the book brings a substantial change into the world (304). Ironically, breeding children eventually becomes the only activity that keeps the economies of Caucasia and Gaysia going at the same time as it becomes a process that enslaves them.

Borges's precedence of Baudrillard's notion of the hyperreal and the three orders of simulacra in "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius" shows the intertextual power his short fiction still has, as reflected not only in postmodern works but also in later literature and criticism (Herbrechter and Callus 2007: 182-92). As mentioned earlier, Baudrillard's notion also anticipated the hyperreal power of *Fight Club*, a proof of

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[9] In the original: "Para uno de esos gnósticos, el visible universo era una ilusión o (más precisamente) un sofisma. Los espejos y la paternidad son abominables (mirrors and fatherhood are abominable) porque lo multiplican y lo divulgan". (Borges 1986 [1941]: 15).

the power narrative has to generate reality. In fact, on several occasions Palahniuk has commented on the effects the film version of his novel had on his real life. After the release of the film, waiters would offer him free meals, and people would fight in secret clubs in New Jersey or London; "more and more", writes he, already echoing the end of Borges's tale, "what little was fiction [in *Fight Club*] is becoming reality" (Palahniuk 2004: 228). Thus, in *Adjustment Day* the writer has created a further metafictional loop. His later novel resounds of the creative power of *Fight Club*, which itself foresaw such power by including among its pages Baudrillard's notion of the hyperreal, already foreseen by Borges in his fiction, whose prints appear in Palahniuk's later novel.

In any case, *Adjustment Day* does not simply warn readers about the possible dangers involved in the power of narrative but also of that "dissemination of [illusory narrative] self" that by means of copies of copies, trapped in a narrative mode of infinite regress, would impede any reliable knowledge of reality. Hence, when Reynolds's followers kill Walter and think that Reynolds is dead, they replace him with an actor; that is to say, with a copy who teaches people what to do via TV and radio programs by dictating the aphorisms of his book "Adjustment Day". The broadcast book thus becomes a copy of the original one, itself (mis)named after the book we are reading, evoking once again Borges's entrapping structure in his short story and the power that mass media exert over our narrative representation of reality (cf. White 1980: 5-27).

The fact that the contents of Talbott Reynolds's book are written in aphorisms adds to the dangers inherent in the power of narrative; they are categorical generalizations that seek to address, explain, and amend the most important social problems. Furthermore, Reynolds's aphorisms also recall Durden's categorical standpoint, manifested in his brief rules for the Fight Clubs, even if the first ideologue is right-winged and Durden openly proclaims his anarchist stance. Some reviewers have pointed out that George Orwell's *1984* (1949) aphorisms reverberate in Reynolds's authoritarian prose (Larman 2018: 1, Mond 2018). Moreover, his book "Adjustment Day" also compares to other influential texts written in brief statements with the aim of teaching the truth about life such as Laozi's *Tao Te Ching* or Friedrich Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra*. Fortunately, when narratives from the left or from the right argue in favor of radicalized, violent, and monolithic political positions, the ethical need arises to counteract them, which Palahniuk does by resorting to more stylistic strategies as ideological weapons.

## 4. MINIMALISM LEFT BEHIND: DEPARTING FROM THE STYLE OF *FIGHT CLUB*

In his autobiographic volume *Stranger Than Fiction* (2004), Palahniuk defines his writings as being ideologically transgressive—close to Annesley's definition of "Blank fiction" (1998: 137-140)—and he also confesses his devotion for the type of minimalist narrative written by Amy Hempel. Following Hempel's stylistic model, Palahniuk defines his early fiction as "writing without passing judgment. Nothing is fed to the reader as 'fat' or 'happy.' You can only describe actions and appearances

in a way that makes a judgment occur in the reader's mind" (Palahniuk 2004: 144). A small number of characters and events, a narrative voice that is frequently the protagonist of the story and a simple syntax helped to create the minimalist style of his first novels. In fact, Palahniuk's early narratives follow Ernest Hemingway's erstwhile minimalist "theory of the iceberg" rather than Abády-Nagy's thematic analysis of contemporary minimalism in fiction (2001: 129-143).[10]

However, even if *Adjustment Day* shares with *Fight Club* a number of themes and topics, stylistically the later novel is far from minimalist poetics. On the contrary, it uses the old realist device of a heterodiegetic narrator gifted with omniscient powers. Such retreat to the classic realist strategy that helped to reinforce the political structures of capitalism in its early stages seems to sanction the return, on the level of the story, to old patriarchal values once the young men successfully carry out the retrograde revolution initiated on Adjustment Day.[11] This apparent return to classic realism is misleading because Palahniuk combines the use of the single omniscient voice with a number of internal focalizers that offer his readers different perspectives—either contradictory or complementary—about the new type of society that results from Reynolds's revolution. In fact, in one of the interviews he conceded following the release of the novel, Palahniuk mentioned that he had copied the strategy from John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), a novel also mentioned explicitly in *Adjustment Day*.[12] In imitation of Steinbeck's strategy, the author does not use a single point of view from which to evaluate events and characters but several ones. Palahniuk's deployment of multiple focalizers offers diverse ways to perceive reality in a story in which, by contrast, the ideology

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[10] Hemingway's famous words clearly befit the minimalist style of novels such as *Invisible Monsters* or *Fight Club*: "If a writer stops observing he is finished. But he does not have to observe consciously nor think how it will be useful. Perhaps that would be true at the beginning. But later everything he sees goes into the great reserve of things he knows or has seen. If it is any use to know it, I always try to write on the principle of the iceberg. There is seven-eighths of it underwater for every part that shows. Anything you know you can eliminate and it only strengthens your iceberg. It is the part that doesn't show. If a writer omits something because he does not know it then there is a hole in the story" (Plimpton 1958: 12).

[11] Paul Dawson offers an interesting analysis about the return to omniscience among contemporary authors. Palauhniuk's characteristic use of this technique in *Adjustment Day* seems to support Dawson's perspective: "I want to suggest that the contemporary revival of omniscience in fact represents a further development and refinement of some of the technical experiments of postmodern fiction. I want to further argue that the reworking of omniscience in contemporary fiction can be understood as one way in which authors have responded to a perceived decline in the cultural authority of the novel over the last two decades" (Dawson 2009: 144).

[12] "Structurally", Palahniuk tells Paul Semel, "*The Grapes of Wrath* has always enchanted me. As has [Ray Bradbury's] *The Martian Chronicles*. Both books interweave on-going plots with one-time anecdotes and overall, grand observations of the environment. When I learned that Ray Bradbury had patterned his Chronicles after the Steinbeck book, I couldn't wait to use the same structure to create a chronicle for my own big, rambling epic" (Semel 2018).

endorsed by Reynolds's followers has resulted in an authoritarian monolithic regime. However, the use of this strategy may be also understood as a response to some academics who argued that the political implications in *Fight Club* were dangerous because they seemed to support Tyler Durden's radical views, which attracted the favor of many young men around the world. As a result, they set up actual fight clubs and thought of violence as an answer to their social plights. In effect, there seems to be an ironic caveat in *Adjustment Day* against some critics who, following the success of *Fight Club*, understood Palahniuk's novel in radically different terms, classifying it either as fascist homophobic or as anti-capitalist anarchist. Even some prestigious academics read the ideological implications of his novel and of its film adaptation in diverse ways. Thus, Henry Giroux thought that the film could act "pedagogically" to train viewers to be sadistic misogynists (2001: 22-25, see also Giroux and Szeman 2000/2001). However, Slavoj Žižek considered that Fincher's adaptation of Palahniuk's novel might have been described as a fascist film but that its message was "not so much liberating violence but that liberation hurts" (in Rasmussen 2004, see also Wilsey-Cleveland 2011). In the case of *Adjustment Day*, where focalization becomes internal and multiple, the narrator's report occupies a substantial part of the narrative but it combines with views and characteristics that belong to each specific focalizer. That is to say, the narrator's voice mixes with each focalizer's time, location, and emotions in the mode denominated "narrated monologue," which fundamentally produces an impression of proximity between narrator, focalizer, and reader (see Cohn 1978: 99-126). Thus, by producing such mixed approach to the experience of knowing, this stylistic strategy also contrasts with Reynolds's inflexible endeavor to rebuild the categorical barriers of traditional ideologies. Furthermore, despite Palahniuk's comments about the issue, Steinbeck's use of this strategy in *The Grapes of Wrath* differs ideologically from the use the younger writer does of the technique in *Adjustment Day*. Steinbeck makes his heterodiegetic narrator delegate focalization mostly on members of the Joad family and the collectivity of migrants, thus clearly siding with their fight to get decent living conditions while, at the same time, denouncing the cruel behavior of the wealthy Californians and the police forces. However, Palahniuk uses different internal focalizers who also differ in their political views, thus avoiding one-sided ideological implications. In fact, by using a single narrative voice combined with a plurality of internal focalizers, in *Adjustment Day* the author is not only rejecting the authoritarian or static position of the omniscient narrator figure that characterized classic realism (as frequently found in the fiction written by Charles Dickens, William Thackeray or Anthony Trollope). He is also recuperating the transgressive ethos of his early fiction; by deploying the technique of narrated monologue, the narrative voice does not only merge the different narratological levels—story, narration, and [readers' response to the] text—but it also invites readers to compare focalizations that are ideologically antagonistic, making their contrastive views obvious, as the following examples show.

In the first case, focalizer Charlie—the Caucasia white chieftain—is having second thoughts about Reynolds' revolution and the new racial balance that it has brought about:

> It felt as if the white race had lost its way. It no longer had blacks and queers to feel superior to so a key source of its pride was gone. […] In the absence of queers and blacks, Charlie and his fellow whites had lost their motivation to live superior lives. Without underlings to dazzle, the white ethno state seemed to be floundering. […] The white race had met its every challenge. Could they make the grass greener? Make the trains run more exactly on schedule? (Palahniuk 2018: 190-191)

The second quotation shows the omniscient narrative voice reproducing Blacktopian chieftain Jamal's prejudiced focalization of the situation in Gaysia and in Caucasia:

> Gays, who'd lived such gadabout and footloose lives, in Gaysia they were yoked to the national campaign for reproduction. […] And women had lost all control over their reproductive rights. […] Citizens of Caucasia were no better off. Where they'd excelled in science, they now banned it. They'd turned their focus to Jeffersonian agriculture and reinstating a white-European culture. The great metropolises of Caucasia had swiftly declined into deadly no-go zones where displaced liberal-arts majors stalked each other as food. (249-250)

Earlier in the non-chronological narrative, Walter's focalization ponders on Reynolds's ideas on racial discrimination before commencing the recruitment of the future revolutionaries at a support group meeting:

> To whom to offer the world? Which man to radicalize? […] Talbott had warned him. The whites would blame the blacks. The blacks would blame the whites. And everyone would blame the Jews. […] Before the group could stop him, he'd announced: "I'm looking to recruit men who'd rule the world in less than a year. […] Anyone interested in being a founding member of a new ruling class, please see me outside." And Walter […] stepped out the door, walked up the stairs, and he'd waited in the alley for a hero or a fool or for no one to follow him. (225)

The categorical ideology postulated by Talbott Reynolds's book and the subsequent revolution carried out by the new generation of American men represents the radical return to traditional social and gender structures whose rigid effects Palahniuk questions explicitly by resorting to the satire, as well as stylistically by deploying his use of the narrated monologue mode. Thus, the *objective* truth pursued by traditional humanism, represented here by Reynolds's totalitarianism but also by radical liberal revisionists, is kept at bay by the author's strategy of using multiple and sometimes contradictory focalizing positions that point to the absurdity of political radicalisms and the need to keep social balance by means of negotiation.

## 5. CONCLUSION: ADJUSTING THE MIDDLE TO FIT REALITY

At the end of the twentieth century, Palahniuk's *Fight Club* already sided with those who denounced the apparent failure of the postmodern project and its turning to pure capitalist and consumerist practices. However, in *Adjustment Day* the writer

does not simply aim at going back to previous non-categorical positions but he contextualizes his critique of contemporary politics in the new clash for power represented by two political positions that only have in common the radicalized and categorical defense each of them makes of its views against the other. Thus, by focusing on the power and traps that narratives pose, his novel warns readers against the risks of falling back into populist categorical experiments. Likewise, Palahniuk denounces the policies brought about by political correctness and its new authoritarian bias. In this sense, his novel shows a certain level of agreement with present critical reactions against the politics of cultural intolerance disguised as *political correctness* (see *A Letter on Justice and Open Debate* 2020). In addition, the writer's caveats about the power that narrative and information hold make of *Adjustment Day* a book that shares with other, non-satirical recent fiction the authorial necessity to put the emphasis on language, narrative, and the processes of representation as the most important means we have to experience the world. As Robert McLaughlin argues in his analysis of post-postmodern fiction, the better we understand how these tools operate to represent the world, "the better we can disengage them from the institutions that encourage the cynical despair that perpetuates the status quo and claim them for our own purposes" (2004: 67).

Aware of the critical need to evaluate present political radicalisms, Palahniuk builds a stylistic artifact in *Adjustment Day* that helps to clarify the ethical symbolism of his satirical story. Accordingly, by the end of the book, readers are informed that Talbott Reynolds has started an erratic life as a crazy old man amidst the ruins of the city he has helped to destroy (Palahniuk 2018: 307-08). In parallel, the writer describes the situation in which the other main characters of the story stand, to offer in his novel a clear anti-categorical solution that may serve to avoid the entrapments of political radicalisms. Even Dawson, the white leader who finds Ramantha, "the PhD gal" (2018: 244), when she is trying to escape certain death because she teaches Gender Studies, offers some hope for a better future due to his very lack of resolution. Certainly, the end of the book does not clarify if the white chieftain finally kills Ramantha to comply with Reynolds' law, or helps her to escape. However, the uncertain situation in which these two characters remain forever represents a symbolic open window for the return of that negotiated middle that categorical thinking has excluded from the American political arena. As happens to Schrödinger's cat, at the end of the novel Ramantha may be dead or may be alive due to Dawson's indecision. Hers becomes a condition of undecidability that finally outweighs Reynolds's categorical and authoritarian views. In a clearly deconstructive passage that brings echoes again from Borges's narrative entrapments and Baudrillard's orders of simulacra, the narrator, with Dawson as focalizer, offers a reflection on Ramantha that serves a double political purpose. First, it may remind readers of the rhetorically dangerous positions defended by liberal academics who practice an immature and antagonizing form of cultural criticism. Secondly, it also serves to criticize Reynolds's populist and totalitarian politics: the professor of Gender Studies had "risen to power by repeating the opinions of people who'd repeated the opinions of people who'd repeated the opinions of people. If that wasn't a lineage equal to and just as corrupt as the lineages of Adjustment Day,

Dawson didn't know jack" (Palahniuk 2018: 244). In other words, neither left nor right, both critical and populist radicalisms have to be avoided because they always end building their support on essentialist and circular arguments whose ethical authority can never be established. In addition, Reynolds's fight against the class, race, and gender theories that since the 1960s contested the suffocating limits of Eurocentric humanism, openly contradicts the aims that Palahniuk defended for his own transgressive fiction as soon as he became a public figure. As the author already stated in *Stranger Than Fiction*,

> [Y]ou can make what Kierkegaard called your Leap of Faith, where you stop living as a reaction to circumstances and start living as a force for what you say should be.
> What's coming is a million new reasons to go ahead.
> What's going out is the cathartic transgressive novel. (2004: 215)

The strategic use of an unknown omniscient narrator fits Paul Dawson's observation on contemporary fiction that "[n]arrative form here is not determined by any sense of formal unity, by the categories of narrative theory, but by the writer's authority as a reporter of contemporary culture" (2009: 157). The fact that different internal focalizers filter this omniscient reporter's words indubitably helps the author to build an image of present society as absurd and radicalized. As shown by such authorial use of voice and focalization, opposing categorical views are to blame for the current situation. As a result, the novel finally advocates for turning back to a sense of community to recuperate the hope for a better future. At the end of the book old friends, till then separated in the three new countries that resulted from the former United States, meet again and get ready to share a meal. Thus, in post-postmodern times Palahniuk announces the necessity to recuperate a democracy of the people where everyone can talk and defend their viewpoints. Symbolically, the meeting of the group of protagonist-focalizers who have been able to break different rules and escape from their allotted territories happens at the borderlands existing between the three nations, away from the mass media and social nets that might interfere in their relations. There Charm, Gavin, Jamal, Felix, and Shasta meet, in a new kind of "support group," around a campfire and recount their experiences (Palahniuk 2018: 308-10). Hence, the novel reestablishes an anti-categorical ethos that goes beyond clear-cut ideological limits. Talbott Reynolds's experiment has proven to be a failure, bringing back into the open accelerated manifestations of racism, male chauvinism, slavery, misery, and a war among the new states.

Thematically, the writer's satirical and transgressive representation of an American dystopia certainly makes of *Adjustment Day* an ideological extension of *Fight Club*. Although this time Palahniuk's work has not led to any hyperreal creation, as was the case with his first novel, the book invites readers to ponder about a very important social issue; in the new society of information, where the power of narratives has become so evident, information needs to be checked, contrasted, and discussed. Clearly returning to the aims of the counterculture and to the early postmodern revolution, *Adjustment Day* surpasses the individual opinions

of its antagonistic characters, *liberal* critics and fascists alike, to remind its readers that people, as happens to information, are never static and that adversaries always need to negotiate. As Gloria Anzaldúa already contended thirty years earlier, "the answer to the problem between the white race and the colored, between males and females, lies in healing the split that originates in the very foundation of our lives, our culture, our languages, our thoughts" (1987: 80). The ultimate implications of *Adjustment Day* demand, again, the healing of such damaging split.

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# REASSESSING CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE ARTEMIS PARSER

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*ABSTRACT.* The aim of this study is to reexamine the status of constructions in ARTEMIS (Automatically Representing TExt Meaning via an Interlingua-based System), a Natural Language Understanding prototype that seeks to provide the syntactic and semantic structure of a given fragment in a natural language. The architecture of ARTEMIS has been designed to conform to the tenets of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM), a theory in which constructions are a central tool for the linguistic description of languages. However, since ARTEMIS is a computational device, there are many formalization requirements which involve the adaptation of the LCM, a process which necessarily leads to reconsidering several issues, as are: (i) what counts as a constructional structure; (ii) how constructions contribute to parsing operations in ARTEMIS; and (iii) the location and the format of constructional patterns.

*Keywords:* ARTEMIS parser, Role and Reference Grammar, Lexical Constructional Model, unification grammar, constructionist space, constructions.

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## LAS CONSTRUCCIONES EN EL PARSEADOR ARTEMIS A EXAMEN

*RESUMEN.* En este trabajo se somete a reexamen el estatus de las construcciones en ARTEMIS (Automatically Representing TExt Meaning via an Interlingua-based System), un prototipo para la comprensión del lenguaje natural cuyo objetivo es obtener la estructura sintáctica y semántica de un fragmento de lenguaje natural. ARTEMIS está diseñado según los postulados básicos del Modelo Léxico-Construccional (MLC), en el que las construcciones tienen un papel central para la descripción lingüística. Sin embargo, dado que ARTEMIS es un recurso computacional, hay diversos condicionantes de formalización para la adaptación del MLC, los cuales a su vez llevan a replantear varios aspectos, como son: (i) qué debe considerarse como construcción; (ii) cómo las construcciones contribuyen en los procesos de parseado en ARTEMIS; y (iii) la ubicación y el formato de las estructuras construccionales.

*Palabras clave:* Parseador ARTEMIS, Gramática del Papel y la Referencia, Modelo Léxico-construccional, gramática de unificación, espacio construccionista, construcciones.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This study sets out to assess the status of constructions in ARTEMIS (Automatically Representing TExt Meaning via an Interlingua-based System), a Natural Language Understanding (NLU) prototype that seeks to provide the syntactic and semantic structure of a given fragment in a natural language. In its present state this parser is gradually being implemented for English and for ASD-STE100 (`Simplified Technical English for Aerospace and Defense', a Controlled Natural Language specification originally created for aerospace industry documentation).

ARTEMIS is one of the set of tools for different NLP tasks built around a Knowledge Base, namely FunGramKB (Functional Grammar Knowledge Base). Unlike other Natural Language Processing (NLP) devices, the architecture of ARTEMIS has been designed to conform to the tenets of a linguistic model. Thus, both the structure of FunGramKB and the components of ARTEMIS are consistent with the postulates of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM; Mairal-Usón and Ruiz de Mendoza 2008; Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal-Usón 2008, 2011; Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera 2014, etc.), a theory in which constructions are a central tool for the linguistic description of languages.

However, since ARTEMIS is a computational device, there are many formalization requirements which involve the adaptation of the LCM, a process which necessarily leads to reconsidering several issues, as are: (i) what counts as a constructional structure; (ii) how constructions contribute to parsing operations in ARTEMIS; and (iii) the location and the format of constructional patterns.

Even though there are some works that have dealt with some of these questions, especially in relation to the LCM and descriptive construction grammars (Periñán-

Pascual 2013, Luzondo and Ruíz de Mendoza 2015, Díaz-Galán and Fumero-Pérez 2017; Fumero-Pérez and Díaz-Galán 2017), we believe that it is still necessary to address them jointly in an overall review of ARTEMIS and FunGramKB within the framework of other constructionally oriented formal grammars.

In order to deal with these issues, this paper has been organized in the following sections: to provide the framework of our analysis the first section gives an overview of both ARTEMIS and FunGramKB. Section 2 summarizes the descriptions of constructional structures in ARTEMIS as offered in previous studies on this prototype. The third section identifies ARTEMIS as a distinct type of unification grammar and locates it within the constructional space, a territory in which two different grammatical traditions are distinguished, the typological and the formal constructional models. The study will place ARTEMIS in the second group, and one of the most relevant consequences of this identification of the prototype as a mathematically based grammar subject to important formalization requirements will lead us to reconsider what should be considered as a construction; section 4 is devoted to this issue. Finally, some concluding remarks are offered in Section 5.

## 2. NATURAL LANGUAGE UNDERSTANDING (NLU) AND ARTEMIS

This work forms part of the research that is being carried out to develop a natural language processing laboratory (FUNK Lab Project) using tools grounded within the framework of the functional linguistic model Role and Reference Grammar (RRG; Van Valin 2005, 2008; Mairal-Usón *et al.* 2012) and complemented with the strong constructional stance contributed by the LCM. As a result, several computational resources with diverse aims have been implemented; among them are CASPER (CAtegory-and Sentiment-based Problem FindER) for sentiment analysis and problem detection in micro-texts; DAMIEN (DAta MIning ENcountered), a workbench to do text analytics through data mining tasks and statistical analysis on corpora; or DEXTER (Discovering and EXtracting TERminology) for management and indexation of small and medium size corpora and term extraction. As stated before, our research concentrates on the development of another of these computational resources, namely ARTEMIS (Automatically Representing TExt Meaning via an Interlingua-based System).

ARTEMIS aims at the automatic generation of the full-fledged morphosyntactic form and underlying semantic structure of an input text. Obtaining such a semantic output from a piece of natural language is the central goal in most NLP research projects, as it is the core element for tasks as diverse as information extraction and retrieval, automatic text summarization or text annotation.

The architecture of ARTEMIS was first described in Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez (2014), and several subsequent publications (Cortés-Rodríguez 2016; Cortés-Rodríguez and Mairal-Usón 2016; Fumero-Pérez and Díaz-Galán 2017; Martín Díaz 2017; Cortés-Rodríguez and Rodríguez-Juárez 2018, 2019) have concentrated on developing some of the components of this prototype. However, contrary to the

tendency to use algorithmic techniques, ARTEMIS is a computational resource based mainly, though not exclusively, on the two linguistic models mentioned before, RRG and the LCM. ARTEMIS is also tightly connected to the knowledge base FunGramKB from which conceptual units are obtained for the construction of the semantic representations.

ARTEMIS contains three modules: the Grammar Development Environment (GDE), the CLS constructor, and the COREL-Scheme Builder. The goal of the GDE is to provide a morphosyntactic representation of an input text, which may be represented by means of a parse tree. The other two modules are concerned with deriving the semantic representation of the same input text. In so doing, these two modules retrieve information from FunGramKB, the multilanguage knowledge base that supports the application.

In simple terms, the process involved in understanding a stretch of natural language with the tools that have been described is summarized in the following figure:
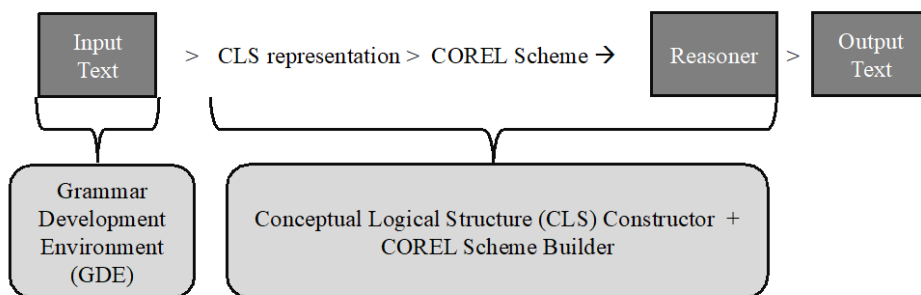


Figure 1. NLU and ARTEMIS.

## 2.1. THE BUILD GRAMMAR MODULE: THE GRAMMAR DEVELOPMENT ENVIRONMENT

As we have seen, the first module in ARTEMIS is the GDE, which contains two types of theoretical constructs: a set of production rules and a library of Attribute-Value Matrixes (AVMs). The task of the component which stores the rules is to generate the syntactic trees corresponding to the sentences which are processed. The AVMs, in turn, are feature-bearing structures that encode the grammatical features of the different categories or units, and that cannot be retrieved from the information that is stored in the Lexicon, the Grammaticon and the Ontology of the knowledge base (Cortés-Rodríguez 2016: 80-81; Cortés-Rodríguez and Mairal-Usón 2016: 90. See section 1.2 for a description of these components in the knowledge base FunGramKB). Figure 2 shows the interface for the GDE within ARTEMIS.

The rules component includes syntactic, constructional and lexical rules. The first set, syntactic rules, will provide a syntactic tree in accordance with the enhanced RRG layered model for the structure of clauses; constructional and lexical rules will contribute in parsing by refining such a tree and endowing it with the specific properties of lexical and constructional units. Constructional rules serve to embed the constructional schemata stored in the L1-Constructicon into the enhanced LSC. Lexical rules provide the tokens with morphosyntactic and semantic information from the Lexicon and the Ontology respectively.
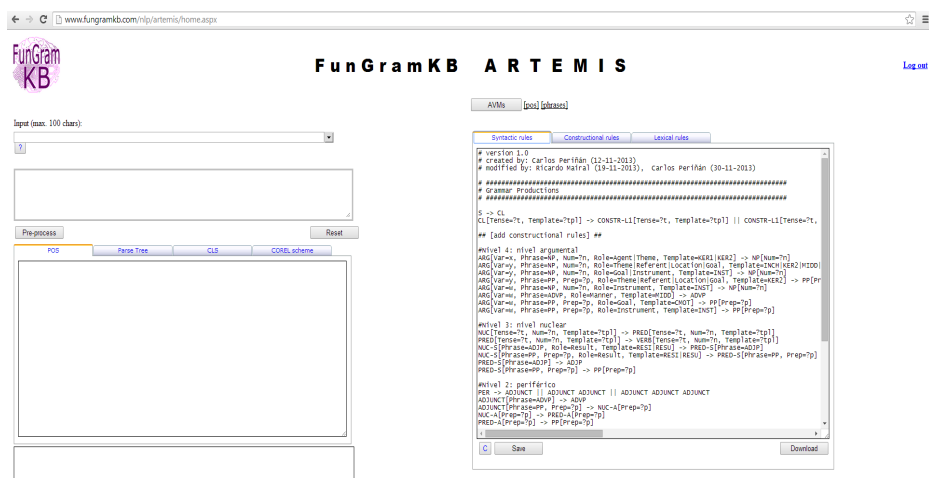


Figure 2. The GDE.

The syntactic representation of sentences in ARTEMIS is based on the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC) as proposed in RRG, but incorporates some variations motivated by the integration of constructional structures in line with the proposals from the LCM. The aim of the LSC is to capture both the universal and language-specific aspects of syntactic structures. With respect to universal features, two basic distinctions are considered: the first one accounts for the difference between predicating elements and non-predicating elements, whereas the second concerns those elements that are arguments of the predicate and those which are not. This second opposition defines three syntactic units in the structure of the clause: the *nucleus* (which includes a verbal, an adjectival or a nominal predicate), the *core* (which contains the nucleus and its arguments), and the *periphery* (which includes constituents that are not predicate arguments).

The Constituent Projection also incorporates two additional positions, the extra-core and the detached positions, which are both pragmatically motivated and language specific. Thus, in languages like English, fronted constituents and

interrogative elements in questions occupy the *PreCore Slot*, whereas detached constituents are separated by a pause from the rest of the clause, a sign of their markedness for pragmatic purposes. Both universal and non-universal elements are represented in the so-called Constituent Projection, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 4 is a representation of the Constituent Projection analysis of the sentence *Yesterday, what did Robin show to Pat in the library?* (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 36).
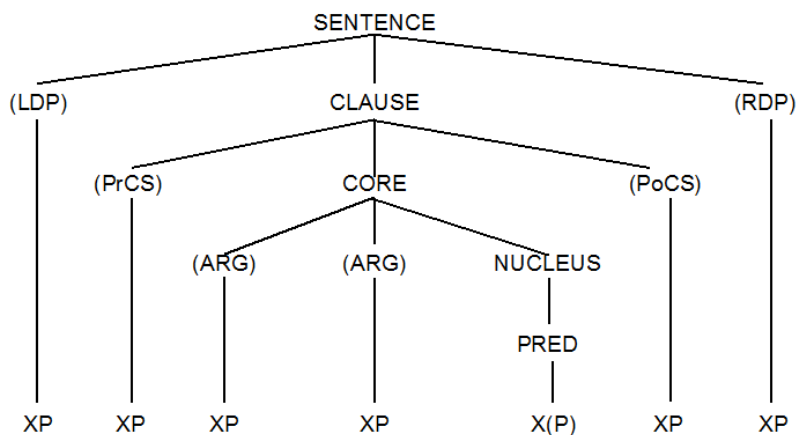


Figure 3. The Constituent Projection (LSC) (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 38).
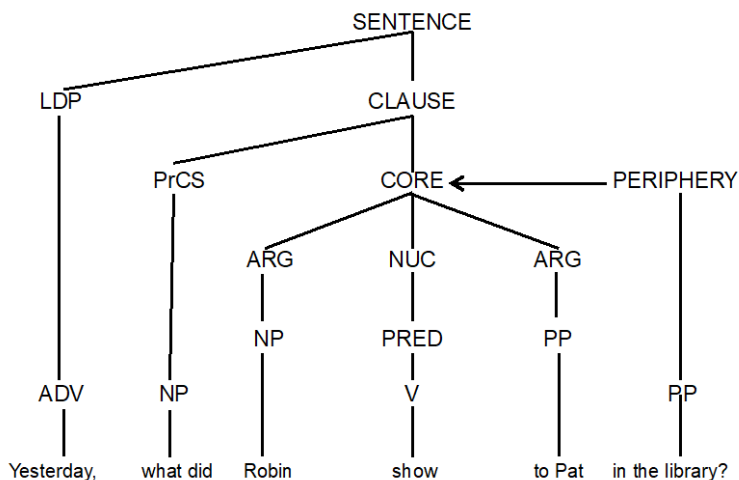


Figure 4. The LSC of a clause in English.

The Constituent Projection of the LSC only provides a syntactic analysis of content units (words and phrases); function words such as auxiliaries and grammatical morphemes are analysed as operators within the LSC. Operators are grammatical categories like aspect, tense or illocutionary force and modify different layers of the clause. Since they are technically not part of the nucleus, core or periphery, but rather modify these layers, they are represented separately in a different projection within the LSC. A detailed syntactic description of a clause will then merge both the Constituent and Operator Projections, thus obtaining a fully detailed LSC analysis, as represented in Figure 5.
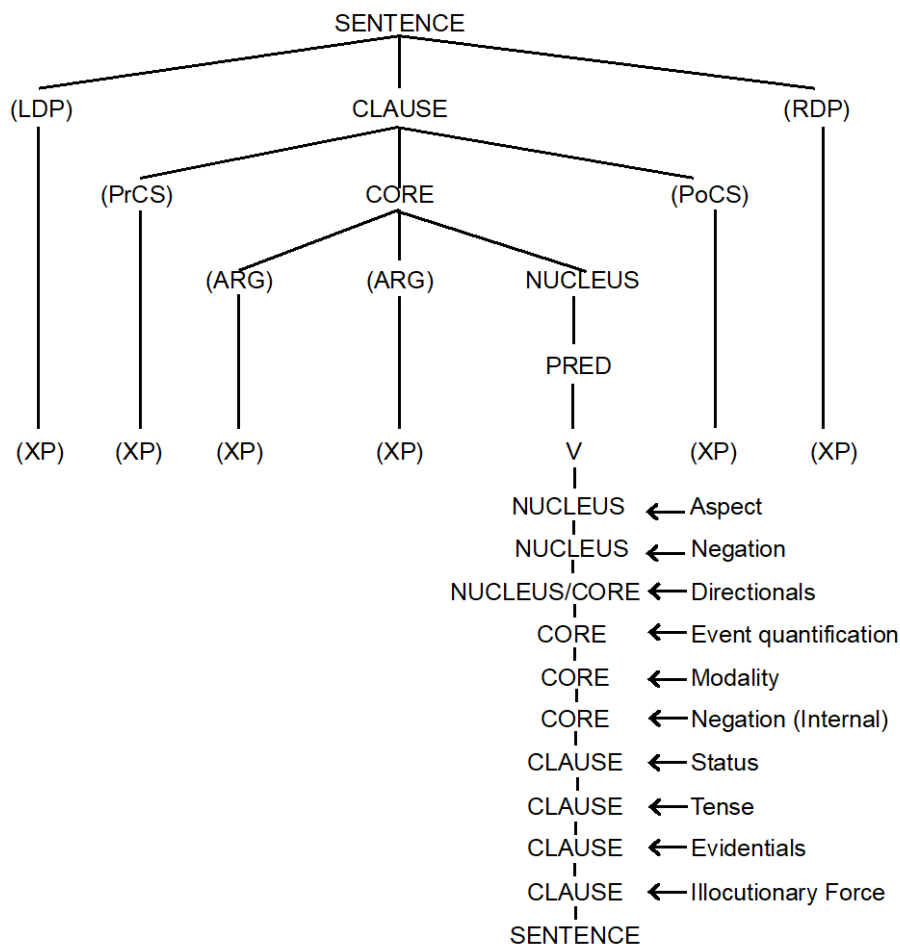
Figure 5. The Layered Structure of the Clause (Constituent and Operator Projections) (Van Valin, 2005: 12).

Figure 6 shows the LSC analysis of an English sentence (Van Valin 2005: 14).
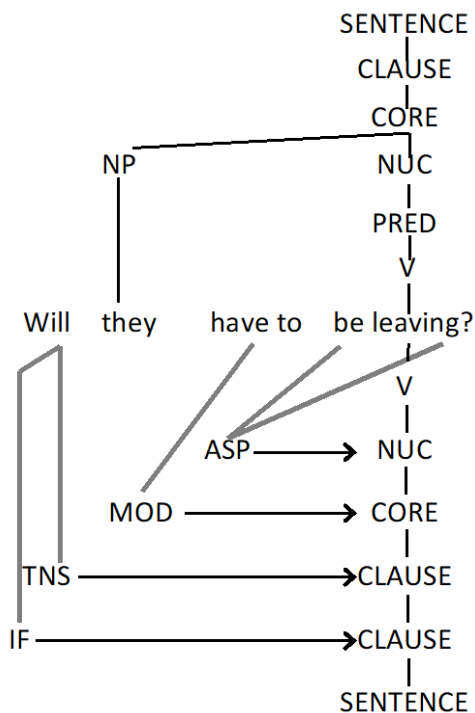


Figure 6. LSC of an English sentence.

The most relevant changes that the LSC as proposed originally in RRG has undergone in its implementation for ARTEMIS are: (i) the substitution of the operator projection by feature-bearing matrixes and unification mechanisms; and (ii) the integration of an intermediate constructional node, L1-CONSTR, in the layered structure of the clause between the CORE and the CLAUSE nodes.

The first adjustment affects all grammatical units (or objects) in ARTEMIS; contrary to what is customary in context-free phrase structure rules formalisms, in which all syntactic nodes are atomic units, the grammatical objects in ARTEMIS are defined as complex feature structures (Fs). Fs are usually expressed in the format of AVMs, which in turn are internally codified through XML in ARTEMIS. Figure 7 shows the XML-formatted representation of a set of features which will form part of some AVMs in the version 1.0 of ARTEMIS.
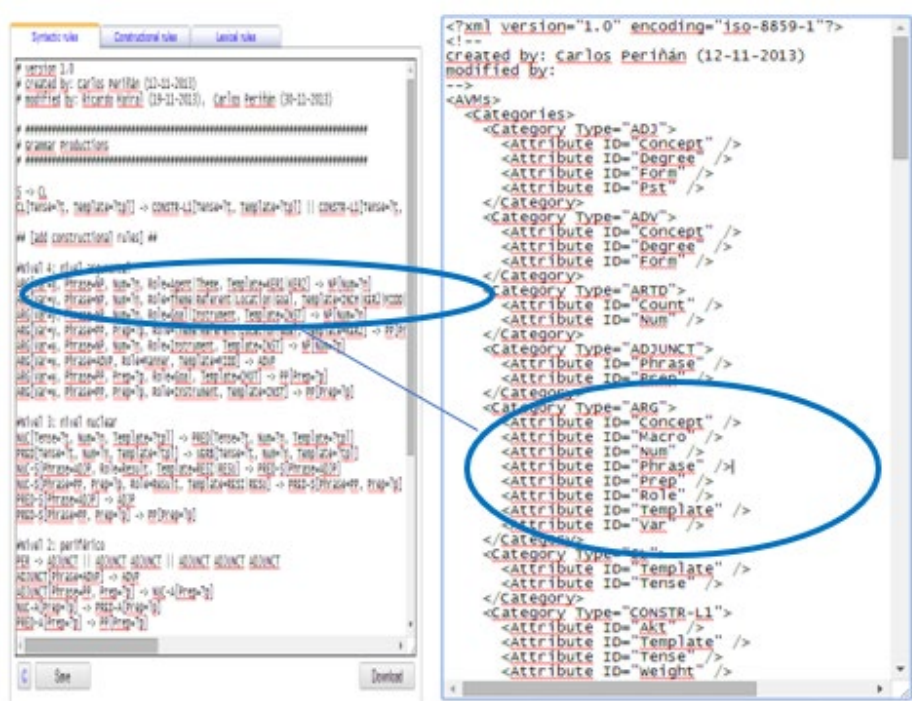
Figure 7. AVMS in ARTEMIS v. 1.0.

This is a crucial feature to support our proposal for placing ARTEMIS away from projectionist and certain types of constructionist models (like Goldberg 1995, 2006 or Croft 2001) and relocating it within unification approaches to grammar such as Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Berkeley Construction Grammar and their descendant Sign-Based Construction Grammar (see section 3).

One fundamental consequence derived from this new conception of the grammatical elements in ARTEMIS is that the process of generating a parsed tree involves feature unification operations intended to satisfy the structural and semantic constraints encoded in the AVMs. Since parsing is based on Earley's algorithm (1970), and ARTEMIS is a bottom-up chart parser with top-down prediction, unification processes follow this direction from the lexical units running up the structure to the layer at which the relevant feature is finally 'anchored'. Cortés-Rodríguez and Mairal-Usón (2016: 104) illustrate in a simplified mode the unification path of the 'illocutionary force' feature up to the Clause layer, which is the one over which this feature has scope.
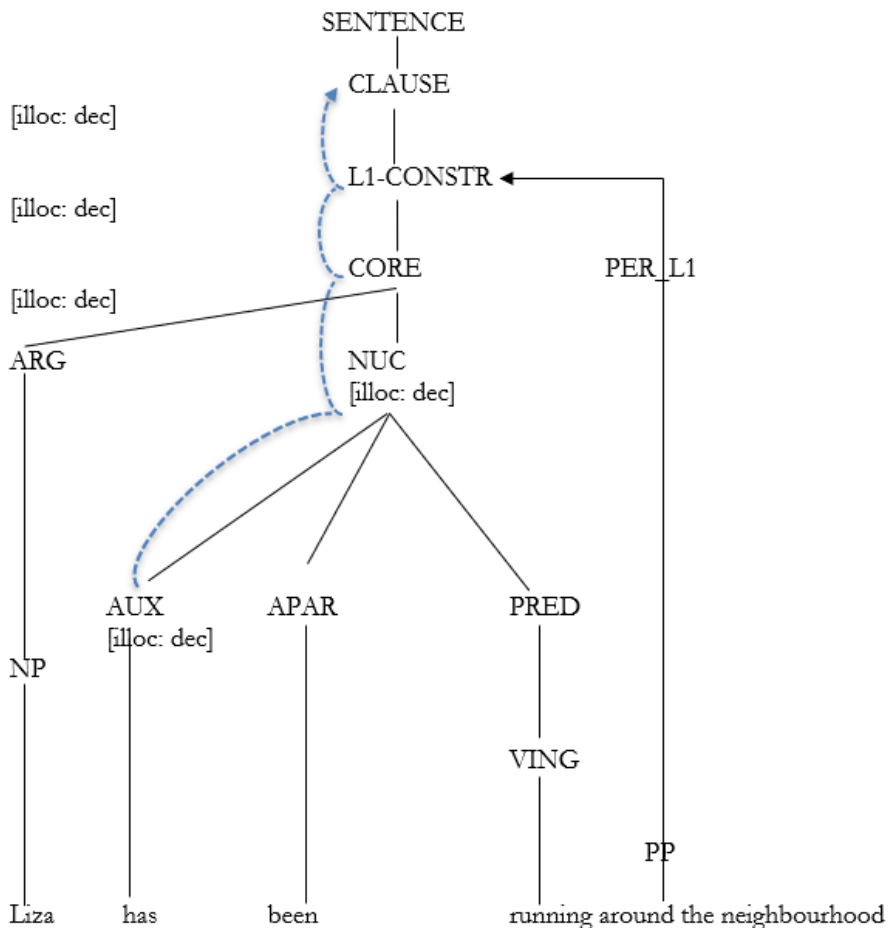
Figure 8. Unification Path of 'illocutionary force' feature.

The grammatical categories (e.g., tense, modality, or illocutionary force), which are described as operators in RRG modifying the different nodes in the LSC, are dispensed with in the GDE in ARTEMIS since both such grammatical categories and the word tokens (function words) which encode them are endowed with AVMs lodging the corresponding values for each of the relevant categories. Therefore, the enhanced LSC will have only one projection, the so-called Constituent Projection, in which every unit has an associated AVM. The diagram in figure 9 reflects partially this new LSC (Cortés-Rodríguez and Mairal-Usón 2016: 97).
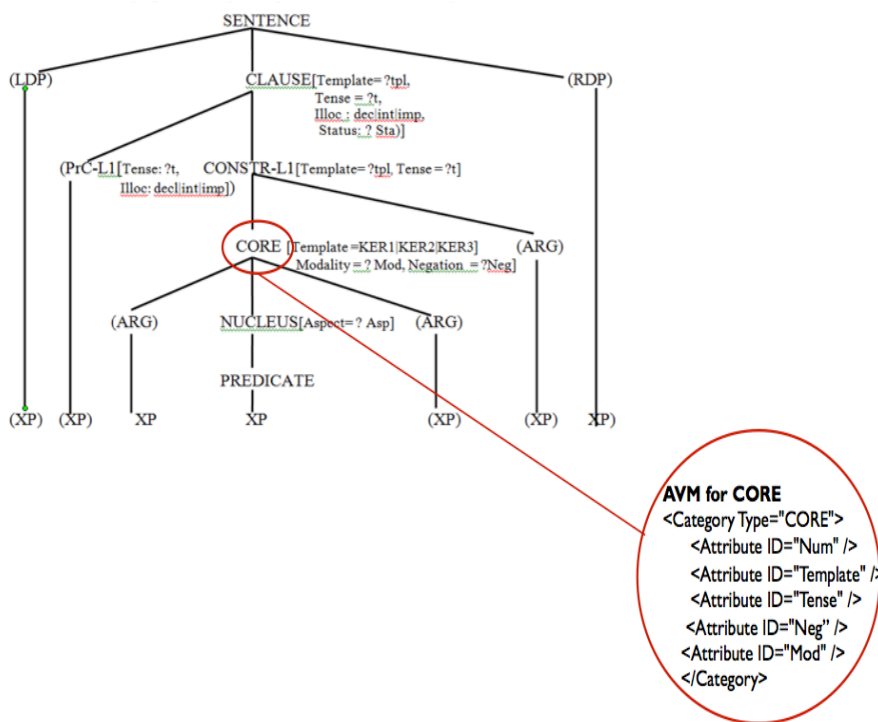
Figure 9. AVMs in the LSC (a partial representation).

The second modification, the integration of an L1_CONSTR node, is a direct consequence of the constructional orientation inspired by the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM) in the design of both FunGramKB and ARTEMIS. Following the spirit of the LCM, lexical meaning and constructional meaning are fundamental for the semantics-to-syntax interface in ARTEMIS. The assumption that it is not always possible to predict the syntactic structure of a predicate from its argument structure (also called Kernel structure, as shall be described later) involves: (a) the need to integrate a new node in the parsed tree that accounts for the occurrence of those constituents which are contributed (or subtracted) by the meaning of a given construction; (b) the necessity to resort to a repository of constructional structures and to activate a set of constructional rules for the retrieval from the repository of the morphosemantic properties of constructional templates and its subsequent integration in the enhanced LSC.

By way of example, in a sentence like *the crows cawed the falcon away from their nest* the verb *caw*, which by default is an intransitive verb (Kernel-1 argument structure) verb can be enriched for this specific sentence with both another non-subcategorized argument and a secondary predicate, which are contributed by the AVM of the caused-motion construction as encoded in the corresponding Grammaticon (see section 1.2). Thus, the AVM of the lexical entry of *caw* will follow

unification up to the core layer and then this will unify with the AVM of the caused-motion construction in a higher CONSTR-L1 layer; this is reflected in the analysis shown in figure 10.
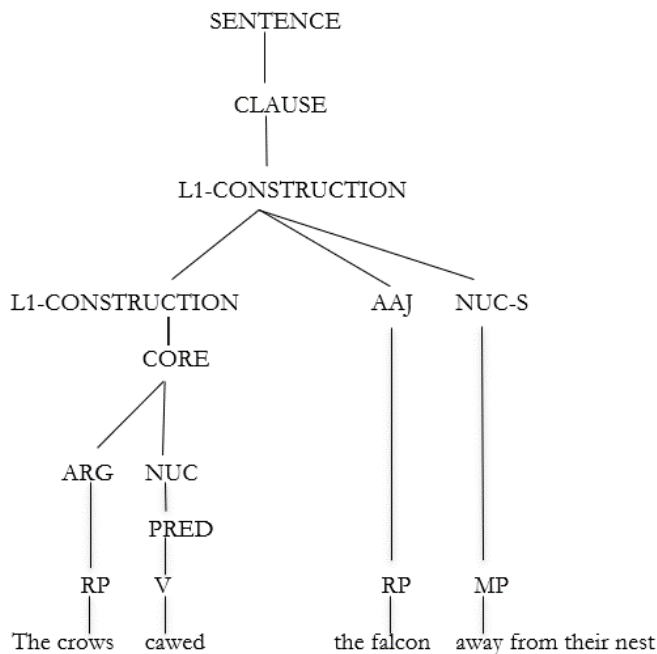


Figure 10. The L1-Constr layer.

ARTEMIS needs this new L1-CONSTR layer to give room to constructional units in the parsed tree, in which clauses are now configured as the output of one or several (argumental) constructions. Hence, the GDE must resort not only to the Lexicon but also to the Grammaticon in FunGramKB, where constructions are classified in terms of different levels of schematization. The four types of Constructicons are inspired in the four constructional layers of the LCM and they can deal with both "the propositional and the non-propositional dimensions of meaning" (Mairal-Usón 2017: 246).

If we add to this the fact that, in the final phase of ARTEMIS, the CLS Constructor must also have access to FunGramKB to retrieve the relevant conceptual units for the construction of the underlying LCS of the input text, the fundamental role of both the Lexicon and the Constructicons becomes apparent. Example 1 shows the underlying conceptual logical structure (CLS) of the sentence *the crow cawed the falcon away*:

(1)

CLS: <IF DECL <Tense past <CONSTR-L1 RES <CONSTR-L1 AKTACT $SOUND_00 ($CROW_00Theme, $FALCON_00Referent, +AWAY_00Result) >>>>

 (where: IF DECL = declarative illocutionary force; CONSTR-L1 RES: Resultative L1 Construction; AKT ACT= Activity Aktionsart; $SOUND_00, $FALCON_00, +AWAY_00 = conceptual units retrieved from Ontology).

Since ARTEMIS interacts constantly with FunGramKB it is necessary to make a brief description of this knowledge base to establish the place and the status of constructional units in both devices. The following section is an outline of the organization of FunGramKB.

## 2.2. CONSTRUCTIONS IN NLU: LEXICAL AND CONSTRUCTIONAL STRUCTURES IN FUNGRAMKB

FunGramKB is a repository of knowledge of different types designed for its implementation in different NLU applications. Figure 11 shows the architecture of FunGramKB.
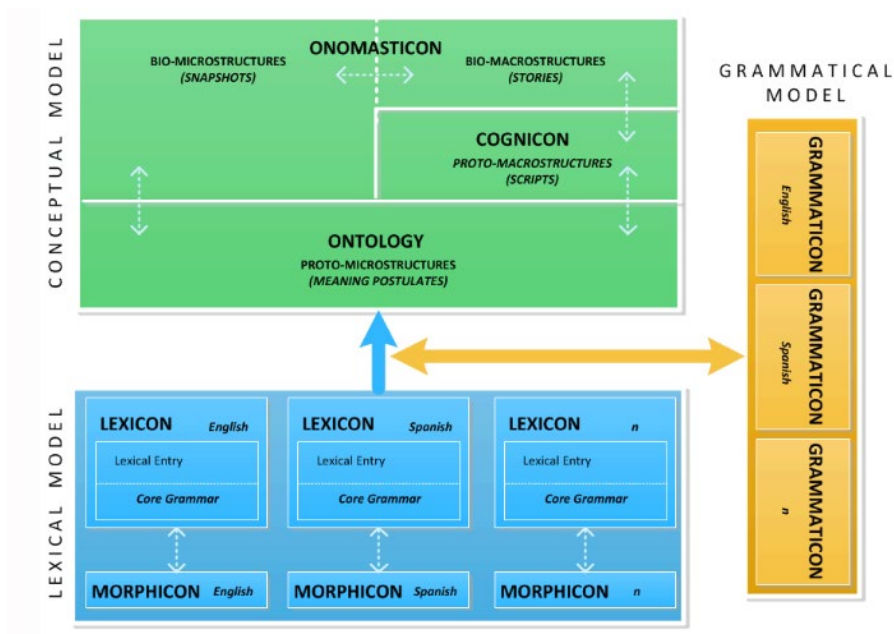


Figure 11. Architecture of FunGramKB.

FunGramKB contains three independent but interconnected knowledge levels (or models), a conceptual level, a lexical level and a grammatical level. The Conceptual level, which is shared by all languages, contains the following modules (cf. Periñán-Pascual 2013: 209):

- An Ontology, which is a hierarchical catalogue of the concepts (i.e. the semantic knowledge) that a person has in their mind, stored in the form of meaning postulates. Example 2 captures the meaning postulate of the concept +WALK_00:

    (2)

    +(e1: +MOVE_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme (x3)Location (x4)Origin (x5)Goal (f1: +LEG_00)Instrument)

- A Cognicon, which encodes scripts that capture procedural knowledge. Scripts are schemas (or 'macrostructures') comprising a sequence of stereotypical actions organized in terms of Allen's temporal model (Allen 1983; Allen & Ferguson 1994). Some instances of these scripts are @*Watching television* or @*Eating at a restaurant*. Such schemas are also cognitive since they are built with conceptual units from the ontology.

- An Onomasticon, which includes knowledge related to instances of entities (e.g. *La Palma Volcano* or *Vladimir Putin*) and events (e.g. *COVID-19 pandemic*), by means of snapshots (synchronic schemas) and stories (diachronic schemas). They are also represented by means of ontological units.

Both the lexical and the grammatical level are language dependent; the lexical level comprises two modules:

- A Morphicon, which accounts for inflectional phenomena in NLU processes.

- A Computational lexicon in which lexical entries can be saved as XML-formatted feature-value data structures (Periñan-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez 2010: 2671), which includes all pertinent morphosyntactic (lexical category, number, gender, countability, degree, etc.) grammatical (Aktionsart, lexical template, constructions, etc.), and other miscellaneous information (dialect, style, domain, etc.).

It is important to highlight that the information in the Core Grammar section is heavily, though not exclusively, based on RRG's postulates. The two most important differences with regard to RRG in verbal lexical entries are: (a) the thematic frame mapping section is drawn from the list of participants in the thematic frame of the concept in the Ontology to which the verb is linked; and (b) there is a section with the argumental constructions in which the verb can take part. Figure 12 offers the Core Grammar section of the lexical entry for *bake* (Fumero-Pérez and Díaz-Galán 2017: 36).

| | |
|---|---|
| *Lexical unit :* | *bake* |
| *Ontological concept:* | *+BAKE_00* |
| *Aktionsart :* | *Active Accomplishment (ACC)* |
| *Variables :* | *x, y* |
| *Macroles:* | *2, Undergoer: no value selected* |
| *Thematic frame mapping:* | *x: theme, y: referent* |
| *Constructions:* | *BenefactiveObject Construction* |
| | *ForBenefactive Construction* |
| | *InstrumentSubject Construction* |
| | *MaterialSubject Construction* |
| | *UnexpressedSecondArgument* |

Figure 12. Core Grammar of *bake*.

Hence, constructional information is distributed in the following way: the Lexical template encodes the canonical argument structure of the predicate; canonical argument structures are termed Kernel Constructions; thus, a verb like *bake*, which has two arguments, has a canonical Kernel-2 construction. Idiomatic constructions are marked in the Construction sections but are not encoded in the lexical entry. It only includes pointers to such structures, which are stored in the Grammatical Module, or Grammaticon, of FunGramKB. Therefore, the Grammaticon is essentially a storehouse of constructional structures classified in accordance with the layered typology proposed by the LCM. This typology distinguishes 4 types of Constructions:

a) Level 1 constructions, often called argument-structure constructions, like the ones postulated by Goldberg (1995, 2006). Here we can mention middle structures, resultatives, conative clauses, etc.

b) Level 2, or implicational constructions (such as 'Do I look like X'. e.g., *Do I look like I'm happy?*), which describe low-level situational cognitive models (or specific scenarios), giving rise to meaning interpretations which carry a heavily conventionalized implication.

c) Level 3 deals with illocutionary constructions (such as 'Can you VP'; e.g. *Can you pay attention to what I'm saying?*), which are means of encoding high-level situational models (or generic scenarios); and

d) Level 4, or discourse constructions, based on high-level non-situational cognitive models (such as reason-result or condition-consequence; e.g. *Just because something is natural does not mean it is safe*), with particular emphasis on cohesion and coherence phenomena. Figures 13 and 14 show the entry for an L1-Construction and an L3 Construction respectively.

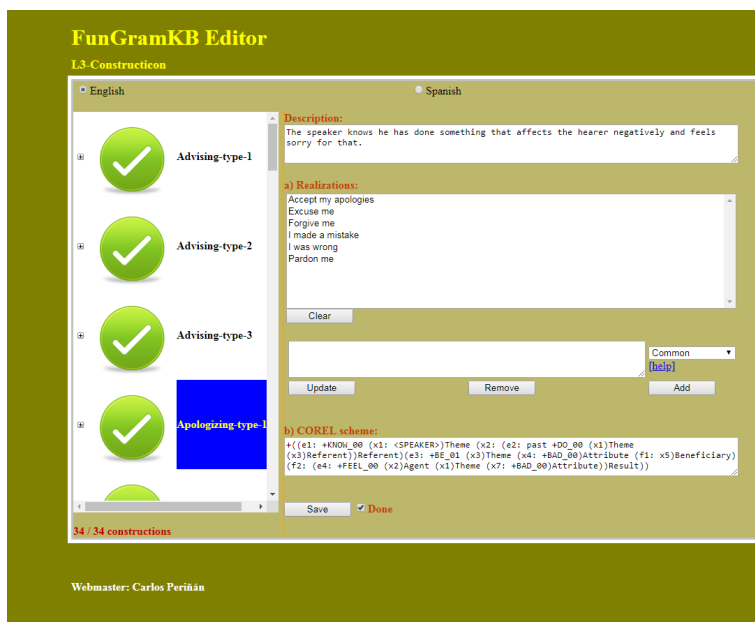Figure 13. Constructional Schema for the Conative L1-Construction.



Figure 14. Constructional Schema for the Apologizing (Type 1) L3-Construction.

## 3. WHAT COUNTS AS A CONSTRUCTION IN ARTEMIS? PREVIOUS PROPOSALS

The description of the linguistic modules in FunGramKB has made evident that constructions occupy a significant space in the knowledge base and are also assigned substantial weight in ARTEMIS. However, it is still indispensable to delimit what is understood as a 'construction' in the prototype and how significant are syntactic and semantic criteria for the demarcation of such a notion. This section will deal with this topic, reviewing firstly how constructions are defined in the works on FunGramKB and ARTEMIS. Secondly, we will propose to identify ARTEMIS as a formal grammar belonging to a wide group of unification based grammatical models which share similar strategies for linguistic analysis and language processing. From this perspective it will be feasible to reconsider what should count as a construction and how to define other grammatical objects.

As we have seen in section 1, the GDE in ARTEMIS is designed to draw grammatical and semantic information from different components, which are part of its architecture (the rules and AVMs) or elsewhere are integrated as modules (lexicon, ontology or constructicons) of the knowledge base. The fact that the lexical and constructional units are located in different modules seems to involve, as Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez (2014: 174) state, that FunGramKB adopts a hybrid approach to constructional meaning; i.e. halfway between projectionism (e.g. Jackendoff 1990; Pustejovsky 1991) and constructivism (e.g. Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001). Periñán-Pascual (2013: 207) further states that this intermediate position is a feature of the LCM as well.

In this respect, the LCM—a usage-based constructionist model of language which goes beyond the core grammar— allows a bridge between projectionist theories, and more particularly RRG, and constructional theories (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001).

Periñan-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez (2014: 172), inspired in Pelletier (2012), describe the model of computational semantics adopted in FunGramKB as a combination of "functional compositionality" and "ontological holism". The first feature allows a complex linguistic object (e.g. a sentence) to consist of elements (like its sentential meaning) which are not present in the parts (e.g. words) provided that the function consistently adds those elements every time it faces the same parts and manner of combination. "Ontological holism" sanctions some properties (constructional meaning, in our case) of a complex whole (a construction) which are not properties of its parts (e.g. the words).

Periñán-Pascual (2013: 214-215) abounds on this aspect by establishing a distinction between constructs and constructions. A construct is any form-meaning pairing which participates in the compositionality of the semantics of sentences; the minimal constructs are lexical units and ontological concepts (ibid. 214). Higher constructs also include constructions, which are understood as non-compositional constructs; i.e. their meaning is not arrived at by summing the meanings of the lexical constructs that are constituents of the corresponding expression. Given that constructs can be compositional or non-compositional, Periñán-Pascual (2013: 215) prefers to use the term "construct" restrictively for the first type and keep the term

"construction" for the second. This is defined as follows: "A construction is a pairing of form and meaning, serving as a building block in the compositionality of sentential semantics, whose meaning cannot be fully derived from the sum of the lexical meanings of the individual constructs taking part in the utterance" (Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez 2014: 172).

The separation between constructs and constructions is correlated with the source for their respective meanings: constructs obtain it from the meaning postulates of the Ontology; constructional meaning is encoded in the constructional schemata of the Grammaticon. The separation or the (apparent) lack of continuity between lexical and higher structures, and the formalization of constructional knowledge as encoded in the constructional schemata allows Periñán-Pascual (2013: 215-216) to mark a distance with Goldberg (2006) and maintain a more restrictive view, closer to Goldberg's (1995) Construction Grammar.

There are some debatable issues in this distinction:

(i) The differentiation between constructs and constructions lies heavily on the semantic aspects of both types (both to the source of their meanings and to the compositionality of their outputs), and the syntactic aspects are not so weighty.

(ii) Another interesting feature of this conception of constructions is that it presupposes that there are no constructional structures below the argumental layer, since the only relevant unit under consideration is the sentence, a fact correlated with the scope of the layers proposed in the LCM, and replicated in the 4 constructicons of FunGramKB.

(iii) The status of the so-called Kernel Constructions is dubious. Kernel constructions are those clause structures which correspond to the basic thematic grid associated to a predicate in the Core Grammar section of its lexical entry. Thus, we can distinguish the following types: Kernel-0 (zero-argument verbs), Kernel-1 (intransitive), Kernel-2 (monotransitive) and Kernel-3 (ditransitive). Figure 12 above, repeated here as 15 (Fumero-Pérez and Díaz-Galán 2017: 36) illustrates how the lexical entry for *bake*, which encodes two arguments (a theme and a referent), would help us predict that it will be by default constructed in Kernel-2 structures:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Lexical unit :* | *bake* |
| *Ontological concept:* | *+BAKE_00* |
| *Aktionsart:* | *Active Accomplishment (ACC)* |
| *Variables:* | *x, y* |
| *Macroles:* | *2, Undergoer: no value selected* |
| *Thematic frame mapping:* | *x: theme, y: referent* |
| *Constructions:* | *BenefactiveObject Construction* |
| | *ForBenefactive Construction* |
| | *InstrumentSubject Construction* |
| | *MaterialSubject Construction* |
| | *UnexpressedSecondArgument* |

Figure 15. The Core Grammar of *bake*.

According to the information encoded in the Thematic Frame mapping section of this lexical entry, a sentence like *we bake a selection of pastries and cakes*, with a theme and a referent argument, is an instantiation of a Kernel-2 construction.

Both Luzondo-Oyón and Ruiz de Mendoza (2015: 79) and Fumero-Pérez and Díaz-Galán (2017: 36) highlight the inadequacy of the term construction for these structures according to the definition by Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez (2014: 172) because of two main reasons: (i) Kernel structures are not placed in the Constructicons, but in the Lexicon, in clear contradiction with the criteria mentioned above; and (ii) they are fully compositional. In other words, the syntax and the meaning of the sentence *we bake a selection of pastries and cakes* is the result of the sum of its lexical components, crucially of the description offered in the lexical entry of the predicate *bake*. Compare it with *we baked an apricot cake for aunt Eliza* in which the additional Beneficiary participant cannot be contributed from the Thematic frame of *bake*, but we must resort to the information in the constructional schema for the Beneficiary construction in the L1-Constructicon, as in the following AVM proposed by Fumero-Pérez and Díaz-Galán (2017: 39).
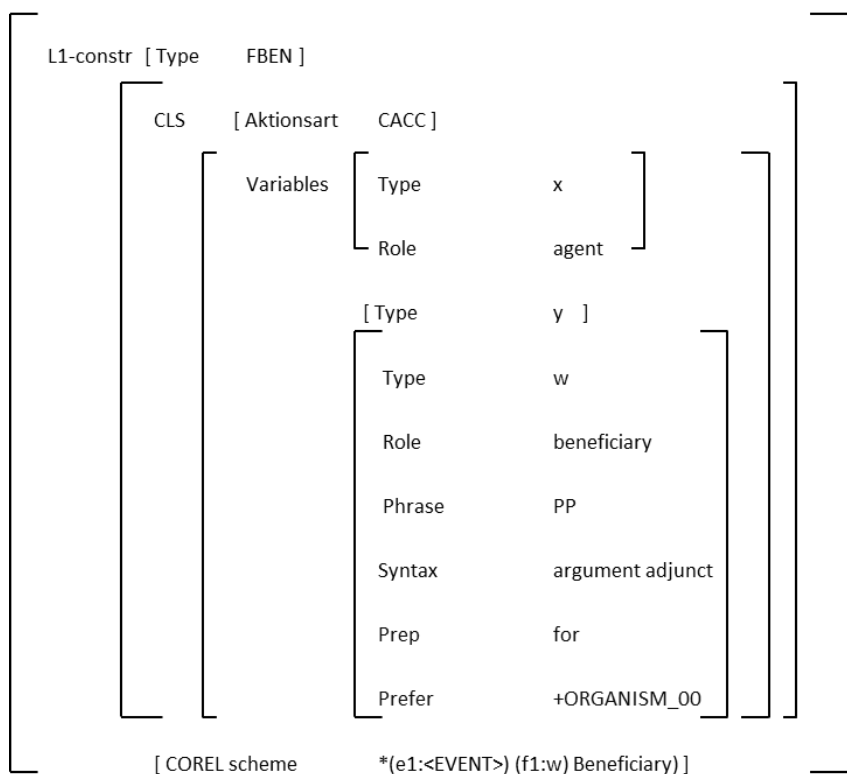


Figure 16. AVM of Beneficiary Construction.

These authors explain that the Beneficiary construction introduces a (w) argument-adjunct which is heavily constrained in its formal and conceptual features: it must be a PP headed by *for* and it has as a selection preference the concept +ORGANISM_00, which is defined in the Ontology as: "an animal, plant, human or any other living thing". This restriction will help disambiguate the beneficiary and other structures in which there is also a *for-PP* with no beneficiary status, as in *Louise baked a cake for dessert*. In this case, the sentence *we baked an apricot cake for Aunt Eliza* involves the subsumption of a Kernel-2 compositional (lexically motivated) construction into an idiomatic (constructionally motivated) Beneficiary construction. All this reasoning led Luzondo-Oyón and Ruiz de Mendoza (2015:79), also subscribed by Fumero-Pérez and Díaz-Galán (2017: 36), to propose to label Kernel structures as constructs.

However, there are other factors that make this distinction even more confusing if we introduce in the discussion the fact that in the syntactic apparatus proposed for grammatical analysis of sentences within the GDE in ARTEMIS all Kernel structures are daughters of a newly introduced universal layer, the L1-Construction node, as figure 17 illustrates (Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez 2014: 183):
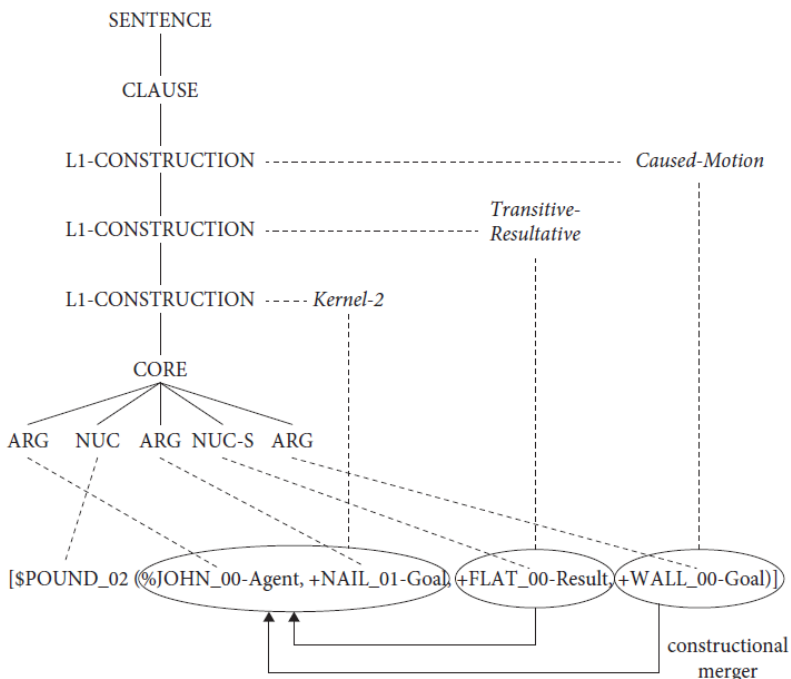


Figure 17. The enhanced LSC of *John pounded the nail flat into the goal*.

As can be seen, once the syntactic processing of constituents is brought into the scene, Kernel structures have the same status as the other two constructions involved in the configuration of this sentence, the resultative and the caused-motion. This advocates for the treatment of Kernel patterns as constructions, even though they would not fit coherently in the definition by Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez (2014: 172).

All this discussion leads to the conclusion that once syntactic conditions are brought into consideration for the parsing of sentences on a par with the semantic aspects the conception of what should be treated as a construction in ARTEMIS and in FunGramKB requires further revision. And we believe that this should be done only after the grammatical architecture supporting ARTEMIS is identified as a unification-based formal grammar which imposes specific requirements for the processing of linguistic structures, among which constructions are to be considered.

## 4. LOCATING ARTEMIS (AND FUNGRAMKB) IN THE CONSTRUCTIONIST SPACE

Despite the fact that FunGramKB is to a significant extent the computational counterpart of the LCM, especially in what respects to the design of the repositories of linguistic units (lexical and constructional) within the knowledge base, it is crucial to consider not just the source of the meaning components of a linguistic fragment, or a sentence, but the processes involved in the generation/understanding of such sentences. To be more precise, neither the Lexicon nor the Grammaticon, and not even the Ontology, which is the source for all concepts used in both repositories, are sufficient to do the business of a grammar. Let us again remember that the grammatical operations are in fact carried out by ARTEMIS, and specifically the so-called Grammar Development Environment.

Our proposal is to give the Grammar of ARTEMIS its proper status as a (formal) constructional-unificational grammar amenable to computational application. If we assume that underlying ARTEMIS there is such a grammatical model, a crucial factor affecting the discussion of what should count as a construction is the fact that its design involves many formalization and processing requirements which need not even be considered in linguistic models like the LCM or RRG. In this regard, it must be emphasized that the basic aim of ARTEMIS is processing natural language (semi)automatically, primarily for NLU and, once this is attained, probably for Natural Language Generation.[1] Such a differentiation between two different but related types of grammatical research traditions within what we may call the constructionist space has been described in Sag, Boas and Kay (2012: 1-5); thus, there is a TYP(ological) CxG community and another type of CxG that is described by these authors as members of the Formal Grammar(FG) camp.

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[1] To be more precise, the GDE is in charge of the parsing processes concerning NLU; language production would involve other procedures not contemplated in the design of the prototype so far.

Note that "Formal Grammar" does not refer here to the Chomskyan research tradition, as is usually done in the classification of linguistic models. Sag, Boas & Kay (2012: 1-5) use the term Universal Grammar (UG) for these models and consider it a third research community distinctly segregated from the constructionist sphere. Michaelis (2012: 33), following Zwicky (1994), establishes a basic difference between a construction–based approach to grammar (which can encompass both TYP CxG and FG) and one based on universal principles, as is Chomskyan UG. Construction oriented grammars follow a positive licensing strategy (ruling certain structures in) whereas UG endorses a negative suppression-based strategy –ruling certain structures out; that is, grammatical operations create a massive space of potential structures, which must be pruned by grammatical constraints (Michaelis 2012: 34). A licensing strategy, however, will view grammar in the following terms:

> The grammar of a language is a declarative set of constraints organized into a network, which mutually constrain the relationship between form and meaning. Each grammatical representation, rather than being the winner of a Darwinian competition [among rivals], is licensed by a set of constructions which cooperate to specify its properties. (Malouf 2003: 417)

This type of approach is patent in the design of ARTEMIS. A sentence like *why did the crows caw the falcon away from their nest?* results from the joint contribution of the WH-interrogative (Non-subject) subtype of Kernel-1 construction plus the Transitive Resultative Construction, leaving aside the interaction of other possible constructional structures beyond the argumental level (Level 1, according to the LCM typology of constructional layering).

With regard to TYP CxG and FG, Sag, Boas and Kay state their central differentiating features in the following terms:

> The first one is concerned with descriptive observations of individual languages, with particularly concern for idiosyncrasies and complexities. Many TYP researchers eschew formal models (or leave their development to others), while others in this community refer to the theory as 'Construction Grammar' (CxG). (2012: 1)

This community agglutinates a wide array of proposals: Langacker's (2005, 2009a, 2009b) Cognitive Grammar, Goldbergian analyses (Goldberg 1995, 2006, among others), or Croft's (2001, 2012) Radical Construction Grammar. Here the LCM should also be located.

Formal Grammar research (FG), on the other hand, has led to a mathematically grounded understanding of the relevant mathematical properties of various FG formalisms, as well as to computational implementations of significant fragments of natural languages. (Sag, Boas and Kay 2012: 2-3). Here we must locate Tree-Adjoining Grammar (Kallmeyer and Osswald 2013, Lichte and Kallmeyer 2017), Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Pollard and Sag 1987,1994; Sag, Wasow and Bender 2003) and its 'offspring' Sign-Based Construction Grammar (SBCG).

Even though Sag, Boas and Kay (2012: 2) classify Fluid Construction Grammar (Fluid CxG, Steels 2011, 2012, 2017; van Trijp 2017) as CxG, we believe that it can also be placed at least in a position closer to the FG models given its computational commitment. However, it differs from other FG proposals in adhering closely to Goldberg's view of constructions and constructional interaction. A similar view is shared by Müller, who states that "(t)here are currently three formalized variants of Construction Grammar: Sign-Based Construction Grammar, Embodied Construction Grammar, and Fluid Construction Grammar" (2016: 352-353), and considers that they are notational variants, or sister theories, of HPSG. Berkeley Construction Grammar (Fillmore and Kay 1996, Kay 2002) can be considered a bridge model between CxG and FG, since in many respects it is a predecessor of SBCG.

In fact, whereas UG tradition does not usually overlap with either CxG or FG, these last two need not be considered as separate fields. Quite on the contrary, the mathematical/computational formalization of some grammatical aspects may be seen as a further support for the theoretical assumptions and descriptions offered from the CxG literature. In fact, one of the primary goals of SBCG is to provide a formalized framework in which TYP researchers can develop their ideas (Sag, Boas and Kay 2012: 3); Similarly, Steels states the following about FCG:

> FCG does not want to commit to specific opinions about how certain grammatical phenomena need to be handled. Instead, it wants to be an open instrument that can be used by construction grammarians who want to formulate their intuitions and data in a precise way and who want to test the implications of their grammar designs for language parsing, production and learning. (2011: 3)

Though perhaps not in the same degree, most practitioners in TYP and FG communities make use of the notion of construction as central in grammatical analysis, even though their conceptions on what a construction is and how constructions participate in the grammar are not the same.

In this regard, it is convenient to emphasize again that the nature of the relation between the LCM and ARTEMIS must be understood within this frame of action. Whereas the LCM is a model of linguistic analysis which can naturally be located in the CxG spectrum, the computational commitment of ARTEMIS places it to a certain extent as an FG counterpart of the LCM and RRG, subject to the compulsory mathematical demands of a NLU prototype. As acknowledged in Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez (2014: 179); and in Mairal-Usón and Periñán-Pascual (2016: 88), unification mechanisms are central in the design of ARTEMIS. Therefore, a revision of ARTEMIS reveals an underlying conception of a grammar as a constructionist theory; the set of production rules (syntactic, constructional and lexical rules) and the description of its components in terms of AVMs transpires a hidden conception of syntax as a constraint-based system. The design of the parser is so much mediated by the formal requirements proper of an FG model added on the original design of the LCM that it can be stated that at the heart of ARTEMIS lies a unification-based grammar of the LCM. If we accept the so-called constructionist space as a common ground encompassing those proposals based on a positive licensing strategy as

described above, we believe that many of the apparently conflictive aspects on what should have count as a construction for ARTEMIS stem from not looking at the appropriate research community as a basis for comparison. A revision of the architecture of this prototype within the framework of the constructional FGs will help to establish what is to be considered as a construction and how constructions should be formally encoded in the different repositories or modules proposed. The following section provides a brief overview of the basic theoretical assumptions underlying the organization of ARTEMIS that will allow us to identify the type and nature of constructions in this prototype.

## 5. IDENTIFYING CONSTRUCTIONS IN ARTEMIS: A NEW PROPOSAL

Since the goal of ARTEMIS is to provide an accurate analysis of linguistic entities such as phrases, sentences and sentence complexes, it must include all *grammatical objects* which are necessary for an effective parsing of such linguistic entities. Grammatical objects are described as Fs in which some of its attributes are not fully saturated[2]; grammatical objects are not atomic, but bundles of features, represented in their corresponding AVMs. Thus, even simpler grammatical objects like POS (Parts of Speech) categories involve a number of features. In example (3) the AVM for the lexical category DETP (possessive determiner) is provided:

(3)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{TYPE} & \textit{possessive.determiner} \\
\text{CAT} & \text{DETP} \\
\\
\text{SELECT} & \text{CORE-RP} \\
\\
\text{OPERATORS} & \begin{bmatrix} +\text{def} = \text{d} \\ *\text{gen}= \text{f} \mid \text{m} \mid \text{ne} \\ *\text{num} = \text{s} \mid \text{pl} \\ +\text{per} = 1 \mid 2 \mid 3 \end{bmatrix} \\
\\
\text{DGHTRS} & \begin{bmatrix} \textbf{my} \mid \textbf{your} \mid \textbf{his} \mid \textbf{her} \\ \mid \textbf{its} \mid \textbf{our} \mid \textbf{their} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

---

[2] This is what distinguishes grammatical objects from linguistic entities. Linguistic entities, i.e., specific words, phrases and sentences are fully saturated Fs, since all their attributes have a specified value. Note also that the term 'object' here is used from a strict linguistic viewpoint (similarly to how it used in other unification-based grammars), and not from a computational perspective as deployed in Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez (2014).

This AVM can help us illustrate the kind of information we can provide about functional words. Thus, the TYPE attribute assigns the label of the grammatical object formalized in the AVM. CAT refers to the functional category of the grammatical object. OPERATORS is a complex attribute which encompasses further attributes encoding the morphological features inherent to this grammatical object, here: definiteness and person (marked with a + symbol as they cannot be left unsaturated), and gender and number (marked as optional with the * symbol). Note that, except for the definiteness attribute, which is already saturated by a d (definite) value, all other attributes indicate an open set of value possibilities, e.g., 1st, 2nd, and 3rd for person; sg (singular) and pl (plural) for number; f (feminine), m (masculine) and n (neuter) for gender. Finally, since this is an AVM for a type of closed-class lexical units, the daughters attribute provides the set of members which can instantiate this functional class.

Grammatical objects include *constructions (both compositional/combinatory and non-compositional/non-combinatory)* and *constructs*. Hence, even at the risk of adding terminological confusion, we propose to maintain the terms "compositional" (or "combinatory" as described by Michaelis 2013: 3, also "combinatoric" as labelled by Sag 2012: 105) and "non-compositional" ("non-combinatory/ic") constructions, irrespective of the locus for their encoding within FunGramKB. A construction would be any syntactically non-terminal unit whose semantic content is expressed by means of a (set of) ontology-driven conceptual predication(s) encoded in the COREL language used in FunGramKB. Constructs are also feature structures but do not have an ontology-based conceptual representation, as is the case of the DETP category in the example above. They are represented by AVMs devoid of any conceptual representation attribute.

Much like in SBCG (Michaelis 2013: 2), constructions can be conceived of as local trees, and they are also formally encoded as Fs of a certain type; i.e. they are *typed feature structures*. Example 4 illustrates the syntactic rule in ARTEMIS of a construction corresponding to a type of Kernel-2 (monotransitive) positive imperative CORE underlying part of the syntactic contour of sentences (i.e., maximal linguistic entities) like *Destroy the enemies of the empire*:

(4)

CORE [concept=?, emph=?, illoc=imp, mod=?, neg=?, recip=?, reflex=?, sta=?, t=?, tpl=?]-> NUC [concept=?, illoc=imp, recip=?, reflex=?, tpl=?] ARG[concept=?, macro= U, num=?, per=?, phrase=?, role=attribute | goal | instrument | location | manner | origin | referent | result | theme, tpl=?, var= y].

and figure 18 shows its equivalent Fs:
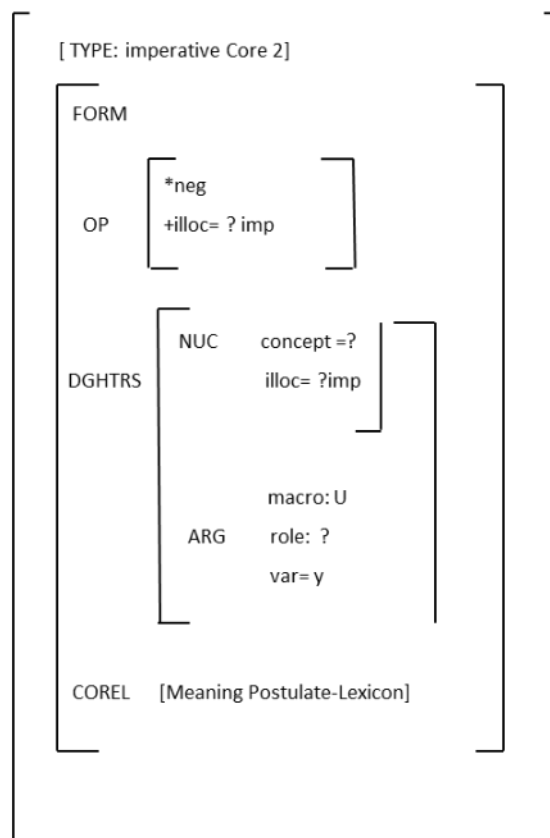
Figure 18: Feature Structure of a combinatory construction.

All possible realizations of a syntactic node in the syntactic rules module are to be understood as constructions of the type labelled by such a syntactic node (the Mother node); thus, we can describe each of our syntactic rules in ARTEMIS as a collection of typed feature structure (typed FS) or *family of constructions*. Example 5 shows just some of the types of CORE constructions as encoded in the syntactic rules within the GDE (only declarative positive kernel structures are described in this example):

(5)

KERNEL 1 (DECLARATIVE POSITIVE)

CORE [akt=?, concept=?, emph=?, illoc=dec, mod=?, neg=?, recip=?, reflex=?, sta=?, t=?, tpl=?]-> ARG[agr1=num, agr2=per, concept=?, macro=A | U | n, role=agent

| theme, tpl=?, var=x] NUC [agr1=num, agr2=per, concept=?, illoc=dec, recip=?, reflex=?, t=pres | past, tpl=?]

KERNEL 2 (DECLARATIVE POSITIVE)

CORE [akt=?, concept=?, emph=?, illoc=dec, mod=?, neg=?, recip=?, reflex=?, sta=?, t=?, tpl=?]-> ARG [agr1=num, agr2=per, concept=?, macro=A | U | n, role=agent | theme, tpl=?, var=x] NUC [agr1=num, agr2=per, concept=?, illoc=dec, recip=?, reflex=?, t=pres | past, tpl=?] ARG[concept=?, macro= A | U | n, num=?, per=?, role=attribute | goal | instrument | location | manner | origin | referent | result | theme, tpl=?, var= y].

KERNEL 3 (DECLARATIVE POSITIVE)

CORE [akt=?, concept=?, emph=?, illoc=dec, mod=?, neg=?, recip=?, reflex=?, sta=?, t=?, tpl=?]-> ARG[agr1=num, agr2=per,concept=?, macro=A | U | n, role=agent | theme, tpl=?, var=x] NUC[agr1=num, agr2=per, concept=?, illoc=?, recip=?, reflex=?, t=pres | past, tpl=?] ARG[concept=?, macro= A | U | n, num=?, per=?,   , role=attribute | goal | instrument | location | manner | origin | referent | result | theme, tpl=?, var= y | z ] ARG[concept=?, macro= A | U | n, num=?, per=?, role=attribute | goal | instrument | location | manner | origin

Compositional or combinatory constructions are obtained by means of the unification of constructions encoded in the syntactic rules component in the GDE and, consequently, do not need to be stored elsewhere in our model.

When the meaning of a given linguistic entity does not pair with the sum of the meaning of the lexical units it is made of plus the constraints encoded in the syntactic rules at play for its parsing, a non-compositional or non-combinatory construction must be invoked in the analysis. This is done by resorting to the Grammaticon in FunGramKB, which is the storehouse for the description of idiomatic constructions. In principle, this involves shifting away from TYP CxGs (including here the LCM) which encode both combinatory and non-combinatory constructions in the Grammaticon. Our Grammaticon will encode only those schemata that are necessary for an effective parsing of non-combinatory constructions. Since combinatory constructions are patterns for the assembly of linguistic entities (such as sentences and phrases) out of other basic linguistic entities (such as phrases and lexical units) again we share the view with SBCG that "a

combinatoric construction – like a rule of a Context-Free Grammar- is a static constraint that licenses a particular kind of mother-daughter configuration (i.e. a construct)" (Sag 2012: 109). Figure 19 shows the interaction of an L3-construction (Ordering type) Fs with an L1-interrogative combinatory construction to retrieve both the adequate morphosyntactic and semantic aspects relevant for this type of illocutionary constructions (Cortés-Rodríguez 2021: 101).



+(e1: +COMMAND_00 (x1)Theme (x2: (e2:obl +MOVE_00 (x2)Agent (x3)Theme (x4)Location (x5)Origin (x6)Goal (f1: (e2: +BE_02 (x3)Theme (x4:+ROOM_00)Location (f2: +IN_00)Position))Condition (f3: (e3: +BE_02 (x3)Theme (x4)Location (f4: +OUT_00)Position))Condition) (f4: *(e3: +BE_01 (x2)Theme (x7: +CURRENT_00)Attribute) +(e4: +BE_00 (x2)Theme (x8: +TIME_00)Referent) +(e4: pres +EXIST_00 (x2)Theme) Time))
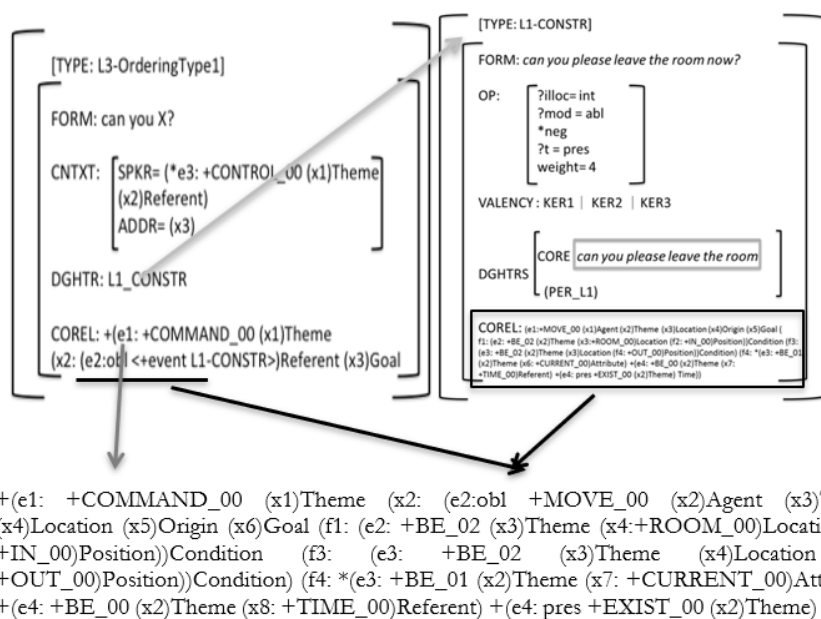
Figure 19. Interaction of AVMs.

One further difference between constructs, combinatory and non-combinatory constructions concerns the type and source of their meaning. Non-combinatory constructions have their own COREL schemata to capture the semantic contribution of the construction, as it is not retrievable by resorting solely to the lexical units that form part of a given linguistic entity. Combinatory constructions obtain their conceptual meaning from the meaning postulates of the lexical units that constitute it. In the case of the sentence *can you please leave the room now?* in figure 19, the indirect illocutionary construction (L3-Ordering type) will add the ontological concept +COMMAND_00 and its corresponding conceptual frame. The CLS of the interrogative L1-structure (introduced by the conceptual frame of the +MOVE_00 concept and constructed by the insertion of the concepts corresponding to its constituent phrases in the appropriate frame argument positions) is subsumed as the (x2) Referent argument of +COMMAND_00.

Since both COREL schemata in the constructicons and meaning postulates in lexical entries are based on the same conceptual metalanguage, we can define constructions (both combinatory and non-combinatory) as structures with ontology-based meaning. Constructs, on the other hand, lack an ontology-based meaning. For instance, a construct such as Referential Phrase Initial Position (RPIP), encoded by the rule in example 6 codifies a good number of grammatical properties (by the sum of its attributes) but it does not point to any concept in the Ontology.[3]

(6)

RPIP [cnt= ?, def= ?, dei=?, num= ?, quant=?]  —> ART [cnt=c | u, def=d | i, num=pl | sg] || DETD [cnt=c | u, def=d | i, dei=near | far, n=pl | sg] || DETNC [num=pl | sg] || DETNO [num=pl | sg] || DETP [def=d | I, num=pl | sg ] || DETQ [cnt=c | u, num=pl | sg, quant=an | ap | qa | rn | rp] || DETQ

[cnt=c | u, num=pl | sg, quant=an | ap | qa | rn | rp] ART [cnt=c | u, def=d | i, n=pl | sg] || DETQ [cnt=c | u, n=pl | sg, quant=an | ap | qa | rn | rp] DETD [cnt=c | u, def=d | i, dei=near | far, n=pl | sg]  || DETQ [cnt=c | u, n=pl | sg, quant=an | ap | qa | rn | rp] DETP [def=d | I, n=pl | sg] || MP [case=genitive]|| RP [case=?, cnt= ?, concept=?, def=?, dei=?, num=?, per=?, quant=?]

A similar position is held by Sag (2012: 87) when he states that it is not necessary for a construction to bear meaning in SBCG. All that is at issue is whether or not a given class of signs or constructs is individuated in terms of semantic information. Fillmore (1999) also defends this view *contra* Goldberg (2006) in the analysis of the so-called Subject-Auxiliary Inversion. We prefer to maintain the semantic condition in the identification of constructions and keep these typed FS with no ontologically driven meaning merely as constructs.

The realization that there is a division of labor between our syntactic rules (or Typed FS) and the Grammaticon brings ARTEMIS closer to FGs within the constructionist space. In fact, the following statement from Michaelis is completely applicable to this prototype:

> To propose a construction-based model of semantic composition like SBCG is not, however, to deny the existence of syntactically transparent composition. It is instead to treat it, in accordance with Jackendoff (1997a: 49), as a "default in a wider array of options." That is, whenever a class of expressions can be viewed as licensed by a context-free phrase structure rule accompanied by a rule composing the semantics of the mother from the semantics of the daughter, a construction-based approach would propose a construction that is functionally

---

[3] RPIP marks the definiteness of the RP; therefore, this position usually hosts articles, demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers; i.e. central determiners, which in turn can be modified by partitive determiners like *both, half (a), what (a),* etc.

equivalent to such a rule-to-rule pair. But the constructional approach also enables us to represent linguistic structures in which the semantics of the mother does not follow entirely from the semantics of the daughters, as in the case of idiomatic expressions like *throw in the towel*. (2013: 4)

As can be deduced, even though our proposal differs significantly from previous contributions to define constructions (and constructs) in ARTEMIS, it gives the prototype a new more adequate dimension as a computational application of a unification-based constructional grammar, and not simply as an extension of a model of meaning construction as are the LCM and even FunGramKB. The requirements of a grammatical model of this kind bring to the fore the relevance of constructions as units which must have not only certain semantic properties but also clearly defined morphosyntactic constraints, or Features.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has sought to tackle anew the definition of constructional structures within the ARTEMIS parser as previous proposals do not seem to do justice to the status of these linguistic units. The rationale of our opinion lies in the fact that ARTEMIS has been considered primarily as a device to obtain the semantic representation of language fragments by carrying out interfacing operations with the knowledge base FunGramKB. From the development of the rules for the GDE component of the prototype, it followed, however, that the parser is also the computational implementation of a unification-based grammar, which brings it closer to other formalized proposals within what we have labelled the constructionist space. This conception of ARTEMIS as a mathematically based constructional model involves redefining the status of the syntactic rules in the GDE as (families of) constructions. Consequently, constructional units are bundles of features, both morphosyntactic and semantic, and the nature of their interaction in unification processes with other structures will help distinguish between combinatorial (semantically and syntactically rule-governed) and non-combinatorial (semantically-only governed) constructions. Constructs are also redefined as pure grammatical units necessary for the analysis of a linguistic object (sentences, clauses or words), but not contributing to the meaning of a language fragment with any conceptually driven structure.

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# THE SEMANTIC MAP OF *AKTIONSART* AND LEXICAL ENTAILMENT OF OLD ENGLISH STRONG VERBS

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ABSTRACT. The aim of this article is to analyse the semantic relations that hold between Old English primitive and derived verbs in terms of lexical entailment and *Aktionsart*. The results of this analysis are presented in a semantic map, while emphasis is made on the points of contact between these phenomena. The main conclusion is that semantic maps represent a more flexible and applicable methodology than previous work suggests since they have been used to deal with one language, to explain historical languages and to refer to specific lexical items. Likewise, this analysis shows evidence of an inherent relationship between both phenomena: lexical entailment and *Aktionsart*.

*Keywords*: Old English, semantic map, *Aktionsart*, lexical entailment, lexical paradigm, verb.

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LUISA FIDALGO ALLO

# MAPA SEMÁNTICO DEL *AKTIONSART* Y LA IMPLICACIÓN LÉXICA DE LOS VERBOS FUERTES DEL INGLÉS ANTIGUO

*RESUMEN*. El propósito de este artículo es analizar las relaciones semánticas que se establecen entre el primitivo del inglés antiguo y sus derivados en términos de vinculación semántica y *Aktionsart*. Los resultados de este análisis se presentan en un mapa semántico en el que se enfatizan los puntos de contacto entre ambos fenómenos. La conclusión principal es que los mapas semánticos representan una metodología más flexible y aplicable de lo que trabajos previos sugieren, ya que han sido empleados para tratar con un único idioma, para explicar idiomas históricos y para hacer referencia a términos léxicos concretos. Del mismo modo, el análisis demuestra una relación inherente entre ambos fenómenos: implicación léxica y *Aktionsart*.

*Palabras clave:* inglés antiguo, mapa semántico, *Aktionsart*, implicación léxica, paradigma léxico, verbo.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This article deals with the semantics of the Old English verb. It aims at analysing the semantic relations that hold between primitive and derived verbs in terms of lexical entailment and *Aktionsart*. Fellbaum (1990: 283) describes verbal lexical entailment as "the relation between two verbs $V_1$ and $V_2$ that holds when the sentence Someone $V_1$ logically entails the sentence Someone $V_2$". In this regard, the study explores these relations according to the taxonomy of the On-line Lexical Database WordNet (Miller, G.A, Beckwith, Fellbaum, Gross and Miller, K. 1993). In consequence; troponymy, -troponymy, backward presupposition and cause are considered. Nevertheless, since the relations of synonymy and opposition are also salient in the Old English paradigms, these are also included into the analysis. Concerning the *Aktionsart* or internal aspect, it shows the inherent temporal properties of the verb, and combines its pure semantics and associations in the syntax of the sentence. Regarding the typology of Aktionsart, this work follows Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) and Van Valin (2014). The focus of the research is on verbs derived from verbs, so that the derivatives from all the 328 Old English lexical paradigms based on strong verbs are analysed. The results are presented in a semantic map, while, throughout the analysis, emphasis is made on the points of convergence between lexical entailment and *Aktionsart*.

A review of the available bibliography of Old English semantics turns out three main types of works. In the first place, a significant number of publications deal with specific areas of the vocabulary of the language, such as plants (Sauer and Kubaschewski 2018). Secondly, some works present and organise certain semantic fields of the language like the semantic field of theft (Schwyter 1996). Thirdly, some studies engage in the syntax and semantics of verbal classes, such as verbs of motion

(Ogura 2002), verbs of tasting (Ogura 2008), verbs of inaction (Ojanguren López fc.-a), End verbs (Ojanguren López fc.-b), and verbs of rejoice (Martín Arista 2020a, 2020b).

A limited number of works have hitherto engaged in the semantic of Old English. Moreover, the category of the verb as such as well as the organisation of the verbal category have not been a priority of the linguistic research of Old English. While it is clear that the semantics of the Old English verb in general requires more attention, it is not obvious what the starting point of a study in Old English verbal semantics should be. In this respect, it is necessary to look at the border between grammar and semantics so as to describe the state of the art of scholarly research in this area more clearly and to define the aims of this research with respect to the state of the art in the field.

The article is organised as follows. After a review of previous literature on the semantics of Old English (Section 2) and semantic maps (Section 3), the methodology of this research is described in Sections 4 and 5. The results of the analysis are presented in Section 6. The semantic map based on this analysis is given in Section 7. To finish up, Section 8 summarises the main conclusions of this article.

## 2. REVIEW

Kastovsky (1992a) pointed out that an exhaustive study of the Old English lexicon in general and word-formation in particular was still pending and acknowledged the difficulty of carrying out such a study. After all, the data combine synchronic and diachronic facts (the outcome of word-formation processes remain for a long time in the lexicon even though the word-formation that created them is no longer operative). The study of Old English morphology and semantics carried out by Kastovsky (1992b) has been continued in four directions: morphological analysis (García García 2019); the semantic analysis of semantic primes (Mateo Mendaza 2013, 2016); the analysis of lexical functions (Vea Escarza 2016, 2018); and paradigmatic morphology (Martín Arista 2013, 2017, 2018, 2019; Novo Urraca 2015, 2016a, 2016b).

Both the analysis of lexical functions proposed by Vea Escarza (2016, 2018) and the study in paradigmatic morphology conducted by the authors cited above are based on the model of morphology adopted in the work by Trips (2009), which gathers together all the derivatives that share a lexeme and accounts for the relations that hold in the lexical paradigm by means of rules and operations. For example, the lexical paradigm of the adjective *glēaw* 'penetrating' (Novo Urraca 2015: 61) includes nouns such as *gereordglēawnes* 'skill in singing', adjectives like *ǣglēaw* 'learned in the law', as well as adverbs such as *foreglēawlīce* 'providently, prudently'. Such a set of lexical items or lemmas is called a "derivational paradigm" and its base of derivation is the "primary adjective".

The analysis of the derivation within the paradigm is gradual (Martín Arista 2011, 2012a, 2012b). This means that a maximum of one affix is attached by a given

process. For instance, the noun *unglēawscipe* 'folly' is the result of the stepwise attachment of the prefix un- and the suffix -scipe. Therefore, whereas some derivatives like *glēaw > glēawlīce* can be directly related to the base of derivation, thus representing instances of non-recursive derivation, others, like *unglēawscipe* 'folly', call for intermediate derivational steps from the base of derivation of the paradigm and involve recursive derivation (Novo Urraca 2015: 62). The analysis of derivation within the paradigm is also panchronic (Martín Arista 2012b). The term panchronic must be understood as the inclusion into the paradigm not only of the processes that are formally transparent on the synchronic axis but also of the processes that are no longer transparent on the synchronic axis and have to be explained with reference to the diachronic axis. For example, the noun *byrst* 'loss, calamity, injury, damage, defect', the verb *tōberstan* 'to burst apart' and the adjective *byrstig* 'broken, rugged' belong to the derivational paradigm of the strong verb *berstan* 'to break, burst, fail, fall; escape; break to pieces', although the formation of the strong verb is formally transparent, the noun and the adjective are opaquer from the point of view of lexical derivation.

## 3. SEMANTIC MAPS IN LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

According to Levshina (2015) "a semantic map is a graphical representation of functions of linguistic constructions, unto which linguistic forms from one or different languages can be mapped". For de Haan (2004) semantic maps are used to avoid terminological multiplication and for a better representation of linguistic data. Since the first work on semantic maps (Anderson 1982, 1986), no agreement has been reached on the architecture of this kind of graphical representation. In de Haan's (2004) words, semantic maps help linguists "to come to grips with the complex interactions of semantic meanings in the world's languages and constitute a representation that is the sum total of the semantic possibilities of the category under investigation". Before going into the details of the model, the foundations of semantic maps can be found in the studies by Croft (2003) and Haspelmath (2003). The basic idea is that similarity is expressed by closeness in representational space. Closeness is also represented by means of a straight connecting line. The simplest semantic maps are monodimensional, but bidimensional semantic maps are also used. In general, the length of the connecting lines is not significant, nor the spatial orientation. Semantic maps comprise categories and relations. The semantic map of the instrumental and related functions proposed by Haspelmath (2003: 229) illustrates what has just been said.
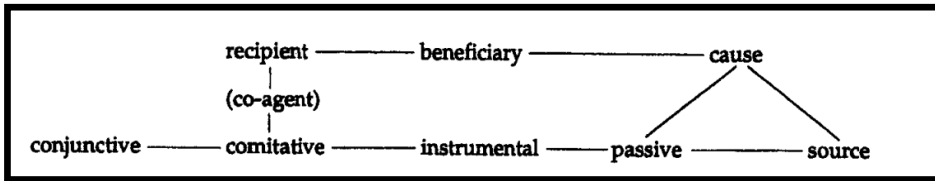
Figure 1 The semantic map of the instrumental and related functions (Haspelmath 2003: 229).

Haspelmath (2003) finds several advantages of the semantic map model. Semantic maps ensure cross-linguistic comparison, describe grammatical meanings in a very concrete way, do not presuppose that the correct semantic analysis has been found, avoid homonymy claims, do not require the identification of a prototype and, above all, "not only provide an easy way to formulating and visualizing differences and similarities between individual languages, but they can also be seen as a powerful tool of discovering universal semantic structures" (Haspelmath 2003: 232).

Although hybrid approaches occur, there are two fundamental classes of semantic maps (Levshina 2015). Firstly, a 'classical map' (van der Auwera 2013), 'first generation map' (Sansò 2009), or 'connectivity map' (van der Auwera 2013) is a semantic map that consists of a network of nodes connected between links. These nodes denote the functions and serve as points of cross-linguistic comparison among words, constructions or grammatical categories. To draw a classical semantic map, functions are identified and presented as nodes. Then, a spatial outline is configured in such a way that Croft's (2001) Semantic Map Connectivity Hypothesis is satisfied. This hypothesis is also known as the Adjacency or Contiguity Principle and stipulates that if two functions are conveyed by one form in one or more languages, the consequent nodes must be connected. Figure 2 (from Haspelmath 2003) illustrates the concept of connectivity map.
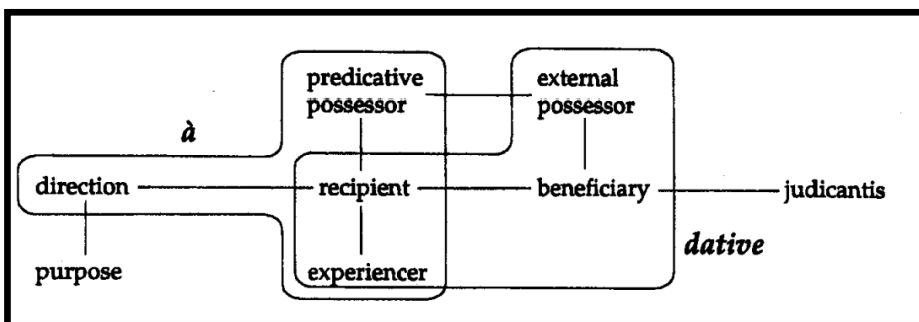


Figure 2. A map of dative functions from Haspelmath (2003: 219).

As Levshina (2015) remarks, most classical semantic maps are usually non-hierarchical because they do not display hyponymy relations. There are exceptions, like the semantic map of causation shown in Figure 3.
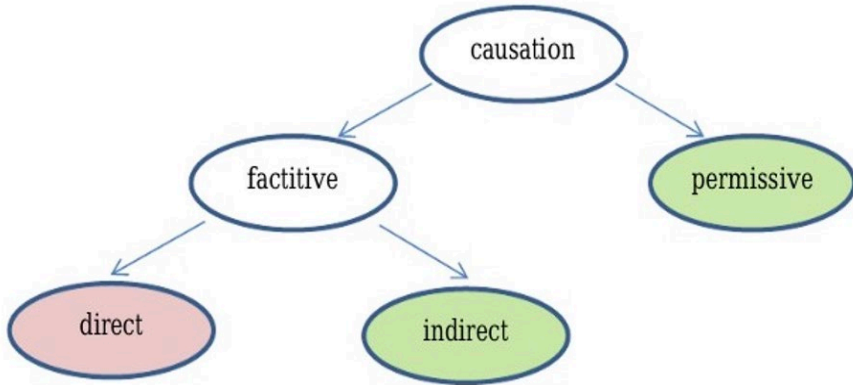


Figure 3. A hierarchical sematic map of causation (from Levshina).

Barðdal (2007) draws on Croft (2001) and Haspelmath (2003) for the idea that items with the same grammatical behaviour are adjacent to each other in conceptual space and items with different behaviour are distant from each other. Since Barðdal (2007) discusses the ditransitive construction and all the items share the same grammatical behaviour, they cannot be arranged on the basis of this criterion. Barðdal (2007) arranges the lexical items according to the semantic similarities found across these items, as can be seen in Figure 4.



Figure 4. The semantic map of the ditransitive dative-accusative construction in Icelandic (from Barðdal 2007: 14).

François (2008) also draws lexical semantic maps in order to represent polysemy, so that the diagram shows all the attested meanings as well as the most likely connections between them. This is shown in Figure 5:
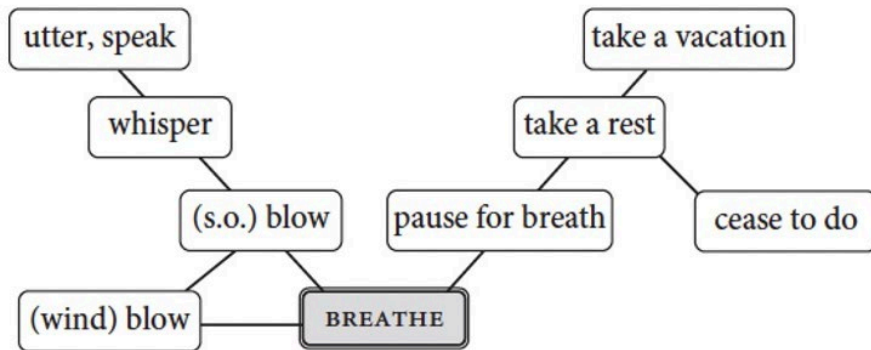


Figure 5. A semantic map for BREATHE (François 2008: 185).

Gaume, Duvignau and Vanhove (2008) incorporate graph theory to the methodology of the semantic maps. Graphs are mathematical structures that represent relations between objects. A graph consists of nodes (vertices or points) which are connected by edges (arcs or lines). Graphs may be undirected, if there is no difference made by the direction of the edge, or directed, when the direction of the edge draws a difference between the two nodes. A graph may be binary, if a maximum of two edges stem from a node, or non-binary, if more than two edges can stem from a node. In Gaume, Duvignau and Vanhove (2008), the vertices represent the lexical units of a language and the edges depend on the different relations, which fall under three types: syntagmatic relations of cooccurrence (an edge is created between two words if they are found near each other in a large corpus); paradigmatic relations, notably synonymy, as in WordNet (a graph is drawn in which two vertices are linked by an edge if there is synonymy between the two words); and semantic proximity relations, which may apply both on the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic axis (an edge is created between two words when one is found in the definition of the other in a dictionary). For instance, Figure 6 shows the graph for the French verb ÉCORCER 'to bark'.
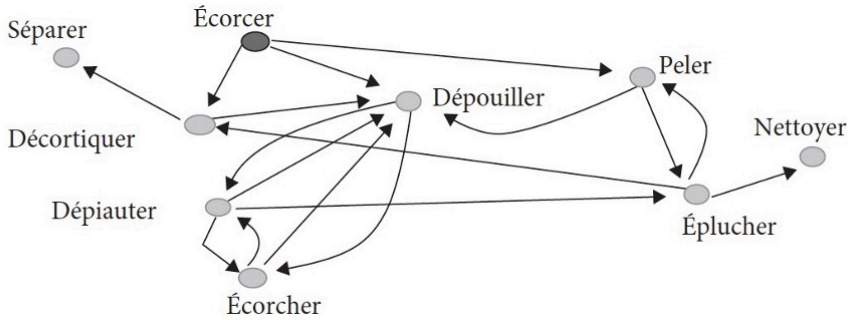
Figure 6. The graph for the verb ÉCORCER 'to bark' (Gaume, Duvignau and Vanhove 2008: 241).

Of the two main types of semantic maps mentioned above, all the types discussed so far belong to the first type, the classical semantic map. As for the 'proximity map' (van der Auwera 2013) or 'second generation map' (Sansò 2009), it is a map that shows data points, especially instances from an experimental stimulus or a corpus and denotes a specific situation. The distance or proximity between the data points represents the different relationships. These maps are also known as probabilistic or statistical semantic maps and are generated at the hand of multivariate statistical methods. An illustration of this type of map is provided in Figure 7.
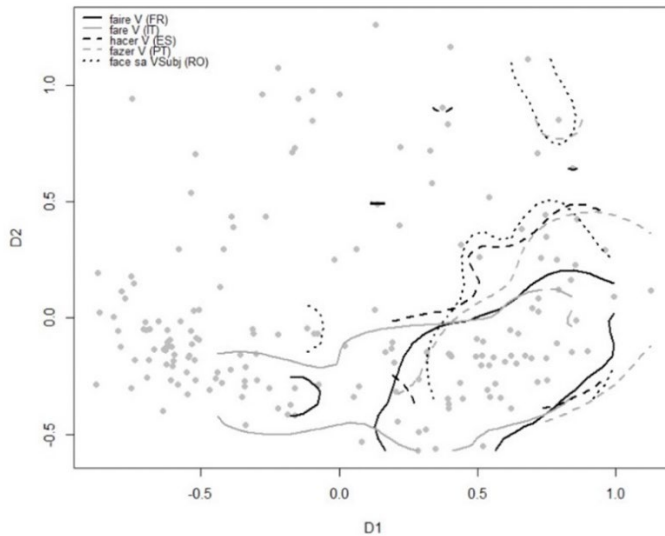


Figure 7. A probabilistic semantic map of analytic causatives in Romance (Levshina 2015).

To finish up this review of semantic maps, it must be noted that different views have been held as regards the relationship between semantic maps and cognitive-semantic analyses. In Croft's (2001: 287) words, "semantic maps depict the geography of the human mind, which can be read in the facts of the world's languages in a way that the most advanced brain scanning techniques cannot ever offer us". Croft (2001) argues that semantic maps depict the universal conceptual space that belongs to the speakers' mental representation. In this line, Haspelmath (2003: 233) holds that semantic maps "can indeed be taken as a direct representation of the relationships between meanings in the speakers' mind". However, other linguists, such as Cristofaro (2010), claim that instead of individual knowledge at the synchronic level, semantic maps represent diachronic evolution.

## 4. METHODOLOGY

328 lexical paradigms of Old English strong verbs have been analysed. This amounts to a total of 1,509 verbs (328 lexical primes and 1,181 derived verbs). The data of analysis have been retrieved from the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* (Martín Arista, García Fernández, Lacalle Palacios, Ojanguren López and Ruiz Narbona 2016) and represent all strong verb primes and about 1/5 of the verbal lexicon. The remaining 4/5 of the verbs in the lexicon of Old English are not morphologically related to the paradigms under analysis and have been disregarded. In practice, most of the verbs selected for the analysis are strong verbs derived from other strong verbs, such as *bedrīfan* 'to beat', *eftādrīfan* 'to reject', *eftfordrīfan* 'to drive away', which belong to the derivational paradigm of *drīfan* 'to drive'. The reason why there are more strong than weak verbs is that weak verbs are derived from nouns (as in *cuss* 'kiss' > *cyssan* 'to kiss') and adjectives (*eald* 'old' > *ieldan* 'to delay') and, therefore, they belong in the lexical paradigms of these categories.

In this study, as in WordNet, the analysis is organised by means of synsets, or unordered sets of cognitive synonyms (Cruse 1986), which work as building blocks and that, by means of conceptual-semantic relations, allow us to build a network hierarchy where the semantic and syntactic characteristics of each verbal paradigm are explicit and presented visually in a principled way. Nevertheless, unlike WordNet, this work focuses on verbal paradigms. Therefore, this investigation concentrates on verbs and conceptual relations link words belonging to this part of speech. Synsets are associated via the conceptual relationships of synonymy, antonymy or opposition, troponymy, -troponymy, backward presupposition and cause (Miller G.A, Beckwith, Fellbaum, Gross and Miller K. 1993).

In this sense, troponymy represents a particular lexical entailment in which a troponym $V_1$ of a more general verb $V_2$ represents a particular manner of $V_2$ as in the pair *walk* ($V_1$) - *move* ($V_2$). Whereas troponymy relates pairs which are temporally co-extensive, -troponymy connects pairs that show proper temporal inclusion such as *dream - sleep*. In respect of backward presupposition, it associates pairs in which a verb $V_1$ is a previous requirement of another verb $V_2$ as in the pair *paticipate* ($V_1$) - *win* ($V_2$). Finally, in a causal relation a causative verb $V_1$ entails a

verb $V_2$ in which the subject is necessarily an object of $V_1$ as in the pair *give* ($V_1$) - *have* ($V_2$) (Fellbaum 1990). The four lexical entailment relations distinguished are shown in figure 8.
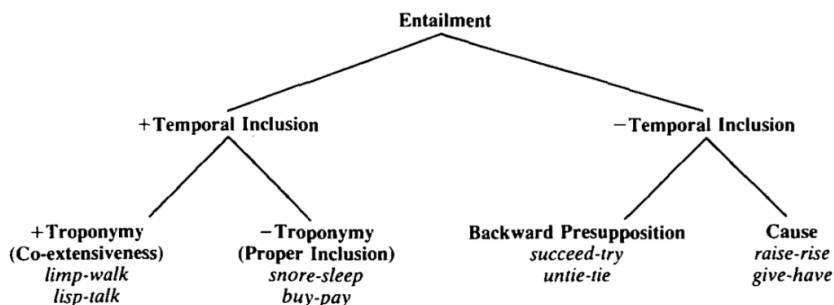


Figure 8. Four kinds of entailment relations among verbs (Fellbaum: 33).

With respect to the specific principles governing the application of *Aktionsart* to this analytical framework, each synset displays a predicative mode according to the typology of *Aktionsart* types of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2014). The application of the *Aktionsart* types of Role and Reference Grammar to this analysis can be described as follows.

As regards the spontaneous classes, the class of states is defined by the features [+static], [-dynamic], [-telic], [-punctual]. Representative examples include states or conditions such as *be broken, be shattered, be dead, be dirty, be angry* and *be afraid;* existence verbs such as *exist, be* and *live;* pure location verbs like *be at home, be under the table* and *be in the box;* perception verbs such as *see, hear, smell* and *taste;* cognition verbs like *know, believe* and *ignore;* desire verbs like *want, desire, wish* and *need;* propositional attitude verbs such as *consider, estimate* and *hold an opinion;* possession verbs like *have, own* and *possess;* internal experience verbs like *feel, sense* and *fear;* emotion verbs like *love, hate, dislike* and *envy;* attributive and identificational expressions like *be short, be tall, be fat, be a policeman* and *be a doctor;* and specificational and equational verbs and expressions like *be the president* and *equate.*

The class of activities is defined by the features [-static], [+dynamic], [-telic], [-punctal]. Some examples of this category include motion verbs such as *walk, march, run* and *orbite;* verbs for static motion such as *spin, shiver* and *shake;* light and sound emission verbs like *shine, cry* and *squeak;* performance verbs such as *sing, dance, swim* and *bounce a ball;* consumption verbs such as *eat, drink* and *partake;* creation verbs like *write, paint,* c*ompose, cook, knit* and *sew;* directed perception verbs like *hear* (intentionally), *watch, listen to* and *look at;* use verbs like *use, employ* and *enjoy;* and the verb *do* denoting the unspecified action. Furthermore, the verbs of saying such as *speak say, talk, discuss* are considered an important activity verb subclass.

Because of the analogy with the verbs of saying, verbs denoting the sounds emitted by animals, such as *meow*, *roar* and *crow* are also considered activities. Verbs representing bodily noises such as *cough* and *sneeze* are also considered activities.

The class of achievements represents punctual changes of state or onsets of activity with the following features: [-static], [-dynamic], [+telic], [+punctual]. Some examples of achievements include *pop*, *explode*, *shatter* and *burst* (intransitive versions). On its side, the class of accomplishments comprises non-punctual changes of state or onsets of activity with the following features: [-static], [-dynamic], [+telic], [-punctual]. Nevertheless, the distinction between achievements and accomplishment is not perfectly clear-cut. Whereas certain verbs are always punctual or always durative, many verbs encode state of affairs that may be almost instantaneous but need not to be. Some other verbs are even neutral as this feature is concerned and the classification under achievement or accomplishment may be dependent on the context of the verb. Some examples of accomplishment include *melt*, *freeze*, *dry*, *recover*, *break*, *open*, *close, redden* (intransitive versions), *get sick*, *get cold*, *learn*, *master*, *die*, *arrive* and *begin*.

The class of semelfactives depicts non-static, punctual events which often imply repetition, are not temporally bounded and do not present a result state. The following features characterise them: [-static], [+ -dynamic], [-telic], [+punctual]. Some examples of semelfactive verbs include *flash*, *tap*, *clap*, *glimpse* and *catch sight*.

The class of active accomplishments describes accomplishment uses of activity verbs. They comprise an activity predicate of motion, consumption or creation plus a change of state, which turns it telic. In this manner, the terminal point is reached when the distance is covered, or the entity is created or consumed. The features presented by this class are: [-static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [-punctual]. Most active accomplishments are activities to which a goal is added, a path or distance is covered, an entity is created or some specific quantity of something is consumed. Some examples include *run to the park*, *walk to the shore*, *paint a picture*, *write a poem*, *eat a sandwich* or *drink a glass of beer*. However, some verbs are lexically active accomplishments in their own such as *go*, *come* and *devour*.

All things considered, the six spontaneous *Aktionsart* classes described are summarised in figure 9.

1. State: [+static], [-dynamic], [-telic], [-punctual]

2. Activity: [-static], [+dynamic], [-telic], [-punctual]

3. Achievement: [-static], [-dynamic], [+telic], [+punctual]

4. Semelfactive: [-static], [+ -dynamic], [-telic], [+punctual]

5. Accomplishment: [-static], [-dynamic], [+telic], [-punctual]

6. Active accomplishment: [-static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [-punctual]

Figure 9. *Aktionsart* typology of spontaneous classes (Van Valin 2005: 33).

Despite the richness and applicability of the *Aktionsart* classes of Role and Reference Grammar, some of the verbs under analysis do not correspond to any of the classes presented above. The reason may be that the amount and diversity of verbs under analysis raise more questions than *ad hoc* examples. To fill this gap, a new *Aktionsart* class is proposed, namely the class of unbounded processes. The class of unbounded processes is defined by the features [-static], [-dynamic], [-telic], [- punctual]. Verbs such as *grow*, *flourish*, *diminish*, *decrease*, *increase*, *swell*, *deteriorate*, *whither* and *pine* (all intransitive) exhibit processes of change which are not delimited by a discrete beginning or end, in such a way that the process goes on for a very long time or indefinitely (trees can grow for hundreds of years, civilisations flourish for centuries, rocks get eroded throughout millennia, etc.). The verbs classified under this category are similar to accomplishments in that they represent non-punctual processes; nevertheless, this category includes the feature [- telic].

As noted in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), causative classes present causative paraphrases displaying the same number of NPs as the original sentence, as in *The passing of time causes the cathedral to deteriorate* (causative unbounded process, like *The passing of time deteriorates the cathedral*) and *The sergeant caused the soldiers to march to the park* (causative active accomplishment, like *The sergeant marched the soldiers to the park*).

Special attention is given in this analysis to causative accomplishments. This class shows a specific result state that involves a process prior to attaining the result state. Some examples are *tell, show*, *give, donate*, *close* (transitive), *break* (transitive), *murder* and *kill*. In general, this analysis follows Van Valin (2014) as regards the characteristics of every class in the taxonomy. Nevertheless, there is an important point of disagreement regarding the nature of the causative states and causative accomplishments. In Van Valin (2014), as in previous works by this author, causative states include examples such as *scare*, *frighten* or *upset*. Nevertheless, all these causative verbs involve a process in the subject affected by these emotions that has been disregarded until now. The point is that if someone or something upsets a person, this person undergoes an inner process prior to the change of state, the process of becoming upset. Therefore, since accomplishments involve processes which give way to a new state, these verbs must be considered as causative accomplishments and not as mere causative states.

## 5. DRAWING THE SEMANTIC MAP OF INDIVIDUAL PARADIGMS

The main methodological decision made with respect to the semantic map has to do with the steps of the analysis. In the first step, the analytical model is applied to each of the lexical paradigms of Old English strong verbs. In the second step, a generalisation is made concerning troponymy and Aktionsart in the 328 lexical paradigms under analysis, in such a way that a semantic map is drawn for these phenomena.

Before drawing the semantic maps of individual paradigms, it is necessary to explain the differences between the mainstream methodology of semantic maps and the way in which this type of visual representation is used in this work.

Normally, as de Haan (2004) explains, in the methodology of semantic maps, an exponent of a linguistic category in a given language is compared to the same category in other languages. However, in this study, the semantic map model is applied to the analysis of one language.

Likewise, although they can also predict change on the diachronic axis, semantic maps have been mainly used to represent linguistic phenomena on the synchronic axis. In the same manner, they have been applied to living languages more often than to historical languages (de Haan 2004).

A further difference between this application of the semantic map and other works is that semantic maps frequently display categories rather than tokens of the categories in question and relations. In this investigation, the semantic map of troponymy and *Aktionsart* is a generalisation of the semantic maps of all the lexical paradigms based on strong verbs, in such a way that the maps of individual paradigms present tokens and relations and the semantic map of troponymy and *Aktionsart* comprises categories and relations between these categories.

Finally, as Levshina (2015) remarks, most classical semantic maps are usually non-hierarchical because they do not display hyponymy relations. The map that is aimed in this study is hierarchical from two perspectives: from the point of view of troponymy, more general meanings are more central in the representation than less general meanings; from the point of view of *Aktionsart*, basic *Aktionsart* types are more central in the representation than derived *Aktionsart* types. In this sense, this approach goes, to a certain extent, in the line of Barðdal (2007), who deals with items that share the same grammatical behaviour and arranges them according to their semantic similarities. This approach follows François (2008) more closely, because this author draws lexical semantic maps with the connections between the attested meanings. In this analysis, the study of such connections is restricted to troponymy and *Aktionsart*. Therefore, of the three types of relations that hold in a lexical network according to Gaume, Duvignau and Vanhove (2008), syntagmatic relations of coocurrence, paradigmatic relations, notably synonymy, and semantic proximity relations, this analysis focuses above all on the third type, since if verbal troponymy holds between two verbs, one should expect that one verb is found in the definition of the other.

The first step of the analysis requires the identification of the lexical paradigms and the selection of the verbs within such paradigms. A total of 328 lexical paradigms of strong verbs have been retrieved from the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* (Martín Arista, García Fernández, Lacalle Palacios, Ojanguren López and Ruiz Narbona 2016). It has been necessary to revise and update some paradigms as well as to check all the meanings provided by *Nerthus*. This task has been accomplished with the help of the revised meaning definitions of the Old English lexicon provided

by Martín Arista and Mateo Mendaza (2013) and the studies in homonymy by Vea Escarza and Tío Sáenz (2014) and Tío Sáenz and Vea Escarza (2015).

As in the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus*, numbered predicates are used to indicate different morphological classes, or different variants, for predicates otherwise equal. For instance, *ābūtan* 1 'on, about, around, on the outside, round about' is an adposition and *ābūtan* 2 'about, nearly', an adverb.

This said, the lexical paradigm BELGAN, for example, consists of the primitive verb (strong, class IIIb) itself, *(ge)belgan* 'to be or become angry; to provoke, offend, irritate, anger, make angry, incense' and its derivatives. The primitive thus defined subsumes the underived *belgan* as well as the derived *gebelgan*, between which it is difficult to draw a distinction as to their meanings, so that dictionaries often include both the derived and the underived within the same headword entry. This paradigm includes the masculine nouns *ǣbylga* 'anger', *gebelg* 'anger, offence; arrogance' and *ǣbylgð* 'indignation, anger, wrath; offence, wrong, fault, injury, scandal'; the feminine nouns *ābolgennes* 'irritation, exasperation', *ǣbylgnes* 'anger, offence, indignation, wrath, scandal' and *belgnes* 'injustice, injury'; as well as the neuter noun *ǣbylg* 'anger'. Once the nouns (and the members of other non-verbal classes in other lexical paradigms) have been put aside, the data of analysis for the lexical paradigm of BELGAN comprise, along with the primitive verb, the derived strong verbs *ābelgan* 1 'to anger, make angry, irritate; to incense; to offend, vex, distress, hurt; to be angry with' and *forbelgan* 'to get angry; to be enraged'; and the derived weak verbs *ābilgian* 'to offend, make angry, exasperate' *gebylgan* 'to provoke, anger, make angry; to cause to swell' and *ābylgan* 'to irritate, provoke, offend, anger, vex'.

Then, the lexical paradigms of the Old English strong verb primitives are represented in semantic maps, or independent diagrams in the form of semantic-syntactic networks. In the semantic map of each paradigm, meanings have been assembled into synsets, unordered sets of cognitive synonyms. The primitive is placed in the centre of the diagram, and the synsets resulting from the different meanings of the primitive verb have been associated to it by means of a simple line. Next, the synsets obtained from the meanings of the derivatives have been connected to the synsets of the primitive and among them by means of the six conceptual- semantic relations of synonymy, opposition, troponymy, -troponymy, backward presupposition and cause. The semantic map of the lexical paradigm of BELGAN has the form shown in Figure 10.
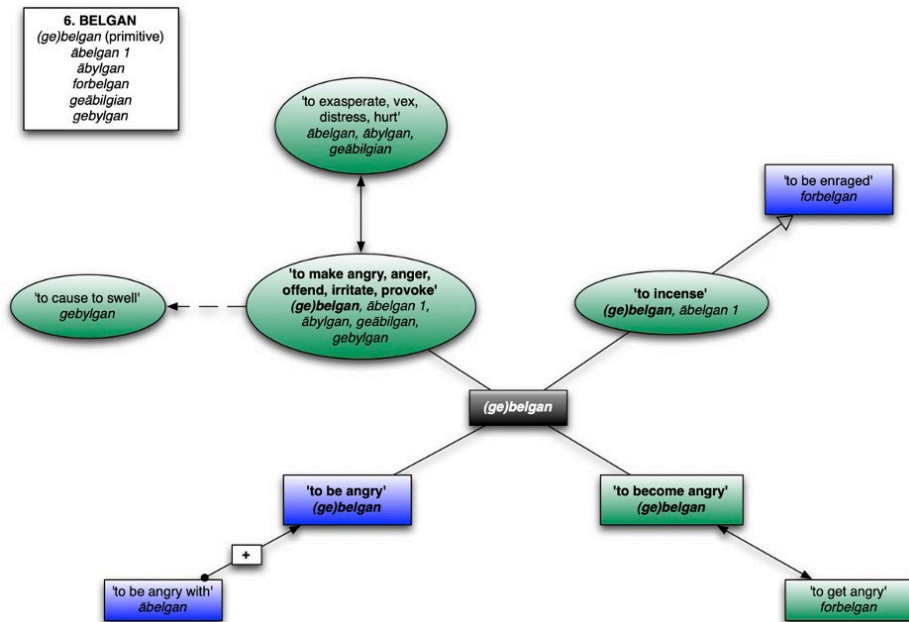
Figure 10. The semantic map of the lexical paradigm of BELGAN.

As can be seen in Figure 10, the different meanings of the primitive are represented in bold typeface. Then, the synsets derived from the meanings of the derivatives of *(ge)belgan* are connected with the synsets of the primitive via the corresponding conceptual-semantic relation. Together with the Present-Day English meaning, each synset shows the Old English verb or verbs of the Old English paradigm that convey those meanings. The Old English verbs are written in italics. If it is the case that any of the derivatives of the primitive also includes one or more of the meanings of the primitive verb, the Old English derivative is incorporated into the corresponding synset or synsets of the primitive. In this example, *ābelgan 1, ābylgan, geābilgan* and *gebylgan,* among their meanings, include 'to make angry, anger, offend, irritate' and 'provoke' and therefore belong in this synset. Similarly, the Old English derivative *ābelgan* 1 presents the meaning 'to incense' and this is the reason why it is included into this synset of the primitive *(ge)belgan*.

The synsets of the primitive draw on the translation of the predicates provided by *Nerthus*. If it is the case that a derivative conveys a meaning that is synonymous to one of the primitive synsets, this is not included into the synset of the primitive but related to it via the conceptual-semantic relation of synonymy. This can be illustrated by means of the synsets 'to become angry' (belonging to the primitive) and 'to get angry' (belonging to one of the derivatives) in the example above.

In the semantic map, the direction of the arrow marks the direction of the entailment, while the various conceptual relations are depicted by means of different types of figures, lines and arrows in the following way.

As synonymy is symmetrical, it is represented by a double headed arrow, as can be seen in Figure 11.

Figure 11. The representation of synonymy in the semantic map.

It is sometimes the case that although the relationship established is one of synonymy, some meaning specification is conveyed by one of the synsets. Then, the basic synset is understood as the origin and, consequently, the arrow goes in this direction. Furthermore, a symbol '+' stands for the meaning specification, which is usually marked by a preposition, an object, a circumstance or a force. This is illustrated in Figure 12.
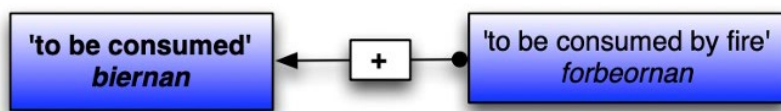
Figure 12. The representation of meaning specifications in the semantic map.

As is the case with synonymy, opposition is symmetrical or mutually entailing. It is represented as can be seen in Figure 13.

Figure 13. The representation of opposition in the semantic map.

As in synonymy, one of the opposite synsets can add a meaning specification. It is also represented by the symbol '+'. The basic synset is equally understood as the origin, in such a way that an arrow substitutes one of the 'x' in order to indicate the direction of the entailment.

Troponymy is represented as can be seen in Figure 14, with a broken line and an arrow that indicates that the relationship is not symmetrical.
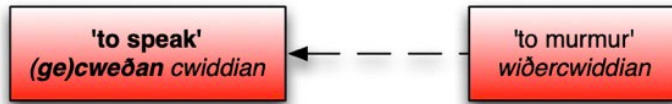


Figure 14. The representation of troponymy in the semantic map.

As in synonymy and opposition, if it is the case that some meaning specification is conveyed by the entailed synset, the symbol '+' is included in the representation.

The same holds for –troponymy, in Figure 15, although a dotted line is used.
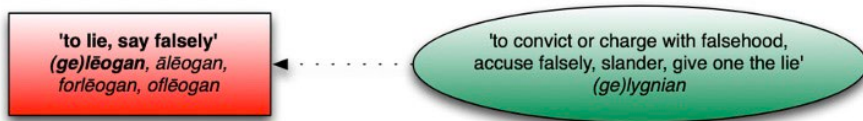


Figure 15. The representation of –troponymy in the semantic map.

Backward presupposition is represented as in Figure 16. Again, the relation is not symmetrical.
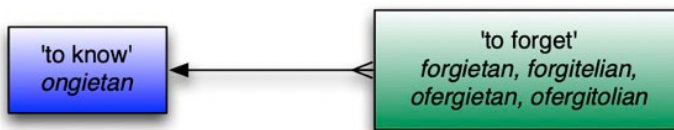


Figure 16. The representation of backward presupposition in the semantic map.

Finally, cause is represented as shown in Figure 17. The arrow, as in the previous relations, marks the lack of symmetry of the relationship.
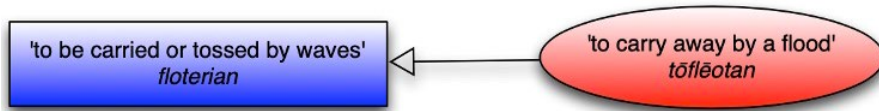
Figure 17. The representation of cause in the semantic map.

As regards the syntactic analysis, spontaneous synsets are framed in a rectangular figure, whereas induced or causative synsets are framed in an oval or circular one. If the oval or circle is surrounded by a broken line, this means that the synset shows a permissive kind of causality, some examples include 'to let go by default', 'to allow to come, not to exclude' and 'to permit'. When no spontaneous or induced sense is found in the synset, an octagon frames it. The octagon figure encloses those synsets of the primitive verb that adopt diverse senses, including spontaneous and induced, in order to establish different relationships with other synsets. When the synset adopts different senses, but all of them are spontaneous or all of them are induced, the octagon figure is not used, and the synset is framed by the corresponding figure.

The colour of the figures represents the different kinds of spontaneous or induced *Aktionsart* types of every synset: states are coloured in blue, activities in red, accomplishments in green, achievements in yellow, unbounded processes are coloured in purple, semelfactives in pink and active accomplishments, since they are comprised of an activity plus and accomplishment, are coloured both in red and green. The absence of colour in the synset indicates that none of these categories is attributed to the predicate either because it is a synset of the primitive that establishes different relations adopting diverse senses characterised by different *Aktionsart* types; or because no specific *Aktionsart* type can be attributed to it, as in synsets such as 'to allure, entice, attract' which are causative; but the nature of the causativity cannot be predicted; 'to permit' which depicts a permissive causality but, once again, the nature of the permissive causality cannot be determined; or 'order, command, decree' which are causative, but since the order is not specified the colour cannot be ascribed to it. A verb predicate such as *order to run* stands for a causative activity, whereas *order to stop* represents a causative accomplishment, for instance.

Apart from all the *Aktionsart* types considered, throughout this analysis I have also come across counterfactual verbs such as *misfōn* 'to fail to take', *foregān* 1 'to abstain from, not to do' or *mishealdan* 'not to keep'. Although these verbs do not represent any of the types of the *Aktionsart* taxonomy, they are analysed together with their paradigms and represented in grey colour in the diagrams. It is important to note that the verb 'to happen' and its semantic derivatives such as *oferbecuman* 'to supervene', or *tōfaran* 'to pass off' do not correspond to any *Aktionsart* type considered in the taxonomy either and are represented in orange colour.

The methodology described above is illustrated with the paradigm of ÐĪNAN, which is presented with its semantic map in Figure 18.
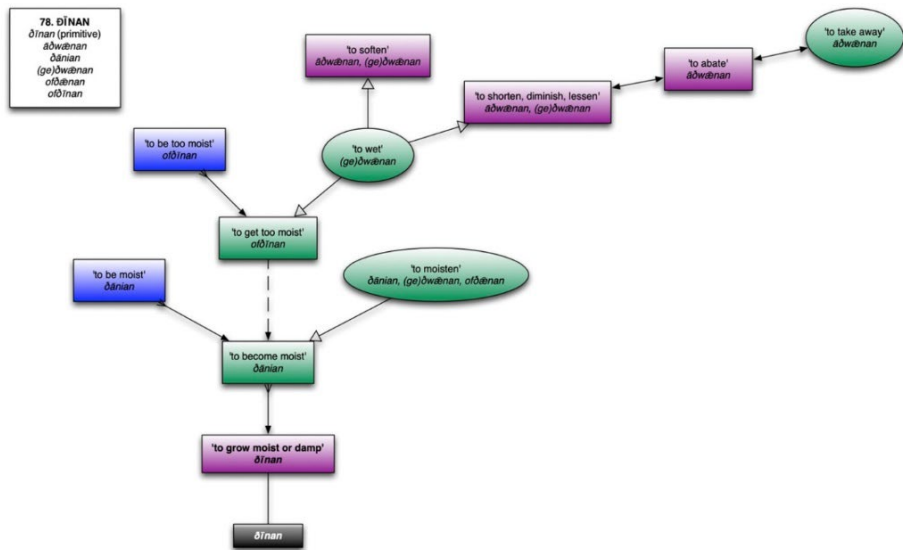
Figure 18. The semantic map of ĐĪNAN.

As it can be seen in Figure 18, it is sometimes the case that a polysemous verb or verb phrase establishes two or more relationships with different meanings. This happens to 'to abate' in the example above. In *āðwǣnan* 'to abate' stands for (a) 'to grow gradually less' and (b) 'to take away (a quantity) from another quantity'. Then, the synset shows the verb predicate that is related to the more central meaning, in this case, 'to grow gradually less'. However, the semantic relation that it establishes with the synset 'to take away' is considered from the perspective of the meaning in (b).

## 6. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

The analysis of the relations of troponymy, -troponymy, synonymy, backward presupposition, cause and opposition, as well as *Aktionsart*, represented by means of the semantic maps allows us to take a step forward with respect to the observation of semantic relatedness in the lexical paradigms. That is to say, morphologically related words that belong to the same lexical paradigm, thus sharing the form and meaning of the base of derivation, are also semantically related. It is necessary, however, to determine what kind of semantic relations hold in the lexical paradigm. The whole set of semantic relations holding in the lexical paradigm constitute a network of semantic inheritance, in which it is possible to distinguish, on the one hand, how new meanings diverge from the original meaning and, on the other, what the nature of the divergence is in terms of meaning specification with respect to more basic verbs.

It must be pointed out, to begin with, that the most frequent semantic relation found in the paradigms is synonymy, followed by troponymy and cause. The least frequent relations are backward presupposition, -troponymy and opposition, as is represented in Figure 19.
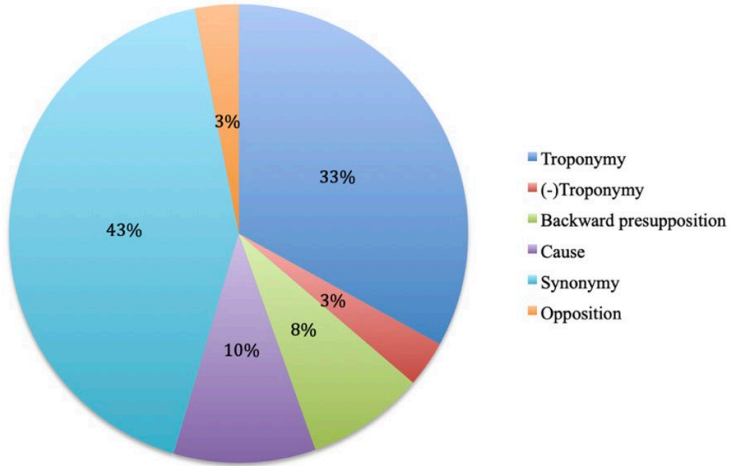


Figure 19. Semantic relations in the lexical paradigms.

Secondly, and regarding the association between *Aktionsart* and semantic relations, synonymy, troponymy and opposition hold between synsets with the same *Aktionsart* in the vast majority of the cases, whereas cause, backward presupposition and -troponymy tend to change the *Aktionsart* type between the two related synsets. This is represented in Figure 20.
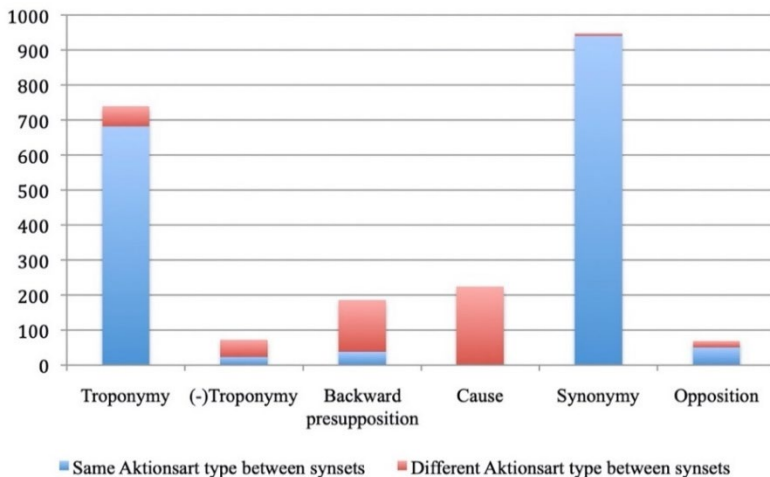


Figure 20. Semantic relations and *Aktionsart*.

In synonymy, the existence of different *Aktionsarts* can be the result of meaning specification (far more frequently) or of syntactic structure and meaning interpretation (far less frequently), as is shown in Figure 21.
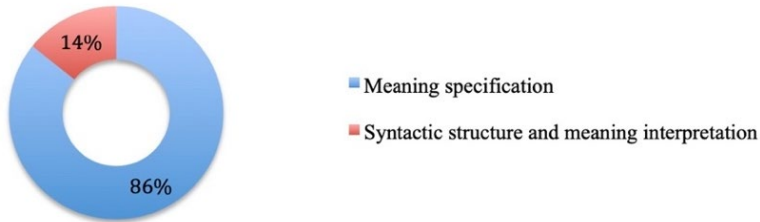


Figure 21. *Aktionsart* in synonymy.

When two synsets related to each other by a relation of troponymy show different *Aktionsarts*, this can be due to meaning specification (most frequent cause), complex verbal structures, semantic proximity between both active accomplishments of consumption and causative accomplishments of destruction and active accomplishments of creation and causative accomplishments of formation or configuration, and figurative associations (least frequent cause). This can be seen in Figure 22.
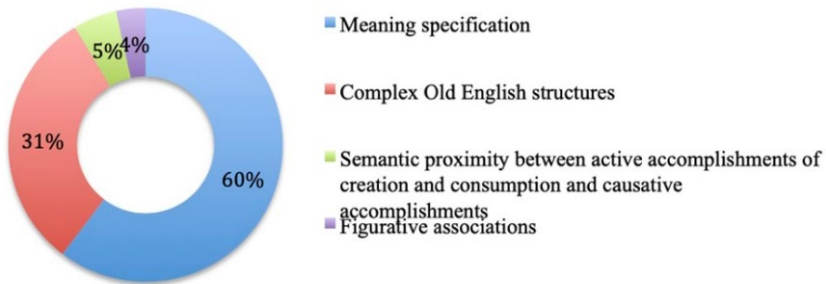


Figure 22. Different *Aktionsart* in troponymy.

In general, spontaneous synsets are more frequent than causative synsets. As regards entailing synsets, however, the total number of spontaneous synsets is 1,110 and the total number of causative synsets is 1,129. On the other hand, the total number of spontaneous entailed synsets is 1,387, whereas the number of causative synsets is 852, as can be seen in Figure 23.
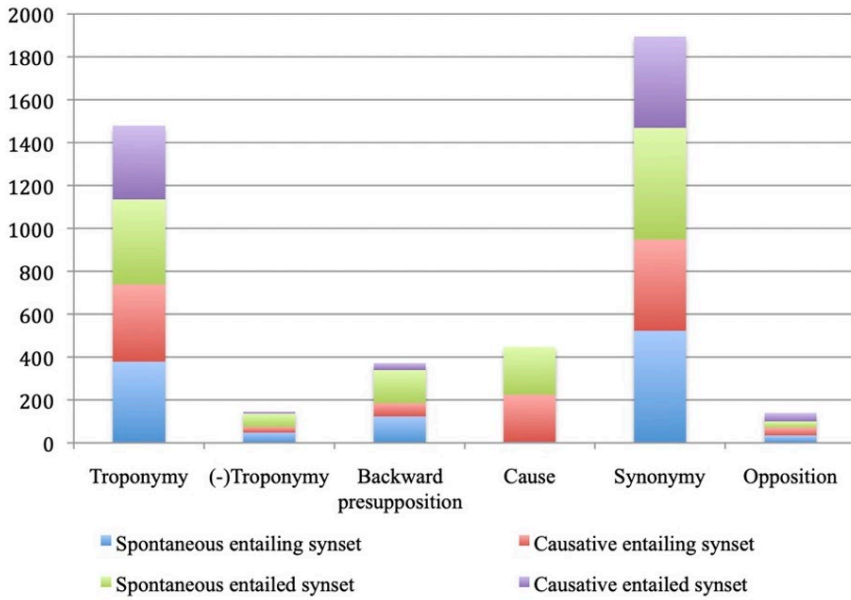
Figure 23. Spontaneous and causative synsets.

Finally, the presence of state or change of state *Aktionsart* types in synsets related by the relation of opposition is remarkable, as can be seen in Figure 24.
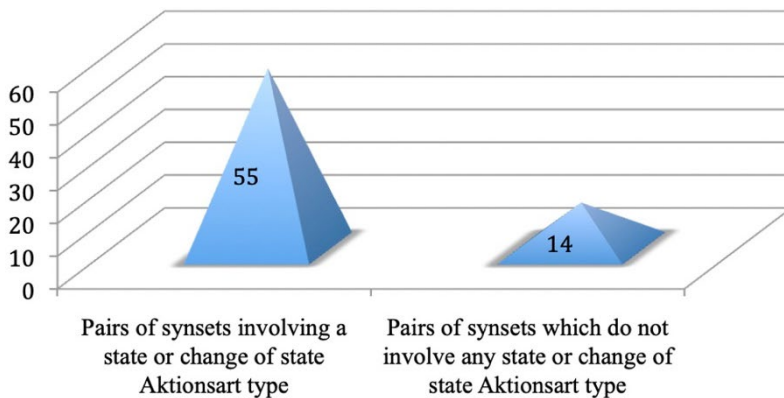


Figure 24. State and change of state *Aktionsar*t types with respect to opposition.

At the same time, the presence of, at least, an activity *Aktionsart* type in pairs of synsets related by the relation of -troponymy is also worth taking into consideration. This is represented in Figure 25.
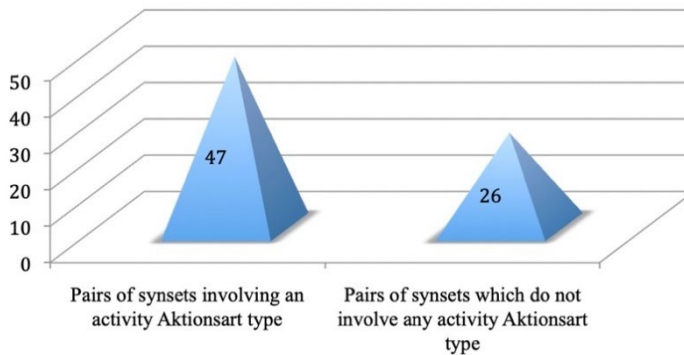


Figure 25. Activity *Aktionsart* type with respect to -troponymy.

## 7. DRAWING THE SEMANTIC MAP

Of the available models of semantic map, this research has opted for the connectivity map, with the important difference that a hierarchical map has been preferred. The incorporation of measures on frequency to the generally accepted judgements of co-occurrence (whereby related notions appear close to each other while unrelated notions are far away from each other in the representation) has contributed to the hierarchical organisation of the map.

In the semantic map of verbal troponymy and *Aktionsart* of the verbal lexicon that belongs to the Old English lexical paradigms based on strong verbs, the frequency of the semantic relations that have been analysed throughout this study (troponymy, -troponymy, backward presupposition, cause, synonymy and opposition) is directly proportional to the surface occupied by the relation in question. The area corresponding to each relation has been divided on the vertical dimension to separate, also proportionally, the frequency of pairs of synsets sharing the *Aktionsart* type (dotted area) from the pairs of synsets which do not share the *Aktionsart* type (solid area). The semantic relations have been arranged in such a way that those which display temporal inclusion (troponymy and –troponymy) are placed together to the left of the map. Then, placed in the centre of the map, come those relations which do not involve temporal inclusion, backward presupposition and cause. Finally, those relations which are mutually entailing, synonymy and opposition, have been placed at the right of the map. Inside each section, the most and the least frequent type of *Aktionsart* association is exhibited, in such a manner that the bigger font size stands for the most frequent type of *Aktionsart* association, and the smaller font size represents the least frequent type of *Aktionsart* association.

Finally, a hyphen separates the entailing synset (at the left of the hyphen) from the entailed synset (at the right).

The main descriptive result of this work is the semantic map of troponymy and *Aktionsart* in the verbal lexicon of the strong verb paradigms of Old English, which represents a generalisation over the semantic maps of the individual derivational paradigms of Old English strong verbs. It is given in Figure 26. [1]
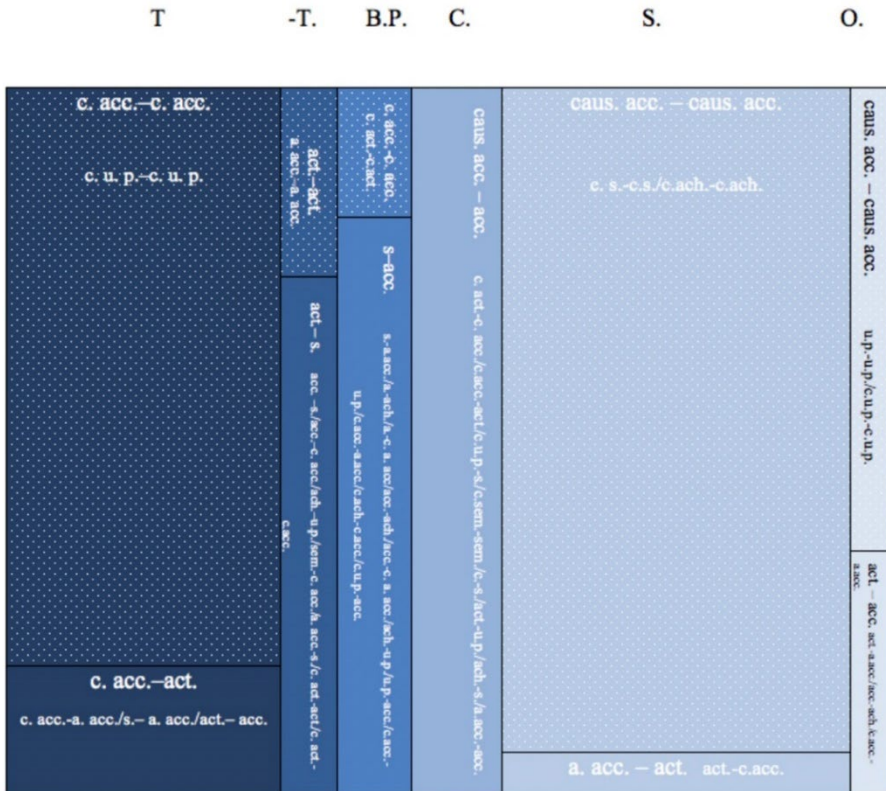


Figure 26. The semantic map of troponymy and *Aktionsart* in the verbal lexicon of the strong verb paradigms of Old English.

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article has offered a dual analysis of the 328 lexical paradigms based on Old English primitive strong verbs. In the first place, the semantic relationships underlying the configuration of these lexical paradigms have been determined. Secondly, the *Aktionsart* types of the different meanings inside each paradigm have been identified. The adoption of the semantic map methodology in this investigation has allowed us to exhaustively combine both analyses into a single network from the core to the periphery of each paradigm.

Apart from the contents of the semantic map, the main conclusion of this article has to do with the design of the semantic map. This work has drawn a semantic map in a way that diverges from most works that use this type of visual representation. It has been shown that semantic maps can be used to deal with one language (rather than for cross-linguistic comparison), to explain historical languages (rather than natural languages) and specific lexical items (rather than classes). The conclusion can be drawn, therefore, that semantic maps represent a more flexible and applicable methodology than previous work suggests and that it is worth exploring these possibilities by means of studies like the one conducted in this investigation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY IN THE ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM: TEACHERS AND LEARNERS

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*ABSTRACT.* Current society demands people with different attitudes and competences who are able to thrive in the global world. Since its appearance in the 1990s, the relevance of the concept of Emotional Intelligence has only grown within the education system, as it is seen by recent research as an essential competence that needs to be developed to achieve the holistic training of students. This study was conducted in a high school of Spain with the participation of the English department and 49 English learners who answered some questionnaires to examine how teachers and students from a EFL classroom context perceive issues related with Emotional Intelligence such as the perception and expression of emotion, emotional facilitation of thinking, understanding of emotion and regulation of emotion. Besides, it spotlights their potential interest in working with some projects proposed following the Project Based Learning (PBL) approach. Results showed a growing awareness of own and other's emotions among the participants and their interest in developing the projects to work on Emotional Intelligence in the EFL classroom.

*Keywords:* EFL, Emotional Intelligence, PBL, emotions, TEFL.

## ENCUESTA SOBRE LA INTELIGENCIA EMOCIONAL EN LA CLASE DE INGLÉS: PROFESORADO Y ALUMNADO

*RESUMEN*. La sociedad actual necesita personas con aptitudes y competencias que les permitan prosperar en el mundo global. Desde su aparición en los 90, la relevancia del concepto Inteligencia Emocional solo ha crecido en el campo de la educación y es considerada una competencia fundamental que debe ser desarrollada para lograr una formación integral de los estudiantes, tal y como sostienen recientes investigaciones. Esta investigación se realizó en un instituto de España con la participación del departamento de inglés y 49 estudiantes que contestaron cuestionarios diseñados para examinar cómo los profesores y estudiantes de un aula de inglés perciben temas relacionados con la Inteligencia Emocional tales como la percepción y la expresión de la emoción, la facilitación emocional del pensamiento, la comprensión y regulación de la emoción. Además, destaca su interés potencial en proyectos propuestos siguiendo el enfoque de aprendizaje basado en proyectos. Los resultados demostraron la creciente conciencia de las emociones propias y ajenas entre los participantes y su interés en el trabajo de la Inteligencia Emocional a través de proyectos en la clase de inglés.

*Palabras clave*: inglés como lengua extranjera, inteligencia emocional, aprendizaje basado en proyectos, emociones, enseñanza aprendizaje de la lengua extranjera.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Today's society demands people with global competences and socio-emotional skills and attitudes to thrive in the interconnected world. Hence, the current trend in the Spanish curriculum is to include the working on students' capacities, respect different learning paths, to explore national and international matters, and engage in intra and interpersonal relationships. The role of teachers becomes then fundamental in the pursuit of providing the right and necessary tools to enable learners to make great improvements, not only in the academic field, but also in the personal one.

The concept of "Emotional Intelligence" (henceforth, EI) started to be investigated by authors such as Salovey and Mayer with their article *Emotional Intelligence* (1990) and was promoted later by Goleman (1995). The Spanish education laws have been somehow addressing EI, first the introduction of cross curricular elements with the Organic Law 1/1990, from the 3rd of October in 1990, and later with the introduction of key competences in 2006, with the Organic Law of Education 2/2006 (known as LOE) from the 3rd of May (Valle 2014: 2). In spite of this, EI remains to be a weak spot in Spain's educational system (Broc 2019: 77), and teachers perceive a lack of materials and training (Domínguez *et al*. 2020: 23) to be able to deal with it.

The objective of this research is focused on deducing, from a questionnaire, how teachers and students from a EFL classroom context perceive issues related with EI such as the perception of emotion, emotional facilitation of thinking, understanding of emotion and regulation of emotion. Besides, it spotlights the interest in working with some proposed projects. These projects follow the Project Based Learning (PBL) approach designed for the development of EI in the EFL classroom. The study was conducted with teachers and learners of EFL from a secondary school in Spain.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

The concern about EI emerged in 1990 when Salovey and Mayer, who became distinguished figures of this field, published an article that introduced the first formal definition of the term: "the ability to monitor one's own and other's feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions" (189). The popularization of the concept would not arrive until the publication of Goleman's book *Emotional Intelligence* (1995), which broadened its scope when it turned into a best seller and was mentioned in Time magazine. In this work, Goleman dealt with how work life and social relations could be improved through the development of EI. A couple of years later, the author reinforced his point of view regarding the fact that emotions and personality traits hinder or enhance our cognitive process and thus, they can determine the achievements reached (Goleman 1997).

Contributions to the field of EI kept being made in the following years, with different models of EI being developed. Bar-On defined emotional-social intelligence as a "cross-section of interrelated emotional and social competencies, skills and facilitators that determine how effectively we understand and express ourselves, understand others and relate with them and cope with daily demands" (2007: 27). Furthermore, Bar-on and Parker explained how the notion was identified on four central components: the perception of appraisal and expression of emotions; emotional facilitation of thinking; understanding and analysing emotions and employing emotional knowledge; and reflective regulation of emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth (2000: 45).

All the authors herein considered some personality traits as part of their EI concept, but they also regarded EI as an ability that can be developed throughout life as all the experiences lived shape personality and influence human actions, choices, and interactions. In consequence, achieving a balance between cognition and emotions as Salovey and Mayer indicated, may help to tackle problems, or face any possible situation.

EI can be measured with the application of an Emotional Quotient (EQ) just as intelligence used to be measured with the Intelligence Quotient (IQ). Moreover, as it will be later explained, recent research supports the correlation between having a

high EQ and an academic good result and affirms that the connection is even higher than the one between IQ and good academic performance.

### 2.1.1. EI in Education

Improving competences in the EI field becomes especially essential in the educational level when an achievement of the holistic development of the students is intended. Bar-On and Parker (2000) state some reasons to back this idea up, among which confidence, self-management, motivation, or teamwork are included as they allow the integral development of students. In the educational environment, children create their own academic self-concept that can lead to dangerous emotional conflicts if students do not feel successful or competent enough. Gallego and Gallego state the importance of addressing emotional development at school in order not to provoke negative effects on the individuals (2004: 206). The acquisition of self-esteem is strongly intertwined with the development of interpersonal relations. That is the reason why it is crucial to foster activities that imply cooperation and task distribution, as well as the promotion of a suitable environment for interaction and debate. This way students become more open-minded and respect different standpoints (Bar-On and Parker 2000).

Concerning teachers, they also have a host of knowledge and EI. Thus, it is essential that they are emotionally competent in order to get their students to achieve emotional competences (Aldrup *et al*. 2020: 1); therefore, they must empathize with them and make contributions to their emotional stability. Different tasks such as the detection of students' interests and motivations, rationalisation of the amount of new information, and diversification of tasks and types of learnings can ease the realisation of this. A good planification and deep auto-analysis for detecting own deficiencies can also be a highly valued aid (Gallego and Gallego 2004).

Regarding the legal implementation of EI in the education system, education has been a field largely conditioned by a traditional perspective that set the pace for a curriculum focused on the development of hard skills rather than on the individual as a whole. Nonetheless, the social demands of the 1990s gave room to a new standpoint in the education laws. In Spain, if attention to the different laws that governed education over the last decades is paid, the Organic Law 1/1990, from the 3rd of October, introduced the concept of cross-curricular elements in an explicit way in an attempt to achieve the personal and moral development of students; additionally, they are seen as common to all the areas. Later on, the Organic Law 2/2006, from the 3rd of May (known as LOE) introduced for the first time the basic competences in the curriculum, with an interdisciplinary and cross-curricular character, keeping the idea of an education based on values. It is the first law that mentions the intention to achieve a maximum development of individual, social, intellectual, cultural, and emotional abilities. Moreover, in the Royal Decree 1631/2006 that stablishes the minimum teaching requirements for ESO, it is included a reference to the pursue of an acquisition of the own abilities, among which the emotional one is included. The passing of the Organic Law 8/2013, from the 9th of

December (known as LOMCE), went beyond the previous one and introduced on the curriculum cross-curricular competences such as critical thinking, diversity management, creativity, enthusiasm, or perseverance. It also mentioned the inclusion of civic and constitutional education in all subjects, so that social and civic competences are acquired in the daily dynamics of the teaching and learning process. Finally, the current bill, Organic Law 3/2020, from the 29th of December (known as LOMLOE) pursues an education that achieves the integral development of students and makes direct reference to the working on emotional education and an education in values.

### 2.1.2. EI and TEFL

The methods-era of Teaching English as a Foreign Language (henceforth, TEFL) seems to be finally over and today there are many authors who affirm that only a combination of methods, activities and strategies can really bring about good results in the class, in contrast to using just one specific method (Pourbahram and Hajizadeh 2018: 44). The integration of EI in TEFL gained ground due to its integration in the humanistic approach, under the influence of humanistic psychology, which arouse widespread interest in the field of foreign languages. The humanistic approach tries to create the perfect environment for learners, so they feel confident and motivated to develop both the intellectual and the emotional facets. Within this approach, methods like the Natural Approach and Suggestopedia were brought about.

The "Natural Approach", which was developed by Krashen and Terrell in 1983, is a theory that is based on the idea of encouraging communication rather than grammatical accuracy. The main point lies in orienting the process of learning to understand the message as an essential step to obtain production. In addition, lessons are thought to use optimal language adapted to them so that acquirers build up competence through comprehending input. The key for its success remains on the fact that learning takes place in a context where students have a low affective filter, which means that they feel free and comfortable to start using their input and acquiring progressively more (Krashen and Terrel 1998: 58). Krashen's explanation of low affective filter comes to say that if a person feels secure of him/herself, motivated or comfortable in his or her learning environment, that person will acquire more input than a person who is not under those circumstances (Krashen and Terrel 1998: 38).

Likewise, the objective of achieving a low affective filter in order to acquire a foreign language is not only an issue of concern just in the method described above, but also in other methods such as Suggestopedia. In a subtle way, the idea developed by Krashen also has its presence. Suggestopedia was developed in 1970s by the Bulgarian psychiatrist-educator Lozanov and states its objective as orienting students towards the achievement of communication rather than to vocabulary memorization (1978: 109). It can be presented as a theory that intends to describe the manipulation over attentiveness in order to optimize learning and recall, according to Richards and Rogers (1986: 143). This means, the unconscious

acquisition of competences by learners thanks to a good use of suggestion by the teacher. There exist some ways exposed by Cevallos and Orbea through which suggestion can be me made. Among them, it can be detected factors, such as motivation, attitudes, or the creation of interest (2020: 250). At this point, it is when the role of EI comes into play. In this way, teachers play an essential role when trying to avoid a state of tension and anxiety in class in order to achieve the creative and imaginative thinking that they are looking for, and that is reached thanks to the creation of a positive atmosphere in class (Cevallos and Orbea 2020: 252).

Some authors like Alrefaai and Shah also point out the influence of EI in other EFL methods, for instance, the Silent Way, Community Language Learning, and Total Physical Response. As for the first one, they indicate that it is grounded on the basis that the teacher must find ways to help students to overcome negative feelings. In the Community Language Learning students are encouraged to express how they feel, while in the Total Physical Response stress is reduced as students are not required to speak until they are ready for it (2020: 113).

On the other hand, within the communicative approach, PBL leads to the development of not only content skills, but also of the 21st century skills. These are highlighted by Kavlu as "teamwork, problem solving, research gathering, time management, information synthesizing, and utilizing high tech tools" that do also include "personal and social responsibility, planning, critical thinking, reasoning, and creativity or strong communication skills" (2017: 70). PBL is defined as "a systematic teaching method which engages students in learning knowledge and skills through an extended inquiry process structured around complex, authentic questions and carefully designed products and tasks" (Markham *et al.* in Couto 2011: 275).

In some way, all the methods mentioned share the aim of acquiring a high-quality environment that allows to create healthy relations among students and teachers by the improvement of skills that are not directly tied to cognitive processes.

### 2.1.3. State of the art

The growing awareness of the relevance EI has on the teaching-learning process of EFL, and its relationship with academic success has galvanized researchers to conduct studies on the subject. Recent research includes the one carried out by Abdolrezapour (2018), which studied the relationship between EI and complexity, accuracy, and fluency in EFL learners' oral performance with 102 high-school EFL learners. This research concluded that those students with a higher EI were able to produce more complex language (r = 0.87, p = 0.00). Similarly, Esmaeeli *et al.* (2018) decided to study the relationship between EI and speaking skills of advanced EFL undergraduate learners and commented their results in an article published in the *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature*. They analyzed the data obtained from an EQ Bar-on questionnaire and an IELTS speaking test of 96

EFL learners, and concluded that "the more emotionally intelligent the learner, the more proficient s/he is in speaking ability" (2018: 27).

Similar studies focusing on listening have also been conducted. Ebrahimi *et al.* (2018) examined the influence of EI enhancement on the development of EFL learners' listening skill. The research consisted of a control group of 13 intermediate learners and an experimental group of 30 learners, this last group was instructed in EI during the whole academic year. The study included a Bar-On EI test and an IELTS listening test and found out that in the experimental group both the EI and the listening skill increased significantly after the academic course, whereas no significant differences were shown by the control group (EI t= -2.68, p<0.05; listening t= -5.08, p<.05) (2018: 74).

With regard to the connection between writing and EI, Khalil (2019) developed a study with 50 high-school students divided into an experimental and control group during one academic term. In the experimental group, a brain-based learning and an EI programme were implemented; the analysis and comparison of the pre and post designed critical writing test, obtained by both groups, suggested that the instruction on EI had great results on the writing ability of the learners (t= 8.284, p<0.00). The results are in line with those obtained by another study about the correlation of EI and the writing skill (KaiQi *et al.* 2012).

EI in teachers of EFL has also been the object of study of some research. Shabani and Ghodrati investigated the differences among 90 EFL teachers and observed that teachers with a high EI focused on fluency and applied story-telling activities, while those with a lower EI used information-gap activities (2018: 71-72). The study "EFL Teacher's Emotional Intelligence, Emotional Support, and their Classroom Leadership: A Structural Equation Modeling Approach", with 321 EFL teachers, found correlations among the three variables and concluded that "being aware of emotional skills and leadership behaviors, teachers and student teachers could better develop effective leadership skills in the class" (Khani and Ghasemi 2019:1). Moreover, large-scale empirical study conducted by Gkonou and Mercer with English language teachers worldwide examine teachers' uptakes and practices in connection with EI. They found out that teachers scored highly on socio emotional competencies and "expressed a concern with creating and maintaining quality interpersonal relationships" (2017: 42).

The association of EI with academic success has been explored and proved by different studies. The authors Al-Quadri and Zhao (2021) found a correlation between the two variables with 303 high-school students (p=0.01). Saud (2019) demonstrated the effect of EI on success in foreign language (p=0.003) with 80 undergraduates. In addition, Costa and Faria (2020)'s research with 523 high-schoolers also proved correlation between high EI and the students' academic achievement (p<0.05).

As far as the use of PBL to develop EI is concerned, to our awareness, only studies on the use of Problem Based Learning (not Project Based Learning) were found and they were not conducted in the EFL classroom.

To finish with recent research, the effect of COVID-19 (context under which this study was conducted) on Language Learning in connection with EI has also been the object of study on recent research. Resnik *et al*. explore "if foreign language (LX) grit, learners' passion and perseverance for LX learning, is a predictor of learners' foreign language enjoyment (FLE) and their foreign language anxiety (FLCA) in LX classes taught remotely due to COVID-19" (2021: 99). They carried out a regression analysis and concluded that foreign language grit predicts students' enjoyment in such learning environments and that trait emotional intelligence was partially responsible for that connection (2021: 112).

Despite the prolific number of research and literature being produced on the connection of EI and EFL learning, there is (to our awareness) no studies that would relate the possible interest of students' in PBL projects that may help them develop EI. The current study proposed both students and teachers five different projects and measure the level of interest those could have in them. In addition, due to its recentness, there is still not much research on the effects of COVID-19 pandemic in the EI of students in the EFL classroom. It is precisely in here where this small study wants to make some contribution. Both students and teachers where asked whether the health crisis has had an impact on their wish to understand emotions better, together with other questions to check their perceptions on the expression, recognition or understanding of emotions.


## 3. METHODOLOGY

### 3.1. CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS

This research was carried out via a questionnaire answered by the English teachers and students in a high school located in a rural area of Galicia (Spain) during the academic course 2021/22 in which face-to-face learning had been resumed but safe measures related to COVID-19 were still in place. Two different groups were created so as to attend to their specific casuistry. Group A was made of 4 teachers (2 female and 2 male) that constitute the whole school's English teaching body. On the other hand, group B consisted of 49 students (26 female and 23 male) who were in their second year of high school, and whose ages ranged from 13 to 14 years old. The study was carried out in three out of the four groups of 2º ESO (which is equivalent to the 8th grade) due to time limitations. From these three groups, one of them had 20 students, another one 21 and the last one 12. That being said, some students missed the questionnaire due to COVID-19 reasons (n=49).


### 3.2. INSTRUMENT

Two different and anonymous questionnaires were created, one for each of the sample groups, and the questions were designed grouped in five sections (see appendix 1). These sections were based on the 4-branch model exposed by Salovey

and Mayer (1997: 10) that they include in their definition of EI. The sections are the following ones:

- Perception or expression of emotion

- Emotional facilitation of thinking

- Understanding of emotion

- Emotional regulation for intellectual and emotional growth

Besides the model of Salovey and Mayer, some questions were adapted from a questionnaire created by Gallego and Gallego (2004: 221) that goes in line with the 4-branch model aforementioned. Following the model, the questions were designed in an attempt to clear the objectives out. For this reason, based on the contributions of Salovey and Mayer (1997) and Gallego and Gallego (2004), the questionnaire was elaborated paying attention to a series of factors that provide accuracy and systematicity. The questionnaires included both open and closed questions. The closed ones included yes/no questions, multiple choice, and others based on the Likert technique which includes a scale ranging from one to five, being one the lowest and five the highest. In the perception or expression of emotion, a picture taken from Ekman (2003: n.p., disgust chapter) was used to check whether participants were able to perceive facial expression correctly.

The last part of the questionnaire was designed specifically for this research. In this fifth section, five possible projects designed to deal with EI following a PBL methodology for EFL were proposed, so that the interest and feasibility of them were to be measured by the students and teachers by giving them a score from 1 (lowest) to 10 (highest).

The whole questionnaire was validated by three experts on the matter that correct it to make it more effective. Due to the small-scale of the study, no further reliability tests on the questionnaire were made.

PROJECTS

The projects were made up by the researchers based on some of the content included in the textbooks the students were using. Different projects were thought that could be implemented in the class after each of the units and bearing in mind that some of the activities in the unit would help students develop the knowledge and skills necessary to do the projects (unit about food: project 1; unit about celebrities: project 2; unit about sport: project 3; unit about environment and social issues: projects 4 and 5). Furthermore, researchers had the opportunity to observe lessons during a month so they were aware of how two units had been developed. It was obviously intended that those projects were somehow related to raising the EI of students and that they were appealing to students. Hence, the use of new

technologies: design and creation of an online campaign, creation of a video, creation of a blog or an online magazine, etc. The projects were explained to the students and the teachers in person before they did the questionnaire.

1. A project about food where students learn about real food, ultra-processed meals and how mood can be affected by nutrition habits with the objective of creating a campaign to raise awareness on the issue.

2. A project about art in relation with music with a Project devoted to the creation of a campaign to give visibility to the essential role of artists during the lockdown and their current struggle.

3. A project about female sport with the aim of the creation of an online magazine to publish results of female competitions.

4. A collaboration with local NGOs to get students to know their work with the creation of a video to promote them.

5. A project which deals with means of transport and environment with the creation of a blog that publish a survey among teachers, students and parents of the most common commuting ways and their long-term effects on environment.

## 3.3. PROCEDURE

The purposes of the investigation together with a brief overview of what EI means were explained to all the participants in situ, guarantying them complete anonymity. Since students were minors, parents had to sign consent. Each of the four sections included questions referred to general issues about EI, and about the EFL context in particular. The questionnaires were designed with an online format using the google forms and they were distributed through a link. They could be completed in less than 20 minutes.

## 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results will be presented divided into the four variables presented for each of the groups. There will also be an additional division for the analysis regarding the projects presented.

## 4.1. FIRST VARIABLE: PERCEPTION OF EXPRESSION AND EMOTION

This first variable, which is related to the identification of emotions, music or stories, may suggest whether someone is able to reflect on his or her own emotions and worry about them as well as the perception of other people's feelings.

*Group A*

The data gathered from Group A (teachers) showed a general average perception of their own and others' emotions and an absolute agreement (100%) when they were asked if they felt able to recognise the reasons why they acted or responded sharply in specific circumstances in class. In this way, they would be able to achieve a good sense of self-efficacy and job satisfaction (Kang 2020). In case the answer were negative, it could make them feel insecure about their validity for the profession, causing them emotional exhaustion. That could lead to a desire of resign from their jobs (Kang 2020: 11). In relation to this, the results to a question concerning whether the current health situation conditioned by COVID-19 had triggered their desire to give a name to certain emotions experienced, showed that this was not a determining factor for 50% of the surveyed.
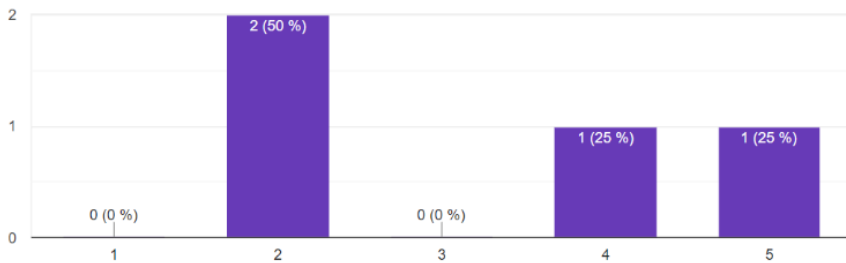


Figure 1. Answers to question 3 of the questionnaire from Group A, block 1.

Shifting towards a more student-centred perspective, the results from the questionnaire displayed an upwards trend regarding the detection of students' emotions, as it can be seen in the following chart (figure 2). This situation indicates that teachers do perceive their students' emotions, which is considered key for the development of an effective way of teaching. This is backed up by research such as the study by Valente *et al.* (2020: 18) or the one conducted by Ghanizadeh and Moafian (2009: 430) that related a high EQ of teacher (that includes the perception of emotions) with their success in teaching.
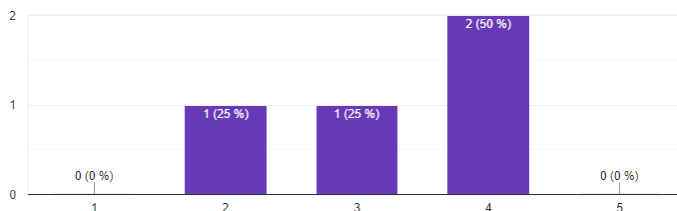


Figure 2. Answers to question 5 of the questionnaire from Group A, block 1.

*Group B*

In regard to the data gathered from Group B (students), more than half of the participants showed an increasing trend in relation to their intrapersonal relations (figure 3). The fact that they share their way of feeling with others also denotes their ability to perceive their own emotions. Moreover, researchers Bucich and MacCann indicate that "willingness to share emotions is related to a greater number of more intimate relationships" (2018: 25). The results of their study suggest that "people with higher ability EI are more aware of [the] social benefits [of sharing emotions with others]" (2018: 25). Nonetheless, it must be taken into account that in the current study there is still almost a 40% of students (cumulative percentage) who state they 'never' or 'hardly ever' speak about their feelings and emotions.
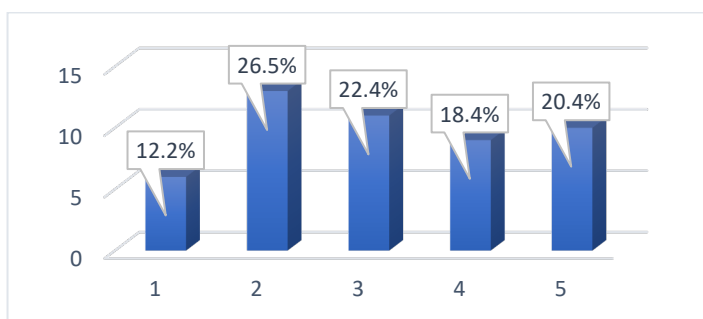


Figure 3. Answers to question 1 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 1.

Results from figure 4 display a great percentage of participants who felt they get to recognise other people's feelings and states of mind. This probably leads to better communication as Wang's research points out when stating that "EI is the key competency for mutual understanding, communication, and cooperation" (2019: 9).
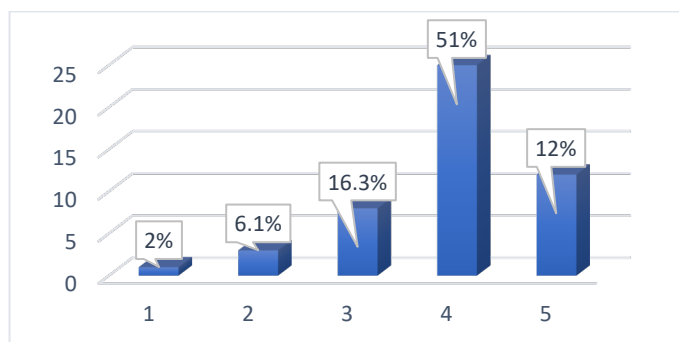


Figure 4. Answers to question 2 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 1

Teachers and students were asked to choose the emotion that matched the best with a girl's face. The image was taken from a test designed by Ekman (2003: 271-285) and it is part of a study to evaluate people's ability to read facial expressions. The right answer of the emotion reflected by the image is 'disgust' and just 25% of the teachers chose that, whilst 34.7% of students were right. A noticeable fact was that two thirds of the teachers thought of the girl to reflect 'fear' whereas just 2% of the students selected that option. The greatest majority of the youngers did select the 'ire' one.
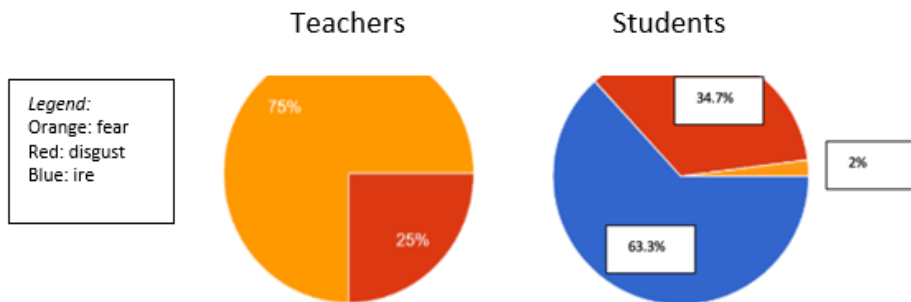


Figure 5. Answers to question 6 and 3 of the questionnaire from Group A and B respectively, block 1.

Finally, as it can be seen on figure 6, students showed a low-average trend regarding their desire to give name and understand their emotions after the current health situation conditioned by COVID-19. As it has been mentioned, no research has been found related to whether EFL learners have showed more interest in their understanding of emotions as a result from the pandemic.
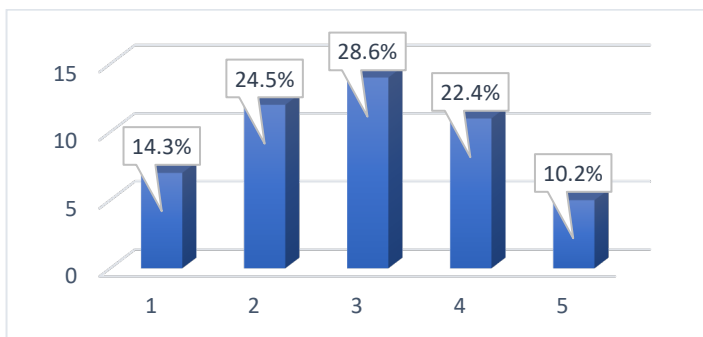


Figure 6. Answers to question 5 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 1.

The second variable involved according to Mayer *et al.* "the ability to access and use emotions to improve thoughts." (2001: 134). Therefore, the results showed the control that people make of the emotions they experience. The aim was to understand the way they manage impulses, as well as their way of acting with other people impulses (Gallego and Gallego 2004: 226-227).

*Group A*

The results from this group revealed a high understanding and ability to deal with the situations provoked by others' emotions, as well as to control their own impulses. 25% of the participants stated that they were able to manage their impulses when the behaviour of the students was not as expected, and the other two thirds agreed that they frequently felt able to control their impulses in those situations. Those results are in line with other research such as the one by Saleem *et al.* whose study showed that the participant teachers stated being able to self-control their emotions. Nevertheless, the participants of the aforementioned study recognized speaking loudly as a strategy to show some anger (2019: 187-189), while participants of our study claimed to be able to keep calm (question 1, block 2). In addition, there was a general agreement when they were asked if they knew how to raise students' self-esteem when detecting some problems related to the subject. When the focus is set on their students' reactions, there was a comprehensive accord (100%) regarding the importance they gave to the emotions and reactions that students had for the correct development of the lessons and for the well-being of the class as a whole. Furthermore, a high percentage of the participants stated they intervene during the lesson when they perceive negative emotions on their students and just 25% of them ignore the situation for not considering it a matter of concern for themselves (Figure 7).



Legend:
Blue: I talk to the student during the lesson
Red: I do nothing
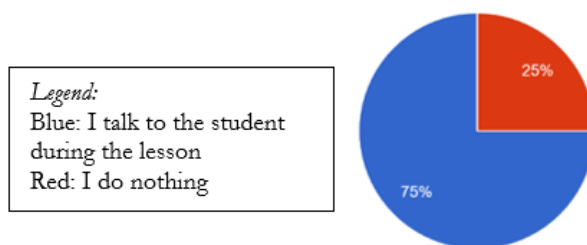
Figure 7. Answers to question 5 of the questionnaire from Group A, block 2.

As it has been aforementioned, having a high EQ is connected to leadership traits (Khani and Ghasemi 2019). Hence, the impulse to intervene as soon as they perceive a negative emotion of a student could be an indicator of a good EQ, although no absolute statement could be made based solely on that.

*Group B*

The results obtained from Group B revealed a pretty high trend (53.1%) on the control of the situations that their emotions can provoke, since more than half of the participants stated that they have the ability to control themselves when facing nerves (figure 8). Nevertheless, there is still a high percentage (46.9%) of those who do not, as seen in figure 8. When they were asked about their way of acting if they discover that someone they know spoke negatively about them, a great majority agreed they usually face the situation with dialogue (figure 9).



Figure 8. Answers to question 6 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 2.
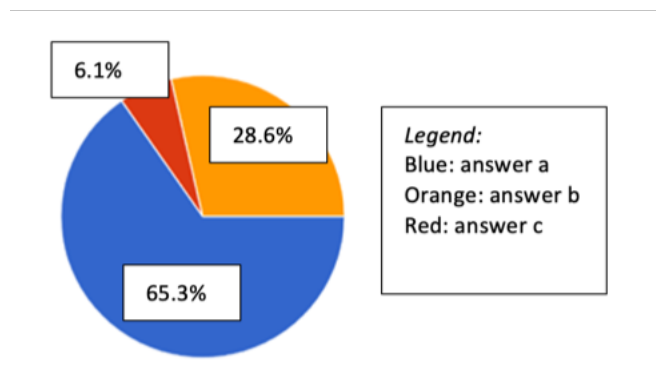


Figure 9. Answers to question 3 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 2.

In what concerns their way of acting with others' emotions, 91.8% of the participants revealed that they would help and calm a classmate when he or she is very nervous before an exam (question 2, block 2). Moreover, 30.6% would always and 38.8% would almost always congratulate somebody else when they had dealt correctly with a problem (question 1, block 1). Goleman (1995) mentioned recognizing others' emotions and establishing relationships as two of the fundamental traits EI consists of.

*4.3. THIRD VARIABLE: UNDERSTANDING OF EMOTIONS*

The third variable is referred to the knowledge we have to understand emotions and to reason about them (Mayer *et al.* 2001: 134), which provides information about the sense of communication and relation with others and the ability to comprehend different points of view (Gallego and Gallego 2004: 228).

*Group A*

In the teachers' group, the results obtained show flexibility (75%) when it comes to comprehend students' expression of stress and their demands regarding deadlines (question 1, block 3). On the other hand, the previous trend is also repeated when they were asked if they take advantage of the topics of discussion in class in order to reflect about their feelings with students, with 75% of surveyed answering positively (question 2, block 3). This situation can lead to a good and communicative atmosphere that helps to create free-flowing relations among teachers and students. In addition, the fact that most of the participants try to listen and implement any suggestion that students make, as it can be seen below, helps to create those types of relations previously mentioned, since students feel their opinion matters.
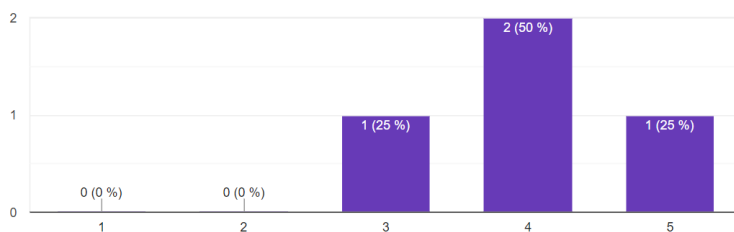


Figure 10. Answers to question 5 of the questionnaire from Group A, block 3.

Nonetheless, to create these ideal scenarios and achieve the objectives that can help to create those environments, a series of factors must be addressed. In connection with this, the vast majority (75%) of the participants of Group A felt the scarcity of time to address this type of issues in their classes even if they would like to (question 3, block 3). Furthermore, 20% of the participants stated that they do not know how to tackle emotional content in relation with that of the curriculum and just 25% does state having the knowledge to do so (figure 11). The remaining 50% reveals that they are not sure whether they are able to deal with it. Dubovyk *et al.* support the inclusion of training on EI in the academic training of pre-service teachers since teachers need "to achieve the(ir) harmonious inclusion [of EI contents] in the educational process" (2020: 433).
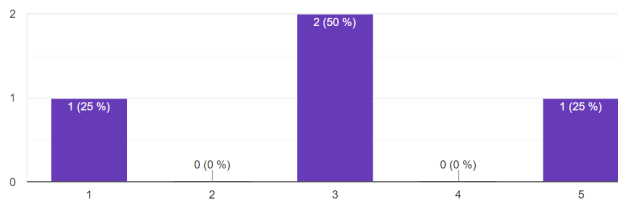
Figure 11. Answers to question 4 of the questionnaire from Group A, block 3.

*Group B*

The results gathered from Group B display students' perception of their own communication abilities. In this regard, the information provided by the following graphic allows to back the data obtained in figure 3 regarding the first variable of Group B. In both, the greatest percentage of the participants answered between 1 and 3. This situation reflects that most of them do not feel confident enough to achieve free-flowing relations in which they can talk openly about emotions. As stated above, it is important that students feel able to share emotions with others to develop a greater number of relationships, which is usually connected with a higher EQ (Bucich and MacCann 2018).
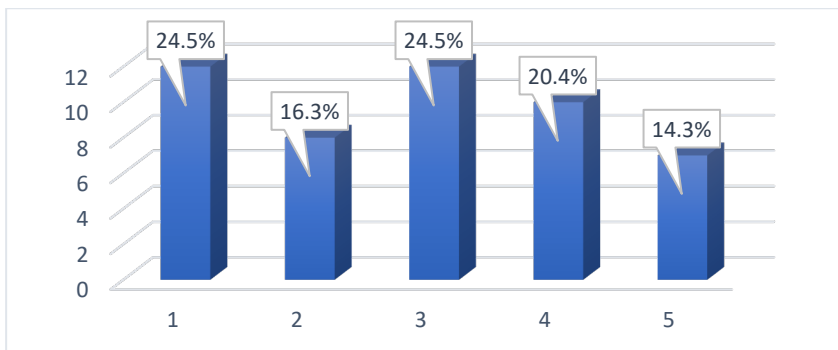


Figure 12. Answers to question 2 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 3.

In relation to this, 61.2% of the participants did declare having the ability to talk to others when their way of acting is affecting them (question 5, block 3). Likewise, as seen below (figure 13), the percentages did also reveal a high number of participants who feel able to understand different points of view in a discussion.
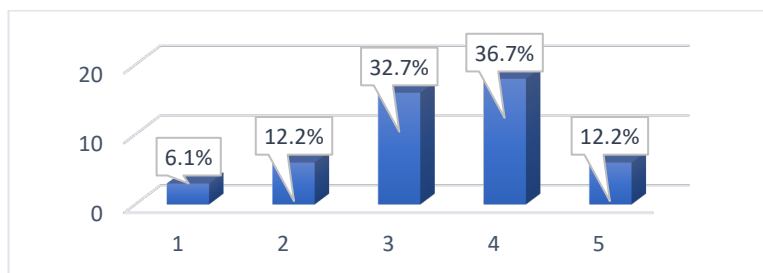
Figure 13. Answers to question 3 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 3.

Another factor that can affect the free-flowing relations in class is the attention to paying compliments to others. As it can be seen in the figure 14, the great majority of the participants stated that they do never or very rarely congratulate their teachers when they are happy about their way of teaching.
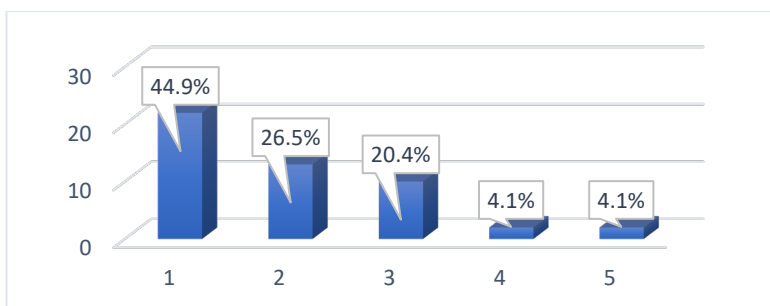


Figure 14. Answers to question 4 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 3.

Finally, when the participants were asked if they feel fear or embarrassment when speaking in English in the EFL class, almost half of the participants declared not feeling shy neither embarrassed when talking in this environment, while 8.16% did sometimes. In contrast, 40.81% stated feeling embarrassed. Concerning this, research (Esmaeeli *et al.* 2018; Abdolrezapur 2018) suggests the work on EI as a way to improve fluency in EFL.

### 4.4. FOURTH VARIABLE: EMOTIONAL REGULATION FOR INTELLECTUAL AND EMOTIONAL GROWTH

The fourth variable is summarised as the regulation of emotions regarding the information they provide and their control (Mayer *et al.* 2001: 134). The results regarding this branch provided information about the predisposition to solve any possible conflict and to look for possible solutions. In addition to the petition of others' help (Gallego and Gallego 2004: 228-229).

*Group A*

From the data obtained with Group A, it is remarkable the complete agreement (100%) regarding their attitude towards problem solving among their students, which revealed their willingness to solve problems and find the right solutions for them (question 4, block 4). Moreover, answer to questions two, three and five showed a general determination among the participants to create an environment in the English class where students learn how to face problems and detect the best way to solve them. Research has shown that "work attitudes and emotional intelligence are interrelated" and that "effectively nurtured emotional intelligence provides a good indicator of teacher's behavior" (Ahad *et al.* 2021: 20) so results from block 4 indicated participant teachers had a good level of EQ.

*Group B*

From Group B, the results from figure 15 showed an increasing trend where the vast majority of the participants revealed having interest in problem solving, not only of their own but also of the others. In addition, the aforementioned predisposition can be also seen in the results from Figure 15. The data revealed that most of the participants did have interest in trying to solve conflicts in an appropriate way (for instance, through dialogue), whereas 22.5% (cumulative percentage) of the participants showed a very negative attitude in trying to solve possible arising problems and would probably try to avoid being involved in the process of solving them.
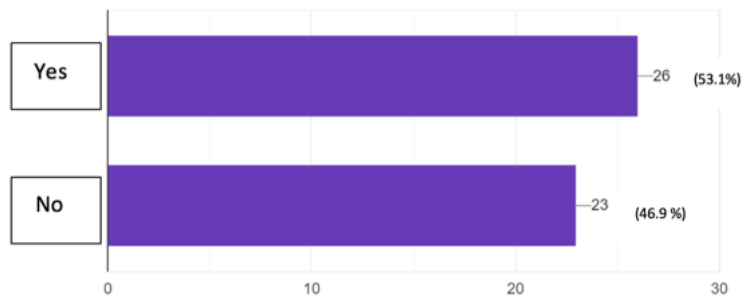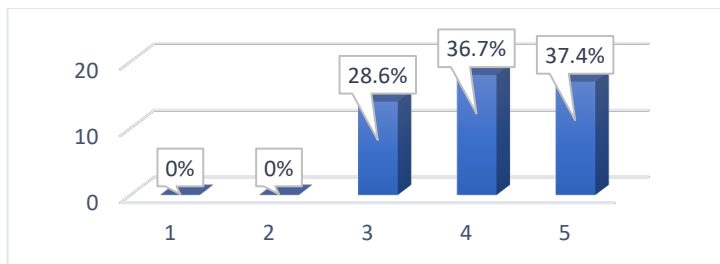


Figure 15 Answers to question 1 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 4.
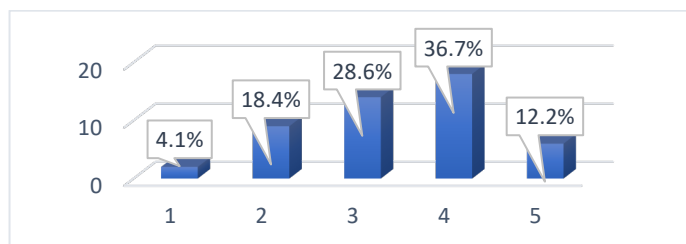


Figure 16. Answers to question 3 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 4.

Furthermore, regarding their interest in giving some thought about the possible outcomes that a conflict can provoke, almost 40% participants showed an intention to reflect on the situation 'always' or 'often'. However, 40.8% expressed they just did it 'sometimes'.
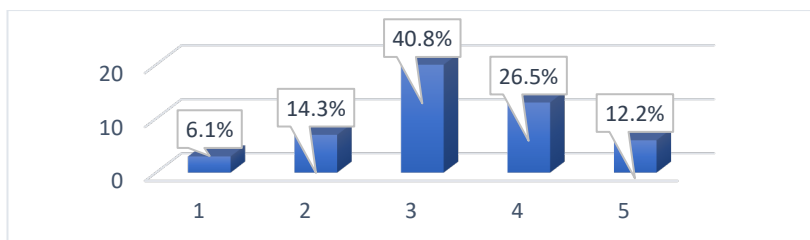


Figure 17. Answers to question 4 of the questionnaire from Group B, block 4.

Finally, most of the participants (87.8%) states that they would like to tackle this kind of situations in class through projects and debates (question 5, block 4). Those kind of projects could help develop the EI of the students and, at the same time, this might lead to enhance their academic performance as aforementioned research has shown (Costa and Faria 2020; Saud 2019; Al Quadri and Zhao 2021).

### 4.5. PROPOSAL OF PROJECTS TO WORK EI IN THE EFL CLASS

The fifth part were the projects presented to both groups, although different questions were designed to each of the groups.

### Group A

In the teacher's group, regarding the applicability of the projects suggested in EFL, two thirds of the participants marked the projects with a 10 out of 10, and one third marked an 8/10. In addition, all participants (100%) agreed on believing the projects would motivate students. Group A was asked to rate each of the projects on a scale from 1 to 10 and the results displayed a general satisfaction with all of them.

Table 1. Answers to question 3 of the questionnaire from Group A, block 5.

| | PROJECTS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Marks | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| | 10 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 10 |
| | 9 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 8 |
| | 9 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 8 |

Nonetheless, and paradoxically, when they were asked which ones they would apply in case they had the materials needed to develop each of them available, they all agreed that they would carry out the fourth one, although it was the one that scored the lowest mark. Likewise, three out of four agreed they would also like to implement the third one and the first one.

*Group B*

Group B had to mark each of the projects on a scale from one to 10 in order to determine their level of interest with the possible development of each of the projects in class. The projects number one, three and four obtained the higher scores. Those were the ones that did also received a better mark on Group A.

## 5. LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

One of the main limitations of this research was the size of the study since it was a small-case study. Hence, no absolute conclusions could be reached since the sample of participants does not allow researchers to apply them to the whole Spanish population. Moreover, the lack of a pilot study could also be listed as a limitation. Nevertheless, this study could be taken as a starting point for similar future research. For instance, as a basis to conduct the same study with some corrections and with a larger sample of participants. A study comparing the results obtained in urban versus rural areas to check whether there are significant differences or not would also be appropriate. Furthermore, it would be interesting to research the impact of the implementation of the projects suggested in the students' EI with some pre- and post-tests. Similarly, more research could be conducted about the perceptions of pre-service and in-service EFL teachers regarding their training on EI.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The investigation was selected in an attempt to discover how teachers and students perceive issues related with EI in the context of EFL. Hence, if looking closely to the results, Group A showed a high level of self-perception of their own emotions. According to Dolev and Leshem, teachers need to be more competent in the management of challenges arising from both cognitive and emotional situations since schools seem to attend higher rates of children with problems such as depression or anxiety (2017: 23). The analysis of results also showed that the participant teachers think they are able to detect students' states of mind during lessons and making them aware of the fact that their emotions are important for the right course of the class.

In this way, although many participants from Group B revealed not having the confidence to talk to their immediate environment when their emotions affect their attitude, the results showed an increasing trend in the ability to control one's feelings

and to solve efficiently any problem that can arise at any moment. Therefore, these steps towards a higher emotional awareness of both their own selves and others could lead to enhance their academic performance as research has shown (Costa and Faria 2020; Saud 2019).

The results of the questionnaire disclose a high trend among Group B to feel secure and confident when taking part in class, although the number of people who do not is still high. In this regard, a possible approach for teachers to tackle this could be to implement more activities in the class that work EI since some studies show association between high EQ and fluency in the FL (Esmaeeli *et al* 2018; Abdolrezapour 2018). Furthermore, Shabani and Ghodrati (2019) mentioned storytelling as an activity frequently used by teachers with a high EQ so those kinds of activities could also bode well with the objective of improving the fluency and EI of the students.

Another interesting approach proposed is the PBL, since it may help develop the skills that the society of the 21st century demands. As Kavlu mentioned, skills such as strong communication, critical thinking, teamwork, problem solving, reasoning, research, time management, and creativity can be worked with PBL (2017: 70). Both Group A and Group B stated that the projects proposed could be interesting and they would be willing to work with them. In this way, students could improve EFL and work on matters that could help them develop their EI.

On the whole, the aftermath of implementing EI could lead to class environments where respect, comprehension and confidence would be at the forefront of the education field.

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APPENDIX 1. QUESTIONNAIRE

Group A: TEACHERS

## Block 1: Perception or expression of emotion

1. Do you think you are in possession of the necessary tools and knowledge to identify the emotions of your students? (Y/N) If yes, how did you acquired those competences? (Own training, training provided by the school...) (Open answer)

2. Do you feel that you are able to recognise the reasons why you act or respond sharply in specific circumstances in class? (Likert scale)

3. Do you believe that the current health situation conditioned by Covid-19 has increased your desire to name and understand the emotions you experience? (Likert Scale)

4. Do you devote a moment to reflection during your day, week or month in order to analyse your state of mind and the reasons behind it? (Likert scale)

5. I know how to figure out the anxiety that an exam can cause in my students. (Likert scale)

6. Choose the emotion that best suits, from your standpoint, the girl in the picture.
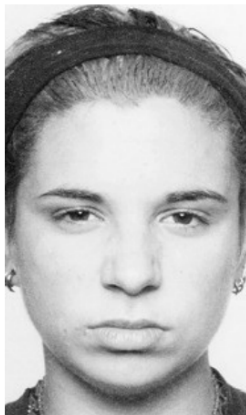


(Source: Ekman, 2003, n.p., disgust chapter)

 a. Ire

 b. Disgust

 c. Fear

### Block 2: Emotional facilitation of thinking

1.  I am able to control myself and keep calm when the behaviour of my students is not as expected. (Likert scale)

2.  I find English lessons as an appropriate place to reflect with students on how to control their impulses when something bothers them. (Likert scale)

3.  I take care to make my students realise that their state of mind is important to me. (Likert scale)

4.  I consider the reactions of my students during class to be important. (Likert scale)

5.  If I notice that a student is especially sad during a lesson, I talk to him/ her at the end of the session or, on the contrary, I do nothing because it is not of my concern. (Multiple choice: 2 choices)

6.  I know how to raise a student's self-esteem if I detect subject-related problems. (E.g., for considering him/herself incompetent in relation to the rest of his/her colleagues). (Likert scale)

### Block 3: Understanding of emotion

1.  I try to be as flexible as possible when students express their stress and ask for an extension of the deadlines for handing in assignments. (Likert scale)

2.  I try to reflect with the students on the feelings that the topics we deal with in class cause in us. (Likert scale)

3.  I feel that time class is scarce to deal with cross-cutting topics and to relate them to the subject content. (Likert scale)

4.  I do not know how to relate the subject content with the treatment of emotions in class. (Likert scale)

5.  I listen, accept, and implement suggestions for improvement that I receive form my student's feedback. (Likert scale)

6.  From my point of view, the creation of projects is ideal for working on content such as the treatment of emotions and to relate it to the subject. (Likert scale)

7.  I find that dealing with emotions is an easy to deal with topic in the day-to-day classroom. (Likert scale)

### Block 4: Emotional regulation for intellectual and emotional growth

1.  In the presence of a conflict in class, I become nervous and feel unable to solve the problem effectively. (Likert scale)

2.  I try to achieve a pleasant atmosphere in class so that all students feel comfortable to express themselves in English. (Likert scale)

3.  If I detect teasing among students during class, I try to solve the situation, or otherwise, I leave it in the hands of other such as the school's principal. (Likert scale)

4.  I like to discuss conflict situations with my students in order to bring different points of view and reach a consensus on the best course of action. (Likert scale)

5.  I consider it important that students perceive English lessons as a place where they can develop their personality and critical thinking. (Likert scale)

## Block 5: projects

1)  Score the following projects from 1 to 10 according to their level of applicability in an EFL class

    1- A project about food where students learn about real food, ultra-processed meals and how mood can be affected by nutrition habits with the objective of creating a campaign to raise awareness on the issue.

    2- A project about art in relation with music with a Project devoted to the creation of a campaign to give visibility to the essential role of artists during the lockdown and their current struggle.

    3- A project about female sport with the aim of the creation of an online magazine to publish results of female competitions.

    4- A collaboration with local NGOs to get students to know their work with the creation of a video to promote them.

    5- A project which deals with means of transport and environment with the creation of a blog that publish a survey among teachers, students and parents of the most common commuting ways and their long-term effects on environment.

2)  Put the projects that you would like to implement in your class if you had all the materials to implement them. (Write them in order)

Group B: STUDENTS

## Block 1

1. I usually speak with friends and relations about my feelings and emotions. (e.g., when something worries me, when I consider that something good has happened to me...etc.). (Likert scale)

2. I can identify the mood of my friends, relatives and classmates. (Likert scale)

3. Choose the emotion that best suits, from your stand point, the girl in the picture
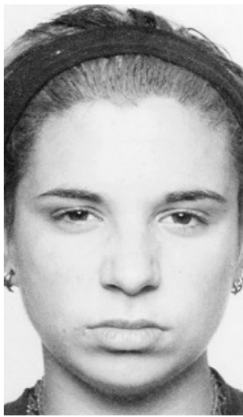


(Source: Ekman, 2003, n.p., disgust chapter)

    a. Ire

    b. Disgust

    c. Fear

4. In relation to the project: creation of a podcast you carried out about famous women and their spirit of achievement, do you think that the stories of Ana Peleteiro, Maruja Mallo and J. K. Rowling made you reflect about your own emotions? (e.g. the fear of academic failure, desire for self-improvement...) (Y/N)

5. Do you think that the current situation stemming from the COVID-19 and measures of self-distance have increased your interest in understanding better the emotions you are experiencing? (Likert scale)

## Block 2

1. I congratulate friends, classmates, relatives... when they tackle a problem in the right way. (Likert scale)

2. Before an exam, one friend, classmate, relative… is very nervous and on the verge of crying, what would you do?

   a. I try to calm them down.

   b. I do not worry too much, it is not a big deal!

   c. I laught at them, nobody should worry about exams!

3. Imagine you find out that one of your friends, classmates, relatives… were talking about you behind your back, what would you do?

   a. I would talk to them and listen to their point of view.

   b. I yell at them and I refuse to listen to their justifications.

   c. I ignore them and never talk to them again.

4. Would you like to work on your emotions in the English class? Y/N

5. Would you like to do role-plays like the following in the English class? (Y/N)

   *María gets up late to go arrive at school on time. Her father yelled at her and said she was a couch potato. María got angry and left the house. María had been studying for an exam until late and that's way she overslept but her parents did not know about it.*

   Imagine the conversation and role-play the situation with your partner for the class. Then, analyse: how could the situation being improved?

6. If I get nervous before an English exam, I know how to calm myself down. (Yes/No)

## Block 3

1. Do you feel embarrassed when you have to speak English in public? (Y/N). If so, do you know why? (open answer)

2. I know when my feelings are affecting my behavior and I talk with my friends, classmates about it. (Likert scale)

3. In a debate, I can understand when my classmates have a very different opinion to mine. (Likert scale)

4. I congratulate my teachers when I have enjoy their lessons. (Likert scale)

5. I know how to talk to my classmates when I think their behaviour is affecting me (Y/N).

## Block 4

1. I like helping my friends, classmates, relatives... when they have difficulties (e.g. they have a conflict/problem, they find the contents of an exam difficult to understand... (Likert scale)

2. When I see a conflict in the class, I know whom I should talk to solve the problem (e.g. bullying, a fight) (Likert scale)

3. When a classmate criticizes your attitude, do you try to talk to them in order to explain your point of view? (Likert scale)

4. I reflect on situations I see in the class and their effects. (e.g. when a classmate laughs at someone, I try to think how the person being laughed at feels) (Likert scale)

5. Would you like a project in the English class in which students had to debate o problem and state the pros and cons of some possible solutions and their hypothetical consequences? (Y/N)

## Block 5: Projects

1) Score the following projects from 1(lowest) to 10 (highest) according to how interested you would be to do them in your EFL class.

1- A project about food where students learn about real food, ultra-processed meals and how mood can be affected by nutrition habits with the objective of creating a campaign to raise awareness on the issue.

2- A project about art in relation with music with a Project devoted to the creation of a campaign to give visibility to the essential role of artists during the lockdown and their current struggle.

3- A project about female sport with the aim of the creation of an online magazine to publish results of female competitions.

4- A collaboration with local NGOs to get students to know their work with the creation of a video to promote them.

5- A project which deals with means of transport and environment with the creation of a blog that publish a survey among teachers, students and parents of the most common commuting ways and their long-term effects on environment.

# GOING DOWN IN HERSTORY: RE-WRITING WOMEN'S LIVES IN MICHÈLE ROBERTS'S "ON THE BEACH AT TROUVILLE"

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*ABSTRACT.* Throughout her writing career, Michèle Roberts has been one of the contemporary women writers who has re-constructed and retold the lives of previously forgotten, silenced or marginalised women. In an attempt to re-inscribe their voice, Roberts has re-written history from the female perspective by going back to the lives of female saints, Biblical figures and other female writers. In her last collection of short stories, *Mud: Stories of Sex and Love*, all the protagonists are women taken from historical or literary texts, to whom she has given voice, providing the reader with new visions of reality. This paper focuses on "On the Beach at Trouville", and analyses the strategies Roberts has used both to present the lives of Thérèse of Lisieux and Camille Monet from their own perspectives and to subvert the patriarchal construction of history.

*Keywords*: Michèle Roberts, herstory, women's historical fiction, re-writing, subversion, intertextuality.

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## "ON THE BEACH AT TROUVILLE" DE MICHÈLE ROBERTS:
## UNA REESCRITURA DE LA HISTORIA EN FEMENINO

*RESUMEN.* A lo largo de su carrera como escritora, Michèle Roberts ha sido una de las autoras contemporáneas que ha reconstruido y reescrito las vidas de mujeres previamente olvidadas, marginadas y silenciadas. En su intento por reinscribir sus voces en la historia, Roberts ha reescrito, desde una perspectiva femenina, las vidas de santas, figuras bíblicas y otras escritoras. En su última colección de relatos cortos, *Mud: Stories of Sex and Love*, todas las historias las protagonizan mujeres a las que Roberts da voz y con las que proporciona al lector nuevas visiones de la realidad previamente establecida. Este trabajo se centra en el análisis del relato "On the Beach at Trouville", donde se examinan las estrategias que Roberts utiliza para presentar las vidas de Teresa de Lisieux y de Camille Monet desde sus propias perspectivas, así como la subversión de la construcción patriarcal de la historia.

*Palabras clave:* Michèle Roberts, "herstoria", novela histórica escrita por mujeres, re-escritura, subversión, intertextualidad.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

From the last decades of the twentieth century, historical fiction written by women has experimented an important development. As Katherine Cooper and Emma Short assert, historical fiction written by men had always been associated with "accuracy and historical fact" (2012: 2), whereas female historical writings were defined as historical romance, and therefore marginalised for being considered, using Diana Wallace's term, as "escapist" (2005: 2), and "dismissed as 'unhistorical', 'factually inaccurate' or merely 'irrelevant' according to a male-defined model" (15). This is the reason why, as Ann Heilmann and Mark Llewellyn argue:

> Pushed to the margins of the literary and historical canon up until the latter third of the twentieth century, it is in part by reclaiming historical events and personages as subjects and participants in contemporary fictional accounts that women writers can begin to assert a sense of historical location. In this sense, it is by interrogating the male-centred past's treatment of women at the same time as seeking to undermine the 'fixed' or 'truthful' nature of the historical narrative itself that women can create their 'own' (counter-)histories. (2007: 2-3)

So, in an attempt to give voice and introduce the women's perspective into the patriarchal writings of the past from which they were erased, silenced or marginalised, acclaimed women writers as A.S. Byatt, Jeanette Winterson, Margaret Atwood, or Pat Barker, have gone back to different historical periods and rewritten them from a feminine perspective. In fact, not only have they reinvented such stories, but they have also presented female historical figures as protagonists in their

narratives, providing, in Cooper and Short's words, "a counter-narrative to the male-authored histories which precede them" (2012: 3). Amidst these female writers' re-imagining and reinserting the female experience in history, and therefore creating *herstory*, is Michèle Roberts. According to Sarah Falcus, "Roberts's novels engage creatively with the contemporary debate about the place of women in history and the ways in which women can tell their own stories" (2008: 133).

Based on postmodernism and concepts such as Linda Hutcheon's "historiographic metafiction" as well as building on Hélène Cixous's, Luce Irigaray's and other French feminists' theories, in her writings Roberts reflects on how the voice of women has been silenced in the construction of history. By means of an experimental and innovative style, the introduction of several points of view and the intertwining of stories and historical characters and events, she has been able to re-inscribe the voice of women in history. Following this path, her last collection of short stories, *Mud: Stories of Sex and Love* (2010), is also full of re-tellings from the female perspective. This paper focuses on one of these stories, "On the Beach at Trouville", which builds on the lives of two real women: Thérèse Martin (Saint Thérèse of Liseux) and Camille Doncieux (Claude Monet's wife). The main aim of this study is to analyse how the author reimagines and reconstructs both women's stories. To do it, a revision of Roberts's previous rewritings is presented. Then, the paper focuses on the main techniques the author uses to (re)construct these herstories: the use of language, structure, and intertextuality. Finally, it delves into the subversion of patriarchal dualistic logic and linearity, examining also the way these women's fragmented and unreliable accounts reflect how history is constructed and the resultant impossibility to offer a consistent historical re-telling.

## 2. MICHÈLE ROBERTS: RE-WRITING WOMEN'S LIVES

Michèle Roberts's narrative production has always shown a preoccupation with re-writing women's lives. From a more radical tone in the expression of her socio-political views in her first novels to the experimentation with different narrative forms, she has given voice to forgotten, marginalised or silenced women and re-told their stories from new viewpoints, denouncing the exclusion of the female's perspective in the construction of history.

Throughout her writing career, she has fictionalised the lives of various female historical characters, above all women writers. Published in 1999, *Fair Exchange* is the first novel where Roberts finds inspiration in other women's lives. Under the guise of a romantic plot, this novel deals in fact with revolutionary feminists from the eighteenth century and the study of how history is constructed. Roberts presents a story told from multiple points of view, all of them belonging to women, which are not the ones we usually get in traditional historical texts: lovers, servants, muses…, and it is from their marginal perspectives that readers get to know the whole story.

This technique of constructing history through different women's perspectives is repeated in *The Looking Glass* (2000). Here, the lives of two French poets, Stéphane Mallarmé and Gustave Flaubert, are used to construct the character of Gerard Colbert, whose voice is never heard. The main story is that of Geneviève, Colbert's servant and lover, but it is constantly disrupted by the stories of four different women who provide an account of the events they have lived from their own perspective. Hence, memories, situations and characters are described from more than one point of view, each one giving preference to some facts or emphasising particular details that may have been overlooked in the other narratives or not mentioned at all. In this vein, Roberts again gives voice to marginal women mainly forgotten in history —Colbert's servant, his lover, his niece and her governess or her niece's friend— and shows, through the use of five different and contradicting perspectives, how history is constructed and its unreliability.

Another instance of a multiplicity of voices and plots when re-constructing history can be found in *The Mistressclass* (2002), where two storylines unfold: while we read the story of two sisters in love with the same man, there are some chapters with a series of fictionalised letters that Charlotte Brontë writes to her Belgian mentor, Monsieur Heger, whom she is in love with.

Apart from these novels, Roberts has also written short stories about the lives of other female writers such as George Sand ("Remembering George Sand", 2011) or Colette ("Colette Looks Back", 2011). Besides, she has re-written epic stories as Beowulf with a young woman as a protagonist in "The Lay of Bee Wolf" (2011). All of them were published in the collection *Mud: Stories of Sex and Love*, which Marta Goszczynska describes as "an act of feminist revision" and links with Adrienne Rich's idea of "revisionary writing as a vital act of survival for women" (2018: 91).

Albeit having written on women from diverse origins in different times of history, a special emphasis has been put in retelling the lives of female saints. Although Roberts was born and raised a Catholic, she rejected religion at an early age and has criticised Catholicism because of its denial of women and the feminine. As Roberts herself has declared, "Catholicism was a misogynistic religion and I needed to write my way out of it (…) I wanted to smash up the old stories, which I felt had damaged me, and make something new with them" ("FAQ"), and that is exactly what she did in the novels which have Catholic female characters as protagonists. To her, as she told María Soraya García Sánchez, "the Church has been an institution of great oppression to women", and that is the reason why Roberts decided to tell "stories about women who fight back" (2005: 140).

Therefore, Roberts chooses hagiography as a narrative form in several publications and goes back to both the Bible and biographies of different female saints for inspiration. *The Visitation* (1983), her second novel, is a fragmented narrative told in a feminist confessional mode whose protagonist is a woman writer suffering from writer's block and trying to find an identity for herself as a woman. Roberts uses the Bible to construct her story; however, she does so to subvert a biblical myth. Quoting Jayita Sengupta, Roberts "leans on The Bible to render the

torment of a woman's isolation from her male counterpart" (2006: 104), and that is why the protagonist's story "reads like a parody of the Bible" (105). This has led Roberts to reinterpret the Catholic myth of the fall of paradise and to analyse and discuss how motherhood, the feminine or the place of women in society have been dealt with under the patriarchal law.

In *The Book of Mrs Noah* (1987), Roberts re-invents and re-writes the biblical story of the Flood and the construction of the Ark, a job which is, this time, accomplished by a woman: Mrs. Noah. What Mrs. Noah provides with the creation of her Ark is a place where women can tell their own stories, as a way to fight back the canonical and male-dominated narratives that have forgotten women in literature, history and religion; Mrs Noah's Ark is a place for women who have been silenced because they did not fit in the role imposed on them by men. The third novel based on a Biblical story is *The Wild Girl* (1984), a re-writing of the life of Jesus from a feminist perspective. The novel, written in the form of a fifth Gospel, is a recreation of Mary Magdalene's life told by herself, denouncing the denial of women in Catholicism and inserting them in this way into the Christian tradition.

Apart from the Bible, in her attempt to recover female voices, Roberts focuses on re-telling the stories of women saints, which have always been narrated from a male perspective. Recovering women's autobiographies is for Roberts a "kind of political homage: because women's autobiographies have been lost, because women have not been encouraged to tell their life stories, I want to tell them; I want to rescue women from history" (Bastida Rodríguez 2003: 98). *Impossible Saints* (1997) is the clearest example. Based on Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend*, a compilation of the lives of saints written in the thirteenth century and considered as a key text of medieval Christian hagiography, and taking also the life of Saint Teresa of Ávila as a source for the main character, Roberts retells the life of eleven women saints. As Sonia Villegas López points out in her study of this novel, by giving voice to these female saints, Roberts "makes clear that there were no miracles or self-sacrifices behind their legends, but only instances of patriarchal abuse" (2001: 179). Therefore, Roberts rewrites these saints' stories in which they try to liberate themselves from patriarchal norms in order to find their own identities and independence, thus subverting the tales told in hagiographic texts, criticising and rebelling against the definition of femininity imposed by the patriarchal system, which had led women to a state of alienation, submission and obedience.

Considered as a precedent for *Impossible Saints*, in *Daughters of the House* (1992) Roberts already used the life of a saint to construct a different story. Based on St. Thérèse of Lisieux's autobiography, the novel presents the two women protagonists' search for identity. Thérèse is presented as a nun that comes back from the convent to her former house as she is trying to write the story of her past. As she revises her childhood, in opposition to the account of her cousin-sister Léonie, with whom she shared the house, the reader is presented with a very different portrayal of the life of the saint. As Susanne Gruss argues, the use of Saint Thérèse of Lisieux's life is "a way to parody and subvert the topic of female mysticism", since "it is Léonie, the ordinary housewife, who is the true mystic, although her vision is not compliant

enough for the Catholic Church", while Thérèse, "the (ex)nun and seemingly 'orthodox' visionary, is merely a fraud" (2009: 86).

Roberts goes back to Thérèse de Lisieux's autobiography one more time to establish the background for "On the Beach at Trouville", a short story included in the collection *Mud: Stories of Sex and Love*, published in 2010. As in all the narratives mentioned in this section, by means of intertextuality and the mixture of different voices, Roberts creates an account of the lives of two real women in this short story: a young Thérèse de Lisieux before entering the convent, and Camille Doncieux, Claude Monet's wife, from their representation in Monet's canvas "The Beach at Trouville" (1870).

## 3. AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF HERSTORY IN "ON THE BEACH AT TROUVILLE"

In the attempt to rewrite women's lives and construct herstory, Michèle Roberts follows in the footsteps of other female authors and challenges the use of several narrative elements to which male have traditionally turned, thus subverting the patriarchal account of the lives of the female protagonists. The most relevant ones would be the type of language utilised, the way the story is structured, the use of intertextuality, and the subversion of topics and de-construction of binary opposites, which are analysed in the following subsections.

### 3.1. THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE AND STRUCTURE

In accordance with several studies on female (re)writing of historical fiction, in order to provide a counter-narrative to the official male vision of history, the latter must be deconstructed, while the women's voice cannot remain unwritten. As Liedeke Plate puts it, "it is because woman's experience is excluded from the literature of the past, because her lifeworld remains unarticulated in language, that twentieth-century feminist theorists from Virginia Woolf to Hélène Cixous have encouraged women to write. And to rewrite … as a remedy to women's silencing" (2011: 100). Therefore, it could be said that women's herstory will only be legitimised if it is actually written.

For this purpose, however, using the same language and syntactic structures that male accounts employ does not seem to operate. As Minsky indicates, when dealing with women's writing, "Kristeva's work highlights what she sees as the need for women to make language their own so that they can communicate their "feminine" experience" (1996: 188), and it is poetic language that Hélène Cixous, also a poet herself, claims as necessary to deconstruct the phallocentric discourse. As Jerinic suggests when describing Cixous's perception of *écriture feminine*, "poetry subverts ordinary language and is, consequently, writes Conley 'necessary to social transformation'", and it is precisely "the lyricism of her [Cixous's] essays" that "defy linearity or phallocentric logic" (1996: 110).

In this respect, Roberts herself has also alleged "the preponderance of the written over the spoken word" in novels like *The Wild Girl* (Plate 2011: 163) among other writings, and she repeats it in "On the Beach at Trouville". As is explained later on, young Thérèse is trying to write the story of her life, as well as Camille Doncieux is trying to be part of that written account too so that her story is not forgotten. As for the use of language, Roberts incorporates poetic elements to re-inscribe women's stories in this short narrative too through different metaphors and images. Similarly, she also draws on other approaches to structure that will enable her to subvert the male linearity Cixous discusses, as well as defy the patriarchal representation of history.

The language Roberts uses in "On the Beach at Trouville" is highly appealing to our senses, almost poetic at some points. Her prose is full of vivid descriptions and images related to colours that help create a special environment and a connection with the characters, to the point that Roberts has been considered "one of those writers descended perhaps as much from Monet and Debussy as Virginia Woolf or Keats… To read a book by her is to savour colour, sound, taste, texture and touch as never before" (Reviews).[1]

The fact that her narrative is full of metaphors and powerful imagery is undoubtedly linked to her work as a poet. As an author of several collections of poetry, Roberts has acknowledged that she does not feel her poetry and prose are different since "my novels are structured through metaphor" (Galván 1998: 373). Similarly, she has declared that short stories "seem like poems to me in that they may work through metaphor at some level, may connect two disparate images" (Aesthetica 2010). And this is precisely what she does in "On the Beach at Trouville" with the encounter she creates as the two women tell their stories. As expressed in the narrative, the women protagonists in "On the Beach at Trouville" represent "separate ends of the monochromatic scale" (Roberts 2011: 226), as one is dressed in white and the other in black. Each of them seems to be placed on one edge as an instance of the "disparate images" the author referred to. However, the two protagonists actually merge in the middle of this colour scale, which works as a metaphor to explain that nothing is what we have been told: black or white. Indeed, colours and visual images, as well as the use of olfactory and gustatory images, will have an important impact on the construction of the lives of both women in this short story, as is examined in depth later in this article, mainly in connection with the deconstruction of binary opposites.

Going back to the previous reference to the defying of linearity in women's fictional rewritings, Roberts's short narrative is in line with other theorists and writers

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[1] In more than one occasion, Roberts's narrative production has been praised for the language she uses. For instance, *Daughters of the House* has been described as a novel that "unfolds due to its rich imagery, poetic language and seemingly loose structure" and that "is situated somewhere "in-between" poetry, short story and novel (Plumer 2001: 63). In a similar vein, Hertel defined *Flesh and Blood* as "almost and edible book … in which the very language is suffused with gustatory experience" (2005: 132).

of feminine historical novels. Wallace uses Humm's words to recall how "Woolf presents history as circular not linear, as a series of scenes obliquely positioned in relation to the traditional ground narratives of political, imperial and literary history and biography" (2005: 35). In the same way, Wallace goes back once again to the French feminist Kristeva, who defined "women's time (1981) as 'cyclical' while men's time is "linear" (136). In "On the Beach at Trouville", we find this circular structure too: in the very first page of the story, Thérèse asks the painter "what's that?" (Roberts 2011: 213), referring to the forms he was painting, and the narrative ends with Thérèse asking "what's it [the painting] of?" (225). In doing so, the construction of the stories is neither linear nor chronological: ideas, events, and feelings come and go and reappear in different sequences. Although this cyclical pattern keeps both women somehow trapped, their voices are heard. While initially there is a stark contrast between them implied by black and white colours, at the end, after the painting has been completed, both women are still separated but "in between them [there is] blue and blue-grey and dark blue and indigo" (Roberts 2011: 226), the colours of the elements that metaphorically link their stories in the narrative.

## 3.2. THE USE OF INTERTEXTUALITY

Another important feature of any rewriting is the use of intertextuality. As Hutcheon explains, "it is only as part of prior discourses that any text derives meaning and significance" (1988: 126). If we move into historical female rewritings and to Roberts's in particular, Villegas describes how "the search for new forms of female expression, for new spaces of the feminine, ends with the recovery of long-lost voices", and "for that purpose, she [Roberts] chooses to rewrite and interpret some of the canonical texts of the Christian tradition, peopled by relevant women who have lived in men's shadows most times" (2001: 177). In this vein, "On the Beach at Trouville" presents the lives of two real women: Camille Doncieux and Thérèse of Lisieux, who happen to meet at the beach. The story begins with Monet in the process of painting his wife, Camille, dressed in white. While he is working, a girl dressed in total black, Thérèse, approaches them and takes a look at the picture. Roberts hence creates a fictionalised encounter between the painter and his muse/wife, and Thérèse, who is invited to sit next to Camille. The image that Roberts presents resembles the scene in the real picture: two young women, one dressed in white and the other in black, each sitting on a chair in the sand with the beach in the background.[2]

As a means to give voice and re-tell both women's stories, Roberts establishes a double dialogic relationship with two different texts: a literary one —*The Story of a Soul*, St. Thérèse of Lisieux's official autobiography, published in 1898—, and a pictorial one: Claude Monet's impressionist oil on canvas "The Beach at Trouville", painted in 1870. In the case of Thérèse, Roberts goes back to her official

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[2] Roberts changes the real character dressed in black in the real picture, who has been identified by several researchers as Madame Boudin, the wife of Monet's mentor, Eugène Boudin.

autobiography to subvert it in the story. As for Camille, we find an intertextual, intersemiotic or, using Hutcheon's term, interdiscursive relation between how she is represented in Monet's pictures and what has transcended of her life through Claude Monet's biography and personal correspondence. In this way, Roberts takes what could be considered as biased accounts of both women's lives and re-imagines them.

As a matter of fact, the official accounts of these women's lives have been either silenced or revised by patriarchal authorities, hence the need to retell them. On the one hand, there is no authorised biography or autobiography of Camille Doncieux and little is known about her life. Apart from Ruth Butler's study of Camille's figure, she is only recognised by how she has been portrayed by her husband (and other painters), and by what Monet told about her in different letters he sent to family or colleague painters. On the other hand, although there is an autobiography written by St Thérèse of Lisieux, the story of her life was finally published after having been heavily revised and edited by Mother Agnes of Jesus, one of St. Thérèse's sisters, and by several male Church authorities, so the accuracy of the final text can be considered highly unreliable. As a result, and using Roberts's words from the story, "the picture", both the one told in the real canvas and the official accounts of these women's lives, "is not whole, doesn't offer a coherent story" (Roberts 2011: 213) for any of them.

Yet another instance of intertextuality lies here in connection with how the story is structured. In this sense, Camille and Thérèse's stories unfold while Monet is painting the picture. Interestingly enough, his picture seems to be what provides a frame for the narrative, but although both women converse with him, his few words are irrelevant, and his presence serves only to link the construction of both women's herstories. Despite having taken the male perspective out of the narrative, intertextuality comes into play again as Roberts divides her short story into different subheadings, mirroring a formal analysis of the painting itself. The story is introduced by an "Abstract" that acquaints the reader with the scene and the three characters. This is followed by an "Autobiography", probably playing with the fact that Monet was actually capturing a special moment in his own life. However, it refers to the autobiography Thérèse is writing and the account of her day on the beach and other childhood memories.

The next subheading is "Annunciation", a biblical term that at first sight would make sense for Thérèse due to her religious beliefs, but which introduces the story of Camille's honeymoon and pregnancy, and describes her happy moments at Trouville. The following chapters, entitled "Blue", "Clouds" and "Darkness", make reference to some of the most relevant features of the painting. In them, the stories of both women merge with the study of the different pictorial elements which serve as one-word metaphors for these women's feelings. While "Annunciation" and "Autobiography" talk about Camille and Thérèse respectively as a way of presenting both characters and their backgrounds, from there both stories converge from white to blue elements, and it is in the subsequent chapters where both women talk about their feelings and fears and the stories get connected.

### 3.3. SUBVERTED TOPICS, DUALISMS AND UNRELIABLE VOICES

In her study of women's historical narratives, Harris makes reference to the "inherent unreliability and mutability of history itself", and goes on to claim that "there is no such thing as a neutral narrative" (2012: 173). Having this in mind, even though Robert rewrites these women's lives in order to get their voices heard, we do not get a reliable account either. Whilst it becomes apparent from the outset that Roberts wants to re-write the protagonists' herstories, it is still paramount to bear in mind that there is no reliable narrative voice and therefore, the stories she constructs are inconsistent too. As Falcus avers, "all of Roberts's historical and mythical reconfigurations are notable for their insistence upon the textual nature of any remake and the inability to 'tell the truth' in any narrative, questioning the process of both history and historical retelling" (2008: 133). Following this line of thought, "On the Beach at Trouville" is not different, because even though it offers the women's perspective and voice, it also presents the readers with the unreliability of a historical account. This idea is reinforced by two main elements: first, the structure of the short story, which is, as explained above, divided into different subheadings that mix both stories, while at the same time relying on the official/patriarchal historical records; second, the use of different narrative voices which are sometimes in stark contrast to the characters' actions. In connection with the latter element, Roberts has said in an interview with Newman that she never trusted the omniscient narrator and "preferred to invent new forms of the novel in which you might have several voices telling a story because they make a quarrel: voices not from up high looking down, but on the ground, or coming from the weak and the dispossessed" (2004: 126).

At first sight, and regarding the presence of binary opposition, the story presents the two female characters as polar opposites in the colour of their clothes. This playing with perspectives, colours and dualisms, and what they represent, will operate throughout the story. For instance, the black colour is for the nun-to-be, the saint (Thérèse), who chooses confinement but enjoys freedom. On the other hand, Camille, the sinner who enjoys sex, is dressed in white and compared to the pregnant Madonna, and while she has freedom, Camille asks to be kept behind bars at least metaphorically, so as not to get lost.

Regarding these opposing views, as Humm explains, Kristeva and Irigaray "argue that the feminine is represented in language by process, by heterogeneity and fluidity, whereas the masculine is represented by fixed forms like binary opposition" (2013: 148). Similarly, Rosalind Minsky suggests that "the existing categories and binary structures do not reflect this [feminine] experience" (1996: 188). In the case of Roberts in this short story, these binary opposition (black and white, sinner and saint, good and bad, freedom and confinement) are actually blurred as the story develops. The story shows a mixture of the official accounts of both women's lives and Roberts's re-imaginings; therefore, the women's identities are fragmented, as the narrative is. When sat at the beach as models for Monet's picture, they are just performing a role, a perfect display of opposites. According to the story, Monet does not know who the girl in black is, but "he doesn't care; sharp-edged, she suits his

composition, and that's what matters" (Roberts 2011: 222). These words reflect how women have always been portrayed in history: as well as in his painting, women have just been *models*, but their real voices and identities have not been considered relevant, and the image perceived is therefore given through a biased male perspective.

However, in this case, we the readers know there is something else, as the picture is incomplete: because of the painting style, if we look at these women's faces, they are blurred, diffused, unfinished, as the ambivalent account that Roberts presents and, if we extrapolate the concept, as history is. The stories of these women are yet to be told, and we cannot just look at the picture to learn about them: their voices are needed, and will be introduced through the use of metaphor and intertextual reference. The story begins with white and ends in darkness, and the narrator keeps making the difference between black and white, but both women seem to be comfortable at some point of the colour scale: blue. In fact, the blue colour and the connections Roberts makes with blue elements in reference to both the real picture and the real autobiography are what eventually uncover both women's real feelings as stated earlier, and it is there where these binary opposites get subverted.

On the one hand, Camille is painted under a blue parasol which represents a blue sky and matches the blue sea. For her, "blue indicates the time for dreaming, imagining. Camille is living in blue time. *L'heure bleue*, when the sky changes day into evening. Radiant blue darkness" (Roberts 2011: 222). The French term, meaning "the blue hour", refers to the time of the day when there is no light of day nor complete darkness. In painting, it is considered as one of the very best moments, because the lighting is soft, diffused, and warm. In this case, it would serve to represent Camille's relaxed placid mood.

As we learn from the narrative in the subheading entitled "Annunciation", she is enjoying her honeymoon with her husband, and she is pregnant. She feels happy and surrounded by light as her white dress represents. Camille goes back to the biblical image of the virgin Mary and how the birth of a baby means a new beginning (218), probably thinking that this baby will change her fate. She recalls how the annunciation of Jesus' birth is sometimes represented "as a beam of light. God's decision falls into his chosen one's lap in a blaze of radiance" (218). And this is exactly how she is being portrayed in the picture. Then, she compares herself again with the virgin Mary by equating the image in church paintings where she appears with "a crown of bright flowers" (219) with her own new hat also adorned with colourful flowers. She is clearly defined as "part of the pale, light-bleached landscape", which reminds fictional Monet "of Piero della Francesca's image of the pregnant Madonna pointing at the slit in her gown, the swell of the baby dancing inside" (220). Here is where we get a first distortion of binary thought: Roberts plays with the dichotomies sinner/saint, virgin/mother, being the next reference to the white of the sheets and curtains of the room where Camille would have sex with her husband after a delicious feast which is described as a metaphor for sexual practice.

Yet from the white of the morning and all the light and happiness that surround her, at midday, she shelters under her blue parasol and is surrounded by the blue of the sea and the sky. It is at this moment, surrounded by blue, when Monet starts painting Thérèse. At first, it is the white light that connects the two women by "splashing onto Camille's frock, sliding across the back of the chair, touching the edge of the page of Thérèse's book. The light knots them together in a white net of secret thoughts" (223). It is those "secret thoughts" that are not verbalised that Roberts's narrative will tell. Again, the idea of a woman's account of her own life and feelings being lost, silenced and forgotten is present here. Camille's comments indicate that she will just be seen as some woman who modelled for the painter, but that her story, and her feelings, will be forgotten: nobody will care about them. As Ruth Butler states, real Camille knew "she was at the centre of the event, yet everything was out of her control" (2008: 132), and that she was performing "an actress role showing off an appealing display of her current life, or at least the life she wanted, though, in actuality, it was barely hers" (144). Hence Camille's need of being observed at that very moment of happiness before it was lost, for she knows that "once a painting's finished, packed up, sold, who cares about the model? She needs to be appreciated now, this moment. Camille needs Thérèse to raise her eyes and admire a blissful married couple" (Roberts 2011: 223).

This reinforces the idea of women's need to have their story written if they do not want to be erased from history and therefore forgotten. Camille asks Thérèse twice throughout the story to sit next to her; she needs Thérèse there, as "a witness of her happiness" before it fades, as the white light does. She can see Thérèse is writing and, if she reflects this encounter in her book and learns how Camille feels, she could maybe record it in words so that her story is remembered every time someone reads Thérèse's book. As the blue hour approaches, Camille goes from happiness to distress, above all when Thérèse refuses to stay and eat with them, for she knows that moment of happiness will be lost and forgotten, that is why Thérèse suddenly becomes a threatening image for Camille.

Indeed, Camille becomes afraid of the darkness Thérèse represents and which matches the dark clouds approaching, maybe as a metaphor for what will come next in her life, to the point that, having realised that her story of happiness will be lost forever, does not know who she is anymore: "Camille begins to loosen, her edges start to flow out, she could be anyone, anything. Who am I? What's a self? She might get lost, never get back to herself" (224). It is at this moment when, according to the story, "she wants Monet to paint neat black lines around her, holding her in; to paint a chair between herself and the girl in black; like bars. Keep off. Don't touch me." (224). The reader never knows whether Monet does as she asks, but it is worth mentioning that if we observe the real painting, we can actually see black strokes in Camille's white dress around the sleeves, and the chair is there too. Camille's fears are therefore portrayed in the story in the figure of Thérèse, she feels threatened and sees Thérèse as "a ghost come to warn of approaching death" (224). And even though she tries to concentrate on the happiness of the moment, and she tries to

convince herself of the happy life with her husband and child that awaits her, she is afraid of losing that feeling forever.

If we turn into the other edge of the painting, blue is not only important in the construction of Camille's identity but it also plays a significant role in Thérèse's life. The search for identity in Thérèse's case and her connection with blue elements are more related with the loss of the maternal figure. As mentioned above, both women are not so different and even though they are presented as opposites from the colour of their clothes, Thérèse also moves from white to blue even if she is dressed in black, where her story will end. Despite the fact that when she looks at it "the picture makes her feel smashed up inside" (214), the first element that gets Thérèse's interest in the painting is its whiteness. The white brushstrokes shaping parts of the sky, the sea, and Camille's dress make Thérèse think about babies' souls, maybe after having noticed Camille's pregnancy. To her, "babies' souls are white except for the dark stain of original sin; the human fingerprint" (213).

After this first reference to religious terms, we soon learn that Thérèse wants to be a nun at the convent in Lisieux, and that she is trying to record her memories in a notebook to write her autobiography. In point of fact, the details presented rely heavily on Thérèse's official autobiography, as we analyse in the following paragraphs. However, what we get in Roberts's narrative is an ambivalent account and the reader can immediately realise that Thérèse's words do not match her feelings entirely. In the subheading "Autobiography", Thérèse records this episode on the beach at Trouville after thinking how writing from the convent would probably be quite different to writing then. At this point it is important to remember how freely she could write back then and how her real autobiography was revised and censored by male church authorities, going back to the idea of history being constructed from patriarchal authority even if a woman was the author.

The account of her childhood begins with the loss of her mother. This loss, either real or metaphorical, is actually one of Roberts's more recurrent topics. In this case, the loss is real. As we learn from *The Story of a Soul* (1975), Thérèse Martin's mother died of cancer when she was a little girl, and then she continued losing other maternal figures she attached to. As in real life, the same happens to fictional Thérèse: first, her mother dies; then, her older sisters enter the convent, so, for her, "motherless time never ends. Mothers slip like sand through Thérèse's fingers: birth mothers, foster mothers, godmothers. At her fingertip touch the hourglass tilts; sand runs through; repeatedly. Mothers like grains of sand vanish: into death, back onto the farm; into the convent." (215). For this reason, Thérèse feels alone and cries quite often: "Tides of loss that repeat, repeat. Water lashes Thérèse's eyes and her family reproach her from crying so often: such weakness, such self-indulgence. Where's your faith? Your mother's in heaven." (216). The strong religious culture she has grown up with, as well as the fact that her sisters are nuns in the convent, have led her to believe that her destiny is to devote her life to the convent as well: visiting her older sister at the convent is the only way to go back to a maternal figure, the only way to feel cherished.

However, during the summer she spends on the beach with her aunt's family in Trouville, there seems to be another way of being near God and her mother: if she melted with the blue ocean, she would reunite with her mother and she "will inhabit heaven, play in God's garden, be sheltered in God's house" (216). When Thérèse looks at the sea from the cliff, she thinks of jumping and smashing into the rocks to end with her suffering of having to live without a mother and even though she feels afraid of being drowned, "she longs to jump in. Gods' there. Her mother's there. Fall off the cliff and let them catch you" (225). The image of being surrounded by water to find one's true identity and to go back to the maternal repeats in several of Roberts's works. A clear example is found in *Daughters of the House*, also based on the figure of Thérèse of Lisieux; whose protagonist only feels complete and finds her true identity in the waters of the sea. Once again, as the character based on Thérèse in *Daughters of the House*, the young Thérèse in this short story also sees water as an element that represents wholeness, where she can feel re-connected with her mother, safe in the ocean's water as we do in the water of the maternal womb.

Yet despite these thoughts, the influence of Thérèse's older sister is quite powerful, and we can see the clash between her feelings and desires for freedom the sea provides and the account of a life of self-imposed penance. A clear example of this ambivalence is told under the subheading "Blue", when Thérèse goes back to her childhood: it is raining in Normandy; the sky is blue. A servant girl looks at Thérèse from the path below the house and tells her: "enough blue to make a pair of sailor's trousers!", while Thérèse responds "no, a cloak for the Virgin" (221). At that moment, she is painting a holy picture of Child Jesus holding a ball, and she responds not according to her wishes, but as expected by using blue for the Virgin instead of the mundane sailor's trousers. So, rather than following her instincts and going to play under the rain, she goes on painting: "She wants to don a pair of clogs like the servant's girl, go out into the blue-grey drizzle, rock through the mud, feel wet on her face, spin round and dance and shriek. Instead, she sits back down at her desk and carries on painting" (221). What is more, right after repressing her urge to go and play under the rain

> she slides her hand into her apron pocket, touches the string of loose beads she keeps there. A discipline taught to her by her older sister the nun. She slips one bead along the string, to mark her gesture of self-denial in not going out to play in the rain; knots the bead into place. Come Sunday, she'll count up her acts of sacrifice, record her week's tally in her little blue notebook. (221)

This passage is recorded by Thérèse herself in her autobiography, where it is portrayed as a deed given that she is not yet allowed to enter the convent (Martin 1795: 13). Conversely, Roberts's account seems more conflicted, showing almost a struggle between Thérèse's joy of freedom and the (self)inflicted punishments. On the one hand, it seems that Thérèse behaves in this way to please her sister. It is the only maternal figure she has, so she is obedient and does as her sister says to make her proud and to feel loved and approved:

> When she visits her sister in the convent parlour on Sunday afternoon to give her the picture she'll tell her these memory-beads and her sister will stretch her hand through the grille and pat her. (…) Her sister will say: even on holiday at Trouville you'll find occasions for self-discipline, just you wait and see. (Roberts 2011: 221)

Thérèse informs her sister that her aunt is taking her on a summer holiday with her family and wants to buy her a new summer dress. While getting a new dress could be viewed as a treat and something to look forward to, Thérèse disguises it as another act of penance: "I'll be obedient and wear it. That's my mortification!". But her sister knows better and tells her: "make sure it's black, though, *ma chérie*" (222). And that is the reason why she is wearing a black dress in the hot summer at Trouville.

Despite this, in Roberts's account we see a fourteen-year-old Thérèse two years ahead of entering the convent, who goes to the beach with her aunt, uncle and cousins and appears to be enjoying the freedom it provides: "the beach offers liberty to the troop of cousins", as they:

> can run, yell, dive in and out of the waves, invent new games in the water, explore caves… Thérèse takes her boots off, rolls her stockings down. She walks barefoot over the flat expanse of sand towards the distant, shining line of the sea. She allows herself to paddle at the water's edge. A shock of cold water: strokes of hot sun. She discards her tight little black jacket, rolls up the black sleeves of her blouse. The air caresses her bare arms… (217)

She is enjoying her time at the beach so much that she does not feel she can read nor write what she is experiencing there. It is impossible for her to go on with her diary of "a saint" because there is "too much light. Too much beach, too much sea" (224-225). So as to write it, she needs the darkness and isolation of the convent, as she "wants to shape her life into the story of her search for God" and comments that "she'll delay writing her autobiography as long as possible, while she perfects herself" (215). With this in mind, it is clear how she is censuring her own account: a day of joy at the beach does not fit with the life of a saint, the appropriate version of her life cannot be written under the light but from the perspective of the convent where, instead of playing with the sand as she did on the beach, "she'll be sand in God's mortar and he can grind her to dust" (225) and therefore, her real life and identity will disappear, and it will be others who will tell her story.

As we have seen, both women are therefore in need to tell their own stories before they are silenced, adapted or forgotten. Camille's identity and her memories will vanish once the canvas is finished and sold, as no one else will know the real story behind the painting. The same happens with Thérèse, as in her search of God and as a nun, it will not be possible to recount this type of memories or feelings that would be seen as hysterical and heretic.

4. CONCLUSION

In "On the Beach at Trouville" Michèle Roberts re-tells the lives of Camille Doncieux and Thérèse Martin in an attempt to give voice to silenced women and re-construct their stories from new viewpoints, denouncing the exclusion of the women's perspective in the construction of history. In order to re-build these women's herstories, Roberts chooses one of Monet's real paintings as a frame for the story and invents a fictionalised encounter between the just-married couple and a young Thérèse of Lisieux. This time, even though it is Monet who is painting both women, it is their voice that gets heard, contrasting with the official accounts of their lives recorded from a biased male perspective.

In her re-construction of both women's stories, Roberts follows other female rewritings and feminist theories, and aligns with Wallace's idea that contemporary women writers "emphasise the subjective, fragmentary nature of historical knowledge through rewritings of canonical texts, through multiple or divided narrators, fragmentary or contradictory narratives, and disruptions of linear chronology" (2005: 204). Indeed, the story is told through poetic language and multiple voices, and it does not follow a linear but a circular structure. Similarly, the use of intertextuality is a key element in this short story: the accounts both women provide in Roberts's narrative are built upon the official version of Thérèse's life (her autobiography, *The Story of a Soul*), and how other male visions have portrayed Camille.

As we have seen in the previous analysis, the presence of all these elements makes Roberts's account an ambivalent one. As Falcus wisely pinpoints, "telling herstories is not unproblematic and the women in these texts struggle to find voices and order their tales, emphasizing the unreliability of language and narrative" (2008: 140), and this is exactly what we find in "On the Beach at Trouville". The accounts of both stories and the mix with the official records of both women's lives show these women's diffused and fragmented identities, just as their images are portrayed in the real painting. Despite this, although the (re)construction of both women's herstories can be considered as unreliable because of the way they are told, patriarchal binary oppositions are challenged and, what is more important, Roberts gives both women voice to retell their stories so that they can be rewritten and re-inscribed in history.

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# EXPLORING ANXIETY AND SELF-EFFICACY IN WRITING: A CASE OF AN ENGLISH PREPARATORY PROGRAM

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ABSTRACT. This paper investigates the level and type of writing anxiety among Turkish EFL students along with the causes of the anxiety perceived by them and their instructors. The EFL writing self-efficacy level of the students was examined, and with the findings obtained, the relationship between writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy in EFL classes was investigated. To meet these objectives, 176 (A2, intermediate level) Turkish EFL students and 6 instructors enrolled in a language preparatory program offered by a state university in Istanbul, Turkey participated in the study. The data were gathered both quantitative and qualitatively through the Second Language Writing Anxiety Inventory (SLWAI), Self-efficacy in Writing Scale (SWS), Causes of Writing Anxiety Inventory (CWAI), and semi-structured interviews. The results revealed that the students had either a high or moderate level of writing anxiety in English, and they mostly suffered from cognitive anxiety. Their level of writing self-efficacy was also moderate, and there was a negative correlation between self-efficacy and writing anxiety among the participants. The results of this study suggest implications about coping with anxiety and self-efficacy in writing classes at language preparatory programs.

*Keywords:* Language Skills, Writing, Writing Anxiety, Writing Self-Efficacy, Causes of Anxiety, EFL Learners.

# EXPLORANDO LA ANSIEDAD Y LA AUTOEFICACIA EN LA PRODUCCIÓN ESCRITA: ESTUDIO DE CASO DE UN PROGRAMA DE PREPARATORIA DE INGLÉS

*RESUMEN.* Este artículo investiga el nivel y tipo de ansiedad que desarrollan los estudiantes turcos de ILE y cuáles son las causas que perciben los propios estudiantes y sus instructores. Además, se examina la autoeficacia de los estudiantes de ILE en la producción escrita, y con estos resultados se establece y se investiga la relación entre la ansiedad y la autoeficacia que surge ante la escritura en las clases de ILE. En el estudio han participado 176 estudiantes turcos de ILE de nivel pre-intermedio (A2, nivel intermedio) matriculados en un programa de preparación de idioma ofertado por la universidad pública de Estambul y 6 instructores. Los datos han sido recogidos tanto cuantitativamente como cualitativamente usando the Second Language Writing Anxiety Inventory (SLWAI), Self-efficacy in Writing Scale (SWS), Causes of Writing Anxiety Inventory (CWAI), y entrevistas semiestructuradas. Los resultandos han revelado que los estudiantes sufren una ansiedad alta o moderada cuando se enfrentan a la producción escrita en inglés, y la mayoría sufre ansiedad cognitiva. Su nivel de autoeficacia es también moderado, y se da una correlación negativa entre la autoeficacia y la ansiedad. Estos resultados sugieren implicaciones relativas a cómo hacer frente a la ansiedad y la autoeficacia durante las clases de producción escrita de los programas de preparación de idioma.

*Palabras clave:* destrezas lingüísticas, escritura, ansiedad ante la escritura, autoeficacia ante la escritura, causas de la ansiedad, estudiantes de ILE.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Learning a new language is a complex process that can get affected by several aspects such as cognitive, metacognitive, demographic, and affective factors (Brown 1973; Sparks and Ganschow 1996; Olivares-Cuhat 2010; Arnold 2011). Owing to their crucial role in learning, affective factors can be influential during the process of language learning. Anxiety, as one of the affective factors, can affect the course of language learning, thus this phenomenon should be defined and explained in detail (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986). Anxiety is an emotional and subjective feeling of tension that has an important role in learning a language (Ellis 2006) and it is one of the notions, which makes the process of language learning challenging (Guzel and Aydin 2014; Subasi 2010; Han, Tanriover, and Sahan 2016; Zhang and Rahimi 2014). Essentially, while some learners might tend to experience apprehension in any language class, some might be vulnerable to suffer from apprehension in a condition that requires the use of a specific language skill mainly (Cheng, Horwitz and Schallert 1999). At that point, it is possible to mention the skill-specific, writing foreign language anxiety which originated from Daly and Miller's (1975) as the situation of being prone to stay away from the writing process specifically if the writing is supposed to be evaluated. In its recent definition, writing anxiety means distressing and damaging emotions (related to the learners

themselves as writers, the situation which requires writing, or the writing activity) which hinder the flow of the writing process (Rankin-Brown 2006).

Self-efficacy is another affective variable that has an impact on learning developing writing skills and writing performance. Self-efficacy is defined as self-efficacy as beliefs in one's ability to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments (Bandura 1994: 71). Many distinguished scholars indicated that language learners who possess a higher level of writing self-efficacy can show a better performance in writing with a lower level of writing anxiety in contrast to ones with low-level writing self-efficacy (Bruning and Horn 2000; Pajares 2003; Pajares and Cheong 2003; Pajares and Johnson 1994; Pajares and Valiante 1997; 2006).

As mentioned above, anxiety and self-efficacy are critical affective factors in the writing process. To get a clearer understanding of these affective factors, it is essential to determine writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy levels of language learners and, identify the perceived reasons which cause such anxiety.

## 2. AFFECTIVE FACTORS IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Language learning is closely related to human psychology, affect, and the social factors which shape the way they perceive the language itself and the process of learning. The first attempts to explain the effects of "affect" on language learning were in the late 1950s and 1960s presented by Gardner and Lambert (1972) at McGill University as Schumann (1975) reported in his study. Hilgard (1963) declared that approaching the issue of learning with cognitive theories entirely should be abandoned if the role of affectivity is not regarded. Cognition and affect should not be considered separately. Examining the concepts related to the personality of humans is a key to find out solutions for difficult situations in language learning.

Anxiety is one of the affective variables which can influence the learning process, especially in foreign language learning (Na 2007). It was defined by some psychologists as an apprehensive state of mind, an obscure worry which is incidentally linked to a matter (Hilgard *et al*. 1971). Spielberger and Barratt (1972) remarked that anxiety is the displeasing stress which can be discerned consciously and the apprehension activating and triggering the autonomic nervous system. MacIntyre and Gardner (1991) tried to explain the development of anxiety and they stated that students with high-level anxiety are also exposed to the consequences of their negative apprehensive feelings along with the hardship of the task requirements which makes the process much more difficult for them. Their performance on a task can be damaged by their negative self-perception, and thus their anxiety level goes up.

Self-efficacy is another factor that can be considered as a powerful indicator of achievement in the learning process of writing skills. Bandura (1994) argued that self-efficacy is the presumptions of individuals related to their success in fulfilling a task that can influence their lives. Additionally, self-efficacy has been proven to be

associated with anxiety in language learning. Studies have indicated that language learners who possess a higher level of writing self-efficacy can show a better performance in writing with a lower level of writing anxiety in contrast to ones with low-level low writing self-efficacy (McCarthy *et al.* 1985; Pajares and Valiante 2006). Hence, this study aims to shed light on the relationship between anxiety and self-efficacy in writing.

Writing skills can be more challenging for a foreign language learner because writing in a foreign language requires creative thinking, sufficient knowledge of language mechanics, and some other important abilities which are cognitively demanding (MacIntyre and Cardner 1994).

## 2.1. WRITING ANXIETY

Bloom (1985) defined writing anxiety as "a label for one or a combination of feelings, beliefs, or behaviors that interfere with a person's ability to start, work on, or finish a given writing task that he or she is intellectually capable of doing" (p. 12). He emphasized the hindrance against a good performance in completing a writing task caused by the negative feelings despite the writer's intellectual capability to complete the task. Writing anxiety can reveal itself both in the form of an attitude arising in time and for a specific situation while completing a particular writing task (Riffe and Stacks 1992). Hassan (2001) supported that experiencing anxiety while writing in a foreign language is situational.

Cheng (2004a) offered three main types of anxiety which are somatic anxiety, cognitive anxiety, and avoidance behavior. It can be claimed that cognitive anxiety is connected to the reflection of anxiety on cognition along with pessimistic assumptions and concern about the performance and the ideas of other people. It was highlighted that cognitive factors are the main determiners of the relationship between anxiety and writing performance in the target language while somatic or behavioral factors cannot have a more powerful impact on this issue. In addition, recent studies (*e.g.* Blasco 2016; Ekmekçi 2018; Kara 2013; Khelalfa 2018; Kusumaningputri *et al.* 2018; Rezaei and Jafari 2014; Jebreil, Azizifar and Gowhary 2015; Kırmızı 2015) accepted cognitive anxiety as the most powerful one compared to other two subtypes of anxiety namely somatic anxiety and avoidance behavior. On the other hand, somatic anxiety was associated with the perception of the individuals on the psychological impact of anxiety which can arise when negative feelings such as stress and apprehension were experienced.

## 2.2. THE CAUSES OF WRITING ANXIETY

The studies investigating the causes of writing anxiety found out various reasons triggering and increasing anxiety in EFL writing. In the study conducted by Lin and Ho (2009) negative evaluation of the teacher and getting bad grades were the main causes of writing anxiety. Zhang (2011) asserted that test-taking, poor self-

confidence in writing, given topic for the writing task, insufficient linguistic competence, and time limitation were anxiety triggering factors in writing. Moreover, the findings of the study of Erkan and Saban (2011) pointed out that the reason why the learners hesitate to deal with writing tasks is mostly related to their lack of language skills. Kara (2013) emphasized that the reasons may arise from the concept of writing, writing as a language skill, instructors, and course books. It was noted that writing anxiety is another version of test-taking anxiety caused by insufficient experience in writing. The students tend to think that they would fail, and they were anxious because they had insufficient experience in writing while they were experienced in test-taking throughout their previous education life.

Rezaei and Jafari (2014) created a brand-new scale, the Causes of Writing Anxiety Inventory (CWAI), and it was applied to 120 Iranian EFL learners. The most outstanding causes detected in the study were insufficient competence in the target language, lack of self-esteem in writing, the fear of negative evaluation of teachers about the writing production. As one of the recent studies on the issue, Kırmızı and Kırmızı (2015) detected that the most serious cause was time pressure for writing anxiety. Secondly, the negative evaluation of the teacher was one of the reasons. Next, insufficient writing practice in English, the feeling of stress caused by perfect writing expectations, the number and frequency of given writing assignments, problems about topic choice, low self-esteem, the concerns about exams were the other influential causes of writing anxiety in order. In the study of Liu and Ni (2015), the interviews with EFL students revealed the difficulty of writing in another language, the efforts to write properly, their concerns about the results of the exams, lack of vocabulary knowledge, insufficient practice in writing, encountering with unfamiliar genres for the writing task, being slow were the identified causes for writing anxiety. Cone (2016) argued that writing anxiety may be influenced by a variety of social and academic factors such as class grades, paper deadlines, fear of failure, life or social issues. Finally, in a recent study, Sabti, Rashid, Nimehchisalem, and Darmi (2019) revealed that higher writing anxiety led to poorer writing performance among language learners.

### 2.3. WRITING SELF-EFFICACY

The first introduction of the concept of self-efficacy was made in the social cognitive theory by Bandura (1986) and later explained by Bandura (1994) as the awareness of a person related to their skills to be able to complete a specific level task. The psychologists Heslin and Klehe (2006) also defined the term self-efficacy as the major individual factor which has a profound impact on the performance of the person in task achievement by supporting the skills of organization and strategy use. Jones (2008) described self-efficacy as having self-esteem related to the capacity to complete a given task successfully and acting by using required abilities. Self-efficacy also influences the capacity of the learners to be successful at reaching their goals both in their daily life and academic work.

Writing self-efficacy can be defined as the beliefs related to writing abilities (Bandura 1986: p. 94). If a person feels confident about their writing skills, it is the indicator of a high level of writing self-efficacy. Pajares and Johnson (1994) asserted that writing self-efficacy is the understanding of the learners regarding their writing competence including the ability to fulfill a variety of writing tasks, using language appropriately, knowing about the mechanics of writing, and composing skills for different tasks. Lavelle (2006) emphasized that writing self-efficacy motivates language learners in terms of problem-solving when they encounter hard writing tasks. Several research studies unveiled that writing self-efficacy can determine the performance in writing skills (Pajares and Johnson 1994; Sabti *et al.* 2019; Shah, Mahmud, Din, Yusof and Pardi 2011; Shehzadi and Krishnasamy 2018). Pajares and Johnson (1994) pointed out the important predictive role of writing self-efficacy on writing performance not only at the end but also at the beginning of the term. In recent studies, Sabti *et al.* (2019) and Shah *et al.* (2011) reported that the correlation between self-efficacy and writing performance was significantly positive. Moreover, the apprehension related to writing, absence of self-esteem in writing skills, reluctance to write lead to be less proficient at writing tasks (Pajares 2003). In brief, the writing production is influenced profoundly by the writing self-efficacy of individuals (Shehzadi and Krishnasamy 2018). This study, therefore, attempts to address the concepts of writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy along with the perceived causes to provide implications about creating a non-threatening and positive learning environment in EFL classrooms.

## 3. RESEARCH METHOD

### 3.1. OBJECTIVES

The present study aims to investigate the levels of writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy among Turkish EFL learners and examine if there is any relationship between the two affective factors. The study also seeks to find out the perceptions of students and their instructors related to the causes of anxiety in English writing classes. To meet these objectives, the following research questions were addressed:

RQ1: What is the level of writing anxiety of Turkish EFL learners?

RQ2: What type of writing anxiety do the Turkish EFL learners experience in their writing courses?

RQ3: What is the level of writing self-efficacy of the participants?

RQ4: Is there a significant relationship between writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy?

RQ5: What are the perceptions of the language learners about the causes of writing anxiety in English classes?

RQ6: What are the perceptions of the instructors about the causes of writing anxiety in their English classes?

## 3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

For this study, a mixed-methods research design was used to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data. Creswell (2003: 6) highlighted the benefit of utilizing mixed research methods by stating that "well-validated and substantiated findings" can be gathered by using both qualitative and quantitative data collection tools. In this research, the administration of the questionnaires was followed up with the interviews conducted with the students and their instructors.

## 3.3. CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS

This study was conducted at an English language preparatory school of a state university in Istanbul, Turkey. The participants were native Turkish speakers learning English as a second language whose ages ranged between 18 to 20 years old. They had to improve their language skills to follow their undergraduate course in various disciplines such as Engineering and Architecture

At the beginning of the academic year, the prospective students took a local standardized placement test designed by the Testing Office which is based on the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) international language standards. Based on the exam scores, the classes were arranged in two groups, B1 (pre-intermediate) and A2 (elementary) levels. The sample of this study was selected from 176 A2 level students (89 male, 87 female) as it was the primary level the preparatory students were engaged in. Specifically, the reason for choosing this level was to detect the writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy levels as well as identify the possible causes behind these tendencies before moving to the upper level of proficiency.

Apart from the preparatory students, 6 EFL instructors (2 male, 4 female) offering writing courses participated in this study. Their ages ranged from 25 to 29 years old, and they had 2 years of experience in the preparatory program.

## 3.4. INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURES

To meet the objectives of the study, both quantitative and qualitative measures were administered to the participants. As quantitative data collection instruments, The Second Language Writing Anxiety Inventory (SLWAI) by Cheng (2004b), The Causes of Writing Anxiety (CWAI) by Rezaei and Jafari (2014), and Self-Efficacy in Writing Scale (SWS) by Yavuz-Erkan (2004) were used in this study as they were appropriate measures for the context and sample of this research. The three instruments were administered in English by the researchers who helped the participants by orally simplifying the wording of the items that might be difficult to comprehend.

Considering the learners' level of writing anxiety, the method suggested by Cheng (2004b) was implemented for each writing anxiety level. According to this

categorization, if a participant gets a score below 50 points, it means that she or he has a low level of writing anxiety. The score for a moderate level of writing anxiety is considered between 50 and 65 while the participant has a high level of writing anxiety in English if this score is more than 65. Subsequently, this result was supported by the analysis of the number of students in terms of each level of writing self-efficacy which is displayed in Figure 2 below. To determine the range scores of each level, the detection of the categories was adapted from the study of Kırmızı and Kırmızı (2015), and the cut-off points were calculated by dividing the maximum point which is 140 in total into three to be able to put the students under certain categories as low, medium, and high level of writing self-efficacy.

Apart from the quantitative data, the qualitative data were gathered from semi-structured interviews. Four questions attempted to obtain further information on the perceptions of students on writing skills, their attitudes towards the writing process, their experiences referring to writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy, and lastly, the possible causes of this anxiety. Parallel to the student interviews, the EFL instructors were asked three questions that aimed to find out their perceptions about their experiences of writing anxiety in their classrooms.

## 4. RESULTS

### 4.1. THE LEVEL OF WRITING ANXIETY AMONG ENGLISH LEARNERS

To answer the first research question regarding the level of writing anxiety among A2 level English preparatory students, the data were obtained via SLWAI administered to 176 participants. To this end, the total writing anxiety scores were calculated regarding students' ratings to the scale. As reported in Table 1, the maximum score received by the participants was 110 while the minimum score was 25. The mean score of the participants was 66.73 which refers to a "moderate to a high level of writing anxiety" among the participants.

Table 1. Overview of the Descriptive Statistics of the SLWAI.

|  | M | Min. | Max. | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Writing Anxiety | 66.73 | 25 | 110 | 17.53 |

Further, according to the results, 30 participants had a low level of writing anxiety as their mean score was below 50. Moreover, 55 students whose mean score was between 50 and 65 had moderate anxiety, while 91 students got a mean score higher than 60 indicating a high level of writing anxiety. In other words, most of the participants (52%) suffered from a high level of writing anxiety while 31% had a moderate level of writing anxiety. Finally, only 17% of participants experienced a low level of writing anxiety in their courses (See Table 2). Based on the categorization of Cheng (2004b), it can be concluded that more than half of the

language learners experienced a high level of writing anxiety in the existing program.

Table 2. The descriptive statistics about the levels of writing anxiety among learners.

| Level | N | % | Min. | Max. | SD | M |
|-------|-----|-----|------|------|-------|----------|
| High | 91 | 52 | 65 | 110 | 5.86 | 80.46≥65 |
| Moderate | 55 | 31 | 50 | 64 | 4.68 | 57.14≤ 65 |
| Low | 30 | 17 | 25 | 49 | 11.58 | 42.7 ≤ 65 |
| Total | 176 | 100 | | | | |

### 4.2. THE TYPE OF WRITING ANXIETY AMONG LANGUAGE LEARNERS

To find out the type of writing anxiety experienced by the participants of the study, SLWAI composed of three subtypes of writing anxiety categorized as cognitive anxiety, somatic anxiety, and avoidance behavior was analyzed by calculating the ratings of the students for the related items for each subtype. To determine the number of participants who experience cognitive anxiety, which refers to the mental situation triggered by fear and apprehension, related questionnaire items (1, 3, 7, 9, 14, 17, 20, and 21) were analyzed together. The same steps were followed for somatic anxiety y which is related to negative impacts of anxiety on physiology by analyzing the related items (2, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15, and 19). Finally, the level of avoidance behavior, which can be defined as abstaining from foreign language writing, the related items (4, 5, 10, 12, 16, 18, and 22) were analyzed. The mean scores of each type of writing anxiety are presented in Figure 1.
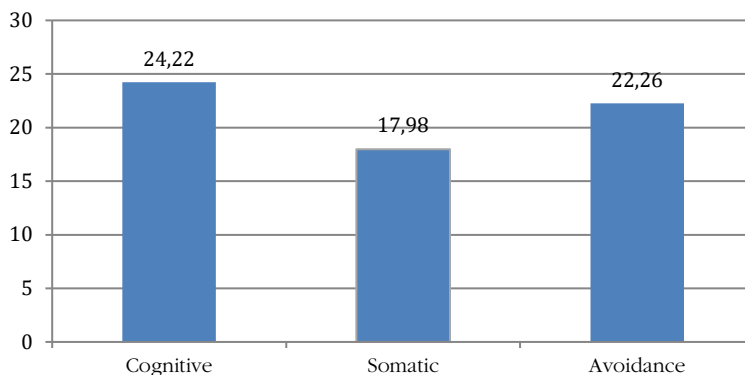


Figure 1. The mean scores of the writing anxiety types among learners.

As displayed in Figure 1, cognitive anxiety had the highest mean score ($M$=24.22) compared to the other types of writing anxiety. This finding showed that Cognitive Anxiety was the most common writing anxiety type experienced by the EFL students who took part in the study. In addition, according to these results, the second

prevalent type of writing anxiety was Avoidance Behavior (*M*=22.26) while the least common type of writing anxiety was Somatic Anxiety experienced by the participating students (*M*=17.98).

Additionally, the results revealed that the great majority of learners faced writing anxiety ranging from medium to high level for each sub-type. Specifically, the highest levels for each type were as follows: cognitive anxiety, 69 (39.20%); somatic anxiety, 30 (17%); and avoidance behavior 70 (39.70%).

Table 3. The number of learners for each level of writing anxiety.

| Type of Writing anxiety | Low | | Moderate | | High | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *f* | *%* | *f* | *%* | *f* | *%* |
| Cognitive Anxiety | 11 | 6.25 | 96 | 54.54 | 69 | **39.20** |
| Somatic Anxiety | 27 | 15.30 | 118 | 67 | 30 | **17** |
| Avoidance Behavior | 6 | 3.40 | 100 | 56.80 | 70 | **39.70** |

### 4.3. *THE LEVEL OF WRITING SELF-EFFICACY AMONG LANGUAGE LEARNERS*

The third research question attempted to investigate the level of writing self-efficacy of language learners. Provided in Table 4, the mean score for SWS among 176 participants was found as 87.67. The lowest and highest scores were recorded as 28 and 140 respectively. In addition, the standard deviation for the writing self-efficacy scores of the participants was recorded as 21.13. This finding demonstrates that most of the students tend to have moderate or high levels of writing self-efficacy in English.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics of SWS.

| | Mean | Min | Max | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Writing Self-efficacy | **87.67** | 28 | 140 | 21.23 |

According to the findings obtained, the participants who got a score between 93 and 140 had a high level of EFL writing self-efficacy. On the contrary, if they scored less than 45, they experienced a low level of writing self-efficacy in English. The ones with a score between 46 and 92 can be stated as the language learners with a moderate level of writing self-efficacy in English. As demonstrated in Figure 2, 71 participants experienced a high level of writing self-efficacy while only 5 had a low level of writing self-efficacy. Largely, most of the participants (97) were at a moderate level of writing self-efficacy in English.
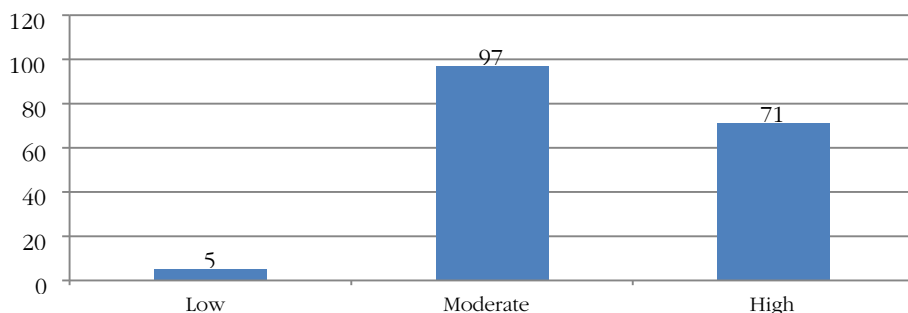
Figure 2. The frequency of each level of writing self-efficacy.

### 4.4. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WRITING ANXIETY AND WRITING SELF-EFFICACY

The fourth research question attempted to ascertain the relationship between anxiety and self-efficacy as two crucial affective variables in writing skills in the context of the current study. To analyze the data and find out whether there was any relationship between the level of EFL writing anxiety and EFL writing self-efficacy, the Pearson correlation results showed that there was a statistically significant relationship between writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy (p< 0.01), Specifically, the value *r=-0.637* is an indicator of a significant moderate level inverse correlation between writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy (See Table 5). These findings indicated that the learners with a low level of writing self-efficacy tend to experience a higher level of writing anxiety in English.

Table 5. The relationship between writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy

|  |  | Writing Anxiety | Writing Self-efficacy |
|---|---|---|---|
| Writing Anxiety | Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) | 1 | -.637** .000 |
|  | N |  | 176 |
| Writing Self-efficacy | Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) | -.637** .000 | 1 |
|  | N | 176 |  |

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

### 4.5. THE PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE LEARNERS ABOUT THE CAUSES OF WRITING ANXIETY

To answer the fifth research question about the perceptions of language learners about the causes of writing anxiety in English classes, both quantitative (Causes of Writing Anxiety Inventory) and qualitative (semi-structured interviews) data collection instruments were administered on the students who participated in this study. First, the CWAI was analyzed by using descriptive statistics (see Figure 3).
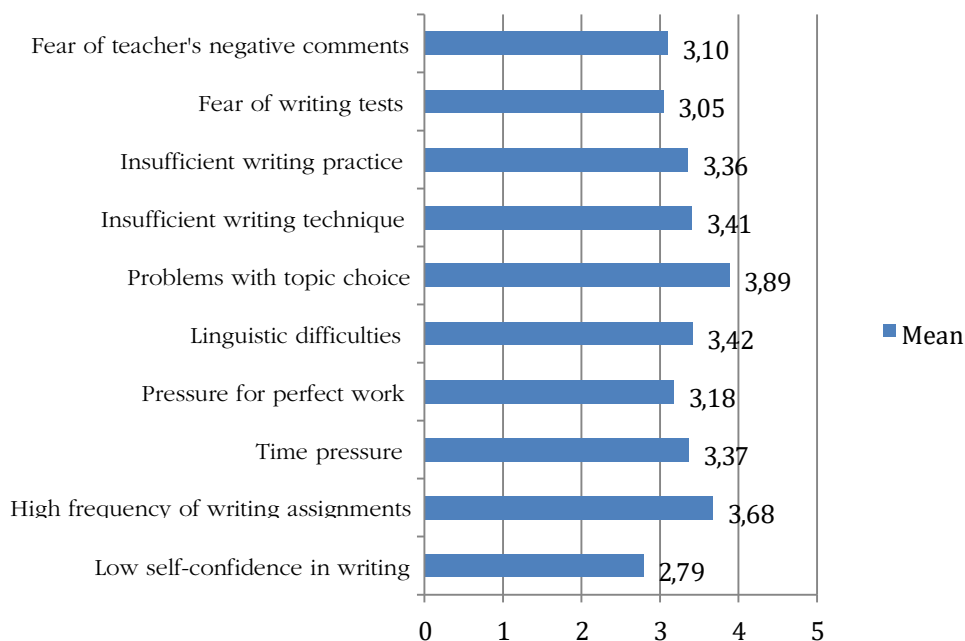
Figure 3. Descriptive statistics of CWAI.

The results in Figure 3 illustrated that the main factor causing writing anxiety was "problems with topic choice" with the highest mean score (M=3.89) among 10 possible causes perceived by language learners. This finding showed that the students experienced apprehension when they had a problem with the topic of the assigned writing. The high frequency of writing assignments (M=3.68), linguistic difficulties (M=3.42), insufficient writing technique (M=3.41), and time pressure (M=3.37) were perceived as the secondary factors causing writing anxiety among learners. Finally, the least scored causal factor was "low confidence in writing" (M=2.79) revealing that most of the participants had a moderate level of writing self-efficacy.

Apart from the questionnaire, the interviews revealed parallel findings of the causes of writing anxiety in English classes. When the participants were asked about their opinion related to the most difficult of language skills for them compared to other language skills, 5 out of 20 participants mentioned writing skill and the challenging aspects of this skill such as the difficulty of production in English, giving the effort to write, and length of time to produce while writing in English. They described writing in English as "difficult, boring, and time taking". The other adjectives that the students reported were "long, tiring, terrible, stressful, thrilling, and complicated". In addition, they expressed their viewpoints about the difficulties that they experience while writing in English. Most of the respondents claimed that

the major problem was language use, specifically insufficient vocabulary knowledge, the content of the writing task, language use, and time management.

Finally, during the interviews, the learners also shared there are various reasons for writing anxiety. To begin with, the respondents claimed that the biggest reason for the anxiety experienced in writing was a time constraint for the writing assignments and writing exams. They reported that the grading of the teacher was the second major reason. Compared to the results of CWAI, they shared that the pressure caused by teacher grading or comments, unfamiliar topics, and lack of vocabulary knowledge influenced their emotional state.

### 4.6. THE PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE INSTRUCTORS ABOUT THE CAUSES OF WRITING ANXIETY

To gain a deeper understanding of the causes of writing anxiety, 6 instructors offering writing classes were interviewed as well. The first question addressed aimed at revealing the perceptions of the instructors about the anxiety in four language skills. The respondents agreed on two language skills as the most challenging skills for the students: writing and speaking. Concerning the writing skill, instructors mentioned the difficulty students experience while generating ideas for the content of the writing task, insufficient linguistic competence, and previous negative experiences related to writing in English.

Poor linguistic competence was perceived as another cause of writing anxiety. The instructors also emphasized that when the time was limited for the learners to write in the target language, they felt anxious. The teacher feedback and insufficient input were also related to the existence and level of writing anxiety. Finally, the instructors shared that lack of motivation, time management, negative attitudes, feelings, previous experiences, inability to organize writing were crucial difficulties that led to writing anxiety among the learners.

In brief, both groups of participants shared common difficulties related to language (e.g. linguistic competence) and management (e.g. time and organization) as effective causes of writing anxiety. The only difference between the perceptions of the two groups was about the content of writing tasks. While the learners expressed difficulties to cope with the content of the writing task, the instructors did not refer to any problems related to the topic or content of the writing task.

### 5. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

This research aims to investigate the levels of writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy among Turkish EFL learners and find out if any relationship exists between the two affective factors. The study also reveals the perceptions of the language learners and their instructors about their experience related to the causes of writing anxiety in English courses.

The findings of SLWAI demonstrated that the great majority of language learners experienced a high level of writing anxiety whilst some of them had a moderate

level of anxiety in English writing classes. This finding is in line with previous studies (Atay and Kurt 2006, Erkan and Saban 2011, Rezaei and Jafari 2014; Kırmızı and Kırmızı 2015; Genc 2017) highlighting the importance of dealing with writing anxiety in English classes to help language learners improve their writing skills and promote their writing performance.

Considering the context of the present study, the language proficiency level of the participants (pre-intermediate, A2 level) can be regarded as a variable affecting the level of writing anxiety among learners. Similar studies supported this finding arguing that the language proficiency level of the language learners can increase or decrease the writing anxiety level of the learners (MacIntyre and Gardner 1991; Cheng 2002; Jebreil *et al.* 2014). However, it should be noted that there can be different challenges for different language proficiency levels in terms of writing skills which should be addressed further in comparative studies.

Apart from the writing anxiety level of language learners, the most common type of writing anxiety experienced by them was cognitive anxiety, compared to somatic anxiety and avoidance behavior. The highly anxious EFL learners suffered from cognitive anxiety and avoidance behavior. Similarly, recent studies indicated that cognitive anxiety is the most common type of writing anxiety among language learners (Cheng 2004a; Zhang 2011; Ateş 2013; Kara 2013; Rezaei and Jafari 2014; Jebreil *et. al* 2014; Kırmızı and Kırmızı 2015; Kusumaningputri, Ningsih and Wisasongko 2018). As previously stated, cognitive anxiety refers that the learners paying too much attention to the factors that externally affect their mental state while learning writing skills (Cheng, 2004a). These factors can increase the anxiety caused by the negative evaluation of the instructors, concern about peers' perception of their writing performance, test-related anxiety, the expectations or negative experiences of the learners about their writing performance. This means that the learners who experience cognitive anxiety get easily affected by external factors. Research also stated that students with a high level of cognitive anxiety in writing suffer from concentration problems when they are dealing with a writing task. As stressed by Kusumaningputri *et al.* (2018), learners should train themselves to keep control of their minds in order not to get distracted and to be able to lessen their writing anxiety level. The findings of this study offer similar suggestions related to raising the awareness of language learners about how they can control their feelings to help them decrease their anxiety while writing.

Besides cognitive anxiety, avoidance behavior was another major problem encountered among language learners with a high level of writing anxiety as the findings pointed out. The reason why highly anxious learners also showed avoidance behavior was that they tend to avoid situations requiring writing not to feel apprehensive (Cheng 2004a). This type of writing anxiety can lead to bigger problems by causing a lack of practice in writing skills, incomplete, late, or undelivered assignments.

Furthermore, in this study, over half of the participants claimed that they had a moderate level of writing self-efficacy whereas less than a half that they had a high

level of writing self-efficacy. These results reflected that most learners believed that they could fulfill the requirements of writing in the target language. Strikingly, just a few of them stated that their writing self-efficacy level in English was low. This result was consistent with the results by Kırmızı and Kırmızı (2015) revealing that the great majority of the students had moderate level writing self-efficacy in the English language as it was found in the present research study.

Apart from the writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy levels among the language learners, a moderate level, a negative correlation was found between writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy. This means that learners with moderate or low levels of writing self-efficacy suffered from moderate or high levels of writing anxiety. As one of the earliest studies, Pajares and Valiante (1997) highlighted that the impact of beliefs regarding self-efficacy anticipates the performance in writing which influences the writing apprehension level of the learners directly. It was also suggested that writing anxiety can be lessened by a high level of writing self-efficacy if the learning atmosphere is convenient (Cheng 2002). Further, another correlational study by Öztürk and Saydam (2014) asserted that these variables may have a causal relationship rather than a correlational relationship which ought to be inspected statistically in detail via further research studies. Thus, the aim of the language instructors should be to find ways to increase the writing self-efficacy of EFL learners to decrease the level of writing anxiety and avoid the negative effects of this anxiety on language learning.

Considering the results of the CWAI, the major causes of the anxiety experienced by the learners were problems with the topic choice, frequently given writing assignments, and linguistic difficulties. Additionally, the analysis of the interviews demonstrated that the learners had negative feelings and attitudes towards writing, and they mainly had difficulty in content, language use, and time management while writing in the target language. As previously suggested by Abdel-Latif (2007) the reasons leading to writing anxiety were mostly related to language and management issues. These are low level of language proficiency, lack of self-confidence, failures in writing tasks, lack of writing self-efficacy, insecurities about being assessed and evaluated. Surprisingly, in the present study, the students did not choose lack of self-confidence as the most influential source of writing anxiety in writing. Further, Magogwe (2015) supported that idea by emphasizing the role of self-efficacy in L1 writing supporting that L1 writing self-efficacy should be closely addressed as a precursor of writing self-efficacy. In their study, Rezaei and Jafari (2014) also found that language learners had a moderate or low level of writing self-efficacy in English, and they associated it with low motivation, writing instruction, teachers' feedback, low level of language proficiency, and L1 interference. Moreover, competence in writing, the attitude, and feedback of the instructor were found to have an impact on writing self-efficacy (Nazzal 2008; Öztürk and Saydam 2014). Finally, self and peer assessment should be promoted to raised positive feelings among learners (Al-Ahmad 2003; Magogwe 2015; Zhang 2011). The findings of these research studies emphasized the importance of motivation, attitudes, teacher feedback, and

assessment as influential factors to deal with anxiety and self-efficacy in writing classes.

The findings of recent studies reported that the main reason for writing anxiety was being afraid of negative feedback from the teacher through the gathered via interviews with EFL students (Rezaei and Jafari 2014; Lin and Ho 2009). Poor vocabulary knowledge and low proficiency levels were indicated as the main causes of writing anxiety (Genc 2017; Öztürk and Saydam 2017). It was asserted that the learners experience apprehension while writing because of linguistic incompetence which causes an inability to write what is intended to be expressed by the student. On the other hand, Cheng (2002) pointed out that the learners can have a high level of writing anxiety if they cannot produce or arrange ideas to write, and it was emphasized that developing the competence in writing skills is vital to help students in terms of getting over anxiety in writing. Other possible factors causing writing anxiety are time constraints, being afraid of making mistakes, and unfamiliar topics given for the writing task (Dal, 2018). It is a widely accepted idea by the other researchers that giving an unfamiliar topic to the students for the writing tasks can cause writing anxiety (Zhang 2011; Negari and Rezaabadi 2012). Thus, the learners need background knowledge to be able to write on the given topic, and if they do not have it, they feel apprehensive while writing.

Finally, the instructors agreed that writing skill is more difficult as a productive skill compared to receptive skills. In the interviews, they stated the probable source of writing anxiety and linguistic competence, time constraint, teacher feedback, and assessment. They associated the writing anxiety with insufficient input, adding the influential role of previous negative writing experiences, the difficulty experienced by the students while creating content for the writing task, and exam-related anxiety were the other possible causes of writing anxiety. When it comes to the challenges in writing classes, they stated that they must cope with negative attitudes of the students towards writing classes, students' lack of motivation, and their avoidance behavior regarding writing tasks.

In the existing literature, there has been a scarce number of studies emphasizing the instructors' perceptions and experiences about writing anxiety and its causes. As one of those studies, El Shimi (2017) investigated the perceptions of English teachers on writing anxiety. The results demonstrated that the educational background of learners and poor competence in writing skill was perceived as the major sources of writing anxiety which was supported in this study as well. This finding highlights the importance of raising positive feelings and practicing writing to decrease anxiety and help learners develop their competence in writing.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study offers some implications and suggestions to be addressed in English writing classes. First, the instructors should be aware of the abilities, beliefs, and attitudes of their students concerning writing skills to be able to monitor their

progress and solve the major problems, such as high level of writing anxiety or low level of writing self-efficacy among learners. Writing anxiety can be hazardous for their writing performance which can lead to various problems throughout the language learning process. The suitable and efficient ways to deal with writing anxiety and make the learning environment less anxiety-triggering should be discovered.

L1 writing anxiety can also affect the language learning process. If this situation is noticed by the instructor, some strategies should be employed to lessen the writing anxiety in both languages. For instance, the instructors can carry out an action research study to detect common points of the writing anxiety experienced in L1 and L2. The learners can be asked to express their opinions through free writings, diaries or journals, group discussions which allow the students to express their apprehension. Besides, differentiating instruction in writing class or using alternative assessment techniques can be some effective solutions. Learners can evaluate themselves or they can be evaluated by their peers to improve self-esteem in writing by supporting them with checklists and rubrics. It also makes it easier to reflect on the writing tasks and their concerns about their writing skills.

Having a better understanding of different types of writing anxiety can be helpful for instructors to be proactive and solve problems effectively. To illustrate, if an instructor recognizes some physical reactions such as perspiration, increasing heartbeat, trembling in writing classes or during writing exams, this refers to somatic anxiety, and it requires to employ some special strategies to get over this type of anxiety. Learning how to breathe and the other techniques for relaxation can help students control somatic anxiety in writing. On the other hand, the reactions given by highly anxious learners do not have to be visible as in somatic anxiety. The ones who suffer from cognitive anxiety in writing are afraid of being evaluated and getting bad grades or negative comments from the teacher. In this case, these kinds of students should be encouraged via constructive and non-judgmental feedback or writing tasks that will not be evaluated. As stated previously, negative evaluation and insufficient or unclear feedback can trigger negative attitudes and a lack of self-esteem. Therefore, the assessment of the writing should be objective and clear for the instructors and students. Using a rubric can help in terms of setting the criteria for the expectations of the writing task.

As one of the primary causes of writing anxiety, the problem of unfamiliar topics for the writing task should be solved by providing background knowledge related to the topic via reading texts. High quality and sufficient input are vital to produce the target language and getting input through extensive reading should be fostered among the students. If they get more input, they can produce more while writing in a better way. In the context of the current study, the learners were at the A2 (pre-intermediate) level of proficiency and had insufficient linguistic knowledge which can cause more pressure on them. For this reason, language learners with low proficiency levels should learn how to use dictionaries, books, and online sources effectively while working on a writing task. It can reduce their anxiety by providing help for the vocabulary, grammar, or content of the writing. If possible, the students

can determine the topics which are interesting or relatable for them. To achieve it, both learners and instructors should have good communication with one another, and the teacher should build rapport with the students in the class to be able to understand their interests, tendencies, and needs.

Writing tasks often require a long time, and language learners need sufficient time to learn to write and complete their writing tasks. The instructors can teach students how to manage time by setting time limits after some time in free writing. Besides, process writing should be promoted by working on staged writing with students. The instructors should not focus on the product solemnly. The pre-writing stage can reduce the anxiety level of highly anxious students by preparing them to write on the given topic each time. In this way, the students can learn the value of the process of writing which enables them to be more creative and motivated rather than being obsessed with the final product. Being aware of the relationship between the variables investigated in the study may enable EFL writing instructors to provide better learning experiences to their students and act upon the problems in their classes proactively. For this reason, the findings of the studies conducted on writing skill and the impact of affective variables on this productive skill should be taken into consideration by the practitioners, material and testing offices, and the administration as well to work collaboratively.

Further studies can work on learners with different language levels to investigate writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy and reveal whether language proficiency level makes a difference in the level of writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy. Another recommendation for future studies is that the other variables such as achievement in writing skill or motivation for writing in the target language and the relationship between them and writing anxiety can also be taken into consideration to broaden the perspective related to the nature of foreign language writing anxiety. Additionally, future research can investigate what kind of strategies and instruction work well to reduce writing anxiety and boost the writing self-efficacy of the students. To this end, experimental studies can be designed to be able to see the impact of the implementations. With the help of the findings, language teachers and instructors can improve the quality of their writing classes by adapting or adopting the implementations of the study. Finally, a longitudinal study can be carried out to observe the changes in writing anxiety and writing self-efficacy level over time to obtain more reliable results.

Following the results obtained, this study contributes to the existing literature by examining the level and type of writing anxiety, the level of writing self-efficacy, the relationship between the two affective factors, and lastly, the causes of writing anxiety perceived by the learners and instructors in Turkish EFL context. In the light of the gathered data, the study provides guidelines and implications for teacher trainers and practitioners about how to alleviate writing anxiety and raise the level of writing self-efficacy among language learners.

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# MARK MCCLELLAND'S *UPLOAD* (2012): THE PERILS OF LEAVING BIOLOGY BEHIND TO ACHIEVE VIRTUAL IMMORTALITY[1]

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*ABSTRACT.* In recent years and, in light of the latest developments in the field of neurotechnology, some critics have claimed that mind uploading could become technically feasible in a not-too-distant future. While transhumanist critics embrace this procedure and dream of a postbiological future in which human beings possess greater cognitive, emotional, and sensorial abilities, the critical posthumanists warn of the risks inherent to the idea of leaving biology behind to lead a virtual life in cyberspace. Significantly, these warnings reverberate in some twenty-first century cultural productions such as Mark McClelland's *Upload* (2012), a novel that is also representative of an emerging trend of SF novels written by tech professionals. Although the novel may seem to be at first a defense of simulated life, this work aims to prove that McClelland's narrative choices ultimately uncover a critical posthumanist view of embodiment as an essential part of human identity.

*Keywords:* Transhumanism, Mind Uploading, Critical Posthumanism, (Dis)Embodiment, *Upload*, Mark McClelland.

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## *UPLOAD*, DE MARK MCCLELLAND (2012): LOS RIESGOS DE DEJAR LA BIOLOGÍA ATRÁS CON EL FIN DE LOGRAR LA INMORTALIDAD VIRTUAL

*RESUMEN*. En los últimos años, a consecuencia de los últimos avances en el campo de la neurotecnología, algunos críticos han afirmado que la técnica de 'transferencia mental' ('mind-uploading' en inglés) podría convertirse en una opción técnicamente viable en un futuro no muy lejano. Mientras los críticos transhumanistas ponen sus esperanzas en este procedimiento y sueñan con un futuro posbiológico en el que los seres humanos vean aumentadas sus capacidades cognitivas, emocionales y sensoriales, los poshumanistas críticos advierten de los riesgos inherentes a la idea de dejar atrás la biología para alcanzar la inmortalidad virtual. Estas advertencias se han visto reflejadas en algunas producciones culturales del siglo XXI, como por ejemplo *Upload* de Mark McClelland (2012), una novela que también es representativa de una nueva tendencia dentro de la ciencia ficción que engloba diferentes novelas escritas por profesionales de la tecnología. Aunque la novela puede parecer en una primera instancia un manifiesto a favor del método de transferencia mental, el objetivo de este artículo es demostrar que las estrategias narrativas utilizadas por McClelland revelan una visión poshumanista crítica del cuerpo como una parte esencial de la identidad humana.

*Palabras clave*: Transhumanismo, Transferencia Mental, Poshumanismo Crítico, (Des)Corporealización, *Upload*, Mark McClelland.

## 1. INTRODUCTION: THE TRANSHUMANIST URGE TO POSTPONE AND TRANSCEND DEATH – AND ITS DISCONTENTS

Using science and technology to overcome our human physical, intellectual, and psychological limitations has been a fantasy in the minds of many scientists and science fiction (SF) writers during the last centuries. Nevertheless, it was not until relatively recently that these dreams of enhancement materialized into a coherent philosophical position and took shape as an organized philosophical and cultural movement. The philosophy of transhumanism – sometimes also referred to as "extropianism" (Ferrando 2013: 27) – emerged in the 1980s, bringing together a group of thinkers (philosophers, scientists, sociologists…) who shared a belief in "the possibility and *desirability* of fundamentally improving the human condition by means of science and technology" (More 2011: 137; emphasis added). Since then, transhumanism has gained strength in contemporary society. In recent times, it has even become well-known within the political sphere through the activism of Zoltan Istvan, a transhumanist philosopher and writer who also founded in 2014 the US Transhumanist Party. Transhumanists regard humanity as "a work in progress" (Bostrom 2005a: 4) and aim to put science and technology to the service of creating beings of greater intellectual capacity, memory, attention, and creativity, as well as of increasing human happiness levels. They also aim to use science and technology to create physically stronger human beings who are free of disease and live longer and healthier lives – and even become immortal.

The possibilities that the new technologies offer to reverse the aging process and eventually to overcome death have been indeed widely discussed in transhumanist circles (see Grey and Rae 2007; Bostrom 2005a; Bostrom 2005b; More 2014; More 2019). In his article "Transhumanist Values", Swedish philosopher Nick Bostrom – one of the main advocates of transhumanism – points to ageing as the major cause of death in the first-world countries and the root cause of dementia, disability, and illness. Bostrom then claims that one of the aims of transhumanism is to halt or reverse the aging process and radically extend the human health-span, which he defines as the healthy and functional period of one's life (2005a: 13). Transhumanists often regard nanotechnology, in both its current and future medical applications – namely tissue engineering, nanosurgery, targeted drug delivery, somatic gene therapy, germline genetic engineering, etc. (Ebbesen and Jensen 2006: 1-2) – as the chief technology that may, in a not-too-distant future, allow human beings to live longer and healthier lives.

Going one step further, some transhumanist thinkers have pointed at technology's potential to help human beings become immortal. So far, they have mainly placed their hopes in the cryopreservation and storage of human bodies in cryonic facilities and their eventual resurrection through advanced nanotechnology. Nevertheless, a few transhumanists envisage the yet more implausible scenario of human beings becoming immortal through transferring their consciousness – including their "thoughts, memories and feelings" (Hughes 2004: 101) – into computational software, a process that is commonly known as *mind uploading*. These critics, who are sometimes referred to as the "Digital Escapists" (Levchuk 2019: 81), are confident that future advances in the field of neurotechnology will make the whole process possible. In his work *Shaping the Fourth Industrial Revolution* (2018), the founder of the World Economic Forum Klaus Schwab argues that this field is indeed developing quickly and that these technologies are about to alter substantially the ways in which we measure, analyze, translate, and visualize the electric and chemical signals in the human brain (2018: 168). In a more optimistic vein, in his contribution to the volume *Intelligence Unbound*, neuroscientist and neuroengineer Randal A. Koene provides an overview of the technologies and techniques that are already available or will become available in the near future and that will help human beings replicate the human brain. He then concludes that "uploading a mind via whole brain emulation can become a reality in the next two to four decades" (2014: 98).

The possibilities that mind uploading opens up for human beings, as well as the risks it entails, have been widely discussed not just by transhumanist thinkers but also by technology experts, sociologists, and scholars in the Humanities. This last group of academics, especially the so-called critical posthumanists, have been particularly critical, warning against the dangers of the transhumanist version of the posthuman being as a disembodied and immortal entity (see Hayles 1999; Vint 2007; Braidotti 2013). This debate has also translated into contemporary culture, art, and literature. In fact, the first two decades of the twenty-first century, and perhaps most prominently the second, have witnessed a proliferation of the number of cultural

productions that, echoing some of the main tenets of critical posthumanism, denounce the dehumanization inherent in the idea of leaving our bodies behind while uploading our consciousness into computational software. Contemporary TV series such as *Black Mirror* (Charlie Brooker 2011-2019), *Years and Years* (Russell T. Davies 2019), and *Upload* (Greg Daniels 2020-present)[2], movies such as *Transcendence* (Pfister 2014), or novels such as *Altered Carbon* (Morgan 2002), *Upload* (McClelland 2012) and *Fall; or, Dodge in Hell* (Stephenson 2019), are all works that deal with this topic.

This work focuses on Mark McClelland's debut novel *Upload*, which despite having been published over a decade ago, remains widely unfamiliar both inside and outside academia – the fact that just one academic article and a few online reviews of the novel have been published so far is good proof of this. McClelland's self-published novel tells the story of Raymond Quan, a half-American, half-Vietnamese man who works as a software developer for "The Human Mind Upload team", based at the University of Michigan's Life Computing Lab in Chicago (McClelland 2012: 15). Having committed a crime in the past for which he is now the main suspect, Raymond designs a plan that involves uploading his consciousness into a computer and making the other researchers of the team believe the upload has failed. In this way, he can henceforth live a virtual life away from any legal responsibilities. Nevertheless, carrying out his escape plan means losing Anya, his girlfriend and coworker and, most importantly, the only person he has been able to open to throughout his life. What makes the novel compelling – which may also help explain its lack of commercial and academic success – is that it is written by somebody who works for the tech industry. Just like the main character of his novel, McClelland earns his living as a software developer, being his fondness for writing just a secondary concern.

Significantly, McClelland is not alone in his endeavor. In recent years, different tech professionals have offered disturbing warnings of the future that lies ahead of us. Some of them have written non-scholarly books, as is the case with virtual reality pioneer Jaron Lanier. In works such as *You Are Not a Gadget: A Manifesto* (2010), *Who Owns the Future? (*2013) or *Ten Arguments for Deleting Your Social Media Accounts Right Now* (2018), Lanier uncovers a series of unethical practices on the part of large technology and social media corporations that threat to alter the way

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[2] Remarkably, as well as being named the same, the TV series *Upload* (premiered on Amazon Prime Video on May 2020) and McClelland's novel show many parallelisms. Thus, both texts feature male protagonists who work as software developers and upload their consciousness to the cloud, only to realize that simulated life is not what they expected. However, they also differ in some respects. For instance, in the TV series the protagonist decides to undergo mind uploading, encouraged by his wealthy wife, after an accident with his driverless car allegedly leaves him mortally wounded. In the novel, the protagonist uploads himself to the cloud to escape his legal responsibilities after committing a crime. Furthermore, economic profit and inequality of access to technology are prominent themes in the TV series, while they are not in the novel. Also, the TV series approaches the shortcomings of an uploaded life from a humorous tone, while the tone McClelland uses is more serious.

in which we think, feel and relate with one another. Others, like McClelland himself, have resorted to SF. This is the case of Dubai-based creative technologist Clyde D'souza, who explores in his (also self-published) novel *Memories with Maya* (2013) the possibilities and dangers of the merging of artificial intelligence and augmented reality technologies. In a similar vein, in his 2021 novel *2037. Paraíso Neuronal*, Spanish nanoscience researcher José María de Teresa explores some of the ethical dilemmas associated to possible future developments in the field of neurotechnology. In light of this seemingly emerging trend, one may wonder what this particular strand of SF has to add to the debate over human enhancement.

As this work argues, much of the success of this kind of novels lies in the fact that they accurately engage with transhumanist themes and ideas without losing sight of technology's most nefarious implications, ultimately offering more balanced views on human enhancement than those put forward by transhumanist thinkers. To prove this point, this work approaches McClelland's *Upload* from a narratological perspective, in order to demonstrate that even if the novel gives voice to transhumanist arguments on the pertinence of leaving biology behind to achieve virtual immortality, the writer's narrative choices ultimately uncover a critical posthumanist view of embodiment as an essential part of human identity. Ultimately, this work demonstrates the power of SF to help readers assess critically the possible future implications of an enhancement option that seemed once very distant but which could become technically feasible in a not-too-distant future.

## 2. TOWARDS A VIRTUAL AFTERLIFE: ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST TRANSCENDING BIOLOGY

One of the first critics to talk about mind uploading was the Canadian computer scientist Hans Moravec. As early as 1988, in his book *Mind Children: The Future of Robot and Human Intelligence*, Moravec already explored the possibility of downloading human consciousness onto computer hardware and envisioned "a postbiological world dominated by self-improving, thinking machines" (5). Following Moravec, other transhumanist thinkers have more recently called our attention to the possibilities that mind uploading offers for achieving human immortality. Thus, in his 2005 work *The Singularity is Near: When Humans Transcend Biology*, Ray Kurzweil argues that by the end of the 2030s human beings will be able to have their intelligence, personality, and skills transferred to nonbiological software (198-201). This will allow them to have control over how long they want their lives and thoughts to last (330). In his contribution to *The Transhumanist Reader*, technology expert and writer Giulio Prisco even describes mind uploading as "the ultimate technology for immortality". He claims to be "persuaded that the ultimate realization of the dream of achieving an indefinite lifespan, with vastly enhanced cognitive abilities, lies in leaving biology behind and moving to a new, post-biological, cybernetic phase of our evolution" (2013: 235).

For most of these critics, renouncing to our physical embodiment and experience is, therefore, a crucial step in the way to becoming posthuman immortal beings. In

a recent interview, Max More – who is, together with Bostrom, one of the main proponents of transhumanist philosophy – claimed that the concept of mind uploading is indeed "based on an intuition from a long history of thinking that we are really something other than our bodies" (2019: 9:24-10:01). Then, he expressed his personal conviction that nothing would be really lost should he undergo mind uploading and should his original body be destroyed. In his contribution to the edited volume *Intelligence Unbound*, More further elaborates on this issue. Thus, he claims that human beings must be ready to move to non-biological embodiments, "whether located in a single object or distributed across many objects", if we want to get over "the weaknesses and aging of biological bodies" (2014: 222). The protagonist of McClelland's novel Raymond Quan clearly shares this point of view, as at some point in the novel he claims uploaded life to be better because your mind is finally "freed from your body, which is what breaks down" (McClelland 2012: 112).

For the critical posthumanists, these assertions uncover a reductionist and Enlightenment-based view of human essence as being housed within our minds rather than our bodies (Thompson 2017: 10-11; see also Pilsch 2017: 110). Turning a cold shoulder on those transhumanists who are ready to leave their bodies behind, these critics stress both the impossibility to separate human mind and body and the important role played by embodiment in the construction of posthuman subjectivity. Thus, in her 2007 work *Bodies of Tomorrow: Technology, Subjectivity, Science Fiction*, Professor of Science Fiction Media studies Sherryl Vint points out that the failure to regard the body as a crucial part of our subjectivity is something that transhumanists have inherited from Cartesian dualism (9). Then, this critic argues that any definition of the posthuman subject should acknowledge "the specificities of embodied experience" (11).

The critical posthumanist vision of the posthuman as an embodied being also becomes evident in the following passage from Katherine Hayles's *How We Became Posthuman* (1999), one of the works that helped consolidate the posthuman paradigm:

> If my nightmare is a culture inhabited by posthumans who regard their bodies as fashion accessories rather than the ground of being, my dream is a version of the posthuman that embraces the possibilities of information technologies without being seduced by fantasies of unlimited power and disembodied immortality, that recognizes and celebrates finitude as a condition of human being, and that understands human life is embedded in a material world of great complexity, one on which we depend for our continued survival. (5)

In the previous passage, Hayles defines the body as "the ground of being" and criticizes those who intend to achieve virtual immortality through technology. She then points to death – or "finitude" – as an intrinsic part of being human. Lastly, she stresses the key role played by the material world and the environment in the construction of posthuman subjectivity. In a similar vein, feminist philosopher Rosi Braidotti sketches in her 2013 work *The Posthuman* what she labels "a monistic

philosophy of becomings" that regards matter – including human embodiment – as intelligent and self-organizing. For this critic, matter is not opposed to culture or technological mediation, but "continuous with them" (35). Ultimately, she distances herself from "hyped-up disembodiment and fantasies of trans-humanist escape" and proposes instead "to reinscribe posthuman bodies into radical relationality, including webs of power relations at the social, psychic, ecological and micro-biological or cellular levels" (102).

As stated above, this critical posthumanist approach to posthuman (dis)embodiment has found its reflection in some contemporary cultural, artistic and literary productions dealing with the transhumanist concept of mind uploading, such as McClelland's debut novel *Upload* (2012). The novel is set in the near future (around the year 2071) and tells the story of Raymond Quan, a half-American, half-Vietnamese man who was at an early age left under the care of the state, after his virtual-world-addict father abandoned the family home and his mother was admitted to a recovery center to treat her subsequent drug addiction. Towards the beginning of the novel readers learn that when he was just seventeen and, as part of the state home's "Workbound program" (McClelland 2012: 8), Raymond had started working for Nicholas Tate, a retired management consultant whose career in the computer industry had earned him incredible sums of money. While Raymond's main tasks were to repair Mr. Tate's cleaning and lawn-moving robots and to help him with the domestic chores, the old man had also encouraged Raymond to "convert the garage into a robotics workshop" (9), for which he had even granted the boy access to a bank account.

Thanks to his outstanding computer skills, Raymond had managed to hack into the man's virtual chamber and gain access to a great amount of his personal information, which he intended to use to create an unprecedently realistic virtual persona. Nevertheless, Raymond's plans had been derailed by the man's sudden death of a heart attack. Afraid that the medical team would find out he had hacked into the man's virtual chamber, he had decided to get rid of the body and pretend the man had willingly fled the country. Nine years later, readers learn, Raymond has become a member of The Human Mind Upload team at the University of Michigan's Life Computing Lab. The team is embarked on a project that aims to upload human consciousness into computational software. Although thus far they have only successfully managed to upload the consciousness of a primate, when Raymond learns that Mr. Tate's case has been reopened and he is the main suspect in the man's disappearance, he decides he may be willing to run the risk. His romantic relationship with Anya, his colleague and the first person he has ever felt loved by, is the only thing that ties him to the physical world.

In the only academic article on McClelland's *Upload* published to date, Indrajit Patra argues that while the novel does engage with some of the drawbacks and uncertainties of the mind-machine merger, simulation is ultimately regarded in the text as "a heavenly doorway to a newer, fuller and more enriched form of life" (2017: 162). While it is true that the novel gives voice to contemporary transhumanist arguments on the pertinence of achieving immortality through mind uploading, this

work argues that it ultimately invites readers to mistrust the idea of leaving behind our embodied existence – and, consequently, our physical relationships with the people we love and our present problems and responsibilities – to achieve virtual immortality. As is explained in the following sections, McClelland puts forward his critical posthumanist message, first of all, through focalization. Thus, he introduces a heterodiegetic narrator who focalizes through the protagonist and conveys not only his views on the possibilities of an uploaded life but also his willingness to escape his legal responsibilities by uploading himself to the cloud and his hesitations at the prospect of losing all physical contact with his girlfriend Anya.

Additionally, McClelland occasionally interrupts the heterodiegetic narration with some first-person sentences in italics in which the protagonist directly conveys his hesitations at the prospect of leaving Anya behind and which further invite readers to adopt a critical position towards mind uploading. Remarkably, in the second part of the novel, which recounts Raymond's life after the upload, the same narrative strategies (focalization and the introduction of italicized sentences) are used to convey Raymond's feelings of disembodiment and emptiness after the upload, adding to readers' sense of unease. Finally, the ending of the novel – in which Raymond's virtual copy allegedly dies after some acid seeps in the case of his operating system – reinforces McClelland's critical posthumanist message as it warns of the dangers of renouncing to our time on earth and our closest relationships with the unlikely hope that we will live forever as virtual entities. All in all, as this work sets out to prove, McClelland's narrative choices point to the fact that, as the critical posthumanists have reiterated, "it is essential for embodiment to figure in our understanding of the posthuman subject" (Vint 2007: 25).

## 3. CRITICAL POSTHUMANIST EMBODIMENT IN MARK MCCLELLAND'S *UPLOAD* (2012)

The novel is divided into two different parts. Part One recounts the events leading to the protagonist's upload at The Human Mind Upload team lab while Part Two recounts his life after the upload. Although the narrative is predominantly linear and McClelland does not make use of any experimental techniques, it is worth paying attention to his use of focalization, as it is one of the ways by which he puts forward his message of warning. Thus, McClelland introduces a heterodiegetic narrator who frequently focalizes through Raymond, the protagonist. Throughout the story, the narrator conveys Raymond's techno-utopian views on the pertinence of using technology to escape the physical world and live instead a disembodied and eternal life in cyberspace. From his perspective, readers learn that echoing the above-mentioned non-fictional transhumanist thinkers, the protagonist regards organic life as "merely a vehicle of complexity" and digital life as "the next step in the evolution of that complexity" (McClelland 2012: 48). Also from his perspective, we learn that what had originally led Raymond to join The Human Mind Upload team was a belief that uploading would benefit the sick by granting them a chance "to escape their failing bodies", as well as scientists, allowing them "to gain a deeper

understanding of the mysteries of the human mind", and the environment, as uploading would help reduce the human ecological footprint (36).[3] Furthermore, he was also confident that uploading would smooth the way for space travel, "allowing humans to beam their minds across the solar system in digital form" (36). Because thanks to the use of focalization McClelland brings readers closer to the protagonist's perspective, we may at different points identify with his transhumanist views and recognize the possibilities of mind uploading.

However, readers may ultimately be unable to identify with the protagonist's techno-utopian ideas. This is to a large extent because, also focalizing through Raymond, the narrator leads readers to realize that, at a more personal level, uploading stands for the protagonist as a chance to escape his legal responsibilities in relation to the crime he committed some years earlier. Hence, we learn that now that the case of Tate's death has been reopened, uploading has taken "a rather more urgent meaning" for the protagonist. It has become a way to escape his criminal past, a "*beautiful* way out of the fraud he had perpetuated since he was seventeen" (McClelland 2012: 36; emphasis added). Raymond's willingness to escape the consequences of his criminal past by uploading himself to the cloud becomes most evident soon after he learns that the private investigator who is in charge of Tate's death is headed his way. At this point he imagines himself "as a digital life-form, *safely* residing in a hi-jacked communications satellite, orbiting the Earth" (81; emphasis added).

In the previous quotations, McClelland invites readers to adopt critical distance towards the protagonist by using the words "beautiful" and "safely". Rather than interpreting them literally, readers may be able to perceive the irony and see in the protagonist's wish to escape his criminal past by uploading himself to the cloud a lack of resilience. Furthermore, we may become aware of both the ethical dilemma and the legal void that would arise should mind uploading become an option one day and should a sector of the population come to regard it as a way out of their problems. So far, this issue has not received much attention in the academic sphere, as critics tend to focus their attention on more pressing concerns such as the technical feasibility or the philosophical implications and challenges of mind uploading. Nevertheless, this is a topic for debate that is likely to become relevant in the future and that McClelland successfully manages to raise in his novel.

One further reason why readers may not fully identify with the protagonist's transhumanist views is because there are times when, also focalizing through Raymond, the narrator conveys the protagonist's hesitations at the prospect of losing

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[3] Some of the reasons why Raymond decides to join the team – in particular his belief in the opportunities that mind uploading opens up to escape our failing bodies or to reduce the human ecological footprint – echo some of the main tenets of democratic transhumanism. Democratic transhumanism is a branch of transhumanism that believes that human enhancement technologies can drastically improve the quality of life of the world's population by allowing us to control our minds and bodies, as long as they are regulated democratically and equally available for everyone (Hughes 2004: xii).

all physical contact with Anya, his girlfriend and coworker. The character of Anya plays a key role in the novel as it ultimately epitomizes McClelland's critical posthumanist views on the importance of embodiment. Even if Anya is also a member of The Human Mind Upload team at the University of Michigan, she is portrayed in the novel as a person who is able to focus on, and enjoy, the here and now, and who favors the physical world over the virtual world. Thus, although she believes that an uploaded human would preserve his or her humanness and sometimes fantasizes "about a future in which uploaded humans evolve into something new", the primary reason why she joined the team was because she thinks that an uploaded mind is "the perfect platform" to do research to cure physical problems like "schizophrenia, […] obesity, migraines, [and] cancer" (63). For her, there is no point in taking the risk to upload a healthy human. As she declares: "But what if something goes wrong? Then you've given up on your perfectly good life…because you were greedy for something better?" (63). Anya's moral stance echoes that of some contemporary sociologists and bioethicists who argue that technology should certainly be used for therapeutic purposes but that those uses that go beyond therapy should be regulated (see McKibben 2004: 9-10; Walker 2013: 11; Kass 2003: 6, 10).

In a society in which technology mediates practically every aspect of the characters' existence – from retinal implants and holographic displays to automated cars, driverless shuttles, and robotic cars that deliver your groceries; the society depicted in *Upload* is at the cutting edge as far as technology is concerned –, Anya stands out as the most 'off-the-grid' character. As an example of this, Anya practices yoga in her living room – as opposed to practicing it in a virtual chamber, which seems to be the most common option in the society depicted in the novel. In this respect, in a conversation she has with Raymond at the beginning of the story, she claims that it is only in "reality prime" (McClelland 2012: 19) – these are the words the characters in the novel ironically use to refer to the physical world – that she is able to feel in tune with her body. Furthermore, once in a while she likes to turn off all her technological devices, light some candles and an oil lamp, and read books. "It's like I've withdrawn from society for an evening, like I'm out of the system – alone" (48), Anya declares.[4]

Before the two characters start a romantic relationship, they have several personal conversations at work. From the protagonist's perspective, readers learn that he is not used to having personal conversations with anyone nor to "sharing anything about himself" (19). However, talking to Anya is something he really enjoys, as she seems to be willing to listen to what he has to say: "She seemed

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[4] In view of Anya's more conservative attitude towards technology, the revelation that she is a designer baby or a "gene-job" (40) may come as a surprise to readers. However, we soon learn that the genetic modifications her parents programmed for her were mostly health-related. Just like their daughter, Anya's parents seem to hold a more conservative moral stance with respect to technology. The fact that her father has devoted his professional life to writing articles on "famous setbacks experienced by scientists and technologists" is also revealing in this respect (100).

genuinely interested in what he had to say, as if she had all the time in the world
for him" (17). Anya is also the first person he manages to open to. Hence, further
on in the story, Raymond tells her about his traumatic childhood, about how his
virtual-world-addict father, who probably spent most of his time "having sex with
some woman in v-space", finally abandoned Raymond and his mother to be with
an "Asian stripper named Mako, in Miami" (52-53). He also tells her how her mother
would always be pacing outside his father's virtual chamber "with a drink in her
hand", saying things "loud enough so he might overhear them inside" (52). Telling
Anya about his past makes Raymond feel relieved: "He felt a sense of peace, and
he realized that it was because he had let Anya into his world" (54). Conversely,
Raymond also appreciates when Anya shares her feelings with him, as "[t]he
privilege of her shared emotion felt like a gift to him" (18).

It is precisely losing all physical contact with Anya that worries Raymond the
most about uploading. In several occasions, the narrator focalizes through the
protagonist and expresses his fear of not being able to feel what he feels when she
is around anymore after the upload. Recalling the moment when he and Anya had
kissed for the first time – a moment in which he had felt a "confusion of lust,
tenderness, defensiveness, compassion, and joy" – Raymond wonders whether "an
uploaded mind could know such confused exhilaration" (40). The fear of losing part
of our sensory experiences and/or emotions and, therefore, part of our personal
identity in the process, which McClelland successfully fictionalizes in the novel, is a
common argument against mind uploading. Michael Hauskeller, for instance, argues
that "there is no evidence whatsoever" that "a perfectly accurate software emulation
of a human brain" will result in conscious experience. He then adds that even if it
did result in conscious experience, there is no evidence that it would "be anything
like the experience of the mind we intended to duplicate, or recreate" (2012: 198).
Canadian transhumanist philosopher Mark Walker dismisses these arguments and
declares that "uploading promises to preserve the essential aspects of the brain and
nervous system" which are thought to be constitutive of personal identity, namely
"thought, consciousness, emotions, creativity, aesthetic experience, sensory
experience and empathy" (2014: 162). Moreover, he goes one step further and claims
that moving beyond biology will allow human beings not just to preserve but also
to *extend* or *increase* our sensory experiences and cognitive abilities, as well as to
"choose our emotional architecture" (228). Ultimately, by inviting readers to share
the protagonist's hesitations through focalization, McClelland sides with the former
group of critics – those who are skeptical of technology's ability to replicate our
sensory experiences and emotional states.

As well as through the use of focalization, another way in which McClelland
brings readers closer to the protagonist's perspective throughout the novel is by
introducing some first-person sentences in italics. These italicized sentences
interrupt the main narrative at different points and are mainly used to convey the
protagonist's immediate thoughts and concerns. Sometimes, they convey Raymond's
astonishment at feeling things that are completely new to him, as happens when
Anya kisses him in front of their colleagues for the first time: *"This gorgeous, popular*

*woman just kissed me in front of Alfonso and Suma, and now she's hugging me*" (McClelland 2012: 68). Other times, the italicized sentences convey Raymond's concern at the prospect of leaving Anya behind. Thus, the day of the upload, the heterodiegetic narrator recounts how Raymond records a "voice-visual a message" (151) for Anya from her own apartment in which he says goodbye and explains the reasons why he has decided to upload. Then, the protagonist decides to rest a little bit in her sofa and imagines her curled up next to him. Right afterwards, readers find the following sentence in italics: "*Tonight – tonight I upload. I'll never be in this apartment again. I'll never see Anya again*" (156).

All in all, the character of Anya plays a key role in the novel because she makes the protagonist start valuing the flesh-bound aspects of his existence just as he plans to leave behind the physical world to lead a virtual life in cyberspace. Raymond's traumatic childhood may help explain why he feels detached from the physical world and why uploading seems initially like a good idea for him. Never having felt loved or cared for by anybody and having spent a good amount of his life in his own virtual world, there is nothing that ties him to the physical world. However, he shows more doubts once he meets Anya and learns what it feels like to be emotionally and physically loved by someone. As explained above, by means of focalizing on the protagonist and interspersing some first-person sentences in italics, McClelland makes readers witness his change of heart and invites us to mistrust the idea of renouncing to our physical embodied existence in general, and to our physical relationships with the people we love, in particular. Towards the end of part two of the novel, in the voice-visual message he records for Anya explaining the reasons why he has decided to upload in spite of his doubts, he tells her that she has certainly made him rethink his plan:

> Being with you, I've seen what it feels like to be close to someone. I feel like you made me a real person, for the first time in my life. If my past were different, maybe… maybe things would have worked out between you and me. (155)

Nevertheless, feeling cornered by the private investigator working on Mr. Tate's case, Raymond finally decides to carry his escape plan forward and uses the lab's technology to transfer his mental data to the cloud.

Part two of the novel shows Raymond's new life as a virtual entity in cyberspace. In this second part, focalization and italicized sentences also play a key role, as they are mainly used to convey Raymond's feelings of disembodiment after the upload and, therefore, to further invite readers to mistrust the transhumanist ideal of abandoning the physical world to lead an everlasting virtual life in cyberspace. The opening sentence is quite revealing in this respect, as the heterodiegetic narrator provides, from Raymond's perspective, hints not just of the fact that the upload has worked but also that the protagonist is ultimately unable to feel anything: "Raymond's mind stirred, but he found himself in a state completely devoid of sensation" (165). Similarly, a few paragraphs later, McClelland introduces some first-person sentences in italics which convey Raymond's excitement at realizing that the upload has worked – "*Oh my god – it must have worked. The upload worked. My*

name is Raymond Quan. I am human. I am computer" – but also his preoccupation at not knowing where he is and realizing that he does not have a body: "*Where am I, where am I, where am I, where am I.* […] *The mental scan must have worked, but I have no body*" (165). The protagonist soon concludes that there must have been a problem with the initialization process that was supposed to establish a connection between his brain and his new virtual body. He tries to no avail to run the process again himself, which makes him start thinking about other possibilities, such as the FBI having captured his mental data or the nanobots having destroyed his body during the scan and, consequently, him being now stuck in an empty digital afterlife. All in all, Raymond finds himself panicking, worried about remaining "a bodiless brain in a void" forever (169).

The protagonist decides to run the commands once more and finally awakens in "Nurania", a virtual world which he had created to this purpose some years earlier (167). He is then delighted to find out that he has a perfectly healthy and flawless digital body, which closely resembles his real-world body: "He looked down and saw his own body. His almond skin, hairless chest, flat pectorals, dark nipples. The simulation of his flesh looked and felt flawless" (168). Raymond is now able to feel "the sun and the wind against his skin" (176) as well as "pain in his wrist" (175). Feeling pain is something he appreciates, as it means that his virtual body is now "properly integrated with both the world around him and his new brain" (168). Similarly, breathing Nurania's air and being able to feel "the smell of moss, wet stone, and floral sweetness" is described, from the protagonist's perspective, as a "transcendently exhilarating" moment (177). Nevertheless, also from his perspective, readers learn that Raymond feels at times "vulnerably alone" in Nurania and even regrets having given up his physical life with Anya (168). He feels that life as a simulated form does not at all resemble real life and is ashamed of not having been able to open up to Anya and face his legal responsibilities:

> Had he really thrown away whatever chances he might have had with Anya for *this*? Maybe he could have convinced her to give him the time he needed to open up, to get used to having someone in his life. It had felt so good to spill everything to her in his goodbye message. What if he could have done that without having to run away? (171; emphasis in the original)

Perhaps the main reason why Raymond does not feel at home in Nurania is because, contrary to what he had initially planned, he is not in control of his own virtual world. He has woken up naked in a place different from the place where he was supposed to wake up and has partially lost his memory. Talking to the people he meets in Nurania, he comes to the conclusion that he must be just a copy of Raymond's original mental data and that the first Raymond must have been in Nurania before. Not being able to remember exactly what happened, the protagonist embarks on a journey around the virtual world to try to get answers to his questions. During the journey, he witnesses some meteor showers and volcanic eruptions and finds out that Nurania is about to be destroyed by means of a comet impact – remarkably, this is how he had once planned to destroy his own virtual world should

it be necessary. Furthermore, he finds a mausoleum in Anya's flower garden, which leads him to think that Anya is dead and that the original Raymond must have created it as a tribute to his lover. He also realizes that the first Raymond has done, out of boredom and feelings of emptiness, terrible things to Nurania's inhabitants.[5] All this makes him feel ashamed of himself and regret having uploaded. This can be clearly observed when, being asked by one of the characters in Nurania whether he regrets uploading, he answers: "Right now I do. I'm a stranger in my own world. Something is seriously screwed up, and I can't figure out what. […] Anya's dead, apparently. […] I don't know how she died, and I don't know if I ever could have had a chance to set things right with her anyway. And Nurania certainly isn't what I expected" (211). Sometimes, the protagonist even fantasizes about dying or taking his own life, which is highly ironic considering that his original intention for uploading was to become immortal.

Towards the ending of the novel, the second version of Raymond is finally able to contact Anya, who is still alive in the real world. While she is telling him that somebody is doing experiments with him and his life is therefore at stake, the protagonist interrupts her and declares his love for her: "'Anya', interrupted Raymond. 'I love you' […] 'You are life to me. Nothing else means anything. My love for you is the greatest emotion I've ever felt. If I knew you loved me as much as I love you, I could die happy'" (260). As evidenced from the previous quotation, Raymond seems to have realized that his love for Anya is the only thing that gives meaning to his life. He does not seem to care about dying anymore. He just wants to let Anya know that uploaded life is not the same without her and to confirm that she loves him as much as he loves her. Some pages later, readers learn that this conversation, and specially seeing Anya and realizing that she still cares about him, has infused the protagonist with confidence. At this point, Raymond feels like smiling. However, the heterodiegetic narrator then announces, from the protagonist's perspective, that lacking a physical body, carrying out a physical action such as smiling is ultimately impossible for him. This makes Raymond feel hopeless and empty: "Having no face to show expression, no lips to turn in a smile, his happiness felt muted. He pictured her face, smiling on his behalf. Unable to smile himself, her imagined smile felt empty, left him feeling even flatter" (273). Here, McClelland questions again the transhumanist argument that the sensory experiences of uploaded posthumans could be the same as those of their organic human counterparts.

Overall, the protagonist wishes he could go back to the real world to be physically near his lover, so that she could help him work through his traumas and give him strength to face his legal responsibilities:

> He wanted to release himself into Anya's care, this time with nothing to hide. He
> wanted to lay his head in her lap and close his eyes, and have her pet his head

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[5] Significantly, Part Two of the novel raises an interesting debate on the ethics of digital entities that goes in line with critical posthumanism's efforts at decentering the human as the sole focus of ethics and politics.

and say pleasant things, about her day, or her plans for the summer, or fond
memories of her father. He wanted to throw himself into the arms of a woman
who could rebuild him as an innocent. (273)

In the previous quotation, McClelland uses focalization to bring the protagonist's
perspective closer to the readers' and convey his despair at the impossibility of being
physically close to his lover. With this narrative choice, McClelland highlights the
important role that physical contact plays in interpersonal or romantic relationships
and turns a cold shoulder, once again, on those who plan to upload themselves and
become disembodied and immortal entities.

Remarkably, the ending of the novel reinforces McClelland's message as it invites
readers to be wary of technology's ability to help us realize our dreams of
enhancement. Thus, in the last pages of the novel Anya tells Raymond that there
has been an explosion in the lab where his memories are stored. The case of his
operating system has been badly damaged and some kind of acid has gotten into it.
Anya fears that if the acid seeps in further it could cause major brain damage on
Raymond. The protagonist tells his lover to break the case but, once she does it,
Raymond starts feeling a "ghostly cold sensation" and his thoughts turn hazy (277).
He feels as if he is falling and struggles to say Anya's name one last time, which are
all hints that acid has seeped in and caused irreversible damage and that Raymond's
second copy is about to die. By devising such a gloomy and ironic ending to the
novel, McClelland dismantles the transhumanist view of technology as a safe bet
and points to the futility of renouncing to our embodied existence with the uncertain
hope of achieving virtual immortality.

## 4. CONCLUSION

Until relatively recently, the prospect of achieving virtual immortality through
uploading human consciousness into computational software was just a fantasy in
the minds of those keen on SF. However, in light of the latest developments in the
field of neurotechnology, some critics now regard mind-uploading as a not so far-
removed enhancement option. While transhumanist thinkers embrace this
procedure and dream of a postbiological future in which human beings possess
greater cognitive, emotional, and sensorial abilities, critical posthumanists warn of
the risks inherent to the idea of leaving biology behind to leave a virtual life in
cyberspace. Significantly, these warnings reverberate in some twenty-first century SF
novels written by tech professionals, such as Mark McClelland's debut novel *Upload*
(2012). This work has argued that much of the novel's success lies in the fact that it
carries out an effective critique of mind uploading from a critical posthumanist
perspective. As this work has set out to prove, the writer's narrative choices –
specifically, his use of focalization, the introduction of some first-person sentences
in italics, and the introduction of a pessimistic ending to the story – invite readers
to turn a cold shoulder on those who aim to leave behind their embodied existence
to achieve virtual immortality. Furthermore, they encourage reflection on some of

the ethical and philosophical debates that surround mind uploading and which have often been overlooked by transhumanist critics.

Thus, by bringing readers closer to the protagonist's perspective through focalization and introducing some first-person sentences in italics, the writer leads readers to question the ethics of regarding mind uploading as a way of evading our problems and legal responsibilities. Furthermore, he dismisses the philosophical argument that the sensory experiences and emotions of uploaded posthuman beings are bound to resemble those of their organic counterparts and makes readers aware of the important role that physical contact plays in romantic relationships. Finally, by devising an ending in which the protagonist allegedly dies after some acid seeps into the case of his operating system, McClelland warns against the risks of renouncing to our embodied existence and placing our hopes of immortality in a medium that is in itself not fully reliable. Overall, echoing some of the main tenets of critical posthumanism, McClelland's *Upload* warns against the idea of turning to technology for redemption and urges us instead to make the most of the time we have with the people we love and to face with resilience our problems and responsibilities. Regrettably, insofar as it features a male protagonist who yearns to escape his body and his female love interest who represents physicality and embodiment, *Upload* reinscribes stereotypes that critical posthumanism has been trying to discard for a while now. McClelland's non-literary background may (or may not) excuse his partial understanding of critical posthumanist theory. In any case, what is undeniable is that his position as an 'insider' of the tech industry undoubtedly endows his message of warning with a unique sense of urgency.

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# DISCUSSING THE FEMINIST AGENDA IN MARGARET ATWOOD'S DYSTOPIAN NOVELS *THE HANDMAID'S TALE* AND *MADDADDAM*[1]

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*ABSTRACT.* In this article, an analysis is made of Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) and *MaddAddam* (2013) from a gendered and generic perspective. *The Handmaid's Tale* was one of the novels that marked the dystopian turn in the 1980s writing of fiction, while *MaddAddam* is, for some critics, a feminist critical dystopia in which the ending retains hope for a better future. Consequently, both novels belong a priori to a specific branch of the dystopian genre: the feminist dystopian novel. However, some ambiguity or even contradictory readings can be inferred in both texts. This article explores *The Handmaid's Tale* and *MaddAddam's* portrayal of women and their acts of resistance in order to assess these texts' liberatory or still inherently conservative messages of their endings, especially regarding women.

*Keywords:* Atwood, Feminist Dystopia, Endings and Dystopias, Transgressive Utopias.

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## DEBATIENDO LA AGENDA FEMINISTA EN LAS NOVELAS DISTÓPICAS DE MARGARET ATWOOD *THE HANDMAID'S TALE* Y *MADDADDAM*

*RESUMEN.* En este artículo se hace un análisis de las novelas de Margaret Atwood *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) y *MaddAddam* (2013) desde las perspectivas de los roles de género y de género literario. *The Handmaid's Tale* fue una de las novelas que marcó el giro hacia las distopías, mientras que *MaddAddam* es para algunos críticos una distopía crítica feminista en la que el final todavía retiene la esperanza de un futuro mejor. En consecuencia, ambas novelas pertenecen a priori a una rama específica dentro del género distópico: la novela distópica feminista. Sin embargo, se puede deducir cierta ambigüedad o incluso lecturas contradictorias en ambos textos. Este artículo explora el retrato que *The Handmaid's Tale* y *MaddAddam* hacen de las mujeres y de sus actos de resistencia con el fin de analizar los mensajes liberatorios o todavía inherentemente conservadores de sus finales, especialmente con respecto a las mujeres.

*Palabras clave:* Atwood, distopía feminista, distopías y finales, utopías transgresivas.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) was one of the publications that heralded the dystopian move in the 1980s fiction. Moreover, according to Tom Moylan, *The Handmaid* "opened up the dystopia to new possibilities for its creative realization and reception" (2000: 150). Dystopian approaches are a subjective way of wrestling with the changing social reality, the economic, political, and cultural conditions of a specific geographical and historical society creatively displayed into the future to criticize it. In this article, an analysis is made of Margaret Atwood's novels *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) and *MaddAddam* (2013) from a gendered and generic perspective. If *The Handmaid's Tale* marked the dystopian turn, *MaddAddam*, the third novel in the *MaddAddam* trilogy –*Oryx and Crake* (2003), *The Year of the Flood* (2009) and *MaddAddam*– is, for some authors, a feminist critical dystopia in which its ending, and thus the whole trilogy denouement, retains hope for a better future. As a result, *The Handmaid's Tale* and *MaddAddam* a priori conform to a specific subgenre of dystopian fiction defined as feminist dystopian fiction.

However, some ambiguity or even contradictory readings can be found in the texts. This article examines the portrayal of female characters and their acts of resistance in *The Handmaid's Tale* and *MaddAddam* to assess both novels' *liberatory* or *inherently conservative* final messages, particularly regarding women roles and expectations.

2. *THE HANMAID'S TALE*, A FEMINIST DYSTOPIA?

When writing her novel in the 1980s, Atwood imposed herself a strict rule: she "would not include any detail that people had not already done, sometime, somewhere; or that they lacked the technology to do" (Atwood 2022: 252). There is a general agreement that *The Handmaid's Tale* is a dystopia, but what kind of dystopia? Who or what are the targets for the critique? *The Handmaid's Tale* was extensively classified and recognized at first as a "feminist dystopia" (Malik 1987: 11), a "global feminist fable" (Bouson 2010: 3), "a political tract deploring [...] antifeminist attitudes" (Lehmann-Haupt 1986: n.p.), or even a "feminist *1984*" (Johnson 1986: n.p.). In this line, Gina Wisker claims that Atwood's novelty is that the novel is "a feminist challenge to the forms of dystopian fiction" (2012: 95). Furthermore, Coral Ann Howells agrees with the term feminist dystopia: "This is a herstory, a deconstructive view of patriarchal authority, which in turn is challenged at an academic conference two hundred years later" (2000: 142). Nonetheless, not long after its first publication, the novel sparked significant controversy in its portrayal of feminism. For instance, in the harshest critical review ever received by *The Handmaid's Tale*, Mary McCarthy claimed that the novel partially blamed "excessive feminism" for the creation of Gilead (1986: n.p.). Nevertheless, what Atwood stated she wanted in 1984 and still maintained in 2017 is to "try a dystopia from the female point of view [. . .] this does not make *The Handmaid's Tale* a 'feminist dystopia' except insofar as giving a woman a voice and an inner life will always be considered 'feminist' by those who think women ought not to have these things" (2011: 146).

Even if Atwood disagrees with *The Handmaid's Tale*'s label of *feminist dystopia*, there are legitimate reasons that support, at first sight, this gendered and genre classification. Dystopias, as Howells states, have a warning function of sending out "danger signals to its readers" (2008: 161) and, as such, *The Handmaid's Tale* has undeniable feminist warning messages. Some feminists read the novel as a warning against their most feared threats to women. As Barbara Ehrenreich explains, there is a branch of feminism –cultural feminism– that sees "all of history as a male assault on women and, by proxy, on nature itself" (2004: 78), and consequently they predict and fear a future in which women are deprived of all their rights as citizens. In this frightening future, women would be forced to fulfill a limited role only as "breeders and scullery maids" to be discarded and annihilated when technology makes enough progress to supply their wombs and cause them unnecessary for human reproduction (Ehrenreich 2004: 78-79). *The Handmaid's Tale* puts into practice this feminist nightmare of women's subjugation. In the strongly patriarchal Gilead, women have "freedom from" instead of "freedom to" (Atwood 1996: 37). Those who are not classified as unwomen are protected from sexual assaults and kept safe in their imposed role of breeders, wives, and housekeepers. In the first steps of the regime's creation, women are deprived of their jobs and strictly forbidden to hold property (1996: 187). Later on, they are denied access to any education and reading (1996: 98). Handmaids are taught their duties in the "Domestic Science Room" (1996: 127). They are indoctrinated through documentaries and old porn films –presented

as actual footage– to learn how badly they were treated by men in the time before Gilead (1996: 128). As Offred recognizes, after the brainwashing in the Red Centre, they were "losing the taste for freedom, already [they] were finding these walls secure" (1996: 143). Even worse, the Historical Notes chapter mentions the existence of "escaped Handmaids who had difficulty adjusting to life in the outside world […] after the *protected existence* they had led" (1996: 323, emphasis added). This vision of women as infantilized and totally subjugated to men's whim and compulsory protection functions as the materialization of cultural feminism's worst fears. Consequently, it is easy to understand that the term "feminist" became quickly attached to Atwood's dystopian novel.

Totalitarian societies in dystopic fictions repress their citizens' thoughts and speech. Without freedom of speech, storytelling comes as an act of resistance because for Offred "to tell her tale is to risk her life" (Stein 2013: 261). Karen Stein emphasizes the importance of language in dystopias and sees Offred as a "Scheherazade in Dystopia" linking "the feminist project to 'steal the language' of/from patriarchy – and the postmodern critique of language" (2013: 261). However, it is precisely in language and the way the story is narrated –narrative time, reconstruction of the story– that some ambiguity or even contradictory readings can be found in the text. *The Handmaid's Tale* offers two different projected futures. One is Offred's story, and the other one is the conference that takes place at the "University of Denay, Nunavit, on June 25, 2195" (Atwood 1996: 311). Professor Pieixoto introduces Offred's story as the result of writing down *his* random organization of some thirty cassette tapes found in the former US state of Maine – which was part of the republic of Gilead. The Historical Notes chapter serves to confirm Offred's survival after the ending of her first-person narration as well as the end of the nightmarish society of the republic of Gilead. However, it also introduces some doubts about Offred's reliability as a narrator –the veracity of her story, because it "might be a forgery" (1996: 314 – and shows how the society after Gilead is too similar to that society that allowed Gilead to be born. As Arnold Davidson remarks: "Even with the lesson of Gilead readily at hand, the intellectuals of 2195 seem to be preparing the way for Gilead again" (1988: 120). Borrowing again from Davidson, he points to the ideological construction of history when he says: "how we choose to construct history partly determines the history we are likely to get" (1988: 115). At the end of the novel, a male narrator, Pieixoto, tries to be "cautious about passing moral judgements upon the Gileadeans" (Atwood 1996: 314). Atwood, through Pieixoto, ironically questions, deconstructs and reinterprets Offred's story[2], engaging in metafictional commentary of the storytelling process, disclosing this way the fictional character of her story and by extension of any narrative:

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[2] *The Handmaid's Tale* was published in 1985 when postmodernism was at its peak, and it is generally considered as one of the best examples of postmodern fiction. The Historical Notes chapter is key to presenting the characteristic postmodern multiplicity of narratives. On the one hand, Offred's voice tries to destabilize the oppressive order, and, on the other, Pieixoto appropriates her story under the pretension of offering objective truth. (Caminero-Santangelo 1994: n.p.)

> Supposing, then, the tapes to be genuine, what of the nature of the account itself? Obviously, it could not have been recorded during the period of time it recounts, since, if the author is telling the truth, no machine or tapes would have been available to her, nor would she have had a place of concealment for them. Also, there is a certain reflective quality about the narrative that would to my mind rule out synchronicity. It has a whiff of emotion recollected, if not in tranquility, at least post facto. (Atwood 1996: 315)

Pieixoto's commentary makes perfectly clear that Offred's apparently interpolated narration –composed by present impressions during her life as handmaid and her subsequent narration from the time she was a free US citizen– can be only subsequent narration rendered from any unknown moment in the future in which she is no longer Offred. Thus, the total veracity of her narrative of resistance is suddenly under suspicion of distorting the truth. The questioning of Offred's narrative reaches a new level when the importance of language and narration as act of resistance in dystopian narratives is considered. As Ildney Cavalcanty argues, "Futuristic dystopias are stories about language […] feminist dystopias overtly thematize the linguistic construction of gender domination by telling stories about language as instrument of both (men's) domination and (women's) liberation" (2000: 152). However, in Howells's opinion, "Offred has the author's support…and she also has the reader's sympathy, so that [the Historical Notes chapter] does not succeed in undermining herstory after all" (2000: 142).

Besides, Offred's narration is not only questioned and reconstructed in the Historical Notes but also *from within* her own narration. Offred's narrative voice comments on and outlines the fictional character of her own memories: "this is a reconstruction […] It's impossible to say a thing exactly the way it was" (Atwood 1996: 144), or "I made that up. It didn't happen that way" (1996: 275). Thus, the story and the act or narrating become entangled with a clear metafictional intention, a self-conscious reflection on the act of narrating. In spite of Stein's affirmation that for Offred "to tell her tale is to risk her life" (2013: 263), she did not take any dangerous or risky action either as a US citizen or as a handmaid: "I've crossed no boundaries. I've given no trust, taken no risk, all is safe. It's choice that terrifies me" (1996: 71). As Mathew Bolton aptly argues: "Atwood's narrators thought much, but acted little […] speak in lamentation rather than in protest" (2010: 72). Moreover, we do not have any clue about whether her story ever reached her contemporaries or not, and even less about its political impact, because the Gileadean state still prevails after her disappearance. However, and although the others' experience is not available through an unmediated rendering in *The Handmaid's Tale,* as Moylan wittingly outlines, "Gilead is a society in which the contradictions are more pervasive and closer to the surface than in many of the dystopian accounts of authoritarian states" (2000: 164). There are other sources of resistance to the regime that come directly from within: its unhappy ruling class that according to him make *Handmaid* a "weak dystopia" (2000: 164). Even in the climactic moment of the "Ceremony" (Atwood 1996: 105), Offred underlines the discomfort and suffering of the other participants: The Ceremony "is not recreation, even for the Commander […] [he], too, is doing his duty" (1996: 105). Offred wonders "which of us is it worse for, her

[the Commander's wife] or me?" (1996: 106). Those wives forced to accept a handmaid[3] also subvert the regime law by enforcing their handmaids to illegally achieve their pregnancies. The wives may know that their husbands were sterile – "many of the Commanders had come in contact with a sterility causing virus" (1996: 321)– and sought the help of younger men, such as the doctors or Nick himself (Atwood 1996: 70; 214-15), even though all of them know that if discovered the penalty would be death. The Commanders, paradoxically trapped in their own prohibitions, resist their own enacted laws with private and forbidden sexual intercourse with their handmaids and attending Jezebel, the bar and brothel (1996: 207). Finally, in the novel there are many other dissident female presences who resist and *act* against the regime: the unwomen, former feminists, nuns that reject to be assimilated by the regime, lesbian Moira, activists like Ofglen, and women working as prostitutes at Jezebel, among others. The fact that Offred's narrative has been recorded after her time serving as handmaid would diminish its effect as counter narrative at the same time as it increases the self-justifying and passive mood of her account. It becomes a submissive victim narrative, moreover when her main aim is only to adapt and survive.

According to Fiona Tolan, the metafictional elements of the novel represent a self-conscious strategy to scrutinize "the role of narrative in creating the historical record" and thus Offred's story focuses on the examination of the history of the feminist movement (2007: 144). Atwood ironically underlines how the feminist movement and the Gilead republic have common goals achieved very often through censorship. She shows how Gilead adopted some of the feminist movement's ideas in line with those of Gilead: "some of their ideas were sound enough" (Atwood 1996: 128). In spite of being considered from the very beginning a feminist novel, *The Handmaid's Tale* questions "the validity of any political or philosophical system that is prepared to limit basic freedoms in the pursuit of its goal" (Tolan 2007: 152). As Donna Haraway, very suspicious of totalizing and universal theories, affirms:

> The feminist dream of a common language, like all dreams for a perfectly true language, of perfectly faithful naming of experience, is a totalizing and imperialist one. Perhaps, ironically, we can learn from our fusions with animals and machines how not to be Man, the embodiment of Western logos. (2016: 173)

In her dystopian fiction *The Handmaid's Tale*, Atwood cautions against totalitarian systems of thought that compromise individual freedom, not only religion and politics but also that early dogmatic feminism. As Gayle Greene emphasizes, feminism "is too a target of Atwood's satire" (1987: 14). In the same line, Ehrenreich outlines that in *The Handmaid's Tale*, "we are being warned […] not only about the theocratic ambitions of the religious right but about a repressive tendency in feminism itself" (2004: 78). It seems undeniable that Atwood encourages the idea of

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[3] "Not every Commander has a Handmaid: some of their wives have children" (Atwood 1996: 127).

freedom and personal liberty before any ideology, thus, the label of "feminist dystopia" seems to be slightly restrictive for *The Handmaid's Tale*.

On the other hand, *The Handmaid's Tale* is not what Moylan describes as a "pure" dystopia, for it offers the possibility of a hopeful future in its ending at the Nunavit conference –which reverses the dystopic conclusion by giving the novel a "potential utopian gesture" (Moylan 2000: 165). Although Moylan still classifies *Handmaid* as a classical dystopia –mainly for reasons related to its publication date– other critics such as Raffaella Baccolini and Ildney Cavalcanti inscribe Atwood's novel within another specific label: the critical dystopia. Critical dystopia is a variant within dystopian fiction in which the discourse still retains hope for a better future, a utopian space, or a movement toward utopia (in Moylan 2000: 190). It is precisely in the presence of a non-yet-defeated utopian core in an open-ending narrative that Dunja M. Mohr distinguishes the feminist dystopia's specificity:

> Strictly speaking, the classical dystopia has often (if not always) contained a utopian, but a defeated, utopian core […] The utopian subtext of contemporary feminist dystopias can be found precisely in this gap between the narrated dystopian present and the anticipated realization of a potential utopian future that classical dystopia evades […] However, in contrast to a classical utopian narrative and like the 'critical utopias,' they resist narrative closure (perfection). Without ever narrating or exactly defining utopia, these new feminist dystopias map not a single path but rather several motions and changes that may lead to a potentially better future. (2007: 9)

Consequently, the utopian mood would still be alive, particularly in the modern feminist dystopias, but disguised as dystopia, in a new derivation within the genre that Mohr calls "transgressive utopian dystopias" (2007: 4). From the 1990s onwards feminist dystopias have added to their initial more exclusive focus on women's agency an increasing concern with racism and climate change: "Critiquing this correlation between gender and genre, feminist fiction in general and feminist utopian/dystopian writing in particular have from the beginning deliberately crossed genre boundaries and questioned the stability of genre conventions" (Moylan and Baccolini 2007: 164). Atwood herself acknowledges the frequent and inherent hybridity of utopia and dystopia in what she calls "ustopia"; that is, "a combination of the imagined perfect society and its opposite" (Atwood 2011: 66). Accordingly, it can be inferred that the clues for *The Handmaid's Tale*'s generic classification, and with them the specific ideological message of the novel, are precisely to be found in the novel's ending, as the glimpse of utopia appears as readers learn that Gilead's regime is toppled in the future.

## 3. *MADDADDAM* AND THE *FEMINIST* DYSTOPIAN IMPULSE

In contrast to *The Handmaid's Tale*, the novel *MaddAddam* opens the story with "the actual process of building utopia" (Mohr 2007: 5). As explained above, *MaddAddam* is the last novel in the trilogy, the one that describes the new future, a new beginning after the apocalypse (Somacarrera 2021: 112), and in terms of plot and characterization the one that best adapts to this essay's departure hypothesis.

Through the analysis of women's faith at the end of the trilogy, mainly focusing on Toby and the development of her identity, tracing it back to the previous novel, *The Year of the Flood* (Atwood 2013), this essay discusses the proposed ending for women. The trilogy's denouement conveys the positive –utopian– or negative –dystopian– mood that determines the novel's belonging to a specific genre and, what is more, its ideological message. Traditionally, an ending offering multiple possibilities would easily categorize a work of fiction into the transgressive and liberal corner. However, as Brian Richardson remarks, "close endings with fixed solutions were inherently conservative while open endings were necessary liberatory […] [but] open endings soon became widespread, even conventional" (2018: 332). If *MaddAddam* plunges the reader into the very process of building a utopian community, it would be interesting to consider the ending's openness so as to do a tentative reading about the ideologically *liberatory* or *inherently conservative* final message of the trilogy. I would like to discuss whether the ending –by resisting closure– could be understood as utopian –belonging to a feminist critical dystopia– and opening up a space for opposition and a critique upon twenty-first century patriarchal cultural patterns, or the other way round: an ending displaying a dystopian core in an ironic demonstration of the impossibility of changing human nature for the better. The narrative world depicted after the Anthropocene frontier in *MaddAddam* can be interpreted mainly as dystopian, especially for women. To assess this hypothesis, I consider the characterization and depiction of human women and their place and role in the new society created after the Waterless Flood.

Together with Zeb, Toby is portrayed as the most skillful and strong ethical character in the trilogy. Even when confronted with her survival needs, Toby is unwilling to hurt any living creature. Physically Toby is very far away from the voluptuous woman type: she is skinny, muscular, and not sexually eye-catching (Atwood 2014: 20). Moreover, her body is described as almost androgynous. According to Lindsay McCoy Anderson (2012), Atwood would question male dominance by giving certain utopian potential to the *androgynous* woman. Apparently, Toby occupies a liminal third space between the masculine and the feminine that seems to question the inherent western binary thinking that links males with agency and females with passivity: "liminality disrupts the binary system, and, as a result, threatens the dominance of masculinity […]. Toby demonstrate[s] that hope exists for those who navigate between the extremely feminine and masculine stereotypes" (Anderson 2012: 50). However, the mere act of qualifying Toby, a slender woman with small breasts, as *androgynous* can be another way of perpetuating stereotypes and describing women through men's eyes and expectations. Furthermore, the idea of attaching skillfulness, resolution, and survival capacity to the only woman in the story who is not sexually attractive and fertile, that is, to the *masculinized* woman, may reinforce gendered binary thinking by means of attaching specific abilities only to specific body types. In other words, standardly beautiful and fertile women are once again relegated to the role of being guided and cared for by men and now by the *masculinized* woman as well. Nevertheless, it is my contention that despite Toby's non-standard appearance, she is not actually neutral or liminal in her sexuality or feelings. What is more, she would

have internalized patriarchal expectations both for herself and for the other women to the point that at the end of the novel, she has become an *ugly duckling* or *Cinderella* since the denouement of her story comes ironically close to a romantic fairy tale and adds to the novel touches of consolation in the form of "they lived happily ever after, until parted by death".

In the pre-Waterless Flood times, after the death of her ailing mother –who died of a strange illness provoked by infected pills disguised by the Corporations as vitamin supplements– and her father's suicide in the same days, Toby has to struggle alone for survival, without legal identity, money or friends. She moves to the Pleeblands, the area that is considered the lowest among the low levels of society, a place where she could have done business with her only possession "of marketable value […] her young ass" (Atwood 2014: 35). However, even though she resists losing the ownership of her whole body, she trades with some *fragments* of it. She sells first her hair and then her eggs with the eventual consequence of being rendered infertile after an infection (2014: 38-39). In spite of her apparent lack of sex appeal, which should make her invisible to the male gaze, she is elected as a forced lover by Blanco, her boss in the SecretBurguers place and the most wicked of the Painballers later on. She is raped several times and thus eventually deprived of her body's ownership. Blanco exerts brutality and abuse over everyone around him, but only women suffer his sexual violence. Moreover, when she is rescued and integrated into the God's Gardeners, she goes through another episode of molestation attempt (Atwood 2014: 124). This time the rape is not perpetrated, and Pilar –a high-rank God's Gardener– recommends Toby to forget about the incident: "He's tried that on more than one of us […] The Ancient Australopithecus can come out in all of us. You must forgive him in your heart" (Atwood 2014: 124).

Laurie Vickroy highlights how Atwood recurrently reveals and considers the subject of "women's vulnerability to physical, sexual, and psychological violence in situations of male domination" (2013: 254). Atwood's protagonists are often sexually abused, and the *MaddAddam* trilogy is not an exception: Toby, Amanda, and Ren –female narrators and focalizers through the trilogy– are raped. Nevertheless, although Amanda and Ren are sexually assaulted by the Crakers, these rapes are minimized, devoid of any significance, and forgiven. Amanda and Ren are encouraged not to make too much of a fuss about the incident. Toby, Amanda, and Ren suffer from this traumatic experience and seem to use typical psychological defenses to work through their trauma, like forgetfulness and emotional or physical dissociation. Vickroy explains how the effort to overcome their trauma is what may guide Atwood's female characters' behavior as "overly passive and emotionally paralyzed, unreliable and overly defensive, unheroic and even unethical –failures that are manifestations of trauma" (2013: 256). This seems to be the scheme employed by Offred in *The Handmaid's Tale*: passivity and adaptability as strategies of survival, and writing as an act of resistance. However, Offred's account is so biased by her need of self-justification that it jeopardizes the reliability of her narration.

Toby adopts a different method to survive to her extremely hard life conditions. Apparently she adapts to her situation by becoming a tougher person, emphasizing her visible lack of the physical traits typically associated to femininity. Survival implies for Toby the building of a new identity, and thus she has to renounce to a "unified self [that] may be a fantasy" (Raschke 2014: 35), but "the production of nonidentity makes moot any sense of resistive agency" (Raschke 2014: 33). She produces a self that is split between an aging and neutral outside and a careful and tender inside. Toby hides her feelings by putting an extremely thick cover layer between her and the rest of the world; but as Adam One –the God's Gardeners' founder– easily understands, "that hard shell is not your true self. Inside that shell you have a warm and tender heart, and a kind soul". (Atwood 2014: 49). She is always touched by the presence of children –or their absence after the Waterless Flood– no matter whether human or Craker. This special sensibility to children may be considered as an unconscious manifestation of her inability to become a mother. After several experiences of sexual harassment –being repeatedly raped by Blanco and having her body assaulted by undesired fondling– she is hugged and welcome by God's Gardeners' children. This asexual and friendly physical contact becomes the first instance of a clear touching emotion in Toby, the first crack on her shell (Atwood 2014*:* 51). She relives and expands this emotional link with her mother-like relationship with little Blackbeard, the Craker child, to the point that she feels sadness when she recognizes in him the signs of adulthood and consequently the end of her *motherhood*: "very soon he will be grown up. Why does this make me sad?" (Atwood 2014: 378). Children provide her with comfort and strength. Children, and eventually her love story with Zeb, are the triggers that break her protective shield, because she did not have any hope of being either loved or appreciated: "alone is how she'll always be […] She'd waited so long, she'd given up waiting" (2014: 49).

Toby has internalized the way others see her. Her lack of an exhuberant femininity in the shape of curves makes her feel diminished in the presence of overtly sexual and attractive women. Her bodily insecurity prevents her from establishing bonds with other women. She resents these women using their bodies and sexuality as *the tools* she does not have to attract men. When Toby meets Zeb he is having a sexual affair with Lucerne, an attractive married woman who eloped with him. Lucerne sees "nothing sexual about [Toby]" (Atwood 2014: 137), and does not consider Toby as a rival for Zeb's attentions. Yet Toby, attracted by Zeb, feels jealous of Lucerne when she tells her about her first meeting with Zeb (2014: 141). Toby, totally aware of her apparent sexual *invisibility*, does not sympathize with visually appealing females, and judges them harshly to the point she is sometimes ashamed of her own critical thoughts. It is an ambivalent feeling that ranges from envy to the moral superiority complex that Toby shows with Lucerne, Nuala[4] and

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[4] Nuala is a God Gardener accused of having a sexual affair with a male God Gardener engaged with another woman. Nuala denies the accusations but Toby personally thinks she is actually very promiscuous, and the allegations easy to believe "considering the way [Nuala] rub[s] against pant legs. Nuala flirted with anything male"(Atwood 2014: 200).

eventually after the Waterless Flood with the more threatening woman for her, the younger and fertile Swift Fox. After the apocalypse, Toby's body is not only anodyne but also aging. Toby uses self-deprecating humor in the construction of her identity through the interaction between herself and the younger woman, and tries to hide her love for Zeb because "women learn to see themselves and other women through men's eyes" (Davies 2006: 62) and she has internalized the stereotype for a middle-aged woman:

> Naturally they see it as funny [...] romance among the chronologically challenged is giggle folder. For the youthful, lovelorn and wrinkly don't blend, or not without farce [...] They must feel she's passed that moment. Brewing herbs, gathering mushrooms, applying maggots, tending bees, removing warts – beldam's roles. Those are her proper vocations. (Atwood 2014: 89)

Toby, *the sexually invisible woman*, is silently in love with Zeb from the very moment she meets him. The hope of seeing him again is her main motivation in the time after the spreading of the virus, when she is alone and enclosed trying to survive. After the pandemic, when she has already had sexual intercourse with him, she is insecure of her own value and attractiveness for Zeb, and alpha man. This is why she suffers and is resentful towards the woman who may be her rival for Zeb's attentions:

> Toby feels a rush of anger [...] Toby knows she's resenting the snide innuendoes Swift Fox aimed at her earlier, not to mention the gauzy shift and the cute shorts. And the breast weaponry, and the girly-girl pigtails. They don't go with your budding wrinkles, she feels like saying. (Atwood 2014: 143)

In a time in which fertility seems to be the most valuable thing, Toby, infertile and older than her rival, is not even able to say out loud her worst worries: the fear of not being deserving of and enough for Zeb. But Toby, the *androgynous Cinderella* who has not lost her modesty, kindness and diligence is finally *chosen* by the alpha man and achieves her personal happy ending, *fairy tale-like*, with wedding ceremony included. The skillful woman, which demonstrates an equal blend of masculine authority and feminine nurturing, ends up like in a teen comedy when the *ugly girl* is chosen and preferred to her younger and prettier rival. However, Toby's and Zeb's ending is as happy as any human life can be expected to be. Although questionably realistic, it is nevertheless closed and even utopian for the last recognized *purely human* couple –an "overly saccharine happily-ever-after ending" (Raschke 2014: 28). Yet, the outcome of Toby's fate twists to a romantic tragedy when Zeb disappears and is given up for dead, and Toby cannot recover from the grief she feels over her husband's death: "She did not ever become happy again" (Atwood 2014: 389). Several months after Zeb's death she discovers she has an incurable illness –presumably cancer– and goes to the forest to commit suicide before being painfully terminal. Ironically blurring the limits between dystopias and romantic novels, Atwood gives a love story ending to Toby, demonstrating that human happiness is only achieved at an individual level. This quite conventional

ending –girl meets boy and lives happy until death– has, however, a final hint of transgression in the form of female agency and a movement towards drama: Toby could not choose to retain the ownership of her body when she was raped but she decides when it is time to die. When life is no longer desirable, for it offers only suffering to her, she does not renounce to her body control and faces the last possible act of agency: committing suicide.

The three fertile women –Amanda, Ren and Swift Fox– are the first mothers of hybrid Craker/human descendants, but with the exception of the last one, this was not a conscious and voluntary decision. Both Amanda and Ren are raped. When Amanda –"who was so traumatized she was almost catatonic" (Atwood 2014: 11)– and Ren are sexually assaulted by the Crakers, they both ask Toby to help them, but the "major cultural misunderstanding" –never named as rape– is done. Forgiveness and understanding are applied compromising women's rights: the *rights* of the assaulters to their own culture or ignorance are privileged over women's right to be safe. It seems that any difference in cultural patterns is always sanctioned to women's detriment. This controversy may remind readers of the current reality in the debate between feminism and multiculturalism. It is what Sheyla Benhabib explains as the liberals' dilemma: "The attempt on the part of liberal courts to do justice to cultural pluralism and to the varieties of immigrants' cultural experiences had led to the increased vulnerability of the weakest members of these groups – namely, women and children" (2015: 88). This is the argument brought about by the *cultural defense strategy* in legal cases involving immigrants from non-Western cultures. There is a clash resulting from the interaction of distinct cultural groups' coexistence that leads to the question posed by some feminist thinkers: "is multiculturalism bad for women?" (Benhabib 2015: 86). The fact of accepting as mitigating circumstances that one's own culture justifies criminal actions like marriage by rape, parent-child suicide or washing the family honor with murder has as a consequence that "doing justice to the defendant, injustice is done to the victims" (Benhabib 2015: 88).

Moreover, when Amanda, unsure of the paternity of her baby after being raped by both Painballers and Crakers, demands Toby to help her to have an abortion –"I want this thing out of me" (Atwood 2014: 216)– she finds out that in the new world the sudden loss of technology goes to the detriment of women's rights as well. A woman can no longer decide whether she wants to be a mother or not. Amanda fears the genetic conditioning that a Painballer's descendant could have, and expresses her intention of killing the baby in case of its being totally human: "who could expect her to give birth to a murderer's child?" (Atwood 2014: 215). It seems that it is only the prospective father's genetic information that conditions and defines the baby's identity and belonging. As in *The Handmaid's Tale* the newborn was *the Commander's baby*, in *MaddAddam* the baby would be either a *Painballer's baby*

or a *Craker's baby*. There is the shadow of eugenics in this passage of the novel.[5] Moreover, it seems to be a patriarchal thinking that which supports genetic determinism *only* by the father's side. Atwood avoids the controversy of nurturing or not the Painballer's baby: all the new born are Crakers' children, children of the *good* rapists. On the other hand, Amanda risks her own life during her pregnancy since the Crakers' different growing pattern could have caused a very large baby and an increased danger of dying in childbirth. However, when she gives birth to a hybrid baby she is suddenly recovered from her traumatic state of passivity and detachment. Motherhood is the magical tool that heals her from her trauma, and she becomes very fond of the newborn (Atwood 2014: 380).

The new society between humans and Crakers is born through and thanks to women's bodies, this time functioning as mediators not only between nature and culture but also as mediators between species:

> The sphere of sexual and reproductive lives is a central focus of most human cultures. The regulation of these functions forms the dividing line between nature and culture: all animal species need to mate and reproduce in order to survive [...] Nature does not dictate who should mate with whom; but all known human societies regulate mating for reproductive or nonreproductive purposes and create a symbolic universe of significations in accordance with which kinship patterns are formed and sexual taboos established. Women and their bodies are the symbolic-cultural site upon which human societies inscript their moral order. In virtue of their capacity for sexual reproduction, women mediate between nature and culture, between the animal species to which we all belong and the symbolic order that makes us into cultural beings. (Benhabib 2015: 84)

Borrowing Benhabib's rationale, there is a new *kinship pattern* and a new *symbolic universe of signification* in *MaddAddam*'s post-apocalyptic community. Curiously enough, only human women mate with the Crakers, there is no mention of any sexual relationship between human men and Craker women. The remaining question is whether this new hybrid society is really a new one for women. In other words, from a cultural perspective, is *MaddAddam*'s rebuilding of the world leading to a better future for women? Fertile women's bodies are returned to nature's ownership. Amanda's and Ren's involuntary motherhood and happy acceptance of the hybrid children can be inferred as a patriarchal backlash to traditional gender roles. In *MaddAddam*'s society, motherhood only brings happiness, even when it is not the result of free choice, and lack of motherhood, as is the case with Toby, calls for substitution and sadness.

The birth of hybrid children brings hope for the future and seems to represent the return to an idyllic time, a blissful ending for the human survivors: they "lived happily together and had many distinguished descendants". However, there is still

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[5] Eugenics, as defined by its founder Sir Francis Galton, is "the science which deals with all influences which improve the inborn qualities of race; also with those which develop them to the utmost advantage" (Squier 1994: 57).

too much uncertainty surrounding *MaddAddam*'s foreseeable future for it to be idyllic; as Debrah Raschke explains, the ending "mirrors our own complicity in Craker complacency, in a too cozy survival narrative that is, in fact, driving us closer to apocalypse" (2014: 36). Toby encountered her personal happiness in her love relationship with Zeb, and personal love is an element that is not shared between Crakers and humans. Women break traditional monogamy only for the conception, since they mate with four Crakers each time, but eventually the nuclear heterosexual family with its classical structure is the proposed solution. Human women procreate with the Crakers but they only find love and support in their fellow *pure* human beings: "Crozier and Ren […] Shackleton is supporting Amanda, and Ivory Bill has offered his services as soi-disant father to the Swift Fox twins […] [and] she tolerates his help" (Atwood 2014: 380). Moreover, they do not know for sure whether hybridity will be possible beyond the first generation. In the long run, maybe the future will exclusively belong to the Crakers: "A horse plus a donkey gives you a mule, but it's sterile" (2014: 206-207). If the hybrid project fails, human beings will live only within Toby's and Blackbeard's chronicles, within language and memory.

In sum, rather than breaking feminine and masculine stereotypes, Toby's characterization is perpetuating them. Atwood's election of an androgynous woman as the most skillful and resolute model of female in the *MaddAddam* community can be seen as a reaffirmation of gender stereotypes: it is the *unwoman*, the only one able to *protect* and defend the other women. However, like in a fairy tale, her narrative is still developed around the love story, a male-female encounter, and her final suicide does not seem enough to claim female agency. Furthermore, the other survivor women, those who are still fertile, are meant to be happy through the most traditional female role: motherhood. Pregnancy becomes the only synonym of future and hope. "One might say that it is easier to imagine the end of the world, and the end of capitalism, than it is to think outside the structuring fantasies of gender"(Colebrook 2014: 150). Even though the ending is still open, it does not seem either subversive or liberatory enough for *MaddAddam* to be labeled as feminist dystopia or transgressive utopian dystopia in Mohr's terms. Based on the final ideological message and the story development from the already supposed utopian society to an ending that is open to dystopian implications, *MaddAddam* would rather be –borrowing Mohr's coined term– a *non-so transgressive dystopian utopia* rather than a *transgressive utopian dystopia*.

## 4. CONCLUSION

*The Handmaid's Tale* is undoubtedly a dystopian novel written from a female point of view. To label it primarily as a feminist dystopia would be to essentialize a book that comprises multilayered meanings since it aims at numerous other targets in its social criticism agenda: religious extremism, environmental degradation, right-wing extremism, authoritarian government repression, and dogmatic feminism, among others. In a totalitarian society repression of thought and speech makes any dissident story a narrative of resistance, a means of subversion. However, the passive

strategy of resistance Offred employs to survive under Gilead's regime painfully reminds the reader of former American citizens' behavior that allowed for the birth of the totalitarian state. Moreover, the Historical Notes section not only challenges the verisimilitude of her account –it casts doubts and compromises the identity of the actual narrator of the story since it diminishes the potential subversive power of her account: "'who tells,' changes everything" (Raschke 2014: 23)– but also displays a future too similar to that preceding Gilead. If this is the utopian future within the dystopia, it is about to transpire the beginning of another dystopia. On the other hand, Offred's tale comments on its own internal mechanisms in a metafictional enterprise that invites reflection about the role of narrative in the linguistic creation of reality and history. Moreover, the novel also questions the early feminist dream of a female language that in Haraway's words would be "totalizing and imperialist" (2016: 323). In this cautionary tale, Atwood, faithful to "the moral imperative that drives her work" (Bouson 2011: 23), is committed to the ethical dimension of literature that she understands as "a necessity because increasingly, if we can imagine something, we'll be able to do it" (Atwood 2004: 517). Atwood eventually emphasizes that individual freedom is more important than *any* ideology.

The presence of some *utopian move* or certain openness in the ending is what would distinguish *MaddAddam*'s classification as a feminist critical dystopia or even as a "transgressive utopian dystopia" in Mohr's words. The ending necessarily had to be liberatory and offering new positive paths for women. However, *MaddAddam*'s final ideological message is neither essentially feminist nor even liberatory. The alleged transgressive power of giving prominence to a non-standardized *androgynous* woman seems to enlarge the traditionally hierarchical gender regime, attaching qualities of resolution, skillfulness and agency only to certain types of bodies, those which are deprived of *feminine weakness*. In addition, it is precisely the internalization of the effects of the male gaze that generates difficulties in Toby's empathy with other women and the construction of her own identity. Moreover, with the exception of the final wink to women's agency in the shape of her suicide, Toby's ending is a reinforcement of gender essentialism, a fairy-tale ending in which the good and deserving girl achieves her dream: marriage with her lifelong love.

The ending is quite conventional for Toby but it involves the backlash to a patriarchal society for women and a possible dystopian story of extinction for humanity in general. The apparent satisfactory closure of the ending affirms procreative heteronormative standards and thus binarisms are not overcome, the hopeful happy ending is only apparent, what lies behind is bitter. Women are determined more than ever by their bodies and their fertility. *MaddAddam*'s proposed solution is hybridity: kinship and respect for all kinds of creatures. But hybridity compromises only women's bodies and their return to an obliged state of nurturers, and motherhood as the panacea for happiness. Even the infertile woman, Toby, finds her substitute motherhood. In the end, the new society created in *MaddAddam* is not so new. It is a parodic community duplicating the most traditional patriarchal patterns, a backlash for women, a circular move. It seems that

in *MaddAddam* when questions around gender are addressed, it is often the case that the critique is at best only partially realized. Paraphrasing Mohr, *MaddAddam* would be a *non-so-transgressive dystopian utopia* rather than a *transgressive utopian dystopia* for it opens in the very process of building utopia, but the ending, even though it is not totally closed, is anything but hopeful for women. The only *feminist* achievement is to deprive human men from paternity in exchange for women conceiving hybrids out of any sentimental relationship. However, a woman's role is mainly to reproduce, and happiness is to be found only through motherhood, even after suffering one of the most traumatic events for a woman, as is the case with rape. If, as Howells remarks, "the issue of language and power has always been crucial in the construction of dystopias" (2008: 165), in the end women do not retain either language or power. Women, and with them human beings, even lose control over the story and language, for the last words belong to Blackbeard, a Craker man. There is not any guarantee for the continuity of human life on Earth, or even for the hybrid community's stability since Zeb's, Black Rhino's and Katuro's disappearing – after looking for the origin of a tall smoke (Atwood 2014: 388-389)– still points to the existence of violent humans in the surroundings. The irony is that showing such an undesirable future for humans, and specifically for women, makes our present look not so bad, and this is not the didactic purpose of any piece of fiction in the field of utopianism.

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# SPACE, EMOTION, AND GENDER: MAPPING TRANSCULTURAL IDENTITY IN KYM RAGUSA'S *THE SKIN BETWEEN US: A MEMOIR OF RACE, BEAUTY AND BELONGING*[1]

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*ABSTRACT.* This article examines Kym Ragusa's *The Skin between Us: A Memoir of Race, Beauty and Belonging* as a gendered transcultural narrative from the standpoint of spatial theory. In order to do so, it contextualizes the text within the framework of memoir writing and subsequently analyzes the representation of varied emotional spaces in the process of recovering one's identity as displayed by the narrative voice. This research contends that the use of memoir, a genre particularly used by 'marginal' voices, is an adequate means to critically reflect on the (de)construction of identity as well as convey alternative patterns of gender relations and cultural negotiations. In addition, it stresses the central role of space and emotions in reflecting the transculturality and intersectionality of the diasporic and gendered subject.

*Keywords*: memoir, transculturality, space, emotion, gender.

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ESPACIO, EMOCIÓN Y GÉNERO: TRAZANDO LA IDENTIDAD TRANSCULTURAL EN LA OBRA DE KYM RAGUSA, *THE SKIN BETWEEN US: A MEMOIR OF RACE, BEAUTY AND BELONGING*

*RESUMEN.* Este artículo explora la obra de Kym Ragusa *The Skin between Us: A Memoir of Race, Beauty and Belonging* como una narrativa transcultural de género a través de la teoría espacial. Para ello, se contextualiza el texto en el marco del género *memoir* y, posteriormente, se analiza la representación de distintos espacios emocionales en el proceso de recuperación de la identidad de la voz narrativa. Se analiza cómo el uso del *memoir*, un género particularmente utilizado por voces 'marginales', es un medio particularmente apto para reflexionar críticamente sobre la (de)construcción de las identidades, así como para configurar modelos alternativos en cuanto a las relaciones de género y a los modos de negociación cultural. Además, se destaca el papel central del espacio y de las emociones para reflejar la transculturalidad y la interseccionalidad del sujeto diaspórico y generizado.

*Palabras clave*: memoir, transculturalidad, espacio, emoción, género.

> il *memoir* contemporaneo poggia su una nozione di soggetto meno individualizzato rispetto a quello dell'autobiograia e, di conseguenza, più radicato nella storia complessa delle comunità di cui lo scrittore fa o ha fatto parte, anche se in modo critico e ambivalente. Ciò vale in particolare per gli scrittori di gruppi marginalizzati, che spesso descrivono le ripercussioni dei loro tentativi di uscire dalle comunità di origine per provare a integrarsi nella classe media americana (eterosessuale, bianca e normativa), e che affrontano i problemi derivanti dal vivere ai margini.[2]
>
> – Giunta, Edvige. "Il memoir come pratica interculturale negli studi italoamericani"

## 1. MEMOIR, IDENTITY, SPACE

This article examines how contemporary US author Kym Ragusa mixes multiple spatial references to express her transcultural identity and disrupt homogeneous ideas of identity.[3] More precisely, it focuses on the

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[2] "Contemporary memoirs rest on the notion of a less individualized subject than that of autobiography and, consequently, more rooted in the complex history of the communities which the writer belongs to or has been a part of, even though in a critical and ambivalent way. This is especially true for writers from marginalized groups, who often describe the consequences of their attempts to get out of their communities of origin to integrate into the American middle class (straight, white, and normative) and who deal with the problems of living at the margin" (my translation).

[3] The so-called "transcultural turn" is a relatively new and influential critical theory to describe social relations and definitions of identity, particularly due to the insights by postcolonial thought and, more recently, the advent of globalization. Approximately since the late-

representation of emotional spaces and their role in the (re)configuration of gendered, cultural and racial diversity: firstly, the paradigmatic contraposition and subversion of national spaces, and secondly the attachment to intimate or imaginary places. This agenda is analyzed through the use of memoir, a genre which opens new possibilities for the self-representation of traditionally marginalized subjects.

Memoir writing is by now an unquestionably widespread genre, which has even replaced established forms of life writing such as autobiography, due to the malleability of its formal boundaries and of subject matter; it is an umbrella term for "stories about unacknowledged aspects of people's lives, sometimes considered scandalous or titillating, and often written by the socially marginal" (Smith and Watson 2001: 3). Its popularity can be specifically retraced to the so-called 'memoir boom', which actually initiated scholarly interest in all forms of life writing (Smith and Watson 2001: xii). As a matter of fact, it seems that the genre has become extremely popular for certain social groups and is a means in which individual stories are a channel to retrieve a larger or collective history. According to Caterina di Romeo, it is a "genere autobiografico 'democratico' che recupera la memoria collettiva di soggetti 'marginali'" (2008: 266).[4] Valentina Seffer also accounts for the rise of the memoir due to its new narrative possibilities for voices who traditionally have had no place in the literary scene: "resenting itself as a democratic form of writing, able to give voice to disenfranchised subjects, it is a genre that lends itself to the articulation of issues of race, gender, class, politics, and religion" (2015: 50).

Edvige Giunta crucially distinguishes memoir from autobiography in that the latter privileges a "singular and personal evolution", that is to say, it concentrates on the process of accentuating an individual voice and differentiating or distancing the subject from the group rather than finding connections with their community or even transforming the relations therein (2017: 154). She affirms that "nel lavoro del memoir è quindi implicita una ri-costruzione dell'io in relazione con la comunità di origine dello scrittore, ma anche la creazione di una nuova comunità che trae la sua forza dall'esplorazione della molteplicità e della varietà delle storie" (155).[5]

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twentieth century, a variety of disciplines, including literature, have rejected "the formerly pervasive model of container culture in favour of a more fluid and transient paradigm of relations between societies" (Bond and Rapson 2014: 9). Furthermore, the attention to this phenomenon has become a sort of imperative in that it no longer represents the privileged choices of an elite but "the reality for a significant part of the world's population" (Gilsenan-Nordin, Hansen and Zamorano-Llena 2013: x). See Dagnino (2012) for other related terms (such as transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, etc.) that have emerged in the modern global era and the useful distinction of 'transnationalism' from concepts (e.g. 'intercultural' and 'crosscultural') which derive from the old paradigm of distinct national and cultural identities.

[4] "Democratic autobiographical genre which recovers the collective memory of socially marginal subjects" (my translation).

[5] "Implicit in the work of memoir is therefore a re-construction of the self in relation to the writer's community of origin, but also the creation of a new community that draws its strength from the exploration of the multiplicity and variety of stories" (my translation).

Stephanie Hammerwold has equally emphasized the importance of "connecting with others" in memoir writing, leading to a "transformative potential" of the genre as the recognition of both "similarity and difference" can contribute to community building (2005: n.p.). In other words, self-definition in memoir is as much personal as collective and political, and in the case of women authors, it is argued that they oftentimes write "against the grain of a reality that defines one way to think, act, speak, and write their stories" (n.p). In particular, Ragusa's text has been interpreted as "a critical and creative reconstruction of the past that ties the private sphere, which a memoir may suggest to enlighten, into a broader vision of race and belonging that aims at undoing traditional notions of borders" (Ferraro 2010: 152).

In fact, the memoir offers great room for critical reflection and reinterpretation, together with the tinges made possible by its literary tones, as gathered by the following definition which makes Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson classify it apart from other genres about 'the self':[6] "in contemporary writing, the categorization of memoir often signals autobiographical works characterized by density of language and self-reflexivity about the writing process, yoking the author's standing as a professional writer with the work's status as an aesthetic object" (2001: 4). In addition, this genre characteristically narrows the traditional distance between the author and the critic: "Gli studiosi si sono concentrati principalmente sull'interpretazione di questi lavori [memoirs] mantenendo una distinzione epistemologica e gerarchica tra critico e scrittore. Di fatto, però, ogni scrittore di memoir è a sua volta un critico" (Giunta 2017: 153).[7]

For other critics, the general act of remembering, and writing, one's own life represents a practice that goes "beyond [rescuing] the archive" of the past and is instead fundamentally a cultural process of ongoing or present construction of the self (Brockmeier 2015).[8] In *Transculturing Auto/Biography: Forms of Life Writing*, Rosalía Baena strongly advocates for "our understanding of autobiographical practices as conscious artistic and literary exercises [so] that we fully grasp […] such a powerful symbolic form and genre of identity construction" (2013: 7). Using Baena's theoretical insights about the contemporary use of autobiographical narratives to allow the negotiation of transculturality, this article precisely entails

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[6] Other forms of life-writing are auto/biography, the diary, or the journal.

[7] "Scholars have generally concentrated on interpreting memoirs by resorting to an epistemological and hierarchical distinction between critic and writer. However, every memoir author is a critic at the same time" (my translation).

[8] In this respect, notice how oftentimes the terms 'autobiograhy' and 'memoir' are used interchangeably: e.g. Jens Brockmeier's chapter "Inhabiting a Culture of Memory: The Autobiographical Process as a Form of Life" concentrates on "a Chinese American autobiography, Maxine Hong Kingston's memoir *The Woman Warrior*" (2015: 219). Similarly, Smith and Watson define it as an "autobiographical narrative" (2001: 65), but also quote the full title of Kingston's work, *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts*, as well as initially offer a useful contextualization by clarifying how 'memoir' predated the "relatively recent coinage of the term *autobiography*" as "until the twentieth century the word *memoirs* (the French *les mémoirs*) was commonly used to designate 'self life writing'" (2).

analyzing memoir as a transcultural space. This is an appropriate framework to study how identity is fluid as it changes not only in the course of a person's life but also according to different contexts. As the author under analysis Kym Ragusa pinpoints early in her text: "My skin, dark or light, depending on how's looking" (2006: 19). In her case, the main concern about skin colour reflects her complex cultural identity as a "italoafricanamericana" (De Rogatis 2010: 41) due to a double heritage, African American and Italian American. Her writing perfectly captures the struggle of coming to terms with the past and defining identity through a constant negotiation and reconfiguration of community.

As it is obvious, the phenomena of migration and diaspora disrupt the understanding of belonging and the notion of the homeland becomes complicated as cultural affiliations can be traced back to many different places. In fact, in Ragusa's memoir the female narrative voice does not actually identify herself with either Italy or the USA, as these countries present their own internal complexities in relation to the history of migrations. On the one hand, within the USA, the roots of African heritage due to the legacy of slavery are stressed. Besides, the African American family is mixed and presents different grades of skin colour and racial traits between 'black' and 'white', which is identified as a further sign of inbetweeness and marginality: "with their light skin and straight hair […], these women were the embodiments of the margins, of the in-between space that I, too, would inhabit" (2006: 67). On the other hand, regarding Italy, internal migrations, which are a common phenomenon in the country, are equally acknowledged.[9] Hence it is equally important how the text seems to concede to the complexity or diversity of the concept of Italy as such, by alluding to the importance of regional differences. In addition, Sicily itself is presented as a cultural crucible of European and African influence: "I have another connection to this part of the world: Sicily is the crossroads between Europe and Africa, the continent from which my maternal ancestors were stolen and brought to slavery in Maryland, West Virginia, and North Carolina. Two sets of migrations, one forced, one barely voluntary. Two homelands left far behind. Two bloodlines meeting in me" (18).

However, the acknowledgement of this biracial identity is further complicated as, precisely out of the cultural crucible present in Southern Italy, most immigrants in the USA were not considered white but were often racialized and associated with African Africans. As Francesca de Lucía notes, the narrator's biracial background is "ambiguous" and "unusual", given that "the white part of her heritage is linked to a group whose whiteness was questioned during the early stage of its settlement in

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[9] Italy is not only a country of mass migrations to foreign countries, which are well-known particularly to the United States and South America but also to Europe, Canada, or Australia (see for instance Donna Gabaccia's *Italy's Many Diasporas*), but also presents a characteristic history of internal or "interprovincial migration" (Bonifazi and Heins 2000: 111), mostly to the North generally because of the divide generated by the presence of the powerful industries and government there in comparison to the rural South. For this reason, there is a need "to deconstruct Italian-ness in connection to its long history of internal migrations and emigration" (Parati and Tamburri 2015: 3).

the United States because of a perceived geographical and cultural proximity between Africa and Southern Italy" (2009: 196).[10] Following Teresa Fiore, the narrative is characterized by the allusion to different spaces that are not transparent but rather a "palimpsest of stories", showing their primal importance for the ongoing project of reconstruction of the protagonist's identity. She particularly analyses the centrality of Sicily as a "privileged observatory to rewrite the national biographies of Italy and the United States through their complex transnational formations and relations" (2017: 62).

In short, from the very beginning the narrative voice's sense of identity is firmly linked to space but proves how spatial belonging is nuanced. The book opens with her visit to Sicily, in which she recalls the main features of her life, namely constant movement and the ensuing confusion about belonging: "travelling between their [grandmothers'] homes, trying and not always succeeding to negotiate the distance– cultural, historical linguistic–between them" (Ragusa 2006: 19). The issue of identity is by no means solved as an adult as she wonders "what home was I searching for […] on my way to Sicily" (19). It becomes more complicated by the end of the memoir when there is no doubt that a given place cannot contain multiple connections and the traces that different cultures leave behind, which she realizes when seeing African and Sicilian boys playing football together: "For a moment I lost track of where I was–was this Palermo, or Cairo, or Lagos, or Harlem?" (237). As said before, Italy's cultural history is far more complex than the image of a unified national identity traditionally linked to a territory that was for most centuries part of different peoples: "per la sua posizione geografica al centro del Mediterraneo, l'Italia

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[10] Today, Italians have largely assimilated and, although representing the fifth largest ethnic group in the USA, are to all intents and purposes a white minority. However, recent studies have called attention to the fact that Italians were not (always) that white, but rather "dark white" (Guglielmo J. 2003: 11). This racial category was legally enforced since Italians had "no choice" but to assume such an identity the moment they were asked to sign the papers for becoming citizens (DeSalvo 2003, 27). See also Thomas Guglielmo's *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (2003b) for a detailed history of Italians' racial position, particularly as immigrants in the USA. Furthermore, in "No Color Barrier: Italians, Race, and Power in the United States" he explains how Italians were racialized twice. Firstly as 'dark' in relation to color and, secondly, as Northerners and Southerners in terms of race, which was based on Italy's own 'scientific' differentiations at the time by the likes of Cesare Lombroso, Giuseppe Sergi and Alfredo Niceforo, that is, their "anthropological doctrines of racial superiority and inferiority that saw the light at the end of the nineteenth century" (Mazzucchelli 2015: 5). Yet, even color, which guaranteed that at least (some) Italians were not at the bottom of the US racial spectrum was at times debated; especially for Southern Italians due to geographic proximity and skin tone, associations with 'Negroid' African or Arab blood were not uncommon (Guglielmo 2003a: 34). In addition, their extreme subaltern status was another factor that equally accounted for their racial consideration as 'black.' For instance, they were resented for accepting the worst jobs in the USA or for living close to African Americans (Guglielmo J. 2003: 11). As a case in point, already before migrating, in the words of Booker T. Washington, the Sicilian peasant was regarded as "the man farthest down" and as living in worse conditions than African Americans in the USA (qtd. in Laurino 2015: 30).

(e in particolare la Sicilia) è stata luogo di incontro–e di scontro–tra Europa e Africa, con tutte le conseguenti mescolanze linguitiche e culturali" (di Romeo 2008: 269).[11]

In this sense, Ragusa's text illustrates an important shift in cultural studies. Scholars have noted that the relation of place and identity has moved "beyond 'culture'", that is, the traditional understanding of cultures as placed or bounded (Gupta and Ferguson 1992), which does not mean that space is no longer important or a valid category of analysis. Quite the opposite, critics have turned attention in favor of the practice of *place-making* (Massey 1995; Duncan and Duncan 2004; Storey 2001), which explains the (de)construction and (re)invention of place according to different identity projects, as previously exemplified. Drawing on the Andersonian concept of "imagined communities", Stuart Hall argues that in cases of population dispersal places are still relevant if not more so as they symbolically work "to stabilize cultures" and legitimize the possibility of "unified identities" (1995: 183). In other words, place is a central narrative in the configuration of cultural identity, which accounts for the significance of spatial references in Ragusa's *The Skin between Us* but not exclusively as space is never neutral. More importantly, however, the experience of space is influenced by the intersection of categories such as race and gender, which explains the text's "peculiar blend of geographical and corporeal language" (Ferraro 2010: 157).

## 2. EMBODIED AND EMOTIONAL SPACES

Following embodiment theory, it is necessary to revise traditional spatial design and practices which tended to cater for a wrongly assumed universal model, the male and white pedestrian, and also account how gendered and racialized subjects use and transit through space (Tonkiss 2005; Carrera Suárez 2015). For example, a classic gender difference is how fear tends to be often spatialized, what has been identified as the geographies of women's fear, particularly in cities (Valentine 1989; Pain 2001). The threat of male violence or sex-related crimes highly condition female (lack of) use of public space as, according to Fran Tonkiss, "their perceptions of danger have a specific geography and this can determine women's routine movements in urban space" (2005: 103).

In turn, "geographies of exclusion" (Sibley 2002) generally affect disempowered social subjects and their transit through space. That is to say, minorities (as well as women) are often perceived as strangers or not belonging to certain spaces, which

[11] "Due to its geographical position in the middle of the Mediterranean, Italy (and Sicily in particular) has been a place of encounters–and clashes–between Europe and Africa, with all the linguistic and cultural mixes that derive from it" (my translation).

Mind also that Italian Unification or *Risorgimento* took place in 1861 and some scholars' opinion that Italy is a country in geographical more than national terms; it is "an abstraction", in Donna Gabaccia's words (2000: 1), because of the fragmented history of foreign invasions and the so-called 'failed' Unification which exacerbated more than suppressed regional differences between the North and the South.

deters them from the right to mobility or, even worse, confines them to forms of ghetto living. Therefore, regarding class and race, some groups experience spatial exclusion and segregation, which is not a coincidence either as space itself serves to uphold a given social order. As David Sibley notes in his research about the practice of "Mapping the Pure and the Defile", the fear and exclusion of difference has been spatially figured, enacted and reinforced:

> There is a history of imaginary geographies which cast minorities, 'imperfect' people, and a list of others who are seen to pose a threat to the dominant group in society as polluting bodies or folk devils who are then located 'elsewhere'. This 'elsewhere' might be nowhere, as when genocide or the moral transformation of a minority like prostitutes are advocated, or it might be some spatial periphery, like the edge of the world or the edge of the city. (2002: 49)

This distinctive use and experience of space on the part of women and minorities also resonates in *The Skin between Us*. In fact, the first embodied affective response in the memoir occurs when visiting Sicily in the Prologue, in which the encounter with the 'other' is interpreted through normative discourses of gender and race. The episode can be thus interpreted in light of Sara Ahmed's influential study *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (2000), which serves to analyze why and how the all-too familiar and insidious concept of strangeness is associated to specific bodies, namely gendered and racialized bodies. Ahmed claims that "the figure of the 'stranger' is produced, not as that which we fail to recognise, but as that which we have already recognised as 'a stranger' […] Strangers are not simply those who are not known in this dwelling, but those who are, in their very proximity, *already recognised as not belonging*, as being out of place" (3, 21; italics in original).

In Ragusa's memoir the narrative voice comments on the 'strange' welcome she receives given that she stands apart as an unaccompanied woman in public space as well as for her racial traits:

> Every now and then someone threw a furtive, disapproving glance my way. What must I have looked like to them? A woman alone, already an oddity. Already suspect. My dark, corkscrew hair was pulled back, something I had learned to do whenever I went someplace where I didn't want to stand out, which for most of my life had been most of the time. I had that feeling, all too familiar, of wanting to climb out of my skin, to be invisible. (2006: 18-19)

This reception reflects that travel has been a typically male prerogative and accordingly, there are still "traces of the anxiety [generated] in relation to the idea of travelling on one's own" (Seffer 2015: 86). Added to this gender limitation underlying the concept of travel as such, both the gendered and racialized body encounter other borders.

Different layers of interpretation emerge in relation to the body. Firstly, having a female body is not just an oddity, as it is accurately recognized, but also "can be a spatial liability" (Tonkiss 2005: 103). This means that, as women have been

traditionally barred from public spaces, they are easily remarked as strangers therein and often risk being verbally attacked or physically assaulted. According to Susan Collie, some women need to cross-dress when walking in public spaces, since, "[o]n particular streets, this can be a matter of life and death, or at the very least a strategy for avoiding strange stares or verbal abuse" (2013: 4).

Certainly, the narrator endures staring as a typical act of othering, which in this case is also linked to skin color. The episode recalls the objectification described in Franz Fanon's famous *Black Skin, White Masks* and the common difficulty to 'disguise' race or, as Ragusa's narrator herself puts it, "climb out of my skin" (2006: 18-19). As exposed in Fanon's central discussion of "The Fact of Blackness", the "black problem" lies in the very body and the definitions imposed by society (1986: 110). This is the reason the memoir's narrator tries out strategies such as invisibility, accounting for her early consciousness of embodying racial difference, as she reckons when she remembers the subtle ways through which the dominant culture is imposed over others:

> Even at two, three, four years old, race, and its contradictions, were embedded in my most innocent thoughts and desires. Someone had given me a music box […] there was a tiny plastic ballerina on a platform who turned around and around. She wore a white tutu and a gold crown. Her skin was pink and she had bright yellow hair. […] This was what all ballerinas looked like, wasn't it? And if I wanted to be a ballerina, I would have to have the same pink skin, the same yellow hair when I grew up. (Ragusa 2006: 34-35)

The importance of skin color stands not only as a device to denounce the privileges of whiteness (at the expense of the oppression of blackness), but also as a sign of in-betweenness. As the title announces, this is indeed the central element of a text that is structured on yet an additional burden of fixing the 'one and only identity', that of a seemingly dual and mutually exclusive cultural identity: Italian American and African American. For example, the narrative voice evokes her life growing in disparate communities: "Miriam [my paternal grandmother] and Gilda [my maternal grandmother] had been the unwavering magnetic forces of the two poles that had defined my life. Miriam and my African American family, Gilda and my Italian American family. The neighborhoods where they had each lived in Harlem a few avenues away from each other, yet worlds apart" (19).

However, it is at this point that the narrator moves away from the traditional essentialist view in which racial characteristics determine cultural identity: "My skin, dark or light, depending on how's looking" *What are you*? people have asked me for as long as I can remember. In Italy, people ask me, *Di dove sei*? Where are you from?" (19; italics in original). This is one of the many accounts on racial liminality, which is "a form of in-betweenness primarily inscribed in the body, and often a source of vulnerability, but also a conceptual tool that enables to deconstruct, from within, the categories of blackness and whiteness" (Ferraro 2010: 145). Shortly after, when looking at a picture with her two grandmothers, the narrator further questions or destabilizes the supposed transparency of skin color and digs into the complexity

of identity inasmuch as she cannot or is unwilling to choose between her different cultural backgrounds. For this reason, the narrator long ponders on the issue of belonging within one's own family and her feelings between two quarrelling factions, which is a metaphor for dominant impulses to fix definite and unique models of selfhood. This proves inadequate for transcultural subjects in which different cultures coexist and cannot be perceived as separate entities:

> Two warring communities, two angry and suspicious families, two women tugging at my heart, pulling me in different directions.

> We have almost the same color skin. Our skin is the truth that this image has captured. Gilda's thin, wrinkled skin like paper left out in the sun, Miriam's plump, barely lined, mine always a mark of difference, even here, even though it's not all that different. Three variations on ivory, yellow, olive, refracted between us like a kaleidoscope. The skin between us: a border, a map, a blank page. (25)

On the one hand, anger, suspicion, and violence are associated with the conflicts of a bicultural identity. On the other, the symbols of the map and the border are also used as unequivocal tools attempting to fix and inscribe subjects within established categories and/or limits. On its part, the power of discourse is also shown through the inscriptive metaphor of the blank page, an image for the body waiting to be socially codified and interpreted, "the textualized body [as if] the body is a page or material surface" (Grosz 1994: 177). Yet, the use of these devices can be ambivalent and subverted. To start with, the body is recipient of competing and contradictory social meanings. Furthermore, seeing the body as a blank page or surface that can be passively acted upon to render it "meaningful and functional" does not preclude the very possibility of redefining it for own's own purposes and agency (177). By contrast, the metaphor of the blank page also points to a central right that postcolonial subjects have often lacked and that Fanon detected, that of self-representation or self-definition. This is arguably Ragusa's intent based on the radically different plurality the narrative voice presents immediately afterwards:

> *What are you?*

> Black and Italian. African American, Italian American. American.


> Other. Biracial, Interracial. Mixed-blood, Half-Breed, High-Yellow, Redbone, Mulatta. Nigger, Dago, Guinea.

> *Where are you from?*

> …


> I DON'T KNOW where I was conceived, but I was made in Harlem. Its topography is mapped on my body: the borderlines between neighborhoods marked by streets that were forbidden to cross, the borderlines enforced by fear and anger, and

transgressed by desire. The streets crossing east to west, north to south, like the web of veins beneath my skin. (2006: 25-26; italics in original)

Apart from presenting her transcultural identity, Ragusa problematizes traditional definitions from a spatial point of view, that is, the sense of a rooted identity that is linked to a concrete or fixed place, normally the physical and bounded territory of a region or country. Rather, she embraces contraction and uses alternative notions of belonging such as when identifying with the Greek/Sicilian myth of Persephone: "the good girl destined to live a life split in two. A girl who is always leaving, whose every homecoming is a goodbye" (107). Furthermore, this identification with Persephone has been interpreted as a way to establish a female genealogy (de Rogatis 2010), which is in line with the importance of women in the narrative, not only the grandmothers (Miriam and Gilda) but also the narrative voice's mother (unnamed) and African American great-grandmother and great-great-grandmother (Mae and Momma). The narrative voice recalls the story of Sybela Owens, Momma's grandmother and the family's "first known ancestor" (70). This story is about the destiny of a black woman enslaved and has passed down by each generation of women. Furthermore, the narrator is eager to trace back her female heritage which, as feminist scholarship has long proved (Showalter 1977; Kristeva et al. 1981; Walker 1984; Irigaray 1987), entails an ongoing search for origins, given that women's genealogies are often lost and fragmented:

> There is a Sicilian proverb: *Cu bona reda voli fari, di figghia fimmina avi a cumincinari.* One translation is, 'A good descent starts with a girl'. Descent as heritage, lineage, blood. Sybela and her unnamed mother, Luisa and Gilda, Miriam and my mother, my mother and me: a lineage of mothers and daughters losing each other and finding each other over and over again […] My heritage, what they have all passed on to me, is the loss, the search, the story". (Ragusa 2006: 237)

This gender lens about women's origins and losses is particularly appropriate to reflect also on the history of migration and displacement, which are linked through the myth of Demeter and Persephone given that their "separation and reunion resonates with the experience of migration and resettlement of women across various generations" (Tomasulo 2021: 83).[12] In contrast to that long female lineage retrieved and celebrated by the narrator, the main man referenced is the father (also unnamed) who abandoned her as a child and reappeared when she was in her teens. Tiziana De Rogatis notes how male figures are seen as a potential menace, or at best, are either strangers or absent from the story. They generally abandon women and children or else hold an "intermittent presence" characterized by some kind of marginality (e.g. alcoholics or drug addicts) (2010: 48-49).

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[12] This myth figures actually in several memoirs by Italian American women. Valentina Seffer (2015) shows how Persephone's journey from abduction in the underworld to return emulates women's experiences and their journey of self-discovery to understand or reconcile either their hybrid cultural identity or their gender position within the family.

As it is recognized in the memoir, "My memories of men from that time are less distinct" (Ragusa 2006: 58), whereas the narrator remembers and honors other important female figures of her life such as the dark-skinned woman who looked after her as a baby:

> My earliest memories of the apartment in Harlem are of the sound of women's voices, my mother's and Miriam's the most familiar, sometimes mingled with the gravelly voices of my elderly great-aunts […] There was another voice, early on. […] I strain to recognize her; the memory of another woman singing to me […] She called me baby. And she fed me honey. A line from my childhood I will never forget: *A spoonful of honey each day will keep the doctor away*. […] Her name is lost to me. […] But this woman, from another corner of the diaspora, planted a seed in me. She put honey on my tongue, and there, slowly, words grew. (33-34)

She also emphasizes emotional spaces that are less easy to pinpoint and hence unveils equally strong attachments that would otherwise remain hidden. These are spaces with different coordinates as they do not relate to cartography, but to personal experience, the body and the emotions. Thus, as the above quotation shows, Harlem is not simply the undisputed birthplace for one's identity, but a site of *place-making*; it is not a homogenous entity one can simply reclaim or identify in a map, but is engrained into a system of power full of conflicts and divided allegiances. Again, the negative emotions of anger and fear abound in relation to socially marked boundaries, and the body, primarily skin colour, is the main signifier of difference. However, as an alternative to the powerful discourses of fear and violence commonly associated to certain spaces or streets, the positive emotion of desire appears as the transgressive force which defies and may alter systems of discrimination. As a matter of fact, interracial love or desire, which alludes to the relationship between the parents of the narrative voice, is one of the major motifs which justifies the crossing of boundaries in a time when spatial and social segregation were marked across the country:

> He was as exotic to her as she was to him. So they began to see each other. In secret, most of the time. Interracial marriage was still illegal in some states. Even in New York City, neighborhoods, schools, and social scenes were still resolutely segregated. When my parents walked together in Harlem, black men would sometimes threaten my father, and yell at my mother, *"What's the matter, you too good for a black man?"* When they walked together downtown, white men would spit at them; once someone called my mother a dirty gorilla. Women in both parts of town shook their heads at them in disgust. (28)

In other cases, the refusal of passing emerges as another recurring strategy to confront violence or racism. For example, the narrative voice tells how her maternal grandmother Miriam "was emphatic about her family's refusal to pass for white. Passing was both unimaginable exile and deeply shameful" (67). What's more, in the context of the South during the 1950s, Miriam even risks being attacked when entering a "'whites only'" restaurant"; due to her light skin she is asked, *"What side of the tracks are you from*?" (197; italics in original), but still she refuses to pass and

reclaims her 'true' identity by answering back "*Well, you have just served a nigger!*" (198; italics in original). Even when this could probably have been an offence, she decides to reappropriate and celebrate the derogatory term by which black people are called, which becomes an act of courage and defiance in the face of fear and oppression, as the narrative voice explains: "Since Miriam told me her story, I've carried it with me, as a kind of talisman against my own fear, my own silence. Miriam spoke out and claimed the truth of who she was: a black woman in her own mind and heart, and a nigger in the eyes of most white people no matter how light her skin was" (198).

The narrative voice also encounters exclusion and struggles to define herself. In fact, she evokes such a story as she experiences a traumatic event that leaves her paralyzed with fear and helplessness. When at nine she moves to live with her Italian father in the suburbs, a schoolfriend casually tells her one day: "*And my brother showed me how to put razors in apples for niggers*" (197; italics in original). This blatant racist comment, many years after segregation has ended, has a fierce power over subjects, conditioning their behavior and feelings during most of their life. Negative emotions arise again and the question of how to name or define a transcultural identity that is not easily accepted:

> I want to say that this is what I remember, but I know, at least I think I know, that it's my imagination, filling in the space where my memory falters out of fear, confusion, shame. [...] that Halloween afternoon at Shauna's, I was speechless. I was so afraid to call attention to myself, to lose the small sense of security I had found in that white neighborhood, and in my white home. I don't think I would have even known what to name myself on that day, with my yellow skin and my straightened hair pinned under a pretend-blond wig. Or what to call my family, how to name my father's Afro and my Puerto Rican stepmother and my grandfather Luigi's dark skin and "foreign" ways. It was the beginning of many years of silence, of averting my eyes, of receding further and further into myself where there was nothing to explain, nothing to risk. (197-199)

It is telling that the role of memory is particularly limited or affected as a consequence of this painful encounter, as if it was forgotten or hidden. Rather the act of writing, or the imagination, can be seen as a way to speak about trauma. In fact, in an earlier episode just after moving to the new neighborhood in New Jersey, the narrative voice is unsure whether what she remembers about some "kids yelling the word 'nigger'" really happened or was a dream (188). As acknowledged, this confusion reflects her "anxiety of belonging" as well as her being deeply hunted by that insidious word ('nigger') through which she can be 'spotted out' and that seems to reappear as one of her worse nightmares. She is also aware of deliberately fighting against that term, whether or not it has materialized, when she says for example: "I don't remember anyone calling me a nigger, though it must have happened at one point or another, and maybe I've just found a way to forget it" (195). In short, this recurring fear proves how certain bodies clearly stand *out of place* for being different, in terms of race and gender, as I have shown. Moreover, the lingering

preoccupation with the issue of beauty reflects the way in which transcultural belonging deeply intersects with gender liberation.

## 3. (MIS)PLACING THE BODY: RACE, BEAUTY AND BELONGING

As previously said, Ragusa's memoir unfolds both a personal and collective history, which is particularly expressed through the familial stories and from a female perspective. The narrative voice early admits to the magnetic influence of those two poles represented by her Italian and African American grandmothers. Apart from embodying the relevance of cultural origins, these female figures allow us to remark important conflicts of gender identity, which often intersect with race and ethnicity. In this respect, beauty is one of the most important topics discussed, as stressed in the memoir's subtitle. It is often used to reflect on belonging in terms of race, particularly the fact of expressing confidence and having certain privileges, although occasionally through the benefits of light skin. For example, it is a major concern that defines several women in the family:

> Beauty seemed to be the topic that each conversation between Mae [the narrative voice's great-grandmother] and Miriam circled back toward, no matter what they were originally talking about. *Didn't Miriam look just like a movie star?* Mae would ask me […] *Your great-grandma Mae was some looker when she was young, she drove all the men crazy*, Miriam would echo. *That Alana does have a pretty face*, Mae would say of one of her nieces, *even though she got her father's dark skin*. The stigma of skin of color. […] Mae was a marked woman. Marked by the pigment in her skin, which set her apart, especially from her blond mother and sisters and ultimately from her own light-skinned, red-haired daughter. Mae's difference–her blackness–was relative, of course. She would never know the hardships that her dark-skinned neighbors faced every day. *People mistook her for Spanish or Italian*, Aunt Gladys would tell me proudly. That double-edged pride that I could never understand. (65, 67; italics in original)

According to De Rogatis, these contradictions that puzzle the narrative voice are a reflection of the "internalization of a white canon", which even if mocked and rejected, typically entails the devaluation of blackness (2010: 47). In fact, it is "one of the dominant motifs of African American women's writing, that is, the aspiration to conform to a white aesthetic ideal" (De Lucía 2009: 196). In this respect, Ragusa's memoir bears a noted resemblance with Toni Morrison's well-known novel *The Bluest Eye* (1970) in that in both texts the female children long for a white model of beauty transmitted through their dolls, which function as a basic instrument in the reproduction of the dominant culture.

This internalization of racial inferiority is also shown in the efforts (and hurt) made to "tame" the narrative voice's curly hair, a "tug-of-war that's so familiar, played out in every kitchen in Harlem" (Ragusa 2006: 58). The reason why "[her] hair is not 'good'" is, of course, racial difference: "Miriam railed against my father, whose hair is also tightly curled, for ruining mine, for tainting it, those damned Sicilians with their African blood" (56). The distinct curly hair does not come from African

American, as it might be expected, but from her Italian/Sicilian heritage, which is equally problematic given that, as said before, Southern Italians were particularly familiar with color and racial prejudice both in the USA and Italy, being commonly associated with African blood because of geographic proximity and skin tone (Guglielmo 2003b, Mazzucchelli 2015).

Not uncoincidentally, the narrative voice is instructed to transform her physical appearance when she moves to a 'white' neighbourhood in the suburbs of New Jersey: "my mother took me to get my hair straightened for the first time right around the time she told me I was going to live with my father. The adults […] would have an easier time with my hair if it were 'relaxed', that I could even begin to care for it myself" (Ragusa 2006: 191). New Jersey is "one of the destinations of the 'white flight' for upwardly mobile ethnics" such as second-and third-generation Italian Americans (Fiore 2017: 62), who started to melt in US society by overcoming their immigrant hardships and leave the crowded tenements in New York's Little Italies. This explains the reaffirmation of whiteness and the concern with spatial miscegenation. As it is acknowledged in Ragusa's memoir, being accepted in the paternal Italian family entails generally overlooking any trace of blackness: "*You have to understand*, he [my father] began. *My mother* [Gilda] *was from a different world. She couldn't get her head around having a black grandchild, so she just saw you as Italian. Because I was light*, I added. He looked at me a little impatiently. *Yeah, I guess so. But what if I wasn't so light?* I insisted" (152-153; italics in original). In line with the affective expression or reaction in the whole memoir as a result of embodying racial difference, this utter denial creates feelings of rage and unrequited love especially after realizing that coexistence in a family or a neighbourhood does not ensure belonging. She thus critiques Gilda's persisting racial prejudice towards the new neighbours and eventually herself:

> *I hope they're white*, she said. She said the words to me, speaking to me, but not really seeing me. Once again, I said nothing. What was there to say after all these years? Where would I even begin? We sat together in silence, watching the movers, and I raged inside. I raged mostly because I loved her. And because I understood that her love for me could only ever be partial, a love based on an almost acrobatic capacity for contradiction and denial. (223; italics in original)

Hair is perhaps the most important sign of belonging since, unlike skin colour, can be more easily modified to fit in. However, the narrative voice is uneasy with such norms, showing the repeated physical suffering she undergoes, dismissing impositions of identity and searching for new role models. Ultimately, she finds empowerment in music icons more in accordance with herself through which she rejects all established definitions by mainstream society, including ideals of racial appearance as well as female behaviour:

> Poly Styrene […] was biracial like me, with the same springy corkscrew hair and the same in-between skin. She sang about the bewildering aspects of identity, the feeling of freakishness and ugliness that made you want to smash the mirror when you looked into it. But Poly Styrene was no victim. She made it seem cool to be

an outsider, to not fit in. The next day, I cut off most of my hair, which was growing out from the last time it was straightened. I dyed the unruly virgin roots hot pink and peacock blue. Music became a kind of home for me, especially punk and the glam rock of the early 1970s. It was music made by people who didn't belong anywhere, people who were in between: black and white, male and female. […] I found a way to feel comfortable in my own skin. To stand out because I wanted to, to highlight my difference instead of trying to fade into the background, gave me a freedom I had never known. For once, I had stopped being the good girl, the one who smiled and apologized and tiptoed on little mouse-feet. For once, for a while, I had found a new tribe, and I felt that I had nothing left to prove. (221)

In fact, another main concern about beauty reveals the oppressive force of gender norms, which generally intersect with race. For example, beauty is defined "like a curse" or as "something monstrous" due to the unwanted attention most women get from men (92). Although the "power of beauty" is certainly celebrated as a way to acknowledge female desire and sexual freedom (77-78), the narrative voice is also conscious that women's beauty may result indeed in their suffering acts of sexual violence, as happened to Miriam when she was raped as a teenager (92). In fact, the feelings of "terror" and "vulnerability" are commonly evoked in similar circumstances such as when the narrative voice, as a child and while she is pointed with a gun, witnesses how her mother is raped in an elevator (81). At times, the narrative voice ends up rejecting beauty inasmuch as being attractive might entail exposing herself to danger and losing any sense of security. Thus emerges a belief about the vulnerable female body in panic and, as said before, this fear not only prevents women from equal access to public spaces but also corresponds to a potential menace. Besides, the female body's vulnerability is not restricted to well-known dangers when occupying public space, given that the intimate or private spaces of the home and the family are often a site of violence or abuse for women:

After the party, Miriam told me that little girls who act like they're grown get in trouble, that I was a pretty little girl and I couldn't sing and dance like that with men around. "Pretty" sounded like a bad word. What made me pretty, and what could I do to make it go away? All at once, *I became afraid that I wasn't safe anywhere*. Outside there were people Miriam called "sex-fiends" and junkies who would kill you for a dollar if you left the courtyard. And now at home I had to be afraid of men who were Miriam's friends, afraid of dancing, afraid of my own body, that ultimately it would betray me. This lesson would get reinforced again and again–I was somehow too visible. I had to rein myself in, keep my head down. […] We were learning the language of the black female body, of its joys and desires, and also its vulnerability. (49-50; italics added)

This feeling of vulnerability *anywhere* destabilizes the clear-cut division between private and public spaces, and particularly reflects a preoccupation with traditional definitions of the home, where girls and women are frequently confined, as a safe place, which feminist scholarship has deeply contested. As Linda McDowell argues "different spaces have particular significances and different relations of power that vary over time […] the home may be simultaneously a place of safety and a trap"

(1999: 31). In addition to this important gender distinction regarding the presumed comfort in familiar spaces such as the home or the family, Ragusa's text illustrates the issue of intersectionality given that racial difference can equally question those traditional sites of belonging. As demonstrated so far, "the embodiment of racial liminality can produce a sense of vulnerability connected with the 'anxiety about belonging' and the associated fear of exclusion (or semi-acceptance) even within one's own family" (Feraro 2010: 161). These negative experiences question the "ideology of the home as haven" (McDowell 1983: 63), an idealization which is considered to perpetuate patriarchy in different ways (Hayden 1980; Watson 1986; Allan and Crow 1989). This notion is also commonly associated with ethnic and marginalized groups who are supposed to find some comfort in domestic environment against the discrimination encountered in society (Sibley 2002). Such an assumption overlooks domestic, intergenerational and gender struggles.

All in all, Ragusa's memoir rejects traditional notions of belonging and proposes instead alternative views of identities and spaces. This is mostly shown in the narrator's distinctive racial awareness, which progressively turns from silence and denial towards dignification and celebration. By the end, she acquires a "new consciousness" (Ferraro 2010: 160) and embraces emotional spaces that allow her to (re)configure her gender and racial identity. For example, after the efforts to become invisible her "retreat into invisibility stops during her adolescence, when she finds a new comfortable home in music" (Ferraro 2010: 160). Racial and transcultural belonging is also crucially facilitated though the affirmation of gender identity given that personal attachment to female figures in the family, particularly the ancestors, make the narrator accept her complex heritage.

In this sense, the memoir is framed by the image of return through the physical journey from Harlem to Palermo that functions as a common form of cultural bridging. More importantly though, the narrator closes with the identification with Persephone, which represents a typical form of "archetypal empowerment" for women (Pratt 1994: 146). Furthermore, she presents a rewriting of the myth of Persephone "choosing her own fate" (Ragusa 2006: 238), unlike most versions in which she is simply a victim of Hades. This reinterpretation is intended as a critical and political expression of the self, as a deliberate act of reaffirmation. In fact, this mythic reelaboration of female identity and destiny resonates with the story of the narrator's ancestor Sybela, whom the narrator believed empowered in her final escape from the plantation with the white owner's son rather than the victim of his kidnapping.

These strategies undoubtedly correspond to feminist and/or cultural identity projects. The feminist rewriting of canonical stories including myths and fairy tales continues to be a common practice ever since the 1970s (Haase 2004; Nelson 2008; Bacchilega 2013; Pelayo Sañudo 2021), whereas the recurrence of the grandmother figure in literature and literary theory serves to recover both female and cultural identity, particularly on the part of minorities including women writers of Italian descent but very notably also by African American authors (Williams 1992; Bona 1992; Ardizzone 2003; Walker 2004). Ragusa's memoir can thus be ascribed to a

sound tradition of writing which critically reflects on the intersectional demands of embodying cultural and gender diversity. The genre of the memoir indeed is particularly adequate to explore new expressions of gender relations and cultural negotiations due to its transformative potential, as already discussed. Added to this, the representation of both emotional spaces and encounters enables a further critical reading in detecting episodes or perceptions of strangeness that derive from asymmetries of power and working towards their alteration.

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# OLD ENGLISH-ORIGIN WORDS IN A SET OF MEDIEVAL LATIN ACCOUNTS

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ABSTRACT. For a long time, texts in Medieval Latin were poorly regarded for their linguistic hybridity: alongside Classical/post-Classical Latin lexemes, there were many words coming from the vernaculars (in the case of late medieval England, Anglo-French and Middle English) embedded in them. This traditional and restrictive view was superseded by a more nuanced conception of multilingualism, which appreciates the value of this kind of written evidence for our understanding of the multilingual dynamics of medieval texts. The present investigation uses a case study, the *Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham* [1278-1538] (Fowler 1898-1901; henceforth, *Durham Account Rolls*), one of the largest edited and published collections of accounts in Medieval Latin, to discuss broader issues such as how to classify the vernacular lexical items present in medieval multilingual texts (are they borrowings, code-switches, or something else?) and to what extent this vocabulary can be deemed to be integrated/unintegrated into Medieval Latin. Since there are multiple underlying languages in the vernacular vocabulary of the *Durham Account Rolls*, this article will concentrate on the Old English-origin lexis in these accounts and its relation to Latin and French. An overview of 263 simplex (one-element) Old English-origin forms in the *Durham Account Rolls* proved to be a source of both basic-level terms and more specialised terminology. Finally, some examples from the most representative semantic domains (equipment, farming, animals, and materials) will be given.

*Keywords:* multingualism, lexical borrowing, Medieval Latin, Old English-origin words, late medieval England.

AMANDA ROIG-MARÍN

# PALABRAS DEL INGLÉS ANTIGUO EN CUENTAS ESCRITAS EN LATÍN MEDIEVAL

*RESUMEN*. Durante mucho tiempo, los textos en latín medieval fueron pobremente valorados por su naturaleza híbrida a nivel lingüístico: junto con lexemas provenientes del latín del periodo clásico/postclásico, se hallan muchas palabras de las lenguas vernáculas (en el caso de la Inglaterra tardomedieval, anglo-francés e inglés medio) en ellos. Esta visión tradicional y restrictiva fue reemplazada por una concepción más sutil del multilingüismo, que aprecia el valor de este tipo de testimonio escrito en nuestra comprensión de las dinámicas multilingües de textos medievales. La presente investigación se sirve de un estudio de caso, the *Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham* [1278-1538] (Fowler 1898-1901; de ahora en adelante, *Durham Account Rolls*), una de las colecciones editadas y publicadas en latín medieval de mayor envergadura, para abordar cuestiones como cómo clasificar las lexías de origen vernáculo presentes en textos multilingües medievales (¿son préstamos, cambios de código o algo distinto?) y hasta qué punto se puede considerar que este vocabulario está integrado o no en el latín medieval. Puesto que hay múltiples lenguas que subyacen al vocabulario vernáculo de los *Durham Account Rolls*, este artículo se centrará en el léxico procedente del inglés antiguo en estas cuentas y su relación con el latín y el francés. La inspección de 263 formas léxicas simples (de un elemento) en los *Durham Account Rolls* demostró ser una fuente tanto de términos primarios como de terminología más especializada. Para concluir, se darán algunos ejemplos de los dominios semánticos más representativos (equipamiento, agricultura, animales y materiales).

*Palabras clave:* multilingüismo, préstamo léxico, latín medieval, palabras procedentes del inglés antiguo, Inglaterra tardomedieval.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the past, texts produced in Medieval Latin (henceforth, ML) but containing a significant proportion of vernacular lexical items were assumed to be the product of the scribe's linguistic incompetence in writing in Latin. Along these lines, Hone (1906: 203), a historian, claimed that "the accountant's stock of Latin [had] failed him" when discussing manorial records in the early twentieth century. These multilingual manuscripts also attracted the philologists' attention: Hulbert (1936) carried out research on the University of Chicago's collection of 13th- and 14th-century manorial records, which led him to the publication of an extensive glossary of English words recorded in that documentary evidence in ML. Hulbert's ground-breaking investigation set the stage for the research that would follow a few decades later: the value of English words in Latin documents as testimonies to medieval English life was, for the first time, foregrounded. However, these findings did not dispel the long-standing conviction that clerks' command of Latin was, overall, defective or not more than a stock of set phrases. Rothwell's "pyramid of Latinity"

(1994: 46), where clerks would be at the lower end whilst erudite scholars and high officials would be at the top, echoes this view.

Rothwell divorced scholarly Latin from the Latin employed by medieval clerks in England. The latter would be a "dead construct" (1994: 46), in contrast to the English and French vernaculars. He asserted that "the business life of the nation [does] not come from Classical Rome, *as might be assumed* [my italics], but are largely copies of French phrases", further adding that "not only are virtually all the lexemes in reality French terms dressed up as Latin, but the word-order is Romance rather than Latin" (Rothwell 1994: 47). He then acknowledged that English lexemes also make up the "non-Latinate" vocabulary present in these accounts, terms which "have never existed in genuine Latin" (Rothwell 1994: 48). The use of *genuine* reinforces a biased attitude towards ML, which, by definition, was not Classical Latin (henceforth, CL) – a highly standardised variety – and, therefore, its syntax and morphology did not have to parallel the morpho-syntactic system at work in previous stages of the language. Latin was evolving as any other language.

While it is true that CL remained influential in the Middle Ages, the pressure of the standard classical forms was not equally strong in all the registers and contexts in which it was employed. In such prosaic documents as inventories or account rolls, such as the ones that will be examined in this article, writers appropriated Latin to meet their immediate needs rather than to create highly stylised pieces of writing. Vocabulary, the primary concern of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Latham, Howlett, and Ashdowne, 1975-2013; henceforth, *DMLBS*), is one of the areas that most neatly attests to the dynamism of ML. Users would creatively use classical forms with new meanings, coin lexemes through the internal mechanisms of the language, and appropriate others through borrowing.

This article addresses the question of how to approach English-origin vocabulary embedded in texts written in another language, namely ML. It will use a case study, the *Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham* [1278-1538] (Fowler 1898-1901; henceforth, *Durham Account Rolls*), one of the largest edited and published collections of accounts in ML, to discuss broader issues such as how to classify the vernacular lexical items present in multilingual texts and to what extent they can be deemed to be integrated/unintegrated into ML. The analysis of 263 Old English (henceforth, OE)-origin lexical items in the *Durham Account Rolls* proved to be a source of not only basic-level terms but also more specialised terminology. Some examples from the most representative semantic domains (equipment, farming, animals, and materials) will be given.

*1.1. LEXICAL BORROWINGS, CODE-SWITCHES OR SOMETHING ELSE?*

The inclusion of a large number of vernacular lexis with Latin-inflected endings into the *DMLBS* epitomises the vigour of the language as well as the elusive nature of any contemporary, rigid taxonomic divisions based on the vernacular/non-vernacular divide. Variation is a keyword in understanding ML, particularly so when

it had to accommodate newly absorbed vernacular material with its own history, which often resulted in gender and/or spelling variants (e.g., *DMLBS*, s.v. *shafa, shafum, shefa, shefum* [Middle English (ME) *shaf, shef* < OE *scēaf*] 'bundle', 'sheaf'). The question, then, arises: what is the status of the vernacular material found in Latin texts? The general lexicographical policy adopted in the *DMLBS* suggests that only vernacular vocabulary containing a Latin inflectional morpheme is lemmatised and, therefore, these words could be tentatively deemed integrated *borrowings*. The reverse strategy applies to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Proffitt, 1990-; henceforth, *OED*),[1] which only includes words which are not inflected in Latin as *bona fide* attestations of vernacular material. Accordingly, would non-integrated vernacular lexemes in Latin texts instantiate episodes of code-switching?

Research into present-day multilingual communities has widely debated the boundaries between code-switching and borrowing. One of the most compelling approaches precisely uses morphological and phonological criteria as markers of integration: code-switching would involve the alternation between two (more rarely, three) linguistic codes without any kind of integration of the items involved, whereas a borrowing would presuppose a complete assimilation of the material from the donor language into the recipient language (see, e.g., Poplack and Meechan 1998). In historical written texts, the *oral* phonological parameter – as put forward in contemporary research – is rendered inoperative, and so the morphological criterion, as exemplified in the *DMLBS*, would, in principle, be justified. Nevertheless, this would imply examining medieval morphological units through the lens of present-day data, overlooking, amongst other things, the thin line between flourishes and abbreviation marks indicating Latin declensional morphemes, and the great variability encountered even within the same text, where the Latinate and non-Latinate variants of the same vernacular lexical item may repeatedly coexist close to each other.

ML was in a synergetic relationship with the vernaculars rather than in one of opposition, as documentary evidence shows. As Rothwell aptly put it, "the relationship of Anglo-French with Middle English was one of merger not of borrowing" (1991: 174). Durkin (2012: n.p.), in his discussion of vernacular lexis in Latin texts,[2] also observed that:

> whether the vernacular language in question is French or English can be very difficult to tell, or in many cases plain impossible. In fact, many scholars who have spent time working on such documents take the view that the writers themselves probably did not always distinguish very clearly between one clearly defined vocabulary as 'English' and another as 'French'.

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[1] This article refers to the latest available entries in the third edition of the *OED* (*OED3*). However, as there are still some unrevised entries, the year of publication (or revision, if applicable) of all entries cited is included.
[2] See also Durkin (2014: 290-297).

Some of the pitfalls of applying modern code-switching frameworks, such as Myers-Scotton's (see, e.g., 1993; 2011) Matrix Language Framework, to historical data were recently discussed in Roig-Marín (2019). Similarly, Gardner-Chloros (2017: 24-26) exposed the inefficacy of drawing boundaries between matrix and embedded languages not only when describing historical data but also modern material. The presence of cognates and bare forms conspicuously signals the need for a more flexible and dynamic approach. Being aware of such ambiguous material, Myers-Scotton (2002: 22) suggested the notion of a *composite* code, in her words, "an abstract frame composed of grammatical projections from more than one variety." Yet, as Gardner-Chloros (2017) also discusses, the morpho-syntactic variability encountered in multilingual (either written or spoken) texts is much greater than the variability which may occur in a standard language. Matras's (2009: 4) repertoire model highlights the availability of a large multilingual repertoire, "not organised in the form of 'languages' or 'language systems'", since the latter constitutes a meta-linguistic formulation learnt through a process of "linguistic socialization". The preference for certain elements of repertoires instead of others would be conditioned by factors such as the interlocutors and settings involved and the topics discussed.

The use of inverted commas when referring to languages resonates powerfully with authors such as Jørgensen *et al.* (2011: 23), who define languages as "sociocultural abstractions which match real-life use of language poorly". This may perhaps be too extreme a stance, disputing the very notion of a *language*, which is nowadays more distinctly conceptualised than in the Middle Ages, but the broader implications of Matras's claim, championing a large repertory drawing from several languages, would resound powerfully among multilingual speakers. In this sense, the term *translingual*, moving away from the monolingual/multilingual dichotomy, has gained currency in fields such as applied linguistics and literacy studies. *Translingualism* precisely recognises the fluid nature of languages and examines competence across languages as not being restricted to predefined sets of languages, which is why this concept could be incorporated into our formulations of medieval societies' communicative practices.

Apart from the lack of coetaneous information about "what was meant, for example, by the separatedness [sic] of languages, which we take for granted" (Trotter 2009: 155), Trotter adds another caveat, namely, the complex Latin-Romance continuum existing between ML and Anglo-Norman (see Roig-Marín (2021) for details on its applicability to the *Durham Account Rolls*).

The questions that lie at the heart of the present analysis are as follows: how can we classify the vernacular vocabulary in multilingual texts and, more specifically for the purposes of this article, in administrative documents? To what extent is it integrated/unintegrated into ML? A popular way of conceptualising lexical material from several languages has been in terms of borrowings/code-switches from an embedded language into a matrix language. More recent research (*inter alia*, Trotter 2000, 2011; Ingham 2010; Hunt 2011; Schendl and Wright 2011; Sylvester 2017) has underscored how such terms may not fully reflect the complex linguistic ecology of

late medieval England. The inclusion of the same lexical items in the *DMLBS,* the *OED* and the *Middle English Dictionary* (Lewis *et al.*, 1952-2001; henceforth, *MED*) proves the permeable linguistic boundaries in the Middle Ages and beyond.

The main question to be posed here, therefore, should not be whether we are dealing with either borrowings or code-switches from the vernaculars into ML, but rather, what are the etymological narratives of the lexis which made its way into the *Durham Account Rolls*? It is worth remembering that the lexicographical evidence that will be adduced in this article is somewhat partial: the most complete historical dictionary that exists and will be employed, the *OED*, traces the development of each word in English, which may not correlate with the route that word followed into a ML text. That is why a probabilistic exercise based on etymology and not so much on the typological status of the material at the time will be pursued, thereby leaving aside the thorny question of whether a lexeme can be deemed a code-switch or a borrowing in the *Durham Account Rolls*.

### 1.2. THE DURHAM ACCOUNT ROLLS *IN CONTEXT*

The individual inputs of each language to the lexical make-up of the *Durham Account Rolls* may give a somewhat fragmented view of the actual synergies between ML and the vernaculars, which can be best apprehended in context. Even if attention is given to the main semantic fields susceptible to receiving influences from the vernaculars, I will here give some longer sample passages illustrating the interplay between languages in two rolls. The excerpts below are arranged, in the original manuscripts, into locative headings rather than the more usual structure which opens with *expens.* ('expenses'), *recept.* ('receipts'), *reparaciones* ('reparations'), *allocaciones* ('allocations'), or other all-encompassing descriptors which provide series of more loosely connected vocabulary often without any underlying semantic connections.[3] A textual arrangement based on locatives facilitates a lexico-semantic study. Limitations are, however, imposed by the different distributions of the rolls themselves since sections vary from roll to roll. The rolls themselves are taken from several departments of the monastic estate, whose abbreviated titles are here preserved in Latin as rendered in Fowler's (1898-1901) edition.[4]

The first example below is taken from Rott. Elemos. 1465 (Fowler 1898: 243-244)[5] and the second one from Rott. Elemos. 1472, 245-246. Because some of the

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[3] Some of these sections indicate the departmental locations of those receipts/expenses, hence, semantically forming a more cohesive group of lexical items (e.g., *expense sartrine*).

[4] Rott. Celer. (*Rotuli Celerariorum*) stands for 'Cellarer's rolls', Rott. Hostill. (*Rotuli Hostillariorum*) for 'Hostiller's rolls', Rott. Camer. (*Rotuli Camerariorum*) for 'Chamberlain's Rolls', Rotuli Elemos. (*Rotuli Elemosinariorum*) for 'Almoner's rolls', Rott. Terrar. (*Rotuli Terrariorum*) for 'Terrars' rolls', and Rott. Bursar. (*Rotuli Bursariorum*) for Bursar's Rolls.

[5] For the sake of brevity, I will henceforth give the reference to the roll as follows: abbreviated department in which the roll was produced (see Footnote 4), date, and page in Fowler's (1898-1901) edition.

lexical items are wanting on the former (paper) roll, I have selected one of the most complete sections, under the heading *coquina* ('kitchen'), and etymologically tagged their nouns and adjectives; the second example, from a different roll, presents a rarer heading in the *Durham Account Rolls*, *stabulum* (only found once in the whole edited collection, with the exception of *Stabulum Bursarii* in Rott. Bursar. 1456-1457, 636), which is why it is reproduced here as well.[6] Not all sections contain the same amount of vernacular vocabulary in the *Durham Account Rolls* (e.g., the *Capella Infirmarie* heading contains significantly less). This is mainly because some religious-related objects are preserved in CL – see *calix argent*, *messale*, *stola,* etc. – even if the vernaculars also creep in, particularly in reference to textiles (see "ij towelles pro altari", "j coverlyde coram altare" (Rott. Elemos. 1472, 246)). This paragraph-based approach is, therefore, productive only to a certain extent.

Excerpt from Rott. Elemos. 1465, 244:

> *Coquina* [CL].[7] In primis j olla [CL] erea [ML] fixa [ML] in fornace [CL]. Item iiij olle [CL] eree [ML] majores [CL]. Item iiij<sup>or</sup> olle [CL] minores [CL]. Item j magna [CL] patella [CL]. Item iij ʒetlynges [OE + suffix]. Item j schawfour [OF] pro cibis [CL] reparandis [CL]. Item ij rakkez [prob. MDutch/MLG] de ferro [CL]. Item ij veruta [CL] ferrea [CL]. Item j par [CL] de potclyps [OE + OE]. Item j brandreth [ON] cum iiij<sup>or</sup> costis [CL] ferreis [CL]. Item j brandreth [ON] rotundum [CL]. Item j flechcrok [OE + OE]. Item j hausorium [ML] cupreum [ML]. Item j scomer [OF] de arecalco [ML].[8] Item j craticula [CL] ferrea [CL]. Item j mortariolum [LL] ereum [ML] cum pilo [CL]. Item ij mortariola [LL] lapidea [CL] cum j pilo [CL] ligneo [CL]. Item j dressyngknyff [OF + OE]. Item j swetstan [OE]. Item j miour [OF] de stanno [CL]. Item j tribula [CL] ferrea [CL]. Item j por [MDut] pro igne [CL]. Item j candelabrum [CL] ferreum [CL] fixum [ML] in pariete [CL]. Item j mell [OF]. Item j dressyngbourde [OF + OE]. Item j barell [OF] pro veriuto [AF]. Item j archa [CL; cf. OF *arche*] in camera [CL] inferiori [CL]. Item barow close [OE + OF]. Item iij scale [ON] majores [CL] et minores [CL]. Item j trow [OE].

> Kitchen. Firstly, 1 copper pot fixed in a furnace. And 4 larger copper pots. And 4 minor pots. And 1 large pan. And 3 cooking vessels of cast metal. And 1 kettle for food which is to be repaired. And 2 iron racks [for kitchen use]. And 2 iron broaches. And 1 par of pot-clips. And 1 gridiron with 4 iron bars. And 1 round gridiron. And 1 flesh-crook. And 1 ladle made from copper. And 1 skimmer made from mountain copper. And 1 iron griddle/gridiron. And 1 little copper mortar with a pestle. And 2 little stone mortars with a wooden pestle. And 1 dressing knife. And 1 whetstone. And 1 grater made from tin. And 1 iron scoop. And 1 fire poker for the fire. And 1 iron candle fixed on a wall. And 1 great hammer. And 1

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[6] The translations are my own.

[7] The abbreviations used for the different languages in this essay are well established in the discipline: AF/AN (Anglo-French/Anglo-Norman), CL (Classical Latin), LL (Late Latin), MDut (Middle Dutch), ME (Middle English), ML (Medieval Latin), MLG (Middle Low German), OE (Old English), OF (Old French), and ON (Old Norse).

[8] As Fowler (1901: 892) clarifies, *auricalcum* seems to be a corruption of *orichalcum*, 'a kind of brass, gold-mestling'.

dressing-board. And 1 barrel for verjuice. And 1 casket in the lower chamber. And 1 covered barrow. And 3 larger and smaller scales. And 1 trough.

Excerpt from Rott. Elemos. 1472, 245:

> Stabulum. In primis ij equi [CL]. Item ij colle [ML inf. by OF],[9] et ij colle [ML inf. by OF] antique [CL]. Item j ladesadyll [OE + OE]. Item iiij gyrthez [ON]. Item iiij frena [CL]. Item ij cloþis [OE] to lay [OE] under þᵉ sadlys [OE]. Item ij horscolers [OE + OF]. Item j hors came [OE compound]. Item j saccus [CL]. Item ij yrenfork' [OE + OE]. Item j barowe [OE]. Item j pyke pro feno [CL] extrahendo [CL]. Item j pype [ML/OF] pro prebenda [ML] equorum [CL].

> Stable. Firstly, two horses. And 2 horse-collars, and 2 old horse-collars. And 1 load-saddle. And 3 girths. And 4 horse's bridles. And 2 cloths to lay under the saddles. And 2 horse-collars. And 1 horse comb. And 1 sack. And 2 iron forks. And 1 barrow. And 1 pike to extract hay. And 1 pipe [part of horse harness] for food for horses.

The etymologies of the lexis above evince a number of CL/LL-origin lexemes or those formed in ML (e.g., *rubeus* 'red' < CL *ruber* + *-eus*). Since French and/or English appropriated some of these lexemes (e.g., *sack* (cf. *sacc* < Latin *saccus*), *pype* 'pipe' also in French (route of entry of the English word)), their reading as either ML or vernacular is often unproductive. Only the development of a specific sense or morphology in the vernacular departing from its Latin etymon can be of assistance in attempting to delineate their immediate source language. Examples include *sago*, meaning 'say'; the CL etymon, *sagus* refers to 'coarse woolen cloak', so the sense found here seems to be derived from AF *seie, saie, soie* (also in ME) 'say' (cf. *DMLBS*, s.v. 1 *sagum*, 1 *sagus*). Another example is *fornace* 'furnace', borrowed from French *fornais* into English (*OED* (1898), s.v. *furnace*, n.) but here present in the form of the Latin etymon *fornace*, or *formule*, meaning 'benches' in ML, a sense not found in English or French. *Formule* also reveals another peculiarity of the *Durham Account Rolls* vocabulary, namely the absence of a plural marker morpheme[10] across lexemes regardless of their vernacular/Latin origin (see, e.g., *olle* 'pots' (CL), *formule* (CL), and *scale* 'scales' (ON)). The pattern in "iij scale majores et minores" is paralleled in "iiij olle eree majores", which might indicate a scribal convention of omitting the *-s/-z*, particularly but not exclusively, in NPs where Ns are preceded by numerals.[11]

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[9] *DMLBS*, s.v. 2 *collare* [CL; cf. OF *coler, coliere*], *collium, collius, collia*.

[10] In this article, this phenomenon is referred to as zero-plural marking, although *sensu stricto* the absence of the plural morpheme does not involve a zero or null morpheme and should be understood in the context of ML, characterised by scribal innovation in the usage of declensions.

[11] The lack of the plural marker is also recorded in words occurring on their own. Its presence in two identical constructions might be simply due to the scribe's re-use of the same structure. Whole sentences are indeed copied verbatim under two different sections within the same roll: "Item j por pro igne" and "Item j candelabrum ferreum fixum in pariete".

The scribes' insightful and flexible command of the vernaculars and Latin is exemplified by the use of synonyms across languages, as in ON-origin *brandreth* (e.g., "j brandreth rotundum") and CL-origin *craticula* (e.g., "j craticula ferrea"), both meaning (according to our present understanding of these words) 'gridiron'. Above are phrases entirely made up of Latin-origin vocabulary (e.g., "Item j candelabrum [CL] ferreum [CL] fixum [ML] in pariete [CL]") as well as composed of vernacular lexical items in tandem with Latin (e.g., "Item vj qwyshyns [AF] de opere [CL] Flandrensi [ML]"). What is meant by *Latin* is earlier periods of Latin (i.e., CL/LL) or ML lexemes not found in the vernaculars. The vernacular/Latin distinction is greatly eroded by the vast amount of vernacular vocabulary that was incorporated into ML (see, e.g., "Item j barell [ML *barellus*, *barellum*, *barella* < OF *baril* 'barrell'] pro veriuto" [ML *verjutum* < AN *verious*, OF *vergus*, ME *verjous* 'verjuice']). Not only is the French-origin vocabulary remarkable in these paragraphs but also that of OE origin: the vocabulary related to the "stable" includes *ladesadyll* 'a saddle for carrying loads' (OE + OE), *hors came* 'a horse-comb (a comb for combing horses)' (a compound already in OE), *barowe* 'a barrow' (OE), *horscolers* 'horse collars' (OE + OF). Whole syntactic units in French or in English also occur in "cum scriptura de le Roy" (Rott. Elemos. 1464-1465, 244) and "ij cloþis to lay under þe sadlys" (Rott. Elemos. 1472, 245). These constructions in English would be symptomatic of a stage of "moribund switching" according to Wright's (1998) study of multilingual writing. However, rather than part of a process of Anglicisation, this seems to be an isolated case in the edited *Durham Account Rolls*; there are no other similar instances in the material examined (see, e.g., the last roll of the Rott. Magistr. Inf. dated to 1526-1527 (283-284), which has few non-adapted vernacular lexical items or Rott. Bursar. 1536-1537 (667-707) given *in extenso*).

## 2. DATA COLLECTION

The data has been manually culled from the *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham from the Original MSS* [1278-1538], edited by Fowler in three volumes (1898-1901). I gathered the following information for each vernacular lexical entry: lemmas, definitions (the closest sense to the occurrences of the word(s) in the rolls), attestations in the *OED*, *MED*, and *DMLBS*, and the etymological information provided in those dictionaries (paying particular attention to the one provided in the *OED* and *MED*). The data was arranged by language of origin. I here concentrate on the vernacular input from OE, a total of 263 lexical items. In the data compilation process, I necessarily had to discard words which neither the present state of lexicographical scholarship nor my own enquiry had been able to trace: some of them are difficult to pin down because of the lack of contextual cues (e.g. *foraiwes* (Rott. Hostill. 1371, 130) and *chiltons* (Rott. Bursar. 1406-1407, 606)), while others are specific material objects (e.g., a *scowler* (Rott. Magistr. Inf. 1422-1423, 271), a name given to 'a window in the Infirmary hall', *warde* (Rott. Celer. 1459-1460, 89) 'a kind of large pot' [*magna olla*], *eden* (Rott. Celer. 1459-1460, 89) 'a kind of vessel' or *nole* (Rott. Magistr. Inf. 1384-1385 (verso), 264, 'a particular cup')).

After classifying all the vocabulary, I performed a semantic analysis: I made use of the *Historical Thesaurus of the OED* categories (with a few adjustments), when available, and considered the larger semantic networks offered in the *OED*, which usually encompass semantically related words from the OE period (if existent and if the word in question is included in the dictionary) onwards.

## 3. OLD ENGLISH IN THE *DURHAM ACCOUNT ROLLS*

Compared to the other major source languages in the *Durham Account Rolls* (AF, ON, and MDut), OE was a source of vocabulary historically native to the country for much longer. Through the filter of ML these languages are on more equal grounds, contributing with vernacular material to the lexis of the *Durham Account Rolls*. Despite the role of French as the default language of communication in the management of estates among the higher officers during this period,[12] English played an important part in conceptualising both basic, hyperonymic, vocabulary (e.g., *nallez* 'nails' and *pan* 'a pan') and, more often, technical lexis in the form of "basic-level terms" (Croft and Cruse 2004; Sylvester 2018) or hyponyms. Basic-level terms are further down the semantic hierarchy and, therefore, are semantically more specific than superordinates. However, a term may belong to a basic-level category for speakers with a good command of the subject matter but at the same time it may not be "a satisfactory basic-level term for one who has limited experience of it" (Sylvester 2018: 255; see also Croft and Cruse 2004: 96-97). Both basic-level terms and hyponyms tend to be multi-word lexical items in the *Durham Account Rolls* which can be fully made of OE-origin vocabulary, exclusively of borrowings or, more generally, be a combination of native material and borrowings from ON, AF, or MDut already integrated into Middle English. They would have functioned as collocations or conceptual lexical units in the scribes' ordinary speech, thus being often embedded in the accounts with varying degrees of integration into ML through the use of case endings, suspension marks, or zero morphemes, and they could also be partly rendered in Latin, giving rise to hybrid creations. The exploration of 263 OE-origin simplex forms may also unveil another source of not only basic-level terms but also more specialised terminology. Some examples from the most representative semantic domains will be given and their relation to CL, LL, and ML adumbrated: how many of them are early borrowings from Latin? Do they coexist with the Latin stems that were the source of the OE words? Are the OE-origin words widely found in ML?

One of the most comprehensive and important earliest lists of Latin-origin borrowings in OE was Serjeantson's (1935), with more than 520 borrowings. As Durkin (2014: 100) rightly points out, some are rather dubious, and there are some omissions in Serjeantson's Appendix, as well as of material mentioned in the body

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[12] See Ingham (2012) and well-known works such as Bibbesworth's *Le Tretiz*, a tool for teaching young aristocrats French terminology which would have been useful in an agricultural context.

of her text. Once the *Dictionary of Old English* comes to fruition, a more complete understanding of the OE word-stock will be acquired, including the c. 600 relatively secure borrowings from pre-conquest Latin (Durkin 2014: 100; see also Wollmann 1993 and Scheler 1997 for earlier estimations).[13] A recurring methodological pitfall from a monolingual lexicographical perspective is precisely how to approach Latin borrowings which preserve their inflection in OE and, therefore, are not always integrated (see, e.g., the OE forms under *OED* (2001), s.v. *mat*, n.[1]).

### 3.1. LATIN-ORIGIN BORROWINGS INTO OLD ENGLISH

It is worth noting that out of the early Latin-origin borrowings into English in the *Durham Account Rolls*, *capon, psalter*, and *butter* preserve their ML declensional paradigm along with their abbreviated forms (ML rather than CL as their endings do not fully match up with the expected case endings of the original CL declensions): *boutiri, butir, butir', Butir., butiro, butir, butiri* (CL *būtyrum*) 'butter/s'; *capon', capone, caponibus, capon., caponum, capones* (CL *capō*) 'capon/s'; and *psalterium, psalterio, psalterii* (sing.), *psalteria* (CL *psaltērium*) 'psalter/s'. The majority are unintegrated or exhibit a wide range of suffixes and/or suspension marks, signifying that their classification either as ML lexemes or as reflexes of the same Latin words borrowed into OE is often problematic: *wrethyn candell* 'writhen candle' (OE *candel, cǫndel* < Latin *candēla*), *culter* 'the colter of a plow' (OE *culter* < L *culter*), *mattes, matte, mattis* 'mats' (OE *matta, meatte, meatta* < L *matta*),[14] *schewtells, scutellis, scotil, scuttyl, scoteles, scutell., scutell* (pl.), *scotlys, scuteles, scotellez* 'scuttles (baskets for winnowing corn)' (cf. *scutella, scutello*; OE *scutel* < Latin *scutella*; *DMLBS*, s.v. *scutella, scutellus, scutellum*). If the vernacular appropriation of the Latin root evinces considerable morphological transformations unparalleled in the history of the Latin etymons, a more direct connection can be established between the words as adapted in OE and those in the *Durham Account Rolls*, as in *mylne*[15] 'mill' (OE *mylen, myln* < L *molina, molinus*) or *lopisters, lopster', lopsters* 'lopsters' (OE *lopustre, lopystre, loppestre* < Latin *locusta*). *Milne* is found in Anglo-Latin as *milnus* (see *DMLBS*, s.v. *milnus*), clearly betraying the influence of the English vernacular. However, instead of a Latinised vernacular lexical item of this kind, sometimes the *DMLBS* only includes etymons such as *cammarus, locusta, polypus*, and *saltulus*, which are the expected developments of words for 'lobster' descending from earlier stages of Latin.

Many Latin-origin borrowings from the OE period would later come into contact with the French vernacular equivalents, resulting in a number of scenarios: the

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[13] Scheler (1977: 38) identifies 50 post-Conquest (i.e., 1066-1150) Latin borrowings into OE although his parameters are not clearly delineated and remain dubious.

[14] *-is* can be analysed as a variant of Northern ME *-ys* or as the Latin plural ablative.

[15] Also in *milne irennys* 'mill irons'*, milneles* 'mill eels [poss. eels from a millpond]'*, milnestanes,* 'mill stones', *milnpikkes* 'tool used to trim the surfaces of millstones', and *milnposte* 'mill post'.

English lexeme was partly influenced or reinforced by the French lexeme deriving from the same root, such as *capon'* (Old Northern French/AF *capun, capon*), *moskylles* 'mussels' (< post-classical Latin *muscula* (< CL *mūsculus*), reinforced by AF *moskle, muscle, muskele* (OF *moulle*)), *plastr'* 'plaster' (OE < Latin *plastrum*; French *plaistre, plastre*), *pynes* 'pine seeds' (OE *pin* < L *pīnus* (reinf. by French *pin*),[16] or *pyone* 'peony seed' (OE < Latin *paeōnia* (reinforced by French *peoine, pïoine*)); the French lexeme may also have superseded the early OE lexeme (e.g *Ostree* (pl.), *oysters, Oystres* 'oysters' (OE *oster* < CL *ostrea*; OF *uistre, oistre*)[17] or the English word might have been reborrowed from French (e.g., *morter* (in compounds); OE *mortere* < CL *mortārium* (also in the *Durham Account Rolls*), later cf. OF *mortier, morter*); the OE and French descendants of these Latin-origin words could also coexist in ME: *lak* 'lake' (OE *lacu* < L *lacus*; OF *lac*), *tabule* 'tables (flat stones/tablets)' (pl.) (OE < CL *tabula*; OF *tabul, tabull*), *troutes, truttis, trout, Salmon Troutys, trutis, trut'* 'trouts' (cf. OE *truht* < LL (also ML) *tructus, tructa, truta*; OF *truite, troite, troute*), and *sekkes* 'sacks' (West Saxon *sacc*, Mercian *sec* < Latin *saccus*) which in French had a different vowel (*sac, sach*) and shares the <e>-stem with ON (cf. Old Icelandic *sekkr*). Crucial to the multilingual matrix of the *Durham Account Rolls* is precisely a potential linguistic ambiguity (e.g., is *culter* Latin or English? Are *trut'* or *mortar'* ML, AF, or ME?).

In total, 98 out of the 263 OE simplexes – that is, 37.26%, excluding derivatives on OE roots in ME –[18] are in the *DMLBS*. Apart from the Latin-origin borrowings into English, which this lexicographical resource derives directly from their Latin etymons (e.g., *DMLBS*, s.v. *candela* [CL]) unless they reflect vernacular-specific morphological and/or semantic changes in ML (*DMLBS*, s.v. 4 *polus*, 3 *pola* [ME *pol* < AS *pal* < *palus*]), the nominative cases of other vernacular-origin lexical items are sometimes reconstructed in this ML dictionary as they are often only found in the oblique case in the extant texts (e.g., *ladelus* [ME *ladel* < OE *hlædel*] and *mattocus* [ME *mattok*], although also note the suspension sign in some lexical items like 1 *grot'* [ME pl. *grotes*]). The spelling variability found in medieval texts is also simplified in the lemmas and the number of attestations illustrating the lexeme's actual usage varies (compare *DMLBS*, s.v. *lempeta* [ME *lempet* < OE *lempedu*], with only one attestation '1313 in crevese, in ~is, wylkes Ac. Durh. 10', and s.v. 3 *hopa* [ME *hop*], which is more amply recorded in the *DMLBS*). Four Germanic, OE-origin, lexemes appear to

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[16] Nevertheless, the sense of *pynes* found in the *Durham Account Rolls*, 'edible seeds from the cones of various pines', seems to be first attested not earlier than the ME period, in 1327 (*OED* (2006), s.v. *pine*, n.²), and should be compared with CL *pīnea* and French *pyne*, OF *pin*). French cognates with these early Latin-origin borrowings into English may have undergone completely independent developments so that the existing ME reflex and the OF lexeme do not resemble to each other (for instance, *culter*, cf. OE *culter* < L *culter*; OF *coutre*).

[17] The root *ostr-* is also present in ML (cf. *DMLBS*, s.v. *ostrea, ostreum, ostria*, 1 *ostrium*).

[18] 41 out of the total number of Old English-origin words are in the *DMLBS* with the same sense as in the *DAR*, but others present different semantics (e.g., *credill* 'a hurdle' in the *Durham Account Rolls* and in the *DMLBS*, s.v. *cradellum* [ME *cradel, credel*], 'a cradle'). The many -*ing* forms are, generally speaking, not in this ML dictionary.

be declined following the ML paradigm (*fanna* 'fan', *creba* 'crib', only attested once, *clout, clitta, clouttis, clout.* (pl.) 'clouts', and *cove, cofe, coue, cova, cofe, cova* 'cove (chamber/pantry)') but most of them contain *-e, -es, -is*, and, to a lesser extent, *-ez* (e.g., *barowe, barow, barows, barowes* (*le*), *barrowez* 'barrows' and *coclis, kocles, kokells, cokles, cokylles, cokelys*, and *kokyllez* 'cockles'); *-(e)z* should be, in principle, unexpected in lexical items other than French-origin loanwords, although it is found in 43 OE-origin lexemes, that is, 28.10% of the total of pluralised OE-origin nouns (153),[19] in lexemes which could have potentially been employed in AF as well. This non-negligible percentage stresses the permeability of language boundaries in the *Durham Account Rolls* and the multilingual vocabulary of English more generally.

*3.2. SOME NOTES ON SEMANTIC DOMAINS*

By semantic field, the most numerous items are those denoting equipment (41), including fastenings (e.g., *hespes* 'hasps', *henges* 'hinges', *hopez* 'hoops', *rapys* 'ropes', and *stapels* 'staples'), containers (e.g., *fatt* 'vat', boll 'bowl', *troue* 'trough', and *ladels* 'ladles'), and tools (e.g., *betours* 'beaters (instruments for beating)', *schaves* 'shaves (instruments for cutting/scraping)', *swetstan* 'a whetstone', and *stayff'* 'a pole or bar used for several purpose'). Within the domain of farming (17), there are also 6 terms for tools and implements (*byll* 'a cutting/hacking implement', *culter* 'a coulter', *hake* 'a hack', *harows* 'harrows for cultivating land', *mattok* 'a mattock', and *pykoys* 'pickaxes'), enclosed fields (e.g., *croftis* 'crofts' and *hope* 'hope (an enclosed land)'), and animal husbandry (e.g., *busys* 'booses (stalls for livestock)', *byre* 'a byre (a cowshed)', *stirropes* 'stirrups', *yokys* 'yokes', and *yare* 'an enclosure for catching fish').

Other OE-origin terms include those for animals in general (20)[20] and animals for food ((5) *herrings* 'herrings', *troutes* 'trouts', *moskylles* 'morses', *ostree* (pl.) 'oysters', and *wilkes* 'whelks'), materials (18), raw (e.g., *balk* 'baulk/balk', *bemes* 'beams', *spone* (pl.) 'spoons', and *wattylles* 'wattles') or manufactured (e.g., *bras* 'brass', *lynynges* 'lining', *schaffes* 'sheaves (bundles of iron or steel)', and *seme* 'seam (fat, grease)'), food (15) (e.g., *berme* 'barm', *grotis* 'groats', and *pynes* 'pine seeds'), plants (11) (*fruth'* 'a frith', *hather* 'a heather', *thornes* 'thorns', and *wedys* 'weeds'), measurements (11) (e.g., *wegh* 'a weigh (unit of quantity for commodities)', *fothyr* (pl.) 'a fother (a cart-load)', *bollez* 'bolls (dry measure)', and *ken'* 'a kenning (a measure for grain and other dry goods)'), and textiles and clothing (11) (e.g., *bakkes* 'backs (usually, cloaks)', *halyng* 'halling (a piece of tapestry)', and *hayres* 'furs').

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[19] These are the following: *bollez, bolstourz, bordez, cannez, crabbez, crokez, croppez, kokyllez, deynez, fattez, flettez, futhrez, grotez, hakkez, heltrez, hopez, ladz, leippez, mossez, nallez, pykkez, poundez, rakkez, ricez, rongez, ropez, rowmez, scotellez, sevez/syffez, shellez, sholez, spyndillez, stapillez, steropez, stokkez, stottez, stralez, sylez, tyldez, trowez, wattillez, webbez*, and *weez*.

[20] This division corresponds to the *Historical Thesaurus of the OED* taxonomy: "the world » food and drink » food » animals for food' and 'the world » animals".

-*Ing* forms (26) extend across the aforementioned semantic domains:[21] among others are *beyttyng* 'repairing', *byndyng* 'binding', *byrtenyng* 'chopping (of wood)', *demmyng* 'deming', *drawyng* 'drawing', *dyghtyng* 'digthing', *fellyng* 'felling (of timber)', *floryng* 'flooring', *heggeyng* 'hedging', *layng* 're-steeling', *nalyng* 'nailing', *qwhykkyng* 'quicking (now obsolete) fencing or protecting with a quickset', *stoppyng* 'stopping (filling with herbs, spices, etc.)', and *thirlyng* 'thirling (drilling or boring a hole)', and there are also two gerunds ending in Latin-origin -*ando* (*sinkando* 'sinking' and *wyndanda* 'winding'). Manual workers responsible for these everyday tasks in the different departments of Durham Cathedral would have communicated in English, which explains the high incidence of vocabulary already present in OE for names of tools, animals, plants, or measurements. The choice of the phrasing already present is deliberate: apart from Germanic roots, the influx of Latin and French, particularly noticeable from the ME period, is at the centre of the vocabulary of the *Durham Account Rolls*. Beyond the stems *per se*, the suffixes also betray these nuanced and complex inputs.

## 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article has overviewed the vocabulary deriving from OE, the only 'native' source of vernacular vocabulary in the *Durham Account Rolls*. Special attention has been given to how early Latin borrowings into OE are rendered in these rolls, concluding that their classification in binary terms, that is, as either ML or vernacular, is rather problematic unless the lexeme in question exhibits morphological/phonological changes unparalleled in the Latin etymons which are not mediated by English. This is a recurrent pitfall in the analysis of typologically proximate languages in both the Germanic and Romance branches.

Many of the early Latin borrowings into OE were also later on influenced/reinforced by French lexemes deriving from the same Latin root, which complicates their categorisation from a modern viewpoint. Even OE-origin lexemes which were not incorporated into continental French varieties could have been employed in AF, so the presence of -*ez* is not far-fetched in the context of late medieval multilingual England.

Finally, the semantic component of the OE-origin vocabulary present in these ML texts proves to be particularly relevant to our understanding of the main realms in which the vernacular was employed *in lieu* of or at the same time as their Latin counterparts, such as in words relating to equipment of different kinds, materials or names for animals. The data here presented is just a sample of the potential of research into the vernacular vocabulary in ML texts as preserved in rolls which, for a long time, had largely remained under-investigated from a philological viewpoint.

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[21] Note that many of them are not in the *Historical Thesaurus of the OED*.

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# AUTOMATIC LEMMATIZATION OF OLD ENGLISH CLASS III STRONG VERBS (L-Y) WITH ALOEV3

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ABSTRACT. This article presents ALOEV3, a lemmatizer based on Morphological Generation that allows for the type-based automatic lemmatization of Old English Class III strong verbs beginning with the letters L–Y. The lemmatizer operates on the basis of the inflectional, derivational and morpho-phonological alternation rules characteristic of this class. The generated form-types are checked against the two most reputed Old English corpora, namely the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* and *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* to validate their attestations and assign the corresponding lemma. Results show that 97 percent of the validated forms are successfully assigned a single lemma. The remaining inflectional forms (38 out of 1,256) show competition between two lemmas, which implies that despite the high level of accuracy of the lemmatizer, contextual, token-based analysis is still needed for disambiguation. However, the research shows that competition only occurs in a limited set of lemma pairs and their derivatives. Although the research focuses on but one strong verb class, it confirms that exploring the avenues of automatic lemmatization will contribute to the field of Old English lexicography by either lemmatizing attested inflectional form types or by highlighting areas for manual revision.

*Keywords:* Old English, automatic lemmatization, strong verb, morphology, Natural Language Generation, Morphological Generation.

# LEMATIZACIÓN AUTOMÁTICA DE LOS VERBOS FUERTES DE CLASE III (L-Y) DEL INGLÉS ANTIGUO CON ALOEV3

*RESUMEN.* Este artículo presenta ALOEV3, un lematizador basado en la Generación Morfológica que permite la lematización automática basada en tipos de los verbos fuertes de la clase III del inglés antiguo que comienzan por las letras L-Y. El lematizador opera sobre la base de las reglas de alternancia flexiva, derivativa y morfofonológica propias de esta clase. Las formas generadas se contrastan con los dos corpus de referencia del inglés antiguo, a saber, el *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* y el *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*, a fin de validar su atestiguación y asignarles el lema correspondiente. Los resultados muestran que al 97% de las formas generadas se les asigna un único lema. El resto de formas flexivas generadas (38 de 1.256) muestran competencia entre dos lemas. Esto implica que a pesar del algo grado de precisión del lematizador, aún es necesaria la desambiguación contextual basada en tokens. No obstante, la competición de lemas está restringida a un número limitado de pares de lemas y sus derivados. Aunque centrada en sólo una clase de verbos, esta investigación confirma que explorar procesos de lematización automática contribuye al campo de la lexicografía del inglés antiguo, bien mediante la lematización automática de las formas atestiguadas o la identificación de zonas grises que requieren revisión manual.

*Palabras clave:* inglés antiguo, lematización automática, verbo fuerte, morfología, Generación del Lenguaje Natural, Generación Morfológica.

## 1. AIMS AND RELEVANCE

This article explores the limits and potentials of the automation of the lemmatization process for Old English (OE) Class III strong verbs beginning with the letters L–Y. The aim of this study has been to develop ALOEV3, a tool that performs the morphological generation (MG) of the paradigms of the selected verbs and assesses the attestation of the generated forms in the major OE corpora. Four partial goals have been targeted. To wit, (i) to develop a morphological generator that can turn out OE inflectional forms consistent with the morphological paradigms described in the grammars of this historical language; (ii) to implement ALOEV3 with sets of rules that guide the MG of Class III strong verb forms (both simplex and complex) taking morpho-phonological and spelling alternation variants into consideration and (iii) to automatically assess the attestation of the generated forms in the authoritative OE corpora, Healey *et al*.'s (2009) *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC) and Taylor e*t al*.'s (2003) *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE) and (iv) to link the attested forms with their corresponding lemma.

Biber *et al*. (1998: 29) define lemma as the base form of a word. Consequently, lemmatization is the mapping of the different tokens in a corpus onto their corresponding lemma, as in DEAL (deal, deals, dealing, dealt…). Automatic

lemmatization has been one of the targets of the Natural Language Generation (NLG) theory, defined by Reiter and Dale (1997: 1) as "[…] the subfield of artificial intelligence and computational linguistics that is concerned with the construction of computer systems that can produce understandable texts in English or other human languages from some underlying non-linguistic representation of information". Indeed, according to Manjavacas *et al.* (2019: 1493) "lemmatization is considered to be solved for analytic and resource-rich languaguages such as Englihs". To just mention a few, NLG has been applied to different modern languages, including Spanish (Forcada *et al.* 2011), Arabic (Khemakhem *et al.* 2015), Turkish (Oflazer and Saraçlar 2018) or Thai (Tapsai *et al.* 2021).

However, lemmatization is still a pending task for low-resource languages (including historical languages like OE) for a number of reasons, including overlaps of graphic forms resulting from morphological and phonological developments as well as from diatopic variation, on the one hand, and the relatively limited amount of textual data, on the other. The surviving OE word stock is reduced to a few million words stored in defective, fragmentary corpora. The major corpora compiling OE written records are the DOEC, comprising 3,000,000 words and the YCOE which includes about 1,500,000 words. Further, several smaller corpora including Rissanen *et al.*'s (1991) *The Helsinki Corpus of English texts* (300,000 words) and Pintzuk and Plug's (2001) *The York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry* (70,000 words) are at the researcher's disposal. However, these corpora have not yet been lemmatized, although the YCOE and the York-Helsinki corpus do provide linguistic metadata, including morphological tagging and syntactic parsing. Martín Arista *et al.*'s (2021) *An open access annotated parallel corpus Old English-English* constitutes the most recent incorporation to the repository of OE corpora. It currently files 110,000 word tokens, which, unlike the corpora cited above, are provided with glosses and translations and are fully lemmatized.

Most importantly, the lack of a lemmatized corpus prevents lemma-form associations to be established. Thus, the development of automatized text taggers, which need abundant linguistic (meta)data for machine training, is heavily restricted. As Manjavacas *et al.* (2019: 1493) explain, "for languages with higher surface variation, lemmatization plays a crucial role as a preprocessing step for downstream tasks such as topic modelling, stylometry and information retrieval."

Even if some editions of the texts include glossaries, there is considerable divergence in their structure and lemma selections both internally and intratextually. This is also the case with dictionaries. Bosworth and Toller's (1973[1898]) *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, or Clark Hall's (1996) *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, show several inconsistencies and differences in headword or lemma selections. *The Dictionary of Old English,* by Healey *et al.* (2018), does offer a rather systematic lemma selection process in addition to including lists of attested forms linked to each lemma. However, it has only been completed up to the letter I at this point

Given all these limmitations, this article explores the potentials of the MG of a set of OE Class III strong verbs as a means to contribute to the lemmatization of OE

corpora. Ferrés *et al.* (2017: 110) define MG as 'the task of producing the appropriate inflected form of a lemma in a given textual context and according to some morphological features.' Figure 1 shows an example approach of MG with regard to the OE verb *swelgan* 'to swallow', which, inflected for *person* (third), *number* (singular), *tense* (present), *mode* (indicative), generates the form *swilhþ* 'he/she swallows.'
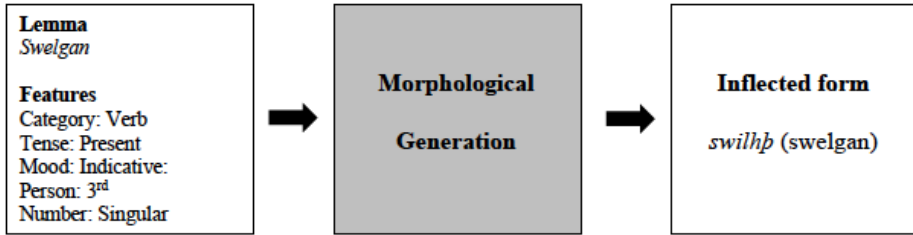


Figure 1. MG in the OE strong verb paradigm of *swelgan*.

With regard to the methodological approach adopted, this article is type-based rather than token-based, which entails the methodological decision of lemmatizing in two steps. Firstly, a type, that is to say, an abstraction from all the attestations of an inflection, is lemmatized. Then, in a second step, that necessarily involves disambiguation, all the attestations are lemmatized in their respective contexts. This article takes the first of these steps.

Finally, this article may be seen as a contribution to the linguistic analysis of OE with lexical databases carried out, among others, by García García (2019), Martín Arista (2012a; 2012b; 2013a; 2013b; 2016; 2017a; 2017b; 2018; 2019; 2020a; 2020b; 2021a; 2021b), Vea Escarza (2013; 2016a; 2016b; 2018), Mateo Mendaza (2014; 2015; 2016a; 2016b), Novo Urraca (2015; 2016a; 2016b), Martín Arista and Ojanguren López (2018), Ojanguren López (2020), and Garcia García and Ruiz Narbona (2021).

The outline of the article is as follows. Section 2 describes previous research on the automatic lemmatization of the OE corpora. Section 3 discusses the subclassification of Class III verbs and limits the scope of the research. Section 4 describes the methodological underpinnings. Section 5 discusses the results of the research and elaborates on the limits of automation. Finally, Section 6 summarizes the most relevant findings, presents some conclusions, and offers paths of research yet to be explored.

## 2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON OE (SEMI)-AUTOMATIC LEMMATIZATION

Several works have recently been published which engage in the semi-automatic lemmatization of OE corpora. Novo Urraca and Ojanguren López (2018) have

successfully incorporated lemma assignment to the YCOE syntactic treebanks. Metola Rodríguez (2015; 2017) has tackled the lemmatisation of strong verbs; Tío Sáenz (2019) has dealt with weak verbs; and García Fernández (2020) has engaged in the identification of lemmas for preterite-present, anomalous, and contracted verbs. These authors set their research on the knowledge base *The Grid* (Martín Arista 2013b), while adopting different approaches and scopes that will be discussed in turn. Among other data, *The Grid* includes a dictionary of Old English (*Nerthus*), a secondary source indexing dictionary (*Freya*) and indexed versions of the DOEC and the YCOE.

As for semi-automatic verb lemmatization, Metola Rodríguez (2015) and Tío Sáenz (2019) follow a similar method, and design sets of specific query strings (QS), guided by the specificities of the strong and weak verbal morphology. Their goal is to detect text strings in the DOEC and YCOE indexes compatible with the hypothetical inflectional forms of the corresponding verb classes. However, their research is limited by the possibilities of the search tools included in the storing database program. For example, some QS make use of wildcard symbols to replace strings of texts –e.g. (*) replaces an unspecified number of characters–, which results in the retrieval of a considerable number of undesired results This produces the need on the researchers' part to develop filters, and also increases the amount of manual revision needed to rule them out. To mention just a few, undesired results obtained from searches of the paradigm of *beadan* 'to command' include the forms *beada* 'counselor', and *beadas* 'tables'.

While they adopt similar search strategies, Metola Rodríguez (2015) and Tío Sáenz (2019) differ in the scope of their research in two ways. For one, Metola Rodriguez (2015; 2017) does not take participial forms into consideration. However, Tío Sáenz (2019) acknowledges the verbal nature of past and present participial adjectives and develops a particular QS to detect them. For another, Metola Rodríguez (2015; 2017) compares his data with the DOE while Tío Sáenz (2019) additionally checks her results against the YCOE. This allows her to lemmatize 6,300 inflectional forms of verbs I-Y not included in the DOE. At the same time, Tío Sáenz (2019: 544) admits the need for further validation of these forms with the corresponding fragments from the DOEC. As for accuracy, Metola Rodriguez (2017: 73) claims that, before manual revision, his method allows the validation of 80% of the proposed forms when compared to the inflectional forms provided by the DOE.

By contrast, García Fernández (2020) develops a system closer in nature to MG. She compiles a list of inflectional forms of simplex verbs based upon and attested in various grammars including Brunner (1965), Campbell (1987[1959]), and Hogg and Fulk (2011). To each of those forms, García Fernández (2020) attaches the different spelling variants of the prefixes listed by Kastovsky (1992) to develop complex inflectional forms.[1]

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[1] See García Fernandez's (2020: 213-214) for an exhaustive list of inflectional forms of contracted verb derivatives.

The question that arises from this approach is the direct relation that García Fernández (2020) assumes between the simplex and the complex forms of the verbs. If complex forms are derived on the basis of the spelling of the attested simplexes, it is the case that the lack of a given simple form or a change to the spelling prevents the identification in the corpora of the corresponding derivative. To illustrate this question, consider the case of *beþearfst* 'you have need', which cannot be identified nor lemmatized in the paradigm of *beþurfan* because a form *þearfst* is not listed as an inflectional form of the verb *þurfan* 'to need'. The attested forms of *þurfan* include *ðearf, ðearfende, ðearft, ðorfeð, ðorfað, ðorfæð, ðorfte, ðorfton, ðuran, ðurfe, ðurfon, ðurfu, ðyrfe, þearf, þearfende, þearft, þorfende, þorfonde, þorfte, þorfton, þurfan, þurfe, þurfende, þurfon, þurfu, þurfun,* and *þyrfe* (García Fernández 2020: 133). However, the form is attested in the DOEC as shown in (1).

(1)  [PsGlC (Wildhagen) 015600 (15.2)]

*Ic sæde drihtne god min eart þu forþon goda minra þu ne <u>beþearfst</u>*

'I have said to the Lord, thou art my God, for thou *hast* no *need* of my goods.' (Douay-Rheims, 1971[1899]: 586)

The reviewed works constitute, to the best of my knowledge, the only available research addressed at the automatic verb lemmatization of the OE corpora. Against the described scenario, Section 3 limits the scope of this research.

3. SCOPE

Considering previous research and the current state of publication of the DOE the scope of this study is limited to the letters L–Y, whose inflections have not been provided yet. This section delves into the features of Class III that allow the identification of form patterns upon which automatic MG processes can be developed.

The classification of OE verbs into seven classes based on the ablaut patterns of the verbal paradigms constitutes, according to von Mengden (2011), an almost undiscussed description of the grammar of this language. As for Class III, the taxonomy given in Figure 2 is generally accepted.

| | Infinitive | Preterite 1 | Preterite 2 | Past Participle |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| IIIa | *bindan* 'bind' | *band* | *bundon* | *gebunden* |
| IIIb | *weorpan* 'cast' | *wearp* | *wurpon* | *geworpen* |
| IIIc | *stregdan* 'strew' | *strægd* | *strugdon* | *gestrogden* |

Figure 2. OE Class III sub-classes.

Nevertheless, the state of affairs displayed in Figure 2 constitutes an oversimplified representation of the various types of OE class III verbs. To pave the ground for later discussion, it is necessary to offer a closer description of Class III subtypes.

Levin (1964), and Campbell (1987[1959]) distinguish five Class III subclasses, as seen in Figure 3.

| | Ablaut pattern | Infinitive | Preterite 1 | Preterite 2 | Past Participle | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | i-a-u-u | *bindan* | *band* | *bundon* | *(ge)bunden* | 'bind' |
| b | e-ea-u-o | *helpan* | *healp* | *hulpon* | *(ge)holpen* | 'help' |
| c | eo-ea-u-o | *weorpan* | *wearp* | *wurpon* | *(ge)worpen* | 'throw' |
| d | u-ea-u-o | *spurnan* | *spearn* | *spurnon* | *(ge)spornen* | 'spurn' |
| e | e-æ-u-o | *stregdan* | *strægd* | *strugdon* | *(ge)strogden* | 'strew' |

Figure 3. Levin's (1964) Classification of OE Class III Strong Verbs.

Class III verbs are characterized by presenting a single vowel and a consonant cluster in the stem. The phonological differences in the first consonant of the cluster justifies the first three subclasses given in Figure 3. Thus, Class IIIa verbs have a nasal sound after the vowel (closed to <i> from Proto-Germanic <e>); Class IIIb verbs present a liquid <l> after the vowel, which remains unchanged, and Class IIIc verbs display a liquid <r> which triggers breaking in the stem vowel. Class IIId includes the aorist present verbs *spurnan* 'spurn' and *murnan* 'mourn', and Class IIIe, for a group of verbs which were originally Class V. Class IIIe verbs display a syllabic pattern <e+C> (where C is neither a nasal nor a liquid). Their infinitives were extended with a dental suffix, as is the case with *stregdan* 'strew' and *feohtan* 'fight' (Campbell, 1987[1959]: 303).

Considering that the ablaut series described by Levin (1964) are identical for sub-classes b, c, and d, but for the infinitive vowel, Marcin Krygier (1994) advances a 3 sub-class taxonomy. He postulates that Class IIIa verbs have a nasal sound after the vowel and display the *ablaut* pattern iNC – a/oNC – uNC – uNC; Class IIIb verbs display a liquid consonant <l, r> and the *ablaut* pattern elC/eorC/urC – eaLC – uLC – oLC; and Class IIIc includes those originally class V verbs described by Campbell (1987[1959]).

For the purpose of this research, a fine-grained distinction as the one proposed by Levin (1964) and Campbell (1987[1959]) is to be dismissed as the development and implementation of rules into the lemmatizer depend primarily on the existence of generalized patterns. Consequently, I shall follow Krygier's (1994) model for class assignment. With the alphabetical limitation of the study and class assignment thus established, this article analyses the following verbs: *limpan* (IIIa), *linnan* (IIIa), *melcan* (IIIb), *meltan* (IIIb), *murnan* (IIIb), *rinnan* (IIIa), *scelfan* (IIIb), *scellan* (IIIb), *sceorfan* (IIIb), *sceorpan* (IIIb), *scrimman* (IIIa), *scrincan* (IIIa), *seorpan* (IIIb), *sincan* (IIIa), *singan* (IIIa), *sinnan* (IIIa), *slincan* (IIIa), *slingan* (IIIa), *smeortan* (IIIb),

*sneorcan* (IIIb), *spinnan* (IIIa), *springan* (IIIa), *sprintan* (IIIa), *spurnan* (IIIb), *steorfan* (IIIb), *stincan* (IIIa), *stingan* (IIIa), *stregdan* (IIIc), *swelgan* (IIIb), *swellan* (IIIb), *sweltan* (IIIb), *sweorcan* (IIIb), *sweorfan* (IIIb), *swimman* (IIIa), *swincan* (IIIa), *swindan* (IIIa), *swingan* (IIIa), *teldan* (IIIb), *tingan* (IIIa), *tringan* (IIIa), *twingan* (IIIa), *þerscan* (IIIc), *þindan* (IIIa), *þingan* (IIIa), *þringan* (IIIa), *þrintan* (IIIa), *weorpan* (IIIb), *weorþan* (IIIb), *windan* (IIIa), *winnan* (IIIa), and *wringan* (IIIa).[2]

## 4. METHOD

This section unfolds the methodological underpinnings of this research. There are two basic processes, namely, the generation of plausible inflectional forms for each of the selected verb paradigms and the automatic identification of the generated forms in the authoritative corpora. Given the limitations in the available data described in Section 1, ALOEV3 generates a remarkable amount of forms that cannot be attested in the corpora.

To start with, ALOEV3 generates complete verb paradigms on the basis of attested inflectional patterns. The paradigm of *sneorcan* 'shrivel' is given in (2).

(2)

| Infinitive | *sneorcan* | Pres. subj. (sg.) | *sneorce* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inflected Infinitive | *sneorcenne* | Pres. subj. (pl.) | *sneorcen* |
| Pres. ind. (1st sg) | *sneorce* | Pret. subj. (sg.) | *snurce* |
| Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | *sneorcest* | Pret. subj. (pl.) | *snurcen* |
| Pres. ind. (3rd sg) | *sneorceþ/sneorceð* | Pres. part. | *sneorcend* |
| Pres. ind. (pl.) | *sneorcaþ/sneorcað* | Past part. | *snorcen* |
| Pret. ind. (1st/3rd sg.) | *snearc* | Imperative (sg.) | *sneorc* |
| Pret. ind. (2nd sg.) | *snurce* | Imperative (pl.) | *sneorcaþ/sneorcað* |
| Pret. ind. (pl.) | *snurcon* | | |

The inflectional paradigm in (2) does not show well attested changes involving vocalic alternation, syncopation, assimilations, Verner's law, of the simplification of consonant clusters. It provides, however, a basic schema upon which MG rules can be implemented to account for variation in (i) the inflectional endings, including the assimilation and simplification of consonants, the weakening of vowels in unaccented syllables as well as diatopic spelling varieties and (ii) the stem, where *i*-mutation and Verner's law operate.

Given the high degree of formal variation in OE, the MG of inflectional forms has been addressed in three stages, namely inflection (4.1), mutation (4.2) and derivation (4.3). To round off, section (4.4) describes the automatized attestation process.

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[2] The grapheme <þ> rather than <ð> has been selected for lemma representation.

*4.1. MG OF CLASS III VERBS: INFLECTIONAL FORMS*

ALOEV3 has been implemented with MG rules to generate inflectional endings subject to formal variation. For the development of the rules given in Figure 4 below, I draw on Campbell (1987: 299–300).

| Rule No[3] | Rule description | Inflectional form | Rule No | Rule description | Inflectional form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I_#1 | -e >-æ | Pres. ind. (1st sg) | I_#17 | -tt > -t | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) |
| I_#2 | -e >-o | Pres. ind. (1st sg) | I_#18α | -gþ > hþ | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) |
| I_#3 | -e >-u | Pres. ind. (1st sg) | I_#19α | -ngþ > -ncþ | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) |
| I_#4* | -est > -st | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#20α | -sþ > -st | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) |
| I_#5* | -dst > -tst | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#21α | -þþ > t | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) |
| I_#6 | -tst > -st | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#22α* | -eþ > -iþ | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) |
| I_#7α* | -þst > -sst | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#23α | -eþ > -it | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) |
| I_#8 | -sst > -st | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#24α | -iþ > -it | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) |
| I_#9 | -ngst > -ncst | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#25 | -on >-an | Pret. ind. (pl.) |
| I_#10* | -gst > -hst | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#26 | -on >-un | Pret. ind. (pl.) |
| I_#11 | -hst > -xt | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#27 | -enne > -anne | Inflected Inf. |
| I_#12 | -est > -ist | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#28 | -enne > -onne | Inflected Inf. |
| I_#13α | -þs > -ts | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#29* | -end > -and | Pres. participle |
| I_#14α* | -eþ > -þ | Pres. ind. (2nd sg.) | I_#30* | -end > -ind | Pres. participle. |
| I_#15α* | -tþ- > tt | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) | I_#32* | -en > -in | Past participle. |
| I_#16α | dþ > tt | Pres. ind. (3rd sg) | I_#31* | -en > -æn | Past participle. |

Figure 4. MG rules for Class III alternative inflections.

Each of the rules in Figure 4 addresses a specific process of formal variation. Several processes may operate upon the same inflectional form. Thus, rules I_#1, I_#2 and I_#3 apply to the 1st person singular of the present indicative forms. MG processes can be recurrent or non-recurrent. A non-recurrent MG process implies the application of a MG rule which puts an end to the MG process. In recurrent MG processes, a form generated by a specific MG rule re-enters the system for further rules to operate upon it.[4] More precisely, the forms generated by I_#4 are processed again and the ALOEV3 checks whether I_#5, I_#7, I_#9 or I_#10 need to be applied.

Rules I_#29 through I_#31 deserve further comment. These rules generate present and past participle forms which, in OE, can be inflected following the weak and strong adjectival paradigms. In line with Campbell (1987[1959]: 266–272), rules I_#32-I_#75 have been generated for ALOEV 3 to attach the endings ø; *-ne*; *-es*; *-um*; *-e*; *-ra*; *-u*; *-re*; *-a*; *-an*; and *-ena* to the generated participial forms.

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[3] ALOEV 3 is implemented with pairs of rules (α, ß) to account for the conventional <þ, ð> variation. For the sake of clarity, only α-rules are displayed in this article.

[4] Rules starting a recurrent MG process are marked (*). The notation system is consistent in Figures 5, 6 and 7 below.

*4.2. MG OF CLASS III VERBS: STEM MUTATION*

Three sets of rules have been designed to account for vocalic and consonantal changes taking place in the verb stem. Such changes include *i*-mutation, Verner's law, and the simplification of consonantal clusters among others. Evidence supporting these rules is provided by Krygier (1994: 44–49) and Campbell (1987[1959]: 310–312). These rule sets are class-specific and only operate on the MG inflectional forms belonging in the corresponding sub-class.[5] Figures 5, 6, and 7 display the rules designed for Class IIIa, IIIb and IIIc mutations respectively.

| Rule No | Rule description | Rule operation |
|---|---|---|
| M_#1a | -mm > -m | Preterite singular forms |
| M_#2a | -nn > -n | Preterite singular forms |
| M_#3a | -a- > -o- | Preterite 1 forms |
| M_#4a | -u > -i | Extension of present stem vowel *-i-* to preterite plural |
| M_#5a | -o > -i | Extension of present stem vowel *-i-* to past participle |
| M_#6a* | -u- > -iu- | Preterite stem vowel after initial *sc-* |
| M_#7a | -iu- > -y- | Preterite stem vowel after initial *sc-* |
| M_#8a* | ri- > ir- | Methathesis of *-r- rinnan* |
| M_#9a | ir>ier | Stem vowel variation |
| M_#10a | ir> yr | Stem vowel variation |
| M_#11a | ir> eor | Stem vowel variation |
| M_#12a | ir> ior | Stem vowel variation |
| M_#13a | -u- > -a- | Extension of preterite 1 *-a-* to preterite 2 forms |
| M_#14a | -u- > -o- | Extension of preterite 1 *-o-* to preterite 2 forms |
| M_#15a | sw- > su- | Consonant cluster simplification |

Figure 5. MG rules for Class IIIa mutations.

| Rule No | Rule description | Rule operation |
|---|---|---|
| M_#1b | -ea- >-*eo* | Analogical extension to preterite 1 forms |
| M_#2b | -ea +l- > -a+l- | Diatopic variation |
| M_#3b* | *-eo- > -e-* | Before front vowels |
| M_#4b | *-e- > -i-* | *i*-mutation |
| M_#5b | *-eo- > -io* | *i*-mutation |
| M_#6b | *-u- > -y-* | *i*-mutation |
| M_#7b* | *-e- > -ie-* | Palatization after inicial *sc-* |
| M_#8b | *-ie. > -i-* | *i*-mutation |
| M_#9b | *-ie- > -y-* | *i*-mutation |

Figure 6. Inflectional rules for Class IIIb mutations.

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[5] While phonological distinctions like vowel quantity are crucial to explain the diachronic evolution of English, they are not relevant to the identification of forms in the corpora. Consequently, such differences have been disregarded in the configuration of stem mutation rules.

| Rule No | Rule description | Rule operation |
|---------|------------------|----------------|
| M_#1c | -Vowel+*r*- > -*r*+Vowel- | Reverse metathesis |
| M_#2c | -sc- > -cs- | Metathesis |
| M_#3c | -sc- > x | Consonant cluster simplification |
| M_#4c | -g- > ø | elision before *þ*, *d*, and *n*. |

Figure 7. Inflectional rules for Class IIIc mutations.

### 4.3. MG OF CLASS III VERBS: DERIVATION

The application of the inflection and mutation rule sets described in sections 4.1 and 4.2 allows for the generation of full paradigms of the simplexes of the verbs under analysis. This section addresses the generation of their complex counterparts.

Complex forms of the selected verb lemmas and of the MG inflectional forms are generated by attaching the set of L–Y prefixes described by Metola Rodríguez (2015) and García Fernández (2020) to each of the MG forms. In spite of lying out of the alphabetical scope of this research, the prefix *ge*- has also been included in the inventory, given its salient role in the formation of past participle forms.[6] OE prefixes are also subject to spelling variation, which is the reason why a rule has been designed for each prefix formal variant. As the aim of this article is to advance in the lemmatization of OE, these prefixes have been classified in canonical (lemma) and non-canonical forms. (3) shows the canonical form and non-canonical forms (in brackets) of the selected prefixes.

(3)    ge-(cg-, g-, ga-, gæ-, gæn-, gær-, gad-, gan-, gar-, ged-, gen-, gem-, ger-, gi-, gif-, gim-, gy-); med-(me-, met-, mi-, mid-, mið-, miþ-, mod-); mis-(miss-, mus-); niþer-(neoþer-, nioþer-, nyþer-, nieþer-, niþor-, niðer-, neoðer-, nioðer-, nyðer-, nieðer-, niðor-); o-; of-(æf-, af-, off-); ofer-(eofer-, eofor-, ofær-, ofern-, ofor-, of'-, ofyr-, ouer-, ouyr-); on-; or-; oþ-(oeþ-, oð-, oeð-); onweg-(anweg-, aweg-, unweg-); riht-(reht-, reoht-, rieht-, ryht-); sam-; sin-; sub-; to-; twi-(twig-, twy-); þri-(þry-, þrie-, ðri-, ðry-, ðrie-); þurh-(þorh-, ðurh-, ðorh-); un-; under-(und-, undern-, ynder-); up-(upp-); ut-(utt-, vt-); uþ-(uð-); wan-; wiþ-(wið-); wiþer-(wiþere-, wiþyr-, wiðer-, wiðere-, wiðyr-); ymb-(ym-, ymbe-, emb-, embe-, eme-, imb-).

Summarizing, ALOEV3 has been designed to generate standardized Class III verb paradigms. Rules have been implemented in the system to account for formal variation and word formation processes. As a result, a pool of potential OE class III verb forms is developed. Each of the forms is provided with a lemma tag, as shown by Figure 1 above.

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[6] The automation of the process precludes the development of target specific rules that guide the attachment of prefixes to particular sets of forms. Consequently, the application of the derivational MG rules results in the MG of complete *ge*- prefixed paradigms.

Before moving onto the next stage, MG forms must be reduced to types. In the MG process, homographic, formally ambiguous forms have been generated both within and across paradigms. Consequently, intra-paradigmatic homographs must be ruled out. To do so, ALOEV3 searches each paradigm for duplicated MG forms and reduces them to one single occurrence, as shown by Figure 8.
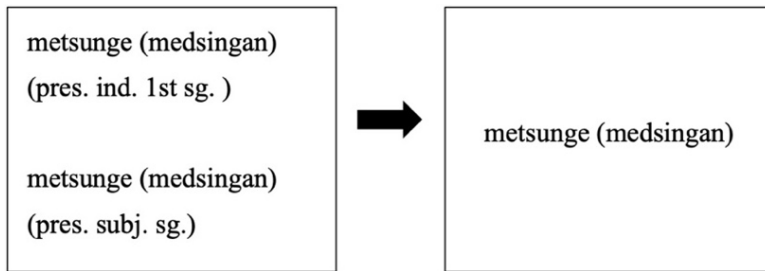


Figure 8. ALOEV3's 1-type-per-paradigm reduction model.

At the same time, the process described in Figure 8 allows for the presence of formally ambiguous forms in different paradigms. Thus, the forms *metsunge* (medsingan) and *metsunge* (medswingan). The identification in the corpora of these ambiguous forms will give raise to instances of lemma competition. The implications hereby derived will be discussed in section 5.

4.4. ASSESSING THE ATTESTATION OF FORMS IN THE CORPORA

The final part of the method tackles the identification of the MG forms in the selected corpora. Such identification is automatically carried out by means of three interrelated databases. To wit, (i) ALOEV3_DB, a database filing ALOEV3's generated form types; (ii) DOEC_DB, which stores the indexed version of the DOEC (Healey *et al.* 2009) retrieved from Martín Arista's (2013b) *The Grid,* and (iii) YCOE_DB, a database filing those words that are labelled with a verbal POS –part of speech– tag in the YCOE (Taylor *et al.* 2003). A list of POS tags and their meaning is given in Appendix 1.

ALOEV3_DB includes a field for the MG form (Inflectional form), a field for the lemma from which the form has been generated (Class III Lemma), a field to check attestation in the DOEC (DOEC attestation), a field to check attestation in the YCOE (YCOE attestation), and a field for the YCOE POS (Tag summary) for forms attested in the YCOE. DOEC_DB incorporates a field for the indexed form in the DOEC (ConcTerm), a field for the text before the concorded term (Prefield), and a field for the text following the concorded term (Postfield). YCOE_DB present a field for the inflectional form in the YCOE (YCOE_verbal_form) and a field for the different verbal POS tags assigned to such form (YCOE_verbal_tag). Figure 9 offers a view of *limpe* in each of the databases.

Figure 9. A view of *limpe* in ALOEV3_DB, DOEC_DB and YCOE_DB.

The three databases are related to one another through the fields *Inflectional form*, *ConcTerm,* and YCOE_verbal_form. Consequently, if there is a spelling coincidence between the form in Inflectional form and ConcTerm and/or the YCOE_verbal_form, the corresponding DOEC_attestation and/or YCOE_attestation fields (YES) are activated. Such is the case of *limpe* in Figure 9, whose attestation is confirmed in both corpora. Figure 10 shows these relationships.
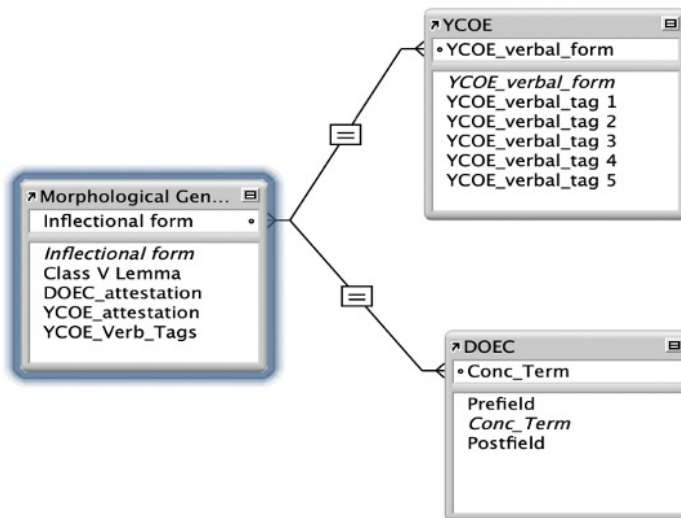


Figure 10. Relational interface of the ALOEV3_DB, DOEC_DB and YCOE_DB.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

ALOEV3 has generated 1,101,555 form types, which, after being filed in ALOEV3_DB, are compared with the inflectional forms filed in DOEC_DB and YCOE_DB. On the quantitative side, such comparison turns out the identification of 571 types in the DOEC belonging to 150 distinct lemmas (Appendix 2a); 653 in both the DOEC and the YCOE corresponding to 121 different lemmas (Appendix 2b), and 31 types from 14 lemmas which are only attested in the YCOE (Appendix 2c). The identified types are grouped by lemma, which may or may not be itself attested. When the generated form is identified in the YCOE, the POS tag is provided alongside. (4) offers an account of the forms of *þerscan* 'to strike, beat' identified in the corpora.

(4)   DOEC: *þerscenne*, *þrescen*, *þrexe*, *þreax*, *ðurscon*, *ðerscende*.

DOEC and YCOE: *þerscan* (VB), *þirsceð* (VBPI), *þærsc* (VBDI), *ðerscað* (VBI), *ðærsc* (VBDI).

YCOE: *ðerscan* (VB).

All in all, 1,256 form types have been identified in the corpora, corresponding to 192 distinct lemmas. On the qualitative side, 1,218 forms are assigned a distinct lemma. This means that the MG lemmatizer reaches 96,97% efficiency when assigning a single lemma to Class III strong verb inflectional forms, a figure which constitutes a 17% percent improvement with respect to Metola Rodriguez's (2017) approach. The remaining 38 forms are duplications which show competition among lemmas. The competing lemmas and inflectional forms are given in (5).

(5)   **gesingan ~ geswingan**: *gesungæn, gesunge, gesungen, gesungena, gesungene, gesungenne, gesungenre, gesungenum, gisunge*; **medrinnan ~ murnan**: *mearn*; **medsingan ~ medswingan**: *metsunge*; **stincan ~ stingan**: *stincð, stincþ*; **singan ~ swingan**: *sunge*, sungen, sungene; sungenne; **swincan ~ swingan**: *swincst, swincð*.

As seen in (5), most of the lemma competition occurrences involve the lemas *singan* 'to sing' and *swingan* 'to beat, strike' and their derivatives. Overlapping cases mostly occur in the preterite and past participle forms. Campbell (1987[1959]: 310) attests the occurrence of a past participle *sungen* as well as a form *swungen* in the Martyrology, which justifies the implementation of the rule -*w*- > -*u*- > ø when followed by -*u*- to the lemmatizer. The other cases in conflict involve the devoicing of /g/ into /k/ through assimilation processes, thus giving way to homophonic and homographic forms for the verbs *stincan~stingan* and *swincan~swingan*. The last case in competition corresponds to the inflectional form *mearn*, which is assigned to both the prefixed lemma *medrinnan* (through the syncopated form of the prefix; metathesis of *rinnan* into *irnan* and the retracted form of the preterite instead of

the most common -*ea*- diphthong) and to the aorist present *murnan*. The complexity of the processes justifying the association of *mearn* to the lemma *medrinnan* suggests it is not a correct association. Indeed, a quick search in the DOEC reveals that there are only six occurrences of this inflectional form, four of which appear in Beowulf. In all cases, the verb at stake is *murnan* 'to care, be anxious, mourn'. Take (6) as illustration.

(6)    [Beo 041200 (1441)]

    *Gyrede hine Beowulf eorlgewædum, nalles for ealdre* mearn.

    'Beowulf made himself ready with noble armor, he didn't *mourn* for his life' (Hostetter, n.d.)

This and other examples justify the need for additional manual revisions of the results. A fully automated method cannot be put forward for two main reasons. The limited scope of the research and the type-based approach adopted.

As for the scope of the research, only Class III strong verbs are being analysed in this article. OE morphological features and spelling variation lead to the development of formally ambiguous forms, not only within a single paradigm of a given lexical class, as shown in (2) above, but also across paradigms across lexical classes. As an example, consider the form *gelimpe*, which ALOEV3 generates in the paradigm of *gelimpan*. Such form, however, can also be associated to the nominal paradigm of the neuter noun *gelimp* 'an event, accident'. In such cases, disambiguation and lemma assignment must come from token-based lemmatization.

The second reason is that type-based lemmatization is context independent and, consequently, semantic features and syntagmatic relationships cannot be taken into account. ALOEV3 assigns a lemma to a form-type, but disregards the amount of occurrences as well as the context(s) in which such form is attested. However, type-based lemmatization is useful when it comes to identifying forms in conflict and areas of formal overlapping.

In the case of *gelimpe*, there are 58 occurrences attested in the DOEC. The contextual analysis of these forms will prove whether the form-lemma association established by ALOEV3 between *gelimpe* and *gelimpan* holds true in each context. As illustration, (7) shows a confirmed association.

(7)    [BenR 027200 (11.36.1)]

    […], *butan hit færlice swa* gelimpe, […]

    […] unless it *happen* by chance […] (Riyeff 2017: 67)

Once the association is confirmed, the lemma as well as any other relevant inflectional information can be incorporated by the lexicographer into a lemmatized corpus such as ParCorOEv2. The combination of both tools represents a remarkable advance in the process of lemmatizing the existing OE corpora. ALOEV3 establishes a wide net of relations between forms and lemmas, while the contextual analysis provided by ParCorOEv2 can confirm the accuracy of the association. When multiple lemmas are associated to a given form type, the lexicographer is provided with a closed set of lemmas to choose from, which guides the manual revision and lemma selection processes, thus enhancing the overall efficiency of the method.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

NLG greatly depends on the existence of large, lemmatized corpora. Given that the extant OE corpora are not lemmatized, there is a great gap to bridge before considering OE as a candidate language to conduct NLG research on an extensive basis. This article has presented a way to fill this gap, by exploring and checking the possibilities to carry out a systematic and automatized type-based lemmatization process of the OE corpora. A semi-automatic process of lemmatization has been proposed, rooted in the theoretical framework of MG. The research has been guided by three main aims, namely automation, validation, and accuracy. Regarding automation, several issues have arisen, especially regarding the spelling and morphological features of OE. Nevertheless, the article has proven that type-based lemmatization can be largely automatized, thus speeding and systematizing the lemmatization of OE. As for validation, the proposed method generates plausible OE word forms and compares them with the major OE corpora. This constitutes a step forward regarding previous research on OE morphology based on dictionaries. As for accuracy, the inferential approach followed here results in the identification of specific forms in the corpora which are mostly assigned a single lemma. Thus, the amount of manual revision is greatly reduced.

In this exploration of non-manual lemmatization, the limits of automation have also been reached in the current state of affairs. While type-based lemmatization can be automatized to a large extent, the spelling and morphological properties of OE prevent the MG analysis from systematizing and implementing rules to account for all the spelling variants found in the corpora and assign a distinctive lemma to all the validated forms. However, as research advances through the strong verb classes, light will be shed upon this matter, in such a way that the disambiguation of homographic forms will be possible or, at least, by highlighting those instances that require contextual analysis.

This article opens two avenues of research. The first is the completion of the analysis of Class III strong verbs. There are two major groups of verbs that have been disregarded. First, only the letters L-Y have been considered. Second, this article has dealt with simplex and single prefixed verbs. This means that cases of recursive prefixation like *inbestingan* 'to penetrate' or *onawinnan* 'to fight against'

have been left out. The second avenue involves extending this method to other strong verb classes and later to other variable lexical categories.

## ADKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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APPENDIX 1. YCOE POS VERB TAGS

| POS TAG | CATEGORY | POS TAG | CATEGORY |
|---------|----------|---------|----------|
| AX | Infinitive | HVI | Have, imperative |
| AXD | Past, ambiguous form | HVN | Have, past participle (vb. or adj.) |
| AXDI | Past, unambiguous indicative | HVN^N | Have, past participle (vb. or adj.), nominative |
| AXDS | Past, unambiguous subjunctive | HVP | Have, present, ambiguous form |
| AXG | Present participle | HVPI | Have, present, unambiguous indicative |
| AXI | Imperative | HVPS | Have, present, unambiguous subjunctive |
| AXN | Past participle (verbal or adjectival) | MD | Modal, infinitive |
| AXP | Present, ambiguous form | MD^D | Modal, infinitive, inflected |
| AXPI | Present, unambiguous indicative | MDD | Modal, past, ambiguous form |
| AXPS | Present, unambiguous subjunctive | MDDI | Modal, past, unambiguous indicative |
| BAG | Present participle | MDDS | Modal, past, unambiguous subjunctive |
| BAG^N | Present participle, nominative | MDI | Modal, imperative |
| BE | Be, infinitive | MDP | Modal, present, ambiguous form |
| BE^D | Be, infinitive, dative | MDPI | Modal, present, unambiguous indicative |
| BED | Be, past, ambiguous form | MDPS | Modal, present, unambiguous subjunctive |
| BEDI | Be, past, unambiguous indicative | VAG | Present participle |
| BEDS | Be, past, unambiguous subjunctive | VAG^A | Present participle, accusative |
| BEI | Be, imperative | VAG^D | Present participle, dative |
| BEN | Be, past participle | VAG^G | Present participle, genitive |
| BEN^A | Be, past participle, accusative | VAG^I | Present participle, instrumental |
| BEN^D | Be, past participle, dative | VAG^N | Present participle, nominative |
| BEN^G | Be, past participle, genitive | VB | Infinitive |
| BEN^N | Be, past participle, nominative | VB^D | Infinitive, inflected |
| BEP | Be, present, ambiguous form | VBD | Past, ambiguous form |
| BEPH | Be, present, ambiguous imp./subj. | VBDI | Past, unambiguous indicative |
| BEPI | Be, present, unambiguous indicative | VBDS | Past, unambiguous subjunctive |
| BEPS | Be, present, unambiguous subjunctive | VBI | Imperative |
| HAG | Have, present participle | VBN | Past participle (verbal or adjectival) |
| HAG^A | Have, present participle, accusative | VBN^A | Past participle (verbal or adjectival), accusative |
| HAG^D | Have, present participle, dative | VBN^D | Past participle (verbal or adjectival), dative |
| HAG^N | Have, present participle, nominative | VBN^G | Past participle (verbal or adjectival), genitive |
| HAG^G | Have, present participle, genitive | VBN^I | Past participle (verbal or adjectival), instrumental |
| HV | Have, infinitive | VBN^N | Past participle (verbal or adjectival), nominative |
| HV^D | Have, infinitive, inflected | VBP | Present, ambiguous form |
| HVD | Have, past, ambiguous form | VBPH | Ambiguous imperative/subjunctive |
| HVDI | Have, past, unambiguous indicative | VBPI | Present, unambiguous indicative |
| HVDS | Have, past, unambiguous subjunctive | VBPS | Present, unambiguous subjunctive |

APPENDIX 2. ATTESTED FORMS BY LEMMA

a) Attestations in the DOEC

**gelimpan***: gelumpene, gelimp, gilimpe, gilamp;* **gemeltan***: gemilteþ, gemolten, gemeltende;* **gerinnan***: gerunnenes, gerunnene, gerunnon, geornne, grin, garan, garon, gæran, gæron, ganran, genran, genarn, giarn, gifran, gyran;* **gesceorfan***: gesceorf;* **gescrincan***: gescruncenan, gescriuncan, gescryncan;* **gesincan***: gesonc;* **gesingan***: gesungenne, gesungenum, gesungenre, gesungena, gesungæn, gesingen, gesingað, gesunge, gesungan, gesungun, gesingon, gisingeð, gisunge, gisang;* **gesinnan***: gesan;* **gesneorcan***: gesnerc;* **gespinnan***: gespunnen, gespann;* **gespurnan***: gespurnan, gespearn;* **gestincan***: gestince, gestanc;* **gestregdan***: gestread;* **geswelgan***: geswelge;* **geswellan***: geswelle, geswell, geswollene;* **gesweltan***: giswelte;* **gesweorcan***: gesweorceð, gesweorc, geswerc, geswarc, gesworcen;* **gesweorfan***: geswyrfeþ, gesweorf;* **geswimman***: giswom;* **geswincan***: geswincendra, geswincan, geswincu, geswinc, geswanc, geswuncon;* **geswingan***: gesungenne, gesungenum, gesungenre, gesungena, gesungæn, giswungen, geswing, geswang, gesunge, gesungæn, gisunge;* **geteldan***: getelde, geteld;* **geþerscan***: geþersce, geðurscon, geðorscen, giðorscen, giðorscenne;* **geþindan***: geþind;* **geþingan***: geþungenne, geþungenum, geþungene, geþungenra, geþungenre, geðungenes, geðungenre, geðungænra, giðingende, giðingande, geþinge, geþingo, geþingu, geþincð, geþange, geþang, geðinge, geðincð, geðang;* **geþringan***: geðrungen, geþring, geþrange, geþrong, geþrungon, geðringað, geðring, giðringað, giðring, giðrungun;* **geweorpan***: geweorpe, gewerpð, geweorp, gewarp, gewurpon, geworpun, gewurpen, geworpen, geworpene, giwarp, giwurpon, giwurpun, giworpen;* **geweorþan***: geweorþæ, geweorþen, gewerþen, geweorþ, gewerþ, gewurþen, geworþen, gewordenne, gewordena, geweorðaþ, geweorðen, geweorð, gewerð, gewurðen, geworðen, geworðene, giwurdun, giworden, giwarð;* **gewindan***: gewundene, gewinde, gewind, gewande, gewundon, gewundun, giwundun;* **gewinnan***: gewunnenan, gewinnene, gewinne, gewinnæ, gewinnu, gewinn, garwan, giwinne;* **gewringan***: gewringe;* **limpan***: limpan, limpað;* **linnan***: linnenne, linne, linnen, lan, lon;* **medlinnan***: melan, milan;* **medrinnan***: meran;* **medsingan***: midsingend, metsunge;* **medsinnan***: misan;* **medswingan***: metsunge;* **medwinnan***: medwan;* **melcan***: melcð, milciþ, milcet, milcit, melc;* **meltan***: melteþ, milteþ, milt, melteð, malt;* **mislimpan***: mislimp;* **mislinnan***: muslan;* **miswinnan***: miswunne;* **murnan***: murneð, murnð, murnon;* **niþerrinnan***: niðerran, neoðerran, nioðerran, niþerran;* **oferþingan***: oferþunge;* **oferweorpan***: oferweorpan, oferweorp;* **oferwinnan***: oferwunnenum, oferwinnendum, oferwinnende, oferwinnaþ, oferwinn, ouerwunnan;* **oflinnan***: oflan;* **ofrinnan***: ofran, afran;* **ofsinnan***: æfsan;* **ofspringan***: ofspringe, ofspring, ofsprunge;* **ofspurnan***: ofspurne;* **ofsweorcan***: æfsweorc;* **onlinnan***: onlan, onlon;* **onrinnan***: onran;* **onsingan***: onsong;* **onspurnan***: onspurnan, onspurneð, onspurnað;* **onstingan***: onstinge, onstingð, onsting;* **onstregdan***: onstregdst, onstridest;* **onþingan***: onþungan;* **onþringan***: onþrong, onðrungun;* **onweorpan***: onwearp;* **onwindan***: onwindeð;* **onwinnan***: onwunnen, onwinnendes, onwinnendre, onwinneð, onwunnon, onwunnan, onwunnun;* **orinnan***: oran;* **orweorþan***: orwurðe;* **orþingan***: orþunge, orðunge;*

oþrinnan*: oþron, oðron, oðeorn;* oþþringan*: oðþringan;* oþwindan*: oþwinde;* rihtrinnan*: rihtran, ryhtran;* rinnan*: runnen, rinnende, iernenne, yrnnende, rinnan, rinne, rann, ran, irnn, urnne, yrn;* sammeltan*: sammeltan;* samsinnan*: samson;* samsteorfan*: samstorfenne;* samwinnan*: samwinnendan;* sceorfan*: scurfe;* sceorpan*: scerpe, scerpest, scerpeþ, scerþð, sceorp, scearp, scarp;* scielfan*: scylfan, scylfe, scelf, scylf;* sciellan*: scelle, scille, scylle, sciell, scill, scyll, sculle, scullon, scullen, scyllende, scyllendre;* scrimman*: scrimme;* scrincan*: scrincen, scrince, scrinceð, scrincon;* seolcan*: seolce, seolcen, seolc, solcenan;* sincan*: sincende, since, sanc;* singan*: sungenne, singæn, singendne, singendre, singendan, singande, singæ, singu, singþ, sange, song;* sinnan*: sunnen, sunnæn, sinne, sinnæ, sinn, sunne, sann, san, son, sunnon, sunnan;* slincan*: slincendes, slincendum, slincende, slincendra, slincendu;* slingan*: slingð, slang;* spinnan*: spinne, spinnaþ, spunne, spanne, spunnun;* springan*: sprungene, springendum, springende, springan, spring;* spurnan*: spurneð, spurnen, spurnende;* stincan*: stincend, stincendre, stincþ, stunce;* stingan*: stingendum, stingendre, stingeð, stincþ, stingað;* stregdan*: stregdan, strigdeð, strugde, stregdende, strede, stredest, stret, stridit, stræd;* swelgan*: swelgaþ, swelgað, swelgen, swelhð swulgon, swelgend, swelgendes, swelgende, swelgande;* swellan*: swellað, swellendum, swellendu, swellendre;* sweltan*: sweltu, swilteþ, swilteð;* sweorcan*: swearc, sweorcende;* sweorfan*: swyrfþ;* swimman*: swimmende, swamm;* swincan*: swincu, swinceþ, swinceð;* swindan*: swindan, swindeþ, swindeð, swand, swindende;* swingan*: swungene, swungæn, sungenne, swingon;* teldan*: teldan, telde, tildest, teldað, teld;* tolinnan*: tolan;* torinnan*: torinnan;* tospringan*: tospringe;* tostregdan*: tostregdo, tostrigdeð, tostregden, tostregd, tostrugde, tostrogdenra, tostrede, tostredeþ, tostredeð, tostred;* toswellan*: toswelle, toswellaþ;* tosweorcan*: tosworcene;* toþindan*: toþundenne, toþundenes, toþindendum, toþindende, toðinden, toþint, toþand, toþundon, toðinde, toðindst, toðindaþ;* toweorpan*: towerpe, towyrpest, towyrþ, towerpð, toweorp, towurpen, toworpenum, towerpende;* toweorþan*: towordene;* twislingan*: twislunge;* twispinnan*: twispunnenum;* þerscan*: þerscenne, þrescen, þrexe, þreax, ðurscon, ðerscende;* þindan*: þunden, þundenne, þindan, þindeð, þand;* þingan*: þingen, þingan, þinge, þingæ, þingeð, þunge, þang, þingon, þingun, ðingan, ðinge, ðingæ, ðingo, ðingu, ðunge, ðang, ðingon;* þringan*: þringeð, þrungun, ðringe;* þrintan*: þrinteð;* þurhrinnan*: þurharn;* þurhstingan*: ðurhstingþ;* undersincan*: undernsanc;* undersingan*: undersinge, undersange, undernsange, undernsang;* unlimpan*: unlimpe;* unmurnan*: unmurne;* unsceorpan*: unscearp;* unweorþan*: unweorþe, unweorþest, unweorþ, unweorðe, unweorð, unwurðe;* unwindan*: unwunden;* unþingan*: unþang;* upspringan*: upsprungenne, uppsprungen, uppsprungene, uppsprungenre, uppspringende, upspringe, upsprincð, upspring, upsprang, uppspringan;* utrinnan*: utran, uttran;* utsingan*: utsange, utsang, utsangan;* utweorpan*: utweorpeþ, utweorpeð, utweorpaþ, utwearp;* weorpan*: weorpenne, werpe, wyrpþ, werpð, wyrpeð, weorpað, werp, worpen, worpenne;* weorþan*: werþe, wirst, wert, wirt, wyrþeþ, werþeð, wyrþeð, weorþ, warþ, wurþon, wurþen, wyrðest, werðen, worðenne;* windan*: wundæn, windenne, windende, winde, windæ, windeþ, windað, wind, wunde, wande, wundun, windon;* winnan*: winnend, wanne, wannan;* wiþerweorþan*: wiþerwearð;* wiþerwinnan*: wiþerwinnena,*

*wiþerwinnende, wiðerwinnen, wiðerwinnena, wiðerwinnæn, wiþerwinnan, wiðerwinne, wiðerwinnæ;* **wiþspurnan***: wiðspurne;* **wiþwindan***: wiþwinde;* **wiþwinnan***: wiðwinnend;* **wringan***: wringene, wrange, wrong, wrangan;* **ymblinnan***: ymlan;* **ymbrinnan***: embrin;* **ymbwindan***: ymbwundon;* **ymbþringan***: ymbþrungæn, ymbþringen, embþrungen, ymbþrungon, ymbðringað, ymbðrungon, ymþrungon, ymbeþrungon.*

b) Attestations in the DOEC and the YCOE

**gelimpan:** *gelumpen* (VBN), *gelimpan* (VB), *gelimpe* (VBPS), *gelimpeþ* (VBDI), *gelimpþ* (VBPI), *gelimpeð* (VBDI), *gelimpð* (VBPI), *gelimpaþ* (VBPI), *gelimpað* (VBPI), *gelumpe* (VBDS), *gelamp* (VBDI), *gelomp* (VBDI), *gelumpon* (VBDI), *gelumpan* (VBDI), *gelumpun* (VBDI); **gelinnan:** *galan* (VB); **gemelcan:** *gemolcen* (VBN); **gemeltan:** *gemeltan* (VB), *gemelte* (VBD), *gemilt* (VBN), *gemelteð* (VBPI), *gemeltað* (VBPI), *gemelt* (VBI), *gemealt* (VBDI), *gemulton* (VBDI); **gerinnan:** *gerunnen* (VBN), *giernen* (VBPS), *geran* (VBDI), *gearn* (VBDI), *georn* (VBDI), *gyrn* (VBI); **gescrincan:** *gescruncene* (VBN^N), *gescrince* (VBPS), *gescrincað* (VBPI), *gescruncan* (VBDI); **gesincan:** *gesuncen* (VBN), *gesincan* (VB); **gesingan:** *gesungen* (VBN), *gesungene* (VBN^N), *gesingan* (VB), *gesinge* (VBPS), *gesingð* (VBPI), *gesing* (VBI), *gesang* (VBDI), *gesungon* (VBDI); **gespringan:** *gespringeð* (VBPI), *gesprang* (VBDI), *gesprong* (VBDI), *gesprungon* (VBDI); **gespurnan:** *gespurnun* (VBDI); **gestincan:** *gestincen* (VBPS), *gestincan* (VB), *gestincanne* (VB^D), *gestincað* (VBPI), *gestunce* (VBDS), *gestuncon* (VBDI), *gestuncan* (VBDI); **gestingan:** *gestungen* (VBN); **gestregdan:** *gestred* (VBN), *gestrude* (VBD), *gestroden* (VBN); **geswelgan:** *geswealh* (VBDI); **geswellan:** *geswollen* (VBN), *geswollenum* (VBN^D), *geswollena* (VBN^N); **gesweorcan:** *gesweorce* (VBPS), *geswearc* (VBDI), *gesworcene* (VBN^N); **geswimman:** *geswummen* (VBN); **geswincan:** *geswince* (VBPS), *geswincað* (VBPI), *geswunce* (VBD); **geswingan:** *geswungen* (VBN), *geswungene* (VBN^N), *gesungen* (VBN), *gesungene* (VBN^N), *geswinge* (VBPS), *geswungon* (VBDI); **geteldan:** *geteald* (VBN), *getald* (VBN); **geþingan:** *geþungen* (VBN), *geþungenan* (VBN^A), *geðungen* (VBN^N), *geðungenum* (VBN^D), *geðungene* (VBN^N), *geðungenra* (VBN^G), *geþingeð* (VBPI), *geþingað* (VBPI), *geþungon* (VBDI); **geþringan:** *geþrungen* (VBN), *geþringan* (VB), *geþrang* (VBDI), *geðringan* (VB); **geweorpan:** *geweorpan* (VB), *gewyrpð* (VBPI), *gewearp* (VBDI); **geweorþan:** *geweorþan* (BE), *geweorþe* (BEPS), *geweorþeþ* (BEPI), *geweorþeð* (BEPI), *geweorþaþ* (BEPI), *geweorþað* (BEPI), *gewurþe* (VBPS), *gewearþ* (BEDI), *gewurþon* (BEPS), *gewurdon* (BEDI), *gewurdun* (BEDI), *gewurden* (BEN), *geworden* (BEI), *gewordenum* (BEN), *gewordene* (BEN), *gewordenu* (BEN^N), *gewordenre* (BEN^D), *gewordenan* (BEN^D), *geweorðan* (BE), *geweorðe* (BEPS), *geweorðest* (BEPI), *geweorðeþ* (BEPI), *geweorðeð* (BEP), *gewyrðeð* (BEPI), *gewiorðeð* (BEPI), *geweorðað* (BEPI), *gewurðe* (BEPS), *gewearð* (BE), *gewarð* (BEPI), *gewurðon* (BEDI), *gewurðun* (BEPS); **gewindan:** *gewindan* (VB), *gewint* (VBPI), *gewand* (VBDI), *gewundan* (VBDI); **gewinnan:** *gewunnen* (VB), *gewunnenne* (VBN^A), *gewunnenum* (VBN^D), *gewunnene* (VBN^A), *gewinnen* (VB), *gewinnenne* (VB^D), *gewinnan* (VB), *gewinnanne* (VB^D), *gewinnað* (VBPI), *gewunne* (VBD), *gewann* (VBDI), *gewonn* (VBDI), *gewan* (VBDI), *gewon* (VBDI), *gewunnon* (VBDI), *gewunnan* (VBDI), *gewinnon* (VBPS), *gedwan* (VBDI), *gerwan* (VB); **gewringan:** *gewrungen* (VBN^N), *gewrungene* (VBN), *gewringan* (VB), *gewring* (VBI), *gewrungan* (VBN); **limpan:** *limpende* (VAG), *limpe* (VBPS), *limpeþ* (VBPI), *limpeð* (VBPI), *limpð* (VBPI), *lumpe* (VBDS), *lamp* (VBDI), *lomp* (VBDI); **linnan:** *linnan* (VB), *linneð* (VBPI), *linnið* (VBPI), *lin* (VBPS), *lunnon* (VBDI); **medrinnan:** *mearn* (VBDI); **medsinnan:** *mesan* (VB); **melcan:** *melcan* (VB), *melce* (VBN^N), *mealc* (VBDI), *molcen* (VBN^N); **meltan:** *meltan* (VB), *melte* (VBPS), *meltað* (VBPI), *melten* (VBPS), *melt*

(VBPI), *mealt* (VBDI), *multon* (VBDI), *meltende* (VAG^A); **mislimpan:** *mislimpe* (VBPS), *mislamp* (VBDI); **misþingan:** *misþingð* (VBPI); **murnan:** *murnan* (VB), *murne* (VBPS), *myrnst* (VBPI), *myrneð* (VBPI), *myrnð* (VBPI), *murnað* (VBPI), *murn* (VBI), *mearn* (VBDI), *murnende* (VAG); **oferrinnan:** *oferarn* (VBDI), *oferorn* (VBDI); **ofersingan:** *ofersingon* (VBPS); **oferswingan:** *oferswunge* (VBDS); **oferteldan:** *ofertolden* (VBN); **oferþingan:** *oferþungen* (VBN), *oferðungen* (VBN); **oflinnan:** *oflinnan* (VB); **ofrinnan:** *ofarn* (VBDI); **oferweorpan:** *oferweorpe* (VBPS), *oferwearp* (VBDI), *oferworpen* (VBN); **oferwinnan:** *oferwunnen* (VBDS), *oferwunnene* (VBN^N), *oferwinnen* (VBN), *oferwinnenne* (VB^D), *oferwinnan* (VB), *oferwinnanne* (VB^D), *oferwinne* (VBPS), *oferwinnað* (VBPI), *oferwunne* (VBDS), *oferwann* (VBDI), *oferwonn* (VBDI), *oferwan* (VBDI), *oferwon* (VBDI), *oferwunnon* (VBDI), *oferwunnan* (VBDI); **ofstingan:** *ofstungen* (VBN), *ofstingan* (VB), *ofstinge* (VBPS), *ofstunge* (VBDS), *ofstang* (VBDI), *ofstong* (VBDI); **ofswelgan:** *ofswelgð* (VBPI); **ofswingan:** *ofswungen* (VBN), *ofswungon* (VBDI); **ofþingan:** *ofþingð* (VBPI), *ofþincð* (VBPI), *ofðingþ* (VBPI), *ofðingð* (VBPI), *ofðincð* (VBPI); **ofþringan:** *ofþrungen* (VBN), *ofþrungon* (VBDI), *ofðrincð* (VBPI); **ofweorpan:** *ofwearp* (VBDI), *ofwurpon* (VBDI), *ofworpen* (VBN); **onrinnan:** *onarn* (VBDI); **onspringan:** *onspringað* (VBPI), *onsprang* (VBDI), *onsprungon* (VBDI); **onþringan:** *onþrang* (VBDI); **onweorpan:** *onwurpe* (VBDS), *onweorpendum* (VAG^D); **onwindan:** *onwand* (VBDI); **onwinnan:** *onwinnendne* (VAG^A), *onwinnendum* (VBN^D), *onwinnende* (VAG), onwinnenda (VBN^N), onwinnendan (VAG), onwinnan (VB), *onwinnað* (VBPI), *onwann* (VBDI); **oþrinnan:** *oþran* (VBDI), *oðran* (VBDI); **oþspurnan:** *oþspurne* (VBDS); **oþþringan:** *oþþringan* (VB), *oþþringeð* (VBPI), *oðþringeð* (VBPI), *oðþrong* (VBDI); **oþwindan:** *oðwand* (VBDI); **rinnan:** *iernen* (VBPS), *yrnnendum* (VAG^D), *arn* (VBDI), *earn* (VBDI), *orn* (VBDI), *iern* (VBI), *eorn* (VBI); **sceorfan:** *sceorfe* (VBPS), *sceorfendum* (VAG^D), *sceorfende* (VAG), *sceorfendan* (VAG^A); **sceorpan:** *sceorpe* (VBPS); **scielfan:** *scilfð* (VBPI), *scylfð* (VBPI); **sciellan:** *scell* (MDPI), *sceall* (MDP), *scall* (MDPI); **scrincan:** *scrincaþ* (VBPI), *scrincað* (VBPI), *scranc* (VBDI); **sincan:** *sincendum* (VAG^D), *sincan* (VB), *sincað* (VBPI), *sinc* (VBI), *suncon* (VBDI); **singan:** *sungen* (VBDS), *sungene* (VBN^N), *singen* (VBPS), *singenne* (VB^D), *singend* (VAG^N), *singendum* (VAG^D), *singende* (VAG), *singendra* (VAG^G), *singinde* (VAG^N), *singan* (VB), *singanne* (VB^D), *singe* (VBP), *singeþ* (VBPI), *singeð* (VBPI), *singð* (VBPI), *singaþ* (VBPI), *singað* (VBPI), *sing* (VBI), *sunge* (VBD), *sang* (VBDI), *sungon* (VBDI), *sungan* (VBDI), *sungun* (VBDI), *singon* (VBPS); **sinnan:** *sinniþ* (VBPI); **slincan:** *slincan* (VB); **spinnan:** *spinnende* (VAG^N), *spinnað* (VBPI), *spunnon* (VBDI), *spannan* (VB); **springan:** *springe* (VBPS), *sprincð* (VBPI), *springaþ* (VBPI), *springað* (VBPI), *sprang* (VBDI), *sprong* (VBDI), *sprungon* (VBDI); **spurnan:** *spurne* (VBPS), *spyrneð* (VBPI), *spyrnð* (VBPI), *spearn* (VBDI), *spurnon* (VBDI); **steorfan:** *steorfan* (VBPS), *steorfende* (VAG^N); **stincan:** *stincen* (VBPS), *stincendne* (VAG^A), *stincendum* (VAG^D), *stincende* (VAG^A), *stincendan* (VAG^A), *stincan* (VB), *stince* (VBPS), *stinceð* (VBPI), *stincð* (VBPI), *stincað* (VBPI), *stanc* (VBDI), stonc (VBDI), *stuncon* (VBDI); **stingan:** *stingende* (VAG^N), *stingan* (VB), *stinge* (VBPS), *stingð* (VBPI), *stincð* (VBPI), *sting* (VBI), *stunge* (VBDS), *stang* (VBDI), *stungon* (VBDI); **stregdan:** *stregde* (VBD), *stregdað* (VBPI), *stregd* (VBI), *strægd* (VBDI),

*strogden* (VBN), *stredan* (VB), *stredað* (VBPI), *stred* (VBI), *strude* (VBD), *strad* (VBDI), *strudon* (VBDI); **swelgan:** *swelgan* (VB), *swelge* (VBPS), *swelgeþ* (VBPI), *swelgeð* (VBPI), *swilgeð* (VBPI), *swilgð* (VBPI), *swulge* (VBDS), *swealg* (VBDI), *swealh* (VBDI); **swellan:** *swellan* (VB), *swelle* (VBPS), *swellende* (VAG); **sweltan:** *sweltan* (VB), *sweltenne* (VB^D), *sweltanne* (VB^D), *swelte* (VBP), *sweltest* (VBPI), *swelteþ* (VBPI), *swilt* (VBPI), *swelteð* (VBPI), *sweltaþ* (VBPI), *sweltað* (VBPI), *swelten* (VB), *swelt* (VBI), *swulte* (VBDS), *swealt* (VBDI), *swalt* (VBDI), *swulton* (VBDI), *swulten* (VBDS), *sweltendne* (VAG^A), *sweltendum* (VAG^D), *sweltende* (VAG), *sweltendra* (VAG^G), *sweltenda* (VAG^N), *sweltendan* (VAG^A); **sweorcan:** *sweorceð* (VBPI), *swyrceð* (VBPI); **sweorfan:** *sworfen* (VBN); **swimman:** *swimman* (VB), *swimme* (VBPS), *swimmaþ* (VBPI), *swimmað* (VBPI), *swam* (VBDI), *swom* (VBDI), *swumman* (VBDI); **swincan:** *swuncen* (VBDS); : *swincen* (VBPS), *swincenne* (VB^D), *swincene* (VB^D), *swincendum* (VAG^D), *swincende* (VAG), *swincan* (VB), *swince* (VBP), *swincst* (VBPI), *swincð* (VBPI), *swincaþ* (VBPI), *swincað* (VBPI), *swinc* (VBI), *swunce* (VBDS), *swanc* (VBDI), *swuncon* (VBDI), *swincon* (VBPS); **swingan:** *swungen* (VBN), *swingen* (VBPS), *swingenne* (VB^D), *swingæn* (VB), *sungen* (VBDS), *sungene* (VBN^N), *swingende* (VAG^N), *swingan* (VB), *swinganne* (VB^D), *swinge* (VBP), *swingest* (VBPI), *swincst* (VBPI), swingeð (VBPI), swingð (VBPI), *swincð* (VBPI), *swingaþ* (VBPI), *swingað* (VBI), *swing* (VBI), *swunge* (VBDS), *swang* (VBDI), *swong* (VBDI), *swungon* (VBDI), *swungan* (VBDI), *sunge* (VBD); **teldan:** *telst* (VBPI), *tald* (VBN); **torinnan:** *torinne* (VBPS), *toarn* (VBDI); **tospringan:** *tosprang* (VBDI); **tostincan:** *tostincað* (VBPI); **tostingan:** *tostinge* (VBPS), *tosting* (VBI); **tostregdan:** *tostregde* (VBN^N), *tostrægd* (VBN), *tostrogden* (VBN), *tostredan* (VBPS), *tostret* (VBPI), *tostredað* (VBPI); **toswellan:** *toswollen* (VBN), *toswollenne* (VBN^A), *toswollenum* (VBN^D), *toswollene* (VBN^A); **toþerscan:** *toþærsc* (VBDI), *toþræsc* (VBDI); **toþindan:** *toþunden* (VBN), *toþundenum* (VBN^D), *toþundene* (VBN^N), *toþundenre* (VBN^D), *toðunden* (VBN), *toðundene* (VBN^A), *toþindað* (VBPI), *toðint* (VBPI); **toþringan:** *toþringe* (VBP); **toweorpan:** *toweorpan* (VB), *towerpan* (VB), *toweorpe* (VBP), *toweorpest* (VBPI), *towyrpst* (VBPI), *toweorpeð* (VBPI), *toweorpð* (VBPI), *towirpð* (VBPI), *towyrpð* (VBPI), *toweorpað* (VBI), *toweorpen* (VBPS), *towerp* (VBDI), *towurpe* (VBD), *towearp* (VBDI), *towurpon* (VB), *towurpun* (VBDI), *toworpen* (VBN), *toworpene* (VBN^A), *toworpenu* (VBN^N), toworpena (VBN^N); **þerscan:** *þerscan* (VB), *þirsceð* (VBPI), *þærsc* (VBDI), *ðerscað* (VBI), *ðærsc* (VBDI); **þindan:** *þindende* (VAG), *ðindenne* (VB^D), *þinde* (VBPS), *þindeþ* (VBPI), *þint* (VBPI), *þindaþ* (VBPI); **þingan:** *ðungen* (VBI), *þingþ* (VBPI), *þingð* (VBPI), *þincþ* (VBPI), *þincð* (VBPI), *þingað* (VBPI), *þing* (VBPI), *þungon* (VBDI), *ðingþ* (VBPI), *ðingð* (VBPI), *ðincþ* (VBDI), *ðincð* (VBDI), *ðingað* (VBPI), *ðing* (VBPI); **þringan:** *ðringende* (MDPS), *þringan* (VB), *þringað* (VBPI), *þrunge* (VBDS), *þrang* (VBDI), *þrong* (VBDI), *þrungon* (VBD), *ðringð* (VBPI), *ðringað* (VBDI), *ðrang* (VBDI); **þurhrinnan:** *ðurharn* (VBDI); **þurhstingan:** *þurhstungen* (VBN), *þurhstingan* (VB), *þurhsting* (VBI), *þurhstong* (VBDI), *ðurhstinge* (VBPS).**understingan:** *understungen* (VBN); **understregdan:** *understregd* (VBN); **unwindan:** *unwindan* (VB); **upspringan:** *upsprungen* (VBN), *upsprungenre* (VBN^D), *upspringende* (VAG^N), *upsprungon* (VBDI); **upweorpan:** *upwearp* (VBDI); **utweorpan:** *utworpen* (VBN); **weorpan:**

*weorpan* (VB), *weorpe* (BEPS), *weorpeþ* (VBPI), *weorpeð* (VBPI), *weorpð* (VBPI), *wyrpð* (VBPI), *weorpaþ* (VBPI), *weorpen* (VBPS), *weorp* (VBI), *wurpe* (VBD), *wearp* (VBDI), *wurpon* (VBDI), *wurpun* (VB), *wurpen* (VBPS), *worpene* (VBN^N), *werpende* (VAG); **weorþan:** *weorþan* (BE), *weorþe* (BEP), *weorþeþ* (BEPI), *wyrt* (VBPI), *weorþeð* (BEPI), *weorþaþ* (BEPI), *weorþað* (BEDI), *weorþen* (BEPS), *werþ* (BEDI), *wurþe* (BEDS), *wearþ* (BEDI), *wurdon* (BEDI), *wurdun* (BEDI), *wurden* (BED), *worden* (BEN), *wordene* (BEN^N), *weorðan* (BE), *weorðe* (BEDS), *weorðest* (BEPI), *wiorðest* (BEPI), *weorðeþ* (BEPI), *wyrðeþ* (BEPI), *weorðeð* (BEPI), *wyrðeð* (BEPI), *wiorðeð* (BEPI), *weorðaþ* (BEDS), *weorðað* (BEDI), *weorðen* (BEDS), *weorð* (BEPI), *werð* (BEDI), *wurðe* (BEDS), *wearð* (BEDI), *warð* (BEDI), *wurðon* (BEDI), *wurðen* (BE), *weorðendan* (BAG); **windan:** *wunden* (VBN), *windendum* (VAG^A), *windan* (VB), *winst* (VBPI), *wint* (VBPI), *wand* (VBDI), *wond* (VBDI), *wundon* (VBDI), *wundan* (VBDI); **winnan:** *wunnen* (VBDS), *winnen* (VBPS), *winnenne* (VB^D), *winnendum* (VAG^D), *winnende* (VAG), *winnendan* (VAG^A), *winnan* (VB), *winnanne* (VB^D), *winne* (VB), *winneð* (VBPI), *winnð* (VBPI), *winnaþ* (VBPI), *winnað* (VBPI), *winn* (VBI), *wunne* (VBD), *wann* (VBDI), *wonn* (VBDI), *wan* (VBDI), *won* (VBDI), *wunnon* (VBDI), *wunnan* (VBDI), *wunnun* (VBDI), *winnon* (VB); **wiþerwinnan:** *wiðerwinnan* (VB); **wiþweorpan:** *wiðwurpon* (VBDI); **wiþwinnan:** *wiðwinnende* (VAG), *wiðwinnan* (VB), *wiðwinnað* (VBPI), *wiðwunnun* (VBDI); **wringan:** *wringan* (VB), *wringe* (VBPS), *wringð* (VBPI), *wring* (VBI), *wrang* (VBDI), *wrungon* (VBDI); **ymbspinnan:** *ymbspannan* (VB); **ymbweorpan:** *ymbwurpon* (VBDI), *ymbworpenu* (VBN^N); **ymbwindan:** *ymbwinde* (VBP); **ymbþringan:** *embþrungon* (VBDI).

c) Attestations in the YCOE

**geþingan:** *geðungenan* (VBN^A), *geðingað* (VBPI), *geðungon* (VBDI); **geþringan:** *geðrang* (VBDI); **misþingan:** *misðingð* (VBPI); **ofþringan:** *ofðrungen* (VBN), *ofðrungon* (VBDI); **oþþringan:** *oðð ringan* (VB); **oþspurnan:** *oðspurne* (VBDS); **toþerscan:** *toðærsc* (VBDI), *toðræsc* (VBDI); **toþindan:** *toðundenum* (VBN^D), *toðundenre* (VBN^D), *toðindað* (VBPI); **ymbþringan:** *embðrungon* (VBDI); **þerscan:** *ðerscan* (VB); **þindan:** *ðindende* (VAG), *ðinde* (VBPS), *ðindeð* (VBPI), *ðint* (VBPI), *ðindað* (VBPI); **þingan:** *ðungon* (VBDI); **þringan:** *ðringan* (VB), *ðrunge* (VBDS), *ðrong* (VBDI), *ðrungon* (VBDI); **þurhstingan:** *ðurhstungen* (VBN), *ðurhstingan* (VB), *ðurhsting* (VBI), *ðurhstong* (VBDI).

## *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.

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

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

## 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, David. "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. *Foundations of cognitive grammar 2: Descriptive application*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Wierzbicka, A. 1992. *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Libros.** Las referencias a libros completos deberán incluir: apellidos y nombre del autor; año de publicación (entre paréntesis el de la primera edición, si es distinta); el título (en cursiva); el lugar de publicación; y la editorial. Si el libro es una traducción, se indicará al final el nombre del traductor. Se ruega a los autores que presten atención a la puntuación en los siguientes ejemplos:

Taylor, J. R. 1995 (1989). *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon.
Kristeva, J. 2000. *The Sense and Non-Sense of Revolt*. New York: Columbia University Press. Trans. Jeanine Herman.

**Artículos.** En las referencias a artículos, los títulos de los artículos aparecerán entre comillas; el de la revista en la que aparecen en cursiva; seguidos del volumen y el número (entre parentesis) de la revista. Luego irán los números de páginas, separados por dos puntos:

Haiman, J. 1978. "Conditionals are topics". *Language* 54 (2): 564-589.
Frye, N. 1940. "The Resurgent". *Canadian Forum* 19: 357-61.

**Libros editados.** Las obras editadas por uno o varios autores deberán citarse como sigue (se utilizarán las abreviaturas ed. o eds.):

Miller, N. C., ed. 1986. *The Poetics of Gender*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Richards, J. C. and D. Nunan, eds. 1990. *Second Language Teacher Education*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

**culos publicados en libros.** Las referencias a artículos publicados en obras editadas por otros autores o en actas de congresos se escribirán como se indica en el ejemplo:

Fowler, R. 1983. "Polyphony and Problematic in *Hard Times*". *The Changing World of Charles Dickens*. Ed. R. Giddings. London: Vision Press. 91-108.

Traugott, E. C. 1988. "Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization". *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Eds. S. Axmaker, A. Jaisser, and H. Singmaster. Berkeley, Ca.: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 406-416.

**Varios autores.** Artículo de revista con tres autores:

Golberg, H., Paradis, J. and M. Crago. 2008. "Lexical acquisition over time in minority first language children learning English as a second language". *Applied Psycholinguistics* 29: 41-65.

**Artículo en una publicación** semanal o quincenal:

Allen, B. 1995. "Leaving Behind Daydreams for Nightmares". *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October, A12.

**Reseña** en una revista:

Judie Newman. 2007. "*Fictions of America. Narratives of Global Empire*", by P. Martín Salván. *Atlantis* 31 (1): 165-170.

**Tesis sin publicar:**

Arús, J. 2003. *Towards a Computational Specification of Transitivity in Spanish: A Contrastive Study with English*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Spain.

Publicaciones **on-line:**

Pierce, David. "Irish Studies round the world-2007: Introduction." <http://www.estudiosirlandeses.org/Issue3/Issue3InternationalReviews/PdfIStudiesRoundtheWorldbyDPierce.pdf>. (Accessed 7 May 2008)

Las **películas** se referenciarán como obras dirigidas, especificando "dir." para "director" en lugar del "ed." como editor de libros, y proporcionando el país o países de producción como referencia de lugar y el nombre de la/s compañía/s productora/s en lugar de la editorial que se consigna en los libros editados, por ejemplo:

Kubrick, S., dir. 1980. *The Shining*. USA and UK: Hawk Films Ltd., Peregrine, Producers Circle and Warner Bros.

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