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IDIOMATIC VARIATION IN NIGERIAN ENGLISH: IMPLICATIONS FOR STANDARDIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

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ABSTRACT. *A global phenomenon that involves language use, which has not been given sufficient attention by researchers, is idiomatic variation. In this study, we provide a classification of idioms in Nigerian English based on factors of stability in both formal and colloquial usage, length of usage, and international intelligibility. We also examine the implications of idiomatic variation for standardization in the context of globalization. Against the backdrop of the debate on whether or not the native speakers' English should be the sole medium of international communication, this study attempts to explain the reasons why different varieties of English should be accorded recognition and allowed to function as media of international communication provided they meet the condition of international intelligibility. In addition to a general discussion of idiomatic variation in Nigerian English, the study provides real examples of idioms in different contexts of communicative performance targeted at global/transnational audience with a view to addressing the subject of "contending with globalization in World Englishes".*

Keywords: idiomatic variation, Nigerian English, standardization, international communication, idiom, globalization.

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DELE ADEYANJU

VARIACIÓN IDIOMÁTICA EN EL INGLÉS NIGERIANO: IMPLICACIONES PARA LA ESTANDARIZACIÓN EN EL CONTEXTO DE LA GLOBALIZACIÓN

RESUMEN. *Un fenómeno global que afecta al uso del lenguaje y al que los investigadores no han prestado suficiente atención es la variación idiomática. En este estudio, damos una clasificación de frases hechas en inglés nigeriano basadas en factores de estabilidad tanto en el uso formal como en el coloquial, en el alcance de su uso, y en su inteligibilidad a nivel internacional. También examinamos las implicaciones de la variación idomática para su normalización en el contexto de la globalización. Frente al debate sobre si el inglés de los hablantes nativos debería ser o no el único medio de comunicación internacional, este estudio intenta explicar las razones por las que diferentes variedades del inglés deberían ser reconocidas y permitidas para servir como medios de comunicación internacional siempre que cumplan con la condición de ser comprensibles a nivel internacional. Además de una discusión general sobre la variación idomática en inglés nigeriano, el estudio proporciona ejemplos reales de frases hechas en diferentes contextos de actuación comunicativa dirigida a un público global/transnacional con miras a abordar el tema "enfrentarse a la globalización en los ingleses del mundo".*

Palabras clave: variación idiomática, inglés nigeriano, estandarización, comunicación internacional, frase hecha, globalización.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to examine the implications of Nigerian English idioms for standardization in the context of globalization. The study focuses on idiomatic variation – an aspect of Nigerian English that has not been exhaustively addressed by researchers. Idiomatic variation merits a careful study as it poses serious pedagogical problems for teachers and learners in an ESL context. The meaning of an idiom is both figurative and unpredictable. Unless efforts are made to determine idiomatic expressions in Nigerian English that merit standardization, users of other varieties will continue to experience difficulties in understanding our variety of English. This does not augur well for mutual intelligibility in the age of globalization. Problems associated with lack of mutual intelligibility among speakers of World Englishes could be tackled with conscious efforts to codify and standardize each variety. In doing this, considerable attention should be paid to idiomatic variation with a view to checkmating its negative influence on mutual intelligibility.

Considering the active participation of Nigerians in sub-regional activities and the growth in the number of foreigners participating in Nigerian economy, it is imperative that Nigerian English be standardized to cope with the demands

of globalization. The issue of standardization of Nigerian English has remained problematic without a consensus among scholars as to what should be accepted as standards and what should not. The problem has higher stakes attached to it in the context of globalization with the dominant role of English in global information dissemination.

Using idiomatic variation as an illustration, the present study seeks to bring to the fore the Nigerian/West African perspective which concurs with the World Englishes (WE) paradigm. An idiom, according to Adegbija (2003: 41), is "any word or group of words whose meaning cannot be guessed or deduced from the meanings of the component parts". The phenomenon of idiom, though universal, has its peculiarities in different sociolinguistic environments. In other words, it varies from one society to another owing to factors of culture, influence of the mother tongue and peculiarity of usage. It is also pertinent to note that idiomatic variation is not the same as lexico-semantic variation. As rightly stated by Adegbija (2003: 41), several scholars who have written on lexico-semantic variation in Nigerian English such as Adegbija (1989) and Bamiro (1994) "have tended to lump up lexical variation with idiomatic variation" without making any conscious attempt "to make the necessary distinction between lexical items and idioms". In an effort to distinguish between lexico-semantic variation and idiomatic variation, Adegbija (2003: 41) opines, "[…] whereas the meaning of the lexical items *houseboy* and *house girl* in Nigerian English can be easily deduced from the component parts, the meaning of the idiom, *small* boy in the sense of 'someone who is immature or inexperienced' […] cannot be easily deduced". We may also add that in Nigerian English, while the meanings of the lexical items, *bush-meat*, go-*slow* can easily be deduced from the component parts, the meaning of the idiomatic expression, *khaki boys* in the sense of military men and *long throat* in the sense of greed cannot be easily deduced.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Kachru's Three Circles Theory on the spread of English talks of the inner circle, the outer circle and the expanding circle (Kachru 1986). The inner circle, according to the theory, refers to countries where English is used as L1, e.g. U.K., U.S.A., Australia, etc. The inner circle is largely endonormative as speakers find among themselves the norms of correctness and appropriateness to be propagated through language education (Bruthiaux 2003). Thus, the inner circle's English is norm providing. The ELT prescriptivists would want the entire English-speaking world to stick to this norm as the medium of international communication. The outer circle consists of countries where English is used as L2, especially former British colonial territories, e.g. Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, India, etc. In such countries,

English is not only a medium of inter ethnic communication and collaboration; proficiency in it is seen as a ticket for rising up on the socio-economic ladder. This circle of English users is said to be norm developing. There is therefore a gradual shift from exonormative to endonormative in quest of linguistic self-reliance. In spite of this gradual shift, there exists among English users in this circle, a perception that Anglo-American norms are somehow superior to their own variants (Bruthiaux 2003: 2). The expanding circle consists of users of English as a foreign language (FL). These are countries that are neither in the inner nor in the outer circles, notably Brazil, Italy, Morocco, etc. Such foreign users of English have the tendency to be exonormative as they look unto L1 users for linguistic norms. Since this circle is norm dependent, the idea of seeking for linguistic self-reliance (which characterizes the outer circle) has not arisen.

Although Kachru's theory has been criticized on grounds of being "descriptively and analytically inconsistent" and failing to account for dialectal variation within each variety of English (Bruthiaux 2003: 3), the theory remains a handy tool for explaining the spread of English even in the context of globalization, as it accords hitherto denigrated varieties the needed recognition. The English-speaking world would have suffered the loss of the innovative capability and communicative potentials of non-native Englishes if not for Kachru's Three Circles Theory.

The dominant role of English in the era of globalization remains unquestionable but it does not have to be a single *global English* as no language can be used exactly the same way all over the world and adequately express the socio-cultural heritage of all its users.

Globalization, according to Fairclough (2000: 165), is "the tendency for economic, social, political and cultural processes to take place on a global scale rather than within the confines of particular countries or regions". This implies "the universalization of concepts, movements, technology, markets, etc. in the context of a compressed world" (Awonusi 2004: 85). This however does not imply the neutralization of cultural peculiarities of different linguistic entities. Since language is an expression of culture, it becomes unavoidable for L2 users of English to bring in innovations that give expression to their cultural heritage. As rightly opined by Bamgbose (1998: 1), "a non-native English situation is basically an innovative situation involving certain well-known processes of Nativization". Adegbija (2004: 23-29) explicates different levels of domestication (Nativization) of English in Nigeria. They include lexical domestication, idiomatic domestication, phonological domestication, grammatical/syntactic domestication, pragmatic/ cultural domestication and semantic domestication. The present study focuses on idiomatic domestication as seen in the following data.

3. DATA PRESENTATION

Adegbija (2003: 42-46) presents an inventory of one hundred and two Nigerian English idioms. Although the list is by no means exhaustive of all idioms in the repertoire of Nigerian English, it contains most of the well known idioms whose usage cuts across different geo-political zones of the country. The present study utilizes this list but provides additionally a classification of the idioms in the list based on stability in both formal and colloquial usage and restriction to colloquial usage. Another classification done is on the basis of age (length of usage), and international intelligibility. In addition we present real examples in communicative performance targeted at global/transnational audience. Thus we have illustrations I to VI as follows:

NO.	IDIOM	MEANING
1.	*public dog*	a woman who is sexually liberal
2.	*son of the soil*	an indigene of a place
3.	*kola*	a bribe
4.	*to be sick upstairs*	someone who appears deranged in speech or behaviour
5.	*carry over*	a course in an institution that has to be repeated
6.	*to observe a wake-keeping*	to have an evening but usually night program in honour of a dead person
7.	*not to be on seat*	not to be available in the office
8.	*to let someone land*	to allow someone to conclude a particular argument or statement
9.	*to take in*	to become pregnant
10.	*to join one's ancestors*	to die
11.	*to carry out an introduction*	to have a formal presentation of a bridegroom and his relations to the bride and her relations

12.	*to branch*	to have a brief stop over at another place apart from one's intended destination
13.	*to chase a girl*	to woo a girl
14.	*to escort a guest*	to see the guest off
15.	*to put to bed*	to give birth to a baby
16.	*to be a 419*	to be a dupe
17.	*national cake*	the common wealth belonging to all Nigerians from which everyone should have a share
18.	*to send off or send forth*	to arrange a farewell program for a person
19.	*go-slow*	traffic jam
20.	*tokunbo*	fairly used or second hand item
21.	*black market*	any illegal transactions
22.	*to put hands together*	to clap
23.	*to go in search of greener pasture*	to seek better economic opportunities
24.	*minimum wage*	the basic salary paid to workers
25.	*a hit and run*	any person who hits another with a vehicle without waiting to see what has happened or to take care of the injured person, etc.

Illustration I. *Idioms that are fairly stable in both formal and colloquial usage.*

NO.	IDIOM	MEANING
1.	*wetin you carry*	any policeman
2.	*to have a siddon look attitude*	to watch the course of events without being involved

3.	*I dey kampe*	I am unmoved by the ranting of my opponents
4.	*to smell pepper*	to be given a very rough deal
5.	*long leg*	the use of undue influence to achieve a goal
6.	*a man of timber and caliber*	a man of tremendous social, political and economic influence
7.	*to settle a person*	to bribe
8.	*to wet the ground*	to provide prior gratification or bribe that makes a later course of action or conduct smooth
9.	*to step aside*	to temporarily vacate a position, particularly an uncomfortable one, with the intention of returning to it at a more auspicious time
10.	*to hit*	to suddenly make great wealth
11.	*to take a machine, bike, okada, etc*	to ride on a commuter motorcycle
12.	*to wash*	to celebrate an achievement
13.	*to be untouched*	to be a virgin
14.	*the Aninis*	the armed robbers
15.	*woman wrapper*	one who is excessively fond of women
16.	*to shack oneself dry*	to be drunk
17.	*a letter bomb*	a heart breaking news
18.	*a no-man's land*	something that belongs to nobody or to everybody
19.	*Toronto*	fake
20.	*black assurance*	native medicine

21.	*Casanova*	any lady who is reputed to be a flirt
22.	*Rambo convoy*	a gang of armed robbers
23.	*to eye a person*	to seduce
24.	*to be in soup*	to be involved in a big problem
25.	*bedsharer*	an illicit sexual partner
26.	*sweet sixteen*	a good-looking lady looking younger than her age

Illustration II. *Idioms that are restricted mainly to colloquial usage.*

NO.	IDIOM	MEANING
1.	*son of the soil*	an indigene of a place
2.	*been-to*	someone who has been abroad before
3.	*to smell pepper*	to be given a raw deal
4.	*cash madam*	a lady who flaunts her wealth in appearance and perhaps speech
5.	*bottom power*	a woman who can use her feminine charm and sexuality to influence others
6.	*long leg*	the use of undue influence
7.	*to branch*	to have a brief stop over
8.	*to take in*	to be pregnant
9.	*to carry out an introduction*	to have a formal presentation of the bridegroom and his relation to the bride's relations
10.	*to chase a girl*	to woo a girl
11.	*to take the light*	to make a power cut

12.	*tokunbo*	fairly used or second hand
13.	*to put hands together*	to clap
14.	*to be stinkingly rich*	to be excessively rich
15.	*to go to the great beyond*	to die
16.	*to join one's ancestors*	to die
17.	*a man of timber and caliber*	a man of tremendous social, political and economic influence
18.	*to observe a wake-keeping*	to have an evening program in honour of a dead person
19.	*not to be on seat*	not to be available in the office
20.	*to let someone land*	to allow someone to conclude his verbal contribution
21.	*to wet the ground*	to provide prior gratification or bribe that makes a course of action or conduct smooth
22.	*to change gear*	to abruptly change a policy or known norms of behaviour, etc.

Illustration III. *Idioms that have been consistently used for a very long time in Nigerian English*.

NO.	IDIOM	MEANING
1.	*to be kudied*	to be killed or assassinated for taking a notable stand opposed by the powers that be
2.	*to have a siddon look attitude*	to watch the course of events without being involved
3.	*I dey kampe*	I am unmoved by the ranting of my opponents
4.	*Toronto*	anything suspected to be fake
5.	*to be untouched*	to be untouched: to be a virgin

6.	*a letter bomb*	A letter bomb: any heart breaking news
7.	*Rambo convoy*	Rambo convoy: a gang of armed robbers
8.	*to be wade*	To be wade: to have plenty of, especially money
9.	*an Aso Rock*	a heavily fortified and impenetrable building
10.	*a maradona*	a dribbler or one who mystifies others by virtue of his deceptive and wily skills
11.	*to step aside*	to temporarily vacate a position, particularly an uncomfortable one, with the intention of returning to it at a more auspicious time
12.	*woman wrapper*	one who is excessively fond of women

Illustration IV. *Idioms that are fairly recent in Nigerian English.*

NO.	IDIOM	MEANING
1.	*to cope up with*	to cope with
2.	*to round up*	to round off
3.	*to voice out*	to voice
4.	*to recite off-head*	to recite off-hand
5.	*to discuss about*	to discuss
6.	*to congratulate for*	to congratulate on
7.	*to comprise of*	to comprise
8.	*to vanish away*	to vanish
9.	*to be at alert*	to be on the alert

10.	*to eat one's cake and have it*	instead of to have one's cake and eat it
11.	*to have more grease to one's elbow*	more power to one's elbow
12.	*to explain off*	to explain away

Illustration V. *Idioms that share the same semantic sense with similar native English idioms.*

NO.	IDIOM	SOURCE	CONTEXT
1.	*….dancing around the well and not daring to jump….*	M.K.O. Abiola, on the annulment of the 1993 Presidential election	BBC interview (1993)
2.	Abacha was all evil; he killed SaroWiwa…; whoever said Abacha had any good side should *have his head examined*	Gani Fawehinmi, in reference to Arch Bishop Olubunmi Okogie's claim that Abacha 'had his own *good side*'	V.O.A. interview shortly after Abacha's death in 1998.
3.	We'll hold vigil for Lucky Dube at the Africa shrine	Yeni Anikulapo-Kuti	Reaction to the death of Lucky Dube, a notable South African artist (2007)
4.	…We should keep the *flag of oneness, resilience and excellence flying which Lucky Dube represented*	Yeni Anikulapo-Kuti	Reaction to Lucky Dube's death (2007)
5.	Lucky was one of the *Shining Lights* in Africa	Yeni Anikulapo-Kuti	Reaction to Lucky Dube's death (2007)
6.	He started from nothing, weathered the horrifying storm of life and became a phenomenon in world music	Yeni Anikulapo-Kuti	Reaction to Lucky Dube's death (2007)

7.	London Metropole Hotel *stands still for Nigerian Artistes*	Nigerian Tribune, Wednesday 14th November 2007	Newspaper's caption on an award night for artists in London
8.	The new image is a challenge to us to continue to *build bridges* with African films	Mike Abiola, Editor of African Voice Newspaper	At an award night for artistes in London in November 2007
9.	Our youths are now too much in a hurry to *make it*	Governor Ikedi Ohakim of Imo State, Nigeria	Keynote address at the 13th Igbo World Congress in Detroit, Michigan U.S.A. (Saturday Sun Newspaper (22/9/2007).
10.	If we revere hardwork then we must never *worship sudden unexplained wealth*	Governor Ikedi Ohakim of Imo State, Nigeria	Same as above
11.	Here today, *we burn and consign to the dustbin of history* the memory and guilty legacy of the civil war…	Governor Ikedi Ohakim of Imo State, Nigeria	Same as above
12.	You can *never cure a disease you do not know*	Governor Ikedi Ohakim	Same as above

Illustration VI. *Real examples of idioms in communicative performance targeted at global/transnational audience.*

4. DATA ANALYSIS

Illustration I above presents examples of idioms that are fairly stable in both formal and colloquial usage. Idioms such as "public dog", "kola", "to take in", "to put to bed", "to escort a guest", etc. are commonly used in both formal and informal contexts in Nigeria. Their usage also cuts across different geo-political zones of the

country. Their usage across different contexts and geo-political zones for a long time is a testimony to their social acceptability. Most idioms in this category may stand the test of time if considered as candidates for standard Nigerian English idioms.

Illustration II presents examples of Nigerian English idioms whose usage is restricted mainly to colloquial contexts. Thus we have in this category, pidgin expressions such as "I dey kampe" (attributed to former President Obasanjo); "siddon look" (attributed to the late Minister of Justice, Chief Bola Ige); "wetin you carry" (attributed to policemen at check points); and other expressions such as "a man of timber and caliber" (attributed to the late Dr K. O. Mbadiwe); "to step aside" (attributed to former military ruler, General Babangida); "to wet the ground" (derived from Yoruba idiom (*d'omi si'le ko tele tutu*) etc. Idioms in this category are hardly used in formal contexts. Although their usage cuts across different geo-political zones, their restriction to colloquial usage may limit their chances of being admitted into the candidacy of standard Nigerian English idioms.

Illustration III presents examples of idioms that have been consistently used for a very long time in Nigerian English. Such idioms as "son of the soil", "bottom power", "to take in", "tokunbo", "to put hands together", "to be stinkingly rich", etc. have not only existed for long in Nigerian English, their usage cuts across different geo-political zones as well as contexts of usage. The age-old existence of the idioms in this category implies their stability in Nigerian English and subsequently, the likelihood of their being accepted as candidates of standard Nigerian English idioms.

Illustration IV presents more or less the opposite of Illustration III in terms of age or length of usage. The existence of this class of idioms is fairly recent and their stability in Nigerian English cannot be guaranteed for now as some of them remain unpopular with the vast majority of the Nigerian elite. Thus, idioms such as "to be kudied" (attributed to the assassination of Mrs. Kudirat Abiola); "Toronto" (attributed to the fake certificate of Third Republic Speaker of the House of Representative, Alhaji Buhari who claimed (falsely) to have graduated from the University of Toronto); "Maradona" (referring to a dribbler or one who mystifies others by virtue of his deceptive and wily skills), etc. may be confined to colloquial usage and as such, not be admitted into the candidacy of standard Nigerian English idioms until they have gained more popularity among the elite.

Illustration V presents examples of idioms referred to by Adegbija (2003: 46) as sharing: the same semantic sense with similar idioms in native English contexts but are structurally or lexically different from their exact native equivalents, sometimes by the use of a different verbal particle or a different lexical item. Thus expressions such as "to cope up with" (instead of to cope with); "to round up" (instead of to round off); "to voice out" (instead of to voice) etc. which are probably derived from their native English equivalents but structurally modified to reflect Nigerian usage have not only existed for long in Nigerian English, they are very popular among

the Nigerian elite of different geo-political zones. Idioms in this category have an additional advantage of mutual intelligibility with speakers of English in other nations due to their similarity with native English idioms. They therefore stand the chance of being accepted as good candidates of standard Nigerian English idioms.

Illustration VI presents different contexts of communicative performance in which Nigerian English idioms feature. Such contexts include interviews on British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA) as well as speeches involving prominent Nigerians targeted at global/transnational audience. Such idiomatic expressions as "dancing round the well and not daring to jump" (by M.K.O. Abiola); "should have his head examined" (by Gani Fawehinmi); "the shining light in Africa" (by Yeni Anikulapo-Kuti); "never worship sudden, unexplained wealth" (by Ikedi Ohakim), etc. might be problematic for users of other varieties of English if no efforts are made to standardize Nigerian English.

5. IMPLICATIONS OF IDIOMATIC VARIATION IN NIGERIAN ENGLISH

In the past, several scholars queried the authenticity of Nigerian English as a legitimate dialect of the English language, but over the years, such scholars realized the existence of regional variations of English usage. This realization has invariably doused the controversy over the acceptability or otherwise of Nigerian English. However, the problem that remains unsolved till date is the question of standardization of Nigerian English. We cannot talk of standard Nigerian English if no efforts are made to standardize the idiomatic expressions peculiar to it. Idiomatic variation in Nigerian English has implications for formal usage, age (length of usage) social acceptability and international intelligibility particularly in the context of globalization.

6. IMPLICATIONS FOR NORMAL USE

Idioms that are used not just as colloquial expressions but in formal contexts could be considered standard while those whose usage is restricted to informal contexts cannot be accepted as standard. The reason for this is that such idioms that are used in formal contexts such as in literary works and official documents have the tendency to be permanently entrenched in the language due to their apparent acceptance by the elite and their expanded role (employed for both formal and colloquial usage) while the idioms that are restricted to colloquial usage may not remain permanent in the language due to their restricted usage. Illustration I of our data is therefore proposed as representing a class of standard Nigerian English idioms while Illustration II represents a class of idioms that cannot be accepted as standard.

7. IMPLICATIONS FOR AGE OR LENGTH OF USAGE

Idioms that are as old as Nigerian English cannot be divorced from our variety of English. They have been able to stand the test of time and their stability remains unquestionable. Such idioms as we have in Illustration III should therefore be considered standard, while idioms that are recent in Nigerian English such as we have in Illustration IV cannot be considered standard as no one knows how stable they will be in Nigerian English.

8. IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL INTELLIGIBILITY

Idioms that share the same semantic sense with native English idioms as exemplified in Illustration V should be considered standard as their usage enhances international intelligibility – a most crucial factor of English usage in the age of globalization. Communicating with international economic partners such as China, ECOWAS and OPEC member nations makes international intelligibility mandatory. In fact, any idiom that impedes effective communication with nationals of other countries should not be accepted as standard Nigerian English idioms.

9. IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY

Idioms that have not enjoyed social acceptability across cultures and geo-political zones should not be accepted as standard Nigerian English idioms. Examples such as “to hit”, “to shack oneself dry”, “black assurance” (Illustration II), “to be kudied”, “Toronto” (Illustration IV), etc. have not enjoyed a reasonable degree of social acceptability especially among the Nigerian elite. They should therefore not be accepted as standard Nigerian English idioms.

9. CONCLUSION

In this study, efforts have been made to classify the idioms in Nigerian English into different classes with a view to determining which of them could be recommended as standard and which could not. The study observes that idioms that are stable in formal usage and those that satisfy the condition of international intelligibility are suitable for inclusion in standard Nigerian English idioms. The same applies to idioms that have the same semantic sense with native English idioms but structurally different from their exact native English equivalents. The study also reveals that in the context of globalization, idiomatic variation has implications for standardization in the areas of age (length of usage), degree of formal usage, social acceptability and international intelligibility.

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AN EMPIRICAL STUDY INTO COMPLETE-BEGINNER SIBLINGS LEARNING AURAL AND WRITTEN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT. *This study was conducted into sibling association in children learning English as a foreign language at beginner level at primary school. The 35 participants were selected on the basis that they had no prior knowledge of English according to the pre-test and the base-line data. The fact that the participants were total beginners was useful not only in indicating clearly their progress on English tests, but also in pointing to any association with sibling help and/or knowledge of English. The children were all Spanish, and over one school year they completed a questionnaire on their backgrounds and on that of their families, and did four listening-comprehension tests of English and four tests of written English. By means of a Repeated Measures MANOVA (Multiple Analysis of Variance), data about siblings' help were analysed together with academic achievement in English. Results indicate which variable was more closely associated with academic achievement: the siblings' knowledge, the number of times the siblings helped, the listening comprehension scores or the written test scores.*

Keywords: brothers' and sisters' help, academic achievement, repeated measures MANOVA (Repeated Measures Multiple Analysis of Variance), learning English as a foreign language (EFL).

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ESTUDIO EMPÍRICO SOBRE HERMANOS APRENDIENDO INGLÉS ORAL Y ESCRITO A NIVEL DE PRINCIPIANTE

RESUMEN. *Las variables bajo investigación relativas a este estudio indagaron en el conocimiento del inglés de los hermanos y en la ayuda aportada por estos. Esta investigación conectaba al mismo tiempo las variables con las notas de inglés derivadas a partir de cuatro exámenes escritos y cuatro de comprensión oral de inglés utilizados durante un año académico. Dichas notas provenían de alumnos españoles de un colegio español de primaria con un nivel de principiante. Además, estos alumnos rellenarían un cuestionario sobre antecedentes familiares y datos personales propios. De forma sucesiva, los datos fueron sometidos a un análisis de Medidas Repetidas de MANOVA (Medidas Repetidas de Análisis de Varianza Múltiple). Aquí se relatan las variables específicas que han revelado cifras estadísticamente muy significativas.*

Palabras clave: El conocimiento del inglés de los hermanos, la ayuda de los hermanos con el inglés, aprendizaje del inglés como lengua extranjera (AILE), rendimiento académico en el inglés, Medidas Repetidas de MANOVA (Medidas Repetidas de Análisis de Varianza Múltiple).

INTRODUCTION

It is astounding that the association between brothers' and sisters' learning and children's achievement has been so sparsely researched in the area of general education. In the area of foreign languages, the possible sibling connection has been investigated to an even smaller degree. However, the author of the research recounted in this paper was only interested in the experimental or quasi-experimental type – these being similar to her study. The review of the aforementioned literature can be found below, as well as the author's original empirical study.

1. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Gregory (1998) stated that little research had been carried out into siblings, and as a consequence of her own study into reading ability, she found that Bangladeshi older siblings provided support that was closely adjusted to their younger siblings' learning stages. Because of this, she discusses the necessity of progressing away from the paradigm of parental involvement. She proclaimed this within the range of linguistic minority children in the United Kingdom.

Also in the field of second language acquisition, Puchner (1997) too recognises that although most educational approaches to family literacy acknowledge the

parents as a child's most important teachers, they fail to recognize the value of siblings. In his study of language skills of Southeast Asian immigrants in the United States, he found that literacy transfer typically occurred from sibling to sibling because of the inability of English limited parents' to help their children.

There seems to be an age limit where parents become less influential in academic life. Perhaps that is where the "significant others" take over as touched on by Sewell, Haller and Portes (1969). Loosely related to this are one or two studies on older children related to what were formerly called "reference groups" and more recently "significant others' influence" or SOI. These studies related peers and interpersonal influence to effects on school achievement and socio-economic ambitions (Woelfel and Haller 1971; Sewell and Hauser 1976).

Jordan (1983) scrutinized communication samples in Hawaiian family units. From watching children both at home and at school, she concluded that the two styles of instruction most favoured by the younger children were similar to those used by brothers and sisters. These were modelling (showing another how to do something) and intervention (establishing the right behaviour in someone else).

Brother and sister involvement has traditionally been measured in one of two ways, directly, or indirectly through perception. For example, straight from the participating siblings in question or via the perception that their brothers and sisters have of their other siblings' help. Both ways are equally respected and have a long tradition of use in many research fields. Among the researchers favouring the gathering of data via children's perception are Keith, Keith, Troutman, Bickley, Trivette and Singh (1993) or Grolnick, Ryan and Deci (1991).

In the field of first language acquisition, the role of siblings has also been considered vital. Siblings can act as both a model of knowledge plus as help with first language acquisition. A case study by Montgomery (1977) discovered that through the imitation of his/her sibling, the second child is provided with a model of conversational performance suitable, not only for the circumstances in progress, but also for future situations.

Oshima-Takane, Goodz and Derevensky (1996) suggest that the overheard conversations of caregivers and older siblings are important resources for second-born children. Volk (1996) found that in L1 activity settings, older siblings supplied an assortment of casual occasions for acquisition that were set in play and other consequential communication, whereas mothers and fathers occupied themselves more with teaching rather than play. Additionally, older siblings sometimes personified a different cultural type of teaching than did parents.

According to Ward (1971) in first language acquisition of the Afro-American children in the small community of New Orleans she observed that adults do not see children as people to speak with. Therefore, the older children automatically

take on the "teacher" input-role for language. In her research carried out in New Mexico, Zucklow (1989) found that older siblings gave explicit action models when younger offspring did not obey parents' orders.

The study by Smith and Rotman (1993) looked into the aspects that promote early knowledge of literacy among preschoolers from a low socio-economic background usually considered to be academically at-risk in learning to read. Amongst these factors, it was revealed that an effective mother, older sibling, or grandmother was directly involving the young learner in written-language activities.

Trent, Kaiser and Wolery (2005) also found it beneficial to teach brothers and sisters to initiate communication strategies in siblings with late first language development. A study by Hancock and Kaiser (1996) on special education showed that children were able to teach siblings who were slower at language learning to use target expressions. Richard (1988) carried out her study with the elder brothers and sisters of children with Down syndrome. The former were profitably coached in order to develop the latter's communication skills. This may open up the idea of drawing on older siblings' help in other fields such as foreign language learning.

The research into the relationship between siblings and language is still in an embryonic form even in the field of first and second language acquisition. In the field of second and foreign language learning, sibling studies appear to be non-existent as far as the author is aware, and therefore this paper cannot provide a subsection on the literature concerning foreign language learning (EFL) but it will provide the original study set out below.

THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

2. METHOD

2.1. Research questions

In the present study, we wanted to find out more about the relationship of siblings' knowledge and help with English and school marks in the aforesaid school subject. The research questions incorporated two variables. The first variable was the *Perceived number of times brothers and sisters helped with English*. The second variable was the *Perceived knowledge of English on the part of siblings* which took into account if the siblings knew English or not. It was anticipated that each one of these variables would show a statistically significant and systematic relationship with academic achievement as measured by the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) listening comprehension and written tests. Phrased in an explicit way the research questions were: a) Does the first variable of Perceived number of times

brothers and sisters helped with English, show a statistically significant relationship with the marks on the English tests? And, b) Does the second variable of Perceived knowledge of English on the part of the siblings, show a statistically significant relationship with the marks on the English tests? In order to establish the normality of this sample of participants, the test of g intelligence was employed (Fazio and Stevens 1994). This test was also given to the pupils but the details of its results are not the object of attention in this article. For the present article's analysis with Repeated Measures MANOVA, the alpha level was set at ≤ .05.

2.2. Procedure

The participants were Spanish and approximately eight years' old. Thirty-five children of both sexes took part, 17 girls and 18 boys. They were complete beginners of English and had never formally studied the language before. The syllabus was precisely that laid out in Abbs, Worrall and Ward (1993) and as both syllabus and test were by the same authors and from the same volume they related perfectly to each other.

The aforementioned test of English (Abbs, Ward and Worrall, 1993) comprised two parts, a written and a listening comprehension section. This test is of a type specifically written for children as it includes pictures and illustrations. The written section consisted of vocabulary items and grammar up to and including structures of imperatives and the present continuous tense. These were contained in short stretches of discourse which required the pupils to write word or sentence answers. Listening comprehension test characteristics included word identification, listening to simple sentences and listening to a simple description and writing short one-word answers. All this is in line with the age of the pupils and of starting out in English as a foreign language.

For the same test the inter-rater reliability figures were extremely acceptable, Pearson correlation coefficients (r) were .985 and .978 for the written tests and the listening comprehension tests, respectively. The English test was given on four separate instances as a means of tracking the children's progress. The first occasion also served as a pre-test and for baseline data. In this way, each of the two parts of the English test produced four sets of data, totalling eight dependent variables.

To obtain data for the independent subject variables a questionnaire was used. Amongst many other things, it collected data on the sibling variables. The questionnaire was devised by the current author, written in the Spanish mother-tongue of the children, checked and field-tested at an earlier date with similar participants. This was done in order to ensure that the pupils in the present study would have no problems in filling out the questionnaires effectively at a later

date. After the pilot session, some alterations were made to the wording of the questionnaire, to accommodate the young age of the pupils. The style and depth of the resulting questions were indicated by the pilot study as being the most adequate for this age group and the study proper. Additionally, the pupils always had the teacher on hand to help with instructions as the aim with this questionnaire was to collect data and not to test the pupils foreign language.

The exact questions were as follows:

How many of your sisters know English? _____

How many of your brothers know English? _____

How many times have your sisters and brothers helped you with (English) this school year? _____

2.3. Data Analysis

So as to properly ascertain whether the pupils who received more sibling help or knowledge were achieving significantly higher marks than those who did not, the questionnaire and test results were submitted to the following analysis:

The Repeated Measures MANOVA was applied because the same listening and written test was used repeatedly throughout the school year in order to measure the pupils' progress. In this way, the research design was a traditional Repeated Measures one. It is habitually used to examine multiple variables and can be employed with one independent variable together with more than one dependent variable, as in our situation with the four test occasions. It was especially practical in our study, therefore, precisely because the English test was administered on more than one occasion. The four dependent variables could be put into the analysis to see if the test scores were statistically significant overall with each independent sibling variable.

3. FINDINGS

3.1. Independent variable one: perceived number of times brothers and sisters helped with english

In the analysis with the variable of perceived number of times brothers and sisters helped with English (see Table 1) and the Repeated Measures MANOVA, the listening tests 1-4 showed a statistically significant main effect: Wilks' Lambda 0.169, Multivariate F (27, 67) = 2.104, ≤ .007. No effect was found with the written tests.

Repeated Measures MANOVA on Listening tests + Perceived number of times brothers and sisters helped with English		
Overall/Main effect test statistic result		
Wilks' Lambda	Multivariate F	*p*
0.169	(27, 67) = 2.104	≤ .007.**

Table 1: *Perceived number of times brothers and sisters helped with English and the results for the Listening tests*

3.2. Independent variable two: perceived knowledge of English on the part of the siblings

Interestingly, neither the written test statistics nor the listening comprehension tests with this Repeated Measures MANOVA analysis indicated any significant principal effect with the variable Perceived knowledge of English on the part of the siblings. Before the analysis, the prediction had been made that if the siblings knew English it would show an association with the participants' marks by giving a significant result on the Repeated Measures MANOVA. The final result was non-significant and this means that the mere fact on its own of siblings knowing English did not make any difference to the marks as the knowledge of sibling English alone was not reaching the participants. Sibling help seems to have been the necessary link to get this knowledge across according to the significant results found with the first independent variable in the section above.

4. DISCUSSION

The analyses carried out on this data with complete beginner pupils and the sibling variables, showed a meaningful principal effect with the listening comprehension tests, but not with the written tests. This was especially true of the variable for perceived number of times the brothers and sisters helped with English. However, the analyses conducted with the variable for the siblings' knowledge of English did not reveal any statistically relevant associations at all.

In EFL little or no research has been conducted into the role played by siblings. The present study has gone some way to filling in this gap by exploring a specific set of variables new to the area of learning English as a foreign language. In this field, the specific variables of sibling knowledge and number of times helped by the brothers and sisters do not appear to have been investigated previously.

As regards the first research question: "Does the variable of Perceived number of times brothers and sisters helped with English, show a statistically significant relationship with the marks on the English tests?", we can therefore reply in the affirmative, at least as far as the listening comprehension test marks are concerned. Participants who perceived that they had received sibling help, achieved higher marks on the English listening comprehension tests. This was not just down to chance as the figures were statistically significant.

Moreover, as the pupils in this study were beginners, we are able to discern the first association clearly. It is notable that this first association was observed in the understanding of spoken English. Additionally, it is interesting to conjecture that perhaps sibling help was acting very much as natural acquisition does, that is to say, on aural comprehension first. We may speculate that this was because the brothers and sisters were speaking English and their siblings were listening. Meanwhile, brothers' and sisters' help had not yet shown up as being associated with the written marks. Writing in the foreign language may be a later skill to be developed through sibling help. Even in the first language, writing is obviously a skill gained subsequently to understanding it, and usually at school age.

Montgomery (1977) discovered that the elder sibling provided the second child with a model of conversational performance in first language acquisition. Jordan (1983) found that the two main teaching styles preferred by children are similar to those used by siblings and mothers. Perhaps the siblings in this study helped out with aural comprehension in a similar way, by demonstrating or speaking English.

As regards the second independent variable, "Perceived knowledge of English on the part of the siblings", neither the listening comprehension analyses, however, nor the written test analyses rendered statistically significant findings. Therefore, with the second research question, "Does the second variable of Perceived knowledge of English on the part of the siblings, show a statistically significant relationship with the marks on the English tests?", we have not been able to answer in the affirmative. In spite of this, these negative findings are interesting too. The mere fact that siblings knew English did not seem to be sufficient to bring about significantly higher marks. In the mother tongue, language-knowledge is effective as a source even when it does not reach the child via the form of actual help. With the foreign language and the siblings, these conditions appear to be different. There may be little or no family interaction in the foreign language as there is with the mother tongue and so the foreign language is obviously not constantly used in the family environment. Furthermore, with the foreign language it appears that intentional help must be used – knowledge of English on its own and on the part of siblings does not seem to have as strong an influence on foreign language development as it does on first language acquisition. The sibling association only

seemed to come through in our study when specific help was deliberately given. Finally, we may speculate that as the participants in the study were complete beginners, their siblings' knowledge or a high level of English was not yet too vital as knowledge showed no association with the marks. In summary, siblings' actual help in children's first steps in the foreign language seems to be more important than sibling knowledge.

Although Smith and Rotman (1993) noted that an older sibling was engaging the young learner in written-language activities, in our study involving beginners, we encountered no sibling association as regards the skill of writing. Help did not seem to be significantly linked to the written tests, nor did sibling knowledge of English. Also, Smith and Rotman reported on siblings and their influence on writing in the first language, not in the foreign language.

In summary, the present study underlines the parts played, and the pattern of results encountered, of brothers and sisters with their siblings who were beginning to learn English. Results revealed the association of the siblings' independent subject variables in the listening-test analyses involving beginner pupils but did not reveal any association with sibling knowledge of English as a foreign language. This sibling-help variable may point to the probability that our brothers and sisters are amongst our first teachers, even in learning English as a foreign language. Additionally, here it was just as interesting to find a case where no significant relationships arose as for the case of writing or knowledge.

As far as limitations of our study are concerned, one main disadvantage is the fact that we do not know for certain what the siblings' help consisted of exactly. We do not know this data due to the nature of the present study which only involved research within the classroom. Future investigations into siblings and the foreign language should include an outreach of data-collection in the home in order to discover this content and to explicitly describe the nature of sibling help. Additionally, it should be discovered if the sibling assistance with the EFL is provided via modelling or 'teaching', or merely being overheard as is common with the latter in the research from other fields.

After establishing what exactly sibling help is composed of, future research should first make sure actual sibling help – not just perceived help – is found to be statistically significant with the school marks in English as a foreign language. Future research could then go on to carry out comparisons between the effects of actual sibling help with the effects of perceived sibling help to find out which is the strongest. The former would obviously be performed by observers essentially in the home and the latter in the school, as with our study here. Further investigations could contemplate the rigorous evaluation of actual sibling knowledge in order to establish more data on brother and sister influence. It would be necessary to do

all of this so as to finally conclude which is more central, actual sibling assistance or perceived sibling assistance, actual sibling-impact or perceived sibling-impact. It should be ascertained if perceived sibling aid is more focal as a cause of motivation than real help or real knowledge.

The results of this present investigation may indicate a range of other things. The first is that, as we have seen, sibling help seems to be genuinely connected to and profitable for listening comprehension in beginners. This would seem to suggest that researchers should explore the option of consciously exploiting sibling help. Second, parents could be encouraged to promote sibling dialogue and nurture their progress in the foreign language. Mothers and fathers could make use of materials for learning English at home to encourage sibling participation. For example, home CDs/cassettes could be used as a supplement to the school foreign language course listening materials. In this way, siblings would be able to better the FL listening skills of their brothers and sisters at home. Publishers of commercial courses could include such supplementary home material in each of their course-books.

A third recommendation is that teachers could devise and record simple listening material for home use/a home CD if time were allocated within the school calendar for this purpose. Publishers could design CD-ROMs to be used specifically by parents at home for advancing writing. Particularly helpful would be interactive CD-ROMs that could be used by siblings together, especially if they included a listening comprehension module.

Our results point to a possibility that publishers could explore, that is the idea of producing EFL home materials for more than one consumer (or sibling) at a time. Specifically, they could publish resources which 'spontaneously' lead to sibling-help through the promotion of interaction among siblings in such activities as pair work, cooperative games, cooperative play and project work. In this fashion, the results of this study as well as that by Volk (1996), in which siblings helped each other through play, would be fortified and put into practical use. Finally, this would be a pleasing means of advancing not only research, but also foreign language learning in a beneficial and empirical way.

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THE USE AND FUNCTION OF "PLEASE" IN LEARNERS' ORAL REQUESTIVE BEHAVIOUR: A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS[1]

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ABSTRACT. *The aim of this paper is to focus on "please" as one of the most frequent modifiers used to mitigate the impositive speech act of requesting. However, apart from this main function, scant attention has been paid to the analysis of learners' use of this device when performing other functions, such as marking the utterance as a directive, begging for cooperative behaviour from the addressee or emphasising what a speaker says. Therefore, the present study investigates the use and function of "please" by Spanish EFL learners engaged in two oral spontaneous tasks eliciting request use. Results show that i) "please" is one of the most frequent modifiers employed by learners when requesting, ii) it is mainly used in its mitigating function, and iii) it is always placed at the end of the request move. Considering these results, pedagogical intervention is suggested by exposing learners to film scenes, a rich source of pragmatic input in foreign language contexts.*

Keywords: pragmatics, speech acts, requests, please, instruction, EFL context.

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USO Y FUNCIÓN DE "POR FAVOR" POR PARTE DE LOS ESTUDIANTES DE INGLÉS EN PETICIONES ORALES: UN ANÁLISIS PRAGMÁTICO

RESUMEN. *La finalidad de este artículo se centra en el estudio de "por favor" como uno de los modificadores más utilizados para mitigar el acto de habla impositivo de las peticiones. Sin embargo, a excepción de esta función principal, muy poco se ha estudiado sobre el uso de dicho elemento modificador cuando realiza otras funciones, tales como determinar la oración como una imposición, solicitar una actitud cooperativa por parte del receptor o enfatizar lo que el hablante dice. En este sentido, este estudio analiza el uso y función de "por favor" por parte de estudiantes españoles de inglés como lengua extranjera que participan en dos tareas orales que elicitan un uso espontáneo de peticiones. Los resultados indican que i) "por favor" es uno de los modificadores que más se emplean cuando se realizan peticiones, ii) principalmente se usa en su función de tipo mitigadora, y iii) siempre aparece al final de una secuencia de petición. Teniendo en cuenta dichos resultados, se presentan sugerencias de tipo pedagógico que incluyen el uso de películas, como buen recurso para introducir elementos pragmáticos en contextos de lenguas extranjeras.*

Palabras clave: pragmática, actos de habla, peticiones, por favor, instrucción, contexto de inglés como lengua extranjera.

1. INTRODUCTION

Requesting in a foreign language is a complex task that requires the speaker's expertise on those pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic aspects that influence its appropriateness. In fact, a lack of this knowledge may involve communication conflicts and misunderstandings that often result in speakers' impolite behaviour. Therefore, given the impositive face-threatening nature that characterises this particular speech act, an important issue to bear in mind is that of mitigating it in order to soften its impact on the hearer. Among the different mitigating devices identified in the literature, the politeness marker "please" has been frequently associated with the speech act of requesting. However, there are no studies exclusively devoted to analysing the functions that this device may perform in speakers' requestive use.

On that account, the purpose of this paper is to pay special attention to it in an attempt to bridge this gap in the field of interlanguage pragmatics. To do so, the paper begins with the description of "please" and highlights its main functions, as well as the positioning it may have in normal language use. Additionally, previous research that has examined learners' use of this device among other mitigating items is reported. Then, our particular study which aims at analysing the use and function of "please" by English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners engaged

in two oral spontaneous tasks eliciting request use is presented, and its results discussed. Finally, pedagogical intervention regarding learners' opportunities to be exposed to this modifier in a variety of contextualised situations is suggested by means of employing film scenes.

2. A FOCUS ON "PLEASE"

The use of modification devices accompanying the speech act of requesting has been regarded as vital in order to soften the impositive face-threatening nature of this speech act. In fact, researchers in the field of interlanguage (Trosborg 1995; Safont 2005, 2008; Schauer 2009; Usó-Juan 2010) and cross-cultural pragmatics (Sifianou 1999; Márquez Reiter 2000) have claimed that requests consist of two main parts, namely the core request or head act, and these modification items. Whereas the former has been defined as the main utterance which has the function of requesting and can stand by itself, the latter refers to those peripheral elements that follow and/or precede the request head act in order to mitigate its pragmatic force. These peripheral modification elements can be distributed into two groups: i) internal modification, that is, linguistic elements that appear within the same request head act (e.g. Could you *just* pass me the salt?), and ii) external modification, that is, devices that occur in the immediate linguistic context surrounding the request head act (e.g. *The soup is a bit sweet*. Could you pass me the salt?).

According to Alcón, Safont and Martínez-Flor's (2005) typology of modifiers for the speech act of requesting, four main types of internal modification devices can be identified, namely *openers* (i.e. to seek the addressee's cooperation), *softeners* (i.e. to soften the impositive force of the request), *intensifiers* (i.e. to aggravate the impact of the request), and *fillers* (i.e. to fill in gaps in the interaction). Regarding external modification devices, six main types are identified, namely *preparators* (i.e. to prepare the addressee for the subsequent request), *grounders* (i.e. to give reasons that justify the request), *disarmers* (i.e. to avoid the possibility of a refusal), *expanders* (i.e. to indicate tentativeness), *promise of reward* (i.e. to offer a reward upon fulfilment of the request), and the marker "please", whose main function is that of signalling politeness. As can be observed, the taxonomy proposed by these authors includes the particle "please" within the group of external modification devices in contrast to previous classifications that have considered it as an internal lexical/phrasal modifier (House and Kasper 1981; Trosborg 1995; Achiba 2003). This has been made considering Sifianou's (1999) and Safont's (2005) research on this particular device. On the one hand, Sifianou (1999: 189) has claimed that "please" is "the commonest and most significant modifier in requests" which needs to be considered as another type of external modifier. On the other hand, Safont (2005) has also supported these assumptions adding the fact that given the multifunctionality

of "please", it needs to be treated as a sole entity. Therefore, considering the importance of "please" as a unique device which has been explicitly connected with the speech act of requesting and that can perform different functions, we have decided to pay special attention to it as the focus of the present study.

2.1. The modification device "please": Functions and positioning

The modifier "please" has been regarded as one of the most transparent politeness markers that serves to soften the imposition carried out by the request being uttered (Sifianou 1999). Thus, the first and main primary function of "please" is that of a mitigating device used by the requester to sound courteous and polite, as Example 1 illustrates:[2]

(1) Make a cup of coffee, please.

Apart from its conventional politeness use in which the main function of "please" is that of softening the imposition entailed by the request, a second function of this device refers to the fact that the addition of "please" to an utterance "explicitly and literally marks the primary illocutionary point of the utterance as a directive" (Searle 1975: 68). Thus, the unique presence of "please" in a given utterance has the role of marking such utterance as a directive and, consequently, it can be specifically used as "a request marker". This is particularly interesting in ambiguous cases, especially with the construction "can you …?", in which the utterance may be understood as a mere question to infer the addressee's ability to do something or as a request. In the absence of a specific context, Example 2 can be understood as a literal question about the addressee's ability to lift the parcel or as a request to do so (Sifianou 1999: 189). However, if the speaker inserts the marker "please", the utterance becomes an unambiguous request.

(2) Can you lift the parcel?

A third function of "please" is that in which this device is used to plead for cooperative behaviour from the addressee. In this sense, this marker adopts an emphatic function, since it is used as an emotionally loaded expression to beg for the addressee's cooperative assistance. In Example 3, which shows a request act that could take place among sisters, such a request is modified by the emphatic use of "please" with a pleading tone to elicit cooperative behaviour:

2. All examples provided in this section are extracted from previous literature on this marker (Trosborg 1995; Sifianou 1999; Achiba 2003; Alcón, Safont and Martínez-Flor 2005).

(3) I need you! Please believe me! … Please. Carol. Don't let me go.

Finally, the fourth function of "please" is that of emphasising what a speaker says and, consequently, it performs the function of a reinforcer rather than as a mitigator, as Example 4 shows:

(4) Oh, why don't you shut up, please!

As can be observed in the previous examples, the marker "please" can be employed with a different function depending on speakers' intentions when making their requests, as well as on the basis of other interactional and contextual factors that may affect their requestive behaviour (e.g. participants' relationship, setting, social background, etc.). Moreover, it is also important to point out that it is the only modification device that can adopt either an extrasentential or an embedded position in a given utterance. In other words, the marker "please" may occur at the beginning (Example 5) or at the end (Example 6) of the request act, and it may also be used in an embedded position, similar to other internal modification devices, such as the *downtoners* "just", "possibly" or "probably" (Example 7). Finally, "please" can also be employed alone, when it has the force of substituting a whole utterance (Example 8).

(5) Please, open the window.

(6) Would you mind opening the window, please?

(7) Could you please open the window?

(8) A. Can you open the window?
B. … Mm … I have to …
A. Please ↗

2.2. Research conducted on "please"

Research examining learners' use of this particular modification device has paid attention to its frequency of use in comparison to other internal modification devices, such as *downtoners*, and has analysed the pragmatic development of learners from different proficiency levels by focusing on its positioning within the request move (Faerch and Kasper 1989; Hill 1997; Barron 2000, 2003). In their 1989 study, Faerch and Kasper analysed the requests employed by Danish learners of English and German, and compared them with those produced by the native-speakers (NSs) of both languages. Results showed that learners underused

downtoners (e.g. "possibly") and overused the politeness marker "please" in both English and German. The authors claimed that learners' preference for the politeness marker could have been due to the fact that it has a "double function as illocutionary force indicator and transparent mitigator" (Faerch and Kasper 1989: 232). Moreover, the use of the politeness marker requires less pragmalinguistic competence on the part of the learners than the use of *downtoners*, and this may have also been the reason why *downtoners* were employed to a lesser extent.

Similar findings were found in Hill's (1997) study, which involved three groups of Japanese EFL learners representing three proficiency levels, as learners overused the politeness marker "please" in comparison with the NS group. This use decreased considerably over time with the group of advanced level learners, who in addition showed a development in the positioning of this politeness marker within the request act, thus approximating to the NS norm. Barron's (2000, 2003) studies, which dealt with Irish learners of German who had spent a year abroad studying in Germany and two groups of NSs of both languages, also showed the same developmental pattern. At the beginning of her study, learners underused *downtoners* and overused the politeness marker "please", similar to Faerch and Kasper's (1989) and Hill's (1997) studies. This pattern changed considerably as time passed, since learners increased their use of *downtoners* towards the NS norm, as well as decreased their high use of "please". Moreover, focusing specifically on the positioning of this politeness marker, it was observed that over time learners approximated the NSs' preference by using it in an embedded position rather than extrasententially (see also Hill 1997), which also indicated an increase in learners' pragmatic competence.

From this review of research that has examined learners' use of the marker "please", it may be claimed that all studies focused on comparing its occurrence with other internal modification devices (i.e. mainly those of *downtoners*), since as mentioned above, this marker has been regarded as a type of internal modifier in most classifications of the speech act of requesting. However, none of these studies has analysed the frequency of "please" in comparison to other external modification devices in order to ascertain which type of modifier may be more accessible for learners in their pragmatic developmental process. Additionally, no attention has been paid to examining which function the marker "please" has performed in the requests produced by the learners in the above-reviewed studies. Taking these two aspects into account, the present study aims at analysing the *use* and *function* of "please" by Spanish EFL learners engaged in two oral spontaneous tasks eliciting request use. More specifically, we attempt to answer the following two research questions:

1. To what extent do learners *use* the modification device "please" in comparison to other external modification devices?

2. Which *function* does the modification device "please" perform in learners' oral requestive behaviour?

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Participants

Participants taking part in our study consisted of University students (*n*=64) engaged in the second-year course of the degrees of English Philology and Computer Science Engineering of Universitat Jaume I (Castellón). There were thirty-seven female and twenty-seven male students. Their age ranged between 19 and 23 years old, the average age being 21.5 years.

3.2. Data collection

The data of this study were collected as part of an earlier project (see Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2006a), which examined the differences between learners' requesting performance from two different English for Specific Purposes (ESP) disciplines, namely English Philology and Computer Science Engineering. For the purposes of the present study, examples from the transcripts have been extracted with a particular focus on learners' performance and use of the modification device "please".

The data were collected during the oral exam the two groups had to take at the end of the semester with their respective lecturers. Therefore, the same steps were followed with both the English Philology and Computer Science Engineering groups. Once the learners had individually performed their assigned oral exam, the lecturer asked the next student to enter into her office. Then, the lecturer gave the pair of students a role-play situation, and asked them to spontaneously perform it, that is, the two students were asked to perform the role-play without having any time to prepare what they had to say (see Appendix A). After performing this role-play, the same procedure was followed with the next two students, who were provided with a different role-play situation (see Appendix B).

These two role-plays were specifically designed for this study, since they elicited request use and varied according to one of the three sociopragmatic factors described in Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, namely that of social status. This politeness variable was taken into account, since it has been regarded as one of the factors that affect the choice of particular pragmalinguistic forms as well as the use of mitigation devices to make appropriate requests. Thus, whereas the first role-play (Appendix A) involved an equal status relationship between the

interlocutors (i.e. two classmates), the second role-play (Appendix B) addressed a higher status relationship between the interlocutors (i.e. a student and a professor). Regarding the other two politeness variables, those of social distance and degree of imposition, they were kept similar in both role-plays, that is, the interlocutors knew each other (i.e. close social distance), and the request to be made involved a high degree of imposition (i.e. asking to lend the class notes in the first role-play, and asking for an extension of the deadline to hand in some coursework assignment in the second role-play).

All role-plays were tape-recorded and transcribed in order to analyse the amount and type of internal and external modifiers employed by learners from the two ESP disciplines when making their requests (see Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2006a). For the purposes of the present study, these data have been examined with a particular focus on the occurrence of "please", and the function it performs in learners' request moves.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first research question referred to the frequency in which learners use "please" in comparison to other external modification devices. Results obtained after examining the transcripts showed that learners modified fifty-one request moves out of a total of seventy. In these fifty-one request moves, 200 external modification devices were identified (see Figure 1).

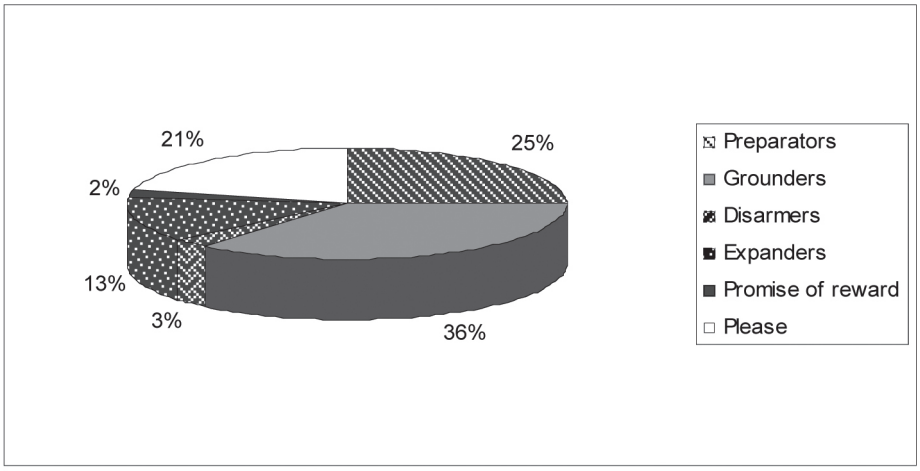

Figure 1. Learners' use of external modification devices in the two oral tasks

As illustrated in Figure 1, the most frequent types of external modifiers were "grounders" (36%), "preparators" (25%) and "please" (21%). These were followed by "expanders" (13%), and to a lesser extent, learners used "disarmers" (3%) and "promise of reward" (2%). On the one hand, the high use of "grounders" seems to support previous studies which also found learners' main use of these modifiers (House and Kasper 1987; Faerch and Kasper 1989; Trosborg 1995; Hill 1997). According to House and Kasper (1987: 1281), a high use of "grounders" on the part of learners may be due to the fact that "it is psychologically most plausible to make the addressee understand the reason(s) behind a request". Moreover, it seems that "grounders" are more explicit in their politeness function and, therefore, they are regarded as an efficient mitigating strategy which reduces the threat to the hearer's face (Faerch and Kasper 1989). On the other hand, the use of "preparators" is also usual on the part of learners, since they consist of additional information that serves the speaker to prepare the addressee for the subsequent request (Hill 1997) and, similar to "grounders", their use does not require learners' excessive pragmalinguistic expertise.

Considering these characteristics, it appears that employing these two types of external modifiers shares similarities to the use of "please", which was the third most frequent type of modifiers employed. First, in line with "grounders", "please" has been assumed to be the most transparent politeness marker that serves to soften the imposition entailed by the request speech act. Second, and similar to "preparators", the use of "please" does not demand a higher degree of pragmalinguistic competence on the part of learners. These facts may therefore be the reason why learners preferred to use these three more explicit devices over others which require more elaboration. Thus, in response to our first research question, it seems that "please" was quite frequently employed, in line with other devices such as "grounders" and "preparators", since they seem to be more transparent and accessible for learners than others such as "disarmers" or "expanders", which demand a higher level of pragmalinguistic competence and more interactional engagement.

Apart from examining learners' use of "please" in comparison to other external modification devices, we were also interested in analysing whether "please" was always employed as a mitigating device. To that end, we posed our second research question which was related to paying attention to the function this modifier performs in each of the learners' request moves. Thus, we considered whether "please" was used for i) softening the imposition involved when making a request (i.e. a politeness marker), ii) marking the utterance as a directive (i.e. a request marker), iii) begging for cooperative behaviour from the addressee (i.e. in an emphatic way), or iv) emphasising what a speaker says (i.e. a reinforcer).

A detailed analysis of the transcripts from the oral role-plays in which learners participated showed that "please" was employed in forty-one cases. Out of these instances, "please" was only used with the function of pleading for the addressee's cooperative behaviour in one case (see Example 9). In the rest of the forty occurrences, "please" served its conventional politeness use by performing the function of mitigating the impositive nature of the request (see Example 10 from Role-play 1, and Example 11 from Role-play 2).

(9)
A. oh Marta I need your help
B. why?
A. eh … I did not attend the class yesterday … eh … I need the the homeworks of this subject
B. I'm sorry … I'm sorry … eh … eh
A. oh please I need it … please … eh … I need for study
B. eh … you you have pay me …
A. but why?
B. yes … because you you have to assist the class
A. but … but you are my friend … I need it and I will have the exam in two weeks and I … need these homeworks for study … and
B. OK but you pay me
A. but if you are my friend
B. no I don't

(10)
A. eh … excuse me Mary … eh …do you have the notes of … eh … H18 … eh … that subject … eh the English Language please
B. yes I have them
A. eh … you have them? Do you mind me if I could have them for a moment a little bit to revise only some notes please?
B. Yes, of course not a while?
A. no no because I couldn't come to class and I have … eh … some blanks to … to … eh … to … you know … some gaps

(11)
A. hello
B. hello
A. eh … well … eh … I have to to give you the … the coursework that you that you ask … but I couldn't finish them … ah … would you give me an extension of the deadline please?

B. a couple of days would be OK?
A. a couple of days … eh … a week? … is because I have two exams …
B. OK in a week time you give your assignment
A. OK

The fact that "please" was almost only employed as a politeness marker may have been related to the type of situations created for the two role-plays learners had to perform, since both involved a high degree of imposition. Thus, learners used modification devices, including "please", with a mitigating function that served to soften the impositive nature of their requests (i.e. asking to lend the class notes in the first role-play, and asking for an extension of the deadline to hand in some coursework assignment in the second role-play). The importance of paying attention to which type of modifiers a particular data collection situation may elicit, as well as the function they perform in such a given situation was also considered by Trosborg (1995). In her study, the author found a lack of occurrence of "please" and suggested that this finding may have been due to the way in which the situations were structured, since they did not allow the requester to anticipate compliance and, additionally, the requester in her situations did not hold a dominant position relative to the requestee. Therefore, Trosborg (1995) concluded that the function of "please" and its typical usage are in agreement with the situational constraints imposed on this device, reason why the inclusion of "please" to soften the particular requests elicited by the situations created in her study was not particularly relevant.

During this analysis, we also paid attention to the positioning of "please" in learners' requestive performance, since this fact has been regarded as an indicator of learners' pragmatic development towards the NSs' norm (Hill 1997; Barron 2000, 2003). Results indicated that "please" was placed at the end of the request move in thirty-nine out of forty-one cases in which this device occurred, whereas in the two remaining instances, it was employed once at the beginning of the request move and once in an embedded position. The fact that "please" was always used extrasententially, except for just one case in which it was employed in an embedded position, is in line with previous studies that have examined learners' pragmatic development when using this particular modifier (Hill 1997; Barron 2000, 2003). The authors reported that at the beginning of their studies learners' use of "please" always occurred at the end of their utterances, probably due to the fact that their limited pragmalinguistic competence prevented them from placing it in an embedded position. However, the authors observed a developmental pattern in their learners' requestive behaviour, since over time they learned to use it in an embedded position thus approximating to the NSs' norm. In addition to this tendency of employing "please" extrasententially, it is also interesting to point out

that our learners preferred to place it at the end of the request move rather than at the beginning. This result may be related to the type of input learners receive regarding request modification devices. As claimed by Vellenga (2004), the typical source of pragmatic input learners are exposed to in the foreign language classroom is that of written materials such as coursebooks. Therefore, considering the fact that the high frequency of instances in which "please" appears in this type of material is at the end of the request move (see Usó-Juan 2007, for a detailed analysis of the occurrence of modifiers in textbooks), it seems that learners' positioning of this modifier is a reflection of what they have learned in relation to this external device.

Considering the above-mentioned results regarding learners' limited use of "please" in terms of both the function it performs (i.e. only that of politeness marker), and the positioning in which it is employed (i.e. at the end of the utterance), it seems that pedagogical intervention through the explicit instruction of this modifier should be implemented, particularly in the EFL classroom.

5. PEDAGOGICAL INTERVENTION

Raising learners' awareness of all the possible functions that "please" may perform apart from that of softening the illocutionary force of a request is of paramount importance for achieving full communicative competence in English. In order to achieve this goal, a good starting point could involve learners' collection of examples of how "please" is used when making requests in their mother tongue (L1) (Rose 1999). After this process of collection, learners could share their examples and compare how this particular pragmatic feature is employed in English and Spanish (see Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2006b and Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2008, for the elaboration of instructional approaches that include a variety of worksheets that aim to raise learners' awareness about the speech act of requesting). In this way, learners' interest in the topic could be aroused by making them realise the frequent use they make of "please" when requesting in their normal daily life, as well as reflect about the functions of this particular pragmatic feature may perform in the target language when compared with their L1. Then, learners would need to be exposed to a variety of contextualised examples in which they can see that the positioning of "please" may be embedded in the utterance rather than only employed extrasententially. To get this aim, the elaboration of activities based on film scenes could be of help. In fact, the use of film has been regarded as a powerful pedagogical tool that provides learners with rich and contextualised pragmatic input in foreign language settings (see Martínez-Flor 2007, for a detailed analysis of the potential of using audiovisual material in this context). Therefore, choosing film excerpts that show the different functions that "please" may perform in a variety of

contexts, as well as how its positioning may vary depending on speakers' choices would enhance learners' opportunities to face this modifier in samples of authentic language use. In what follows, several examples from various films are presented in an attempt to illustrate how these contextualised situations could serve as the instructional material to expose learners to this important modifier.

In Example 12, extracted from the film *Pretty Woman*, "please" is used as a politeness marker that softens the request being made by Edward, and it is placed at the end of his utterance. Similarly, the use of "please" in Example 13, which is from the film *Angel Eyes*, is also that of a politeness marker, although in this situation it is placed in an embedded position rather than extrasententially.

(12) [Edward arrives in the hotel with Vivian and stops at the reception desk before going to his hotel room]

Receptionist:	Good evening Mr. Lewis.
Edward:	Hello. You have messages?
Receptionist:	Yes, we have several.
Edward:	Thank you […] would you send up some champagne and straw berries, please?
Receptionist:	Of course [calling the hotel service] Room service for Mr. Lewis, please.

(13) [Sharon phones Catch]

Catch:	Hello
Sharon:	Do you have a machine?
Catch:	What?
Sharon:	Do you have an answering machine?
Catch:	Yes
Sharon:	Would you hang up please and I'll call your machine?
Catch:	Why?
	[then she hangs up and calls again]
	[Answering machine: Please leave a message after the tone]
Sharon:	Hi. It's Sharon. Maybe we can have breakfast or something. I usually get up early to run in Lincoln park and there's a coffee shop across the street. Like 8 or so? If you're there, you're there.

In Example (14) extracted from the film *The Bourne Identity*, "please" is used at the end of the utterance, and adopts the function of a request marker since its occurrence with the expression "can you …?" clearly marks the utterance as a directive rather than the operator's mere ability to check that particular name.

(14) [Jason phones a hotel asking for information about a guest]

Operator:	Bon jour. Hotel Regina.
Jason:	Yeah. Hello? Hello?
Operator:	Yes, sir, Hotel Regina, Paris. How may I direct your call?
Jason:	Yeah, you're in Paris?
Operator:	Yes, sir.
Jason:	I'm looking for a guest there. A Jason Bourne.
Operator:	One moment, please.
Jason:	Thank you.
Operator:	I'm afraid I have no one by that name registered, sir.
Jason:	eh okay. Thank you […] oh […] wait, no, no. Are you there? Hello?
Operator:	Sir?
Jason:	Can you check another name for me, please? Here, bear with me one second [looking for another name in one of the passports he has] John Michael Kane. Kane with a "K"
Operator:	One moment, sir.
Jason:	Thank you.
	[…]

Apart from these two functions, and as previously mentioned, "please" can also be employed in an emphatic way when the speaker's intention is that of begging for the hearer's cooperative behaviour. This function is exemplified in the Examples (15) and (16) from the films *The Bourne Identity and The Day After Tomorrow* respectively, which additionally illustrate the different positions that this modifier may adopt. On the one hand, in Example 15 the clerk uses "please" at the end of two different request moves to ask Marie's cooperative behaviour to keep her voice down and listen to him. On the other hand, Sam's repeated use of "please" in Example 16 is also done with a pleading tone to elicit people's cooperative behaviour to stay in the library during the storm. As can be observed, the positioning of "please" is used at the end and at the beginning of his request moves.

(15) [Marie is asking the clerk working at the visa desk in the American consulate in Zurich for her visa]

Marie:	No. Excuse me. No. This is not my current address, okay? This was my current address until two days ago, when I started standing in line outside. Now, I lose my apartment, okay? That means no address, no phone, no money, no time. And I still have no visa!

Clerk: Miss Kreutz, please. I must ask you to keep your voice down.
Marie: Excuse me. But where's the guy that I talked to last week? Every week it's a new person. How am I supposed to […]
Clerk: I don't know who you saw last week.
Marie: Well, let me help you. I'm sure I have it. Hang on.
Clerk: Could I have your attention for a moment, please?
Marie: Look, I have it right here. Just look at it.

(16) [A lot of people, including Sam and his friends, are inside the Public Library in New York keeping away from the storm. Then, a policeman sees other people walking out in the street and encourages the people inside the library to go out and join them in order to move away from the storm. Sam tries to persuade the people not to do that, otherwise they will die]
Jack: Excuse me, sir, you're making a mistake.
Policeman: What? Hey listen, we're all scared, but we've got no choice.
Sam: That's not it
Policeman: Get ready to go.
Sam: [shouting] If these people go outside, they will freeze to death.
Policeman: Okay, what is this nonsense?
Sam: It's not nonsense. All right? Look, this storm is gonna get worse and if the people get caught outside, they will freeze to death.
Man: Where are you getting this information?
Sam: My father is a climatologist. He works for the government.
Man: So, what are you suggesting we do?
Sam: We stay inside, we keep warm, and we wait it out.
Policeman: The snow is getting deeper by the minute […] we'd be trapped here without food, supplies […]
Sam: It's a risk, yeah […]
Policeman: An unnecessary risk.
Sam: No, no, no. It's not.
Policeman: We've wasted enough time talking about this. Come on people. Let's go.
Sam: Look, look, look. Just look for a second.
Policeman: Come on everybody.
Sam: Wait a second, please. The storm is gonna get bad. It's gonna get really, really bad. You're not gonna be able to survive it. Believe me [addressing the people who is standing up to go outside] Sir, please just stay. Just stay. Just don't […]

Finally, "please" may also be used as a reinforcer when the speaker's intention is that of emphasising something he wants to achieve by means of his request. Example 17, extracted from the film *Pretty Woman*, illustrates this function, since Edward uses "please" twice in order to repeat and emphasise that he wants to be alone with Mr. Morse. Additionally, the positioning of it in the utterance as a sole and unique modifier indicates that it can have the force of substituting a whole request move, which in this particular situation is that of asking Phil to go out.

(17) [This is the day when Edward has a meeting with Mr. Morse and other men because Edward is going to buy Mr. Morse's company. However, he wants to talk to Mr. Morse alone]

Phil: Mr. Morse, you said this morning you wish to speak to Mr. Lewis. Mr. Lewis is now listening.

Mr. Morse: I've reconsidered my position on your acquisition offer. On one condition. I'm not so concerned about me, but the people who are working for me.

Phil: It's not a problem. They'll be taken care of. Now then, gentlemen, if we could address ourselves to the contracts in front of you. If you look […]

Edward: Excuse me, Phil. Gentlemen, I'd like to speak to Mr. Morse alone. Thank you.

Phil: [he is a little bit disoriented] All right, gentlemen. You heard the man. Please, wait outside.

[all the men in the room get up except for David and Phil]

Edward: You too, Phil.

Phil: What do you mean?

Edward: I mean I would like to speak to Mr. Morse alone.

[Phil rises]

Phil: Why does he get to stay [addressing David, Mr. Morse's grandson]

Edward: Please […] Please [directly to Phil]

Phil: I'll be right outside.

Edward: Good.

All the previous examples extracted from films have illustrated the different functions that "please" may perform in authentic and contextualised situations, as well as the various positions in which it can be employed. These film extracts therefore can be the basis of a particular teaching approach devoted to raising learners' awareness towards the use of this modifier in different situations, as well as making them practise it with a different function and in different positions

within the request moves (see Martínez-Flor 2008, for an example of a inductive-deductive instructional approach based on the use of film scenes).

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of the present paper was to pay special attention to "please", a particular modification device which has been frequently associated with the speech act of requesting. Specifically, our study was devoted to analysing the use and function of "please" by Spanish EFL learners engaged in two oral spontaneous tasks eliciting request use. On the one hand, findings from our analysis have indicated that learners employ "please" quite frequently given the fact that it is one of the most transparent politeness markers which does not require a high level of pragmalinguistic competence. On the other hand, results have also illustrated that out of the different functions that "please" may perform, learners merely used it in its conventional politeness function (e.g. mitigating the impositive nature of the request) and, additionally, they always placed it at the end of the request move.

Considering these findings, pedagogical intervention has been claimed to be necessary to raise learners' awareness towards this device by focusing specifically on the different functions it may perform, as well as the various positions in which it can be employed. To achieve this goal, the use of film scenes has been suggested as a rich and contextualised source of pragmatic input that may be successfully integrated in foreign language settings. As a last remark, we would like to point out that this paper is, of course, limited by the particular sample of EFL learners participating in the study, as well as by the use of only two elicitation tasks. However, despite these limitations, we believe its results and pedagogical suggestions may help teachers and language practitioners in their task of integrating pragmatic target language features into their current teaching syllabi.

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APPENDIX A

A. You did not attend the classes of a very important subject and the exams period is near. One of your classmates has all the class notes and you need them to revise for the exam. What would you say?
B. One of your classmates did not attend his/her classes and wants your notes to study for the exams.

APPENDIX B

A. You were supposed to hand in some coursework assignments last week, but you couldn't finish them on time. What would you say to your teacher to get an extension of the deadline?
B. One of your students is going to tell you that he/she couldn't finish the coursework assignments last week so he/she wants an extension of the deadline.

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"THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF USHER": A MASTER TEXT FOR (POE'S) AMERICAN GOTHIC[1]

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ABSTRACT. *This paper analyses a selection of Poe's fiction taking as a point of departure the contentions of critics such as Hillis Miller and Eric Savoy on the characteristics of American Gothic. The paper starts with a discussion of these features, which "The Fall of the House of Usher" epitomizes. After a revision of "Usher", the paper explores other Poe works, showing that the elements that make this narrative a master text for the history of American Gothic are somehow anticipated in Poe's previous tales, like "Berenice" and "Ligeia", in The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym, and peculiarly reflected in the late tale of detection "The Purloined Letter".*

Keywords: American Gothic, romance, allegory, abstraction, personification, darkness, race, the return of the repressed, unreadable signifiers.

"THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF USHER": UN TEXTO CLAVE EN EL GÓTICO AMERICANO (DE POE)

RESUMEN. *Este artículo analiza una selección de la narrativa de Poe, tomando como punto de partida los argumentos de críticos como Hillis Miller y Eric Savoy*

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sobre las características del Gótico norteamericano. El artículo se inicia con el análisis de estos rasgos, que "The Fall of the House of Usher" ejemplifica. Tras el estudio de"Usher", el artículo explora otras obras de Poe, mostrando que los elementos que hacen de este cuento un texto maestro para la historia del Gótico norteamericano se anticipan de algún modo en relatos previos del mismo autor, como "Berenice" y "Ligeia", en The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym, y se reflejan de forma peculiar en el cuento detectivesco posterior "The Purloined Letter".

Palabras clave: Gótico norteamericano, romance, alegoría, abstracción, personificación, oscuridad, raza, el retorno de lo reprimido, significantes ilegibles.

"What was it that so unnerved me in the contemplation
of the House of Usher?
It was a mystery all insoluble."
E. A. Poe

"The Fall of the House of Usher" is not only a classic in the History of American literature but also a central point of reference for American Gothic as well as its most emblematic text. Significantly, critics are still questioning the "uncertain status" (Goddu 1997: 3) of American Gothic, not only because there was no founding period or a specific group of Gothic writers devoted to this mode, but mainly because of the peculiar impurity of the Gothic in the U.S. As is well-known, American writers and critics have preferred to use terms such as "dark" rather than "Gothic" or refer to the American "romance tradition" as opposed to the British tradition of the novel, as Richard Chase did taking Hawthorne's romances and his prefaces to them as a point of departure. In contrast to this recurrent repression of the Gothic, Leslie Fiedler (1982: 29) went to the opposite extreme in his declaration that American fiction is "bewilderingly and embarrassingly, a gothic fiction […] a literature of darkness and the grotesque in a land of light and affirmation". More recently, Toni Morrison has analysed the "darkness" of canonical American literature in the light of race: whereas Melville (1985: 2164) discussed "the power of blackness" with regard to Hawthorne's literary vision, imbued with "that Calvinistic sense of Innate Depravity and Original Sin", Morrison (1993: 37) relates it to the presence of a black resident population in the country, "upon which the imagination could play", and which "was available for meditations on terror".

What is significant is that no matter the critical perspective, concepts such as "darkness", "allegory", "ambiguity" and "abstraction" recur. In keeping with these notions, Eric Savoy has developed a theory of American Gohic which foregrounds the return of the unsuccessfully repressed ("the imperative to repetition"), and especially the peculiarities of this return, which takes place in a tropic field that approaches allegory: "the gothic is most powerful, and most distinctly American, when it strains toward allegorical translucency" (Savoy 1998: 4, 5-6). Savoy (1998:

6) argues that both allegory and prosopopoeia – a "ghostly figure" related to the allegorical mode in its attempt to personify the abstract – have created a "tropic of shadow" that in the end fails to convey a coherently meaningful symbolic: "it is precisely the semantic impoverishment of allegory, the haunting consequences of its refusal of transparency, that impelled American gothic's narrativization of Otherness toward its insubstantial shadows, and viceversa". As Paul de Man (Savoy 1998: 11) puts it, "Prosopopoeia undoes the distinction between reference and signification upon which all semiotic systems [...] depend".

Savoy singles out the house as the most significant trope of American Gothic's allegorical turn, and to exemplify his theory, he focuses on two apparently unrelated works: Poe's tale "The Fall of the House of Usher" (1839) and Grant Wood's painting *American Gothic* (1930). What links them is a series of "representational tensions", in particular their "inconclusive or incomplete turn" (Savoy 1998: 17) toward allegory. Both in the tale and in the painting, the allegorical signs generated are more important than the literal elements that constitute the text. Just as Madeline's face in the coffin – "the face of the tenant", in Poe's narrator's words – is unreadable and also suggestive of the double – the Other – and of the irrecoverable traces of the past, the figures in Wood's painting are simultaneously illegible, "permanently armed against any conclusive speculation as to what they stand for" (Dennis 1986: 85), and also representative of the historical past, what Fiedler (1982: 137) calls "the *pastness* of the past".

It is worth noting that Savoy's contentions on the centrality of prosopopoeia and inconclusive allegory in the tradition of American Gothic bring to mind J. Hillis Miller's analysis of Hawthorne's "The Minister's Black Veil" – a rather Gothic tale – in which he discusses the problematics of allegorization and observes Henry James's critique of Hawthorne's tendency to the abstractions of allegory. Significantly, Miller (1991: 51) describes Hawthorne's tale as "the unveiling of the possibility of the impossibility of unveiling", and highlights the pervasiveness of prosopopoeia in the text, relating it to "the unverifiable trope" of catachresis: "Such a trope defaces or disfigures in the very act whereby it ascribes a face to what has none" (Miller 1991: 94). Miller's study not only prefigures Savoy's, but also considers the possibility of ludicrous effects, something not contemplated by this critic. Thus, after quoting a passage in which James studies Hawthorne's allegorical strategies, Miller (1991: 54) concludes: "James reproaches Hawthorne for failing to make the material base in his stories […] the fit vehicle for the allegorical meaning it is meant to carry. The discrepancy between vehicle and meaning manifests itself in the form of the unintentionally ludicrous".

I think that both Miller's and Savoy's conclusions are very appropriate to analyse Poe's fiction, which in its suggestive but elusive symbols, deliberate vagueness, intentional or unintentional ludicrous effects, and recourse to ultimately

illegible signifiers, epitomizes the gap between "signification and reference" (Savoy 1998: 17), the "discrepancy between vehicle and meaning" (Miller 1991: 54) that we can take as constitutive of American Gothic. My analysis starts with "Usher" and continues with other Poe texts, since the features that make this narrative a "master text for the subsequent history of American gothic" (Savoy 1998: 12-13) are somehow anticipated in Poe's previous tales, like "Berenice" (1835) and "Ligeia" (1838), in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838) and peculiarly reflected in the late tale of detection "The Purloined Letter" (1844).

As I have mentioned above, Savoy takes Madeline's face in the coffin as the most striking allegorical sign in the tale, but the figure of king Thought in "The Haunted Palace" is similarly intriguing and could have also been chosen. In both cases, the character in question appears in a house (the coffin/the Palace) within a house (Usher), and their role has more to do with prosopopoeia and inconclusive allegory than with literal meaning. Each figure conveys a complex resonance that goes beyond the boundaries of the plot, and points to an unreadable past that keeps haunting the present. Just as Madeline's face "becomes the text of the double, the twin, the Other" (Savoy 1998: 13), king Thought – Roderick's double – and his haunted dominion duplicate and expand, in *mise en abyme*, the decline of the Ushers and their mansion. Significantly, this poem constitutes a brilliant example of opaque allegory: rather than clarify the events of the main text, it obscures them even more. As has been pointed out, its elusive allegorical elements suggest a variety of readings: psychologically, the poem anticipates how Roderick's (incestuous?) obsession with Madeline provokes his madness and death; socially, it hints at slave or Indian revolts; politically, it suggests the fall of gentry federalism to the jacksonian, king-mob democracy; and it also contains premonitory, uncanny allusions to Lincoln's speech "House Divided" and the future Civil War. (Cf. Leverenz 2001: 113-14; Bell 1980: 102).

In fact, we can only conclude that "Usher" functions, literally and metaphorically, as a house of mirrors and secrets that contains other houses within, but which – as a kind of deftly contrived hoax – only discloses Poe's mastery of "unity of effect" and "pre-established design": its perfect structure resembles a labyrinth in which all the elements are interconnected but encrypted, since every one takes us back to the other precluding the way out.[2] Thus, interpretations that see the mansion as the double of Madeline, Madeline as a double of the mother, and the mansion as

2. See, for instance, Scott Peeples' "Poe's 'constructiveness' and 'The Fall of the House of Usher'": Peeples (2002: 179) analyses the mansion of Usher as the fictional house in which Poe inscribes his "personal philosophy of architecture", pointing out that recent criticism of "Usher" describes the story as "a hall or house of mirrors", in which words "give the illusion of depth while actually keeping readers focused on the mirror-like surface of words" (Peeples 2002: 182).

mother (Bonaparte 1949: 237-250), are contested by others that equate the house with Roderick's body, and its interior with his mind or even with the narrator's mind (Wilbur 1967; Hoffman 1990: 295-316). No doubt, these interrelations are suggested by the narrator, when, for instance, he refers to the "equivocal appellation of the 'House of Usher' […] *which seemed to include* […] both the family and the family mansion", and later on in the story when he adds that Madeline and Roderick "had been twins, and that sympathies of *a scarcely intelligible nature* had always existed between them" (Poe 1982: 232, 240, my italics). As we can see, his information is not only inconclusive, but equivocal: the narrator, both as the narrative voice and as a character, generates and increases the uncertainty. The reader's role is particularly complex in this work, since s/he has to read a text in which the narrator – the text's main voice – is both participant and observer, reader/interpreter and guide/"usher": in that sense, too, the narrator is a double of Usher and a double of the reader. We could also note that, to compound the reading, at the climactic moment of Madeline's apparition, Roderick calls the narrator "Madman" twice – an utterance which not only provides one more example of duplication, but especially serves to foreground the narrator's unreliability.[3] No matter the interpretation followed, allegorical opacity makes meaning inconclusive: in the end, the House of Usher, as a building, emblem, or signifier, proves to be more powerful than any of the readings attached to it, and despite its collapse and dissolution in the tarn, it keeps coming back to life, exemplifying "the imperative to repetition" and originating further interpretations of the tale.

Together with "The Fall of the House of Usher", "Ligeia" (1838) – Poe's favourite story – is the tale that best conveys the defining features of American Gothic: the imperative to repetition and the incomplete allegorical turn.[4] Structured around the tension between recalling and forgetting, past and present, transcendence and empty rhetoric, the tale as a whole, and especially Ligeia's ineffable eyes, keep haunting readers and critics. We might recall the narrator's lengthy description of them, which follows that of other parts of her face:

> And then I peered into the large eyes of Ligeia.
> For eyes we have no models in the remotely antique. It might have been, too, that in these eyes of my beloved lay the secret to which Lord Verulam alludes. They were, I must believe, far larger than the ordinary eyes of our own race. They were even fuller

3. The second "Madman" is written in italics in the final version of the tale. Note also that the very name "Madeline" evokes the idea of madness and also malady. Interestingly, the former pronunciation of this name was identical with that of the word maudlin, an adjective that describes a mixture of sentiment, foolishness and sadness.

4. In a letter of January 8, 1846, Poe referred to "Ligeia" as "undoubtedly the best story I have written". On August 9, 1846, he wrote: "'Ligeia' may be called my best tale" (Carlson 1996: 176).

> than the fullest of the gazelle eyes of the tribe of the valley of Nourjahad. Yet it was only at intervals —in moments of intense excitement— that this peculiarity became more than slightly noticeable in Ligeia. And at such moments was her beauty —in my heated fancy thus it appeared perhaps— the beauty of beings either above or apart from the earth —the beauty of the fabulous Houri of the Turk. The hue of the orbs was the most brilliant of black, and, far over them, hung jetty lashes of great length. The brows, slightly irregular in outline, had the same tint. The "strangeness," however, which I found in the eyes was of a nature distinct from the formation, or the color, or the brilliancy of the features, and must, after all, be referred to the *expression*. Ah, word of no meaning! behind whose vast latitude of mere sound we intrench our ignorance of so much of the spiritual. The expression of the eyes of Ligeia! How for long hours have I pondered upon it! How have I, through the whole of a midsummer night, struggled to fathom it! What was it—that something more profound than the well of Democritus—which lay far within the pupils of my beloved? What *was* it? I was possessed with a passion to discover. Those eyes! those large, those shining, those divine orbs! they became to me twin stars of Leda, and I to them devoutest of astrologers. (Poe 1982: 655-656)

It is revealing that in order to highlight the enigma of Ligeia's eyes, the narrator asks a pleonastic question similar to the one employed by the narrator of "Usher" while describing the haunted house: "What was it —I paused to think—what was it that so unnerved me in the contemplation of the House of Usher? It was a mystery all insoluble" (Poe 1982: 231). No doubt, these questions provide a clear example of the frantic rhetoric of Poe's narrators, but above all, they contribute to foregrounding the central symbols of these narratives —the house, the eyes— the significance of which is mystified by the effect of prosopopoeia and catachresis.

Much has been said about the meaning of Lady Ligeia and her magnetic orbs. Some critics tended to analyse "Ligeia" in a visionary, transcendent light, taking the Lady as the epitome of forbidden knowledge, spirituality and "Supernal Beauty" discussed by Poe in "The Poetic Principle" (1848) (Cf. A. H. Quinn, Gargano, Wilbur, quoted by Carlson 1996: 176-187). In contrast, others (Griffith, Thompson, quoted by Carlson 1996: 176-187; Nadal 1996, Person 2001) have emphasized Poe's manipulating devices, such as irony and satire, and "Ligeia" is read as a text that ridicules, among other things, Transcendentalism and convoluted, inflated style, parodying in turn Mr. Blackwood's literary advice to Zenobia in Poe's "How to Write a Blackwood Article" (1838). Person describes "Ligeia" as a parody of domestic values, and the "circle of analogies" evoked by Ligeia's eyes resembles "a parody of romantic discourse". In this reading, Ligeia "becomes a kind of hypertext—with each body part (and especially her eyes) linked to some classical or mythological site" (Person 2001: 145).[5]

5. In this regard, the name of Ligeia is significant: taken from Virgil's *Georgics*, it refers not to an ordinary woman, but to a dryad, a tree nymph. In Milton's *Comus*, Ligeia is the name of a siren. In its emphasis on the narrator's narcissism and subjectivity, Person's approach recalls that of Howarth (1971: 19-20),

Again, this interpretive oscillation between metaphysical transcendence and self-parody points to the gap between reference and signification on which the tale is based, and to the ludicrous effects – intentional or unintentional – that it entails. It is worth noting that Ligeia's eyes suggest the aesthetics of the sublime and its impossibility of representation: when the narrator alludes to the hypnotic power of Ligeia's eyes "which at once so delighted and apalled" him (Poe 1982: 657), he is evoking the power of the sublime, its combination of pleasure and pain. As Burke (1968: 58) put it in his *Philosophical Enquiry* (1757), "terror is in all cases whatsoever, either more openly or latently, the ruling principle of the sublime". Just as the sublime is linked to terror, it is also related to the uncanny — Freud's definition of terror— and its disruption of signifiers: if the Gothic sublime has been defined as "an excess on the plane of the signifiers" (Weiskel 1976: 28), the uncanny is something like "the radioactive energy given off when the atom of signifier and signified is split" (Williams 1995: 72).[6]

In its combination of uncanniness and terror, suggestiveness and opacity (Cf. Von Mücke 2006), Ligeia's eyes encapsulate the characteristics of Savoy's American Gothic: on the one hand, they provoke the "imperative to repetition", the return of the repressed through the narrator's obsessive dwelling on them; on the other, both Ligeia and her eyes constitute a clear example of prosopopoeia, that is, the attempt to personify the abstract, the unrepresentable. Finally, the irruption of history – the reference to a traumatic past – appears in "Ligeia" intertwined with the tension of memory and forgetting. As several present-day critics have argued – Morrison (1993), Dayan (1995), Goddu (1997), Ginsberg (1998); cf. also Kennedy & Weissberg, eds (2001) – Poe's Gothic is haunted by race.[7] Dayan (1995: 200-201) focuses on the

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who points out Poe's recurrent punning on the words *eye* and *I*, thus suggesting the projection of the narrators' subjectivity onto their victims' eyes: cf. "Ligeia", "The Tell-Tale Heart" and "The Black Cat".

6. Note that in "The Fall of the House of Usher" there are at least two references to the sublime: in the first paragraph, the narrator refers to it when approaching the mansion, only to emphasize its absence: "There was an iciness, a sinking, a sickening of the heart—an unredeemed dreariness of thought which no goading of the imagination could torture into aught of the sublime" (Poe 1982: 231). The second allusion – without quote of the term – occurs when the narrator devotes a fourteen-line paragraph to describe the impressive storm on the night of the climax. The allusion is conveyed at the beginning of the paragraph: "The impetuous fury of the entering gust nearly lifted us from our feet. It was, indeed, a tempestuous yet sternly beautiful night, and one wildly singular in its terror and its beauty" (Poe 1982: 242). Significantly, this beautiful and terrifying storm, which evokes the sublime, prefigures the arrival of the uncanny (Madeline). Thus, we could affirm that "Usher" functions as a "master text" in more ways than one.

7. In *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, Morrison (1993: 32) remarks: "No early American writer is more important to the concept of American Africanism than Poe". Significantly, the essays collected by Kennedy and Weissberg in *Romancing the Shadow*: *Poe and Race* (2001) take Morrison's statement as a central point of reference for their analysis.

description of Ligeia, in particular her eyes, "far larger than the ordinary eyes of our own race", which evoke the features of the "tragic mulatta" or "octoroon mistress", quite common in the literature of Poe's time. In Dayan's view, the narrator's circling around the mystery of Ligeia's eyes suggests the unspeakability of the subject. However, the text's hypothetical allusion to the traumatic past of race does not bridge the gap between reference and representation: on the contrary, it seems to widen it, since race does not cancel other ghosts. In the labyrinthine world of duplications and incomplete allegorization of "Ligeia", the reader, like the narrator, is left "upon the very verge" of resolution, but is finally unable to find the key:

> There is no point, among the many incomprehensible anomalies of the science of mind, more thrillingly exciting than the fact —never, I believe, noticed in the schools— that in our endeavors to recall to memory something long forgotten, we often find ourselves *upon the very verge* of remembrance, without being able, in the end, to remember. And thus how frequently, in my intense scrutiny of Ligeia's eyes, have I felt approaching the full knowledge of their expression —felt it approaching— yet not quite be mine— and so at length entirely depart! (Poe 1982: 656)

More openly than "Ligeia", "Berenice" (1835) foregrounds the discrepancy between vehicle and meaning: in fact, the elements of "Ligeia" are anticipated in "Berenice" in a more excessive way. Since, as a formula for success, and especially in defense of the plot of "Berenice", Poe recommended the transformation of the ludicrous into the grotesque, we can affirm that in this story, the ludicrous effects derived from the aforementioned discrepancy are not completely unintentional.[8] Just as the narrator of "Ligeia" is obsessed with his beloved and her enigmatic eyes, the narrator of "Berenice", Egaeus, projects his monomania on the teeth of his cousin and wife Berenice. He also wavers between "the gray ruins of memory" (Poe 1982: 643) and the shadows and "anguish of to-day" (Poe 1982: 642), and after her death, he similarly evokes her presence by "call[ing] upon her name" (Poe 1982: 643), which again exemplifies the "imperative to repetition" and the centrality of the signifier in Poe's work.[9] In this tale, the gap between signifier and

8. Cf. the well-known passage in a letter to Thomas White, the editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, where Poe apologizes for the repulsiveness of "Berenice" but justifies its subject on the following terms: "The history of all Magazines shows plainly that those which have attained celebrity were indebted for it to articles *similar in nature to Berenice* […] I say similar in *nature*. You ask me in what does this nature consist? In the ludicrous heightened into the grotesque: the fearful coloured into the horrible: the witty exaggerated into the burlesque: the singular wrought out into the strange and mystical. […] To be appreciated you must be *read*, and these are invariably sought after with avidity". (Buranelli 1977: 25-26)

9. Egaeus emphasizes this characteristic when, describing the symptoms of his mental disease he explains that one of his "most common and least pernicious vagaries" was "to repeat, monotonously, some common word, until the sound, by dint of frequent repetition, ceased to convey any idea whatever to the mind" (Poe 1982: 644).

signified is extreme, since the narrator suffers from an "inversion" in the character of his thoughts. As he puts it: "The realities of the world affected me as visions, and as visions only, while the wild ideas of the land of dreams became, in turn, not the material of my every-day existence, but in very deed that existence utterly and solely in itself" (Poe 1982: 643). Particularly striking is the confusion that concerns Berenice's teeth: "I more seriously believed *que tous ses dents étaient des idées*" (Poe 1982: 647, Poe's italics). This inversion brings to mind Poe's linking of the terms Ligeia/Idea in his poem "Al Aaraaf" (1829), which he further develops in "Ligeia": the main appeal of the name Ligeia to Poe might have been its rhyming with "the Great Key Word", Idea, as Hoffman (1990: 243) has noted. In all these cases, Poe lays bare the discrepancy between vehicle and meaning, and juxtaposes the abstraction of ideas with the physicality of the signs used to convey them.

Whereas Poe insisted on relating his physical emblems with ethereal notions, the tendency of most critics has been the opposite. We could recall, for instance, that one of the most recurrent readings of "Berenice" is that of male fear of female sexuality: thus, Berenice's teeth evoke the *vagina dentata*, "furnished with teeth, and thus a source of danger in being able to bite and castrate" (Bonaparte 1949: 218).[10] Berenice's teeth have also been taken to stand for life (Knapp 1984: 126; Peithman 1986: 36), mortality (Kennedy 1987: 79), horror, carnal desire (Weekes 2002: 156), and virginity defiled (Peithman 1986: 36). No matter their diversity, all these interpretations contribute to pointing out the gap between signifier and signified. In the end, they fail to explain the hypnotic power of the teeth, a signifier that appears both blank and loaded with meaning. Whatever our critical approach – psychoanalytical, cultural, feminist – "Berenice" constitutes an example of opaque allegorization and ludicrous effects made grotesque.

In *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838) the gap between reference and signification is even greater. Appropriately, this work has been called "the interpreter's dream text" (quoted in Carlson 1996: 231) and an "abyss of interpretation" (Kennedy 1995), since after decades of critical approaches, its ambiguous elements still "compel and resist analysis" (Kennedy 1992: 167) and its

10. Similarly, Hoffman (1990: 235-236) sees in Berenice's teeth a case of displacement, which he also finds in Ligeia's eyes: "Just as the vagina is the entrance to the mysterious womb, the unifier of all life, so is the eye to that all-synthesizing raciocinator, the brain; and the teeth to the all-digesting stomach, in which the womb is lodged. […] By shifting the object of fascination from the unmentionable and terrifying vagina to the mouth or the eye, and by substituting for the attributes of the unifying womb those of the unifying mind, Poe is able to pursue, in masquerade and charade, the object and the consequences of his obsessional love-attachment". Person (2001: 138-139) also makes reference to the notion of the *vagina dentata* and compares the teeth extraction to a clitoridectomy or oophorectomy: they all involve a surgical intervention that results in the victimization of women within a patriarchal culture.

conclusion "veils rather than unveils" (Thompson 1992: 198). Pym is an episodic, fragmented novel that combines features of travel writing, adventure fiction, and Gothic horror: it includes geographical elements taken from voyage accounts of the period and a variety of sensational and Gothic effects that range from the disgusting to the incomprehensible. It invites its reading as hoax, since its hyperbolic character conveys the parody of the literary models followed. Although there is critical agreement on the contradictions and errors that pervade the text – the first installments were published as fiction, the novel appeared with a preface affirming the fiction to be real fact, and the endnote increased the preceding confusion – *Pym* has been described as a quest for identity, for unity, for transcendence, as a voyage of the mind, as a biblical allegory, as a racial allegory, as a revolt against the Father and a return to the Mother. As in the criticism of the tales, some authors emphasize *Pym*'s urge towards revelation and transcendence, whereas others foreground the impulse to self-destruction and annihilation (Cf. among others, Bonaparte 1949; Kopley 1992; Kennedy 1992, 1995; Carlson 1996).

In keeping with his critique of Hawthorne, Henry James (1934: 257) was one of the first to realize *Pym*'s opacity: the text lacks "connexions", and its elements "hang in the void"; however, we may add that like "Usher", "Berenice" or "Ligeia", it suggests much more than it delivers, and the allegorical signs generated are more important than the literal elements that constitute the text. As has been argued (Nadal 2000), the tension between horror and terror (or the abject and the sublime) articulates the novel, and the imperative to repetition, the power of the death instincts (the allure of the abyss, the fascination with horror and decay) intensifies the sense of entrapment and the deferment of closure. In this text, the allegorical opacity is encapsulated – literally personified – in the white shrouded figure that Pym encounters at the end of his narrative, a scene that "happens to be sublime even in the conventional terms of Burke's *Enquiry*" (Wilczynski 1998:180):

> The darkness had materially increased, relieved only by the glare of the water thrown back from the white curtain before us. Many gigantic and pallidly white birds flew continuously now from beyond the veil, and their scream was the eternal *Tekeli-li*! as they retreated from our vision. Hereupon Nu-Nu stirred in the bottom of the boat; but, upon touching him, we found his spirit departed. And now we rushed into the embraces of the cataract, where a chasm threw itself open to receive us. Before there arose in our pathway a shrouded human figure, very far larger in its proportions than any dweller among men. And the hue of the skin of the figure was of the perfect whiteness of the snow. (Poe 1982: 882)

No doubt, this enigmatic figure could be taken as the central emblem of Poe's use of prosopopoeia and inconclusive allegorization. Much more than Berenice's teeth or Ligeia's eyes, *Pym*'s shrouded apparition has become a source of controversy and speculation: whether taken as a symbol of God, of Christ resurrected, of the

White Goddess (Carlson 1996; Kopley 1992), of the Mother (Bonaparte 1949), of a Titan, a representation of race and racism (Morrison 1993; Goddu 1997; cf. also Kennedy & Weissberg 2001), the whiteness of the page (Ricardou 1967), the absence of stable meaning, or simply, an instance of misreading (Peeples 2006), it approaches the status of a pure signifier, since the text does not provide any definite clue about its possible meaning.[11]

It is worth adding that both *Pym* and "Usher" play with the incongruous effect of a smile on a corpse: just as the Usher narrator points out Madeline's facial expression in the coffin ("that suspiciously lingering smile upon the lip which is so terrible in death", Poe 1982: 241), Pym describes the putrescent smile of one of the corpses of the ship of death: "Never, surely was any object so terribly full of awe! The eyes were gone, and the whole flesh around the mouth, leaving the teeth utterly naked. This, then, was the smile which had cheered us on to hope!" (Poe 1982: 810). In both cases the smile proves to be a deceptive signifier, since it means the opposite of what it seems to signify.

After the analysis of some of the most conspicuous examples of Poe's opaque allegorization, it seems both appropriate and inevitable to put an end to it by briefly referring to "The Purloined Letter" (1844), a tale of detection – rather than gothic – that nevertheless follows the features of American Gothic and has raised especial interest among the critics due to the peculiar characteristics of its central icon, the letter. Significantly, it is the absolute inaccessibility of the letter's contents (and of its sender) that has resulted in a sophisticated allegorization of the tale, where the imperative to repetition is mainly enacted in a figurative, structural way. We could now recall Lacan's "Seminar on 'The Purloined Letter'" (1956), in which he reads the tale as an allegory of psychoanalysis, since its plot can be taken to exemplify the Freudian notion of the "repetition automatism" (Lacan 1988: 43). In this text, the main emblem – the letter – reaches the status of "a pure signifier", "symbol only of an absence" (Lacan 1988: 32, 39). In her reading of Lacan's analysis, Felman (1988: 146) explains: "in much the same way as the repressed *returns* in the *symptom*, which is its repetitive symbolic substitute, the purloined letter ceaselessly returns in the tale – as a signifier of the repressed – through its repetitive displacements and replacements".

Thus, the letter is located in a symbolic structure "that can only be perceived in its effects, and whose effects are perceived as repetition", as Johnson (1988: 245) has remaked. In this text the return of the repressed is only metaphorical, since it is conveyed in the displacements of the letter; in turn, the displacement of

11. *In Playing in the Dark*, Toni Morrison (1993: 32) singles out this "closed and unknowable white form" as the most significant emblem for the concept of American Africanism in early American writing.

the letter – the signifier – is somehow analysed as a signified, "as the recounted object of a short story", as Derrida (1988: 179) has noted. Interestingly, Lacan's and Derrida's complex theorizations bear witness to Poe's oblique strategies, which provoke effects far beyond the literal confines of his plots. Thus, Johnson (1988: 247) focuses on the "slippage" between signifier and signified that "The Purloined Letter" produces, noting that the "*difference*" between signifier and signified has been "effectively subverted" in Poe's text as well as in Lacan's. In fact, both of them explore the unreadable and the effects of the unreadable, as Poe had already suggested in the opening lines of "The Murders of the Rue Morgue" (1841): "The mental features discoursed of as the analytical are, in themselves, but little susceptible of analysis. We appreciate them only in their effects" (Poe 1982: 141). It is notable that the phenomenon of "repetition compulsion" occurs not only *in* the story, as Lacan studies it, but is also illustrated *by* the story itself, as Johnson (1988: 236) has noted: Crébillon's *Atrée*, from which Dupin quotes at the end of the tale, is also a story of revenge that repeats the original crime and which does so by means of a purloined letter: "thus, 'The Purloined Letter' no longer simply repeats its own 'primal scene': what it repeats is nothing less than a previous story of repetition". In these unorthodox, oblique ways, "The Purloined Letter" conveys the imperative to repetition invoked in (Poe's) American Gothic.

On the other hand, the inconclusive allegorization of this tale manifests itself in the variety of approaches that it has inspired: while Lacan only considers signifiers and structures, showing that the signifier can be analyzed in its effects without its signified being known, others attempt to find a substance, some message beneath. Thus, Marie Bonaparte – to mention a well-known psychoanalytical critic, very influential on the early criticism of Poe – was interested in uncovering the letter's content, its signified, and interpreted the letter as the "very symbol of the maternal penis" (Bonaparte 1949: 483). However, as Derrida has noted in his reply to Lacan, the letter/signifier resists being totalized into meaning, leaving an irreducible residue which in our study serves to exemplify both the recurrent features of American Gothic and the mistifying effects that they usually provoke. In this regard, we may quote Johnson's conclusion (1988: 247) about the interpretation of "The Purloined Letter", very appropriate to put an end to our analysis: "What the reader finally reads when he deciphers the signifying surface of the map of his misreading is: 'You have been fooled'".

As I have tried to point out, Poe's fiction explores the features included in "The Fall of the House of Usher" and epitomizes the defining characteristics of American Gothic: in his stories, the imperative to repetition (the return of the unsuccessfully repressed) is conveyed in a variety of ways: whereas Usher, Egaeus and the unnamed narrator of "Ligeia" experience the tension between recalling and

forgetting and keep haunted by the ghostly presence of the past, Pym's recurrent motions are driven by the hypnotic power of the death instincts, the abject and the sublime; on the other hand, the repeated displacements of the purloined letter function as Poe's playful and didactic tool devised for the sake of critical theory. Although not all these stories make use of the architectural impressiveness of the Usher mansion as a site for the haunting, it is the narrator's mind – the correlative for the icon of the house – that accommodates the impossibility of forgetting and gestures towards a traumatic past that can be invoked but never fully recovered. In that past, the historical ghost of race casts an indefinite but far-reaching shadow.

On the other hand, the imperative to repetition takes place in a "tropic of shadow" that results from incomplete, inconclusive allegorization and from the catachrestic trope of prosopopoeia – "the master trope of gothic's allegorical turn" (Savoy 1998: 10) – which in the act of personifying the abstract, of ascribing a face to what has none, generates uncanniness and epistemological disruptions. This is what happens in "Usher", "Ligeia", "Berenice" and *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*: their central signs – the House/Haunted Palace, the eyes, the teeth, the shrouded white figure – are so empty of ascertainable meaning or so distant from the meaning for which they stand that they end up being emblems of their own opacity rather than expressions of some verifiable signified. And "The Purloined Letter", with its sophisticated design of repetition, displacement, and unreadable central icon, epitomizes, in its schematic abstraction, the characteristics of American Gothic and the critical compulsion to the allegorical reading of allegorical texts, by virtue of which the letter becomes the signifier of the repressed and the carrier of the story's truth, thus producing the slippage between signifier and signified. If Gothic writing implies "disorder in the relations of signifiers and signifieds" (Williams 1995: 71) and "endemic *fakery*" increasingly focused on "floating signifiers" (Hogle 2001: 154, 156), Poe's suggestive and elusive House of Usher, together with the ultimately unreadable signifiers that pervade his best work, his mixture of the ludicrous and the transcendental, the horrible and the burlesque, provides the best example of American Gothic's fissure between reference and signification.

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THE SO-CALLED FIRST FEMINISTS: ORTHODOXY AND INNOVATION IN ENGLAND'S SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DISCUSSION OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT. *This essay examines the writings of women's education advocate Bathsua Makin (1608-1675) in an effort to determine to what extent they were the product of traditional print debates about women and to what extent they were the innovative foundation for the ideas of Mary Astell (1668-1731), whose efforts on behalf of women have been deemed feminist by twentieth-century scholars. Through a close reading of Makin's treatise, An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen (1673), a contextualisation of her ideas with the querelle des femmes genre and an examination of both overlapping and distinguishing elements of her work and that of Astell, this essay argues for a reassessment of the importance of Makin's contribution to the seventeenth-century debate of women's education.*

Keywords: women's education, Bathsua Makin, Mary Astell, querelle des femmes genre, feminism, seventeenth-century.

LAS LLAMADAS PRIMERAS FEMINISTAS: ORTODOXIA E INNOVACIÓN EN EL DEBATE SOBRE LA EDUCACIÓN DE LAS MUJERES EN LA INGLATERRA DEL SIGLO XVII

RESUMEN. *Este artículo examina los escritos de Bathsua Makin (1608-1675), defensora de la educación de la mujer, intentando determinar en qué medida*

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fueron el producto de los debates tradicionales que se publicaban sobre las mujeres y hasta qué punto constituyeron la base innovadora de las ideas de Mary Astell (1668-1731), cuyos esfuerzos en favor de las mujeres han sido considerados feministas por académicos del siglo XXI. A través de una lectura atenta del tratado de Makin, Un ensayo para revitalizar la antigua educación de las damas (1673), la contextualización de sus ideas con el género querelle des femmes y el examen tanto de los elementos de su trabajo que se superponen como de los que se distinguen de los de Astell, este artículo aboga por una reevaluación de la importancia de la contribución de Makin al debate del siglo XVII sobre la educación de la mujer.

Palabras clave: educación de la mujer. Bathsua Makin, Mary Astell, género de querelle des femmes, feminismo, siglo XVII.

Over twenty years before Mary Astell (1668-1731) outlined her hopeful projections for a women's college and Judith Drake (c.1670-?) proposed her ideal curriculum of women's conversation, Bathsua Makin (c.1660-1670) wrote *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts & Tongues* (1673), in which she argues against custom and for the educability of women. Due to the strides made in twentieth-century, feminist, archival scholarship, such as Elaine Hobby's *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing 1646-1688* (1989) and Frances Teague's *Bathsua Makin, Woman of Learning* (1998), Makin is now known as one of the first women writers in England to define her sex as a sociological group, who, more than being connected merely by biological characteristics, share common social, economic and political needs. With these shared interests in mind, Makin's writings further argue that the social and domestic benefits of women's education would be advantageous to English society as a whole. Twenty years later, Makin's reasoning was reworked and clarified in Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1694), a seemingly more radical and philosophically engaged work that similarly appeals to women to abandon the distractions of society in favour of exercising their intellects and perfecting their souls. Although there is a clear resonance of phrase and perspective between the works of Makin and Astell, the latter never acknowledged any debt to the former. This neglect could be due to political differences, as Makin was a Puritan, while Astell was High Anglican and vehemently Tory. Probably most unforgivably to Astell, Makin's work is dedicated to King James II's daughter, who would become Queen Mary II, wife of William of Orange, to whom many of Astell's Jacobite friends would refuse allegiance. Despite the unacknowledged debt, the works of Makin and Astell share overlying concerns for maintaining economic class hierarchies, overthrowing gendered customs and reforming the social practices of English culture, while their rhetorical methods, immediate motives and personal allegiances, however, differ. This essay will examine the only known published treatise by Bathsua Makin in an effort to

determine to what extent her ideas were the product of traditional print debates and to what extent they were the innovative foundation for Mary Astell's ideas, which twentieth-century scholarship, such as Bridget Hill's *The First English Feminist* (1986), has deemed radically feminist in their context.

Although only twenty years separate the published efforts of Mary Astell and Bathsua Makin, their respective rhetorical strategies to essentially the same subject, the importance of educating women, differ vastly. In Astell's *Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, she states clearly in her title that her intended audience is "the Ladies", and in the conversational style of an intimate friend or sister, she dedicates a significant portion of the first part of her essay to reprimanding women for neglecting the beautification of their souls in favour of the beautification of their bodies. Although the work was anonymously published, the title page declares that it was written "By a Lover of Her Sex" (Astell 1997: 3). Makin, however, courts both sexes for her audience, perhaps keeping in mind fathers of potential students for her school advertised in the essay. Makin (1998: 111) begins by addressing the non-gender specific "reader" and admits hoping that men particularly will not "cast aside this book upon sight of the title". Perhaps most disturbingly for the twenty-first century reader looking for signs of female agency, however, is Makin's adoption of a male persona for her essay. The narrator assures the reader, "I am a man myself that would not suggest a thing prejudicial to our sex" (Makin 1998: 111). And undermining any expectation the reader may have of a radical message, the masculine narrator declares, "God hath made man the head […] and […] your husbands have the casting voice, in whose determinations you will acquiesce" (Makin 1998: 110). The narrator's overtly authoritative and traditional stance is reiterated throughout in epigrammatic sentiments such as, "Bad women, weak to make resistance, are strong to tempt to evil" and in classical allusions afforded by an obviously classical, thereby masculine, education (Makin 1998: 113). At first, Makin's assumption of the authority of a male voice in her discussion of women may seem to place her work within a framework of paternal guidance, which is more in the masculine Renaissance tradition of essays in defence of women than anticipating the feminist interests of Mary Astell. However, the use Makin makes of the appropriated power, as will be discussed here, moves her work out of the traditional into something far more progressive, perhaps even, as some have argued, feminist.

Twentieth-century readers have been divided concerning Makin's rhetorical orthodoxy in employing a male voice. Frances Teague (2000: 149) argues that if one considers the fact that Makin was educated as a man and reared as a woman, her masculine voice and methodology are a genuine extension of her experience as a human being. Teague locates in Makin's essay instances of doubling that allow the female and male voices to alternate in taking the lead. Elaine Hobby

(1989: 202) concedes that the male persona allows the author to be "judicious, expansive, judgemental without apology or proviso". However, she ultimately finds that whatever educational stride that may be negotiated for women by Makin "is a negotiation made in retreat […] a retreat to quiescence, a retreat to the home and the schoolroom" (Hobby 1989: 203). Hobby sees any feminist interest expressed by Makin as being negated by her unwavering belief in class hierarchies. For this critic, Makin is bound to the social order with its class system in such a way that is incompatible with moving women forward as a group (Hobby 1989: 203). Hilda L. Smith, however, assesses this tendency to dismiss seventeenth-century feminism due to its traditional entrenchments as part of a contemporary bias. Smith (1989: 82) explains, "We are much less apt to question the breadth or depth of a writer's feminism if she holds Marxist (or even Freudian) values that limit viewing the world wholly from a woman's perspective, than if her constraints are due to orthodox religious or political beliefs". For scholars of seventeenth-century women's writing, the complications of interpreting Makin's employment of the male voice point to a wider dissatisfaction with the designation of these works as feminist. The traditional religious and political beliefs held by seventeenth-century proponents of women's education have been an obstacle for present-day readers, who are unable to identify with such historically specific, hierarchically invested perspectives on women. However for the purposes of this essay's search for evidence of the orthodox and the innovative, I will draw from Nancy Weitz Miller's examination of Makin's use of rhetoric. Weitz Miller finds Makin's male voice to be part of her desire for consubstantiality, an inclusion with the governing group, in order to achieve credibility and a willing audience for her unconventional assertion of women's educability. Miller (1997: 276) asserts that as a seventeenth-century woman presuming to instruct others would appropriate divinely ordained masculine authority, women writers of the seventeenth century had to have a guiding concern for establishing a sympathetic relationship with the reader, one method for which was the capitulation into disguising her sex. In exchange for removing herself as a role model in print for young women, Makin is allowed freedom from the reductive charge that she is merely presenting the radicalized and self-interested views of a disgruntled minority. Makin obscures her authentic self for the greater cause of education, which if pursued by the public, would make such suppression unnecessary in the future.

It cannot be denied that Makin presents her ideas within an overarching presumption of a perpetually orthodox social framework. After all, Makin and Mary Astell after her envision the education of women as ultimately the way by which the morals of men, and thereby the English society, can be reformed. Makin (1998: 110) explains in her work's dedication letter that educated women will "either

reclaim the men, or make them shamed to claim the sovereignty over such as are more wise and virtuous than themselves." With apparent concern for the souls of all humankind, the masculine narrator explains, "I do verily think this to be the best way to dispel the clouds of ignorance and to stop the floods of debauchery that the next generation may be more wise and virtuous than any of their predecessors" (Makin 1998: 111). However, as Makin's argument for the benefits of women's education progresses, she asserts more emphatically, "We cannot expect otherwise to prevail against the ignorance, atheism, profaneness, superstition, idolatry, lust that reigns in the nation than by a prudent, sober, pious, virtuous education of our daughters. Their learning would stir up our sons, whom God and nature hath made superior, to a just emulation" (Makin 1998: 135). Astell, however, leaves behind Makin's deference to men in favour of an argument for the intellectual equality of all souls regardless of gender.

Initially parallel to Makin's argument, Astell (1997: 18) begins *A Serious Proposal* suggesting that her learned women would seek "to revive the ancient Spirit of Piety in the World and to transmit it to succeeding Generations". Astell (1997: 41) reiterates this possibility in exactly similar language to Makin when she foresees the "reclaiming of men". She finally develops her vision of society's improvement by the second part of *A Serious Proposal*, when she foresees for women "the Glory of Reforming this Prophane and Profligate Age" and the "carrying [of] a large Train of Followers with us to the Court of Heaven" (Astell 1997: 150, 151). To Makin and Astell, as well as to Judith Drake, author of *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* (1696), there is excitement in the notion of reforming mankind, because the implied authority to be gained by leading a reformation of manners and morals is tantamount to social and domestic empowerment. The natural "preeminence" of women had been argued already by male authors such as Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535) and Sir Thomas Elyot (1490-1546), but Makin's masculine narrator makes efforts to distance the essay from any such claim, stating "I do not (as some have wittily done) plead for female preeminence" (Makin 1998: 110). Despite this gesture against the case for female excellence, however, there is a moral superiority implicit in the idea that women can "reclaim" men from their own weak moral tendencies.

Makin's approach to the discussion of the education of gentlewomen owes more to the assertion of female pre-eminence, part of the *querelle des femmes* literary exchange, than she is here willing to admit. The *querelle des femmes* genre is a series of works, beginning in the late middle ages and continuing throughout the Renaissance, defending and attacking women in turns with grand rhetoric and authoritative lists of excellent or villainous female figures taken from ancient and classical history and the Bible. These exchanges can be understood better as a

platform for exhibiting one's rhetorical skills than as documentation of an actual public controversy. The fabricated nature of the genre is signified by some of the surnames assumed by its authors, such as Anger, Swetnum and Sowernum. Despite the staged quality of the debate, the works were widely read, and the arguments for and against the goodness of women were often rehearsed by other authors. As explained by Ekaterina V. Haskins (1997: 288), the defences of women in the *querelle des femmes* primarily perpetuated the idealization of women as chaste, faithful and dutiful with little or no attempt at a genuine examination of their inferior status. Haskins presents Judith Drake's *Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* as the first work to appropriate the genre only to tweak its usual message, however I would argue that Bathsua Makin actually did this in 1673. By the time Makin wrote her *Essay to Revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen*, this print debate on the morality or immorality of women was well established, thereby providing already familiar rhetorical devices through which Makin could make her argument and be assured of an understanding, if not sympathetic, audience. Despite her essay's explicit gesture to remove itself from the scope of the *querelle des femmes* by disregarding female pre-eminence, Makin designates her position in the debate by devoting a significant portion of her essay to the listing of female worthies, a method of argumentation used in the *querelle des femmes*. While the cataloguing of women brandishes the author's learning, this strategic positioning within the older genre also serves to further establish the authority of the male persona delivering her ideas in the essay.

The querelle des femmes initiated an argument over the insidious nature of custom that would span the English Renaissance period and then be appropriated by most late seventeenth-century female advocates. In 1592 Henry Cornelius Agrippa defended women excessively with his *De Nobilitate et Praecellentia foeminei sexus*, which was rather freely translated into English in 1542 and turned into heroic couplets with *The Glory of Women: or a Looking-Glasse for Ladies* (1652). It was then liberally translated into English again as *Female Pre-eminence: or the Dignity and Excellence of that Sex, above the Male* (1670). Each version sets forth an argument against custom. *The Glory of Women* declares that women's "liberties" are thwarted not by God's will but by "humane tyrannies", and this has resulted in their present inferiority (Agrippa 1652: 43). It is explained that:

> 'Tis true indeed, 'tis so, and that's the cause,
> 'Tis man presuming on Jehovah's Laws:
> They are by mans precepts abolished.
> By use and custome th' are extinguished:
> For when the woman in the world is come,
> She's caus'd to live an idle life at home. (Agrippa 1652: 43-44)

This translation's discussion of custom offers a general complaint about women's subordinate position. However, the grievance expressed in the later *Female Pre-eminence* is much more specific. This work asserts:

> 'Tis a proud self-flattering Conceit of the *Bearded-Tribe*, to arrogate all Learning to themselves, or think the *noble* Female Sex incapable of making generous *flights* towards the top of *Parnassus* […] Why then should they not with the same *advantages*, make at least an equal progress in *Literature*? 'Tis true, our male *Dictators* strive to *monopolize* Learning, and having by a brutish custome *barr'd* the Doors of the Muses Temple against Women, do now pretend they are *unable* and unfit to enter. (Agrippa 1980: 59-60)

Now the complaint, as it is translated here, is concerned with the specific inaccessibility of education to women excluded by "male *Dictators*", who are operating under the "proud self-flattering Conceit of the *Bearded-Tribe*". The later translation deems ignorance to be imposed on women by custom, only to be naturalized and used as evidence of their inability to learn.

Makin reworks the translation of Agrippa's argument against custom, as if it were a recognizable badge of masculine power. She begins her work with a letter to all women and especially to Lady Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York (later James II), in which the first topic to be addressed is the power of custom. Makin (1998: 109) begins with the concise but weighty declaration: "Custom, when it is inveterate, hath a mighty influence: it hath the force of nature itself". The rule of convention is immediately identified as the cause of women's deficiencies, in order to counter any prejudices the reader may bring to the essay. The argument continues, "The barbarous custom to breed women low is grown general amongst us and hath prevailed so far that it is verily believed (especially among a sort of debauched sots) that women are not endowed with such reason as men, nor capable of improvement as they are" (Makin 1998: 111). Thus, rehearsing Agrippa's argument is another manner by which Makin is able to borrow established authority in order to further bolster her masculine voice. However, she interrupts herself during her extensive catalogue of women worthies in order to distance herself from his work again. She declares, "My design is not to say all that may be said in the praise of women—how modest and chaste many have been, how remarkable in their love to their husbands, how constant in religion, how dutiful to their parents, or how beneficial to their country" (Makin 1998: 136). Indeed, although Makin is using the same rhetorical method as was often used in the *querelle des femmes* and utilizing Agrippa's argument against custom, she has adjusted these print inheritances to suit her own purposes. Makin's list of women is made up of those who, throughout history, have used their learning and been active in making good judgements. She even contemporizes the female worthies device by inserting

her friend Anna van Schurman, adding herself in the postscript and advertising the curriculum of her school "lately erected for gentlewomen" (Makin 1998: 149). These innovations serve to distinguish her work from that of Agrippa and the *querelle des femmes*, which have lists composed primarily of women who have demonstrated the idealized female qualities of great faith, humility or loyalty.

The discussion of custom surfaces again in the work of Mary Astell as a very important part of her argument that women and men have equal souls deserving the same educational cultivation. However, where Makin's essay signals the already established argument against custom by employing linguistic continuities, Astell extensively develops the argument to suit her case. She begins *A Serious Proposal* by invoking the argument in the form of a challenge to women, "[D]are to break the enchanted Circle that custom has plac'd us in, and scorn the Vulgar way of imitating all the Impertinencies of our Neighbours" (Astell 1997: 7-8). Where Makin simply states and repeats that if a custom is bad, it should be discontinued, Astell breaks apart the argument and analyzes its pieces. Astell (1997: 93) specifies how custom is bad: "As Prejudice fetters the Understanding so does Custom manacle the Will". She specifies for whom it is bad: "Why shou"d not we assert our Liberty, and not suffer every Trifler to impose a Yoke of Impertinent Customs on us?" (Astell 1997: 73). And most importantly, Astell (1997: 1, 33) shares her vision of how custom can be disempowered: "The only way then is to retire from the World, as the *Israelites* did out of *Egypt*". Astell also maps out consequences for the woman who rejects custom. Astell (1997: 33) warns, "For Custom has usurpt such an unaccountable Authority, that she who would endeavour to put a stop to its Arbitrary Sway and reduce it to Reason, is in a fair way to render her self the *Butt* for all the Fops in Town to shoot their impertinent Censures at". In view of the spectacle likely to be made of women learning, Astell sees women's full retreat from society as the only logical solution.

It could be argued, however, that the solution offered by Makin, although less radical than same-sex seclusion, is more socially pragmatic than that offered by Astell. After all, every aspect of Makin's methodology is calculated to avoid risk. Her solution is realistic and works rhetorically as the logical conclusion of a rational argument, all which is offered by a sensible (male) voice within an established (male) genre. In offering her solution, Makin (1998: 136) seems adamant that the traditional hierarchy, as it is known by the seventeenth century, is to remain firmly intact, when she assures her readers, "My intention is not to equalize women to men, much less to make them superior. They are the weaker sex […]". And twice Makin (1998: 110, 129) states that God made women to serve men. Although this upholding of social stratification is unmistakable, there is a temptation to read these statements as another part of the masculine disguise

assumed for the purposes of ensuring a positive reception to the educability of women. Makin's admission that "To ask too much is the way to be denied all" acknowledges that there is, indeed, more that could be requested (Makin 1998: 110). The statement suggests that the writer advocates submission to the gendered hierarchy not because it is implicitly right, but because it is the most practical manner by which women can negotiate a bit more liberty.

Regardless of whether or not Makin sees education as an opportunity to equalize the sexes, she definitely is not advocating the toppling of England's economic class structure. She reiterates throughout that her designs are for "persons that God hath blessed with the things of this world that have competent natural parts" (Makin 1998: 128). Similarly, Astell seems incapable of identifying with women outside of her own class. She explains, "For unless we have very strange Notions of the Divine Wisdom we must needs allow that everyone [is] placed in such a Station as they are fitted for. And if necessity of the world requires that some Person shou'd Labour for others, it likewise requires that others shou'd Think for them" (Astell 1997: 148). For Makin and Astell, humankind does not construct the social hierarchy. Rather, one's station is part of God's will on earth, part of a larger, unmistakably divine plan. The commitment of Makin and Astell to what they see as God's ordained hierarchy, however, creates problems for modern day critics, who, as discussed earlier, discount their meagre demands as a "retreat to quiescence" (Hobby 1989: 203). However, a further examination into the more subversive sentiments expressed in Makin's work may ease suspicions of their inadequacy for the twenty-first century reader.

In creating the conventional male voice for her essay, Bathsua Makin (1998: 111) has fashioned a fictional masculine character dedicated to protecting women against further attacks on their collective honour during an age so lost to depravity that it allows "women [to be] kept ignorant on purpose to be made slaves". Like the chivalrous act of battling on behalf of a woman's reputation, the masculinized narrator challenges, "Let any [men who] think themselves aggrieved […] come forth fairly into the field against this feeble sex with solid arguments to refute what I have asserted, I think I may promise to be their champion" (Makin 1998: 111). In the spirit of a rhetorical joust, the writer arguing from inside this character's costume is free to make the occasional aggressive contention. Working within this traditional voice, one such antagonistic assertion declares, "Brutes, a few degrees higher than [man] drills or monkeys (which the Indians use to do many offices), might have better fitted some men's lust pride and pleasure" (Makin 1998: 129). The caricature of men satisfying their lusts with monkeys is barely softened by the following traditional refrain, reassuring men that women are intended as "help-meet[s]" to their husbands (Makin 1998: 129). Similar imagery is evoked again when the author refers to "this

apish kind of breeding […] [by which] such marmosets married to buffoons, bring forth and breed up a generation of baboons, that have little more than apes and hobby-horses" (Makin 1998: 139). The earlier suggestion of men coupling with monkeys has been developed to its natural conclusion, the propagation of more monkeys resulting in the manners and customs of contemporary English society. Such arguments from a gentlewoman are combative and immodest to say the least, and would have been scandalous enough to obscure the value of her proposed solution, even to the extent of disqualifying her perceived worth as an educator of young ladies. However, in addition to allowing the author to utilize more sordid, yet effective and accessible, persuasive reasoning, the masculine disguise allows her the authority to convey her important message, "Let women be fools, and then you may easily make them slaves" (Makin 1998: 141).

There is a conformist element in the works of seventeenth-century feminists, perhaps an unforgivable quality for present-day readers who would wish to find more obvious evidence of subversion. However, as we have seen, these ideas were presented in such a manner that would be more likely to sway their contemporary audience. Regardless of seventeenth-century feminism's conservative foundation, the overtly traditional aspects of Makin's work need not discredit its intellectual innovations. Makin utilized the tools and framework of conventional rhetoric in order to minimize the hazards of presenting her unconventional arguments. Indeed twenty years later, Mary Astell would build upon the arguments already made by Makin and others such as Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle and Hannah Wooley, however she would not be writing under many of the same restrictions. This freedom would allow Astell to write as a woman and *about* women and to focus more extensively on the particulars of women's oppression. Instead of characterizing Makin's efforts on behalf of women as a "retreat to quiescence" (Hobby 1989: 203, emphasis mine), perhaps her work should be understood as a negotiation made from within the already established trenches of quiescence.

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FIELDING AND ITALIAN OPERA

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ABSTRACT. *As his era's most prolific writer of ballad operas, Henry Fielding knew music well and was particularly outspoken about Italian opera, the reigning London fashion of the day. While he recognized how moving its "soft alluring Strain" could be, as a nationalist he resented the imported form, which he feared would corrupt and emasculate the English. Moreover, if he objected to it on moral grounds, he did so on aesthetic ones as well. As a believer in the supremacy of the word, he regarded the genre's elevation of music over text as a reversal of the proper hierarchy; and with the operas performed in a language that the audience did not understand, he saw them as failing in art's basic mission to inform and instruct. Indeed, in the eyes of Fielding and many of his literary peers, Italian opera came to symbolize the ultimate triumph of sound over sense.*

Keywords: Fielding, Italian opera, castrati, eighteenth century, ballad opera.

FIELDING Y LA ÓPERA ITALIANA

RESUMEN. *Fielding, el escritor más prolífico de su época en lo que a ópera de baladas se refiere, conocía muy bien la música y era particularmente categórico con respecto a la ópera italiana. Aunque reconocía lo emotivo que podía ser su "encantador tono suave", repudiaba las formas importadas, que temía, pudieran corromper las formas inglesas. Además, si se oponía a ella en terrenos morales, también lo hacía en lo estético. Consideraba la elevación de la música del género*

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por encima del texto como una inversión de la correcta jerarquía, y con las óperas ejecutadas en un idioma que la audiencia no entendía, vio su falla en la misión básica del arte de instruir. De hecho, a los ojos de Fielding y a los ojos de muchos de sus pares literarios, la ópera italiana llegó a simbolizar el triunfo final del sonido sobre el sentido.

Palabras clave: Fielding, ópera italiana, castrati, siglo XVIII, ópera de baladas.

While the same cannot be said of all his literary contemporaries,[1] Henry Fielding's musical expertise has never been in doubt. If he wrote his great comic novels in the 1740's, during the 1730's he had an equally successful career as his era's most productive composer of ballad operas. Established and popularized in 1728 by Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, this genre borrowed established melodies, for which the playwright would supply fresh lyrics; and during his decade as a dramatist, Fielding wrote eleven of them.

That he was attracted to ballad opera is understandable. If his first novel *Joseph Andrews* (1742) parodied Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) and his most enduring play *Tom Thumb* (1730) parodied heroic tragedy, this new musical form was itself satirical in nature. *The Beggar's Opera* offered a lively burlesque of contemporary fashions, and unlike many of Gay's successors, Fielding embraced its comically subversive ways. In fact, both dramatists suffered the wrath of the Walpole administration for their use of political satire. If *Polly* (1729), the sequel to The *Beggar's Opera*, was banned by the authorities, Fielding's *Deborah*[2] (1733) and *The Grub-Street Opera* (1731) were similarly suppressed, with Walpole ultimately using the Licensing Act to cut Fielding's theatrical career short.

The government, however, was not the only satirical target that the playwrights shared. As its oxymoronic name suggests, ballad opera was in part a comic reaction to *opera seria*, similar in its way to such other nationalistic responses as Italian *opera buffa* and German *Singspiel*. Indeed, there was considerable cross-pollination between the various native forms. For example, *Singspiel* arose out of translations of ballad operas while Gay and Fielding themselves were likely influenced by Paris's *comedies en vaudevilles*, a genre that "later transformed – with the introduction of Italianate airs in the style of the *intermezzi*– into *opera comique*" (Rogers 2007: 115).

If Gay in 1728 chose to satirize Italian opera, it was in fact ripe for such a treatment. The import had recently taken London by storm and had so enthralled

1. See, for example, Winn (1981: 247-248) on Addison's "complacent amateurism" and Rumbold (2000: 65) on Pope.

2. For the argument that the play was suppressed for political reasons, see Battestin (1989: 164-165).

the public that rival companies, Handel's and the Opera of the Nobility, were soon locked in a bidding war for talent from Italy. Fielding (2004: 299) summed up the situation in the epilogue to *The Author's Farce*:

> English is now below this learned Town,
> None but Italian Warblers will go down.
> Tho' Courts were more Polite, the English Ditty
> Cou'd heretofore at least content the City:
> That, for Italian now has let us drop,
> And Dimi Cara rings thro' ev'ry Shop.
> What glorious Thoughts must all our Neighbours nourish,
> Of us, where Rival Operas can flourish.
> Let France win all our Towns, we need not fear,
> But Italy will send her Singers here;
> We cannot buy 'em at a Price too dear.

As these lines suggest, while the public relished the import, Fielding did not, and initially self-interest may have played a part. As a practicing dramatist, his works were vying for audiences with the expensive Italian operas as the often-impoverished Fielding was keenly aware. In fact, while recent scholarship (Joncus 2006: 201) has raised doubts about the legitimacy of his claim, he repeatedly alleged that Italian opera was siphoning off spectators and money from English entertainments like his own. For example, in *Tumble-Down Dick* (1736), he has an on-stage dramatist complain that he "can't see why a player of our own country, and in our own language, should not deserve five hundred [pounds], sooner than a saucy Italian singer twelve" (Fielding 1903b: 29).

Fielding's criticism of the genre, though, did not lessen after the Licensing Act of 1737 halted his own dramatic career, by which point opera's initial London hey-day was ending as well. Indeed, by the year of the Act, the great castrati Senesino and Farinelli had left the country while the warring of the rival companies was effectively bankrupting both. Handel gradually abandoned the form in favor of oratorios, and the Opera of the Nobility found itself on such shaky financial footing that the directors sued their subscribers for funds.

Far from stopping, however, Fielding's attacks continued with such force that we find him accusing the genre's *aficionados* of "the most depraved Levity of Mind, an utter Insensibility of Public Good or Evil" (Fielding 1987b: 170). In point of fact, the "Public Good" was at the heart of his persistent antagonism to opera, for the danger he perceived from it was ultimately less to himself than to the nation.

Fielding was English to the core. When he formed his own dramatic troupe, he named it the Great Mogul's Company of *English* Comedians, and the lyrics to his most popular song stand in themselves as testament to his outspokenly patriotic stance:

When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food,
It ennobled our hearts, and enriched our blood,
Our soldiers were brave, and our courtiers were good.
Oh the roast beef of England,
And old England's roast beef!
But since we have learnt from all-conquering France,
To eat their ragouts as well as to dance,
Oh what a fine figure we make in romance!
Oh the roast beef of England,
And old England's roast beef! (Fielding 2007: 112).

If Fielding favored the traditionally English in matters culinary, the same was true in matters musical. Suzanne Aspden (1997: 49) has shown that the early eighteenth century's growing interest in ballads sprang in part from a desire "to enforce British nationalism through identifiably British art forms", and Fielding's works clearly reflect this fact. Indeed, in one play he stages an actual singing competition between the Italian Signior Cantileno and the native Mr. Ballad, who predictably triumphs and wins the fair maiden as well (Fielding 1903c: 464-465).

Fielding's jingoistic hostility to opera was raised to a fever pitch during the Jacobite uprising of 1745. In his aptly named journal *The True Patriot*, he even resurrected one of his most famous characters to define the Italian import. As Abraham Adams describes it, opera "is a Diversion in which a prodigious Sum of Money, more than is to be collected out of twenty Parishes, is lavish'd away on [...] Papists, very scandalous to be suffered at any Time, especially at a Season when both War and Famine hang over our Heads" (Fielding 1987b: 202).

The reference to papists is a telling one since it suggests a religious component to Fielding's antipathy. As William Weber (1997: 50-52) has noted, this was not uncommon among writers of the day. In Steele's play *The Tender Husband* (1705), for example, the epilogue damns the castrati by terming their performances "Popery in Wit./The Songs [...] from Rome they bring; /And 'tis High-Mass, for ought you know, they Sing" (Steele 1971: 273). In fact, one particularly rabid writer went so far as to issue a dire warning about a leading castrato in a tract entitled "A Protestant Alarm to Great Britain: Proving [...] Senesino [...] is no Eunuch, but a Jesuit in Disguise" (quoted in Cervantes 1998: 19).

The general sense of religious concern underlying such a charge would have resonated with Fielding. As children, he and his siblings were raised to be staunchly anti-Catholic and were the subject of a custody battle involving that very issue. When his mother died, his father married a member of the Church of Rome, much to the displeasure of Fielding's maternal grandmother, who feared the woman would convert the children to the anti-Christ. It was even alleged that the new wife locked up the King James Bible to prevent the children from reading it

and then deliberately left "her own Romish Prayer Books in the Windows of the Roomes where the said Children used to go" (quoted in Thomas 1990: 28). The grandmother sued for custody and won.

Consequently, it is not surprising that Fielding regarded Italian music and musicians as suspect on religious grounds. Indeed, with Bonnie Prince Charlie advancing toward London, he wrote an essay linking the importation of opera singers with an attempt by the Pope to impose Catholicism on England. As Fielding (1987a: 97-98) has the Pontiff declare, "At a Time when their Country is engag'd in a War abroad, and invaded at home, they [...] import *Italian* Singers [...]. If this be the Case, what think you of my Hopes, Brother?" In the essay, the Pope's brother is the devil.

Moreover, it was not merely that Fielding saw the popularity of opera as betraying the nation; he saw it as potentially corrupting the nation and in more than a strictly religious sense. Fielding was a firm believer in music's ability to affect an audience, for good or ill. Relevant in this connection is the fact that time and again, his writings cite the story of Orpheus, the man whose music could enchant wild beasts. According to the myth, so beautiful were his tunes that they caused the very rocks and trees to move as they followed his sound; and when Orpheus then descended to the underworld to plead for the restoration of his dead wife, his music so captivated the King of Hades that he granted his request.

Given the frequency with which he refers to it (e.g., 1972a: 77; 1988: 98; 1993b: 37, 109; 2004: 259, 281, 300; Grundy 1972: 230), it is clear that Fielding viewed this myth as the defining metaphor for the power of music. In fact, he went on to write an entire play about Orpheus's journey to the underworld, in which his singing causes Pluto to melt into "*Raptures*", cry out "O *caro, caro*", and surrender with the words, "I am conquered; by Styx, you shall have her back. Take my Wife too, take every thing" (Fielding 1993a: 137, 139). Interestingly, in his version of the myth, Fielding depicts Orpheus, the consummate musician, as an Italian opera singer.

This may at first seem contradictory given his hostility to the genre. However, Fielding's antagonism toward opera was never rooted in a failure to appreciate its beauty. Paradoxically, it was rooted in the reverse –in his full recognition of the power of its "*soft alluring Strain*" (Fielding 2004: 352). Indeed, Orpheus is not the only mythical figure to whom he compares the Italians. He links them with the sirens as well (Fielding 2004: 350); and if the irresistible singing of those creatures lured sailors to destruction, he feared that opera's strong appeal might similarly overwhelm his fellow citizens to their and the nation's detriment.

As Thomas McGeary (1994: 20-21) has noted, Fielding was not alone in this. For example, his fellow dramatist John Dennis (quoted in Fiske 1973: 49) spoke with alarm of the "influence the soft and effeminate Measures of the Italian Opera have upon the Minds and Manners of Men. The modern Italian men [...]

are neither Vertuous, nor Wise, nor Valiant; and they who have reason to know their Women, never trust them out of their sight". Fielding (1987b: 167) shared Dennis's view and flatly declared "that the Softness of *Italian* Music is calculated to enervate the Mind".

"Soft" is Fielding's regular adjective for opera (e.g., 1903b: 465; 1973: 52; 1993a: 137; 2004: 300, 352; Grundy 1972: 239), and for him its potential to emasculate was symbolized by the type of male singer it featured. Castrati achieved a remarkable success on the early eighteenth-century English stage. Most notably, Carlo Broschi, better known as Farinelli, sang in London to great acclaim from 1734 to 1737, a fact that Fielding (1967b: 25) labels "ominous, for if we go on to improve in luxury, effeminacy, and debauchery, as we have done lately, the next age […] may be more like the children of squeaking Italians than hardy Britons".

His most graphic depiction of this feared emasculation comes in one of his livelier exercises in Swiftian satire. In this essay Fielding advocates putting the opera house to new use after the season ends. For the benefit of the nation, he argues, the army should be assembled there along with a staff of doctors, who by performing the necessary surgery could turn the soldiers themselves into singers. As Fielding (1989: 342) explains,

> For some Time after the *Abscission*, They must be kept without Light, to prevent Fevers; but as no Endeavours should be omitted to prevent any Loss of Time [...], I would have Them, like *Linnets*, taught Tunes in the dark. In three Years, at farthest, the whole Operation might be compleated, and *our Army* made to *out-sing* any Army in *Europe*, which would render Them of still greater Advantage to their Country.

He concludes by suggesting the procedure be repeated with a squadron of sailors, after which the cannons at the portholes could be replaced with bassoons.

Fielding's fear that Italian opera might melt the mettle of the English male was matched by his concern that it might also melt the English female though in a rather different way. In *The Author's Farce* (1730), he has Mrs. Novel, a parody of Eliza Haywood, sing to Signior Opera, "Beauties who subdue Mankind,/Thy soft Chains alone can bind;/See within their lovely Eyes/The melting Wish arise" (Fielding 2004: 352).

Contemporary accounts suggest that there was some truth to Mrs. Novel's words. In *Joseph Andrews*, the sexually predatory Mrs. Slipslop may declare that she hates "the Sight of [*Mophrodites*] even singing in an Opera" (Fielding 1967a: 43), but many London females would have disagreed. In fact, when Farinelli sang there, a woman in the audience was so overcome that she famously cried out in semi-blasphemous ecstasy, "One God, one Farinelli" (Barbier 1996: 183). Indeed, in *The Historical Register for the Year 1736*, Fielding (1967b: 24) has an entire circle of women give voice to a similar passion:

> All ladies: "Was you at the Opera, madam, last night?"
> Second lady: "Who can miss an opera while Farinello [*sic*] stays?"
> Third lady: "Sure he is the charmingest creature!"
> Fourth lady: "He's everything in the world one could wish!"
> First lady: "Almost everything one could wish!"

The apparent irrationality of this romantic infatuation with castrati served to reinforce a belief held by many critics of the form. With respect to Alexander Pope, Robert Ness (1986-1987: 178) has written that the triumph of the genre suggested "sound without sense had arrived, a musical performance of an alien art in a language as meaningless to most Englishmen as the [...] cultural values which had produced [...] the castrati".

Fielding too saw opera as senseless, as is evident in his works from the company it routinely keeps. For example, in *The Champion* (1739-1740) he proposes the establishment of a "Hospital for Fools", declaring that "we will allow them all the Amusements they have at present, and fling them, in a Heap, all their [...] Operas, Puppet-shews, Raree-shews, Pantomimes, Dexterity of Hand" (Fielding 2003: 197). Fielding may himself have been a master of comedy, but as this suggests, his objection to *opera seria* was certainly not its seriousness. Indeed, in later years he actually implied his preference within the genre for Handel's "solemn, sublime" efforts over the lighter ones that followed (Fielding 1993c: 191).[3]

Rather, Fielding opposed Italian opera on the same grounds that he did raree-shows: sung in a language unintelligible to the audience, it might appeal to the ear, it might appeal to the eye, but it did not appeal to the mind. So firmly did he believe this that he concluded his first great theatrical success with an allegorical union in which Signior Opera makes a divine conquest by serenading the Goddess of Nonsense, who cries out "in an Ecstasy", "*Bravissimo*! I long to be your Wife" (Fielding 2004: 343).

Opera's failure to inform the mind violated Fielding's neoclassical belief that art must be instructive. In fact, citing the Greeks, he acknowledged the "great Power over the Passions, which the ancient Philosophers assigned to Music". However, he also noted that Plato "considered the Application of it to Amusement only, as a high Perversion [...] for he imagin'd it given by the Gods to Men for much more divine and noble Purposes" (Fielding 1987b: 166). Those purposes were to educate and improve, and from Fielding's perspective Italian opera failed to do this in a uniquely extravagant way.

Moreover, if opera challenged his aesthetic in that regard, it did so in another. As Dean Mace (1970: 2-3) has pointed out, "since the Italians had flooded Europe with

3. See Cervantes (1996: 166-167) on this passage. Also, see Fielding (1903a: 29; 1975a: 463; 1987b: 425) and his ironic treatment of Squire Western's preference for "light and airy" music over Handel's in *Tom Jones* (1975b: 169).

commentaries on Aristotle's *Poetics*, [...] poetry reigned supreme in the hierarchy of the arts, because the word was assumed to be synonymous with reason, and the most significant human experience was thought to be in some sense rational". By the eighteenth century, that view was weakening on the Continent as the forces that would lead to Romanticism gained strength, but it remained entrenched among many in England.

For example, Fielding's closest friend James Harris (1970: 102) wrote a treatise contending that "*Music*, when alone, can only raise *Affections*, which soon *languish* and *decay*, if not maintained and fed by the nutritive Images of Poetry. Yet must it be remembered, in this Union, that *Poetry* ever have the *Precedence*; its *Utility*, as well as *Dignity*, being by far the more considerable". Fielding agreed and accepted the supremacy of the word over "Musick for soft Brains" (1960: 20). Italian opera, on the other hand, in reducing words to inconsequence and transporting through sheer sound, completely overturned this hierarchy, as the handmaid music became the mistress.

That this played a role in Fielding's rejection of the genre is reflected in his shifting attitude toward Handel over the years. While the composer was writing operas, Fielding attacked him, linking him with "Scriblers" in one work (Fielding 1972b: 27) and with his perennial target Colley Cibber in another (Fielding 1989: 343). However, his opinion underwent a sea change once Handel moved from Italian opera to English oratorio, a musical genre "more essentially verbal than any other form of English-language theatre (at no other did the patrons actually have the words in front of them during the performance)" (Smith 1995: 76).

Once the composer had made this transition, Fielding waxed lavish in his praise. Where earlier he had associated him with Cibber, he now associated him with Shakespeare (Fielding 1987b: 104) and christened him "the greatest Master in *Europe*" (Fielding 2003: 237). In his final and most sentimental novel, Fielding (1983: 188-189) even has his moral exemplar, his idealized heroine Amelia, attend one of the oratorios since she is "a great Lover [...] of Mr. Handel's Compositions". She reads the libretto as the music plays, the primacy of the word restored.

By the time Fielding wrote *Amelia* in 1751, the musical scene in England was changing. Italian opera had ceased to be all the rage, and ballad opera itself had faded. In its place arose another indigenous form, comic opera, a hybrid that was substantially influenced by Continental models. Significantly, though, some who wrote it affirmed their debt to the precedent set by authors like Fielding. In 1780, for example, in the preface to *The Lord of the Manor*, John Burgoyne (1808: 136) asserted:

> I cannot easily bring myself to allow the higher branch of our Comic Opera to be of foreign extraction. From the time the Beggar's Opera appeared, we find pieces in

> prose, with songs interspersed, so approaching to regular Comedy in plot, incident, and preservation of character, as to make them a distinct species from any thing we find abroad –and is it too much to add that the sense, wit, and humour to be found in some of them are sterling English marks by which we may claim the species as our own?

It is certainly true that, despite Fielding's attacks, Italian opera continued to hold the stage and attract a cultured if limited audience. However, as his era's most prolific writer of ballad operas, Fielding played his part in establishing the viability of a homegrown comic alternative in which song served story. In achieving this, he may not have driven the foreign import from the land, but he did help institute a native tradition that became an enduring part of the English musical world.

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NORTHANGER ABBEY, OR, THE PASSIONS OF ANTI-STRUCTURE: LIMINAL POLITICS AND POETICS IN JANE AUSTEN

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ABSTRACT. *This essay attempts a political reading of Jane Austen's* Northanger Abbey *through its treatment of Gothic imaginaries. By working through an associative coupling of social naivety and literary sensibility, it is argued that the novel articulates a counter-model of interpersonal ethics whilst implicitly staging a criticism of hegemonic values and power relations. In this context, the notion of communitas – as developed by British anthropologist Victor Turner – offers a valuable tool for the critical examination of Austen's text and historical conjuncture.*

Keywords: Jane Austen; Gothic novel; communitas; liminality; utopia.

NORTHANGER ABBEY, O LAS PASIONES DE LA ANTI-ESTRUCTURA: POLÍTICA Y POÉTICA LIMINAL EN JANE AUSTEN

RESUMEN. *Este ensayo ofrece una lectura política de* Northanger Abbey *de Jane Austen y, más concretamente, de su tratamiento del imaginario gótico. Se argumenta que esta novela articula, mediante una vinculación asociativa de ingenuidad social y sensibilidad literaria, un modelo ético alternativo, así como una crítica a los valores y relaciones de poder hegemónicos. En este contexto, la noción de communitas – tal y como la desarrolló el antropólogo británico Victor*

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Turner – ofrece una valiosa herramienta crítica para el análisis tanto del texto novelístico como de su coyuntura histórica.

Palabras clave: Jane Austen; novela gótica; communitas; liminalidad; utopía.

1. INTRODUCTION

My aim in this article is to examine the ideological implications of Catherine Morland's alleged naiveté, or at least what has been customarily read as this character's Gothic-influenced lack of touch with reality in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1817). Through a set of interpersonal associations – namely, through her initial friendship with Isabella Thorpe (and acquaintance with her brother John) and later befriending of Henry and Eleanor Tilney (which ultimately climaxes in her marriage to the former), Catherine exposes two contrastive modes of sociality. One, which privileges social compliance, adherence to the hegemonic values of instrumental rationality and economic gain as they are collectively embraced by the late-eighteenth century middle-classes; and another, which steps back from this consensus and alternatively seeks refuge in the "other" scene of literature and aesthetic sensibility. Catherine's initial approximation to the Thorpes confronts her with a model of social subjectivity, an ethics, so to speak, which principally values position and status. Yet it is also through her acquaintance with Isabella Thorpe that the *other* formula of relationality, which she is then to develop in the company of Henry and Eleanor, is first tested: a *community* of aesthetic identification where the normative injunctions of the "real" world no longer apply, and where the fantastic ingredients of Gothic literature compel a parallel system of feeling and understanding.

Reading Gothic novels furnishes, in *Northanger Abbey*, the "primal scene" or even the excuse of a retreat from the pressing urges of social life. Withdrawing into one's cabinet, or, better still, sharing with another person the pleasures of reading, grants a momentary suspension of public scrutiny, a level of privacy whereby social normativity is acceptably (even ritually, in so far as a certain "ritual" quality accompanies this reading *à deux*) alienated or estranged from individual concern. Thus, what is an eminently private act of consumption provides the key to an interpersonal alliance – to a minor social formation within the overarching social structure. A shared passion for Radcliffean adventure lays the ground for intimacy, for the constitution of the first passionate attachment in *Northanger Abbey*. Indeed, the affective principle of this bond is defined in almost programmatic form by Isabella. Friendship, she claims, in a way which sets the very standards by which her behaviour will then be judged unacceptable, is not bounded by interest or calculation, but rather fleshed out, and modelled on the radical immediacy of

a steadfast attachment: "I have no notion of loving people by halves; it is not my nature. My attachments are always excessively strong" (Austen 1995: 39). The defining trait of Gothic characterisation (namely, extremity of feeling, but also psychological simplicity) is thus borrowed from the ideological universe of the genre and turned into a value of social integration: indeed a value which collides with the normative or structurally hegemonic set of social values, and which is nevertheless repositioned in the new communal arrangement of Catherine's associations (with Isabella, first, and then with the Tilneys) as originary and foundational.

I will try to demonstrate that these alliances or attachments of Catherine's, articulated as they are around Gothic imaginaries – whether literary, pictorial or architectural –, work towards a politically significant denunciation of Austen's contemporary social universe. Gothic functions in the novel as a trope, or indeed a narrative "excuse", whereby the ideological profile of a certain social paradigm is defamiliarised, confronted with the otherness adumbrated by one of its most successful cultural productions. I will furthermore argue that the strategic repudiation of society which Austen enforces (even if parodically) bears the formal traces of a middle passage: Catherine Morland, and the set of interactions which her naïve impersonation induces, can be described as a liminal figure – a figure, that is, excluded, for purposes that will become apparent, from the normative textures of social organisation. In that sense, her much-criticised dysfunctionality, her inability to relate socially at the same level that the other characters do, permits an anti-structural – that is, a counter-normative, heterogeneous or marginal – re-creation of sociality itself. This re-creation is significantly fleshed out in association: shying away from social convention, Catherine's characteristic attempts at community figure a utopian dissolution of the corrupt realities which "real" society has spawned. A new, unblemished community of equals, of readers, of aesthetes, sets out to replace it with authentic sociality, i.e. with a utopian re-creation of the world and the rules she is compelled to accept. My term for Catherine's utopian model of sociality is *communitas*, and I borrow it from Victor Turner (1969).

2. *COMMUNITAS*

Defined by British anthropologist Victor Turner (1995: 126) as the mode of social emergence instituted "where social structure is not", the notion of *communitas* implies a fundamental dimension of otherness, of estrangement or alienation from socio-symbolic normativity, associated with the liminal or middle phase in rites of passage: these are, according to Franco-German folklorist Arnold Van Gennep (quoted in Turner 1995: 94), "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age". All such mechanisms of ritual transition comprise

three phases or stages: one of *separation*, involving detachment of the ritual subject, neophyte or otherwise, from a previous attribute, state or position in the symbolic arrangement of the social structure; a second moment of *margin* or *limen* wherein the individual (or collective undergoing the ritual "passage") experiences a suspension of all features defining both his initial position *and* the state of being to which s/he is "travelling". And finally, a phase of reaggregation into the social fabric whereby a symbolic transformation has most probably been secured.

Communitas is invested with the notional attributes of an interstitial formation, a mode of sociality which – either genetically or strategically – ceases to partake of the organisational principle sustaining the social structure. With this notion, Turner seeks to highlight the generative potential of that which cannot be integrated into the positive textures of a given social arrangement – that which is, by definition, excluded from the homogeneous space of norms, pacts and openly accepted values. In saying "homogeneous", of course, we are indirectly acknowledging a complementary dimension, namely "heterogeneous", where positive sociality is glossed over in coded fashion: that is, a territory of social action and cognition where rules encounter their temporal suspension, where social pacts are "displaced" by local breaches of conduct, and generally, where the normative profile of the social body is reformulated, reinvented, and made "other". The positivity of society is suspended at those points where spontaneous aggregation, where immediacy and affectivity make themselves manifest. In other words, *communitas* arises where normalised conduct fails.

This breakthrough of a primary component in social organisation (this "bursting forth" of something which the community always already had, but managed to control, to code and ritualise into patterned and situation-bound behaviour) could at the same time be said to betray a wish-fulfilment or utopian resolution of the palpable tensions in "official" society. Turner (1995: 127) hints at this utopian dimension of *communitas* as he quotes Martin Buber for support of his formulation:

> Community [Buber's term for what Turner calls *communitas*] is the being no longer side by side (and, one might add, above and below) but *with* one another of a multitude of persons. And this multitude, though it moves towards one goal, yet experiences everywhere a turning to, a dynamic facing of, the others, a flowing from *I* to *Thou*. Community is where community happens.

In Buber's inflection, *communitas* thematises the proximal element of interpersonal association regardless of institutional distinctions or discriminations: *communitas* is thus immanent to the individuals who "make" it; it does not occur in an externally imposed gesture but in the very act of association. *Communitas* is thus founded upon the energies which normative sociality represses – it is made up of the very materials which social reason would disparage as wasteful, unproductive or otherwise noxious to the ordinary functioning of institutional life.

What this para-structure (or anti-structure, in Turner's words) valorises is precisely the minimal bond – that is, the basic unit – upon which the social contract is established and which the latter then proceeds to revoke in order to become hegemonic. Turner insists that *communitas* is not an independent or evolutionary state of society, but a dialectical requirement of social structure itself, which demands it as an internal mode of negativity. In other words, "structure" (i.e. normative, positive sociality) cannot function without *communitas*, that is, without the kernel of excess – of anti-sociality – pulsing at its core. Both are genetically inter-related and dependent in a way that "[m]aximization of communitas prokoves maximization of structure, which in its turn produces revolutionary strivings for renewed communitas" (Turner 1995: 129).

The social body is thus confronted, in liminal processes, with radical negativity, with the possibility of being totally other – that is, of suspending the symbolic injunction to embrace a pre-figured identity, a position or a set of attributes – with the social sanction of ritual behaviour. In this sense, the realm of being (liminal or "sacred", as opposed to secular, in Turner's ethnological emphasis) which surfaces in rites of passage can be said to offer an alter-image of society, to induce a *ritualised* (that is, socially-scripted and therefore, symbolically acceptable) "defamiliarisation" of normative values, assumptions and practices. The "realm of being" which emerges in such processes is characterised by a desertion of socially hegemonic distinctions and categorisations. The communitas resulting from liminal passages or traversals (or rather, the *communitas* which inhabits such processes) is a highly provisional re-creation of social bonds which "re-invents" sociality across its margins.

3. *COMMUNITAS* AND FRIENDSHIP

Catherine's progress to maturity is defined, as we have already announced, by her symptomatic encounter with two antithetical paradigms of feeling. Coinciding with her arrival at the fashionable world of Bath, her meeting with Isabella and her brother John confronts the young inexperienced girl with the apparent extremes of Gothic passionate idealism, on the one hand, and anti-Gothic utilitarianism, on the other. The Thorpes occupy, as it were, a central position in the symbolic economy of Bath and the school of sociality it represents for Catherine. In Isabella, she encounters that principle of association, that bond of intimacy which first signals a departure from maternal attachment. In this primal imagination of social experience beyond the confines of parental control, novels mark a bridge of intimate communication – a promise, so to speak, of adult privacy:[1]

1. In other words, a mode of interiority no longer guided by maternal vigilance or subjection.

> They called each other by their Christian name, were always arm-in-arm when they walked, pinned up each other's train for the dance, and were not to be divided in the set; and, if a rainy morning deprived them of other enjoyments, they were still resolute in meeting in defiance of wet and dirt, and shut themselves up to read novels. (Austen 1995: 36)

Isabella's reading tastes seem to backdrop and sanction her principles of interpersonal affect/conduct. First, and according to the tenor of her avowed intentions,[2] in terms of an extremity of feeling that would not allow, on account of its "purity" and Gothic heroine-style innocence, for duplicity or betrayal. And secondly, in a gesture that displaces her initial and, so to speak, programmatic character, by betraying Catherine's blind faith in her and her words. It is then Isabella Thorpe who not only introduces Catherine to a (for her) hitherto unexplored sphere of social existence, but effectively rehearses the modes and paradigms of ethicality which will govern her development throughout the novel: by declaring her wholehearted attachment to friendship, she lays the, as it were, "theoretical" foundations upon which Catherine's affective life will stand. Likewise, in betraying her friend and her own avowed system of values, Isabella unwittingly lectures Catherine on the counter-principle which rules supreme in real life. Pure innocence and duplicitous villainy are thus, in a sense, the combined modes which Isabella presents to Catherine, both in their literary, utopian form (in so far as she introduces Catherine to the genre), and in the lived dimension of interpersonal action.

The Gothic formula (the combination of innocence, practical ignorance of the workings of society and the more tortuous human mind, as well as environmental threats jeopardising the heroine's pure attachments) is tested in what we could almost term meta-narrative fashion. Catherine is thus, in a sense, the helpless heroine the narrator ironically suggests at several points, whilst Isabella ends up impersonating a mode of villainy (combining duplicity and treachery) which finally confronts them as antagonists. Hints of Isabella's untruthful embrace of Gothic innocence already occur in the early stages of their acquaintance, where Isabella is shown to be endowed with notions and ideas which wholly escape Catherine's untrained social "intelligence". Thus, it appears that the latter is taken aback by her friend's suggestion that she, Catherine, might, under certain circumstances – namely, upon meeting a man rather of Isabella's liking – come to betray her:

> '[…] I prefer light eyes; and as to complexion, do you know, I like sallow better than any other. You must not betray me, if you should ever meet with one of your acquaintance answering that description.'
> 'Betray you! What do you mean?'

2. "There is nothing I would not do for those who are really my friends. I have no notion of loving people by halves; it is not my nature. My attachments are always excessively strong" (Austen 1995: 39).

> 'Nay, do not distress me. I believe I have said too much. Let us drop the subject.' (Austen 1995: 41)

Catherine's reaction to the suggestion is one of utter bewilderment. She is simply not equipped with the dialectical ability or referential background to symbolise Isabella's words as part of a socially-established code of conduct.

Her lack of social know-how confines Catherine to a kind of symbolic limbo where the sole ruling principles – of ethicality, judgement, etc. – are those dictated by the Gothic convention. Both impaired and protected by her "ignorance", Catherine retreats into a realm of ideational solipsism: even if it is true that she is duped into a friendly fiction with Isabella, whereby the latter seeks to advance her position through marriage to her brother, and which signifies Catherine's first revelation of social ignominy, it is no less true that this dysfunctional quality of hers acts as a preserve against compliance with that very code of conduct. Her symptomatic immaturity, identified by the narrator as emotional self-engrossment, effects a paradoxical displacement or suspension of socially hegemonic values. It could thus be argued that Catherine's symbolic stature in the novel is that of a liminal impersonation responding to structural requirements of estrangement or distancing from ordinary normative life, and consequently introducing an element of ritual defamiliarisation of those social contents regarded as functional, appropriate or even "natural". This liminal quality is cemented both by the marginal archetypes of sociality which her allegedly "engrossed" subjectivity cultivates, and also by the properly anti-structural or anti-social nature connoted by (especially female) readers' privacies.

Indeed, an image of young sensibility-ridden middle-class women readers, presumptively isolated from their social surroundings, and deep in self-indulgent reverie, underpins what is without doubt the traumatic primal scene of eighteenth-century literacy. Bourgeois notions of privacy thus secure an especially productive ideological matrix, which both underpins the social necessities of an emergent reading culture and fosters ambiguous psychic by-products. Solitary imaginings can be perceived as problematical from the viewpoint of propriety, as well as potentially threatening to the mechanisms of normalisation instituted by the dictates of class and gender. As Patricia Meyer Spacks (2003: 10) has pointed out:

> [T]he possibility of feeling and thinking without witnesses readily evoked danger. Especially when commentators imagined young people or women reading alone, reading in privacy, they often imagined dark contingencies: uncontrolled, uncontrollable fantasies leading inevitably to disaster […] Reading was vicarious experience, which could only be undergone by individuals. But experience needed rationing, especially for female consumption […] The kind of vicarious experience generally considered most dangerous involved the imagining of other people's privacies.

Such dark contingencies constitute a clear source of social anxiety: by expanding beyond the limits of respectability; that is, by reaching – in solipsistic self-alienation through fantasy – the outside of acceptable sociality, the very legitimacy of the distinction acceptable/unacceptable is indirectly questioned and problematised. The dysfunctional subject – the young and naïve girl entering a world and a system of values she is not adequately steeped in – thus introduces a rule of estrangement whereby normal or hegemonic "reality" is confronted, from an internal point of otherness, with its hitherto unchallenged claims to naturalisation. In that sense, it is Catherine's encounter with different characters throughout the story, and more specifically, her naïve and inexperienced approach to them, which comes to reveal or expose the contradictions which each of them harbours. Her bewilderment at Isabella's petty – yet symptomatic – banter about betrayal, for example, calls our attention to a feature which would have otherwise passed unnoticed as discursively "normal" or "natural". Similarly, it is a lack of understanding of John Thorpe's social tactics which "estranges" the latter from unquestioning acceptance by the reader. His undisguised interest in the financial aspects of personal connections is exposed in conversation with Catherine, and even highlighted by her inability to conceive of such matters in equally unromantic (or, in the sense we have suggested, anti-Gothic) terms:

> A silence of several minutes succeeded their first short dialogue. It was broken by Thorpe's saying very abruptly, 'Old Allen is as rich as a Jew, is not he?' Catherine did not understand him, and he repeated his question, adding in explanation, 'Old Allen, the man you are with.'
> 'Oh! Mr Allen you mean. Yes, I believe he is very rich.' (Austen 1995: 62)

Such calculations are part of an emergent prototype of middle class "reason" according to which, private interest is promoted by all means available. "Vanity", a term which comes to symbolise many of the features of social *savoir-faire* that Catherine finds (especially through John's impersonation) disagreeable, is perhaps the semantic watershed between her initial blindness to the Thorpes' duplicity, and her ensuing identification of a core of falsity which ends up alienating her "dearest" friend Isabella from her unwavering affection. Her early unveiling of John's true nature introduces a basic yardstick of "impudence", double talk and mendaciousness which will then prove applicable to his sister: Catherine "had not been brought up to understand the propensities of a rattle, nor to know to how many idle assertions and impudent falsehoods the excess of vanity will lead" (Austen 1995: 64).

Measured against the hieratic or flat psychological – and indeed ethical – profiles offered by Gothic characters (note that Catherine's actions are often judged or compared with Radcliffean standards: her own "adventures" are tentatively mapped onto Emily St Aubin's, for example), the Thorpes and other ambiguous yet characteristically late

eighteenth-century middle-class individuals, such as General Tilney, come in for a considerable amount of criticism. In that sense, the Gothic paradigm which the novel seems to chastise for lack of adjustment to reality (that is, to the hegemonic or "ideological" system of values), offers a paradoxical glimpse on the moral authenticity (that is, the taxonomical or typological transparency of the different characters: villain, heroine, servant, hero, etc.[3]) which the world of Bath and her socially proficient relations are desperately lacking in.

In effect, the question of authenticity is characteristically apposite to the emergent Romantic mood and its quest for an original purity to which to ascribe the present virtues of any given social impersonation.[4] Catherine's acquaintance with Eleanor Tilney – which simultaneously opens a door to further contact with her brother Henry – marks a shift in the novel from the prevalent inauthenticity of the Thorpes to a new stage of Catherine's socialisation, in which interpersonal affections are finally placed above the petty calculations of selfish interest and the rhetorical twists of mendacity *à la* Thorpe.

Catherine's almost immediate liking of Eleanor stems from a recognition in her of precisely that "something" which the fashionable world of Bath is gradually revealed to be deprived of:

> Miss Tilney had a good figure […] and her air, though it had not all the decided pretension, the resolute stilishness, of Miss Thorpe's, had more real elegance. Her manners shewed good sense and good breeding; […] she seemed capable of being young, attractive, and at a ball, without wanting to fix the attention of every man near her, and without exaggerated feelings of extatic delight or inconceivable vexation on every little trifling occurrence. (Austen 1995: 54)

Miss Tilney's balanced character strikes a sharp contrast with the "excessively strong" passions avowed by Isabella. Eleanor's balance is a measure of her disregard for covert and egotistical interest; a fundamental mark, as the course of the narrative will reveal, of authenticity, which Catherine will immediately recognise as kindred to her liminal position amongst social conventionalisms and received codes of behaviour.

4. TOWARDS AN AESTHETIC *COMMUNITAS*

Catherine Morland's dysfunctionality places her, as we have seen, in a structurally anti-hegemonic position which both estranges her character from the social norm

3. It could be argued that a neat specialisation of functions or character typologies, such as that which we encounter in folk-tales, encapsulates a core of primordial simplicity synonymous with truthfulness.

4. For a sustained discussion of this notion in the broad context of the so-called Romantic age and its eighteenth-century precedents, see Berman (1970).

(initially portraying her as ignorant, naïve or self-engrossed) and achieves a critical distance from where the natural assumptions of social functioning are relativised. Her "eccentricity" with regard to the structural imperatives of sociality introduces a realm of detachment, a liminal state which offers a relatively stable – and structurally required – cancellation of normativity. Turner, as we know, identifies this modality of structural defection with the term *communitas*.

Communitas appears where the system of symbolic presuppositions, where the causal structure of social life is brought to a standstill, and a spontaneous articulation of interpersonal affects and collective energies is allowed to crystallise. Catherine's instinctual search for authentic bonds of friendship and association can be explained as an embrace of *communitas*, as a re-foundation of inter-subjectivity upon a set of principles or values (namely those markers of *authencity*) which the hegemonic norm does not recognise, or seems, at least, to have depreciated. Her encounter with the Tilneys re-awakens a sense of veracity, of truthfulness and naturalness which only the "virtual" *communitas* of novel-reading had hitherto managed to secure for her. What Eleanor – first, and then Henry – conveys is a substantial – rather than purely gestural – embodiment of those qualities which, for Catherine, effectively signal a recuperation of past values and *whole*, as opposed to duplicitous or divided, characters.

It is worth noting that the beginning of her acquaintance with Eleanor is marked by a physical substitution of Bath's rustic surroundings for the vilified urban setting of her tentative friendship with Isabella. The opening of chapter fourteen brings with it a reversal or counter-action of preceding moments in the novel where the Thorpes had commanded Catherine's attention. Chapter thirteen had already witnessed the reproachful comments advanced by Isabella regarding Catherine's "having more affection for Miss Tilney, though she had known her so little a while" (Austen 1995: 94). Catherine's reaction to such language is, again, one of puzzlement, whilst differences of character and manner between the increasingly oppositional figures of Eleanor and Isabella begin to form in her mind.

> Was it the part of a friend thus to expose her feelings to the notice of others? Isabella appeared to her ungenerous and selfish, regardless of everything but her own gratification. These painful ideas crossed her mind, though she said nothing. (Austen 1995: 94)

Against such demanding egotism, which Catherine had heretofore misinterpreted as unfailing devotion to friendship, the counter-image offered by the Tilneys introduces a salutary source of considerateness far away from the baroque excesses of civility *à la* Thorpe (whether full of pathos, as is the case of Isabella, or saturated with boorish tastelessness, in the case of John).

Her excursion with Henry and Eleanor to Beechen Cliff adumbrates a new mode of interpersonal empathy whereby literacy grows out of the socially scripted

circuit of mechanical consumption: her gentle quibbles and increasing complicity with Henry in the endearing presence of his sister, sharply contrast, for example, with her routine, and, in retrospect, essentially *inauthentic* sampling of Gothic novels in the company of Isabella. Moreover, Catherine's assumption that Henry will prove no less dismissive of the Gothic canon than John Thorpe is proven wrong. She is surprised to learn that the latter's insight into novel-reading in fact reaches beyond stereotypical gender ascriptions. Henry's knowledge demonstrates a degree of understanding and sure-footedness in literary and generally intellectual matters which comes to displace the prevalent archetypes of masculinity in the novel. Henry Tilney does not appear to partake of the hegemonic injunction to social promotion and financial gain which underpins an expanding bourgeois mentality. On the contrary, his affinity with an "old-fashioned" sense of taste, which carefully concerns itself, for example, with original – and hence, pure and uncorrupted – meanings in words,[5] pitches his ideological imaginary, so to speak, at the antipodes of Bath's mundane preoccupations.

A genuine blend of unaffected simplicity (in Eleanor) and genuine taste (in Henry) figures the Tilney siblings as a repository of excitement and naturalness – as an incarnation of all those qualities which the reified world of marriage engineering and fashionable salon show lightly dispense with. In a sense, Beechen Cliff stands for Catherine's entry into a new domain of sociality which actualises, in flesh and bone, the purity – the moral authenticity/simplicity – of Gothic fictions. As Fred Botting (1996: 7) has observed, the genre was not only an occasion for stylistic excess: on the contrary, they "presented different, more exciting, worlds in which heroines in particular could encounter not only frightening violence but also adventurous freedom". Gothic novels thus stand, symbolically, against a backdrop of instrumental rationality where egotistic advancement had apparently abolished the aristocratic virtue of foregone social schemata. As such, they come to represent a symbolic negation of the real world Catherine is forced to inhabit.

Henry's preoccupation with literacy, with the plastic qualities of the scenery, as well as his modulated disregard for political issues,[6] makes his latent aristocratism all the more patent. In a way, his distance from the *worldly*, and indeed tasteless, concerns of a John Thorpe is commensurate with the gulf separating bourgeois valorisations of self-interest and aristocratic notions of social harmony. As the

5. See the way he mocks Catherine for her expansive use of the word "nice" (Austen 1995: 96).

6. Note how conversation leads Henry from the aesthetic qualities of the countryside they are walking through to politics, which almost instantly precipitates interlocutors into silence: "Henry suffered the subject to decline, and, by an easy transition from a piece of rocky fragment […] to forests, the enclosure of them, waste lands, crown lands and government – he shortly found himself arrived at politics; and from politics it was an easy step to silence" (Austen 1995: 100).

Earl of Shaftesbury (quoted in Eagleton 1990: 35) had once observed in a "long-gone" past (the seventeeth-century[7]) where petty interests were still kept at bay by "good" traditional sense, a developed sensitivity to beauty is "advantageous to social affection, and highly assistant to virtue, which is itself no other than the love of order and beauty in society".

Chapter fourteen, then, marks a turning point in *Northanger Abbey* at the same time that it introduces a utopian frame of reference, that is, a modality of interaction predicated on a set of principles different from those which "civility" and "sociality" had raised to normative status. A *communitas* of aesthetic sympathies is thus to replace the rule-governed (secular, we could say in Turner's anthropological language) programme of social interaction, infinitely sullied and corrupted by financial fetishism and status obsession. Shielded by her ignorance and lack of social ability (as the narrator ironically observes, she fails to exploit her lacunae as a lure for "attracting a clever young man"), Catherine is wholly absorbed by the Tilneys' aesthetic insights and capacity to expand her social referents beyond the debilitating patterns of Bath's middle classes:

> They were viewing the country with the eyes of persons accustomed to drawing; and decided on its capability of being formed into pictures, with all the eagerness of real taste. Here Catherine was quite lost. She knew nothing of drawing – nothing of taste. (Austen 1995: 106)

Her lack of cultural competence in these matters proves nevertheless a considerable advantage. Thanks to it, and beyond the more or less cynical reasons adduced by the narrator (namely, that "imbecility in females is a great enhancement of their personal charms" (Austen 1995: 106)), her intellectual virginity comes to enact a liminal state – according to Turner's characterisation of the same[8] – in which sociality is itself freely reinvented upon new, and arguably better, foundations. Thus, she does not hesitate for a minute when it comes to physically disparaging Bath as visually – and perhaps ideologically – incompatible with the newly discovered realm of authenticity upon Beechen Cliff: "Catherine was so hopeful a scholar, that when they gained the top of Beechen Cliff, she voluntarily rejected the whole city of Bath, as unworthy to make part of a landscape" (Austen 1995: 107).

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7. That is, the time of "moral sense" theory, the English Revolution and a whole series of events retrospectively loaded from the standpoint of the late eighteenth-century with mythical value. See, in this respect, Edmund Burke's contrastive analysis, in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), of both English and French Revolutions.

8. "The neophyte in liminality must be a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate, on which is inscribed the knowledge and wisdom of the group, in those respects that pertain to the new status" (Turner 1995: 103); "liminal phenomena offer [a blend] of lowliness and sacredness, of homogeneity and comradeship" (Turner 1995: 96).

An aesthetic-cum-ethical *communitas* is thus implicitly formed between the Tilneys (especially Henry) and Catherine Morland on the day of their countryside excursion. Her Gothic-inspired naïveté, which in the symbolic universe of fashionable society transacted as social inadequacy (or illiteracy, even), is granted a first glimpse of possibility beyond the seemingly compulsory – i.e. hegemonic – modes and rituals of socialisation and courting. The world of Bath is thus confronted, as it were, with its natural obverse. The rules of social show, of duplicity and calculation, which the Thorpes are revealed to master, fail to account for the sublime truthfulness of a landscape which towers in front of one's eyes without further sanction than its frontal (i.e. uncorrupted and genuine) aestheticism. Those urban "Rooms" in which the newer middle-classes forge their economic promotion, those spaces of normative sociality in which John Thorpe can dismiss Gothic literature as proof of his "hav[ing] something else to do" are precisely what this aesthetic compact between social dysfunctionality or "illiteracy" (as represented by Catherine) and "sensibility" (as represented by Henry, and to some extent, Eleanor) manage to estrange.

5. NORTHANGER ABBEY, OR STRUCTURAL RECOMPOSITION

Catherine's invitation to Northanger Abbey arrests the book's drift of social criticism in a way which prepares the narrative and its readers for a reinscription of marginality or liminality (that is, those elements of anti-hegemonic *communitas* valorised through the aesthetic renunciation of Bath and its ideological referents) into the social structure. In that sense, the *explosion* of anti-structural affect which the Beechen Cliff episode bears witness to, is given an "excessive" twist: Catherine's unrestrained fascination with her new friends, the Tilneys, reaches a summit of fantasmatic fruition upon her arrival at the Abbey. Her imaginative readiness for Gothic distortions of reality, which in the said episode opened the door to a utopian cancellation of compulsory sociality, is now taken to the anti-structural (that is, to the fanciful, aesthetic or "literary") extreme of dreaming up a hidden plot whereby Henry's father, her adored General Tilney, would have murdered his wife under the "gloomy" vaults of Northanger. This excessive and unacceptable flight of the same imagination which, a few chapters earlier, had *imagined* Bath *out* of the scenic picture upon Beechen Cliff[9] calls for a riposte from her fellow associate in the anti-social *communitas*, Henry, which may redress the balance necessary for narrative closure. It is evident that the latter cannot be articulated outside of social normativity, that marriage – which is soon to follow – presupposes the stage of reaggregation

9. The "imagination", that is, which had, over the preceding chapters, exposed the failings and hypocrisies of a social body infected with utilitarianism and lack of sensibility.

which rites of passage conclude with. Thus, the anti-structural component of Catherine's characterisation, and the Tilneys' affective pact with her, is, in a sense,[10] demanded by Austen's *implicit* vindication of sociality as an indispensable principle of individual maturation.

It may be worth expanding briefly on the ideological consequences deriving from this narrative contortion. Austen's unequivocal judgements on prevalent middle-class ways are disseminated throughout the novel in a way which prepares the reader to countenance Catherine's journey to maturity as a challenge to mere ideological compliance. On the other hand, the author's politics appear to rely, ultimately, on a reinscription of individuality, no matter how dysfunctional or, for that reason, utopian – i.e. anti-conventional, oppositional or liminal –, in the global pattern of social structure. In that sense, her solution, her response, to the undeniably fallen state of current affairs could not consist of a definitive embrace of the anti-social temptation. Sociality is structurally required; even if the present incarnation offers a poor archetype on which to model one's actions and interactions.

This qualification is fundamental as it spells out the – for that matter, abyssal – difference between, say, a Rousseaunian (that is, a French-radical) and a Burkean (i.e. British-conservative) analysis of the ills affecting social organisation. For the latter, the problem resides in the corrupting dynamic of historical evolution, which is generally synonymous with a wholesale dismantling of the traditional affections sustaining the social pact. The loss of a moral outlook on sociality has thus engendered a host of lowly passions where individual interest (taken in its degenerate, middle-class inflection) seems to command the primary moves of social activity. The spirit of the nation, of the collectivity, suffers from a depreciation of the immaterial traits which had given it its substance, its inalienable identity. What truly defines a social body is not the positive structure of a juridical system or state apparatus, but the *spiritual* essence which underlies and ultimately accounts for its symbolic order. According to Burke (quoted in Tanner 1986: 26-27):

> Manners are of more importance than laws. Upon them, in a great measure, the laws depend. The law touches us but here and there, and now and then. Manners are what vex and soothe, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarise or refine us […] They give their whole form and colour to our lives. According to their quality, they aid morals, they supply them, or they totally destroy them.

10. In the precise sense in which Turner pre-figures liminality and communitas as ultimately dependent on a structural reinscription.

A radical individualist approach such as Rousseau's would, on the contrary, argue that society is, by definition, inimical to the free development of individuality.[11] Only the caring, the affectionate protection catered by a maternal presence may immunise the individual from the festering poison of society:

> Man's nature is like a young tree which, by chance, has been born in the middle of a great highway. If it were left to itself the traffic would crash into its every limb, mutilate all its senses, and kill it before long.
> Tender, anxious mother, I appeal to you. You know how important it is to separate this newborn tree from the great highway, to protect it from the crushing force of social conventions! Cultivate and water the young plant before it dies; one day its fruit will reward your care. First of all, you must build a wall around your child's soul […] (Rousseau, quoted in Berman 1971: 165)

Rousseau's appeal in *Émile* to the nurturing safeguard of man's organic/natural originality is necessarily incompatible with a sanctioning endorsement (through marriage, for example, as *Northanger Abbey* does) of social conventions. The Rousseaunian image of a defenceless originary nature accosted by the socialising machine resonates with the possibility of securing *communitas* as a permanent state beyond social normativity: a state of human development ontologically liminal, and in that sense, free from the processual constraints of ritual reaggregation. Austen's ideological universe cannot conclude on the same note. Both narrative form and political programme thus agree upon the necessity of a stable synthesis between what is (social structure) and what radically, that is – in the novel's terms –, fancifully or excessively, negates it.

Henry's rebuke of Catherine's fanciful speculations about his mother's fate connects, to some extent, with the anti-hegemonic impetus which had led him to revel in the reading of Gothic novels and to expatiate on the pictorial qualities of Bath's rural surroundings: it is indirectly critical of a nation which has substituted a social reality of "voluntary spies" where "roads and newspapers lay everything open" (Austen 1995: 186) for the harmonious organicity of traditional bonds and relations. The realisation that "in the central part of England there was surely some security for the existence even of a wife not beloved, in the laws of the land and the manners of the age" (Austen 1995: 188), and other such *loaded* observations may effectively contribute to the defamiliarising effects achieved by Catherine's fanciful (i.e. romantic, Gothic or simply novelistic) conceits upon ordinary reality. However, no definitive rejection of available structures can ensue, no permanent

11. For that matter, Rousseau's English followers, amongst whom William Godwin features most prominently, would go to great (even novelistic) lengths to denounce the universally corruptive potential of social organisation as such. See, for example, Seamus Deane (1988).

liminality can be secured. *Communitas* (that of Gothic-reading, of anti-instrumental aestheticism) is scripted as a self-distancing effect *of* the positive structure, internal to it, rather than a wholesale renunciation. That is the precise sense in which Turner claims that achieving *communitas* most frequently involves reinforcing the structure – that is, the positive set of institutional apparatuses – from which the liminal formation originally signalled a defection.

It is fair to maintain, then, that Austen's overall effect in this novel is one of ideological adherence to sociality and its institutional components. This is certainly not to deny the fundamental core of utopian estrangement to which the Gothic (and in a broader sense, aesthetic, anti-social or *communitarian*) trope of opposition to normalised conduct subjects the latter. On the contrary, it is precisely thanks to this internal or structurally requisite quality of anti-social *communitas* that – what I have called – the Gothic "trope" of *Northanger Abbey* emerges in a dialectical light: fanciful excess ("Gothic imagination") is a salutary function of self-estrangement whereby the social contract is safeguarded. Confronted with *what* we *are not*, the ideological profile of that pronoun is conveniently reinforced at the same time that a utopian beyond, that a radically "other" image of the social pact, is adumbrated.

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OVERTNESS-COVERTNESS IN ADVERTISING GENDER METAPHORS[1]

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ABSTRACT. *This paper aims at demonstrating that weak communication (overt and covert) can have an important influence on the choice, specification and interpretation of ideological metaphors in advertising. We focus here on a concrete type of ideological metaphor, advertising gender metaphor. We present a description of advertising gender metaphors, subtypes (cases of metaphorical gender, universal gender metaphors and cultural gender metaphors) and crosscategorisation in a case study of 1142 adverts published in British Cosmopolitan (years 1999 and 2000). We next assess "overtness-covertness" in the advertising gender metaphors in our sample. In considering this we also look at the conventional-innovative scale of these metaphors, and examine their discrimination against men and women. The intended value of this paper lies in its examination of both weak overt and covert types of communication in relation both to cognitive and pragmatic theorising of metaphor, and, more generally, to theorising advertising communication.*

Keywords: advertising, gender, metaphor, ostensive communication, covert communication.

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COMUNICACIÓN OSTENSIVA Y ENCUBIERTA EN LAS METÁFORAS DE GÉNERO EN LA PUBLICIDAD

RESUMEN. *Este artículo tiene como objetivo demostrar que la comunicación débil (ostensiva y encubierta) puede jugar un papel importante en la elección, especificación e interpretación de metáforas ideológicas en la publicidad. Nos centraremos aquí en un tipo concreto de metáfora ideológica, la metáfora publicitaria de género. Presentaremos una descripción de las metáforas publicitarias de género, subtipos (ejemplos de género metafórico, metáforas universales de género y metáforas culturales de género), así como ejemplos híbridos en un estudio de 1142 anuncios publicados en British Cosmopolitan (años 1999 y 2000). A continuación valoraremos el carácter "ostensivo-encubierto" de las metáforas publicitarias de nuestra muestra. Al considerar este aspecto también analizaremos el valor convencional o innovador de estas metáforas y examinaremos su discriminación frente a hombres y mujeres. El valor de este artículo radica en el análisis tanto de los tipos de comunicación débil ostensiva como encubierta en relación tanto con la teoría cognitiva y pragmática de la metáfora, así como, de forma más general, con la teoría de la comunicación publicitaria.*

Palabras clave: publicidad, género, metáfora, comunicación ostensiva, comunicación encubierta.

1. INTRODUCTION

Traditional studies have often presented figurative language as language used for distortion, disguise and concealment. Locke (1961: 105, quoted in Goatly 1997: 105), for example, denounced figurative language as follows: "all artificial and figurative application of words eloquence hath invented, are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move the passions, and thereby mislead the judgement, and so indeed are perfect cheat". Due to this distortion it is not strange that for centuries persuaders have used figurative language to maximise their persuasive effect on the audience. Metaphors, for instance, naturally involve a distortion and thus a disguise, a distraction from the immediate impression of the real object (cf. Goatly 1997: 160). They are used to compare things that are apparently different yet have something in common, thus helping the audience to escape their previous way of seeing by looking at something from a different angle (cf. Borchers 2005: 189). Moreover, beyond this epistemological and ontological perspective of metaphors as disguising language we need to concentrate on its ideological side. Indeed the impossibility of non-analogical reasoning brings us face to face with the relation between ideology and metaphor. Metaphors are not a mere reflection of a pre-existing objective reality but a construction of reality. Hence they can be used

to construct reality as a means of maintaining or challenging power relations in society (Goatly 1997: 155). Therefore all metaphors seem to be ideological in origin. As Goatly (1997: 157) argues "probably all metaphors express an ideological substratum of which we are normally unaware". Consequently the choice of metaphors can have both far-reaching cognitive as well as ideological consequences (Goatly 1997: 79). Researchers contend that the presence of metaphor when used for disguise and concealment, especially to prevaricate or avoid responsibility for what one says in influential types of discourse (e.g. political, religion, advertising, etc.) can be an indicator of the so-called "covert communication". In her book *Advertising Language: A Pragmatic Approach to Advertisements in Britain and Japan* (1994) Tanaka shows how metaphor can be used for covert communication, to make indirect claims for which the advertiser can later avoid responsibility.

Nowadays ideological metaphors are both highly pervasive and latent in advertising. If, as we have seen, metaphors may disguise, mislead and misrepresent, even to a greater extent than ordinary language and, as we will see, they demand a higher level of processing than ordinary language one may wonder why advertisers engage in strategies such as covert metaphors to state controversial claims rather than avoiding them. Therefore a question is raised over the need for covertness in advertising and advertising metaphors in the first place. Indeed recent advertising literature from cognitive and social psychology as well as audience reception studies argue that advertising effects are nowadays subtle and strategies are largely transparent (Bogart 1990; Jones 1997, 1999; de Chenecey 2000; Sutherland and Sylvester 2000; Sutherland 2001; Crook 2004). Yet, even if we accept, as argued by these studies, that nowadays advertising covertness is sparingly used, the question is: "why is still in use?". The answer to this question may well be found in the workings of today mediated advertising persuasion.

Advertising persuasion is vastly different today than it has been for centuries. Media and other forms of technology have altered individuals and cultures and, consequently, the ways we produce and receive persuasive communication. On the one hand, persuasion today is audience-oriented. The addresser (or persuader) does not necessarily have an authoritative position and uses language strategies and visual images to suggest meaning to an audience, but the audience, using its own attitudes and reasoning skills, constructs its own meaning. On the other hand, in today world of mediated persuasion much is left unsaid. As a result, a persuader's argument usually relies less on data and reasoning and more on emotive claims he or she advances (Borchers 2005: 5-6; 22). Persuasion therefore is characterised in advertising by "gentle, mental biasing" rather than "heavy-weight persuasion" (Sutherland and Sylvester 2000: 8) traditionally associated with "double-glazing salesmen" (Tanaka

1999: 39). This means that traditional "hard-sell strategies" (Kwanka 1993) such as, for example, the use of verbal imperatives (i.e. *Buy X. Go and get X right away*, etc.) are generally avoided or at least suppressed in the more sophisticated kinds of consumer advertising today. Possibilities for this change include the use of innovative verbal and non-verbal rhetorical figures, which are probably felt to be less aggressive and may be regarded as a transition from hard-selling to soft-selling strategies. In nowadays advertising images containing rhetorical figures may be sufficient to evoke the desire and even stimulate the action that leads to the advertised product or service acquisition and consumption. In some cases the conceptual link of these figures, mostly metaphors and metonymies, is not explicitly expressed at all, but it is to be regarded as an underlying, but nevertheless, conceptual component of the advert – the "missing conceptual link" (Ungerer 2000: 324).

Therefore if, for the time being, we accept "covertness" and probably "weak overt communication" as prevailing features in the modern advertising discourse, we can now proceed to investigate how both examples of weak communication might help to explain the effectiveness, and sometimes the failure, of a particular type of ideologically-loaded figure in advertising: gender metaphors. The discussion will begin in section 2, by tackling the role of covert communication in advertising. In section 3 we will focus on advertising gender metaphors, illustrating their presence in a sample of 1142 commercial adverts taken from *British Cosmopolitan*, published between January 1999 and March 2000. Next, in section 4 we will tackle "overtness-covertness" in the advertising gender metaphors in our sample. In considering this we will assess the "conventional-innovative scale of metaphors" as a determining factor for covertness in advertising gender metaphors. We will then quantify the cases of conventional and innovative examples of the gender metaphors included in our sample, look at their correspondence with covert and overt communicated advertising gender metaphors and examine their discrimination against men and women. Finally, in section 5, we will draw together the various issues raised in the course of this paper, offering an overall conclusion.

2. COVERT COMMUNICATION IN ADVERTISING DISCOURSE

The notion of covert communication is not uncontroversial. It seems to be incompatible or even oxymoronic with a view of communication (cf. Crook 2004: 721). As Sperber and Wilson (1995: 30) argue "one tends to think of communication as something done overtly: either your behaviour makes it clear that you are communicating or else you are not truly communicating at all". Yet, despite this "contradictio in terminis" of the term "covert communication" then what other explanation can be accounted for the type of communication or information transmission where the source and his/her informative intentions remain hidden

and assumptions are made manifest, but not mutually so? (cf. Crook 2004: 720). Other terms used to name this type of communication have been "covert forms of information transmission" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 30), "covert persuasion" or "propaganda" (Sproule 1994, quoted in Borchers 2005: 269).

According to Bencherif and Tanaka (1987; quoted in Tanaka 1999: 41) covert communication opposes ostensive (or overt) communication and takes place when the speaker's informative intention is not made mutually manifest. They define it as follows:

> *Covert communication*: a case of communication where the intention of the speaker is to alter the cognitive environment[2] of the hearer, i.e. to make a set of assumptions more manifest to her[3], without making this intention mutually manifest.

This notion of covert communication works within a relevance-theoretic framework, which is an expansion of Sperber and Wilson's seminal work on ostensive-inferential communication. This is in direct opposition to the code model view of communication, which advances the idea of communication as the mere transmission of information. Relevance theory constitutes an attempt to characterise communication as achieved by means of the recognition of intentions, the consequent mutuality of the cognitive environment and the operation of inferential processes (Crook 2004: 721). In this sense, the distinction between informative intention and communicative intention, the audience's search for optimal relevance and its interest in cost-effectiveness are of crucial significance in characterising covert communication (Tanaka 1999: 40-43). First regarding intentions[4] communication is seen as involving an informative intention which is embedded within a second-order communication intention (Crook 2004: 718). Both types of intention are defined by Sperber and Wilson (1995: 58, 61) as follows:

> *Informative intention*: to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions.
> *Communicative intention*: to make it mutually manifest to audience and communicator that the communicator has this informative intention.

"Overt communication" consists of the revelation of these two layers of information whereas covert communication hides the informative intention by making assumptions more manifest, but not mutually so. In other words, the

2. Cognitive environment is defined by Sperber and Wilson (1995: 39) as a set of facts, which are manifest, i.e. mentally representable and acceptable as true or probably true.

3. Bencherif and Tanaka assume that the addresser is male and the addressee is female.

4. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995: 31) intentions are mental representations capable of being realised in the form of actions.

speaker does not publicise his/her informative intention when he/she believes that revealing it would have an adverse effect on its fulfilment (Tanaka 1999: 42).

Second, as opposed to ostensive communication, covert communication does not bear a guarantee of optimal relevance. According to Smith and Wilson (1992: 5) "An utterance, on a given interpretation, is optimally relevant only and only if: a) it achieves enough effects to be worthy of the hearer's intention; b) it puts the hearer to no gratuitous effort in achieving those effects". In covert communication the hearer does not have the speaker's guarantee of optimal relevance to guide his/her interpretation, but other stimuli to overcome this deficiency. The communicator relies on the addressee noticing certain non-linguistic stimuli, given the way in which his/her general cognitive system is organised. In this sense, *sex* and *food* are typical stimuli which draw the audience's attention. Sperber and Wilson (1995: 151-155) argue that this is so because human beings are more susceptible to some cognitive phenomena than to others, as cognition is designed to pick out relevant phenomena and process them in the most efficient way. The notion of relevance is thus valid in determining which non-linguistic stimuli are likely to be processed, and in what way (cf. Tanaka 1999: 22, 41).

Third, since processing information requires effort, the request to undertake this task has to be accompanied by reward. By requesting the addressee's attention, the communicator indicates that he/she has reason to believe that is providing relevant information which will make the addressee effort worthwhile (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 124-125; Tanaka 1999: 20). The hearer often does not get his/her reward entirely through inference in covert communication, for the speaker exploits the fact that humans get a kind of pleasure out of processing the above mentioned stimuli. These are likeable as they are entertaining and amusing.

In addition, it may be argued that covert communication and weak (overt) communication are very similar. Both shift responsibility for certain interpretations away from the communicator and towards the addressee and they are only distinguished from one another in terms of mutual manifestness, which is a gradable or comparative notion, not an absolute one. In this sense, those assumptions merely made mutually manifest (or where the degree of manifestness is extremely low – perhaps one arising from the use of an image) are at a practical level very similar to those communicated overtly (Crook 2004: 733). All this seems to suggest that both weak ostensive and covert communication are variants of a similar type of communication where there are different clines from pure overt ostensive communication to pure covert communication.

Tanaka (1999: 36) decides to consider advertising in terms of "covert" rather than "ostensive" communication arguing that "covert communication is a response to the inter-related problems which advertisers face in their task of persuading or influencing". Advertising is, indeed, typical of a situation in which there is a low

level of trust[5] and social cooperation between advertisers and their audience. The advertiser's task is to make the audience believe something about a product without her (i.e. the addressee) distrusting him (Tanaka 1999: 40). This leads to a variety of strategies on the part of the advertiser. Covert communication is one of these (Tanaka 1999: 40). According to Tanaka (1999: 43) the advertiser engages in covert communication for two main purposes: (1) to try to make the addressee forget that the advertiser is trying to sell her something and (2) to avoid taking responsibility for the social consequences to certain implications arising from advertisements. Regarding the first purpose when advertisers use covert communication the audience "may have a feeling of solidarity with the advertiser for being daring, interesting, or 'in the know' […]". (Tanaka 1999: 58). Concerning the second purpose, when the advertiser modifies the mutual cognitive environment of the addressee with regard to certain concepts such as "sex" or "snobbery" he wishes to gain advantage from associating his product with enhanced sexual performance, but at the same time does not want to be held responsible for having done so. The advertiser hopes that the audience will be responsible to recover these assumptions on their own responsibility.

In short, Tanaka (1999: 58) argues "covert communication, if and when it works allows the advertiser to have his cake and eat it". In our view, its use in advertising corresponds to two concrete reasons: (1) to meet the first two criteria of the AIDA formula and (2) to improve social relations with the audience (Tanaka 1999: 62). In this sense, we claim first that covert communication strategies serve both as attention-grabbing and interest-raising devices, because of its puzzling, amusing and entertaining nature, thus satisfying the first two steps of the well-known AIDA formula (Attention-Interest-Desire-Action), which is not only recommended in practical guidelines for advertising copywriters, but also used in the pragmatic interpretation of adverts (Vestergaard and Schrøder 1985; cf. Ungerer 2000: 304); and second as a social enhancer, strengthening the social bond between the advertiser and the consumer, enhancing the credibility of the persuader while leading to an attitude change in the audience. The advertiser, on the one hand, wishes to use problematic areas of particular sensitivity (i.e. sex, gender, etc.) as a means of cultivating intimacy, escape any responsibility for doing so and avoid negative social reactions emanating from the public. The hearer, on the other hand, can benefit from becoming more involved in the process of communication,

5. Crook (2004: 726), in his refinement of Tanaka's notion of covert communication in advertising, argues that trust in advertising is not a black and white situation. Where claims are cognitively consistent with the audience's beliefs, trust is less important; where claims risk consistency, and therefore disbelief, trust is more important. He prefers the notion of "scepticism" when referring to the way advertisers address an audience in today advertising.

receiving a reasonable pay-off for his/her efforts at interpretation in terms of the number of contextual effects produced, and can eventually accept or reject the advertiser's message.

3. ADVERTISING GENDER METAPHORS

Rhetorical figures have traditionally been considered aesthetic devices found exclusively in literary language. However, it is clear that its use is not limited to literature as they are also found in other fields. Advertising is no exception to this. Indeed, figures of speech are widely employed in the discourse of advertising. Advertisers tend to present the positive aspects of the object to customers in the hope of selling it to them. This can be done rather explicitly by verbalizing how good, exquisite, etc. the advertised object is for the customer. Yet, as we saw in the introduction, sophisticated advertising prefers more indirect strategies, and perhaps the most important one among them is to establish a metaphorical link with a domain conventionally representing the desired quality (Ungerer 2000: 325).

Apart from the aesthetic value traditionally attached to advertising metaphors recent research has contributed new interesting insights into the discursive, cognitive and pragmatic role played by them (Deighton 1985; Durand 1987; Howard 1990; Forceville 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2002; McQuarrie and Mick 1992, 1996, 1999, 2003; Dingena 1994; Leigh 1994; Scott 1994; Zaltman and Coulter 1995; Velasco Sacristán 1999, 2003, 2005; McGuire 2000; Ungerer 2000; Cortés de los Ríos 2001). Findings have shown that advertising metaphors can have different discursive instantiations, they can establish different links between domains established by verbal and non-verbal elements of adverts, enhance ad recall and produce more positive attitudes (cf. McQuarrie and Mick 2003).

Indeed from a discursive, cognitive and pragmatic point of view the role of metaphors in advertising can hardly be underestimated. On the one hand, the conceptualisation of the advertised item or service is usually expressed by either verbal or non-verbal instantiations of conceptual metaphors that act as a "link between the domain of the advertised item and other domains" (Ungerer 2000: 321). On the other hand, advertisers produce metaphorical utterances to invite their audience to process the utterance. In doing so, the audience is made to see resemblances between the promoted product or service and the object or property featured in the metaphor. However, the audience takes part of the responsibility in deriving further assumptions about the object which it associates with the product or service (Tanaka 1999: 90).

Taking this discursive cognitive-pragmatic account of advertising metaphors as a starting point for reflection we assume here the following basic ideas on advertising gender metaphors: (i) advertising gender metaphors have verbal, non-verbal, or

multimodal realisations in discourse; (ii) advertising gender metaphors are ideological metaphors in which the conceptual mapping(s) that is (are) projected from the source to the target domain may create and/or reflect some kind of discrimination against men or women; and (iii) advertising gender metaphors have the potential to give rise to sexist interpretations that are often covertly or weakly overt communicated (Velasco Sacristán 2003, 2005).

First, regarding the discursive realisation of advertising gender metaphors we have considered the fact that the source and target need not necessarily manifest themselves in the same medium and/or code. This is important, for it means that a metaphorical domain (whether a source or a target) can, in principle, occur in a wide variety of modes, as long as the following conditions are fulfilled: (1) it is accessible to at least one of the senses; (2) it is conceptualisable as a metaphorical domain to be construed as a source or target (this also entails, of course, that it must be linkable with its complementary domain – either source or target); (3) the domain to be construed as a source evokes orientations that can be mapped onto the target in a relevant manner (Forceville 2002: 217). If this is accepted, three general categories of metaphors realisations can be identified for advertising metaphors: verbal, pictorial[6] and multimodal (Forceville 1996, 2002), which can accommodate even more specific subtypes: pictorioverbal, verbopictorial, etc. Second, concerning advertising gender metaphors as ideological metaphors we have born in mind that ideological metaphors conceal underlying social processes and determine interpretation. With them metaphor producers take advantage of the mapping process to make sure that not only ideational meanings are mapped onto the target domain but also to introduce different interpersonal attachments that can create and/or reflect some kind of discrimination against men and/or women. They are typical examples of asymmetrical metaphors that are not intended as metaphor by the speaker but interpreted as such by the hearer, or, conversely, not intended as metaphors by the speaker but interpreted as such by the hearer (Goatly 1997: 127). Third, advertising gender metaphors as communicative devices have correspondences that can give rise to sexist interpretations. They are used by advertisers to introduce a value system on gender that often activates and imposes negative "sexist" values by means of covert and weak overt communicated assumptions. In doing so the advertiser

6. Although the very idea of a pictorial metaphor is controversial (Forceville 1996; Cabe 1999) we argue for the idea that there are pictorial metaphors. Although pictures do not possess propositional content, as utterances do, it is obvious that pictures, like verbal utterances, are made by agents and in this sense in the case of a pictorial metaphor, the artist succeeds in getting his or her audience to appreciate some point or to think about one thing by means of presenting a picture that is about something utterly different" (McGuire 1999: 299). We therefore conclude that metaphorical processes can and do play a role in advertising images of various kinds. They produce the cognitive effect of inviting the viewers to see a link between depicted entities of various kinds, and the latter is to be understood in terms of the former (Forceville 1996; cf. Velasco Sacristán 2005: 248).

does not leave the interpretation process unattended thus retaining a degree of control over the audience's interpretation while shifting responsibility for that interpretation away from him/her and towards the audience. There may also be variation in awareness of the use of the conscious processes involved in encoding some advertising gender metaphors as compared with other cases. In those cases of covertly communicated advertising gender metaphors it is likely that the metaphor producer may or may not wish the metaphor receiver to be aware that there is a covert activation and imposition of negative "sexist" values (nor indeed may he or she be aware of this himself or herself). However, as Forceville (1996: 65ff) argues, if metaphors are regularly used in advertising, as he demonstrates, then it should be the case that these usages are highly intentional.

In the discourse of English advertising there are three different types of gender metaphors that are located at different points of the "universality-culture specificity continuum" of advertising gender metaphors: "cases of metaphorical gender", "universal gender metaphors" and "cultural gender metaphors". These types, rather than appearing in isolation in single ads, very often co-occur, giving rise to a complex network of gender relations within numerous ads (cf. Velasco Sacristán 2003, Velasco Sacristán 2005).

3.1. Cases of metaphorical gender

On one end of the "universality-culture specificity continuum" there are cases of metaphorical gender, which are the most culturally-specific type of gender metaphor. In English, instances of metaphorical gender take place when an animate object is the grammatical subject of a verbal or mental process. This can have a verbal realisation[7] (only in languages with a semantic gender), a pictorial realisation (in any language), or a multimodal realisation (verbopictorially or pictorioverbally).

Advertisers extend the metaphorical gender to develop the so-called "commoditisation process" (Borchers 2005: 27) or "theory of the metaphorical commodification" (Sánchez Corral 1991, 1997) that is used to personify the promoted product or service. In this metaphor the nonhuman entity of a commodity is understood in terms of a person (often the consumer) and the different human features, motivations and activities related to this person, giving rise to the metaphor "The commodity is the consumer", which is indeed an example of the ontological metaphor "items to sell are people" (Kövecses 2002: 59) that evokes in the reader the same attitudes and feelings that they have in connection with a person,

7. This concrete instantiation of the metaphorical gender in advertising English has traditionally been considered as an illustration of Halliday's grammatical metaphor (Talbot 1992). Yet, in our view, it can be a more complex type of metaphor as it often goes beyond the limits of grammar, being reinforced in the discourse of advertising by visuals.

consumer who is often constrained by a part-for-whole metonymy (i.e. "sex" for "person") that is related to the commodity by yet another metonymic experience (i.e. getting commodities as a result of buying them as consumers). Usually the verbal pronouns and/or context provide us with sufficient cues to decide which construal is appropriate. In the following advert for "Eva Lingerie" (Plate 1), we can see the metaphor "The advertised lingerie (commodity) is a woman (consumer)":

Plate 1. *The advertised lingerie (commodity) is a woman (consumer)*

The ad promotes "a collection of luxury lingerie with exquisite lace detailing and microfibre". For that purpose it features in a sexy young woman wearing the advertised product and the slogan "Exquisite… isn't she?". The use of "she" here

seems to point to the lingerie to convey definitional attributes of a person (i.e. personal name, etc.) and the associate attributes of "womanhood" (i.e. sexiness, exquisiteness, etc.).

In summary, advertisers use cases of metaphorical gender to develop the so-called "metaphorical personification of the commodity" (Sánchez Corral 1991, 1997) or "commoditisation process" (Borchers 2005: 27) that adds value to the advertised commodity by transferring to it human attributes and behavioural actions. This pervasive personifying tendency of ads may be, on the one hand, a tool for synthetic personalisation – addressing a mass audience as though talking to them intimately as individuals (Fairclough 1989: 217ff) and, on the other hand, a representation for the ideology of consumer capitalism (Dyer 1984: 77-84) as we exchange real political power for purchasing power, and products become powerful and considerate agents which remove our problems (Goatly 1997: 303). Personification thus builds user-friendliness or helpfulness.

3.2. Universal gender metaphors

Much metaphorical thinking arises from recurring patterns of embodied experience that are universal or at least shared across many cultures (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Kövecses 1987; Kövecses 1990, 1999, 2002). In this sense metaphors are regarded as part of people's internal mental representations. The embodied nature of metaphorical thought and language use generally assumes that people create embodied metaphorical representations from their phenomenological experiences of their body and their sensorimotor interactions with the physical world. People's metaphorical understanding of certain abstract concepts (i.e. emotions, power, etc.) are intimately tied to image schemas that partly arise from recurring bodily experiences (Gibbs 1999: 151). Image schemas are prelinguistic cognitive structures (e.g. "container", "part-whole", "front-back", "up-down", "source-path-goal", "link", "centre-periphery"), often found as structural patterns used as source domains for numerous metaphors (Lakoff and Turner 1989; Lakoff 1993) giving rise to the so-called "image schema metaphors" (Kövecses 2002: 36).

Image schemas are extremely productive in terms of social structuration. They therefore play a very important role in our understanding of the power of discourse and social institutions. Indeed the kinaesthetic image schemas of "compulsion" (a force which travels along a trajectory at a certain speed and moves or carries an object or person along in its path), "blockage" (a force vector encountering a barrier and then taking any number of possible directions) and "containment" (an elaboration of the blockage schema wherein the blockage is continuous so as to separate "inside" from "outside") (Johnson 1987) lie at the root of our everyday

conception of power. Persuasive discourses are, therefore, awash with metaphors sustained in image_schemas.

In advertising spatial metaphors based on image schemas are commonly used to convey power and to construct gendered spaces. In the 70's and 80's femininity and feminine spaces were constructed through submission with a decrease on the size of the territory controlled. Nowadays, there have been changes in the level of content (i.e. more men in kitchens or holding babies, more women in business suits) while image schemas have been largely unchanged (Umiker-Sebeok 1996). This seems to prove that the use of image schemas in advertising is, largely due to our awareness, more difficult to alter than content (Umiker-Sebeok 1996).

Furthermore, in the discourse of advertising metaphors sustained in image schemas give rise to correlated non-spatial inferences that help to construct asymmetrical relations on the basis of the axiological value that underlies image schemas (Krzeszowski 1990, 1993). In the schema "up-down", for instance "up" is related to power, control, goodness and "down" to powerlessness, submission, badness (cf. Krzeszowski 1990, 1993; Cortés de los Ríos 2001). It has been pointed out that various spatial image schemas are bipolar and bivalent. Thus, "whole", "centre", "link", "balance", "in", "goal", "front" are mostly regarded as positive while their opposite, "not whole", "periphery", "no link", "imbalance", "out", "no goal", and "back" are negative (Kövecses 2002: 35).

In advertising metaphors based on different image schemas are often used to display men/women as powerful people (at the front of the page, usually on the right hand side, etc.) triggering the spatial discrimination of men or women. Universal gender metaphors may be defined as those metaphors based on kinaesthetic image schemas, especially those of Compulsion, Blockage and Containment, used to locate men or women in the sociocultural, political and economic setting, hence discriminating against one sex or the other. They are, all in all, useful to polarise the world (as portrayed in the ad) as "the male versus the female".

A typical example of this type of gender metaphor in advertising is "A man/woman is a primary person" mostly based on the binary schemas of "up-down", "front-back", "first-second", and "big-small". The advert for "ZM magazine" (Plate 2) contains a typical manifestation of one case of the above conceptual metaphor: "A man is a primary person".

This double-page advert reserves the left page for the headline "you deserve better sex" and the right page for a representation of the advertised magazine's front page together with the slogan *Give him ZM. Feel him better*. The picture of the left page portrays a young man and a young sexy woman. The woman, who is at the back, sitting with her legs crossed and her features blurred, is only wearing an unbuttoned shirt and black lingerie. This naturalness of the "first/front" to "second/

Plate 2. *A man is a primary person*

behind" mapping follows the same general cognitive constraints previously introduced with respect to the use of kinaesthetic image schemas to construct powered and gendered spaces in advertising.

All in all, advertising universal gender metaphors are denigratory insofar as they are based on image schemas that are largely and probably "covertly" beyond our awareness, more difficult to alter than other content-based denigratory devices, and reinforced by the axiological value typically attached to image schemas. The three directional binary level of "right-left", "above-below" and "front-behind" seems to be of most salience in the metaphorical conceptualisation of advertising universal metaphors (cf. Umiker-Sebeok 1996; Velasco Sacristán 2003).

3.3. Cultural gender metaphors

One of the problems with the idea that conceptual metaphors are determined by our preconceptual experiences is that the use of discriminatory metaphors might then be explained – and perhaps even excused – by our physical limitations. This is the reason why some authors have turned away from a search for universal metaphors and have instead begun to stress the cultural dimension of metaphor (Holland and Quinn 1987; King 1989; Quinn 1991; Emanatian 1995, 1999; Matsuki 1995; Yu 1995).

According to Quinn (1991), conceptual metaphors follow from cultural models that are already in place. These cultural models are defined by Holland and Quinn (1987: 4) as follows: "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that

are widely shared by the members of a society […]". Since metaphors create a link between cognitive models, we can define cultural gender metaphors as those metaphors that rest on asymmetrical cultural practices (e.g. androcentrism, patriarchy, etc.) primarily based on gender stereotypes[8] that result in discrimination against men or women (Velasco Sacristán 2003). In general terms, cultural gender metaphors tend to understand human beings in terms of objects, animals, or stereotypical human features. Metaphors of the first two types (i.e., objects and animals) are explained in terms of the so-called "great chain metaphor", as proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 170ff). The GREAT CHAIN is a cultural model[9] defined by attributes and behaviour which typically apply to each form of being (humans, animals, plants, complex objects, and natural physical things) in a hierarchy. For example, animals are characterised by having instinctual attributes and behaviour (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 170-171). The "great chain metaphor", as proposed by Lakoff and Turner, basically consists of a very abstract metaphor, THE GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, whose mappings are guided or motivated by two entrenched cultural models, namely, "the basic chain of being" and "the nature of things" (which are themselves combined into "the extended great chain"), and by the pragmatic maxim of quantity. There is no space here for a detailed exposition of each of these ingredients, but "the great chain metaphor" explains a large number of mappings in which lower-order forms of being and their attributes can be mapped onto the higher forms of being, and their usual behaviour or functioning are mapped onto human bodies and people, etc. (Barcelona Sánchez 1997: 36).

We have so far characterised cultural gender metaphors as those sustained in gender stereotypes rooted in our cultural traditions. Their discrimination stems from the denigratory value of gender stereotypes. Figure 1 shows the scale of sexist denigration of gender stereotypes that underlies the above described "great chain metaphor".

In advertising English cultural gender metaphors discriminate when men or women are understood in terms of the lower elements described in the basic chain of being (i.e. animals and objects) or when men or women, although seen as human beings, are defined by stereotypical denigratory features. From low to high discrimination we find the following three subtypes of cultural gender metaphors: "A man/woman is a person (with stereotypical features)"; "A man/woman is an animal (with stereotypical features); and "A man/woman is an object

8. A gender stereotype is a generalised and relatively fixed image of a person or person belonging to a particular group. This is formed by isolating and exaggerating certain features – physical, mental, cultural or occupational, personal and so on which seem to characterise the group (Pauwels 1998: 97).

9. Yet some authors like Kövecses (2002: 126) think that the Great Chain Metaphor is a folk theory that can be found in many cultures and it may well be universal.

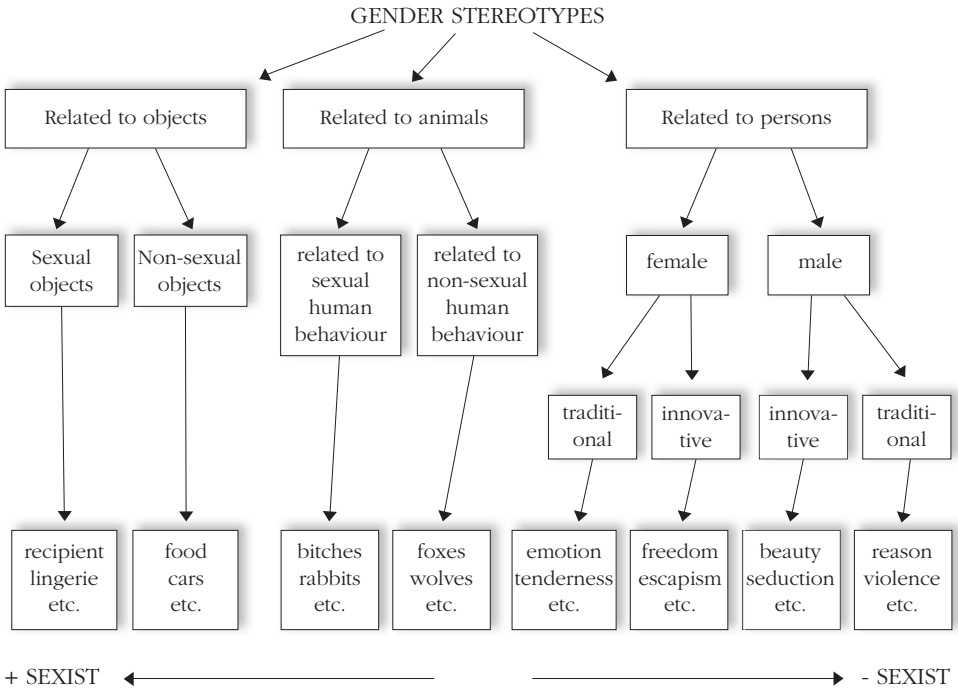

Figure 1. *Velasco Sacristán, Fuertes Olivera and Samaniego Fernández (2005: 167)*

(with stereotypical features)". The third subtype is indeed a metonymy rather than a metaphor. In English advertising a typical case of this subtype of cultural gender metaphor is the metaphor "A man/woman is a sexual object" which usually equates the product or service promoted to a sexual entity, usually categorised as food[10] or an object that resembles the male or female sexual organs (i.e. a container, an item with a phallic shape, etc.). The adverts of "Aubade" (Plates 3 and 4) contain examples of one of the above conceptual metaphors "A woman is a sexual object".

The advertisers show a faceless nude woman, wearing only lingerie. The fact that both women are faceless and nude wearing the lingerie advertised seems to highlight their role as sexual objects, without the identity and uniqueness faces and names offer to human beings. Moreover, the close-up of the lingerie advertised seem to suggest the metonymic reduction of women to their underwear, thus probably emphasising their need to enhance their natural look with seducing lingerie. In

10. In many cultures sexual women are classed as food and "to eat" is used as a euphemism for "to copulate" (Emanatian 1995, Emanatian 1998).

Plate 3. *A woman is a sexual object*

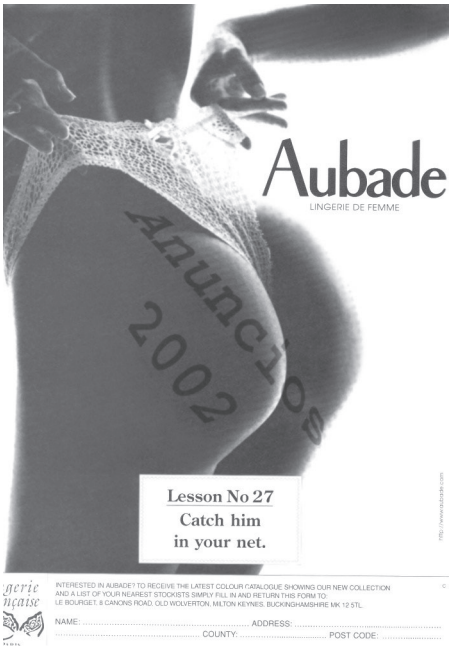

Plate 4. *A woman is a sexual object*

addition, the fact that the lingerie advertised is useful, not only in its literal sense to dress a woman, but to enhance her sexual performance also appears to introduce discrimination against men. As suggested by both adverts, men become objects of passive consumption when women wear sexy lingerie. They can then be caught, like a fish, in a woman's net (G-string) and helped in getting full erections, thus also apparently suggesting that they need extra help there.

In short, cultural gender metaphors hinge upon stereotypical relations to create asymmetrical gender relations in different conceptual metaphors (mostly instances of the "great chain metaphor") that involve stereotypical denigratory references to human beings, animals or objects). The limiting and demeaning stereotypes that sustain these metaphors result in non gender-neutral metaphors that discriminate against one sex or the other.

3.4. Cross-categorisation of advertising gender metaphors

The above described gender metaphors rarely appear in isolation in advertising English. Very often metaphorical gender instances and universal gender metaphors

take on a stereotypical background and some cultural gender metaphors contain discriminatory image schemas, giving rise to hybrid types of advertising gender metaphors (i.e. universal-cultural gender metaphors, etc.).

In short, as illustrated above, there appears to be three different gradient levels of universality-specificity in advertising that go from the most universal type, an image schema metaphor (i.e. universal gender metaphors) to the most specific type, a personification (i.e. cases of metaphorical gender) with an intermediate type made up of examples of "the great chain metaphor" and a metonymy (i.e. cultural gender metaphors). This supports Gibbs' (1999) "distributed perspective", according to which the physical world is not separate from the cultural one in the important sense that what we see in the physical world is highly constrained by our cultural beliefs and values. It also proves that, as Cook (1992: 52) argues, there are three levels of specificity in the advertising environment of an ad: the cosmic world, the social world, and the sexual world of the commodity.

4. OVERTNESS-COVERTNESS IN ADVERTISING GENDER METAPHORS

In assessing the "covert-overt" scale of the advertising gender metaphors in our sample we have considered the criteria we introduced above (see section 3) to differentiate between overt and covert types of communication within a relevance-theoretic framework, namely, the distinction between informative intention and communicative intention, the audience's search for optimal relevance, and its interest in cost-effectiveness. We have assumed that covert gender metaphors are those in which the metaphor producer's informative intention is not given, there is no optimal relevance and the interpreter uses other stimuli to make the metaphor cognitively relevant and as a reward to compensate his/her processing effort in interpretation.

Before we present the number and percentage of overt and covert advertising gender metaphors in our sample, let us illustrate with two samples, one of an overt communicated gender metaphor and one of a covert communicated gender metaphor how these criteria were satisfied in our study (see Plates 5 and 6).

In the advert for "Wonderbra" (Plate 5) the image (a waist-up picture of the supermodel Adriana Karembeu modelling the product) and the slogan ("I can't cook, who cares?") in the centre of the ad, next to the advertised bra as if it were a quotation, invite the reader to understand and perceive the advertised bra not in its literal sense but in terms of a person (consumer) defined by her sex, a woman which is a typical example of the ontological metaphor "items to sell are people" which constitutes a case of metaphorical gender as described above (see Section 3). In this metaphor, "The advertised bra is a woman", the

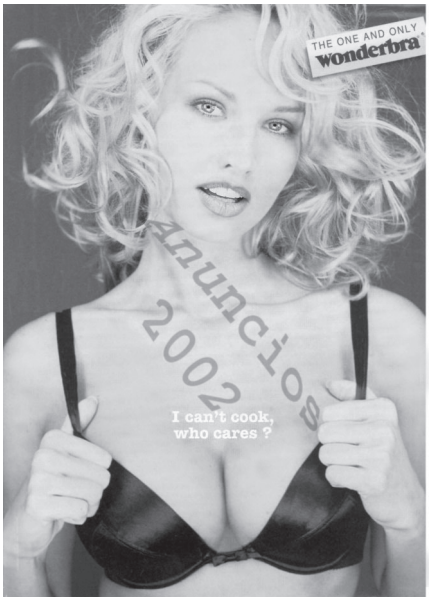

Plate 5. *Items to sell are people*

following features occurring in the same domain "a woman" could be mapped onto the target domain:

1a) a woman has a personal name
2a) a woman is elegant
3a) a woman is sexy.

Other features that could be listed for a "woman" on the basis of the content of the slogan are:

4a) a woman can speak
5a) a woman is related to a domestic setting/kitchen.

One or more of these features are mapped onto the domain of the "advertised bra". This matching process involves the foregrounding, adoption or modification of certain features in the target domain, we get something like:

1b) the advertised bra has a name (i.e. brand name)
2b) the advertised bra is elegant
3b) the advertised bra is sexy

4b) the advertised bra speaks for itself
5B) the advertised bra is a garment worn in a domestic setting/kitchen.

In the matching process we observed that "the consumer's personal name" from the source domain became "the commodity's brand name". Similarly, the human ability to speak was transformed into the metaphorical ability attributed to some inanimates to speak for themselves. Finally, the location of women in domestic settings/kitchens became the garment worn in domestic settings/ kitchens. At this stage we realised that some of the mappable features were more widely shared, obvious, and less ambiguous (i.e. 1b, 2b and 3b) than others that were more ambiguous, more idiosyncratic, and weakly implicated (i.e. 4b and 5b) and concluded that this was due to the distinction between strong and weak implicatures, as described by Sperber and Wilson.[11] It seems clear that in Plate 5 the advertiser intended to communicate a range of assumptions (here the features mapped from source onto target domain) and communication succeeded when the addressee recovered some of the correspondences within the range (1b, 2b and 3b). Yet the addressee was somehow also invited to recover the other mappings in the range (4b and 5b). Since we did not know the addressee of the metaphor, we could not be sure which of these projections, or which others, he/she would, to some extent, vary in deciding which features were to be projected and may come up with still others.

We concluded that this was an overt advertising gender metaphor as in it the producer's informative intention was clear (the commodity is to be perceived in terms of the attributes and behaviour of the consumer), but with some doses of weak communication since the addressee had to recover some weakly implicated assumptions and had difficulties in interpreting the correspondence or implicature of 5b, the most weakly implicated of all. It seems that an attitude, an emotional perspective, was built by it. We can assume that the advertiser wanted to convey a negative evaluation concerning women, as it helps to maintain a mistaken assumption regarding women's typical behaviour as related to domestic settings/kitchens, perhaps as kitchen slaves to men. Yet, and as it inferred by the slogan, women can overcome this sort of slavery if they wear the advertised bra to enhance their sexy appearance. Therefore we can see that the addressee had optimal relevance to

11. Metaphors rely for their effectiveness on both explicatures – explicitly communicated assumptions – and implicatures (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 182). More specifically, "an explicature is a combination of linguistically encoded and contextually inferred conceptual features. The smaller the relative contribution of the contextual features, the more explicit the explicature will be, and inversely" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 182). Implicatures can be weak or strong. Weak implicatures are less widely shared, less immediate, ambiguous, perhaps more idiosyncratic, whereas strong implicatures are widely shared, immediate, reliable and less ambiguous (cf. Sperber and Wilson 1995: 193-202).

guide his/her interpretation with regard to the strongly communicated implicatures but not in the case of the most weakly communicated ones. The processing effort involved in interpreting those is probably offset by the contextual effects produced by the use of a rather conventionalised,[12] explicit (and therefore "overt") picture of the attractive image of the model Adriana Karembeu who is scantily clad, has a strong sexual appeal and conforms to a very narrow standard of beauty. Apparently both men and women are drawn to attractive images of models (Messaris 1997). Therefore the visual image of the picture, although not needed to understand the advert, acts as a reward to compensate for the addressee's effort in interpreting weakly communicated assumptions of the metaphor (cf. Velasco Sacristán 2005: 229-234).

Plate 6. *Women are things*

In the advert for "ES Magazine" (Plate 6), the image (two pictures of the supermodels Naomi Campbell and Kate Moss, the former wearing an unbuttoned dress and the latter naked wearing a hat) and the slogan "Beautiful things are happening at ES every Friday" seem to invite the reader to understand and perceive

12. As Crook (2004: 728) argues "the use of a sexual image is very much tied up with the nature of the product as something promoting or aiding physical beauty and/or attractiveness to others [...]".

"women" (supermodels) not in its literal sense but in terms of "things" (those events happening at ES every Friday) thus giving rise to the following cultural gender metaphor: "Women are things". In this metaphor the following features occurring in the source domain "things" could be mapped onto the target domain:

1a) things (events) are happening at ES every Friday
2a) things (events) are beautiful.

In the matching process, after foregrounding, adapting and modifying these features we get something like:

1b) women are portrayed at ES every Friday
2b) women portrayed at ES are beautiful/sexy women (supermodels).

In this matching process we observed that the events happening at ES every Friday became "women" and "beautiful events" from the second mapping became "beautiful/sexy women/supermodels" like the ones portrayed in the pictures: sexually attractive and again conforming to a very narrow standard of beauty. At this stage we realised that both mappable features were very weakly implicated, thus being very ambiguous and idiosyncratic. Consequently in Plate 6 the advertiser apparently intended to communicate something like the events portrayed in our ES magazine are of the same interest as the beauty/sexiness of the pictures portrayed in the magazine, thus suggesting that sexy women can be bought and enjoyed by consumers (most probably men) in the same way as the events reported. As all these assumptions seem to construct or defend a system of social relations in which women are characterised by denigratory stereotypical features (i.e. passive, powerless, valuable and desirable objects) whose role in society is to be purchased, used or consumed by men at this stage the interpretation will seem irrelevant to the addressee thus believing that the advertiser cannot have intended it. This seems to be weak evidence for the advertiser's informative intention as the sexist interpretation seems to be unrelated to the positive claims of the product and thus disregarded as a deliberate metaphor. This is a very clear example of an impositive asymmetrical metaphor in which the hearer is likely to refuse the imposition (cf. Goatly 1997: 129).

We concluded that this was a covert advertising gender metaphor as in it the producer's informative intention was not mutually manifest, there was no optimal relevance and the interpreter used the visual cues as a reward to compensate his/her processing effort in interpretation. In this case, as opposed to the metaphor in Plate 5, implicit reference was made to the image of the ad rather than an explicit one, thus acting as an input for further inferencing.

Regarding the number and percentage of advertising gender metaphors (i.e. cases of metaphorical gender, cultural gender metaphors and universal gender metaphors) in our sample we obtained the following data (Tables 1 and 2).

TYPE OF METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Advertising metaphors	1610	100
Advertising gender metaphors	292	18.14

Table 1. *Number and percentage of advertising gender metaphors*

TYPE OF METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Cases of metaphorical gender	40	13.7
Universal gender metaphors	39	13.36
Cultural gender metaphors	213	72.94

Table 2. *Number and percentage of the different types of advertising gender metaphors*

Concerning the number and percentage of overt and covert communicated advertising gender metaphors in our sample we obtained the following figures (Tables 3 to 6).

TYPE OF COMMUNICATED ADVERTISING GENDER METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Overt	184	63.01
Covert	108	36.99

Table 3. *Number and percentage of overt and covert communicated advertising gender metaphors*

TYPE OF COMMUNICATED CASES OF METAPHORICAL GENDER	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Overt	26	65
Covert	14	35

Table 4. *Number and percentage of overt and covert communicated cases of metaphorical gender*

TYPE OF COMMUNICATED UNIVERSAL GENDER METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Overt	17	43.59
Covert	22	56.41

Table 5. *Number and percentage of overt and covert communicated universal gender metaphors*

TYPE OF COMMUNICATED CULTURAL GENDER METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Overt	149	69.95
Covert	64	30.05

Table 6. *Number and percentage of overt and covert communicated cultural gender metaphors*

As we can observe, there is a considerable number of overt communicated advertising gender metaphors (63.01%) although the number of the covert communicated ones amounts to over a third of the total share of advertising gender metaphors (36.99%). At this point we can comment that in our sample the presence of covert advertising gender metaphors is high enough to prove that covertness is not a minor strategy used by advertisers. With regard to the different types of advertising gender metaphors our data seem to prove that covertness is preferred for the most universal type of gender metaphors whereas the more specific ones usually rely

on weak overt communication, probably because advertisers prefer to use some kind of ostension with the specific types of metaphors in order to ensure clarity for guiding the audience interpretation while retaining a higher degree of responsibility, therefore greater control over the audience's interpretations. Moreover, universal gender metaphors, as we saw (see section 3), are based on bodily experiences that are apparently universal and it is relatively easy to excuse and explain its use for discrimination on the grounds of our universal preconceptual experience.

As we applied the three criteria established above for determining whether advertising gender metaphors were communicated overtly or covertly we realised first that weak implicatures tend to be more "covert" than strong implicatures, second that covert metaphors are usually irrelevant to the nature of the product, and that the stimuli used by overt communicated advertising gender metaphors are explicit, therefore more dependent on semantic decoding whereas the ones used in covert communicated gender metaphors are implicit, and therefore more dependent on pragmatic inferences.

Next, considering that the "conventional-innovative" scale of metaphors seemed to be a determining factor for "overtness" or "covertness" we decided to explore whether conventional metaphors (i.e. those that derive a narrow range of strong implicatures) were weakly overt communicated whereas innovative metaphors (i.e. those that derive a wide range of weak implicatures) were covertly communicated and we found a perfect match between conventional advertising gender metaphors and "overtness" (with a high degree of weak communication) and innovative advertising gender metaphors and "covertness" (see Tables 7 to 10).

TYPE OF ADVERTISING GENDER METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Conventional	184	63.01
Innovative	108	36.99

Table 7. *Number and percentage of conventional and innovative advertising gender metaphors*

TYPE OF CASES OF METAPHORICAL GENDER	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Conventional	26	65
Innovative	14	35

Table 8. *Number and percentage of conventional and innovative cases of metaphorical gender*

TYPE OF UNIVERSAL GENDER METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Conventional	17	43.59
Innovative	22	56.41

Table 9. *Number and percentage of conventional and innovative universal gender metaphors*

TYPE OF CULTURAL GENDER METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Conventional	149	69.95
Innovative	64	30.05

Table 10. *Number and percentage of conventional and innovative cultural gender metaphors*

These data seem to prove that the wider the range of weakly communicated implicatures the greater the hearer's responsibility for constructing them, the more the poetic effect and the more creative the metaphor. Yet we realised that the most conventionalised metaphors used a narrow range of strongly communicated implicatures along with one or two weakly communicated assumptions, as in Plate 6, thus making it clear that they are mostly examples of weak overt communication. On the whole, advertising gender metaphors apparently make ample use of weak communication by means of both weakly overt communicated advertising gender metaphors and covertly communicated advertising gender metaphors.

We then analysed the contribution of both overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors and covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors to the overall effect of the advert and discovered that:

(i) Overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors are hardly noticeable and therefore less likely to give rise to interactive interpretations since they are easily perceived as part of our mainstream culture, thus making them seem the natural way for us to structure our experience. They therefore enhance the credibility of the metaphor producer who retains a higher control over the audience's interpretations.

(ii) Overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors achieve high cognitive salience and memorability. As they are perceived as closer to our initial expectations, they aid processing, store and retrieval and are subsequently easier to remember. They are therefore good at engaging the audience thought processes.

(iii) Overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors are effective in a cumulative way. As the reader does not see them as inconsistent with his or her initial expectations is not prompt to realign his/her expectations, thus achieving a long-lasting effect of conformity on the addressee.

(iv) Overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors are usually related to the product and its positive claims as they normally refer to the nature of the product, for example as something promoting or aiding physical beauty and/or attractiveness to others (i.e. bras, etc.) or products of a sexual nature (i.e. condoms, etc.).

(v) Overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors do not strengthen the emotional bond between the advertiser and the audience, thus cultivating a low level of intimacy.

(vi) Covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors are good attention-grabbing and interest-raising devices since they are usually entertaining and puzzling.

(vii) Covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors are counterproductive in terms of salience and memorability. As they contradict our initial expectations, they do not aid processing, store and retrieval, thus subsequently making them difficult to remember.

(viii) Covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors have a temporary impact as they only temporarily mask the informative intention of the advertiser, always supposing that the addressee has spotted the "camouflaged" assumptions in the first place. At some point the reader is sure to find the weakly implicated assumptions of the metaphors inconsistent in terms of his or her expectations accordingly, making him/her decide, perhaps at a subconscious level, that a non-asymmetrical interpretation would be more appropriate. At this point, providing the reader has persevered this far, the informative intention would be recognised (and therefore the communication intention would be fulfilled).

(ix) Covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors are not normally related to the nature of the product. They contribute to the reward aspect of the advertisement.

(x) Covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors strengthen the emotional bond between the advertiser and the audience thus cultivating intimacy.

Next, we have looked at the overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors and covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors to examine their discrimination against men and against women. The data of this study are shown on Tables 11 to 14.

TYPE OF COMMUNICATED ADVERTISING GENDER METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors that discriminate against men	43	14.93
Overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors that discriminate against women	159	54.45
Covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors that discriminate against men	25	8.56
Covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors that discriminate against women	65	22.26

Table 11. *Number and percentage of overt-conventionalised and covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors that discriminate against men and women*

TYPE OF COMMUNICATED CASES OF METAPHORICAL GENDER	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Overt-conventionalised cases of metaphorical gender that discriminate against men	10	83.33
Overt-conventionalised cases of metaphorical gender that discriminate against women	26	92.86
Covert-innovative cases of metaphorical gender that discriminate against men	2	16.67
Covert-innovative cases of metaphorical gender that discriminate against women	2	7.14

Table 12. *Number and percentage of overt-conventionalised and covert-innovative cases of metaphorical gender that discriminate against men and women*

TYPE OF COMMUNICATED UNIVERSAL GENDER METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Overt-conventionalised universal gender metaphors that discriminate against men	8	44.44
Overt-conventionalised universal gender metaphors that discriminate against women	7	33.33
Covert-innovative universal gender metaphors that discriminate against men	10	55.56
Covert-innovative universal gender metaphors that discriminate against women	14	66.67

Table 13. *Number and percentage of overt-conventionalised and covert-innovative universal gender metaphors that discriminate against men and women*

TYPE OF COMMUNICATED CULTURAL GENDER METAPHORS	NUMBER OF METAPHORS	% METAPHORS
Overt-conventionalised cultural gender metaphors that discriminate against men	23	60.53
Overt-conventionalised cultural gender metaphors that discriminate against women	126	72
Covert-innovative cultural gender metaphors that discriminate against men	15	39.47
Covert-innovative cultural gender metaphors that discriminate against women	49	28

Table 14. *Number and percentage of overt-conventionalised and covert-innovative cultural gender metaphors that discriminate against men and women*

As can be seen overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors turned out to be more sexist than covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors, being this trend remarkably noticeable in those cases of specific advertising gender metaphors (i.e. cases of metaphorical gender and universal gender metaphors) that discriminate against women. This may be explained in terms of the different advantages that overt-communicated advertising gender metaphors offer to the overall effect of the advert. As we saw before, although overt conventionalised advertising gender metaphors are hardly noticeable and less likely to give rise to interactive interpretations on the part of the audience, they are perceived as a natural part of our mainstream culture, they also enhance the credibility of the metaphor producer, they achieve high cognitive salience and memorability and are effective in a cumulative way, thus having a long-lasting effect of conformity on the addressee. In sum, they work better than covert-innovated advertising gender metaphors at engaging and controlling the audience thought processing, steering their viewpoints in a certain direction.

Concerning the different types of advertising gender metaphors it appears, as we have just mentioned, that the more specific types of advertising gender metaphors, namely the cases of metaphorical gender and cultural gender metaphors are more overtly communicated when they introduce discrimination against women whereas covert communication is preferred when they discriminate against men, probably because, as we are arguing, there seems to be a continuum of cases of overt-conventionalised advertising gender metaphors and covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors. Most overt-conventionalised metaphors that discriminate against women today are likely to have started as covert-innovative advertising gender metaphors and then found successful in steering the thoughts of the audience in a certain direction, thus becoming conventionalised and, subsequently, overtly communicated. Both poles of the continuum seem to be but successive stages of a continuous process by which advertisers may perpetrate or break certain evaluation on gender relations. Hence advertising gender metaphors that discriminate against women are normally seen as part of our mainstream culture while discrimination against men is still puzzling and therefore yet covertly communicated.

As shown in Table 12 the cases of sexist covert-innovative cases of metaphorical gender that discriminate against men (16.67%) double those that discriminate against women (7.14%) whereas the percentages for discrimination against men (83.33%) and women (92.86%) are very similar in the case of overt-conventionalised cases of metaphorical gender. This can be explained by the fact that cases of metaphorical gender are very standardised and preferably overtly communicated perhaps because they are expected as part of the "commoditisation process" or "theory of metaphorical commodification" that typically impregnates the genre of advertising.

In Table 13 we can observe that the instances of covert-innovative universal gender metaphors that discriminate against women (66.67%) double those that are overt-conventionalised that discriminate against them (33.33%) whereas we find more similar percentages in the case of overt-conventionalised universal gender metaphors that discriminate against men (55.56%) and covert-innovative universal gender metaphors that discriminate against them (66.67%). The fact that covertness prevails in both cases seems to be justified by the very indirect nature of image schemas that underlie universal gender metaphors. As they go easily unnoticed they have to be used sparingly since a strong use would attract the audience attention and make the advertiser intention all too manifest.

As can be seen in Table 14, and similarly to the cases of metaphorical gender, in our sample the percentages of overt-conventionalised cultural gender metaphors that discriminate against men (60.53%) are very similar to those that discriminate against women (72%). This seems to be justified in this case by the fact that the most sexist cultural gender metaphors that discriminate against men are rooted in traditional feminine stereotypes (i.e. beauty, attractiveness, emotion, etc.) that are now beginning to be applied to men. They apparently were already conventionalised in their use and seem to keep their naturalness when they are now applied to men. On the other hand, and also very similar to the cases of metaphorical gender in our sample, there are only 28% sexist innovative cultural gender metaphors that discriminate against women. This may be explained by the fact that traditional masculine stereotypes (i.e. power, strength, etc.) that underlie these metaphors have traditionally been considered positive, and this is still the case when they are now applied to women, except for a few ones (i.e. large sexual needs, etc.) that still seem to keep negative overtones when applied to women.

4. CONCLUSION

Covert communication along with weak overt communication has an important influence on the choice, specification and interpretation of advertising gender metaphors. Both types of weak communication allow the reader to hint at non-neutral assumptions of gender without being vulnerable to the accusation of strongly backing them. Therefore we argue for the idea that a satisfactory definition of covert communication would thus have to accommodate the fact that weak overt communication and covert communication are different clines of the overt-covert communicative continuum.

Yet, whilst it is essential to recognise the idea of the overt-covert communication continuum, it is equally important, from the point of view of theorising advertising and the discursive cognitive-pragmatic theorising of advertising metaphors and

gender, to recognise the overall importance of covert communication. On the one hand, the use of covert communication in advertising corresponds to two concrete reasons: (1) to meet the first two criteria of the AIDA formula and (2) to improve social relations with the audience (Tanaka 1999: 62). On the other hand, advertisers take advantage of covertness in some of their metaphors to communicate messages of particular sensitivity (i.e. sex, gender, snobbery, etc.) which they do not wish to do so openly, thus escaping any responsibility for doing so and avoiding the negative social relations emanating from the public. The audience also benefits from becoming more involved in the advert interpretation process.

Advertising gender metaphors are ideological metaphors in which the conceptual mapping(s) that is(are) projected from the source to the target domain may create and/or reflect some kind of discrimination against men or women. They have verbal, non-verbal or multimodal realisations in discourse and have the potential to give rise to sexist interpretations that are often covertly or weakly overtly communicated. In the discourse of English advertising there are three different types of gender metaphors: "cases of metaphorical gender", "universal gender metaphors" and "cultural gender metaphors". These types, rather than appearing in isolation in single ads, very often co-occur giving rise to a complex network of gender relations within numerous adverts.

Regarding "overtness-covertness" in advertising gender metaphors we have observed in our study of advertising gender metaphors in *British Cosmopolitan* that metaphor producers of advertising gender metaphors use a scale of overt and covert communicated gender metaphors to impose an asymmetrical gender value system on their audience. Covertness is preferred for the most universal type of advertising gender metaphor whereas the more specific ones usually rely on weak communication probably because weak ostension allows advertisers to ensure clarity for guiding the audience interpretation while retaining a higher degree of responsibility, therefore greater control over the audience's interpretations. In addition, we have found in our sample under study that the "conventional-innovative scale of metaphors" is a determining factor for overtness or covertness as there is a perfect match between those advertising gender metaphors that are weakly overt communicated and conventional advertising gender metaphors and between those advertising gender metaphors that are covertly communicated and innovative advertising gender metaphors.

In terms of discrimination overtly-communicated conventionalised advertising gender metaphors turned out to be more sexist than covertly communicated innovative advertising gender metaphors, being this trend remarkably noticeable in those cases of specific advertising gender metaphors that discriminate against

women. Apparently advertisers prefer weakly overt communication for the obvious advantages that this type of communication has for the overall advert. On the whole, weak overt communicated advertising gender metaphors work better than covert communicated advertising gender metaphors at engaging and controlling the audience thought. In addition, it may well be the case that those metaphors that are now communicated overtly had started as innovative ones, thus being covertly communicated and then found successful in changing the thoughts of the audience. Therefore both poles of the continuum would be but successive stages of a continuous process by which advertisers may perpetrate or break certain evaluations on gender relations.

Concerning the different types of advertising gender metaphors in our sample it appears that the more specific types of advertising gender metaphors, namely the cases of metaphorical gender and cultural gender metaphors are more overtly communicated when they introduce discrimination against women whereas covertness is preferred when they discriminate against men. This seems to prove that discrimination against women is still seen as part of our mainstream culture whereas discrimination against men is not yet so much conventionalised. The most universal type of advertising gender metaphors rely on covertness to discriminate against men or women due to the inherent "covert" nature of image schemas that sustain this type of metaphor.

In short, as our study has proved, weak overt communication allow the advertiser to "have his cake and eat it" (cf. Tanaka 1999: 58) when it comes to advertising gender metaphors that are sexist thus contributing to the view that weak overt communication plays a very important role in today advertising, as suggested by Crook and recent cognitive and social psychology and audience reception studies. Weak overtness seems indeed to be more insidious than covert communication to introduce discrimination, mostly against women, because it allows the metaphor producer to retain a higher level of control over the audience interpretation process while creating or maintaining a non-neutral gender value system. Covertness, on the other hand, is mostly used to discriminate against men, although this discrimination works mostly as an attention-grabbing and interest-raising technique that has a temporary and short-lived effect. Time will say whether these now covertly communicated advertising gender metaphors that discriminate against men become conventionalised and thus part of our mainstream culture.

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES (JES)

EDITORIAL POLICY, GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS 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. 15 and max. 30 double-spaced pages).
B. State of the art reports of recent books covering issues relating to the area of interest of the journal (max. 8 double-spaced pages).
C. Notes and squibs (max. 6 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.

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– 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 republish any part of a contribution in any other venue and/or format, authors must ask for written permission to the Editor.

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

2. SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS

Proposals should be sent to:

Dr. Mª Pilar Agustín Llach
Secretary of *JES*
E-mail: maria-del-pilar.agustin@unirioja.es

For further information, contact the Editor of *JES*

Dr. Melania Terrazas Gallego
E-mail: melania.terrazas@unirioja.es

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

3. GUIDELINES 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, postal address, 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: 357-361.

Books edited. Volumes edited by one or more authors should be referred to as follows (notice the use of abbreviations ed. and eds.):

Miller, N. C., ed. 1986. *The Poetics of Gender*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Richards, J. C. and D. Nunan, eds. 1990. *Second Language Teacher Education*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Articles in books. References to articles published in works edited by other authors or in conference proceedings should be cited as in the example:

Fowler, R. 1983. "Polyphony and Problematic in *Hard Times*". *The Changing World of Charles Dickens*. Ed. R. Giddings. London: Vision Press. 91-108.

Traugott, E. C. 1988. "Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization". *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Eds. S. Axmaker, A. Jaisser, and H. Singmaster. Berkeley, Ca.: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 406-416.

Several authors. A journal article with three authors:

Golberg, H., Paradis, J. and M. Crago. 2008. "Lexical acquisition over time in minority first language children learning English as a second language". *Applied Psycholinguistics* 29: 41-65.

Magazine article in a weekly or biweekly publication:

Allen, B. 1995. "Leaving Behind Daydreams for Nightmares". *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October, A12.

A **review** in a journal:

Judie Newman. 2007. "*Fictions of America. Narratives of Global Empire*, by P. Martín Salván". *Atlantis* 31 (1): 165-170.

An **unpublished dissertation**:

Arús, J. 2003. *Towards a Computational Specification of Transitivity in Spanish: A Contrastive Study with English*. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Spain.

An **on-line** publication:

Pierce, David. "Irish Studies round the world-2007: Introduction." <http://www.estudiosirlandeses.org/Issue3/Issue3InternationalReviews/PdfIStudiesRoundtheWorldbyDPierce.pdf>. (Accessed 7 May 2008)

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES (JES)

POLÍTICA EDITORIAL, PRESENTACIÓN DE ORIGINALES Y HOJA DE ESTILO

1. Política Editorial

1.1. Descripción de la revista. *JES* es una publicación del Departamento de Filologías Modernas de la Universidad de la Rioja dedicada a la difusión de estudios en todas las áreas de investigación que se engloban en el ámbito de los Estudios Ingleses. Se aceptarán para su publicación, previo informe favorable de dos evaluadores anónimos, trabajos originales que se integren en alguna de las áreas temáticas relacionadas con los Estudios Ingleses (lingüística, literatura, teoría literaria, estudios culturales, estudios fílmicos, etc.), debiendo acogerse además a alguna de las siguientes modalidades:

A. Artículos sobre cualquiera de las áreas temáticas que se engloban dentro de los Estudios Ingleses (mínimo 15 y máximo 30 páginas a doble espacio, incluyendo referencias bibliográficas, notas, apéndices, figuras y tablas).
B. Reseñas y recensiones de libros recientes publicados en el campo de los Estudios Ingleses (máximo 8 páginas a doble espacio).
C. Notas o reflexiones críticas breves (*squibs*) (máximo 6 páginas a doble espacio).

Excepcionalmente, y siempre acompañados de un informe positivo del *Consejo Científico*, se admitirán trabajos que superen la extensión indicada, cuando la relevancia de los mismos lo justifique.

1.2. Idioma. *JES* sólo admite propuestas de publicación escritas en inglés.

1.3. Evaluación. Los trabajos serán remitidos a dos evaluadores anónimos propuestos por los miembros del *Consejo de Redacción* y/o *Consejo Científico* de *JES*. Es requisito imprescindible para la publicación de los trabajos la obtención de dos evaluaciones positivas. La evaluación se efectuará en relación a los siguientes criterios:

– Originalidad e interés en cuanto a tema, método, datos, resultados, etc.
– Pertinencia en relación con las investigaciones actuales en el área.
– Revisión de trabajos de otros autores sobre el mismo asunto.
– Rigor en la argumentación y en el análisis.
– Precisión en el uso de conceptos y métodos.

- Discusión de implicaciones y aspectos teóricos del tema estudiado.
- Utilización de bibliografía actualizada.
- Corrección lingüística, organización y presentación formal del texto.
- Claridad, elegancia y concisión expositivas.
- Adecuación a la temática propia de *JES*.

La evaluación se realizará respetando el anonimato, tanto de los autores como de los evaluadores; en el plazo de tres meses desde la recepción del artículo, los autores recibirán los correspondientes informes sobre sus trabajos, junto con la decisión editorial sobre la pertinencia de su publicación, sin que exista la posibilidad de correspondencia posterior sobre los resultados de la evaluación.

1.4. Revisión y pruebas de imprenta. Si fuera necesaria la revisión de alguno de los aspectos formales o de contenido de la propuesta de publicación, ésta será responsabilidad exclusiva del autor, quien deberá entregar el documento informático de la nueva versión corregida en el plazo establecido por la dirección de la revista. De no hacerlo así, el trabajo no será publicado aunque hubiera sido evaluado positivamente.

Asimismo, los autores son responsables de la corrección de las pruebas de imprenta, debiendo remitir los textos corregidos en el plazo indicado por la dirección de la revista.

1.5. Copyright. Los autores se comprometen a que sus propuestas de publicación sean originales, no habiendo sido publicadas previamente, ni enviadas a evaluar a otras revistas. La publicación de artículos en *JES* no da derecho a remuneración alguna; los derechos de edición pertenecen a *JES* y es necesario su permiso para cualquier reproducción parcial o total cuya procedencia, en todo caso, será de citación obligatoria.

1.6. Política de intercambio. *JES* está interesada en realizar intercambios con otras publicaciones similares dentro del campo de los Estudios Ingleses o de otras áreas de conocimiento relacionadas.

2. ENVÍO DE PROPUESTAS

Los trabajos se remitirán en formato Word o RTF como documentos adjuntos de correo electrónico a la secretaria de la revista:

Dr. Mª Pilar Agustín Llach
Secretaria de *JES*

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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.

Junto con el mensaje, los autores enviarán dos documentos en formato Word o RTF. En el primer documento, los autores incluirán el título del artículo (en **negrita**), el nombre (en VERSALITA), la afiliación del autor o autores (en *cursiva*) y cualquier otra información relevante como su dirección postal y la de correo-electrónico o el número de teléfono y de fax.

En el caso de autoría compartida, se indicará el nombre y la dirección de correo electrónico de la persona a quien deben dirigirse la correspondencia y las pruebas de imprenta.

Los autores deberán incluir también una breve nota biográfica (de unas 100 palabras).

El segundo documento contendrá el artículo que ha de enviarse para su evaluación. Por tanto los autores deberán ser extremadamente cautos para evitar que aparezca cualquier tipo de información personal que permita identificar a los autores del trabajo.

3.2. Tablas, figuras e imágenes. Deberán incluirse en el texto en el lugar adecuado. Las imágenes se guardarán en formato JPG o TIFF con una resolución de 300 dpi, tamaño final.

3.3. Información sobre copyright. En el caso de que una parte del artículo se haya presentado con anterioridad en un congreso, se debe incluir una nota en la que se indique el nombre del congreso, el de la institución que lo organizó, las fechas exactas del congreso o el día en el que se presentó la ponencia y la ciudad donde se celebró el congreso. La obtención de los permisos necesarios para utilizar material sujeto a copyright es responsabilidad de los autores.

4. PREPARACIÓN DEL MANUSCRITO

4.1. Formato. Se ruega reducir al mínimo el número de formatos. No se utilizarán sangrías, subrayados o tabulaciones a menos que sea absolutamente necesario.

4.2. Documento. La medida de todos los márgenes (izquierdo, derecho, superior e inferior) en el documento será de 2,54 cms. Todos los párrafos estarán justificados y se utilizará la letra Garamond de 12 puntos para el texto y la bibliografía, de 11 puntos para las citas que aparezcan en un párrafo separado de la estructura del texto y de 10 puntos para los resúmenes o abstracts, las palabras clave, las notas, los números sobrescritos, las tablas y las figuras.

4.3. Título. El título del artículo se presentará centrado con letra Garamond 12 negrita. Se utilizarán las mayúsculas tanto para el título, como para el subtítulo, si lo hubiera.

El título deberá estar traducido al español. El editor se encargará de la traducción cuando el autor no sepa español.

4.4. Resumen y palabras clave. El título inglés y el español irán seguidos de sendos resúmenes (de entre 100 y 150 palabras cada uno): el primero, en inglés, y el segundo en español. El editor se encargará de la traducción cuando el autor no sepa español. Los resúmenes se presentarán en letra Garamond de 10 puntos y en *cursiva* (los títulos de libros y las palabras clave irán en caracteres normales), con justificación completa, a un solo espacio y sangrados un centímetro del margen izquierdo. Los resúmenes no podrán incluir notas al pie. La palabra RESUMEN/ ABSTRACT (en caracteres normales y mayúsculas) estarán separados del resumen por un punto y un espacio.

Cada resumen irá seguido de una lista de seis *palabras clave* en el idioma correspondiente: inglés o español, para facilitar así la clasificación correcta de los artículos en índices de referencia internacional. La palabra *Palabras clave/Keywords* (en cursiva), seguidas de dos puntos y un espacio, precederán a los términos elegidos.

4.5. Párrafos. La distancia entre los párrafos será la misma que la utilizada en el espacio interlineal, y por lo que se refiere a la primera línea de cada párrafo, ésta irá sangrada un centímetro hacia la derecha. No se dividirán palabras al final de una línea. Se incluirá solo un espacio entre palabras y un solo espacio después de cada signo de puntuación.

4.6. Cursiva. Las palabras en una lengua diferente a la de la redacción del texto aparecerán en cursiva; asimismo se empleará este tipo de letra para resaltar alguna

palabra clave, y cuando esto suceda en un fragmento textual en cursiva, se procederá de modo contrario, i.e., se destacará la palabra clave en caracteres normales.

4.7. Figuras, ilustraciones y tablas. Las figuras, ilustraciones y tablas deberán ir numeradas con cifras arábigas y se hará referencia a sus números dentro del texto (v.gr., como vemos en la imagen/ilustración/tabla/ejemplo 1). Irán acompañadas de un pie en el que se indique su contenido (en letra Garamond de 10 puntos y en *cursiva* y a un solo espacio).

4.8. Títulos de los apartados. Los títulos de los apartados se presentarán en letra versalita común, numerados con cifras arábigas que estarán separadas del título por un punto y un espacio (v.gr., 1. INTRODUCTION); los títulos estarán separados del texto anterior por dos líneas y del texto siguiente por una.

Los títulos de los subapartados se anotarán en cursiva común y serán nuevamente numerados (v. gr., 1.1., 1.2., 1.3.), debiendo separarse tanto del texto que antecede como del texto siguiente por una línea.

Los niveles inferiores a los subapartados deberán evitarse en lo posible. Si se utilizan serán numerados igualmente con cifras arábigas y se escribirán en texto común (v. gr., 1.1.1., 1.1.2.; 1.1.1.1., 1.1.1.2.).

4.9. Aclaraciones. En los casos en los que se hagan aclaraciones en las que no se utilice un paréntesis sino guiones, el guión estará separado tanto de la primera como de la última palabra de la aclaración por un espacio, como en el ejemplo:

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

4.10. Puntuación. La puntuación ortográfica (coma, punto, punto y coma, dos puntos, etc) deberá colocarse detrás de las comillas (";).

La escritura en mayúsculas conservará, en su caso, la acentuación gráfica correspondiente (v. gr., INTRODUCCIÓN, LINGÜÍSTICA, BIBLIOGRAFÍA).

Se utilizará un apóstrofe (') y no una tilde (´) en abreviaturas y genitivos sajón.

4.11. Notas al pie. Las notas al pie serán breves y aclaratorias. Como regla general, se evitará el uso de notas al pie para registrar únicamente referencias bibliográficas. Se incorporarán al final de página. Los números de nota 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: 357-361.

Libros editados. Las obras editadas por uno o varios autores deberán citarse como sigue (se utilizarán las abreviaturas ed. o eds.):

Miller, N. C., ed. 1986. *The Poetics of Gender*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Richards, J. C. and D. Nunan, eds. 1990. *Second Language Teacher Education*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Artículos publicados en libros. Las referencias a artículos publicados en obras editadas por otros autores o en actas de congresos se escribirán como se indica en el ejemplo:

Fowler, R. 1983. "Polyphony and Problematic in Hard Times". *The Changing World of Charles Dickens*. Ed. R. Giddings. London: Vision Press. 91-108.

Traugott, E. C. 1988. "Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization". *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Eds. S. Axmaker, A. Jaisser, and H. Singmaster. Berkeley, Ca.: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 406-416.

Varios autores. Artículo de revista con tres autores:

Golberg, H., Paradis, J. and M. Crago. 2008. "Lexical acquisition over time in minority first language children learning English as a second language". *Applied Psycholinguistics* 29: 41-65.

Artículo en una publicación semanal o quincenal:

Allen, B. 1995. "Leaving Behind Daydreams for Nightmares". *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October, A12.

Reseña en una revista:

Judie Newman. 2007. *"Fictions of America. Narratives of Global Empire, by P. Martín Salván". Atlantis* 31 (1): 165-170.

Tesis sin publicar:

Arús, J. 2003. *Towards a Computational Specification of Transitivity in Spanish: A Contrastive Study with English*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Spain.

Publicaciones **on-line**:

Pierce, David. "Irish Studies round the world-2007: Introduction." <http://www.estudiosirlandeses.org/Issue3/Issue3InternationalReviews/PdfIStudiesRoundtheWorldbyDPierce.pdf>. (Accessed 7 May 2008)

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