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# Metadiscourse in English and Swedish Non-fiction Texts and their Translations

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Abstract
This study compares the metadiscourse (i.e. the meanings which relate to the writers and readers of a text) in two samples of English and Swedish non-fiction texts and their translations in the English Swedish Parallel Corpus. Using an integrative approach to metadiscourse (Ädel & Mauranen 2012:2), it finds that there is a considerably higher frequency of metadiscourse in the Swedish original texts and a somewhat larger proportion of interpersonal metadiscourse, which represents the writer's attitude towards the propositional content and the readers themselves. In particular, there is a more frequent usage of boosters. In both of the translation samples, there is an increase in transition markers, which raises the level of explicitness in the text. In the translations into English, a tendency was also found for translators to reduce emphasis by omitting boosters and, in some cases, inserting hedges. This, coupled with the higher frequency of boosters in the Swedish original texts suggests that there may be differences in writing conventions in English and Swedish non-fiction texts, for instance, when it comes to increasing the emphatic force of propositions.

Key words: metadiscourse, translation, metadiscourse, translation, English, Swedish, boosters, hedges

## 1. Introduction

Texts may be seen as consisting of different levels of meaning, a propositional content level, which refers to actions, events, states of affairs or objects in the world portrayed by the text, and a writer-reader level, where the writers interact with their readers, explicitly guiding them through its structure and organisation, commenting on the writing process itself or expressing their opinions and beliefs concerning its content. The meanings expressed on the writer-reader level of the text have been referred to by the umbrella term metadiscourse, i.e. "the self-reflective linguistic expressions referring to the evolving text, to the writer, and to the imagined readers of that text" (Hyland 2004:133). Typical linguistic expressions of metadiscourse include, for instance, conjunctions and conjuncts, first and second pronouns referring to the writer and reader, interrogatives and imperatives addressing the reader, and references to the text itself,

etc. As metadiscourse is "a manifestation of the writer's linguistic and rhetorical presence in a text." (Hyland 1998a:3), expressing the writer's "personality, audience-sensitivity and relationship to the message" (Hyland 1998c:438), it is one of the means by which writers attend to the rational, credible and affective appeals of persuasive rhetoric (logos, ethos and pathos) (Hyland 2005:63-85).

Metadiscourse varies depending not only on the writers' purpose and their relationship to their readers, but also the social and cultural context in whích writing takes place (Hyland 2005:113-137). Anglo-American writers of research papers have been found, for instance, to use a greater amount of metadiscourse in order to explicitly guide their readers through their texts than Finnish writers, who use a generally more implicit rhetorical strategy with less reflexivity and emphasis (Mauranen 1993: 252-259). According to Mauranen, this reflects a tendency for Anglo-American writing to be more rhetorically explicit than Finnish writing. Similarly, in a comparison of metadiscourse in English, Norwegian and French economics and linguistics texts, Dahl (2004:1821) found that the English and Norwegian writers used more metadiscourse than the French writers. Other contrastive studies have also found differences in the usage of metadiscourse in English and other languages, e.g. English and Slovene research papers (Pisanski Peterlin 2005), English and Spanish editorials (Milne 2003), and English and Spanish economic texts (Valero-Garces 1996). According to Hinds (1987:143), English represents a "writer responsible" culture, i.e. writers are expected to take responsibility for the clarity of their texts by providing signposts for the reader to ease processing, as opposed to a "reader responsible culture" which tends to be more implicit, laying more responsibility on the reader for the success of the communication. This is related to what Chesterton (1997:114), refers to as the "significance threshold" in communication, i.e. the point above which something is felt to be worth saying, and below which it is not felt necessary to say anything at all. This may vary from culture to culture and appears to be somewhat lower in English than in Finnish, for instance. When translating from Finnish into English, translators may therefore feel a need to strengthen the text by adding features of metadiscourse, whereas in translations into Finnish they may feel a need for the text "to be 'toned down' somewhat in order for it to meet the target culture's different tolerance of rhetorical display"

(Chesterton 1997:115). Translating a text involves therefore taking into account the fact that the usage of metadiscourse in the target language may be influenced by different cultural preferences and norms of politeness. Williams (2010) found, in a study of students' translations from French to English, for instance, that when some of the students failed to translate some of the features of metadiscourse appropriately, this resulted in the loss of some of the nuances, which, according to Hyland (2005:39), contribute towards making the content of a text "coherent, intelligible and persuasive to a particular audience". Similarly, Pisanski Peterlin (2008) found that translators of Slovene research articles into English made a considerable number of changes in the metadiscourse, both omissions and insertions.

Swedish advanced learners of English have been found to use more metadiscourse in their argumentative writing than native speakers (Petch-Tyson 1998, Ädel 2008). In particular, there are more overt references to the discourse participants and more taking into account the imagined reader. There is also a greater density of metadiscourse elements (Ädel 2008:54). According to Ädel (2008:59), one of the chief influencing factors, as well as general learner strategies and a lack of genre awareness, may be different Anglo-Saxon and Swedish writing conventions, in particular a strong tendency towards informality in Swedish writing. It is possible, then, that in certain circumstances Swedish and English may have a different significance threshold as far as the usage of metadiscourse is concerned. This study aims, therefore, to investigate whether this may be the case. For this purpose, it will first compare the usage of metadiscourse in a sample of English and Swedish original texts (five texts in each language consisting of altogether approximately 60,000 and 64000 words, respectively) and then examine how the metadiscourse has been dealt with in their translations into English and Swedish (approximately 73,000 and 57,000 words, respectively). The original texts and their translations have been selected from the non-fiction category of the English Swedish Parallel Corpus (Aijmer *et al*. 1996). Each language sample consists of extracts from five texts. As the non-fiction category contains a wide variety of text types, ranging from parliamentary speeches and company reports to biographies and historical accounts, similar text types have been selected from each language as far as possible. Each language sample therefore comprises

two extracts from biographies, two extracts from travel books and one extract from a historical account. A full list of the texts and the codes used in the examples quoted here are given below.

Section 3 compares the metadiscourse in the original texts. Section 4 compares the metadicourse in the translations and examines what changes have been made. Section 5, finally, discusses what conclusions can be drawn from these findings. First, in the next section, the model used in the classification of metadiscourse will be presented.


*2. Classification of metadiscourse*

There are two main approaches to analysing metadiscourse, an integrative approach which sees textual interaction between the writer and reader as its main defining feature and a non-integrative approach which follows a narrower definition of metadiscourse as reflexivity only, i.e. language commenting on language itself (Ädel & Mauranen 2010:2). It is the former, broader approach which will be adopted here, following Hyland's classification (1998a, b & c, 2000, 2004, 2005), which is a development of the taxonomy originally proposed by Vande Kopple (1985) and later revised by Crismore *et al*. (1993). This model makes a distinction between interactive metadiscourse, which is used to organize the propositional content of the text, and interactional metadiscourse, which alerts readers to the author's perspective towards the propositional information and the readers themselves (Hyland 2005:50-54). In this study, I will, however, refer to these as textual and interpersonal metadiscourse, respectively. Each of these types of metadiscourse are illustrated here by examples taken from the samples of English and Swedish translations.

Textual metadiscourse consists of the sub-categories: transition markers, frame markers, endophoric markers, code glosses and evidentials. Transition markers express semantic relations between stretches of discourse, i.e. they explicitly establish "preferred interpretations of propositional meanings by relating individual propositions to each other and to readers" (Hyland 1998b:228). They signal, for instance, additive, contrastive and resultative relations, and they are realized by a wide variety of linguistic markers ranging from

conjunctions and conjuncts to prepositional phrases, etc.[1] In (1), for instance, the conjuncts *therefore* and *därför* ("therefore") signal a resultative relation.

(1) Dog-driving was difficult, because the dog as a draught animal hardly existed in Norway; it was only later imported from Greenland and Alaska. Amundsen *therefore* began with what lay closest; the art of mountain skiing.

Att lära sig hundkörning var svårt därför att hunden som dragdjur knappast förekom i Norge. Den importerades först senare från Grönland och Alaska. Amundsen började *därför* med det som låg närmast: skidåkning i fjällen. (RH)

Frame markers signal boundaries in the discourse and different stages in the argument, e.g. *Denna mycket korta kavalkad skall avslutas med …* and *This very brief cavalcade will end with …* in (2), which signals a shift to the final topic of the text, and *This guide's aim* and *Den här bokens syfte* in (3), which announces the goal of the discourse.

(2) *Denna mycket korta kavalkad skall avslutas med* den mycket begåvade poeten *Niklas Törnlund* (f 1950)*, som i en diktsamling 1981 tryckte "Sorlande revir", som han daterat till nyåret 1979 och som inspirerats av arkeologernas grävningar i stadskärnan.

*This very brief cavalcade will end with* a very gifted poet *Niklas Törnlund* (b.1950) who published "Sorlande revir" (Humming territory) (1979) in a volume of 1981 and the poem was inspired by the archaeological excavations going on in the centre of the town. (LI)

(3) *This guide's aim* is to provide the sort of information a Londoner would give to a

*Den här bokens syfte* är att förse besökaren med det slags information en londonbo skulle ge

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[1] These have only been counted as transition markers if they are rhetorically optional i.e. "they constrained the interpretation of the message rather than just contributing to the coordinations of sentence elements" (Hyland 1998b: 229). I have therefore only included items which connect propositions i.e. which connect main finite clauses which could have been independent.

friend visiting the capital.

en vän på besök i huvudstaden. (SUG)

Endophoric markers refer to the text itself. They are sometimes used to remind the readers of material earlier in the text, e.g. *som tidigare nämnts* and *As mentioned earlier* in (4), or to anticipate material yet to come, e.g. *i ett annat kapitel av denna bok* and *in another chapter of this book,* in (5).

(4) Detta kontrakt skrev — *som tidigare nämnts* — Axel Johnson år 1901 och transporterna som påbörjades 1904 omfattade tio år t o m 1913.

*As mentioned earlier*, Axel Johnson concluded this contract in 1901 and the shipments ran for a decade from 1904 to 1913. (TR)

(5) Offentliga konsten i Lund *behandlas i ett annat kapitel av denna bok.*

Public art in Lund *is dealt with in another chapter of this book.* (LI)

Code glosses assist the readers' interpretation of the text by adding information that elaborates on what has been said, for example, by rephrasing or explaining its wording, as in (6) where the code glosses *our April* and *vår april* explain *the month of Nisan*. Some code glosses are metalinguistic comments which put the choice of wording in focus, e.g. *to use the phrase that ...* and *För att använda den fras som ...* in (7).

(6) Celebrated in the holy city of Babylon during the month of Nisan — *our April* — the Festival solemnly enthroned the king and established his reign for another year.

Den firades i den heliga staden Babylon i månaden nisan — *vår april* — genom att man under högtidliga former insatte kungen på tronen och stadfäste hans styre för ytterligare ett år. (KAR)

(7) It was, *to use the phrase that comes out in Provence whenever the sun goes in*, pas normale.

*För att använda den fras som dyker upp varje gång solen går i moln i Provence*: det var inte normalt. (PM)

Evidentials signal that the content of the text is from another source. This may be named or hearsay, e.g. *säges* ("says") and *so it is said* in (8).

(8) Någon mera framstående vetenskapsman *säges* han inte ha varit, men ryktbarhet fick han genom upptäckten av Ramlösa brunn, som Döbelius i sin egenskap av provinsialläkare öppnade för allmänt bruk 1707.

Någon mera framstående vetenskapsman *säges* han inte ha varit, men ryktbarhet fick han genom upptäckten av Ramlösa brunn, som Döbelius i sin egenskap av provinsialläkare öppnade för allmänt bruk 1707.

Textual metadiscourse consists of the subcategories: hedges, boosters, attitude markers, engagement markers and self mentions. Hedges withhold commitment to a proposition, e.g. *troligen* ("probably") and *probably* in (9). In doing this, they indicate the writer's decision to acknowledge the possible existence of other voices and viewpoints and thereby be open to heteroglossic negotiation with the reader (Bakhtin 1986, Martin & White 2005:105).

(9) Den katedral som helgades åt S:t Laurentius — i dagligt tal Domkyrkan — började *troligen* byggas 1085, då kung Knut (så småningom "den helige") skapade ekonomiska förutsättningar för bygget.

The cathedral dedicated to St Lawrence was *probably* begun in 1085, when King Canute (later to be called Canute the Holy) created economic conditions for the construction. (LI)

Boosters, e.g. *without doubt* and *utan tvivel* ("without doubt") in (10), increase the writer's commitment to a proposition and demonstrate a confident, decisive image (cf Hyland 2000:236). Like hedges, they open up the content to heteroglossic negotiation but at the same time they contribute to closing down the argument (Bakhtin 1986, Martin & White 2005:133). Some boosters emphasise the remarkability of the proposition, e.g. *rentav* and *even* in (11).

(10) Lying just south of the Thames in west London, Richmond Park is the most "natural" and largest of the London Royal Parks and *without doubt* the one which holds the most wildlife interest.

Strax söder om Themsen i sydvästra London, är Richmond Park den mest 'naturliga' och största av Londons kungliga parker och *utan tvivel* den som är intressantast ur viltsynpunkt. (SUG)

(11) Lundaandan sägs innehålla en rejäl dos skepticism. Hos vissa når denna skepticism sådana höjder att de *rentav* förnekar existensen av en Lundaanda.

The Lund spirit is supposed to contain a generous dose of scepticism. In some people this scepticism reaches such heights that they *even* deny the existence of a Lund spirit. (LI)

Attitude markers show the writer's opinion of the content, expressing, for instance, affective attitudes of surprise, e.g. *paradoxalt* ("paradoxically") and *Strange to say* in (12), or regret, e.g. *Sadly* and *Sorgligt nog* ("sadly enough") in (13).

(12) Lunds karaktär av uni-versitetsstad kom *paradoxalt* att öka under efterkrigstidens expansionsår.

*Strange to say*, Lund became even more of a university town during these years of postwar expansion. (LI)

(13) *Sadly*, it no longer harbours the deer which once provided sport for kings, the disturbance caused by increased public pressure having driven them away.

*Sorgligt nog* har hjortarna, en gång kungligt villebråd, försvunnit härifrån på grund av de störningar samhällsutvecklingen orsakat.

Engagement markers explicitly address readers and draw them into the discourse. They are typically second person pronouns referring to the reader, e.g. *you* and *du* in (14), and first person plural reader-inclusive pronouns *we* and *vi,* as in (15), and interrogatives and imperatives addressing the reader, as in (16) and (17).

(14) In it *you* will find everything from the newest museums to a personal selection of shops, hotels and restaurants. What *you* will not find is information on where to have an Elizabethan banquet; neither are there pages and pages of historical facts.

På dessa sidor kommer *du* att hitta allt från de nyaste museerna till ett personligt urval butiker, hotell och restauranger. Något *du* inte kommer att hitta i den här guiden är var man kan bevista en elisabetansk bankett; det finns inte heller sida upp och sida ner med historiska fakta. (SUG)

(15) *We* will discuss the two other sources of the Pentateuch the Deuteronomist and Priestly accounts of the ancient history of Israel — in Chapter Two.

I kapitel två skall *vi* behandla Pentateukens båda andra källor— deuteronomistens och prästcodex' skildringar av Israels äldre historia. (KAR)

(16) *Vad sitter våra riksdagsmän och stirrar på under sina debatter i det nygamla riksdagshuset*? En målning av arbetande människor, fabriker och skorstenar, bilar och hus? Nej. En enorm väv, föreställande ett skärgårdslandskap. Icke ett hus, inte en människa.

*At what do our riksdagsmän stare during their debates in their renovated riksdag*? A painting of people at work, factories and smoke stacks, cars and houses? No, an enormous tapestry representing the land-and-seascape of the skerries, without a single house or human being in sight. (IU)

(17) *Nå låt oss lämna* vår fiskande vän och återvända till Ett Svenskt Hem.

*Well now let′s leave* our friend the director with his net and return to The Swedish Home. (IU)

Self mentions are typically first-person pronouns *I* and *jag*, which make the writer's presence known in the text, as in (18).

(18) Detta barndomshem var rött och hade vita knutar, behöver *jag* säga det?

And do *I* need to say that his childhood home was painted red and had white-painted corners? (IU)

All the instances of metadiscourse in the English and Swedish samples were collected manually and then classified according to the model of metadiscourse above. Only explicit linguistic realisations have been included, although metadiscoursal meanings may also be inferred in the text. When several types of metadiscourse combine with each other, as in (17) above, where engagement markers (the imperatives, *Låt oss lämna* and *Let's leave*) function at the same time as frame markers indicating a shift of topic, and in (18), where the self mentions *I* and *jag* combine with engagement markers (the interrogative clauses, *behöver jag säga det …* and *And do I need to say …*), each function has been counted as a separate feature. The next section compares the metadiscourse in the English and Swedish original texts.

*3. Metadiscourse in the Original Texts*
Table 1. compares the metadiscourse in the English and Swedish original texts.

*Table 1.* Metadiscourse in the English and Swedish original texts

|  | English | | | Swedish | | |
|  | No | Per 1000 words | % | No | Per 1000 words | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TEXTUAL |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Transition marker | 939 | 15.6 | 64.6 | 1155 | 18.0 | 55.3 |
| Frame marker | 12 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 55 | 0.8 | 2.6 |
| Endophoric marker | 11 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 35 | 0.5 | 1.7 |
| Code gloss | 44 | 0.7 | 3.0 | 101 | 1.6 | 4.8 |
| Evidential | 79 | 1.3 | 5.4 | 155 | 2.4 | 7.4 |
| Total | 1085 | 18.1 | 74.6 | 1501 | 23.4 | 71.8 |

| INTERPER SONAL | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hedge | 110 | 1.8 | 7.6 | 158 | 2.5 | 7.6 |
| Booster | 102 | 1.7 | 7.0 | 236 | 3.7 | 11.3 |
| Attitude markers | 36 | 0.6 | 2.5 | 73 | 1.1 | 3.5 |
| Engagement marker | 119 | 1.9 | 8.2 | 96 | 1.5 | 4.6 |
| Self mention | 1 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 26 | 0.4 | 1.2 |
| Total | 368 | 6.1 | 25.4 | 589 | 9.2 | 28.2 |
| TOTAL | 1453 | 24.2 | | 2090 | 32.6 | |

In the sample of English original texts, there are 1453 metadiscourse items altogether, and their frequency is 24.2 times per 1000 words. In the sample of Swedish original texts, in contrast, the total number of metadiscourse items (2090) is much higher (statistical significance p<.001[2]), and their frequency is 32.6 times per 1000 words.[3] A similar higher frequency of metadiscourse in Swedish non-fiction texts was found in a study carried out by Ädel (1999).

All the different types of metadiscourse occur more frequently in the Swedish sample than in the English sample, with the exception of engagement markers, which are, conversely, slightly more frequent in the English sample (1.9 vs. 1.5 times per 1000 words). This is probably due to the fact that the second person pronoun *you* in English can both be an engagement marker addressing the reader and at the same time have generic reference, whereas Swedish makes a distinction between the second person pronoun engagement markers, *du* ("you", singular) and *ni* ("you", plural), and the impersonal pronoun *man* ("one"), which is used for generic reference. (This is exemplified by example (36) below). The greatest difference between the samples is found in the interpersonal metadiscourse, which is

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[2] Statistical significance has been calculated using the Sigil Corpus Frequency Test Wizard (sigil.collocations.de/wizard.html)

[3] There is a great deal of variation between the individual texts. In the Swedish original texts, the frequency of metadiscourse ranges from 21.7 to 55.36 times per 1000 words. In the English original texts, it ranges from 15.7 to 39.0 times per 1000 words.

altogether 1.5 times more frequent in the Swedish sample than in the English sample (9.2 vs. 6.1 times per 1000 words) compared to the textual metadiscourse, which is 1.3 times more frequent (23.4 vs. 18.1 times per 1000 words). There is thus a somewhat larger proportion of interpersonal metadiscourse in the Swedish sample than in the English sample (28.2% vs. 25.4%). The features which differ most in frequency are boosters and self mentions. Boosters occur more than twice as frequently in the Swedish sample as in the English sample (3.7 vs. 1.7 times per 1000 words) and self mentions occur 26 times in the Swedish sample and only once in the English sample.

In sum, there is more metadiscourse in the sample of Swedish original texts, in particular, interpersonal metadiscourse. The total amount of metadiscourse found in both of the samples is much lower than that which has been found, for instance, in studies of English academic writing, such as research articles and university course books, where metadiscourse features occur three times more frequently (66.2 and 68.5 times per 1000 words, respectively) (Hyland 12005: 102). The most striking difference is the less frequent usage of hedges, which occur only 1.8 and 2.5 times per 1000 words in the English and Swedish original non-fiction texts, respectively, in contrast to 16.7 and 6.4 times per 1000 words in research articles and university course books, respectively (Hyland 2005:102). It appears, thus, that in the type of non-fiction writing examined here, writers tend to intrude less into their unfolding text to influence their reader's reception of it. This is most probably due to the fact that they do not cast their claims as individual and contingent to the same degree as writers of research articles, and therefore there is not the same need to "ground propositions in an explicitly acknowledged degree of subjectivity" (Hyland 2005:93).

I will now go on to examine what happens to the metadiscourse when it is translated.

## 4. Metadiscourse in the translations

Table 2 compares the total amount of metadiscourse in the English-Swedish and Swedish-English original texts and their translations. It includes the numbers of matches, i.e. metadiscourse features which correspond to similar features in the original texts, and the numbers of

changes, i.e. metadiscourse features which have been omitted or inserted in the translations.

*Table 2.* Metadiscourse in the translations

| English-Swedish | | | | | Swedish-English | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Orig. | Translations | | | | Orig. | Translations | | | |
| | Match | Omit | Insert | Total | | Match | Omit | Insert | Total |
| 1453 | 1319 | 134 | 133 | 1452 | 2090 | 1851 | 239 | 270 | 2121 |

In the English-Swedish translations, the total number of metadiscourse items (1452) is similar to that in their original English texts (1453). Altogether 1319 of these are matches (approximately 90% of the metadiscourse in the translations). 134 items in the English original texts (approximately 9% of the total number) have been omitted in the Swedish translations and 133 items (approximately 9% of the total number) have been inserted. In the Swedish-English translations, the total number of metadiscourse items has increased slightly from 2090 in the Swedish original texts to 2121 in the English translations (statistical significance $p < .001$). Altogether 1851 of these are matches (approximately 87% of the metadiscourse in the translations). The correspondence between the metadiscourse in the Swedish-English translations is thus slightly lower than in the English-Swedish translations. 239 items in the Swedish original texts (approximately 11% of the total number) have been omitted in the English translations, and 270 items (approximately 13% of the total number) have been inserted. There is thus a slight increase in the total amount of metadiscourse in the translations from Swedish into English, which may be a translation bias due to the influence of a high frequency in the source texts (cf. Gellerstam, 1994:61). In both of the translation samples, the translators have made a number of changes, both insertions and omissions of metadiscourse features. I will now examine these in more detail.

According to Chesterton (1997:88-115), changes made in translation are syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic strategies used by the translator in order to achieve "what they regard as the optimal translation". Syntactic strategies manipulate the clause and sentence structure of the text. Semantic strategies change its meaning, by, for instance, changing emphasis (Chesterton 1997:104). Pragmatic

strategies, which typically incorporate syntactic and semantic strategies, manipulate the message itself, depending on the translator's knowledge of the prospective readership of the translations. These include explicitness changes, which affect the level of explicitness of the text (Chesterman 1997:108), information changes, which add or omit information that cannot be inferred from the surrounding text (Chesterman 1997:109), interpersonal changes, which alter the relationship between the author and the reader (Chesterman 1997:110), illocutionary changes, which are changes in speech acts (Chesterman 1997:110), and visibility changes which are changes in the authorial presence in the text (Chesterman 1997:112).[4] Underlying these strategies is the tendency for translators to make compensatory changes, i.e. to compensate for items that have been omitted, added or changed in the translation at some other point of the text.

In the following, I will examine how the translators have used these strategies in the translation of metadiscourse, looking first at the textual metadiscourse.

### 4.1 Textual metadiscourse

Table 3 compares the textual metadiscourse in the original texts and their translations, including the numbers of matches, i.e. the textual metadiscourse features in the translations which correspond to similar features in the original texts, and the numbers of changes, i.e. the textual metadiscourse features which have been omitted or inserted in the translations. Textual features have increased in number in both of the samples (from 1085 to 1115 in the English-Swedish translations and from 1501 to 1531 in Swedish-English translations). Altogether 1010 and 1348 of these are matches (approximately 90% and 88% of the textual metadiscourse in the translations). 75 items in the English original texts have been omitted in the Swedish translations and 105 items have been inserted. 153 items in the Swedish original texts have been omitted in the English translations, and 183 items have been inserted.

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[4] Chesterton also includes other pragmatic strategies such as cultural filtering when culture-specific items are translated into cultural equivalents in the target language, coherence changes in the logical arrangement of information in the text, and partial translation, e.g. the translation of sounds only.

*Table 3.* Textual metadiscourse in translations

| | English-Swedish | | | | | Swedish-English | | | | |
| | Orig | Translations | | | | Orig. | Translations | | | |
| | | Match | Omit | Insert | Total | | Match | Omit | Insert | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Trans-ition marker | 939 | 875 | 64 | 96 | 971 | 1155 | 1020 | 135 | 165 | 1185 |
| Frame marker | 12 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 55 | 53 | 2 | 0 | 53 |
| Endo-phoric marker | 11 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 35 | 30 | 5 | 2 | 32 |
| Code gloss | 44 | 39 | 5 | 6 | 45 | 101 | 90 | 11 | 16 | 106 |
| Eviden-tial | 79 | 77 | 2 | 2 | 79 | 155 | 155 | 0 | 0 | 155 |
| Total | 1085 | 1010 | 75 | 105 | 1115 | 1501 | 1348 | 153 | 183 | 1531 |

In the following discussion of the changes in features of textual metadiscourse, I have treated the insertion and omission of transition markers, endophoric markers, frame markers and evidentials as explicitness changes and the insertion and omission of code glosses as information changes. I will exemplify each of these changes as follows.

*Explicitness changes*

The insertion of transition markers, endophoric markers, frame markers and evidentials raises the level of explicitness by making explicit relations which are implicit in the source text, as in (19), where the translator has made the implicit causal relationship in the original text explicit by inserting the transition marker *accordingly*, and (20), where the translator has inserted the endophoric marker, *i den här guiden* ("in this guide book"), thereby making explicit reference to the text itself. Similarly, in (21), the translator has inserted the evidential *men skrev till honom* ("but wrote to him"), making the source of the following quoted extract explicit.

(19) Detta är bakgrunden till att Rederiaktiebolaget Nordstjernan tillkom år 1890. ("This is the background to that ...")

It was *accordingly* against this background that Rederiaktiebolaget Nordstjernan was founded in 1890. (TR)

(20) What you will not find is information on where to have an Elizabethan banquet; neither are there pages and pages of historical facts.[5]

Något du inte kommer att hitta *i den här guiden* är var man kan bevista en elisabetansk bankett; det finns inte heller sida upp och sida ner med historiska fakta. (SUG) ("Something you not come to find in this guide is …")

(21) Jens Engebreth, so fated to be away from home on days of importance, was in France when Gustav got his cap in 1886.
You have no idea how glad I was to learn that …

Jens Engebreth, som olyckligtvis råkade vara borta på viktiga dagar, befann sig i Frankrike när Gustav erövrade mössan 1886 *men skrev till honom*

Conversely, omission lowers the level of explicitness, as in (22), where the transition marker *so* has not been translated, leaving the causal relationship implicit, and (23), where the translator has omitted the endophoric marker *som nämnts* ("as mentioned"), which refers to an earlier passage in the text. Similarly in (24), the translator has omitted the frame markers, *för det första* ("for the first") and *för det andra* ("for the second"), which indicate the organization of the discourse in separate stages of argumentation.

(22) Erskines nya hem låg isolerat — drygt två kilometer från närmaste affär och bra mycket längre från

The Erskines' new home was isolated — a little more than two kilometres to the nearest shop and much farther to the station. Ralph

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[5] Interestingly*, information on* has not been translated into Swedish, making the translation less explicit than the original.

järnvägsstationen, *så* han hade rika tillfällen att bekanta sig med trakten.
(... from the railway station, so he had …")

had every chance to get to know the area well. (RE)

(23) Ett av Carl Adolph Agardhs värdefulla initiativ var *som nämnts* skapandet av en "akademisk förening" för studenterna, inhyst i ett studenternas eget hus.
("One of Carl Adolph Agardh's valuable initiatives was as mentioned the creation of a …")

One of Carl Adolph Agardh's valuable initiatives was to set up an "academic union" for students, housed in a building for the students themselves. (LI)

(24) I Luleå var en sådan kunskap ovärderlig eftersom projektet var riskfyllt från början. *För det första* måste redan anlagda grunder avlägsnas, *för det andra* rådde det en konstant brist på pengar, vilket ledde till ständiga improvisationer.
("For the first must already constructed foundations be removed, for the second was there ...")

In Luleå this knowledge was priceless because the project was risky from the start. Existing foundations had to be removed, and cash was constantly short, which led to constant improvisations. (RE)

Some explicitness changes are due to syntactic differences between the two languages. Non-finite *-ing* clauses in English, for instance, have no directly corresponding non-finite form in Swedish and therefore often correspond to finite clauses linked by a transition marker. In (25), for instance, the *-ing* clause, *Going to sea young*, has been translated into a finite clause, *Jens Engebreth gick till sjöss tidigt*

("Jens Engebreth went to sea early") which is coordinated by the transition marker *och* ("and").

(25) *Going to sea young*, Jens Engebreth had had only elementary schooling. This had not prevented his learning how to navigate or rising to the top.

*Jens Engebreth gick till sjöss tidigt och* fick bara elementär skolutbildning. Detta hindrade honom inte från att lära sig navigera eller nå en hög position. (RH) ("… went to sea early and had only …")

As shown in Table 3, the textual feature that has been changed most is the transition marker. In both translation samples more transition markers have been inserted (96 and 165 in the English-Swedish translations and Swedish-English translations, respectively) than omitted (64 and 135 in the English-Swedish and Swedish-English translations, respectively), which results in an increase in the total numbers of transition markers (from 939 to 971 in the English-Swedish translations, and from 1155 to 1185 in the Swedish-English translations). (These differences are statistically significant at $p<.01$ in both translations.) This increase in transition markers reflects the tendency for translators to raise the level of explicitness in the text (Blum Kulka 1986:292). The other textual features which alter explicitness, i.e. endophoric markers, frame markers, and evidentials have been changed a small number of times, but these changes do not result in significant differences in their numbers in the translations.

*Information changes*

The insertion of code glosses provides new information which the translator believes the target language readers may need in order to interpret the text. This is based on the translators' assumptions concerning the target language readers' knowledge of the cultural environment of the source language. In (26), for instance, the translator has inserted the code gloss *typically a small wooden house* in the English translation to explain *stuga* ("cottage")*,* a Swedish expression which the target readers are not expected to be familiar with and therefore may need explaining.

(26) Efter att ha bott i en modern lägenhet under vintern flyttade Erskine med fru till en liten stuga i Djupdalen, tre mil söder om Stockholm, medan han övervakade bygget av von Platens hus.

They had lived through the winter in a modern flat, but now they could move to a small *stuga, (typically a small wooden house),* in Djupdalen, 30 km south of Stockholm, whence he could supervise the building of von Platen's house. (RE)

In (27), the translator has inserted the code gloss *so to say*. This is a metalinguistic comment highlighting the double-layered meaning of the verb *spread* in combination with *colour* in *the colour spread*. Insertions of code glosses such as these reflect the translator's increased awareness of the language itself during the translation process.

(27) På 1500-talet målades slottstak och kyrkor röda. Under stormaktstiden, d v s under 1600-talet, spred sig färgen till finare timmerhus, man ville imitera den röda tegelfärgen.
("…spread itself the colour to finer timber houses …")

During the sixteenth century the roofs of palaces, big houses and churches were painted red. During Sweden's Great-Power period (1560–1718) the colour spread, *so to say*, to larger timber-built houses; their owners wanted to imitate brick. (IU)

Conversely, the omission of a code gloss removes information that translators believe are irrelevant for the target language readers' interpretation of the text. In (28), for instance, the translator has omitted the code gloss *eller "läkekvinnor", hur man nu vill kalla dem* ("or 'women healers', how one now wants to call them"), which is a paraphrase of the expression *kloka gummor* ("wise old women").

(28) En av dem var Hedda Albertina Andersson, som blev medicine licentiat 1892. I rakt nedstigande led stammade hon från sex generationer "kloka gummor" *eller*

One of them was Hedda Albertina Andersson, who took a degree in medicine in 1892. She was directly descended from six generations of "nature-healers". (LI)

> *"läkekvinnor", hur man nu*
> *vill kalla dem.*
> ("… or 'women healers', how
> one now wants to call them")

Similarly, in (29) the translator has omitted the code gloss *so-called* which in the English original text indicates that *students cap* is an expression that the writer believes English readers may not be familiar with. The Swedish target language readers, on the other hand, have a similar tradition of *students caps* and may therefore be expected to be familiar with this expression.

(29) This was the *so-called*    Det var studentmössan, grå, en
     "students cap", a grey peaked    smula militärisk i stilen och med en
     quasi-military affair with a    tofs som hängde ned från kullen.
     tassel dangling from the top.    (RH)

As shown in Table 3, code glosses have been inserted slightly more often in both translations (6 and 16 times in the English-Swedish and Swedish-English translations, respectively) than omitted (5 and 11 times in the English-Swedish translations and Swedish-English translations, respectively), which may reflect a tendency for the translators to add information which assists interpretation.

In sum, the main change which the translators make in textual metadiscourse is to raise the level of explicitness by increasing the number of transition markers. This occurs in both translation directions and is inherent in the translation process.

### 4.2 Interpersonal metadiscourse

Table 4 compares the interpersonal metadiscourse in the original texts and their translations, including the numbers of matches, i.e. the interpersonal metadiscourse features in the translations which correspond to similar features in the original texts, and the numbers of changes, i.e. the interpersonal metadiscourse features which have been omitted or inserted in the translations. Interpersonal features have decreased in number in the English-Swedish translations (from 368 to 337), but remain almost the same in the Swedish-English translations

(589 in originals and 590 in translations). Altogether 309 and 503 of these are matches (approximately 91% and 85% of the interpersonal metadiscourse in the translations). 59 items in the English original texts have been omitted in the Swedish translations and 28 items have been inserted. 86 items in the Swedish original texts have been omitted in the English translations, and 87 items have been inserted.

*Table 4.* Interpersonal metadiscourse in translations

| | English-Swedish | | | | | Swedish-English | | | | |
| | Orig. | Translations | | | | Orig. | Translations | | | |
| | | Match | Omit | Insert | Total | | Match | Omit | Insert | Total |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Hedge | 110 | 99 | 11 | 10 | 109 | 158 | 148 | 10 | 18 | 166 |
| Booster | 102 | 89 | 13 | 16 | 105 | 236 | 185 | 51 | 25 | 210 |
| Attitude markers | 36 | 34 | 2 | 1 | 35 | 73 | 69 | 4 | 9 | 78 |
| Engagement markers | 119 | 87 | 32 | 1 | 88 | 96 | 76 | 20 | 29 | 105 |
| Self mention | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 26 | 25 | 1 | 6 | 31 |
| Total | 368 | 309 | 59 | 28 | 337 | 589 | 503 | 86 | 87 | 590 |

In the following discussion I have treated the insertion and omission of boosters and hedges as emphasis changes, the insertion and omission of engagement markers, which include the reader in the discourse, as interpersonal changes, and changes from or into interrogative and imperative clauses as illocutionary changes. The insertion and omission of self mentions and attitude markers have, finally, been treated as visibility changes. I will exemplify each of these changes as follows.

*Emphasis changes*
The insertion of a booster increases the force of a proposition, as in (30), for instance, where the translator has inserted the booster, e.g. *faktiskt* ("in fact"). The force of a proposition is also increased by the omission of a hedge, as in (31), where the translator has omitted the hedge *what may be interpreted as*.

(30) He was so open about his fabulating that to mention it seems almost pedantic, but Emma Goldman did not lecture in San Diego that year.

Han var så öppen i sitt fabulerande att det nästan känns pedantiskt att nämna att Emma Goldman *faktiskt* inte höll några föreläsningar i San Diego det året. (RF) (" … almost pedantic to mention that Emma Goldman in fact not held ..")

(31) Three days earlier, some 1,500 miles to the east, Captain Thaddeus Bellingshausen, a Russian naval officer sent out by the Tsar Alexander I in a burst of expansionistic fervour, recorded *what may be interpreted as* a sighting of the Antarctic ice cap where it meets the sea.

Tre dagar tidigare hade kapten Thaddeus Bellingshausen, en rysk sjöofficer som sänts ut av tsar Alexander i ett anfall av expansionsiver, ungefär 2 800 km längre österut antecknat att han siktat den antarktiska iskalotten där den möter havet. (RH) ("… recorded that he sighted the Antarctic ice cap …")

Conversely, the omission of a booster "tones down" the force of the proposition, as in (32), where the translator has omitted the booster, *säkerligen* ("certainly"). The force of a proposition is also "toned down" by the insertion of a hedge, which signals the writer's lack of commitment to its content, as in (33), for instance, where the translator has inserted the hedge, *kanske* ("perhaps").

(32) Detta fantastiska intresse har nu inte enbart med lusten att bevara forna metoder att göra. Det hänger *säkerligen* även ihop med nutiden. ("It hangs certainly even together with the presence.")

This fantastic interest doesn't concern just a compulsion to preserve the past, but[6] has something to do with our present too. (IU)

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[6] The connective *but* has been added making the translation more explicit.

(33) Miller was a man desperately anxious to prove himself, and the failure to get the scholarship to Cornell may partly account for the ferocious and desperate nature of the ambition he later displayed.

Miller var en människa som var enormt angelägen om att få visa vad han dög till och misslyckandet med att få ett stipendium till Cornell kan *kanske* delvis förklara de våldsamma och desperata ambitioner han senare kom att lägga i dagen. (RF)
(" … can perhaps partly explain the …")

As shown in Table 4, the changes in boosters and hedges work in different directions. In the English-Swedish translations, the numbers of insertions and omissions of boosters (16 and 13) and hedges (10 and 11) do not result in any great change in their numbers in the translations. In the Swedish-English translations, on the other hand, there are twice as many omissions of boosters as insertions (51 vs. 25), which results in a decrease in the total number of boosters (from 236 to 210, statistical significance $p<.01$). There are also slightly more insertions of hedges than omissions (18 vs. 10). It appears, thus, that the translators into English but not Swedish have felt the need to "tone down" propositions by omitting a number of boosters and inserting a few hedges.

*Interpersonal and Illocutionary changes*
The insertion of engagement markers increases the reader's involvement in the text, as in (34), where the translator has changed the third person expressions in the Swedish original, *varje människa* ("all people"), *de* ("they") , *dess handhavare* ("their users"), by using inclusive *we* in the English translation, thereby presenting the content from a shared writer and reader perspective, and (35), where self mention by the author in the original text has been extended into inclusive *vi* ("we") in the translation, thereby including the reader.

(34) Därtill kommer expert-samhället samt att nästan *varje människa* dagligen

On top of that, *we* live in a society of experts, and everyday most of *us* use equipment that *we* know only

använder sig av apparater som *de* inte vet ett skvatt om annat än det *man* behöver veta för att kunna använda dem. Om de går sönder kan *dess handhavare* inte ens få ihop en plausibel teori om vad det är för fel eller vad man ska göra åt det.
("… that nearly all people daily use …which they not know anything about other than what one needs for to be able to use it. If it breaks can these users not even …")

how to use; if anything goes wrong *we* can't even cobble together a plausible explanation, or a suggestion of how to fix it. (IU)

(35) I propose to look briefly at two of these new developments before proceeding in the next chapter to examine the reformed religion of Yahweh.

*Vi* skall här helt kort granska två av dessa nya företeelser för att därefter i följande kapitel undersöka den reformerade Jahvereligionen. (KAR)
("We shall here quite briefly examine …")

Similarly, the reader's involvement in the text has been increased in (36) by using *you* when the Swedish original has the impersonal generic pronoun *man* ("one"), and in (37) by changing a declarative clause into an interrogative which functions as a rhetorical question directed towards the reader.

(36) När *man* ber svenskar räkna upp nåt typiskt svenskt så svarar de fatost ....
("When one asks Swedes to …)

If *you* ask Swedes to name some typically Swedish things, they will reply fatost (a sort of cheese from Ångermanland)... (IU)

(37) Därest en tolvårig pojke tagit sig in på byggplats och

And if any twelve-year-old gets into a building site and mangles

biter sönder lyftkranen så sker det i hundra procent mot föräldrarnas vilja och vetskap.
("In case a twelve-year-old boy taken himself in to a building site and bites broken the crane so happens it in hundred per cent against the parents' will and knowledge")

one of the cranes with his teeth, doesn't he do it, to one hundred percent, without the knowledge and consent of his parents? (IU)

Conversely, the omission of engagement markers reduces the reader's involvement in the text, as in (38), where inclusive *vi här* ("we here") in the Swedish original text has been translated into *in Sweden they*, thereby adapting the text to the readers of the English translation, and (39) where the engagement marker *you*, has been omitted.

(38)  Trots att renässansen samtidigt florerade i Italien, fortsatte *vi här* att bygga i beprövad tegelgotik.
("…continued we here to build …")

Despite the fact that the Renaissance was flourishing in Italy at that time, *in Sweden they* continued to build in the tried and tested brick Gothic style. (LI)

(39)  This book does set out to show *you* a side of the British capital usually reserved for residents!

Avsikten är att visa den sida av den brittiska huvudstaden som vanligtvis är förbehållen dess invånare. (SUG)
("the intention is to show this side of the British capital …")

As shown in Table 4, the changes in engagement markers (32 omissions and only one insertion in the English-Swedish translations, and 29 insertions and 20 omissions in the Swedish-English translations), occur mainly in one translation (SUG) in the English-Swedish translation sample and in two translations, (IU) and (LI), in the Swedish-English translation sample. In (SUG), most of the

omissions are where the translator has used the impersonal generic pronoun *man* when the English original has *you*, as exemplified by (37) above. These changes are, therefore, chiefly due to language differences (i.e. the fact that the second person pronoun *you* in English also has generic reference, corresponding to the impersonal prounoun *man* ("one") in Swedish). In the two translations in the Swedish-English sample, one translator (IU) has frequently inserted the engagement marker *we* when the Swedish original has a third person perspective, as exemplified by (34), above, and the other (LI) has, conversely, changed the shared author-reader perspective denoted by inclusive *vi* ("we") in the original text to a third person perspective in the translation, as exemplified by (38) above. The changes in engagement markers in the two samples appear, therefore, to be partly due to language differences and partly due to individual choices by translators, rather than to overall differences in the usage of engagement features in Swedish and English non-fiction texts.

*Visibility changes*
The insertion of self mentions and attitude markers increases the visibility of the author, as in (40), where the translator has inserted *to me* and also uses an active verb and first person reference (*I have here quoted*) to correspond to the objective agent-free passive *citeras* ("is quoted") in the Swedish original and (41), where the translator has inserted an attitude marker (*although, looking at its motorway, one is hard put to believe this)* expressing an opinion concerning the content.

(40) Ur detta hittills opublicerade manuskript citeras här kapitlen som berör kontakterna med Gunnar Asplund. De har förmedlats av Stig Ödeens son, Kai Ödeen, professor i byggnadsmateriallära vid KTH.
("…From this until now unpublished manuscript *are* quoted here the chapters ….

From that unpublished manuscript *I* have here quoted the chapters touching on his contacts with Gunnar Asplund. These were supplied to *me* by his son, Kai Ödeen, Professor of the Science of Building Materials at KTH. (CE)

These have been supplied by
Stig Ödeens son ...")

(41) Tidigare kunde dessa sommarnöjen ha ett blygsamt avstånd från det ordinarie hemmet, Essingen till exempel.

Summer pleasures for uncomfortably-off Stockholmers were to be enjoyed rather nearer the city—in Essingen, for example, *although, looking at its motorway, one is hard put to believe this.* (IU)

Conversely, the omission of self mentions and attitudinal markers reduces author visibility, as in (42) where *jag citerar* ("I quote") in the original is translated into a nonfinite verb *to quote*, and (43) where the attitude marker *med all rätt* ("with every right") has been omitted.

(42) och — *jag* citerar Carl Fehrman — han hade "obestridligen en glädje vid att inta paradoxala stånd-punkter; att på alla punkter säga något annat än sina föregångare".
("and — I quote Carl Fehrman …")

and - *to quote* Carl Fehrman - he "undeniably took pleasure in adopting paradoxical stances, in saying something different from his predecessors". (LI)

(43) Det har *med all rätt* skrivits flera böcker om denna akademiska förening och dess hus.
("It has with all right been written more books about …")

Several books have been written about the Academic Union and its premises. (LI)

As shown in Table 4, self mentions and attitude markers have only been changed a small number of times in both samples, and these changes do not result in a significant difference in their numbers in the

translations. In the Swedish-English translations, there are, however, slightly more insertions of both of these features (9 attitude markers and 6 self mentions) than omissions (4 attitude markers and 1 self mention), which is perhaps due to the influence of a higher frequency of these features in the Swedish source texts.

In sum, the main changes which the translators make in interpersonal metadiscourse are to reduce emphasis and, in some texts, to alter the interpersonal relationship between the author and the target language reader. The former change takes place in the translations into English only, which suggests that translators may be adapting their texts to a lower level of emphasis which they perceive to be required in the target language. The latter change appears to depend on choices made by individual translators to, for instance, adapt the author-reader relationship of the original text to the target language readers.

*5. Conclusion*

This comparison of metadiscourse in a small sample of English and Swedish original non-fiction texts and their translations has found a considerably higher frequency of metadiscourse features in the sample of Swedish original texts than in the English sample. It has also found some qualitative differences, i.e. that there is somewhat more interpersonal metadiscourse in the Swedish texts, in particular a more frequent usage of boosters. In the translations, a number of changes were made in the metadiscourse, and all of the different kinds of metadiscourse features were both inserted and omitted in varying numbers. For some features, these changes led to an increase or decrease in their proportions in the translations. The main change was in transition markers, which were inserted more often than omitted, thereby increasing their total number and raising the level of explicitness in the translated texts. This occurred in both translation directions and appears therefore to be an inherent part of the translation process. The other main changes were in engagement markers and boosters. The changes in engagement markers were chiefly restricted to two translations in one sample and one translation in the other, and appear therefore to be mainly due to choices by individual translators rather than to the translation process itself. Boosters, on the other hand, were omitted more often than inserted in

the translations from Swedish into English only. There was, thus, a tendency for the translators to reduce emphasis in English by omitting boosters and, in some cases, inserting hedges. This, coupled with the higher frequency of boosters in the Swedish original texts suggests that there may be differences in preferences in English and in Swedish when it comes to increasing the emphatic force of propositions.

The samples investigated here are small and therefore conclusions drawn from them must be tentative. In general, however, the findings suggest that, in its usage of metadiscourse, Swedish is similar to English in being a writer-responsible writing culture. In fact, the larger amount of metadiscourse found in the Swedish original text suggests that this may be true to an even larger extent of Swedish. The results of the comparison also suggest that this is particularly true of certain kinds of interpersonal metadiscourse, such as emphasis and also, to some extent, self mention. As both of these features are characteristics of informal writing, the findings here provide further support for Ädel's observation (2008: 54) that there may be a strong tendency towards informality in Swedish writing, and this influences the usage of the metadiscourse in Swedish advanced learners' writing in English. To conclude, then, it appears that, in non-fiction texts such as those investigated here, there may be differences in Anglo-Saxon and Swedish writing conventions so that the "significance threshold" in Swedish may be somewhat lower than in English when it comes to expressing certain kinds of interpersonal metadiscourse. Further investigation of larger samples and other text types is, of course, needed.

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# Translating and Glossing Nouns in the Old English Gospels: A Contrastive Study

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Abstract

The translation of the Gospels into Old English has been a text edited on several occasions since the sixteenth century, from Parker's edition (1571) to that by Skeat at the end of the nineteenth century (1871-1887) and, more recently, the one carried out by Liuzza in the second half of the twentieth century.[1] The Old English Gospels have received attention from many scholars working in the field of English historical linguistics. Although the lexical level has been partially analysed (see for instance Liuzza 1994-2000), it is still an under-researched area.

This article aims to examine three versions of the Gospels, namely West Saxon, Lindisfarne and Rushworth, in order to analyse the various mechanisms used by the translator(s) and glossators[2] when rendering lexical items from the original Latin text into the different dialects. The analysis focuses on the study of nouns from an interdialectal perspective, since they are collated in the three different versions, so as to establish dialectal changes. A cross-linguistic approach is also pursued by assessing how the translator(s)/glossators interpreted nouns from Latin.

Key words: Old English Gospels; West Saxon; Lindisfarne gloss; Rushworth gloss; translation.

## 1. Introduction

The four main dialects of Old English were West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian. West Saxon represented the standard or leading dialect, due to the impulse received by Alfred the Great, whose court was established in Wessex. The present research deals mainly with two of the above-mentioned dialects, West Saxon and Northumbrian, as those are the ones used in the manuscripts containing the Old English Gospels.[3] This work represents the earliest

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[1] The Anglo-Saxon Gospels have also been edited by Marshall and Junius (1665), Thorpe (1842), and Bosworth and Waring (1865).

[2] The scribes copying the text of the manuscript could have also had an active role by introducing modifications.

[3] However, the Rushworth gloss is written throughout St Matthew's Gospel in the Mercian dialect, which also occurs in fragments from St Mark's (1-2:15) and St John's (18:1-3) (Kuhn 1945: 631).

extended prose translation of parts of the Bible into Old English (Stanton 2002: 104).

The West Saxon translation of the Gospels, from probably no later than the ninth century, is preserved in several manuscripts.[4] Some of the copies are earlier and better kept than others; the latest appears to be subsequent to the Conquest (1066), and the most ancient one may have been written more than a hundred years before. However, none of them seem to provide the version in its original purity, as successive transcribers adapted the language (Skeat 1871: iii).

The Northumbrian version comprises glosses made in copies of the Latin Gospels and written between the lines of the text. They follow the syntactic word order of Latin rather than that of Old English, which West Saxon follows. There are two extant glosses: those in the Lindisfarne manuscript, also known as the Book of Durham, and those in the Rushworth manuscript; both were probably made in the tenth century, although the Rushworth gloss is in a slightly later form and was influenced by the Lindisfarne gloss.

Even though it can be considered a translation performance, a glossed text differs from a translated one. A gloss builds a text word for word, without paying much attention to grammatical ordering. Its sole purpose is to supply a clue as to the meaning of the words of the original, so that it may be more easily understood. A translation, however, goes a great deal further, as the grammatical arrangement of the target language is fully respected. It is aimed at replacing the original in such a way that the reader does not have to refer to it (Skeat 1871: xvii). According to Stanton (2002: 53), the gloss, which leads to an act of vernacular interpretation, helps to outline a starting, or even defining, point for the domain of "translation".[5] The purpose and function of both the translated and glossed texts of the Old English Gospels remain unclear since, as Liuzza (1998: 5) remarks, "[t]here is unfortunately no explicit testimony regarding either the intention of the author or the reception of the Old English Gospels".

For the present study, attention has been paid to lexical words, and more specifically to nouns, which have been compared in order to

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[4] See Skeat (1871: v-xi).

[5] The distinction can be noticed in the approach to translation of the ancient translator Jerome, mentioned in his *De optimo genere interpretandi*: "sense for sense and not word for word" (Nida 1964: 13).

ascertain how they were rendered in West Saxon and Northumbrian; the focus is on differences between the three versions (West Saxon, Lindisfarne and Rushworth). In this fashion, possible dialectal changes may be established, in addition to determining how the translator(s) and glossators interpreted nouns from Latin. The text written in West Saxon has been taken as the basis for comparison. The manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 140 (dating back to around AD 1000), as presented in the editions by Skeat (1871-1887), has been consulted for the purpose.[6] This particular copy has been chosen because, given that it represents the text in its earliest form, it is the closest in time to the glosses. As for the Northumbrian dialect, the editions by Skeat have also been employed.[7]

## 2. Variants in West Saxon, Lindisfarne and Rushworth

The different possibilities used by the translator(s)/glossators when rendering nouns from Latin into West Saxon and Northumbrian have been established by collating the three texts. Thus, starting from West Saxon and disregarding spelling differences, nouns can be similar in the Lindisfarne version, but different in the Rushworth one. An instance of this, taken from St John's Gospel, is (Jn 7:46)[8] *þenas* (WS),[9] *ðegnas* (L),[10] *embihtas* (R),[11] *ministri* (Lat),[12] 'guards':

"þa *and*wyrdon þa **þenas** *and* cwædon ;" (WS) (Skeat 1878: 74).

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[6] In the examples supplied from the next section onwards, abbreviations have been expanded for the sake of clarity. This has been indicated by means of italics (Skeat's editions also contain expansions marked in the same way).

[7] For further information on the manuscripts, such as description, authorship, etc., as well as on their editions, see the prefaces to the four editions.

[8] References to the different Gospels are shortened to the name of the specific evangelist: Mt for Matthew's Gospel, Mk for Mark's, Lk for Luke's, and Jn for John's. The first number refers to the chapter and the second (after the colon) to the verse.

[9] West Saxon.

[10] Lindisfarne.

[11] Rushworth.

[12] Latin.

"ondueardon ða **ðegnas**…" (L)[13] (Skeat 1878: 75).
"giondsworadun ða **embihtas**…" (R).
"responderunt **ministri**…" (Lat).
"then answered the **guards** and said…" (PDE).[14]

On other occasions, a noun occurring in West Saxon and Lindisfarne is not present in Rushworth and a blank space (represented by four dots) is found instead: (Jn 1:44) *petres* (WS), *petres* (L), *petri* (Lat), 'Peter's':

"Soþlice philippvs wæs fra*m* bethzaida andreas ceastre *and* **petres** ;" (WS) (Skeat 1878: 20).
"uæs uut*udlice* . . . . of ðær byrig ł of beðsaida byrig andreas *and* **petres**" (L) (Skeat 1878: 21).
"wæs wutudl*ice* . . . . from ðær byrig ł of ðær cæstre andr*eas and* . . . ." (R).
"erat autem philippus á bethsaida ciuitate andreae et **petri**" (Lat).
"Indeed Philip was from Bethsaida, Andrew's and **Peter's** town." (PDE).

In the previous example, the proper noun *philippus* ('Philip') has been left unglossed in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth versions. The place name *bethsaida* ('Bethsaida') has been translated by means of the noun phrases *ðær byrig* and *ðær cæstre* ('that city') in Rushworth. For people and place names, leaving the noun unglossed and making use of modulation are two frequent options.

Nouns similar in West Saxon and Rushworth, but different in Lindisfarne can also be found: (Lk 21:25) *steorrum* (WS), *steorra* (R), *tunglum* (L), *stellis* (Lat), 'stars'.

"And beoð tacna on sunnan *and* on monan *and* on **steorru*m*** *and* on eorðan." (WS) (Skeat 1874: 202).
"*and* biðon beceno on sunna *and* mona *and* on **tunglu*m*** *and* on eorðum…" (L) (Skeat 1874: 203).
"*and* bioðon beceno on sunna *and* mona *and* **steorra** *and* on eorðo…" (R).
"Et erunt signa in sole et luna et in **stellis** et in terra…" (Lat).
"And there will be signs on the sun and on the moon and on the **stars** and on the earth…" (PDE).

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[13] Unless stated otherwise, the references to Skeat's editions following the Lindisfarne version are valid for the Lindisfarne, Rushworth and Latin versions (the boldface has been added).

[14] Present-Day English. The translations into PDE have been taken from the *New International Version*, available at <http://www.biblegateway.com>.

In the Lindisfarne version, the noun can also have been left unglossed: (Mk 3:22) *beelzebub* (WS), *belzebub* (R), *beelzebub* (Lat), 'beelzebub'.

"… cwædon ; Soþlice he hæfð **beelzebub** *and*…" (WS) (Skeat 1871: 24).
"hia cuoedon þ*at*te ł f*or*ðon . . . . hæfeð *and*…" (L) (Skeat 1871: 25).
"hiæ cwedun þ*at*te ł forðon **belze*bub*** hæfes *and*…" (R).
"dicebant quoniam **beelzebub** habet et…" (Lat).
"they said: 'he is truly possessed by **Beelzebub** and…'" (PDE).

However, the occurrence of the same root in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth versions and a different one in West Saxon is much more common. This is explained by the fact that the Rushworth gloss is derived from the Lindisfarne gloss in a direct manner. One of the numerous instances is (Mt 15:19) *mann-slyhtas* (WS) 'manslaughter', as opposed to *morður* (L) and *morþur* (R) 'murder', *homicidia* (Lat):

"Of þære heortan cumaþ yfle geþancas. **mann**-**slyhtas**." (WS) (Skeat 1887: 128).
"of hearte forðon utgaas smeaunga yfle **morður**…" (L) (Skeat 1887: 129).
"of heorta ut gaeþ geþohtas yfele **morþur**…" (R).
"de corde enim exeunt cogitationes malæ **homicidia**…" (Lat).
"out of the heart come evil thoughts, **murder**…" (PDE).

Nouns that diverge in the three versions are also to be found: (Mt 15:38) *cildum* (WS) 'children', *lytlum* (L) 'littles', *cnehtum* (R) 'youths', *paruulos* (Lat):

"Witodlice þa þær æton wæron feower þusend manna butan **cildu*m* and** wifu*m*."(WS) (Skeat 1887: 132).
"weron uutedlice ða ðe eton feor ðusendo monna buta **lytlum** *and* wifum" (L) (Skeat 1887: 133).
"weron þonne þa þe etun siofun þusend weoras ł monna butan ł to-ekan **cnehtum** *and* wifum" (R).
"erant autem qui manducauerunt quattuor milia hominum extra **paruulos** et mulieres" (Lat).
"Certainly those who ate there were four thousand, besides **children** and women." (PDE).

*3. Taxonomy*

Once the possible scenarios for the occurrence of variant forms have been discussed, the taxonomy obtained after comparing nouns will be

supplied. Different translation techniques, such as adaptation, compensation, transposition or reformulation, are employed.

Firstly, the difference in the choice of nouns can be due to the use of a common noun instead of a proper one in the glosses. Some examples are: (1) *nathanael* (WS) 'Nathanael', *ðegn* (L), *ðegn* (R) 'follower', *nathanael* (Lat); (2) *nichodemus* (WS) 'Nicodemus', *ðegn* (L), *ðegn* (R), *nicodemus* (Lat); (3) *thomas* (WS) 'Thomas', *embehtmonn* (L), *embihtmon* (R) 'servant', *Thomas* (Lat); (4) *capharnaum* (WS) 'Capernaum', *ðær byrig* (L), *ða burug* (R) 'that city', *capharnaum* (Lat); (5) *samaria* (WS) 'Samaria', *ðær byrig* (L), *ðær byrig* (R), *samaria* (Lat); (6) *pilatus* (WS) 'Pilate', *groefa* (L), *groefa* (R) 'governor', *pilatus* (Lat); (7) *tiberiadis* (WS) 'Tiberias', *þæt luh* (L), *ðio luh* (R) 'that loch, lake', *tiberiadis* (Lat).

On other occasions, a wider term including those used in the other versions is found in West Saxon, i.e. the hyperonym is replaced with the hyponym in Lindisfarne and Rushworth. An interesting example is *feoh* (WS) 'money', whose equivalent is *mæslen* 'brass' (Latin *aes*) in the glosses. *Feoh* comes from Indo-European and it means 'head of cattle' (Latin *pecus*). In the West Saxon text, the sense of money as an abstract thing or general idea is found. In the glosses, the word *mæslen* is employed, making reference to the material from which coins are made. The glossators take the meaning of the material from Latin *aes*, which could have two senses: the lower currency in Rome and its material. Two other examples are: (1) *mysan* (WS) 'tables', *discas* (L), *discas* (R) 'dishes', *mensas* (Lat); and (2) *eare* (WS) 'ear', *earlipprica* (L), *ear-liprica* (R) 'flap of the ear', *auriculam* (Lat).

The same phenomenon can take place the other way round, i.e. a more specific term is encountered in West Saxon and the wider or more general term (hyperonym) in the glosses: (1) *flæsc* (WS) 'flesh', *lichoma* (L), *lichoma* (R) 'body', *caro* (Lat); (2) *philippus* (WS) 'Philip', *ðegn* (L), *ðegn* (R) 'follower, disciple', *philippum* (Lat); (3) *hlaf* (WS) 'loaf', *bread* (L), *bread* (R) 'bread', *panem* (Lat); (4) *loccon* (WS) 'lock', *herum* (L), *herum* (R) 'hair', *capillis* (Lat); (5) *twig* (WS) 'twig', *palm-treo* (L), *palm-treo* (R) 'palm-tree', *palmes* (Lat); (6) *alewan* (WS) 'aloes', *wyrt-cynn* (L), *wyrt-cynn* (R) 'species of plant', *aloes* (Lat).

Frequently, a simple noun is found in West Saxon and a compound or phrase in the glosses: (1) *þenum* (WS), *embehtmonnum*

(L), *embiht-monnum* (R) 'servants', *ministris* (Lat); (2) *mere* (WS) 'pool', *fisc-pol* (L), *fisc-fell* (R) 'fishpond', *piscina* (Lat); (3) *domarn* (WS) 'tribunal', *giroefa halle* (L), *groefa-halle* (R) 'governor's tribunal', *praetorium* (Lat).

The opposite of this can also occur; thus, a compound may be used instead of a simple noun, for instance: (1) *leorning-cnihtum* (WS), *ðegnum* (L), *ðegnas* (R) 'disciples', *discipulis* (Lat); (2) *wæter-fæt* (WS) 'water jar', *fetels* (L), *fetels* (R) 'vessel', *hydriam* (Lat); (3) *gebed-men* (WS) 'prayer-men', *uorðares* (L), *weorðigas* (R) 'worshippers', *adoratores* (Lat); (4) *hiw-ræden* (WS) 'household', *hus* (L), *hus* (R) 'house', *domus* (Lat); (5) *halige-gewritu* (WS) 'Scriptures', *wriotto* (L), *giwriotu* (R) 'scriptures', *scribturas* (Lat); (6) *þeod-scipe* (WS) 'nation', *cynn* (L), *cynn* (R) 'people', *gentem* (Lat); (7) *beor-scipe* (WS), *færma* (L), *feorme* (R) 'feast', *cenam* (Lat); (8) *palm-trywa* (WS), *palmana* (L), *palmana* (R) 'palm-trees'; (9) *eardung-stowa* (WS) 'dwelling places', *hamas* (L), *hamas* (R) 'homes', *mansiones* (Lat); (10) *cyne-helm* (WS), *beg* (L), *beg* (R) 'crown', *coronam* (Lat); (11) *wyrt-gemangum* (WS) 'mixture of herbs', *smirinissum* (L), *smirnissum* (R) 'ointments', *aromatibus* (Lat).

In some cases, two options are offered in the glosses: (1) *leoht-fæt* (WS), *þæccille* ł *lehtfæt* (L), *ðæcella* ł *lehtfæt* (R) 'lamp', *lucerna* (Lat); (2) *wyrt-gemange* (WS), *wuducynn* ł *wyrtcynn* (L), *wudo cynn* ł *wyrta cynn* (R), *pistici* (Lat); (3) *templ-halgunga* (WS) 'dedication of the temple', *huses halgung* ł *cirica halgung* (L), *huses halgung* (R) 'dedication of the house, church', *encenia* (Lat).

Both simple and compound nouns can appear in the glosses as a periphrasis: (1) *mid-dæg* (WS) 'midday', *tid uæs suelce ðio sesta* (L), *tid uæs suelce ðio sesta* (R) 'it was almost the sixth hour', *hora erat quasi sexta* (Lat); (2) *golgotha* (WS) 'Golgotha', *hefid-ponna styd* (L), *heofod-ponna stow* (R) 'place of the skull', *Golgotha* (Lat). An explanation may be added otherwise, as in *iordanen* (WS) 'Jordan', *iordanes ðone stream* (L), *iordanes ðone stream* (R) 'that stream of Jordan', *iordanen* (Lat).

With regard to compounds, sometimes the semantic equivalent proposed is a different compound: (1) *fic-treowe* (WS), *ficbeam* (L), *fic-beome* (R) 'fig-tree', *ficu* (Lat); (2) *drihte ealdre* (WS), *aldormen* (L), *aldormen* (R) 'master', *archetriclino* (Lat); (3) *mangung-huse* (WS), *hus cæpinces* (L), *hus cepinge* (R) 'house of merchandise',

*domum negotiationis* (Lat); (4) *freols-dæge* (WS) 'festive day', *halgum dæge* (L), *halgum dæge* (R) 'holy day', *die festo* (Lat); (5) *freols-dæge* (WS), *symbel-dæge* (L), *symbel-dæge* (R) 'festive day', *diem festum* (Lat); (6) *reste-dæg* (WS) 'rest-day', *sunnedæg* (L), *sunna dæge* (R) 'Sunday', *sabbatum* (Latin); (7) *reste-dæg* (WS) 'rest-day', *symbel-dæg* (L), *symbel-dæg* (R) 'festive day', *sabbatum* (Lat); (8) *soþfæst* (WS), *soð-cuoed* (L), *soð-cweden* (R) 'true, veracious', *uerax* (Lat); (9) *dom-setle* (WS), *heh-sedle* (L), *heh-sedle* (R) 'tribunal', *tribunali* (Lat); (10) *lithostratos* (WS), *lapide stratus* (L), *lapides tratus* (R) 'stone pavement', *lithostrotus* (Lat); (11) *gegearcung-dæg* (WS) 'preparation day', *foregearuung* (L), *georwung* (R) 'preparation', *parasceue* (Lat).

The same compound can appear in the three versions, but the ordering of elements may differ: (1) *sceo-þwang* (WS), *ðuong scoes* (L), *ðwong giscoes* (R) 'shoe strap', *corrigiam calciamenti* (Lat); (2) *iudea eastron* (WS), *eastro iudeana* (L), *eostrum iudeana* (R) 'Jewish Passover', *pascha iudaeorum* (Lat).

## 4. Classification

The Old English Gospels were composed in a specific period of time and context, and on occasions words only have meaning within that cultural context, where they can be used in special ways (see Nida 1982: 7). Therefore, the study of the vocabulary found in the work can shed light on social, religious and/or cultural aspects.

A classification by semantic fields has been carried out in order to determine the type of lexicon employed and discuss any significant difference between the versions. The terms included relate to people, places, occupations, kinship, the body, clothes, religion, celebrations, measures, wealth, animals and plants, nature, and others. They have been selected based on their frequency of occurrence in the texts and relevance.

### 4.1. Proper nouns: people and place names

The three versions offer different ways of designating people, as in (Jn 1:42) *petrus* (WS) 'Peter', *carr* (L), *carr* (R) 'stone', *petrus* (Lat):

"*and* hig læddon hine to þam hælende ; Ða beheold se hælend hyne *and* cwæþ. þu eart símon iónan sunu þu bist genemned cephás. þ*æt* is gereht **petrus** ;" (WS) (Skeat 1878: 20).

"*and* gelædde hine to ðæm hælend ymbsceaude uut*udlico* hine se hælend cuæð ðu arð sunu iohannes ðu bist geciged . . . . þ*æt* is getrahtad **carr**" (L) (Skeat 1878: 21).

"*and* to-gilæddun hine to ðæm hæl*ende* ymb-sceowade wutudl*ice* hine ðe hæl*end* cweð him ðu arð symon sunu ioh*annes* ðu bist giceged . . . . ðæt is gitrahtad **carr**" (R).

"*et* adduxit eum ad i*esu*m intuitus autem eum i*esu*s dixit tú és simon filius iohanna tú uocaueris cephas quod interpretatur **petrus**" (Lat).

"And he brought him to Jesus. Jesus looked at him and said, "You are Simon son of John. You will be called Cephas" (which, when translated, is **Peter**)." (PDE).

Both *Cephas* (from Aramaic) and *Petrus* (from Greek) mean 'rock, stone'. The term *carr* is a northern English word (from Early Celtic) for 'stone' and, by employing it, the authors of the glosses may have sought to convey a religious and/or symbolic meaning that could be easily understood. This pursuit can also be seen in Mt (16:18), where *staðol-fæst stan* 'steadfast stone' appears in Lindisfarne, whereas *petrus* is found in the rest of versions:

"*and* ic secge þe þ*æt* þu eart **petrus** *and* ofer þisne stan ic timbrige mine cyricean…" (WS) (Skeat 1887: 136).

"*and* ic cueðo ðe f*or*ðon ðu arð **staðol-fæst stan** of*er* ðas stan ic getimbro cirice mín…" (L) (Skeat 1887: 137).

"*and* ic sæcge ðe þ*æt* þu eart **petrus** *and* on þæm petra ł stane ic ge-timbre mine circae…" (R).

"*et* ego dico tibi quia tu es **petrus** [et] super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam…" (Lat).

"And I tell you that you are **Peter**, and on this rock I will build my church…" (PDE).

The treatment of other proper nouns is illustrated in the ensuing examples: (1) *simon Petrus* (WS) 'Simon Peter', *petrus* (L), *symon petrus* (R), *simon petrus* (Lat); (2) *philippus* (WS) 'Philip', *ðegn* (L), *ðegn* (R) 'follower, disciple', *philippum* (Lat); (3) *philippus* (WS), *philippus* (L), *philippus* (R), *philippum* (Lat); (4) *nichodemus* (WS) 'Nicodemus', *ðegn* (L), *ðegn* (R), *nicodemus* (Lat); (5) *thomas* (WS) 'Thomas', *embehtmonn* (L), *embihtmon* (R) 'servant', *Thomas* (Lat); (6) *þomas* (WS), *ðegn* (L), *ðegn* (R), *Thomas* (Lat); (7) *pilatus* (WS), *pylate* (L), *pylatus* (R) 'Pilate', *pilatus* (Lat); (8) *pilatus* (WS), *geroefa* (L) 'governor', *pylatus* (R), *pilatus* (Lat); (9) *pilatus* (WS), *groefa* (L),

*groefa* (R), *pilatus* (Lat); (10) *nathanael* (WS) 'Nathanael', *ðegn* (L), *ðegn* (R), *nathanael* (Lat).

The way of referring to Jesus also varies depending on the dialect: (1) *rabbi* (WS) 'rabbi', *laruu* (L), *larwa* (R) 'teacher', *rabbi* (Lat); (2) *leof* (WS) 'sir', *drihten* (L), *drihten* (R) 'ruler', *domine* (Lat); (3) *hlaford* 'lord' (WS), *drihten* (L), *drihten* (R), *domine* (Lat); (4) *messias* (WS) 'Messiah', *gecorena* (L), *gicorna* (R) 'chosen', *messias* (Lat); (5) *lareow* (WS), *laruu* (L), *larwa* (R), *rabbi* (Lat); (6) *drihten* (WS), *drihten* (L), *drihten* (R), *domine* (Lat); (7) *drihten* (WS), *hlaferd* (L), *drihten* (R), *dominus* (Lat); (8) *hælend* (WS), *hælend* (L), *hælend* (R) 'Saviour', *iesus* (Lat); (9) *crist* (WS) 'Christ', *cynig* (L) 'king', *crist* (R), *christus* (Lat); (10) *crist* (WS), *crist* (L), *crist* (R), *christus* (Lat); (11) *hælend* (WS), *fæder* (L), *fæder* (R) 'father', *pater* (Lat); (12) *rabboni* (WS) 'rabboni', *bonus doctor* (L), *dohter god* (R) 'good teacher', *rabboni* (Lat).

As far as place names are concerned, two examples are provided next: (1) (Mt 2:1) *iudeiscre bethleem* (WS) 'Bethlehem in Judea', *ðær byrig* (L), *iudeana* (R), *bethlehem iudeae* (Lat) and (2) (Mk 8:10) *dalmanuða* (WS) 'Dalmanutha', *ðære megða* (L), *ðære megðe* (R) 'that province, country', *dalmanutha* (Lat).

(1) "Eornustlice þa se hælend acenned wæs on **iudeiscre bethleem**. on þæs cyninges dagu*m* herodes." (WS) (Skeat 1887: 28).
"miððy ecsoð gecenned were haelend in **ðær byrig** in dagum herodes cyninges…" (L) (Skeat 1887: 29).
"þa soþlice akenned wæs hælend **iudeana** in dagum erodes þæs kyninges" (R).
"Cum ergo natus esset i*esus* in **bethlehem iudeae** in diebus herodis regis…" (Lat).
"After Jesus was born in **Bethlehem** in Judea…" (PDE).

(2) "[A]nd sona he on scyp mid his leorning-cnihtu*m* astah. *and* com on þa dælas **dalmanuða** ;" (WS) (Skeat 1871: 60).
"*and* hrecon*ne* astag þ*æt* scip mið ðegnum his cuom on dalum ł on londu*m* **ðære megða**" (L) (Skeat 1871: 61).
"*and* recone astag þ*æt* scip mið ðegnum his comun in dæl ł on lond **ðære megðe**" (R).
"et statim ascendens nauem cum discipulis suis uenit in partes **dalmanutha**." (Lat).
"He got into the boat with his disciples and went to the region of **Dalmanutha**." (PDE).

### 4.2. Occupations

There are several alternatives to refer to disciples, as can be seen in (Jn 20:25) *leorning-cnihtas* (WS), *æmbehtmenn* (L), *ðegnas* (R), *discipuli* (Lat):

> "Ða cwædon ða oðre **leorning-cnihtas** to him." (WS) (Skeat 1878: 178).
> "cuoedon f*or*ðon hi*m* to ða óðro **æmbehtmenn**… (L) (Skeat 1878: 179).
> "cwedun him oðre **ðegnas**…" (R).
> "dixerunt ergo ei alii **discipuli**…" (Lat).
> "Then the other **disciples** told him…" (PDE).

Other occupations are the following: (1) *drihte ealdre* (WS), *aldormen* (L), *aldormen* (R) 'master', *archetriclino* (Lat); (2) *under-cyning* (WS), *reigluord* (L), *regoloword* (R) 'royal official', *regulus* (Lat); (3) *ðeowa* (WS), *esne* (L), *ðegn* (R) 'servant', *seruus* (Lat); (4) *ðeowa* (WS), *ðræll* (L), *ðræl* (R) 'servant', *seruus* (Lat); (5) *sacerda* (WS), *sacerda ł biscopa* (L), *sacerda* (R) 'priests', *sacerdotum* (Lat); (6) *bisceop* (WS), *biscop* (L), *biscop* (R) 'bishop, high-priest', *pontifex* (Lat); (7) *boceras* (WS) 'scribes', *wuðnotto* (L), *uðwutu* (R) 'learned men', *scribae* (Lat); (8) *eorð-tilia* (WS), *lond-buend* (L), *lond-byend* (R) 'farmer', *agricola* (Lat); (9) *egnas* (WS), *monn-mægen ł ðegna uorud* (L), *þreate* (R) 'soldiers', *cohortem* (Lat).

### 4.3. Kinship

For this section, the example supplied is (Mt 8:14) *swegre* (WS), *suer ł wifes moder* (L) 'mother-in-law, wife's mother', *swægre* (R), *socrum* (Lat):

> "Ða se hælend com on petres huse þa geseah he hys **swegre** licgende…" (WS) (Skeat 1887: 68).
> "*and* mið ðy gecuom ðe hælend in hus petres gesaeh **suer** his ł his **wifes moder** liccende…" (L) (Skeat 1887: 69).
> "*and* þa cuom se hælend in huse petrus gesæh **swægre** his licgende…" (R).
> "Et cum uenisset i*esus* in domum petri uidit **socrum** eius iacente*m*…" (Lat).
> "When Jesus came into Peter's house, he saw Peter's **mother-in-law** lying…" (PDE).

Other terms relating to relationships are mentioned next: (1) *bearn* (WS), *suno* (L), *sunu* (R) 'sons', *filii* (Lat); (2) *fæderas* (WS), *aldro* (L), *fædres* (R) 'fathers', *patres* (Lat); (3) *steopcild* (WS), *freondleasa*

ł *aldorleasa* (L), *freond-leose* (R) 'orphans', *orfanos* (Lat); (4) *lafe* (WS), *hlaf* (L), *lafe* (R) 'wife', *uxorem* (Lat); (5) *cynne* (WS) 'offspring', *sed* (L), *sede* (R) 'seed', *semine* (Lat). In the following instances, *magas* refer to two different types of relationship: (6) *magas* (WS), *aldro* (L), *ældro* (R) 'parents', *parentes* (Lat); (7) *magas* (WS), *broðro* (L), *broðro* (R) 'brothers', *fratres* (Lat). The Latin text provides the clues for a correct interpretation.

## 4.4. Body

Regarding body parts, the following example has been taken from Mk (7:6): *welerum* (WS) 'lips', *muðum* (L), *muðe* (R) 'mouth(s)', *labiis* (Lat).

> "Wel witegod isaias be eow licceteru*m* swa hit awriten is ; Þis folc me mid **weleru*m*** wurðað. soðlice hyra heorte is feor fra*m* me" (WS) (Skeat 1871: 52).
> "…wel gewitgade of iuih legerum suæ awritten is folc ðis mið **muðum** mec worðias hearta uutet*lice* hiora long is fro*m* me" (L) (Skeat 1871: 53).
> "…wel gewitgade esaias of iow legerum swa awriten is folche ðis mið **muðe** mec weorðas heorte wutudl*ice* hiora long from me" (R).
> "…bene prophetauit esaias de uobis hypocritis sicut scriptum est populus hic **labiis** me honorat cór autem eorum longe est á me." (Lat).
> "Isaiah was right when he prophesied about you hypocrites; as it is written: 'These people honour me with their **lips**, but their hearts are far from me'." (PDE).

Other instances are: (1) *innoð* (WS) 'inside', *womb* (L), *womba* (R) 'womb', *uentrem* (Lat); (2) *eagan* (WS), *ego* (L), *ego* (R) 'eyes', *oculos* (Lat); (3) *wenge* (WS), *ceica* (L), *wonge* ł *ceke* (R) 'cheek', *maxilla* (Lat).

## 4.5. Clothes

As for items of clothing, nouns denoting fabrics and garments have been examined. An instance occurring in Jn (13:4) is *reaf* (WS) 'robe', *uoedo* (L), *giwedo* (R) 'dress', *uestimenta* (Lat):

> "he aras fra*m* his þenunge *and* lede his **reaf** *and* nam linen hrægel *and* begyrde hyne." (WS) (Skeat 1878: 124).
> "aras fro*m* ðær farma *and* sette **uoedo** ł his *and* miððy onfeing ł þ*æt* lín ymbgyrde ł hine" (L) (Skeat 1878: 125).

"aras fro*m* ðær feorme *and* sette **giwedo** his *and* miððy on-feng ðæt lin ymb-gyrde hine" (R).
"Surgit á cena et ponit **uestimenta** sua et cum accepisset linteu*m* praecioxit sé" (Lat).
"He got up from his meal, took off his **robe**, and wrapped a linen cloth around his waist." (PDE).

Other items are: (1) *calcum* (WS) 'sandals', *ðuongum* (L), *ðwongum* (R) 'thongs', *sandalis* (Lat); (2) *reafe* (WS) 'robe', *fellereadum uoede* (L) 'purple dress', *felle-reode* (R) 'purple', *ueste* (Lat); (3) *tunecan* (WS) 'tunic', *cyrtel* (L), *cyrtel* (R) 'kirtle, frock', *tunicam* (Lat); (4) *swat-line* (WS), *halscode* (L), *halsodo* (R) 'cloth for the head', *sudario* (Lat).

*4.6. Religion*
The following fragment contains two instances of nouns with religious connotations: (Mt 12:31) (1) *synn* (WS), *synn* (L), *synne* (R) 'sin', *peccatum* (Lat), and (2) *bysmur-spæc* (WS), *ebolsungas* (L), *efulsung* (R) 'blasphemy', *blasphemia* (Lat).

"For-þam ic secge eow ælc **synn** *and* **bysmur-spæc** byþ for-gyfen mannum ; Soþlice þæs halgan gastes bysmur-spæc ne byð for-gyfen ;" (WS) (Skeat 1887: 102).
"f*or*ðon ic cueðo iuh eghulc **synn** *and* **ebolsungas** f*or*gefen biðon monnu*m* gastes uut*edlice* ebolsung ł efalsongas ne bið f*or*gefen" (L) (Skeat 1887: 103).
"forþon ic sæcge eow æghwilc **synne** *and* **efulsung** ł biþ forleten monnum gastes efalsung ne bið for-leten" (R).
"ideo dico uobis omne **peccatum** et **blasphemia** remittetur hominib*us* sp*iritus* autem blasphemiæ (*sic*) non remittetur" (Lat).
"And so I tell you, every **sin** and **blasphemy** will be forgiven men, but the blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven." (PDE).

The terms listed next also relate to religion: (1) *big-spell* (WS), *bissen* (L), *bispellum* (R) 'parable', *parabolam* (Lat); (2) *æriste* (WS), *erest* (L), *eriste* (R) 'resurrection', *resurrectione* (Lat); (3) *tacn* (WS), *becon* (L), *becon* (R) 'sign', *signum* (Lat).

*4.7. Celebrations*
Festivities or celebrations such as the wedding at Cana or the Last Supper, as well as the Jewish Passover, are included in this subsection. An example is (Jn 2:13) *iudea eastron* (WS), *eastro iudeana* (L), *eostrum iudeana* (R) 'Jewish Passover', *pascha iudaeorum* (Lat).

"And hit wæs neah **iudea eastron** *and* se hælend for to ierusalem" (WS) (Skeat 1878: 24).
"*and* geneolecde **eastro iudea*na* and** astag ða burug se hæl*end*" (L) (Skeat 1878: 25).
"*and* gineolicad wæs **eostrum iudeana** *and* astag hier*usalem* ðe hæl*end*" (R).
"Et properabat **pascha iudaeorum** et ascendit hierosolyma i*esus*" (Lat).
"When it was almost time for the **Jewish Passover**, Jesus went up to Jerusalem." (PDE).

This semantic field comprises many words: (1) *gyfta* (WS), *hæmdo* ł *færmo* (L), *hæmdo* ł *feorme* (R) 'wedding', *nubtiae* (Lat); (2) *freols-dæge* (WS) 'feast-day', *halgum dæge* (L), *halgum dæge* (R) 'holy day', *die festo* (Lat); (3) *reste-dæg* (WS) 'Sabbath day', *symbel-dæg* (L), *symbel-dæg* (R) 'feast-day', *sabbatum* (Lat); (4) *beor-scipe* (WS) 'feast', *færma* (L), *feorme* (R) 'supper', *cenam* (Lat).

*4.8. Measures*
An instance of a measure indicating length occurs in Jn (6:19) *furlanga* (WS) 'stadia', *spyrdo* (L), *spyrdo* (R) 'race', *stadia* (Lat).

"Witodlice þa hig hæfdon gehrowen swylce twentig **furlanga** oððe þrittig. þa gesawon hig þone hælend…" (WS) (Skeat 1878: 56).
"miððy *h*ræuun f*or*ðon ł ðon*ne* suælce **spyrdo** fif *and* tuentig ł ðrittig geseað ðone hæl*end*…" (L) (Skeat 1878: 57).
"miððy reowun forðon swelce **spyrdo** fife *and* twoegentig ł ðritig gisegon ðon*e* hæl*end*…" (R).
"cum remigassent ergo quasi **stadia** .XXU. aut triginta uident i*esu*m…" (Lat).
"When they had rowed twenty-five or thirty **stadia** (about 5 or 6 kilometres), they saw Jesus…" (PDE).

*4.9. Wealth*

As for wealth-related terms, an instance from Lk (21:2) is *feorð-lingas* (WS) 'farthings', *mæslenno feorðungas* (L), *mæsleno feorðungas* (R) 'brass farthings', *aera* (Lat).

> "þa geseah he sume earme wydewan bringan twegen **feorð-lingas** ;" (WS) (Skeat 1874: 198).
> "gesæh ðon*ne and* sum oðer ł an widua ðorfondlico sendende **mæslenno feorð***ungas* tuoeg ł an feorðungc" (L) (Skeat 1874: 199).
> "giseh ðon*ne* sum oðer widwe ðorfendlico sendende **mæsleno feorðungas** twoege" (R).
> "uidit autem et qua[*n*]da*m* uiduam paupercula*m* mittentem **aera** minuta duo" (Lat).
> "He also saw a poor widow put in two very small copper coins." (PDE).

Other terms are: (1) *penegon* (WS) 'pennies', *penninga* ł *scillinga* (L) 'pennies, shillings', *peninga* (R), *denariis* (Lat); (2) *punda* (WS) 'pounds', *cræftas* (L) 'crafts', *talenta* (Lat); (3) *penega* (WS), *scillinga* (L), *denera* (R) 'denarii', *denarios* (Lat).

*4.10. Fauna and flora*

There is a vast number of terms belonging to this semantic field in the Gospels. In the following example, which occurs in Jn (10:16), the nouns for an animal (*sceap* (WS), *scip* (L), *scip* (R) 'sheep', *oues* (Lat)), and for a group of this animal (*heorde* (WS) 'herd', *plette* (L), *pletta* (R) 'fold', *ouili* (Lat)) are found.

> "*and* ic hæbbe oðre **sceap** þa ne synt of ðisse **heorde**." (WS) (Skeat 1878: 98).
> "*and* oðro **scíp** ic hafo ða ne sint fro*m* ðissu*m* **plette**…" (L) (Skeat 1878: 99).
> "*and* oðre **scip** ic hafo ðaðe ne sindun of ðisse **pletta**…" (R).
> "Et alias **oues** habeo quae non sunt ex hoc **ouili**…" (Lat).
> "I have other **sheep** that are not of this **sheep pen**." (PDE).

More terms related to animals are: (1) *assan* (WS), *assald* ł *sadal* (L), *asald* (R) 'ass', *asellum* (Lat); (2) *cocc* (WS), *hona* (L), *hona* (R) 'cock', *gallus* (Lat); (3) *næddrena* (WS), *ætterna* (L), *nedrana* (R) 'adders', *uiperarum* (Lat); (4) *swyn* (WS) 'swine', *bergum* (L), *bergas* (R) 'pigs', *porcos* (Lat).

Concerning plants, terms include the following: (1) *palm-trywa* (WS), *palmana* (L), *palmana* (R) 'palm-trees', *palmarum* (Lat); (2) *win-eard* (WS) 'vineyard', *uintreo* (L), *wintreo* (R) 'vine', *uitis* (Lat);

(3) *alewan* (WS) 'aloes', *wyrt-cynn* (L), *wyrt-cynn* (R) 'species of plant', *aloes* (Lat).

### 4.11. Nature

As for terms relating to nature, one example would be (Mk 1:5) *flode* (WS), *stream* (L), *streame* (R) 'stream, river', *flumine* (Lat).

> "*and* to hi*m* ferde eall iudeisc rice. *and* ealle hierosolima-ware. *and* wæron fra*m* hi*m* gefullode. on iordanes **flode** hyra synna anddetenne ;" (WS) (Skeat 1871: 9).
> "*and* foerende wæs ł foerde to him all iudæa lónd *and* ða hierusolomisco waras alle *and* weoron gefulwad from him in Iordanenes **stream** ondetende synno hiora" (L) (Skeat 1871: 10).
> "*and* færende wæs ł fóerde to him alle Iudeas londe *and* ða hierosolimisca alle *and* gefullwade fro*m* him in iordanes **streame** ondetende synna heora" (R).
> "et egrediebatur ad illu*m* omnis iudae regio et hierosolimitae uniuersi et baptizabantur ab illo in iordane **flumine** confitentes peccata sua." (Lat).
> "The whole Judean countryside and all the people of Jerusalem went out to him. Confessing their sins, they were baptized by him in the Jordan **River**." (PDE).

Other terms are: (1) *munt* (WS) 'mount', *mor* (L), *mor* (R) 'moor', *montem* (Lat); (2) *lyft* (WS), *wolcen* (L), *wolcen* (R) 'cloud', *nubis* (Lat); (3) *snaw* (WS), *snaua* (L), *snaw* (R) 'snow', *nix* (Lat).

### 4.12. Others

There are terms which make reference to objects found in a house or to different parts of it, such as (1) *dura* (WS), *dor* (L), *dore* (R) 'door', *ianuam* (Lat); (2) *cafertun* (WS), *worðe* (L), *worðe* (R) 'hall', *atrium* (Lat); (3) *hrof* (WS) 'roof', *hus* (L), *hus* (R) 'house', *tectum* (Lat); (4) *hed-clyfan* (WS), *cotte* (L), *cofan* (R) 'room', *cubiculum* (Lat).

Nouns belonging to the semantic field of feelings and moods are also present in the texts: (1) *ege* (WS), *fyrhto* (L), *fyrhto* (R) 'fear', *timore* (Lat); (2) *blisse* (WS) 'bliss', *glædnise* (L), *glædnisse* (R) 'gladness', *gaudio* (Lat); (3) *toworpednysse* (WS) 'destruction', *wroht* (L), *wroht* (R) 'accusation', *abominationem* (Lat); (4) *asceonunge* (WS) 'execration', *from-slittnise* (L), *fromslitnisse* (R) 'desolation', *desolationis* (Lat); (5) *ungeleaffulnesse* (WS), *ungeleaffulnise* (L), *ungileoffulnisse* (R) 'unbelief', *incredulitatem* (Lat); (6) *heardnesse* (WS), *stiðnise* (L), *stiðnisse* (R) 'hardness', *duritiam* (Lat).

As for food, some examples are: (1) *ele* (WS), *ole* (L), *oele* (R) 'oil', *ole* (Lat); (2) *cruman* (WS) 'crumbs', *screadungum* (L), *screadungum* (R) 'shreds of food', *micis* (Lat); (3) *hlafa* (WS), *lafo* (L), *hlafa* (R) 'loafs', *panes* (Lat).

With regard to buildings and constructions, the following represent cases in point: (1) *castel* (WS) 'castle', *portas* (L), *portas* (R) 'gates', *castella* (Lat); (2) *stypel* (WS), *torr* (L), *torr* (R) 'tower', *turrem* (Lat); (3) *temples heahnesse* (WS), *horn-sceaðe temples* (L), *heh stowe temples* (R) 'highest point of the temple', *pinnaculum templi* (Lat); (4) *foretige* (WS), *sprec* (L), *prod-bore* (R) 'forecourt', *foro* (Lat).

Finally, war terminology is also covered: (1) *scyldig* (WS), *dead-synig* (L), *scyldig* (R) 'criminal', *reus* (Lat); (2) *wiðer-winnan* (WS), *wiðerbracæ* (L), *wiðerwearde* (R) 'enemy', *aduersario* (Lat); (3) *toworpennysse* (WS), *slitnese* (L), *awoestednisse* (R) 'desolation', *desolationis* (Lat).


*5. Conclusions*

Several conclusions can be drawn from the present research. The glosses were intended to give the sense of each word individually and in the order in which they appeared in the Latin text, so that the reader could understand the text, rather than aimed at providing an English version. When faced with the task of translating proper nouns from the Latin original, the authors of the glosses resorted to several options. One was to leave a blank space in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth versions: (Jn 19:13) *gabbatha* (WS). The second option was to provide an explanation instead of the term: (Jn 1:43) *philippus* (WS), *ðone ðegn* (L), *ðone ðegn* (R). Lastly, the term could be left unchanged, that is, taken directly into the language: (Mk 9:38) *iohannes* (WS), *iohannes* (L), *iohannes* (R).

Various factors can account for dissimilarities in the three versions. One of them may involve ignorance of the term, which is likely to have happened with *furlang* (WS), *spyrdum* (L), *spyrdas* (R), *stadia* (Lat). The translator(s) of the West Saxon version looked for an English measure that they considered equivalent to the Latin term; however, the glossators, when confronted with the same problem, understood 'stadium' as the venue or place for running, or the distance

covered, and consequently translated the term by means of a word that has the etymological meaning of 'race' (Gothic 'spaurds'). Another instance of this occurs in West Saxon with *alewan* 'aloe', a botanical term—and therefore specialized—which might have been unknown to the authors of the glosses, since they employed a more general term: *wirt-cynn* 'species of plant'. Another possibility is that the glossators were acquainted with it, but opted for a more easily comprehensible term.

Sometimes alternation of terms takes place, as with *flæsc* and *lichoma*, without a consistent pattern, as both forms are used in the three versions with different combinations. Alternation across the three versions can also be due to dialectal origin. This is illustrated by the use of *bearn* in West Saxon, a southern form, and *suno* in Lindisfarne and Rushworth. The latter has been the successful form which has remained in the English language. In the Lindisfarne version, *filio*, a Latin noun is also found.

Words of Celtic origin are attested in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth versions, such as those with the root *embeht-*: West Saxon *ðegnas* corresponds to *embeht-menn* in the northern versions. In the same fashion, for *tiberiadis* (WS), a Celtic form, *luh* ('loch', the Scottish word for 'lake'), is found in the other versions instead.

Another reason for variation may be the coinage of terms from Latin and/or Greek. The source (Latin) and receptor (Anglo-Saxon) languages belonged to different cultures and as such they were used to describe distinctive entities and realities, with a vocabulary adapted to the needs of each. Those terms for which a concept was lacking in Old English (because they were alien to the culture) were taken directly from the classical languages. This is especially the case with anthroponyms (*petrus, andreas, simon, philippus*, among others) and toponyms (*hierusalem, bethania, galilea*, for example). It is significant that West Saxon tends to favour words of Latin origin, whereas the glosses opt for those with a Germanic base: *porticon* (WS) as opposed to *gelæg* (L and R) 'porch', *munt* (WS) and *more* (L and R) 'mount', or *tunecan* (WS) and *cyrtel* (L and R) 'tunic'. However, there is a specific instance in which a Latin term, *palmes*, is rendered *palm-treo* in the glosses. This strictly follows the original, whereas the West Saxon translator(s) have solved the problem of referentiality by

looking for a cultural equivalent and providing *twig*, adapting in this way the term so that the audience could better understand its meaning.

Finally, it should be noted that the approach of the analysis carried out in this article has been contrastive and primarily concerned with aspects of linguistic correspondence, but there are other issues worth considering. In this respect, and following Stanton (2002: 174), the task of biblical translation involved the tension implicit in all translation between preservation and replication: "the writing *and* rewriting of scripture was both a hermetic recreation of something already existent and a process of dissemination to numbers of people who did not previously have it". Future research may address questions of a theological nature and/or interpretation by further assessing the disparities between the West Saxon, Lindisfarne and Rushworth versions of the Old English Gospels.

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# Errors, Corrections and other Textual Problems in Three Copies of a Middle English *Antidotary*[1]

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Abstract
Error analysis has been traditionally conceived as the step prior to any critical editing, providing the editor with grounded arguments to devise a stemma that would accurately reflect the relationship between the extant copies. Yet, the scenario for texts other than literary changes, as with scientific texts, in which accuracy in terms of content stands out over faithfulness to the original in terms of form. Anyway, errors and other textual problems may provide clues as to how manuscripts circulated and scientific knowledge was disseminated. This article analyses scribal practice in three copies of the same *Antidotary*, focusing on scribal errors, corrections and other textual problems, which will serve to account for the divergences and similarities they show. For the purpose, each copy is described and their individual textual problems are categorised and discussed. This will help to illustrate the dissemination of scientific knowledge, as well as varying scribal practice, which will in turn point at the possible relation between the copies.

Key words: Middle English, scribal error, scribal correction, textual problem, scientific text, antidotary.

## 1. Introduction

Textual criticism has traditionally relied on error detection, which has been used to group manuscripts into different branches of stemmata (Reynolds and Wilson 1978: 190; Crossgrove 1982: 45) that reflect the links between the former. The notion of *error* has normally been based on the premise that scribes tended to systematically go wrong: the more removes a copy was at from the exemplar, the more errors it was

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supposed to display and the more defective it was (see also Donaldson 1970: 113).[2] As Vinaver puts it, "'textual criticism' implies a mistrust of texts" (1939: 352). The natural tendency was, in short, to simplify the text found in the exemplar (Reynolds and Wilson 1978: 199; Jacobs 1992: 61). Within this framework, any scribal intervention on the text being copied has also been assumed to be an error, and this includes all attempts on the part of scribes to improve the text from a lexical, syntactic or textual viewpoint, as Crossgrove reports (1982: 56).[3] Another classic supposition is that errors are the consequence of the copying process itself, which has been taken to be 'auditory' (that is, the result of dictation). However, the fatigue of the scribe, lapses of memory and even the imperfect use of sight have also been listed among the possible factors leading to copying errors (Petti 1977: 30). Vinaver also links errors to the very mechanisms driving the copying process (for instance, going back and forth from the exemplar to the copy), as opposed to the writing one (1939: 353).

More recently, several scholars have warned against a carefree approach to errors, since "the identification of textual error is linked to one of the most thorny issues in editorial theory, that of editorial interference, or emendation" (Rauer 2013: 148). In fact, evaluating errors implies editorial judgement being imposed on the text to be edited or analysed, something against which Vinaver also reacted (1939: 352). Moorman is reluctant to emendation, too, and advises that "[b]efore making any change, the editor should (1) make every reasonable effort to justify the MS reading and (2) make no change without having a clear, articulate, and positive reason — linguistic, textual, palaeographical, whatever — for doing so" (1975: 57).[4] Laing

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[2] Authorial errors are excluded from this discussion because the text under analysis is a Middle English translation from a work originally written in the Continent, so that authorial practices would take us beyond the Middle English tradition, into French and/or Latin.

[3] A similar view is found in Donaldson (1970: 110) and Petti (1977: 40).

[4] During the Middle English period, the language had not standardised yet, which means that infrequent or dialectally-marked forms may be encountered, even if they are alien to the scribe's spelling habits. Likewise, variation was more readily accepted. Consequently, the use of a different verb tense or number in nouns, for instance, may fall within the realm of scribal variation rather than of errors.

and Lass follow the same line of reasoning and highlight that "much of what tends to be dismissed as 'scribal error' rather represents writing praxis no longer familiar to us" (2009: 1). For that reason, this article builds on the individual examination of each copy, on the copying practices followed and on the resulting errors and textual difficulties, so that neither the reconstruction of the archetype nor the establishment of a stemma, which belong mostly to the domain of critical editing, become the main goals. Similarly, textual problems are pointed out, and these are discussed and assessed as likely errors or as instances of variation.

Many studies on scribal errors are based on literary texts (such as those on *The Canterbury Tales* —e.g. Blake's 1997 study on the language and style of the additions made to this work—, as well as Rauer's 2013 study on the *Old English Martyrology*), since these belong to the type of text that is normally edited, especially critically, which gives scope for the systematic analysis of the variant readings (along with the errors) in the extant copies. Yet, as Crossgrove points out, there is also a clear interest in other types of texts, such as scientific ones, even though the primary goal in these cases may not necessarily be the reconstruction of the lost archetype (1982: 58).[5] Actually, as Hudson explains, auditory copying might result in several original texts being produced at a time (1977: 45–46), a situation that would also rule out the possibility of tracing back a single original or archetype text, irrespective of the type of text produced. A further complication stems from the typical lack of concern for the concept of *authority*, which increases in scientific texts as opposed to literary ones: medical treatises could be more easily blended, excised, expanded, etc. upon the practitioner's needs, whereas literary works were more frequently perpetuated in a relatively fixed form.[6] Hence, traditions are far more flexible and open to change.

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[5] See also Marqués-Aguado (2013: 31–33). Voigts (1982: 56) advocates best-text editions rather than collating readings for critical editions (see also Vinaver [1939: 351]). Even if the best text is to be chosen, a careful comparison of the witnesses is needed, and this includes evaluating errors.

[6] The process of the 'Englishing' of scientific prose has been extensively addressed by Voigts (1982: 43–44 and 51–52). A likely consequence of this process was that several translations could emerge as potential exemplars from which separate traditions could then arise, even simultaneously.

In the light of this, the present article focuses on the analysis of the scribal errors, corrections and textual problems found in three versions of the same Middle English (ME) scientific treatise, an *Antidotary*. This medical treatise is described in section 2, along with the witnesses that hold a copy of it. Section 3 describes the methodology followed to gather together the errors in each copy, along with the typology used for classification. This classification and the analysis of the errors and textual problems in each witness are provided in section 4. The results are discussed in the conclusions section, which also contains final remarks on the possible stronger connections between particular copies using the data presented as evidence.

## 2. *The text and its witnesses*

The treatise under scrutiny has been overlooked in the relevant literature, which has led to its wrong cataloguing (or no identification at all) in several library catalogues, a commonplace when dealing with scientific texts (Voigts 1995: 185–186). Yet, a recent textual examination of one of the witnesses (Marqués-Aguado 2008: 58–64) has evinced that this is a composite text that blends excerpts from two extremely popular medieval treatises: first comes part of Mondeville's antidotary, included in his *Surgery* (Nicaise 1893; Rosenman 2003), and then follows part of Chauliac's second doctrine of the seventh (and last) book in his *Magna Chirurgia* (Ogden 1971). Compilations drawn from *auctoritates* such as Mondeville or Chauliac were indeed common in medieval England, especially at the end of the fourteenth century (Wallner 1995: viii). This was particularly true of reputed medieval scholars whose writings spread all over Europe, like Lanfranc or the two aforementioned surgeons, besides classical and Arabic authors.

The present research stems from work on the witness preserved in Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 513 (ff. 37v–96v) —hereafter H513— (see Marqués-Aguado 2008).[7] The identification of its sources

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[7] This work is linked to several research projects based at the University of Málaga (in collaboration with the universities of Murcia, Oviedo, Jaén and Glasgow) which have aimed to bring to light this far unedited Middle English scientific treatises, as well as to create a corpus of Middle English scientific

and of its ultimate author proved to be a demanding task, inasmuch as this antidotary had been catalogued as an anonymous text in both Young and Aitken's (1908: 421) and Cross's (2004: 35) catalogues on the Hunterian Collection.

Additional work led to the finding of other witnesses. The one in Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 95 (ff. 156r–184r) —hereafter H95— was identified by sheer coincidence, as it had been wrongly catalogued. Labelled as an antidotary, it had been tentatively placed under the ME tradition of Mesue the Younger's *Antidotary* (Young and Aitken 1908: 102; Cross 2004: 15), a completely different work whose author's identity has even been questioned (see the discussion in Marqués-Aguado 2008: 74–75). The finding of this copy led to the identification of the incipit in Voigts and Kurtz's electronic database (2000), which allowed adding the following list of witnesses to the two already mentioned: London, British Library, Sloane 2463 (ff. 153v–193v); London, British Library, Sloane 3486 (ff. 3–18); New York, Academy of Medicine, 13 (ff. 152r–188v); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1468 (ff. 139–171). Out of all these, the two Glaswegian copies have been selected for the study, along with one of the Sloane manuscripts (hereafter, S2463).

*3. Methodology: error identification and typology*
*3.1. Identification of errors*
The task to be undertaken does not lend itself well to methodologies such as automatic retrieval, for instance, or to any other kind of automatic processing of the text. Convenient and time-saving as these are, errors of various kinds (ranging from spelling errors to omitted fragments; see section 3.2) and other textual problems have to be identified through attentive reading and by taking into consideration the context.

In this situation, transcribing all the copies under scrutiny has proved to be essential to spot errors of various types. Others were identified through the lemmatisation and tagging of the texts for the compilation of the corpora described (see footnote 7), since this

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prose. The results of these projects are available at <http://hunter.uma.es> and <http://referencecorpus.uma.es>.

process required delving into the texts and their intricacies to provide suitable lemmas and tags. As a matter of fact, by having to supply lexical and morphological information about each word in each text, duplications, alterations of word-order, omissions of necessary words and other difficulties become more evident.

## 3.2. Typology of errors, corrections and textual problems

Several classifications have been set up to account for scribal errors, although similarities among them are also noticeable. Nonetheless, despite the establishment of such typologies, some scholars have remarked that certain errors may be difficult to classify (Reynolds and Wilson 1978: 200; Jacobs 1992: 61), and that these may even co-occur (Vinaver 1939: 361–362). Petti, for instance, remarks that errors are more difficult to establish in vernacular languages during the late medieval period, when syntactic norms were far more flexible (1977: 29), a problem that will become evident in our analysis (see also section 1 and footnote 4 in particular).

For practical purposes, Petti's classification (1977: 30–31) will be followed for the most part, although reference to other taxonomies will be made whenever necessary to account for errors otherwise unclassified.[8] Accordingly, four types of errors are identified: omission, addition, transposition and alteration.[9]

Omissions are said to be the most numerous group, and comprise instances of *haplography* (writing once what was twice in the exemplar) and of *homoeoteleuton* (eyeskipping part of the text due to the scribe's going back to another instance of the same word which is

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[8] Yet, those classifications departing from the scope of the article will be left aside, such as Jacobs's 1992 typology, which builds on the psychological dimension (that is, on causes and contexts leading to errors, rather than on errors themselves). The same applies to Vinaver's 1939 classification, structured into six types of errors which emerge from the movement in which they occur (e.g. from the exemplar to the copy, from the latter to the former, etc.).

[9] A similar study on a scientific text has been recently conducted by Esteban-Segura (2012).

further down in the text) (see also Moorman 1975: 58).[10] Reynolds and Wilson expand this group with two more types: omission of a line of text (which is specifically linked to verse), and omission for no apparent reason, which will be most helpful in the subsequent analysis.[11]

Three types of additions may be found: *dittography* (writing a syllable, word or phrase unnecessarily twice), *contamination* (inserting extraneous material from elsewhere on the page, as clearly exemplified by Vinaver (1939: 359–360)) and *insertion* (which reflects scribes' attempts to improve what they believed to be a defective text —although this does not mean that they were necessarily right). As with omissions, Reynolds and Wilson present two more types of additions, i.e. additions of glosses and "additions to a text of a parallel passage originally written in the margin of a book by a learned reader" (1978: 206); besides, they exclude contamination. In Moorman's classification, these errors are distributed into *spontaneous* and *determined variation*, since dittographies are spontaneous, but insertions (to correct metre, grammar or sense, or, more generally, to clarify) are determined and wilful acts on the part of the scribe (1975: 57–59).[12]

The definition of transposition in the three classifications surveyed is fairly consistent and implies reversing the order that particular letters, words or phrases had in the original. If it is only letters that are

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[10] According to Reynolds and Wilson, "scribal errors have never been made the subject of a statistical study, and so it is not possible to establish with any degree of precision the relative frequency of the various types" (1978: 200). Indeed, no statistical study proper is carried out in this article, although some figures are provided to illustrate the general tendencies in the copies examined.

[11] Reynolds and Wilson's classification (1978: 200) is broader in general, since it includes more subtypes of errors in each group, as well as four more types (errors due to ancient or medieval handwriting or to the changes in spelling and pronunciation, as well as mistakes that betray Christian thought or that derive from "the deliberate activity of the scribe") that do not apply in our analysis because they relate to classical texts. Their last subtype is parallel to Moorman's *determined variation* (1975: 58–9), which may correspond to what Petti called *additions* or *interpolations*, as long as this activity implies adding (rather than deleting) material.

[12] See also Vinaver's taxonomy concerning movement *a* (1939: 354).

involved, this may be termed *metathesis* (Petti 1977: 30). Moorman, in turn, remarks that transposition is particularly noticeable when dealing with word-order (1975: 58).

The last group is that of alterations, which can be unwitting (when the scribe does not understand the text or the handwriting and provides what might be a likely reading) or wilful (when the scribe modifies something purposefully). The most common form is *mistranscription*, which may be caused by the scribe's difficulties to understand the handwriting of the exemplar, its dialect or language; by the confusion of letterforms (for instance, the ever-present problem of minims); by the misunderstanding of abbreviations or even numerals; by an awkward word division in the exemplar; etc.[13]

Scribal corrections are also worth exploring, since they reflect subsequent supervision or correction of the main text.[14] As with errors, Petti's classification will be followed (1977: 28–29). According to it, three types of corrections are identified: alteration, insertion and deletion, the latter of which comprises different mechanisms, such as cancellation (crossing out), erasure (scraping the ink from the writing surface) or expunction (placing a dot under the letter(s) to be deleted), among others. Marginalia can also be used to emend an inaccurate or incorrect reading in the main text, although this means a later user's involvement with the finished text. Occasional reference will be made to marginal notes as instruments for correction.

*4. Analysis*

The analysis begins with H513, and then the other two copies (S2463 and H95) are described and analysed, in such a way that cross-references are established among copies whenever needed. As

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[13] Besides the main causes for errors listed in section 1, the relevant literature reports that many errors arise from palaeographical causes (Reynolds and Wilson 1978: 211), such as those regarding mistranscription. Yet, palaeography may at the same time be useful for textual criticism; see Petti (1977: 29–30) and Marqués-Aguado (2013: 35–36), among others.

[14] Whether the same scribe was responsible for correcting his work in medieval times or not is still a matter of contention, although it is commonly assumed that a different person undertook this task (Petti 1977: 28).

explained above, some figures are provided for each type of error, but no statistical study as such is conducted.

### *4.1. Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 513*

This is a medical miscellany which has been dated to the first half of the fifteenth century on account of features such as the scripts used or the binding (Marqués-Aguado 2008: 50–52). The text is executed by two hands, but the change of hand occurs unexpectedly in f. 95r, where no textual boundary is found, that is, neither the break between the two sections (see section 2) —which is found in f. 88v— nor a new chapter.

### *4.1.1. Omissions*

Omissions in this copy clearly outnumber any other category of errors. Cases of haplography amount to only three, two of which concern a syllable that has been omitted: 'inbiciou*n*' for "inbibicio*n*" (f. 84r) and 'alkengi' for "alkakengi" (f. 94v).[15]

Conversely, instances of homoeoteleuton are far more common (15 occurrences), as illustrated in example (1) (see also section 4.3.2):

(1) sirupes And tho medicines þat [clensen | wiþ outen furþe allonelye ben localies | of what condicioun oþer virtue oþer o-|peracioun þat euer þei ben And þo medi-|cines þat]| purgene booþe with inne and with oute (f. 51v).

There are two words which result each from the omission of parts of other two words, as if these were blendings. These are 'whicchith', from "whiche worcheþ" (f. 66v), and 'madder', from "made pouder" (f. 94r). These examples may reveal either a manifest lack of attention on the part of the scribe during the copying task, or else a lack of

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[15] In the examples provided, the readings obtained from the transcriptions are consistently used and offered in single inverted commas (' '). This implies that word-division, punctuation and line and folio division (marked by means of <|> and <||>, respectively) are retained. On the contrary, double inverted commas (" ") enclose correct readings and PDE spellings offered for clarification. Dictionary entries appear in italics. Finally, square brackets ([ ]) contain omitted material (taken from H95, as explained further down), and braces ({ }) are used for additions.

acquaintance with the specific language in the text. Indeed, "ma(d)der" is also a possible ME spelling (s.v. *madder(e* in the *Middle English Dictionary* [*MED*])[16] for the present-day English (PDE) noun "madder" —hence a different word—, which is also used in the text on two occasions (ff. 60v and 93v), something that may explain the scribe's confusion. The difficulties deriving from scribal unfamiliarity with specialised language have also been dealt with by Keiser, who remarks that Robert Thornton, the scribe of the *Liber de Diversis Medicinis*, "had difficulty in reading it, perhaps because of his unfamiliarity with the technical language – a common problem in the copying of vernacular medical books in 15th-century England" (2005: 33).

Nonetheless, most omissions (up to 97) may be probably put down to scribal carelessness or be motivated "for no apparent reason" in Reynolds and Wilson's words. On at least 25 occasions, certain letters are omitted (i.e. misspellings), as in 'an[d]' (ff. 51r and 62r) or 'ol[i]banu*m*' (f. 71v).[17] In other cases, full words are omitted, as in 'make [sotil] the substaunce' (f. 42v), 'coile hit | and [leie] hit' (f. 59r), 'that ben [harde] to consoude' (f. 61r) or 'dyu*er*se helpes of the wiche [þe firste] is for to | abate' (f. 96r). In all these cases, ungrammaticality is likely to arise. In 17 other cases, the articles that should precede the nouns, or else the numerals (especially PDE "one"), are missing, as in 'take [ane] *ounce*' (f. 44r), 'a vessell of glasse vnder [þe] dunge' (f. 73v) or 'of [a] collerik man' (f. 82v). These omissions may constitute a scribal preference, though.

Finally, important medical information, like apothecaries' measures or the amounts of certain ingredients, is some other times withheld. This is particularly frequent with 'ana', which serves to introduce a similar quantity or amount of several ingredients in a medicinal preparation, as in 'bdelliu*m* serapinu*m* [ana] di*m*' (f. 45r). Other important medical information is also sometimes left out, as in 'mede ne þat is regeneratiue [moste be drie in þe firste degre *and* | a

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[16] This is available at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>.

[17] According to Reynolds and Wilson, orthographic errors "are of extreme frequency, but the majority of them are of no consequence for the establishment of the text and are not recorded in the apparatus" (1978: 204).

medicine] incarnatiue' (f. 62v):[18] by omitting this, important specifications about certain medicines are not conveyed. The same occurs with the long passage omitted in f. 45r —'[*and* þen boile it eftsones in atinned pan|ne wiþ aliȝte fire · *and* þen lete it wexe col-|de and coile it]'—, which results in an incomplete recipe, since a stage in its preparation is skipped.

### 4.1.2. Additions

12 dittographies have been counted, one of which refers to a whole sentence (ff. 44v–45r) and two to particular syllables that are copied twice but whose second occurrence is rendered separately from the previous one by a blank space or by a line break, as in 'of rosyne | {syn*e*} and' (f. 59r). The remaining 9 instances attain to certain words (as in 'dissolue {dissolue} thoo', f. 53v) or strings of words ('emplaster for hit {for it} is exp*er*te', f. 95v). Two of these take place between the recto and the verso sides of the same folio, a change which may explain the unnecessary repetition, as in 'Stronger remollitiues be || {be} competent' (ff. 80r–80v).

As for insertions made to the base text —maybe to 'improve' it (from the scribe's perspective)—, 14 cases have been found.[19] Different explanations may be put forward to account for the curious description about the bark of frankincense, 'the whiche is moy=|ste and drie and most stiptyke' (f. 64r). The scribe could have misread the exemplar (possibly "most") as 'moyst' (the manuscript spelling), maybe due to the difficult handwriting of the exemplar or to carelessness. Yet, another reasonable explanation is that there was no such difficult handwriting, but rather that the scribe failed to recognise 'moyst' in the exemplar as an alternative spelling variant for "most" (s.v. *most* in the *MED*). Whichever the origin of the error is, and in the light of the following word (i.e. the adjective 'drie'), 'and' seems to have been added to turn this sequence into a coordinated adjective phrase providing an enumeration of qualities. Be it as it may, the PDE

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[18] A blotting prevents the reading of the first word in this excerpt as "mede<ci>ne".

[19] Insertions to the base text have also been made if compared to the French tradition reflected in Nicaise's edition (see Marqués-Aguado 2008: 61–63); however, these fall outside the scope of this article, as explained in footnote 2.

reading "moist and dry" is not feasible either in the context of medieval science, where frankincense was classified as a dry substance, and not a moist one (Rosenman 2003, vol. 1: 1024).

Other insertions are made within words. Instead of improving the readings, these distort them, hence leading to misspellings. An example of this is 'consol{o}d{it}atiue' instead of "consolidatiue" (f. 64v).

### 4.1.3. Transpositions

Instances of transposition are scarce: there are no examples of transposition of phrases, but two of transposition of words (as in 'be maye not' in f. 41r, instead of "may not be"), and 11 of metathesis. Some remarkable examples are 'antitodarie', in which <t> and <d> are systematically transposed (ff. 37v, 46r, 59r and 90r), or 'deprosye' instead of "dropesie" (f. 94r). It is worth highlighting that all the occurrences of metathesis —but for the case of 'fro' instead of "for" in f. 51v— belong to the specialised fields of medicine or botany, hence their likely connection with scribal lack of familiarity with such language.

### 4.1.4. Alterations

Many alterations in this treatise may be explained by the scribe's lack of familiarity with the handwriting of the exemplar, since most of them concern one single letterform which may have been confused with the one featured in the exemplar, or else with sequences of minims (which may incidentally pose difficulties even to the most skilled modern editor). Some examples are 'contorie' instead of "centorie" (f. 38r) or 'hen matuiatiues' instead of "ben maturatiues" (f. 67v). A particularly difficult pair of letterforms seems to have been (presumably) long <s> and <f> in the exemplar, since these are confused in 'slekked' (used instead of "flekked", f. 40r) and 'semigrek'/'semygrek' (used instead of "femigrek", ff. 58r and 58v), among others.

Two errors may be put down to problems with marks of abbreviation: 'cont*ra*rie' appears in the place of "contracte" (f. 88r), and 'pise' instead of "p*er*ise" (f. 88v).

Word-division was not fully standardised in the ME period, as evinced in 10 cases, such as 'stronglie' ("strong lie" in f. 53r) or 'apo|lipu*m*' ("a polipum" in f. 71v). Yet, none of these hinder the reading of the text.

There are some alterations, as also shown in S2463 (see section 4.2.4), which lead to changes in the morphological information or the word-class of particular words. This happens, for instance, with 'The ·3· made lie' (f. 72v), where a past form is used instead of the expected imperative "make". On other occasions, alterations may be simply put down to (apparently stylistic) variation, as in 'þ*at* shall be reduced be | hoote medecine' (f. 82v), since the plural "medicines" is found in the other two witnesses.

The last set of alterations can only be classified as 'wilful', since these present words which cannot be confused on the grounds of the handwriting or the minims employed in the exemplar. A case in point is the use of 'oyle' instead of (presumably) "floures" (first occurrence, in bold) in the recipe in (2), where such oil appears twice in the list of ingredients:

(2) The fyrste take **oyle** of Camo|mylle dille seed ana ·2· ounce · floure of femygrek and | lyneseed and of barly ana ·3· ounce · oyle of dylle and | of Camomylle ana ·i· ounce · (f. 46v)

### 4.1.5. Scribal corrections

As for deletion, erasure is the most common method, being used in 'encence' (f. 38v), 'spueme' (f. 46r) and 'poudred' (f. 76r), among others. Similarly, the <a> in 'and' in f. 46r was erased, but no letter was added afterwards. Expunction and cancellation are used only once (Fig. 1), in combination, to signal out the adjective 'hard', which had been mistakenly placed before the noun 'eyren', instead of after it:
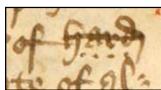


**Fig. 1** of hard (f. 50r)

Alterations, i.e. superimposed letters, are found in 'houre' (f. 45v), 'sulphure' (f. 69v) and 'nepte' (f. 93v), for instance, as shown in Fig. 2:
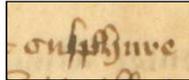


**Fig. 2** su¬lp¬hure (f. 69v)[20]

Finally, insertions are marked by means of the caret <^> (see Petti 1977: 29), as in 'and' (f. 40v), 'hem' (f. 72r) or 'de' (f. 83v), among others. They are placed in supralinear position and the caret is systematically placed under it, as shown in Fig. 3:
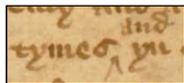


**Fig. 3** tymes ^and yn (f. 40v)

*4.2. London, British Library, Sloane 2463*

S2463 is a quarto manuscript. Its size (larger than that of H513) suggests that it may have been intended as a copy for display, as opposed to the likely use of H513 as a vade-mecum for a practitioner to carry with him. The neat writing space and the consistent margins support this hypothesis. As opposed to H513, one single hand deployed the text in Secretary script. It has also been dated to the fifteenth century, according to the Catalogue of the Sloane Collection (Ayscough 1782, vol. 8: 108).

*4.2.1. Omissions*

The same instances of haplography are found in both H513 and S2463, but there are fewer cases of homoeoteleuton in the latter, because 3 of those in the former are deployed correctly (including the example given in 4.1.1) and no new examples are encountered. One that remains is, for instance, 'wyld nepe *and* of [malu*m* terre *and* of herbe

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[20] Due to the impossibility of accurately reproducing the scribal alteration on the MS, the altered letters are rendered in ⌐ ¬ for the purpose.

Robert *and* off] rapes' (f. 176v; f. 70v in H513). The number of blendings is also halved, to 'whichith' (f. 174r).

Again, many errors may be put down to scribal carelessness, which results in the omission of particular letters or of complete words. Of the former type (9 instances), cases such as 'w[i]pe' (f. 171r), 'an[a]' (f. 189v) or 'an[d]' (f. 190r) may be listed. When omitting particular words (or strings of words), ungrammaticality may again arise, as in 'þe whiche [be] opened' (f. 165v) or 'of the whiche [þe firste] is for to' (f. 193v), which is also attested in H513 (f. 96r).

Certain omissions lead to indeterminacies in terms of medical information. Such is the situation with the omission of 'ana' (which is skipped more than 15 times), as in 'whyȝt popie blakke popie [ana] halff' (f. 156r). The same applies to cases such as 'The ffirste is [pouder] of arnement' (f. 175v), where the way in which vitriol is to be used is not given.

Finally, there are some recurrent omissions that may constitute a scribal fingerprint in terms of language use, so that these would count as conscious omissions of linguistic features, as with the regular deletion of the preposition 'of' after *al-maner* (s.v., *MED*), as in 'al man*er* [of] brennyng' (f. 156v) or 'al man*er* [of] hardnesse' (f. 188r). The same pattern is found with partitions; e.g. 'a *libra* [of] whete' [f. 160r,], 'a litell [of] vínegre' [f. 161r]). Another linguistic peculiarity is the tendency to occasionally omit the conjunction 'and', a feature that leads to a rather paratactic style, as shown in 'take amidu*m* [and] caunfer ana | [and] grynde' (f. 156r).

## 4.2.2. Additions

The number of dittographies is substantially reduced if compared to H513, since there are only three, all of which are proper to this witness, as in 'The .4th. is | {is} made' (f. 165v).

Some of the insertions represent, compared to H513, an improvement of the text, since information is specified or expanded. This happens, for instance, in 'wexe .2.*ounce* {the fatnesse of an henne and | of a malard an 1 *dragme*.} and make thyn oynement' (f. 159v).[21]

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[21] This error was counted as an instance of homoeoteleuton in H513 (see section 4.1.1). This was motivated by the use of ounces instead of dragmes in H513, which may be the cause for this likely homoeoteleuton. This reinforces

Some insertions improve certain grammatical constructions which were somehow faulty in H513, as in 'The seconde {is} for offen=|ciou*n*s' (f. 192r). On other occasions, insertions bring about a distortion of the sense of the text, whether in grammatical or in conceptual terms, as in 'and {of} one p*ar*tie of' (f. 186v). Finally, and as also found in H513, there are two cases in which words are added, but they result in the ungrammaticality of the passage, as in (3):

(3) A duche | man þat was cledde all in skynnes with outen clothe | {þat} broute þis medecyne fyrst to parys (f. 177r)

As in H513, insertions that lead to misspellings are also present, as in 'pel{e}ter' (f. 158v) and 'spu{e}me' (f. 160v).

### 4.2.3. Transpositions
As with omissions and additions, there are fewer transpositions than in H513. Only five cases of metathesis are found, and these replicate those in H513. Likewise, there are no examples of transposition of phrases. In turn, three cases of transposition of words are found, such as 'for .2. causes' (f. 184r), which is rendered 'for causes·2' in H513 (f. 81v).

### 4.2.4. Alterations
Alterations which may have been caused by misreading on account of the handwriting of the exemplar are plentiful. Many of them are shared with H513, such as the confusion of <f> and (presumably) long <s> in words such as 'slekked' for "flekked" (f. 156r), along with 'rate' instead of "rote" (f. 160r), 'renne' instead of "reume" (f. 184r) or 'dialetica' instead of "diabetica" (f. 192v).

The use of certain abbreviations has also led to alterations if compared to H513. An example that was catalogued as a case of metathesis in H513 is now an instance of alteration ('cuc*ur*me', f. 170r). Some numbers are also altered, as in 'mirre ana .9.*ounce* the ieuse' (f. 166r), which reads '3' in H513 (f. 54v). The abbreviation for

the idea that errors are difficult to classify. See also section 4.2.4 on the different measures used in H513 and S2463.

'ounce' is occasionally substituted for the one for 'dragme' (at least, 6 times), which becomes one of the most common apothecaries' measures in S2463. In doing so, the composition of recipes is altered.

Word-division in S2463 is definitely close to PDE, with one exception that might raise confusion: the noun phrase 'attemp*er*aunce' (including a determiner followed by a noun) runs together (f. 166r), and this may be taken to be the noun *attempra(u)nce* (s.v., *MED*). 'amillne' (f. 186r) is also found ("a millne"), but this one does not pose difficulties.

There is yet another group of alterations that result in changes in the morphology of words which may in turn lead to a different categorisation in terms of word-classes. Some examples are 'the medecíne þat regender flessch must be' (f. 167r), which is clearly singular, as opposed to the plural in H513 ('the medecines þat regender | flessh muste be', f. 56r); or 'pouders myʒt | sufficent' (f. 168v), which should read "suffisen" for this to be a verb in the plural present indicative adequately conjugated.[22]

Finally, some peculiarities which are probably wilful alterations on the part of the scribe can be encountered. As with other categories and types, many reproduce those in H513, as in 'floures' for "oyles" (f. 160v). Yet a substantial number (up to 14) present a different word-choice, as in 'comune malewis' (f. 162r) instead of 'somme Malewys' in H513 (f. 48v), or 'techyn' (f. 171r) instead of 'seien' in H513 (f. 62r).

### 4.2.5. Scribal errors

Insertions, which amount to 6, are normally marked by means of two slanting strokes. The inserted material is placed above the baseline, as in 'muste be ∖^more^ dessicatíue þanne' (f. 167r). One case merits further comment: during the revision process, the scribe or corrector of S2463 realised that 'may' had been skipped during the copying process and inserted it. However, this was done in the wrong place, since the final reading is 'be // ^may^ not' (f. 156v; the same as in H513, f. 41r), instead of "may be not".

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[22] This ending is not a dialectal variant either, according to the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986).

### 4.3. Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 95

H95, another fifteenth-century copy (Cross 2004: 15), also gathers a complete copy of the *Antidotary* whose palaeographical and codicological features go in the line of those displayed by S2463 rather than H513. The text is presented in two tidy columns (labelled *a* and *b*), the script is extremely neat and ornamentation is also in use, with decorated initials and some colour; likewise, the codex is larger in size. These features suggest that this was intended as a copy for display.

### 4.3.1. Omissions

In contrast to H513 and S2463, no cases of haplography or homoeoteleuton have been found, which represents an outstanding improvement in terms of the copying technique. Other types of omissions are found, though, but they are also far less frequent (totalling 9). In three cases, individual letters have been omitted in three words (i.e. misspellings), as in 'lite[l]' (f. 171v, *a*). In the other six cases, certain words are missing, which hinders the understanding of particular sentences, as in 'su*m*me [ben] ablucíou*n*s and | su*m*me ben pultes' (f. 163v, *b*).

### 4.3.2. Additions

Only one possible case of dittography has been found, and it occurs within a word, ('preísed{d}e', f. 183r, *a*). Insertions concerning letters, individual words, or even clauses or sentences, however, are more common. An example of the first type is 're-|solí{c}tíue' (f. 171v, *b*), whereas the second one may be exemplified with 'for to make compou*n*de medicines {of} fo-|ment þe place' (f. 162v, *b*), where 'of' renders the clause almost meaningless. Yet, some additions of the third set (i.e. clauses or sentences) may not actually be insertions proper, but be rather part and parcel of the 'original' text, hence bringing to light further instances of homoeoteleuton in the other witnesses, as in (4):

(4) and ȝit {ȝif þeí myȝte be founded at al tym-|es and ín euerye place. ȝit} summe medicines | be so dere þat pore men maye not haue | hem (f. 158r, *a*)

### 4.3.3. Transpositions

Transpositions occur sparingly, but they correspond to those in the other two copies. These are the 4 examples of 'antitodarie' (ff. 156r, *a*; 160v, *a*; 166v, *a*; and 181r, *b*) and the spelling for PDE "fretting" —which refers to the action of corroding or scraping— ('fírtinge', f. 180v, *a*).

A possible instance of transposition at word-level may be 'Take·4·*ounce*·of olde oíle *and* 8·*ounce* | of þe spume of siluer' (f. 160v, *a*), a recipe whose ingredients and measurements are reversed in H513 (i.e. eight ounces of such oil and four of silver; f. 46r). With the linguistic data available, however, it is not possible to determine which of the two readings is more accurate, and medical information on the advantages and counter indications of these ingredients should be sought for clarification.

### 4.3.4. Alterations

Alterations due to problems with handwriting are, once again, quite numerous and some of them repeat those in H513 and/or S2463, such as 'fac cessíuelye' (f. 157r, *a*). Here the confusion between long <s> and <f> persists —but not in other problematic words in the other two witnesses, like PDE "fenugreek"— and an additional omission (<n>) is noted. Alterations peculiar to this copy are 'mastíl' for "mastic" (f. 159v, *a*) and 'lesseny' for "lessenþ" (f. 170v, *a*).[23]

Abbreviations and numerals may be responsible for deviant readings such as 'haþ þre maner' (f. 182v, *a*, which should read "two", since only two possibilities are described), 'cuc*ur*me' (f. 167r, *b*) or 'exc*er*scences' (f. 173r, *b*).

Finally, wilful changes on the part of the scribe, or else their lack of understanding of the text, may account for readings such as 'woundes *and* sínewes' (f. 167v, *b*), which should rather read "of", or 'and ȝif it be but of blood allonelye' (f. 156v, *b*), which reads 'not' in H513 instead of 'but', and was also counted as an error (in view of the

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[23] Although <y> and <þ> may be used as orthographic alternatives, especially in certain dialectal areas (see Benskin's 1982 study), this manuscript does not present any case of <y> being used in the place of <þ> in the third person singular, present indicative inflection, hence the labelling of 'lesseny' as an alteration.

context, the most adequate reading would imply getting rid of 'but' or 'not'). Possibly the scribe's lack of medical knowledge may help explain the reading 'aggeracíou*n*s' (f. 176v, *a*), which is an altered reading of Galen's famous work *Aggregations*.

### 4.3.5. Scribal corrections

It is important to note that, along with the few errors found in the text, corrections are not abundant either, which seems to build on the idea that utmost care was taken to copy the text as neatly and correctly as possible.

Besides the occasional erasure, there is one case in which the correction is made via the use of a marginal note.[24] When discussing the types of poultices (in the chapter on cleansing medicines), ten types are announced in the main text. However, the ninth type is not explicitly marked (as it so happens with the other types), to the extent that it may be difficult to establish whether this is an alternative for the eighth type or a completely new poultice. Yet, a marginal annotation overtly marks it as the ninth type (Fig. 4), a correction that is not found in either H513 or S2463:
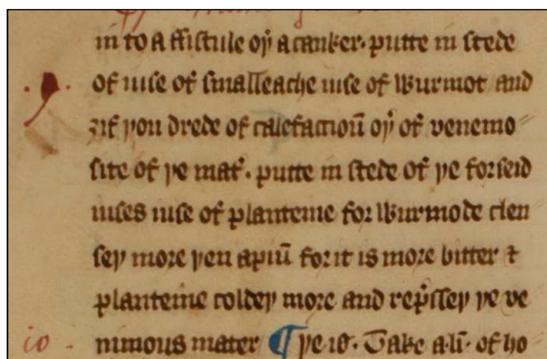


**Fig. 4** Correction through marginal note (f. 164v, *a*)

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[24] Marginal notes in H513 and S2463 are mainly aimed to sketch the structure of each chapter in the treatise, thus facilitating the localisation of particular information that may be important from the specialised standpoint. These, however, do not normally add new information to the text.

*5. Conclusions*

This article has shown that, as Jacobs stated, "[e]very textual tradition is to some extent the product of individual scribes, none of whom was an automaton reacting predictably to a definable combination of factors" (1992: 68), a remark that has been applied here, as he suggested, outside the limits of romance and verse texts.

The first conclusion that may be drawn is that the concept of *error* is indeed slippery and that careful examination is required to label a linguistic phenomenon as such. Within this framework, some omissions have been catalogued as possible scribal fingerprints rather than errors in the texts surveyed, insofar as they do not hinder readability or understanding of the text, let alone produce ungrammaticality. Likewise, scribal variation needs to be considered, as with certain wilful changes concerning word-choice, especially in a period such as ME, when no single standard was in use. In fact, texts for medical practice need not be that faithful to the original/exemplar in this respect, but rather in terms of content. Besides, selecting a particular witness as the reference for comparison may lead to considering an excerpt an addition or an omission, as shown with the renderings under analysis. In the light of this, this research has stressed the differences between the witnesses, specifying which of these lead to ungrammaticalities and which may rather relate to scribal variation, besides signalling those which alter medical content.

Concerning types of textual problems, omissions and, to a lesser extent, alterations, rank as the most frequent types of errors, while transpositions and additions are comparatively infrequent. The difficulties of allotting particular errors to a single category have become evident, which prevents us from running a precise quantitative analysis. There are clear differences between the copies in this respect: H95 is a much more polished and complete rendering than S2463 and H513, with fewer errors. S2463 is, in turn, a more refined version than H513, since some of the errors in the latter are deployed correctly in the former, although it also features errors of its own. As a consequence of the higher number of errors in the main text, more corrections are added to S2463 and H513 than to H95, even though neither of the former underwent much revision in the light of the manifold uncorrected errors.

In spite of the similar dating for the three manuscripts (i.e. the fifteenth century) on the grounds of palaeographical and codicological features, simultaneous generation of the copies is unlikely, given, for instance, the omissions and additions of material in each copy. It rather seems that these copies simply perpetuate the incorrect readings of the exemplar(s) they were copied from, in which case *literatim* scribes —copying faithfully the text in front of them— would be at work, adding nonetheless their own errors during the copying process, many of which can be explained by scribes' lack of specialised knowledge. Although the witnesses this far not analysed need to be checked before reaching any definite conclusion, and notwithstanding the shared errors in the three copies (as with 'antitodarie' or 'semygrek'), the similarities between S2463 and H513 regarding omissions and misspellings are noticeable, which might reveal a closer link between them. An illustrative example is the scribal correction of 'be // $^{\text{may}}$ not' in S2463, whose altered word-order is not emended in H513 but reproduced. The excision of material in H513 (compared to S2463) because of the possible confusion of abbreviations for apothecaries' measures (see section 4.2.2) reinforces this hypothesis. This supposition is put forward not so much because of the traditional assumptions that copies feature more errors than their exemplars, but rather because of what the errors found reveal. Research at other language levels, such as dialectal ascription, is expected to supply data as to these similarities, which may provide further suggestions in terms of dissemination of this text as well as book production.

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# Eighteenth-century Female English Grammar Writers: Their 'Critical' Voice in the Prefaces to Their Grammars[1]

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Abstract
The eighteenth century was a crucial period in the history of English grammar writing. The purpose of this study is to carry out a critical discourse analysis on the prefaces of some English grammars written for schools by female English grammar-writers. In a male-dominated context of grammar production, prefaces turned into strategic instruments which allowed female grammarians to make their voices heard. By examining identification systems (Martin 1992) and transitivity structures (Halliday 2004), this study will illustrate the discourse patterns employed by female grammarians to exercise authority and to produce a persuasive effect on the reader.

Key words: critical discourse analysis, systemic functional grammar, English grammars, eighteenth century

## 1. Introduction[2]

The eighteenth century was a crucial period in the history of English grammar writing and in the process of codification of the English language. Growing interest, among the upper classes, in the vernaculars and in the proper use of the language led to a significant increase in the output of grammars (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008a). Eighteenth-century grammarians were mainly concerned with fixing the English language, trying to meet the demand of the reading public looking for a systematic representation of the language. "Grammar writers became 'authorities' on what was 'proper' and 'correct' in English. [...] We see the beginnings of the link between standard

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[2] The present study is based on a previous work by Fernández Martínez (in press), which illustrates a preliminary systematic codification of transitivity structures with a persuasive function in the prefaces which have also been selected for the present paper.

language and the nation-state which was to dominate educational discourse until well into the twentieth-century" (Watts 1995: 173). The battle for the dominance of the editorial market led to a gradual increase in grammatical productivity, especially noticeable during the second half of the century. Publishers at that time employed particular strategies to make grammars appealing to prospective buyers (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008c: 121). The demanding conditions of publishing houses also influenced grammarians who turned the prefaces to their works into highly strategic introductory explanations of the content, audience, structure and methodology of the grammar.

Emphasis has been placed on the basic pragmatic function of prefaces as paratextual elements (Genette & Maclean 1991: 268).[3] Rather than communicating pure information (e.g., the name of the author or the date of publication), they impart an authorial or editorial intention. As stated by Genette & Maclean (1991: 269), "the functions of the paratext constitute a very empirical and very diverse object, which must be derived in an inductive way, genre by genre and often species by species". Thus, considering the editorial pressure at that time, prefaces must have gone beyond the common pragmatic role traditionally attached to them; they must have acted as powerful textual support conveying a high degree of authority over the reader. Therefore, these introductory sections should be assessed as symptomatic of the sense of grammar writers as a discourse community in itself. Grammar writes of English shared a commitment to the discursive practices in their joint enterprise to produce norms of linguistic correctness (Watts 2008: 45; Straaijer 2011: 233). From the beginning of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century, English grammarians presented similarities in their discourse strategies, socio-communicative objectives and cognitive assumptions, which justified their being considered a discourse community (Watts 1995: 171). More specifically, within English grammars, prefaces are to be evaluated as the pragmatic focus of the strategies on the readers with several purposes at once. Indeed, they are indicative of the

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[3] The paratext is a basically heterogeneous and auxiliary discourse devoted to the service of something else, namely the text: "this text rarely appears in its naked state, without the reinforcement and accompaniment of a certain number of productions, themselves verbal or not, like an author's name, a title, a preface, illustrations" (Genette & Maclean 1991: 261).

concept of a discourse community of grammar writers: "It is in these prefatory sections and lengthy titles that the common core of discourse strategies can be identified [...]" (Watts 1995: 147).

This paper aims to examine a selection of prefaces to eighteenth-century English grammars from a critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective. CDA is an approach to discourse analysis which focuses on the ways in which texts are used to realize ideology and power (see, in particular, Fairclough 1995, 2001). CDA considers discourse as a tool for the social construction of reality, and also as an instrument of authority and control that "implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it" (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258). CDA has never attempted to provide either one specific theory or one specific methodology. Quite to the contrary, studies in CDA are quite eclectic, since they derive from different theoretical and methodological backgrounds. CDA has been closely associated to systemic functional linguistics, because of the multifunctional perspective of the latter and its focus on relating language to social contexts. In this sense, critical discourse analysts have traditionally preferred Halliday's (2004) *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, ever since its first edition in 1985, as the most suitable tool for analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1995, 2001).[4] CDA has also been quite multifarious in the kind of data used for analysis, being oriented to both socially dominant and non-dominant sets of discourse.[5] The contribution of

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[4] Some examples of combined application of both CDA and systemic functional grammar are presented by Martin (2000) and Young & Harrison (2004). Martin (2000: 275) explains how both fields have been closely connected ever since the beginnings of critical linguistics: "For many, one of the real strengths of SFL in the context of CDA work is its ability to ground concerns with power and ideology in the detailed analysis of texts as they unfold, clause by clause, in real contexts of language use [...]". Previous research has also given evidence of the flexibility of systemic functional grammar to be applied to earlier stages of the English language (e.g. Cummings 1995; Davies 1996). Likewise, CDA has been adaptable to the study of texts from earlier periods (e.g. Wood 2004; Fernández Martínez 2007).

[5] Discourse analysts have examined critically various genres of institutional and professional discourse, namely educational discourse (e.g. Sinclair &

CDA has been the application of critical thought to any text or public space, unveiling hidden (or partially-hidden) strategies. The purpose of this work to study the prefaces to eighteenth-century English grammars fits in with the 'critical' perspective of penetrating into different fields of investigation of language use, with the further incentive of paying attention to a rather unexplored type of text. In the eighteenth century the competition of grammarians to control the reading market must have left its social imprint on the written text. As there were no established writing conventions, grammarians tended to display a persuasive authority of their own, especially perceptible in the prefaces to their grammars. Prefaces written since the Old English period have attracted the attention of scholars as textual exercise of authority (e.g. Discenza 2001; Harbus 2007). Research in the English grammatical tradition has thrived in recent years placing a major emphasis on the rules laid down in eighteenth-century grammars (e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008b; Hickey 2010). And also, some references have been made to the upbeat tone of their prefaces and the traits of authority shown by the writers (Hodson 2008: 179-180; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 78; 2010: 2; Straaijer 2011: 174). However, the function of eighteenth-century prefaces to English grammars, as especially authoritative paratextual elements, merits further attention from a CDA point of view.

The prefaces analysed in this paper have been selected from the *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (ECEG), a new database of eighteenth-century grammars and grammar-writers compiled by Rodríguez-Gil & Yáñez-Bouza (2010). This electronic database provides scholars with a resource for interdisciplinary studies on the eighteenth century. It contains bibliographic information of eighteenth-century grammars of the English language, as well as biographical information of their grammar-writers. The prefaces under analysis correspond to English grammars written for schools by female English grammar-writers. They have been retrieved by selecting the following parameters: (i) 'female' for gender, (ii) 'England' for place of birth of the author, (iii) 'English grammar' for type of work, and

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Coulthard 1975), politics (e.g. Wodak 1989), media communication (e.g. Teo 2000) and medical discourse (e.g. Fleischman 2001), among many others.

(iv) 'institutional' for target audience. Thus, the four grammars resulting from the search are as follows:[6]

Fisher, Ann (1750)[7]
Devis, Ellin (1775)
Gardiner, Jane (1799)
Mercy, Blanch (1799)[8]

Six grammar books were published by women in the late eighteenth century (Ellin Devis, Mrs. M.C. Edwards, Mrs. Eves, Jane Gardiner, Mrs. Taylor and Blanch Mercy). They "form an important link between earlier female grammatical pioneers and innovators like Ann Fisher and Ellenor Fenn […] and the fast-increasing number of women educators and grammarians who followed in the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth […]" (Cajka 2008: 192). However, despite the chronological distance between Fisher, on the one hand, and Devis, Gardiner and Mercy, on the other hand, the results obtained from the search on ECEG allows us to unify these four grammars under the same parameters.[9] In a men-dominated context of grammar

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[6] Devis' and Gardiner's editions consulted in this article have been taken from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO). Fisher's and Mercy's editions have been consulted in situ in the British Library.

[7] The first edition of Fisher's grammar is not known, but it appears to have been published by the middle of 1745. The earliest schoolbook known is the second edition of her grammar, which was published in 1750 in Newcastle.

[8] References in this work are only to volume I. Volume II has been omitted since it deals with the specific instructions given by the author to the instructress, bearing no relationship to the other three prefaces in structure and content.

[9] Fisher was a schoolmistress and a popular author of school texts for the education of children. She was a prolific and experienced educator who also understood the technical requirements of book production. The other three grammarians, all of them mistresses of their own schools, presented some differences between them. Ellin Devis spent her long career educating young successful women in the higher social classes of London. Jane Gardiner and Blanch Mercy ran schools in provincial cities and towns. Devis understood in a curious and successful way the interrelation of morality and social requirements in a proper female education. Gardiner's method blended her religious and moral convictions, being her English grammar unique as she employed it as a preparation for French. Mercy laid out the most fully

production women also made their contribution. Cajka (2008) has studied the educational philosophies which emerge through the teaching methodologies and the illustrative examples included in their grammars. Their textbooks were initially designed for use in their own schools and secondarily offered for public sale. They "were explicitly concerned with instilling into their pupils the appropriate types and amounts of academic, moral and social knowledge; in other words, they all sought to teach girls to be proper young women" (Cajka 2008: 192). The educational goals embedded in their grammars advocate a new concept of female education in England at the end of the eighteenth century. In contrast to prevailing philosophies of female education "which encouraged women to develop their sentiments and beauty to the detriment of their minds, the teacher-grammarians' philosophies emphasized the primacy of intellectual development, particularly through the study of English grammar" (Cajka 2008: 221). The CDA approach used in this paper aims to gain insight into the way these female grammarians displayed authority through the prefaces to their grammars. More specifically, it focuses on the discursive patterns that contributed to advocate their methodologies and to influence on the readers as prospective buyers of the grammar.

Discourse analysis is basically an interpretative and deconstructing reading, with no specific guidelines to follow. Although CDA has been very eclectic in its methods of analysis, there has been a consensus on using Halliday's (2004) functional instruments, especially his system of transitivity structure (e.g. Martin 2000), to study the relationships of authority and control established between different members in discourse. This paper aims to examine how the individuals involved in the text, specifically author and intended readership, are presented through Halliday's (2004) transitivity structures and Martin's (1992) identification systems. Halliday's (2004: 168-305) transitivity arrangement supports the function of the clause as representation by depicting reality in terms of the three components of participants, processes and circumstances. They provide a valuable tool to study the role of individuals as a centre of action, illustrating their behaviour and social function, as well as the

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elaborated pedagogy, advocating a form of cooperative learning between older and younger, and more and less advanced students.

network of relationships and influences enacted between them. As stated by Martin (2000: 276), the most critical variable in the English language has to do with processes being brought about, or not, by an impending agency. Distinction should be made between ongoing activities undertaken by someone, and activities undertaken by someone, but made possible by someone else. "Clearly this dimension of meaning is central to the analysis of inequality and power in discourse. It allows us to ask questions about who is acting, what kinds of action they undertake, and who or what if anything they act upon". The two main types of processes in the English transitivity system proposed by Halliday (2004) illustrate the basic distinction between inner and outer experience. Material processes are the processes of the external world; mental processes are the processes of consciousness. Outer experience is that of actions and events; inner experience is partly a kind of replay of the former, reacting or reflecting on it. Meanwhile, relational processes are those of identifying and classifying.

The analysis of transitivity patterns in the present study will be systematized through the main identification systems operating in the prefaces. Dominance and control are determined by some linguistic means that convey information concerning the social relevance of each participant on a three-dimensional scale: The more central the participant, the more likely it is to be agent or medium, the more likely it is to provide a referent for a phoric item and to be Theme (Martin 1992: 107). Martin's (1992) system of identification assesses the significance of individuals as a focus of structure in terms of the referential chains they produce.[10] Relating to the second dimension, namely the more central the participant, the more likely it is to provide

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[10] Chiapello & Fairclough (2002: 193) explain the benefits of considering the two-fold role of individuals, both as a centre of structure and action, for the social analysis of the text: "Centring the concept of social practice allows an oscillation between the perspective of social structure and the perspective of social action and agency –both necessary perspectives in social research and analysis [...]". Additionally, Martin (1992: 129) comments on the role of the participants as agents within Halliday's transitivity structure: "The entry condition for the identification network […] was participant, where this can be defined as a person, place or thing, abstract or concrete, capable of functioning as Agent or Medium in transitivity [...]".

a referent for a phoric item, the system of identification enables us to value the importance attached to the participants by means of the referential chains representing them, of their extent and even their absence.

Prefaces manifest themselves as networks of authority between grammarians and a varied audience which includes children as well as adults. Bearing in mind the highly competitive character of the editorial market in the eighteenth century, special attention should be given to the role of prefaces as influential instruments addressing the readers as prospective users of the grammars.[11] "Before the reader is even introduced to the grammar, they have already been assimilated into it by the preface's anticipation of how they will read the book" (Wicker 2006: 79). By considering the combination of identification systems and transitivity structures, this study will try to illustrate the discourse patterns followed by female grammarians to exercise authority and encourage the reader to use the grammar. Rather than being regarded as mere introductory explanations of the grammar, this study will illustrate how prefaces should be interpreted as a representation of functions attached to individuals that interact strategically in order to exert a persuasive effect on the reader.

*2. Data analysis*

The analysis of transitivity structures in this paper will be organized around the different identification systems which indicate the presence of both the author and the reader as agents. The first one dominates the

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[11] The term 'reader' used in this paper embraces the different participants referred to by the authors as receivers of their message and potential beneficiaries of their grammar. Although some paratextual elements are addressed to the public in general, prefaces are addressed more specifically to the readers of the text (Genette & Maclean 1991: 267). The notion of 'reader' matches that of 'audience' as a concept internalized by the author in such a way that as he writes, he tackles the questions that may be of interest to his readers and that make the writer behave as his own reader (Berkenkotter 1981: 396). According to Watts (1995: 146), "all of the grammars during the period from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century [...] are explicitly addressed either to the learners or to the teachers (universally in this case 'schoolmasters')".

text through the first and third person singular, and first person plural, in the active voice, and as an elided agent in some other passive structures. The presence of the readers as a centre of structure and action is scarce, being the transitivity structures where they perform subordinated to the author, who acts as a controlling entity on the role of the reader as agent.

*First person singular*
The identification system of the first person singular functioning as subject in transitivity structures dominates the prefaces by Gardiner, Fisher and Mercy. Considering that the more central the participant, the more likely he or she is to provide a referent for a phoric item (Martin 1992: 107), it can be noted how the author imposes her dominance in the preface as an individual entity in the first person. This identification system contrasts with the distance marked by the third person between these female grammarians, as personal entities, and their role as authors. By means of the first person singular as an agent of material and mental verbs, they claim a position of explicit personal recognition as the authors of the grammar. Material processes describe the physical actions carried out for the production of the grammar; mental processes depict an inner portrayal of the author which complements and reinforces the previous ones. By using both types of actions the author provides a two-sided description of the development of the grammar in order to underline its quality. But they also portray the author as embodying several functions in the text with a persuasive effect on the reader. These functions sometimes support each other, but others they contradict themselves.

Gardiner explains the process of construction of her grammar in a detailed way, using transitivity structures which emphasise her effort and assign to her the role of an experienced grammarian. Gardiner depicts herself as an expert and a guide in the learning process of the English language in order to gain the confidence of the reader as a prospective user of the grammar. Thus, these transitivity arrangements lead the reader to appreciate and trust the grammar on the basis of the quality method which underpins it, but also of the basis of its author as a good professional: ***THE method I have pursued*** *will obviate this difficulty [...]* (Gardiner 1799: iv); *THIS initiatory book may properly*

*be termed an extract or rather a select compendium of the most approved English Grammars; from which **I have endeavoured to select what experience has taught are to be most useful,** to attain a thorough knowledge of the English Language* (Gardiner 1799: A2). Gardiner gives the impression of having undertaken a very complex enterprise with determination. Additionally, her defiant attitude confronting the methodologies followed by previous grammarians increases the merits of her grammar and presents it as distinctive and innovative: *IT will necessary to inform the Reader, that, with a view to render these Rudiments still more useful, **I have ventured to differ from the Grammarians** I have consulted [...]* (Gardiner 1799: A2). The author makes use of mental actions both to assign different roles to herself and to reinforce the excellence of the method followed, as depicted by material processes. The self-confidence that emerges from the interaction of the previous structures is further confirmed by her concern with success and the reader's acceptance of her work. Indeed, by taking it implicitly for granted, the author is predisposing an attitude of approval on the reader: *how far **I have succeeded,** can only be discovered by the perusal of this Essay, which is humbly submitted to the judgment of the candid Reader* (Gardiner 1799: iv). Furthermore, verbal actions facilitate the control over the addressee, since they function as approaching strategies which accomplish a more direct way of communication and persuasion: *AS the knowledge of the English Language is universally esteemed a branch of polite education, **I shall not detain the Reader by enlarging on the subject,** but immediately proceed to **give a succinct account** of this small Performance [...]* (Gardiner 1799: A2). Approaching positions create a feeling of confidence on the reader. He is misled into a fake sense of familiarity and confidence with the writer which makes him more receptive, but also more prone to manipulation.

Similarly, in Mercy's grammar the transitivity patterns with the first person singular as agent describe her as performing different functions on the reader. Transitivity structures do not merely explain experiential reality, but take it as an implicit pretext to depict the writer strategically. Mercy uses verbal structures in order to achieve a more direct communication with the addressee. She plays the role of advisor in order to attract his confidence: ***I recommend** [...] **I talk** [...]* (Mercy 1799: A2). Yet, her two-fold role as an agent and receiver in

the verbal process *address* unveils a dominant position in the text. By performing the function of both participants within the same transitivity structure the author is depicted as a reflective entity and reference of criterion: ***I wish** it to be understood, that **I do not pretend to dictate** to those whose experience has already formed one [...] but to those who have not yet adopted any plan, **I address myself***. (Mercy 1799: A2-iv). Mercy also uses relational intensive structures to present herself as a witness of past linguistic deficiencies, which in some way entitles her to act as a further guide for the grammatical amelioration of the reader: ***I have frequently been witness** to children's [...]* (Mercy 1799: A2). Additionally, these roles support her portrayal as an expert and monitor of linguistic improvement: ***to remedy the evil**, by giving the pupil little to learn by heart, but much to put in practice [...]* (Mercy 1799: A2); ***I have given** but few examples, in order **to prevent** young people from learning by rote [...]* (Mercy 1799: iv). The cognitive verb *thought* incorporates a further role presenting the author as a carefully thoughtful assistance, which confers a feeling of security on the reader: ***I thought** proper to begin with it* (Mercy 1799: iv). Mercy also refers to her feelings (*I wish*) and intentions (*I do not pretend*). She describes herself inwardly, as an affective and cognitive entity, in order to transfer familiarity to the reader, a sense of shared feelings and impressions which apparently downgrades any commanding purpose. Accordingly, Mercy is portrayed as a close individual to the reader, showing an affective and meditative stance, and trying to guide his behaviour with judgement. She presents herself as a solid support and assistance in the learning process of the reader. She creates an emotional state of security and self-esteem on the addressee which leads him to believe in his learning possibilities as a likely fruitful reality.

Fisher uses material verbs to describe the skilful method employed for the construction of the grammar, but a rendering of the method turns into the excuse to embrace some other advertising goals. These transitivity structures convey the idea of a work of quality, and hence help transmit confidence on the reader: *How far **I have followed these necessary Principles** [...]* (Fisher 1750: A2). The next structure illustrates Fisher's self-assurance as a source of reflection in order to foreground the facts presented and to prompt the reader's approval of his message. Rather than allowing the reader to judge by himself, the

firm and somewhat reliable position of the author imposes implicitly a positive judgment on the part of the reader: ***I make no Doubt,** but that his Examples of bad English will be universally approved of* (Fisher 1750: ii). However, the presentation of her grammar as a reference of quality, which unveils the concept of the author as a good professional, confronts the modesty exhibited by Fisher through different types of transitivity schemes: *For **I shall not** run into that ungenerous, tho' common Fashion, of **raising the Reputation of my own Book**, at the Expence of my Brethren of the Subject, or **start Objections to others** for my own Advantage [...]* (Fisher 1950: A2). The following relational attributive arrangement *ought I to be content* evinces how the author resigns herself to low acceptance of her work. The author is willing to accept a minimum of public recognition and any blame coming from the reader: *by so much **ought I to be content** with the least Share of Publick Thanks, and the greatest of its Blame, if this Grammar, as she last, be not equal, or preferable, to the best yet publish'd* (Fisher 1750: A2-ii). Verbal processes permit a straight and more persuasive effect on the reader, as well as including a further reference to the author's humbleness (*humbly*) which repeats once more through the elided relational structure *unwilling to rob him*: *I am obliged to an ingenious Friend for the following* LETTER, *which **I humbly recommend, and shall communicate it** in his own Words; **unwilling to rob him** of any Applause that it may be thought to deserve* (Fisher 1750: ii). Therefore, the most salient feature emerging from the role of the first person singular in Fisher's preface is the paradoxical mixture of transitivity structures grouped in two functional sides. The author tries to adopt a modest position which is contradicted by the pride and self-confidence displayed in the presentation of her grammar. Fisher lays emphasis on an unpretentious attitude and treats the reader from a more equalized position. Thus, the reader places trust in the author, who turns the former into a weaker individual, more compliant with the assertions of the latter. So, at some points, exerting control seems to rely on an oscillating strategy which moves from explicit manifestation of authority to graduated performances of seemingly lessened authority.

*Third person singular*

Devis employs the third person singular in order to mark the distance between her personal identity and her performance as the author of the preface. The *author* uses material verbs which describe the procedures followed for the development of the grammar and the difficulties met in that process. Once more, the description includes further strategic purposes. An account which combines attention to detail and overcoming troubles somehow increases the virtues of her work: *To obviate the **Difficulties the Author herself has met with,** she **has drawn up** this English Accidence […]* (Devis 1775: vi). *The Author* is also the subject of intensive attributive relational structures which indicate her self-assurance when assessing the deficiencies of past grammars. By discrediting other grammars, the grammarian highlights the merits of her own grammar. Meanwhile her self-confidence implicitly encourages the reader to appreciate her grammar: ***The Author is**, however, **convinced** from Observation, that most of the Grammars, which have hitherto appeared, are neither too abstruse, and much above the Comprehension of Children […]* (Devis 1775: v-vi). The third person also appears as a subject of psychological verbs indicating the author's self-satisfaction with her work: *the Perspicuity and Simpicity of which, **she flatters herself**, may render it of Use, particularly in Schools* (Devis 1775: vi). The material description of the methodology is supplemented with the inner depiction of the writer as a trustworthy agent. Devis provides an intended affective and cognitive account of herself in order to prompt the reader's endorsement. This binary representation, namely material and mental, highlights the excellence of the grammar. Accordingly, Devis adjusts the degree of authority displayed in the text alternating tactics of proximity to the reader, where she refers to her inner feelings and intellectual processes, with the material actions which justify the distinction of the method and content of the grammar.

*First person plural*

Fisher is the only grammarian among the four under analysis who employs the first person plural. This factor might be an indication of the chronological distance between her earlier work and the grammars published in the late eighteenth century by Devis, Gardiner and Mercy.

However, this theory does not seem to be valid taking into account that the third person singular only appears in Devis' preface. The first person plural is used by Fisher to make the reader share her opinion and certify it as a common sense assumption: *For I shall not run into that ungenerous, tho' common Fashion, of raising the Reputation of my own Book, at the Expence of my Brethren of the Subject, or start Objections to others for my own Advantage: But, on the contrary, am ready to allow, that, by how much more foever **we are indebted** to the ingenious Contriver of any new Scheme for the Publick Advantage, than to him who only improves upon it [...]* (Fisher 1750: A2). Fisher employs the first person plural *we* as a subject with an inclusive meaning demanding public acknowledgment to any grammatical contribution for the study of the language, but ultimately as a means of providing public recognition to her own work. The inclusive *we* (see, e.g. Fairclough 2001: 106) allows the writer to exert authority in the text by unifying addresser and addressee under his own criterion. Therefore, this structure transforms a personal viewpoint into a logical supposition, although it somehow contradicts and downgrades the modesty evinced through the identification system in the first person singular.

*Passive structures*

Another of the most recurrent linguistic arrangements encoded in the four prefaces under study is the passive voice with an elided agent. These structures focus the attention of the text on the author as a centre of action, more importantly, on his function as a grammar pundit. As in the previous referential systems, material and mental processes are employed in order to describe the skilled and accurate method followed for the production of the grammars. The absence of an explicit agent lays emphasis on the actions performed by the author, which are to be taken as indicators of a work of high standard, rather than on her presence as a centre of structure: *The Accidence **are written** in as concise and plain a manner as possible, and the simplest mode of explaining the different moods and tenses of the verb **has been adopted*** (Mercy 1799: iv); *a particular regard **has been paid** to such arrangement, connection, and brevity, as might give a clear and easy conception of them [...]* (Gardiner 1799: iv).

Similarly, Fisher vindicates explicitly what is the implicit purpose of the transitivity patterns in the four prefaces, namely the justification of the significance and efficiency of the grammar on the grounds of the exceptional method embedded in it, more importantly on the grounds of the role of the author as a good professional: *A BOOK of this kind, when the Method is clear; the Plan **well laid, and duly executed**, needs no other Recommendation than its own general and extensive Use* (Fisher 1750: A2). Far from merely describing the method, the transitivity structures involved aim to present the writer as a specialist on teaching grammar. Transitivity arrangements of material actions with omitted agent recur in the four prefaces under study in order to describe a well-executed technique as the best guarantee of the good quality of the grammar. They focus the attention of the reader on the actions and omit any reference to the assumed author. More specifically, Devis seems to transfer to her own grammar the excellence of the grammars from which she has selected some rules and reflections: *The following Pages **are not offered** as entirely new; the greatest Part **is selected** from the Works of our best Grammarians* (Devis 1775: v); *For this Purpose **are added some** Sentences, Maxims, and Reflections, taken from different Authors* (Devis 1775: viii). In a similar manner, Gardiner validates the quality of her grammar by relating it to the most exclusive English grammars, namely sometimes making reference to authoritative grammars implies a transfer of authority to her own grammar. However, the passive with the elided third person plural as agent allows Gardiner to lessen her authority, as she dissociates herself from the praise she confers to her work: *THIS initiatory book **may properly be termed** an extract or rather a select compendium of the most approved English Grammars; from which I have endeavoured to select what experience has taught are to be most useful, to attain a thorough knowledge of the English Language* (Gardiner 1799: A2).

Another passive transitivity structures present the author's statements as generally accepted beliefs or actions. Devis claims for recognition from the reader on the actions undertaken in the production of her grammar and excuses missing aspects or flaws: *indeed, very few positive Rules **can be given**, either for Spelling, or Pronunciation [...]* (Devis 1775: vi-vii). By using the passive without an explicit reference to the agent, Devis detaches herself from the

mistakes made in her grammar. The passive in this case is used by the writer to justify deficiencies in her work and to discharge herself from any responsibility on the matter. On a more specific level, Devis marks some distance in her decision to exclude remarks on orthography and prosody: *There are so many Spelling Books and Dictionaries extant, that* ***it did not seem necessary*** *to add any particular Remarks on Orthography, and Prosody [...]* (Devis 1775: vi). Likewise, Mercy deliberately exonerates herself of likely faults in her grammar by appealing to the comprehension of the reader and, as stated by Cajka (2008: 214), trying carefully not to offend experienced teachers: *I wish* ***it to be understood***, *that I do not pretend to dictate to those whose experience has already formed one [...] but to those who have not yet adopted any plan, I address myself* (Mercy 1799: A2-iv).

Gardiner uses a cognitive verb *esteemed* with an elided third person in order to make the reader aware of the importance of learning the English language. The preface endorses the grammar by connecting the relevance of learning the English language to the efficacy of the work presented. In addition, by using an implicit universal third person she presents it as a general assumption: *As the knowledge of the English Language* ***is universally esteemed*** *a branch of polite education, I shall not detain the Reader by enlarging on the subject, but immediately proceed to give a succinct account of this small Performance, which was drawn up at first for the use of my own School, and is now made public, in hopes of its proving useful to others* (Gardiner 1799: A2). Devis also employs a similar pattern of identification system and transitivity structure with cognitive verb with the same purpose. The author asserts the widely accepted importance of the grammatical study of the language and implicitly conveys the need for that specific grammar: *A Grammatical Study of our own Language,* ***is*** *at present* ***thought*** *so essential a Part of Education [...] it is presumed [...]* (Devis 1775: v).

*Reader*

In the four prefaces analysed in this work, not many identification systems refer to the reader, which evinces their minor significance as participants in the prefaces, as compared to the author. Readers are not described as autonomous individuals with the capacity to act by

themselves. Quite to the contrary, their function as agents, either in active or passive structures, is subtly supervised by the author. Although it has been claimed that grammars often included educational recommendations: "Time is spent indicating the target group of learners for whom the grammar has been constructed, and suggestions of a didactic kind are often made" (Watts 1995: 154), it can be argued that those suggestions are in fact understated instructions through which the author exerts authority.

Devis depicts herself not only as a specialist, but also as a facilitator of the learning practice of the reader: *Besides, the Intent of this little Book, is only to point out the Properties of the several Parts of Speech […] so as to enable **the Learner to parse** an Exercise which will, perhaps, be found the easiest, and most effectual Method of teaching* (Devis 1775: vii). She employs transitivity structures with cognitive verbs (both in active and passive forms) not merely to describe the actions to be undertaken when learning the language, but to present the learner as subjected to the expertise of the author: *For, when **Children are thus accustomed to name** readily the Part of Speech of every Word, and the Nominative Case to every Verb, they more perfectly **comprehend and remember** those Rules, which when only **learned** by rote, make but a slight Impression on the Memory, and are, probably, seldom well **understood** by them* (Devis 1775: vii-viii). The author's intention is to predispose the addressee to use her grammar. Thus, transitivity constructions with cognitive verbs portray the writer as a professional with capacity to guide the learning of the reader and to assess how learning should be carried out in order to be successful: *The former **will be learned** in the best Manner by verbal Instruction and Practice; the latter, by an Attention to the best Readers* (Devis 1775: vii); *The noun being the easiest part of speech to comprehend […]* (Mercy 1799: iv).

The writer comments on misguided education attitudes of the past as a way to fix a new pattern of future actions for the grammatical development of the learner: *that after a great deal of time has been spent in **learning** one Grammar, that time may not be lost, **by the Learner's being puzzled** with different names of cases […] and, in short, by having entirely to **learn** a new Grammar* (Gardiner 1799:

iv).[12] The same function supports the following transitivity structures where the identity of the reader becomes more specific: *I have frequently been witness to* **children's** *[…] without even* **knowing how to make the verb agree** *[...]* (Mercy 1799: A2); *there are* **few young ladies** *(comparatively speaking) who* **reap any advantage from them** *[…]* (Mercy 1799: A2). But strategically, she takes the approval of the reader for granted: **it will necessarily be discovered**, *whether the rules be* perfectly **to comprehend** *or nor.* (Mercy 1799: iv). Generally considered, the reader is described as a non-self-sufficient entity, whose grammatical improvement is controlled by the grammarian. Rather than describing explicitly the steps needed for the accomplishment of the perfect knowledge of the English language, the writer implicitly imposes on the reader a line of action which subliminally incorporates the grammar presented.

The writer confers authority to the reader, since he is allowed the power to assess her work. Although she pretends not to interfere in his judgement, the dynamic of persuasion created by the network of transitivity structures in the text say the opposite, and the judgement of the reader turns into a guided judgement: *Thus wholly relying on the Merit of the Work,* **I refer it entirely to the impartial Judgment of the Publick** (Fisher 1750: ii); *How far I have followed these necessary Principles,* **is left to the Decision of all candid and judicious Readers** *[…]* (Fisher 1750: A2). The seemingly power conferred to the reader may be reckoned to be more convincing by maintaining an attitude of modesty. Once again, the writer downgrades her position of authority in the text in order to mislead the reader: *how far* **I have succeeded** *can only be discovered by the perusal of this Essay, which* **is humbly submitted to the judgment of the candid Reader** (Gardiner 1799: iv). Although momentarily, the authority of the writer is understated so as to make the reader notice his dominant position in the text. The writer attracts his confidence in a new version of approaching strategy which turns the reader into a weaker agent, more likely to receive the message of the author, but also to be influenced by him.

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[12] According to Cajka (2008: 196), Gardiner earned some criticism for assuming that girls could best learn grammar by following the method which she outlined in her text. She described it as being logical and highly structured, and her aims as 'progressive' and 'rational'.

*Summary of functions*

The following charts summarise the functions attached to identification systems and transitivity structures in the four prefaces analysed. Although as stated by Watts (1995: 154), each grammar fulfilled an advertising function trying to offer something distinctive from the other grammars, it can be noted that uniqueness was somehow lessened by the similarity in the codification of transitivity patterns and the functions which underline them.[13]

**FISHER**

| Identification system | Function |
|---|---|
| First person singular | skilful method, false modesty, verbal approach, self-confidence |
| First person plural | making the reader share the opinion of the writer and validating grammar<br><br>demanding public acknowledgment to any grammatical contribution for the study of the language, providing public recognition to her work |
| Passive structures | authority from carefully crafted method |
| Reader | authority conferred to the reader, reader as a judge |

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[13] Despite some differences in the form of the transitivity structures used, similar functions were obtained in a previous study focused on two relevant male eighteenth-century grammarians, namely Lowth and Priestley (Fernández Martínez 2013). Although further research remains to be carried out in order to extend the scope of male and female grammarians under analysis, divergent discursive patterns based on the sex of the authors may initially be rejected.

**DEVIS**

| Identification system | Function |
|---|---|
| Third person singular | process of construction, self-confidence, satisfaction, conveying excellence to the grammar |
| Passive structures | authority coming from references to best grammarians<br><br>exonerating the writer of possible mistakes |
| Reader | presenting writer as an expert to validate the grammar |

**GARDINER**

| Identification system | Function |
|---|---|
| First person singular | process of production, author as an expert and guide, effort, risky enterprise, defiant attitude, self-confidence, concern with success, conveying work of quality and predisposing its acceptance, approaching attitude |
| Passive structures | authority coming from carefully crafted method<br><br>asserting the importance of learning a language to convey the need of the grammar<br><br>undermining authority to get approval of the reader |
| Reader | writer depicting linguistic behaviour of the learner<br><br>emphasis on wrong past actions in order to activate future linguistic conduct<br><br>authority conferred to the reader, readers as judges |

**MERCY**

| Identification system | Function |
|---|---|
| First person singular | advisor, witness of linguistic deficiencies, guide of linguistic improvement, centre of reflection, affective and cognitive entity supporting method |
| Passive structures | authority coming from carefully crafted method<br><br>trying to achieve comprehension on the part of the reader |
| Reader | writer depicting linguistic behaviour of the learner<br><br>emphasis on wrong past actions to activate future linguistic behaviour |

*3. Conclusion*

This paper has tried to take advantage of the challenge CDA offers to analyse structural relationships of dominance and control as these are realised in language. While CDA has been oriented towards different types of texts, there are still countless genres and public spaces, not only in present-day English, but also in previous stages of the English language, which merit further attention from a CDA point of view. Although prefaces to eighteenth-century English grammars manifest themselves as valuable paratextual elements to explore how the discourse community of English grammarians displayed authority, they remain an area hitherto unexplored.

As illustrated in the analysis carried out in this paper, rather than being regarded as mere introductory explanations of the content, structure or methodology of the grammar, prefaces represent strategic arrangements of discursive structures which take these features as a key pretext to exert authority in different ways. The study of the four prefaces selected has evinced a systematic codification of identification systems, transitivity structures and functions which merge between themselves in order to produce an overall persuasive effect on the reader. Sometimes these structures support each other;

sometimes they contradict themselves, in both cases uncovering hidden connotations of authority and control. Some linguistic constructions lay emphasis on unpretentious attitudes and depict the author as unwilling to discredit the works of other grammarians. However, these constructions conflict with many others whose function is to show the author's high self-esteem, as well as vindicate the excellence and recognition of her work.

A personal affective touch pervades the prefaces at some points, where the author supports material actions on an inner reality of feelings and reflections which exert a persuasive effect on the reader. On many occasions, authority in the four prefaces is based on a fluctuation of distance and closeness to the addressee, whereby the authors blend explicit exhibitions of control with attitudes of downgraded authority. The reader seems to be misled by the closeness and familiarity of the writer, which makes him feel more confident, receptive and eventually easier to be manipulated. But approaching strategies also include a transfer of authority to the reader, who is apparently bestowed the power to judge and decide by himself, although under the subtle control of the author. Authors perform different roles in such a way that they influence the reader's perception of the grammar and persuade him to feel the need for that specific grammar. They also construct a role for themselves as textual mediators for potential readers; they meddle in the text as a centre of reflection controlling the truthfulness of the message and anticipating the success of their work; and they also perform as monitors and linguistic assistants of the learner establishing the path for successful linguistic behaviour in the future. Thus, prefaces fulfil an advertising function not only of grammars, but ultimately of the authors of those grammars. In such a competitive context of editorial grammar production, eighteenth-century prefaces to English grammars developed into strategic instruments which allowed female grammarians to display authority and have a voice, as male grammarians also did. Nevertheless, further research remains to be carried out on a broader scope of both male and female grammarians in order to continue establishing the similarities or divergences in the discursive patterns of the prefaces to their grammars.

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# Metonymic Target Identification: In Search of a Balanced Approach

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Abstract
The article concerns metonymy observed in certain proper names used in specialist contexts. The names under consideration primarily designate places of international prominence (e.g., *the United States*, *Washington*, *the White House*, *Iran*, *Tehran*, etc.). The identification of a metonymic target is the metonymy researcher's primary goal. The first part of the article reviews and critically assesses several analyses in which authors intuitively search for metonymic targets. In the second part, a passage concerning international relations is scrutinized for the use of the name *Iran* and other related names. As a whole, the article attempts to demonstrate that metonymic target identification escapes rigorous methodology.

Key words: metonymy, target, reference point, proper name, international relations

## 1. Introduction

The revival of interest in metonymy, or more precisely conceptual metonymy, has led to numerous proposals for increasingly more detailed metonymic targets. As metonymy is seen as a conceptual process by cognitive linguists, the mere 'stand-for' or 'refer-to' relationship between the metonymic source and its target is regarded as insufficient. Rather than the source 'standing for' the target, the former is argued to 'provide mental access' to the latter. As the provision of mental access leaves the exact 'mental address' undefined, metonymic target identification becomes a priority in conceptual metonymy research. The majority of researchers assume the reference point/source to be a more salient entity than the target. As much of the research on metonymy focuses on target identification, it is the less salient target that is in constant need of attention. In the case of proper names, which by definition do the naming, the target search and its identification are not less important than in the case of common nouns.

Paradoxical as it sounds, proper names designating places do not name places, but constitute sources or reference points for more fine-tuned, though less salient, targets. A place name is, then, a point of

entrance from which a search begins for an entity that is better equipped to function as the designation of this name. In cognitive linguistics, there have been several inquiries into the 'target-ness' of place names, notably Kövecses and Radden (1998: 50), Radden and Kövecses (1999: 31), Gibbs (1999: 65), and others. A review of the relevant literature shows that proper names of internationally known places lead to arbitrarily assigned targets which fit particular argumentative frames. One observable, though unsurprising, fact is that there is no one definitive target for a given source name. While different contexts may require variation in target assignment, significantly different targets are postulated for names used in similar environments. The impression that one gets is that either there is over-specification in target identification, with multiple fine-tuned sub-domains considered, or there is arbitrary target designation. Proposals of targets at different levels of semantic accuracy prompt questions about the level of semantic accuracy expected of such targets. If the semantic fine-tuning of metonymic targets can be so freely adjusted, then it can be also questioned as either too detailed or too general.

Most of Section 2 deals with the arbitrariness of metonymic target selection. In Section 3, an alternative position to the widespread metonymy view is proposed for proper names. A special case is studied in which the distribution of the name *Iran* and related names is analysed. Two possibilities are considered. One of them is that the author of the passage uses related, but different, names for stylistic manoeuvring aimed at avoiding mundane repetition of the same name. Under this alternative, all the different names would necessarily lead to the same metonymic target. The other option assumes the diversification of the names employed as reflecting the author's diverse objectives in the passage. In other words, the use of related names carries with it related, but different, targets associated with these names. Either option seems impossible to prove tangibly. The analysis of the various names is meant to show the weakness of one solution imposed on supposedly unimpeachable grounds.

## 2. Conceptual metonymy

Intensive research in conceptual metaphor has prompted similar studies in conceptual metonymy. A large part of research hinging on

both types of conceptual processes focuses on possible interactions between the two viewed as separate mechanisms (see, for example, Croft 1993: 336; Panther and Thornburg 2002: 283; Croft and Cruse 2005: 193; and others). This has led to a dilemma pervading the current literature, namely the choice between conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy as the mechanism responsible for a given linguistic phenomenon. In pre-cognitive approaches, metonymy was claimed to involve the substitution of the name of one thing for that of another, typically coded by means of the 'x stands for y' formula (see, for example, Kövecses and Radden 1998: 38; Panther and Thornburg 2004: 95). Though considered traditional and pre-cognitive, the 'stand-for' relationship can also be found in cognitive descriptions of metonymic relationships (cf. Gibbs's 1999: 65 discussion of Wall Street as 'standing for' 'salient institutions located at that place'). The 'stand-for' relationship is often collapsed with metonymy's other traditional aspect, namely its 'referring' function. Thus, metonymy can take place between two entities which are contiguous. One of such entities 'refers to' the other entity (cf. Nunberg 1978). As a figure of speech, metonymy has been assumed to involve mere shifts in or transfers of meaning.

Cognitive linguistics has revived interest in metonymy. However, it has come to be studied not as a figure of speech, which is often dubbed as a 'mere' linguistic phenomenon, but as a conceptual phenomenon (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 39). Metonymy is a cognitive process, operating within an idealized cognitive model (ICM) (cf. Lakoff 1987) or within one domain. Its operation solely on words has been sidelined, if not bypassed, and its substitution function has been considered largely inadequate in cognitive linguistics (see, for example, Kövecses and Radden 1998: 38-39; Radden and Kövecses 1999: 18-19; Barcelona 2002b: 207; Panther and Thornburg 2004: 96). The priority of the conceptual aspect of metonymy has been frequently stressed (see, for example, Feyaerts 2000: 59; Panther and Thornburg 2004: 92). Conceptualizing one thing in terms of something else opposes the traditional view of metonymy which boils down to one thing standing for or referring to another thing. To conceptualize one thing in terms of another, the reference point/source is claimed to 'provide mental access' or 'direct attention' to its target (see, for example, Kövecses 2002: 144). To use Barcelona's (2002b: 208)

wording, "[a] metonymy is a mapping, within the same overall cognitive domain, of a cognitive (sub)domain, called the source, onto another cognitive (sub)domain, called the target, so that the latter is mentally activated".

The metonymic target corresponds to the entity to which our attention is mentally directed. However, the target's existence is implicit rather than explicit. It remains unmentioned, but the assumption is that the entity (reference point/source) spelled out funnels our attention towards it. As metonymic, 'it' is not explicitly named. Thus, it remains an unanswered question what 'it' *really* is. A large part of contemporary metonymy research has focused on identifying metonymic targets. The following section deals with this topic.

*3. Metonymic target identification*

Although metonymic targets remain latent, there have been numerous and intense attempts at their identification. Metonymic relationships are claimed to involve two entities, one more and the other less salient conceptually. For Langacker (1993), metonymic relationships are based on reference-point phenomena, where the reference point is more salient than the target. The reference point corresponds to a noun which is coded more easily than the target and, what is more important, it is evoked almost effortlessly (see, for example, Langacker 1993: 30). This presumably prevailing view is countered by an account of metonymy in which "the target meaning is conceptually more prominent [...] than the source meaning" (Panther and Thornburg 2004: 91). Despite some disagreement over which of the two metonymic entities is more salient, it is the identification of the metonymic target that has taken centre stage in much of current metonymy research. Several accounts have concentrated on the identification of a possible target or targets of names characteristic of domestic politics and international relations, such as *Washington*, *the White House*, *the Pentagon*, and *Wall Street*. Let us review some of these proposals.

*3.1 Degrees of target-ness*

Proper names such as *Washington*, *the US*, *Wall Street*, and a few others, whenever used in texts are automatically assumed to provide mental access to other entities, typically understood to be less salient. In other words, *Washington*, *the US*, and *Wall Street* are entrance points to domains within which less prominent, but more detailed, targets are to be found. The name of the capital city *Washington* forms the reference point within "the common domain of the capital city of the United States", as proposed in Barcelona (2002a: 215). Furthermore, this overarching domain hosts several sub-domains, such as: (1) "the city itself as a location", (2) "the political institutions located in it", and (3) "the people that make the decisions in those political institutions (the President, the department secretaries, the senators and congressmen, etc.)". Depending on the context in which *Washington* is used, a sub-domain more compatible with this context is highlighted, serving as the target of the reference point. The other sub-domains whose specifications are not compatible with the details of the sentence become backgrounded at the same time.

Another classic example of a reference point in the domain of politics is *the White House*. Several authors have proposed targets whose specifics carry noticeable differences. On one occasion, Radden and Kövecses (1999: 27) propose that the target of *the White House* be 'the executive branch of the US government'. A page later, the target of *the White House* is assumed to be 'the American government' (see, Radden and Kövecses 1999: 28). According to Barcelona (2002a: 237), the target of *the White House*, as in the sentence *The White House did not intervene*, is claimed to be 'the US government'. A different interpretation of the target of *the White House* has been offered in Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2002: 497-498), namely 'some officials who work in the White House', which is considered a sub-domain of *the White House*. At first sight, the above targets look nearly the same. However, on closer inspection, they are sufficiently different to cause semantic attrition. The four targets of *the White House* proposed are:

(1) (a) 'the executive branch of the US government'
    (b) 'the US government'
    (c) 'the American government'

(d) 'some officials who work in the White House'

The phrase in (1d) designates unspecified individuals, a group of officers employed in the White House, and in this it is different from (1a), (1b), and (1c), which all assume a comparable level of semantic generalization. Thus, the first three taken together are distinctly different from the last one, to begin with. The two different levels of semantic specification present in (1a-c), on the one hand, and (1d), on the other, do not seem to be problematic for metonymy theorists who have identified them as targets of the same reference point/source *the White House*. Besides sufficient discrepancy between the targets in (1a-c) and the one in (1d), there is a more tenuous semantic effect embedded in the proposed targets in (1a) and (1b).

While the targets in (1a) and in (1b) look sufficiently similar to each other, technically, they differ markedly. Both phrases employ the noun *government* preceded by the acronym *US*, standing for 'the United States', which, in turn, is the abbreviated form of the full name of the republic 'the United States of America'. Bypassing the contribution of the name of the actual country, let us focus on the noun *government*. The suffix *-ment*, no longer productive in modern English (see, for example, Marchand 1969: 332; Bauer 1983: 76; after Szymanek 1989: 144), is hardly recognizable on the key noun in its contemporary use. According to the information available on the US government's official web portal,[1] as worded in the footnote, the so-called 'government agencies' are divided into: (1) 'federal government', (2) 'state government', (3) 'local government', and (4) 'tribal government'. Accordingly, there is no single and distinguishable entity that can be labelled by means of the term *government*. Judged by the information provided, the term *government*, as used in (1a) and (1b), must stand for *federal government*. Terms such as *the government of the US* and *the US government* are used in official documents to represent, refer to, or stand for *the federal government*. Also, in spoken English, *the federal government* is in circulation. Given this, there are further considerations to be made. The (Federal) Government of the United States, as defined on its official website, consists of three branches: the

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[1] Http://www.usa.gov/ (accessed: 17 April 2013).

legislative branch (the Congress: the Senate and the House of Representatives and agencies that support Congress), the judicial branch (the Supreme Court of the US and several other courts), and the executive branch (the President, the Vice-President and the Executive Office of the President with several offices and councils). Under the executive branch there are 15 Executive Departments and a few dozen independent agencies and government corporations, as well as numerous boards, commissions, and committees. Extending our search for a more precise target of the reference point *the White House*, it should be noted that 'the executive branch of the US government' in (1a) approximates the expected specification in the best way thus far. However, the phrase in (1a) still abbreviates 'the executive branch of the federal government of the United States' to 'the executive branch of the US government'. Moreover, the phrases in (1b–d) say nothing of the type of the government in focus, not to mention this specific branch to the exclusion of the legislative and judicial branches.

Given that the reference point is *the White House*, why is *the White House* not the target at the same time? It is true to say that in common usage *the US*, *Washington*, and *the White House* are metonyms of the federal government. If so, are they all metonyms carrying exactly the same contextual meaning, that is that of 'the federal government', despite their different forms? One cannot deny that (1a) and (1b) may convey the same general meaning if need be, but they may also convey different specific meanings if other aspects are stressed. Having reviewed several interpretations of *the White House* that are available, it is reasonable to assume that one overarching target suggested in (1a) and in (1b) may not be sufficient. Depending on the level of semantic precision required in a particular context, a slightly different semantic fine-tuning of *the White House* may be more suitable.

The network of potential targets delineated above becomes more acceptable in the light of the theoretical distinction between the contextual meanings implied in (1b) and in (1c). The phrases differ only in the adjectival names preceding the noun *government*, though one might assume that both *the US* and *American* have exactly the same referents. However, there is an argument expressed in Radden and Kövecses (1999) to the effect that the 'whole thing for a part of the thing' metonymy operates on cases such as *America* for *the United*

*States*. Interestingly, cases such as *England* for *Great Britain* are claimed to be illustrative of the 'part of a thing for the whole thing' metonymy. Kövecses and Radden (1998: 50) maintain that "[i]n speaking of *America* when we want to refer to the United States (as part of the whole continent), we are making use of the WHOLE-FOR-PART metonymy […]" (also see Radden and Kövecses 1999: 31). If this assumption is true, speakers must be aware of distinct referents that the two names are claimed to evoke at the time of speaking, namely *America* 'continent' and *the United States* 'name of country'. However, it is not certain whether such distinctions are made and maintained by speakers in everyday communication. The utterance of the phrase *the American government* in (1c) would have to involve traversing a mental path from the reference point/source *America* 'continent/whole' to its target *America* 'name of country/part'. Elsewhere (2013), I argue that the name *America* does not have to lead to the target 'continent/whole' initially, which, in turn, gives mental access to the target 'country/part'. The 'whole thing for a part of the thing' metonymy, as applied to a case such as (1c), does not sound realistic, as speakers evoke the target 'country' when using *America* without resorting to the initial referent 'continent'. In other words, the metonymic relationship 'whole thing for a part of the thing' does not come into play here at all and *America*(*n*), as in (1c), already relates to '(of) country', rather than to '(of) continent'. This assumption makes *the US* and *American* fully synonymous in (1b) and in (1c). In practical terms, the name *America*, as the derivational base in (1c), may be the shorthand form for *the United States* or the clipped form of the *United States of America*.

The rigorousness of the expectation of the 'whole thing for a part of the thing' metonymy operating on *America* is also partly reflected in a different proposal. In the sentence *Wall Street will never lose its well-deserved prestige*, the proposed target of *Wall Street* is 'a financial institution', according to Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2002: 512). The proposed target 'financial institution' is claimed to entail a target-in-source metonymy whereby the 'financial institution' constitutes 'a very prominent subdomain of our knowledge about this street' (p. 513). Given this, the assumption is that speakers' knowledge of *Wall Street* ('financial institution') depends on their (prior) knowledge of *Wall Street* ('name of street'). As in the case of

*America*, the knowledge of *Wall Street* in the sense of 'a street in the southern section of Manhattan in New York' (p. 513) may not be something that is unanimously shared by speakers at large and resorted to instantly whenever the name *Wall Street* is activated. In other words, speakers may be aware of *Wall Street* as a 'financial institution' without either being aware of its being a 'street' or necessarily resorting to this target provided it is known.

The necessary participation of the reference point/source *Wall Street* 'street' in the sentence *Wall Street is in panic* is even more doubtful. This occurrence is claimed to require a second metonymy, which follows the initial 'place for institution' metonymy, namely the 'institution for people' metonymy (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco 2002: 513).[2] One cannot deny the fact that the target 'people' *can* be mentally accessed via the reference point/source 'institution', which, in turn, *can* be mentally arrived at via the initial reference point/source 'street', all corresponding to the name *Wall Street*. However, it can also be assumed that both targets 'people' and 'institution' *may not* require the initial reference point/source 'street'. In other words, the stipulated initial reference point/source 'street' may not be an indispensable element in the conceptualization of either target. At any rate, either postulate, necessitating or excluding the reference point/source 'street', is hard to prove without leaving any doubt.

In this section, it has been shown that there are easily compiled hierarchies of metonymic targets exhibiting degrees of semantic fine-tuning. Such telescopic instantiations of increasingly more detailed specifications can, at least theoretically, be further extended and new, more fine-grained targets can be established. With such nests of interrelated targets, it is unfounded to claim only one particular instance out of the entire chain of targets to be the ultimate target of a given reference point/source. The problem is that the precise determination of the target is not possible, as there may be many of them and their semantic specifications may differ significantly. Therefore, the targets proposed in various metonymy accounts can always be questioned as there will always be other targets found which

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[2] Similar proposals can be found in Goossens (2002: 32), where the double metonymy 'place for institution for people' is postulated, and in Bartsch (2002: 73), where chains of metonymic transfers are posited.

seem more appropriate to other theorists as interpretations of their reference points/sources. With some degree of semantic indeterminacy ubiquitous in language expressions, as noted in Langacker (2009: 50), targeting the 'right' target either may not be achieved at all or may not be desirable.

*3.2 Arbitrariness in target designation*
The pinpointing of a metonymic target does not appear to involve the same procedure in every case. For example, the use of certain names of politicians is considered to involve the 'controller for controlled' metonymy. In a sentence such as *Nixon bombed Hanoi*, the personal name *Nixon* is automatically analysed as someone who is in control of the action in question. The issue of 'control' is usually further interpreted as 'responsibility' for the action carried out, as implied in Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 38-39), or as 'causation', as proposed in Panther and Thornburg (2004: 108). These interpretations differ from those resulting from cases such as *David blinked/swallowed/*etc., which are analysed under active zones (see, for example, Langacker 1984, 1987: 271-274, 1991, 1993, 2009: 50). While *Nixon bombed...* receives the 'causer/controller' interpretation instantly, the likes of *David blinked...* come under the rubrics of active zones, which trace the ultimate body part which performs a given activity.

One may wonder why those facets of *Nixon* that directly and crucially participate in the profiled process do not become highlighted as in the case of *David*. Or, in other words, why are these two cases treated differently? Why is it that in the *David* case the analysis centres on David's eyelid that does the actual blinking, while in the *Nixon* case no such analysis is proposed? Hypothetically, it is possible to break *Nixon* down further to active zones which are more directly and crucially involved in a given profiled relationship. However, it is the 'causer/controller' account that is immediately resorted to while *Nixon*'s active zones are not even considered. The fact that *Nixon* is the name of a well-known leader with all that this implies and *David*, here, corresponds to any person named *David* influences our understanding of the two clauses to some extent only. Undoubtedly, it is the verb used that causes the automatic switch in interpretation.

Should *Nixon* be combined with *blink*, the 'causer/controller' interpretation would not be taken into account.

Metonymy researchers frequently analyse the use of state names from the point of view of their metonymic behaviour. Here as well, the designation of the metonymic target of a given name depends on unpredictable factors. The arbitrariness of the sense designated as the target is a clear result of the theorist's subjective interpretation of the reference point/source in a particular context. Thus, names of states such as *America* and *Israel* undergo interpretation as they 'can be argued' to refer to individuals and groups holding power in the two states in a given period of time (Semino 2008: 102). The designation of the targets of *America* and *Israel* goes much further than the assignment of the general label 'government'. The proposal that it is 'individuals and groups holding power' that are referred to by *America* and *Israel* differs significantly from that of the mere gradation of more or less detailed entities (e.g., government, ministry, minister, departmental director, office staff, etc.). The implication that it is 'individuals and groups holding power' results from the theorist's imposition of a 'power' frame on the discourse under consideration. Depending on the researcher's viewpoint, a different frame can be imposed and a different interpretation can be proposed.

It is common to assume that the predicate following the metonymic name determines the designation of the metonymic target. For example, in:

(2) Denmark shot down the Maastricht treaty.

the sentential subject *Denmark* has been considered the reference point/source of the metonymic target 'the voters of Denmark' (Croft 1993). This interpretation of the metonymic target is claimed to result from its combination with the predicate *shot down*, which is assumed to be a metaphorical reading of 'cause to fail' (Croft 1993: 335). Whereas *Denmark* in (2) is claimed to be instantly interpreted as 'the voters of Denmark', the state names in the sentences below are claimed to refer to 'national governments' (Croft 1993: 353, 2002: 184-185):

(3)  (a) Germany pushed for greater quality control in beer production.

(b) The United States banned tuna from countries using drift nets.
(c) Myanmar executed twenty Muslim activists.

The predicates used in (3) are believed to instantiate 'the actions of national governments', which makes the targets of *Germany*, *the United States*, and *Myanmar* 'national governments'. If the difference in target identification between the sentences in (2) and (3) is determined by the kinds of predicates involved, then the semantics of these predicates must be significantly different. However, it is hard to uphold the view that there is an essential difference between *shoot down*, on the one hand, and *push*, *ban*, and *execute*, on the other. If the distinctive features of the predicates in (2) and (3) cannot be pinned down, there must be either something else that causes different interpretations of the names in (2) and in (3), or the different interpretations of these names are not sufficiently justified. The question that arises is: what sanctions the two different interpretations of *Germany* (*pushed…*), *the United States* (*banned…*), and *Myanmar* (*executed…*), on the one hand, and *Denmark* (*shot down…*), on the other? It is Croft's (2002: 187) stipulation that the semantics of the predicate highlights relevant aspects of the encyclopaedic profile of the subject. However, it is hard to accept the two distinct interpretations of the above names as determined by their respective predicates solely. If the distinct interpretations of these names do not result from the distinct semantics of their predicates, where else can they result from? Undoubtedly, all elements of these sentences need to be taken into account. Though, one should keep in mind that the expectation of a 'full' understanding of a given name and its targets may not be attained.

The two different proposals of metonymic targets, 'national governments' and 'the voters of a country', constitute only some approximation of many other possible targets. However, these two only are distinct enough to be puzzling. If such comparable contexts have generated two quite distinct targets, there may be many more targets identified in other related contexts. Targets are selected arbitrarily and the degree of arbitrariness grows increasingly in political contexts.

The idea of metonymic target identification is to sharpen the semantic specification imbued in the prominent though general

reference point/source. Therefore, the pattern that emerges from these endeavours is the following: general > less general/more concrete, for example, a country (in general) > (its) government. However, the target proposed can always be questioned as not being concrete enough. Problems with the insufficient accuracy of the target identified have been noted in the literature (see, e.g., Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco 2002: 513-514). Despite such occasional reservations, the entire idea of pinpointing metonymic targets is based on the elusive goal of achieving accuracy. Arriving at accurate targets when accuracy can be established only partially is a futile task from the outset. Even in a rigorously determined domain, the choice of potential targets is virtually unlimited.

*4. Stylistic manoeuvring with names*

Some kinds of discourse can be particularly saturated with names that display conceptual metonymy effects. The discourse of international affairs is believed to host such conceptual phenomena. International contexts, in particular, press articles on world affairs, are replete with sentences such as *Washington is negotiating with Moscow*, etc. The opinion that both *Washington* and *Moscow* stand for, refer to, or provide mental access to other entities is probably unanimous. Both names are claimed not to refer to the respective capital cities, but to the respective governments located in the two cities (see, e.g., Kövecses 2002: 144). Both, *Washington* and *Moscow*, and numerous other occurrences of these kinds, only aid speakers and listeners in directing attention to other entities or provide mental access to those other entities.

The above laboratory case illustrates a possible semantic relationship that cannot be denied. Not only is the relationship between *Washington* and 'the American government', on the one hand, and *Moscow* and 'the Russian government', on the other, possible, but highly probable. Both names, *Washington* and *Moscow*, designate capital cities in which the respective governments have their seats and from which they carry out their operations. A few questions arising at this point ought to be addressed. Given the undisputed relation between *Washington* and 'the American government', on the one hand, and *Moscow* and 'the Russian government', on the other, is the

provision of mental access by the former to the latter in both cases necessary for the proper understanding of the sentence *Washington is negotiating with Moscow*? The idea of one entity providing mental access to another underlies conceptual metonymy. However, it seems unfounded to assume that one cannot sufficiently comprehend this sentence as it stands without gaining mental access to 'the American government' and 'the Russian government', respectively. The sentence *Washington is negotiating with Moscow*, and numerous other occurrences of the same type, are perfectly understandable without ever evoking 'government' entities. Needless to say, a 'government' entity may not be the only and ultimate entity to which some kind of mental access is provided by either *Washington* or *Moscow*. Various other targets can be multiplied and claimed to serve as entities appropriate to be mentally accessed if the circumstances are right. Besides, the very idea of one entity, say *Moscow*, 'providing mental access' to another, for example, 'the Russian government' remains rather vague. It is not certain at all whether, and if so how, 'the American government' is 'mentally accessed' via Washington while the sentence *Washington is negotiating with Moscow* is being processed. The fundamental misconception begins when the source and target senses are deliberately established.

### 4.1 A case of Iran and related names

Instead of dissecting individual sentences with metonymic names, let us consider a randomly selected passage saturated with numerous occurrences of names clustered around one international entity. In his book entitled *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?*, Henry Kissinger (2002: 196-200) devotes several passages to different countries, one of which being Iran. In a passage, approx. 1,500 words long, he employs a wide selection of names and phrases co-functioning alongside the name *Iran*. There are 51 occurrences of such names embedded in either one- or multiple-word phrases in this passage.

The most common means of reference to Iran in this text is the name *Iran* itself which assumes a few grammatical forms and functions. As the name of a country, *Iran* appears in prepositional phrases, which locate this country in some relation with respect to another political entity. Altogether, there are ten occurrences of *Iran* in

prepositional phrases. The prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *in*, metaphorically designating *Iran* as a container, is represented by the following two cases:

(4)  (a) America's interest in Iran
     (b) the rulers in Iran

The preposition *with*, resulting in *Iran* being located in some abstract relation to another entity, is used three times:

(5)  (a) relations with Iran     [twice]
     (b) a 'critical dialogue' with Iran

The preposition *of*, the most abstract of all spatial relations, is used once only in a phrase designating a portion of the country as such:

(6) large parts of Iran

Other kinds of locative relations or directionality are reflected in prepositional phrases headed by the prepositions *between*, *to* and *vis-à-vis*:

(7)  (a) hostility between Iran and the United States
     (b) with respect to Iran
     (c) agreed diplomatic overtures vis-à-vis Iran

A more dynamic sense of *Iran* is present in the sole prepositional phrase with *by*, making *Iran* an active participant of this relation:

(8) willingness by Iran to move toward

The name *Iran* is used seven times in the Saxon genitive, resulting in the reading of *Iran* as a kind of abstract possessor:

(9)  (a) to preserve Iran's independence
     (b) Iran's northwestern province of Azerbaijan
     (c) Iran's geography
     (d) moderating Iran's policy

(e) Iran's human rights violations
(f) Iran's transgressions
(g) Iran's acquisition of missiles

The syntactic role of the sentential subject and/or object is assumed by *Iran* nine times. The name in the subject position of an active voice sentence is recorded five times, whereas in the subject position of a passive voice sentence it is used twice:

(10)(a) Iran helped resist Soviet pressure on Afghanistan.
(b) Iran continues to provide reasons.
(c) Iran does its utmost to undermine Middle East peace diplomacy.
(d) Iran provides substantial financial support to Hamas and the Palestine Islamic Jihad.
(e) Iran will prove far more threatening.
(f) Iran is destined to play.
(g) Iran will be prepared to take the concrete policy actions.

In the position of an object of an active voice sentence, the explicit name *Iran* is found once, while its stylistic substitute *the country* is also found once:

(11)(a) interest in dominating Iran
(b) dismembering the country [=Iran]

Once only does *Iran* appear in a compound, whose sense makes Iran an active participant (instigator) carrying out the sponsoring of another entity, or a passive participant if the entity *groups* is in focus:

(12) Iran-sponsored groups

The adjectival derivative form *Iranian* appears 9 times, one of these is the pronoun *it* co-referring with the phrase *the Iranian regime*. The following occurrences of *Iranian* have been recorded:

(13)(a) assassinated by Iranian agents
(b) the Iranian ayatollahs have pronounced a death sentence

    (c) The Iranian regime is now building long-range missiles
    (d) rigid Iranian policies help or hinder
    (e) relations with the Iranian Islamic regime
    (f) Iranian President Mohammad Khatami
    (g) Iranian hostility
    (h) Iranian moves
    (i) It is developing a clandestine nuclear capability [it=the Iranian regime]

The adjective *Iranian*, though a derivative of the state name, indirectly leads to various aspects of the state itself, for example, its rulers, its regime, its functionaries, and its numerous abstract qualities. 36 out 51 various references to Iran bear the derivational stem *Iran*. The remaining 15 references to Iran bear different other names. The name of the capital city *Tehran* is used three times on its own in prepositional phrases or as the subject of an active voice sentence:

(14)(a) organizations financed and supported from Tehran
    (b) Tehran is the patron of Hezbollah
    (c) the rush to Tehran

*Tehran* also appears attributively preceding the noun *regime* twice, and once covertly as it corresponds to *the Tehran regime*:

(15)(a) the Tehran regime provided the main support to groups
    (b) the nature of the Tehran regime
    (c) it is closely linked with and also finances camps in Sudan [it=the Tehran regime]

The noun *regime* is preceded by *ayatollah-based* twice, one of these being the pronoun *it* used co-referentially with *the ayatollah-based regime*:

(16)(a) the ayatollah-based regime has engaged in a series of actions
    (b) it held fifty American diplomats hostage [it=the ayatollah-based regime]

The name *Tehran* combines with the noun *government* twice, either pre-modifying it attributively or post-modifying it:

(17)(a) the Tehran government has 'distanced' itself from it
 [it=pronouncement]
 (b) the government in Tehran

The remaining five cases involve either personal names or the title of a ruler formerly governing Iran, constituting in this way the country's representative aspects. One of these uses is the personal pronoun *he*, which contextually corresponds to *Khatami*:

(18)(a) the Shah's support of the United States
 (b) Khatami is seeking to implement more moderate domestic policies
 (c) Khatami will be permitted to execute a change
 (d) Khatami has publicly identified himself
 (e) He will purchase maneuvering room [He=Khatami]

The instantiations listed from (4) to (18) display a selection of alternative names, all corresponding to some aspect of the country itself and carrying a varying degree of semantic accuracy. The state name *Iran* and its adjectival form *Iranian* constitute a majority of all these terms. Less than 30 per cent of all occurrences recorded are other names directly referring to the capital city, the government, its particular form – regime, and prominent political representatives. If all of them, despite their diverse semantic specifications, are reference points/sources providing mental access to one unique target, what is this target? The author may quite deliberately manoeuvre through his/her text, resorting to different labels, which refer to the same target, to merely avoid repetition. This strategy, though possible and to some extent unavoidable, cannot be held responsible for the totality of *all* occurrences listed above. While some deliberate navigation among alternative names is expected to reduce repetitiveness, the purposeful use of *several* different reference points/sources suggests the variability of different targets intended.

There are certainly different reference points/sources employed throughout from (4) to (18). The choice of one particular reference

point/source cannot be purely incidental. *Iran* in *America's interest in Iran*, as in (4a), must be different from the hypothetical alternative variants *America's interest in the Iranian ayatollahs/regime*, *America's interest in Tehran*, or *America's interest in Khatami*. The name *Iran* bears as much, or as little, semantics that is relevant at this level of specificity/generality and makes this semantics available to interpretation. The label *the Iranian ayatollahs* designates individuals, made definite at the time of producing this sentence, who are different from the name *Iran*, which primarily designates an inanimate political entity. The personal name *Khatami* designates an even more definite entity, namely an individual person singled out for a particular purpose. Further hypothetical statements, such as *America's interest in Tehran* and *America's interest in the Tehran government*, also differ from the one in (4a).

The passage under consideration does not seem exceptional as far as the repertoire of names used is concerned. It resembles many other texts on foreign affairs in which the author resorts to various labels co-existing in a given domain. The domain of *Iran*, as it can be tentatively termed, constitutes only an example of an open-ended spectrum of politically-motivated domains. The stylistic avoidance of repeating the same name can be held responsible for the application of other names in some cases only, but certainly not in all. One cannot deny the influence of more profound motivation behind the use of either diverse combinations involving *Iran* itself or various phrases hosting other names.

As the overarching name of a state, *Iran* evokes a broader spectrum of possible interpretations than, say, *Tehran*. While both *Iran* and *Tehran* may also be interpreted as 'the Iranian government', there is an occurrence which does it more straightforwardly, namely *America's interest in the Tehran government*. It is only when the 'Iranian government' interpretation is suggested or insisted on, some of the above instances with *Iran* are thought of as compatible, for example (5b), (7c), (8), (9d-g), (10a-g), and (12). When no such suggestion is made, some of the above expressions with *Iran* will be instantly interpreted as locations or locative relations, for example, (4b), (6), (7b), and (9b-c). The name *Tehran*, due to its frequent combination with the pejorative noun *regime* or the neutral noun

*government*, will be interpreted as 'the Iranian government' more freely than *Iran*.


*4.2 Metonymic target identification escapes rigorous methodology*
The establishment of a single target, common to all names employed, looks appealing as it offers a semantically neat solution, but is hard to defend as it is a semantically unrealistic solution. It is easy to imagine claims to the effect that all three, *Iran*, *Tehran*, and *the Tehran government*, metonymically provide mental access to one and the same target, namely 'the government of Iran'. This seems to be a desirable solution to the apparent problem of target identification for names displaying metonymic effects. The identification of a single target that serves a number of source names may not only be arbitrary, but also misguided. In some contexts, such semantic approximations of targets can be attempted, but the collapsing of innumerable possible extensions in one target cannot be maintained as a general principle regulating ad hoc all uses of the above names.

The name *Iran* in the phrase *America's interest in Iran* designates what it actually says, though possible interpretations of what the phrase says are naturally innumerable. *Iran* in the above phrase may lead to a never-ending list of interpretations such as: 'one of the world's oldest civilizations', 'the Islamic Republic', 'the country's geopolitical significance', 'a regional power', 'the country's large reserves of petroleum and natural gas', 'Iranian identity', 'Persian culture', and so forth. However, there is no one interpretation that can be claimed as the undisputed target of *Iran* in the above occurrence. More contextual information may ease the choice and gravitate towards a particular contextual meaning. With no further contextual specification *Iran* provides access to a very general area of knowledge about the country with its multifarious facets. This general sense of *Iran* is sufficient though for the processing of the general statement *America's interest in Iran*.

The name *Tehran* in *America's interest in Tehran* may be argued to evoke what the state name *Iran* evokes, if this can be established with any degree of certainty at all. Though more straightforwardly *Tehran* may be interpreted as: 'the city of Tehran', 'Metropolitan Tehran', 'the seat of a theological government', and so on.

Unfortunately, no list of potential targets of names such as *Tehran* can be made complete. Even if the target 'the city of Tehran' is selected for the occurrences in (19),[3] one must note that somewhat different aspects of the 'city-ness' of *Tehran* are revealed. In (19a), any cultural attractions of Tehran are elevated to prominence. In (19b), one particular type of cultural attraction of Tehran is potentially highlighted. In (19c), it is the contemporary aspect, cultural or otherwise, of the attractiveness of Tehran that is exposed.

(19)(a) Tehran, as Iran's showcase and capital city, has a wealth of cultural attractions.
(b) Tehran is also home to the Iranian Imperial Crown Jewels.
(c) Contemporary Tehran is a modern city featuring many structures.

Although the target 'the city of Tehran' can be claimed to also serve the occurrences in (20),[4] certain other aspects of the city are made more conspicuous, different from those in (19):

(20)(a) Tehran features a semi-arid, continental climate.
(b) Although compared with other parts of the country, Tehran enjoys a more moderate climate.

It is not difficult to find other occurrences, which comply with the general target 'the city of Tehran', or such like, but they may also trigger unlimited sub-portions of the general meaning of *Tehran*.

(21)(a) Broader international cooperation also became a central theme of the negotiations at Tehran.[5]
(b) She studies at Tehran.
(c) In 2008, Tehran was the least expensive capital in the world.[6]

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[3]  Http://www.modares.ac.ir/en/Conferences/IKNW2012/abt (accessed: 10 May 2013).
[4]  Http://www.modares.ac.ir/en/Conferences/IKNW2012/abt (accessed: 10 May 2013).
[5]  Http://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/TehranConf (accessed: 10 May 2013).
[6] Http://worldcitieschess.com/iran-tehran/ (accessed: 10 May 2013).

(d) Experts warn that Tehran sits on at least 100 faultlines.[7]
(e) Most recently, Tehran was the centre of mass street protests.[8]
(f) I love Tehran.[9]

*Tehran* in (21a) will be associated with a meeting taking place in this city, where negotiations on international cooperation were held. Though not directly stated, this occurrence may be further associated with the Tehran conference in November/December 1943. *Tehran* in (21b) may be related to the University of Tehran. The one in (21c) relates to the cost of living in the city. *Tehran* in (21d) is linked with tectonic conditions underneath it. The name in (21e) alludes to the place's centrality as the locus of street protests. *Tehran* in (21f), with its allusion to the original slogan *I love NY*, may relate to any aspect of the place viewed as positively as it can be. Though these are highly probable interpretations, they cannot be guaranteed as necessarily evoked targets. A certain degree of semantic fine-tuning can be posited only hypothetically, but it cannot be proved beyond doubt. It is the metonymy researcher's insistence on providing a definitive metonymic target that creates the necessity for a 'more accurate' phrasing.

*5. Conclusion*

The identification of targets mentally accessed via source names has formed the staple of metonymy research in cognitive linguistics. The use of names of international actors seems to open up an unlimited spectrum of other names that are 'more concrete' and therefore better suited for interpretation. It is becoming increasingly more evident that finding and establishing such more concrete targets will lead to inconsistencies in the choices made as well as arbitrary decisions in target identification. As seen above, different entities have been proposed by different researchers as targets of source names accommodated in almost identical contexts. Various degrees of precision in semantic descriptions of targets have been attempted.

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[7] Http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/nov/01/tehran-iran-capital (accessed: 10 May 2013).

[8] Http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/nov/01/tehran-iran-capital (accessed: 10 May 2013).

[9] Http://www.ilovetehran.com (accessed: 10 May 2013).

However, the expected degree of accuracy in target identification can hardly be gauged and spelled out. Thus, the expectation that a metonymic relationship establishes an indelible link between an entity that accurately directs the addressee's attention to the intended target cannot be upheld. The reason for this is that, in the case of names of international actors, there is no such thing as one 'intended' target which can be understood from the source name due to some contextual features. Any finely designated target can be questioned as not accurate enough and further fine-tuning may be always required. This is always done intuitively as metonymic target identification escapes rigorous methodology.

It is proposed here that, in most cases, metonymic targets of names of international actors must remain unnamed. The source name is sufficient for the comprehension of the message conveyed. It is unfounded to assume that the comprehension of a given name is hindered without gaining mental access to the name's more accurate target. In the majority of uses, names of prominent international entities designate either locations for events to take place or some abstract do-ers of activities ascribed to them. These two rather general specifications are sufficient for the successful comprehension of proper names used in political contexts.

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# On the Use of the Split Infinitive in the Asian Varieties of English[1]

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Abstract

A split infinitive consists of a particular type of syntactic *tmesis* in which a word or phrase, especially an adverb, occurs between the infinitive marker *to* and the verb. The earliest instances of the split infinitive in English date back to the 13th century, in which a personal pronoun, an adverb or two or more words could appear in such environments (Visser 1963-1973, II: 1038-1045). Even though its use dropped throughout the 16th and the 17th centuries, it began to gain ground again from the 18th century, resisting the severe criticisms of grammarians from the first half of the 19th century (Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2009: 347-364; Perales-Escudero 2011: 316-319).

Given the historical concerns about the construction, this paper analyses the attitudes towards the split infinitive in the Asian varieties of English, taking the British English practice as a point of departure. The paper has then been conceived with the following objectives: a) to compare the distribution of the construction in British English and some varieties of Asian Englishes; and b) to explore the phenomenon from a variationist perspective, considering any likely variation across speech and writing and across the spoken and written registers. The corpus used as a source of evidence is the *International Corpus of English*, both the British English and the Asian English components (i.e. India, Hong Kong, Singapore and The Philippines).

Key words: Asian English, British English, register variation, split intinitive

## 1. Introduction

A split infinitive is defined as a type of *tmesis* in which a word or phrase, especially an adverb, occurs between the infinitive marker *to* and the verb. Different terms have been used to refer to this particular ordering of English, such as *spiked adverb* or *cleft infinitive*, although

the term *split infinitive* has eventually superseded all its predecessors (Smith 1959: 270).

On historical grounds, the origin of the split infinitive is generally associated with the new finite verb order of Middle English, according to which the adverb tended to appear before finite verbs, eliminating all possibility of ambiguity in the position of adverbials.[2] The early instances of the construction date back to the 13th century, where a pronominal, an adverb or even two or more words could appear in such environments (Calle-Martín 2015 forthcoming; Visser 1963-1973 II: 1038-1045). After its rise in Middle English, the split infinitive is found to have a sporadic use until the second half of the 19th century. In Calle-Martín and Miranda-García's historical analysis of the construction, the split infinitive is documented with a rate of 6.85 occurrences (every 10,000 sentences) in the historical period 1640-1850, a fact which corroborates the constrained diffusion of the phenomenon until the year 1850 (2009: 350-351; also Burchfield and Fowler 1996: 737; Mitrasca 2009: 101). The definite rise of the construction took place from the second half of the 19th century, resisting the severe criticisms of grammarians on the grounds of a) the prescriptivist objection to its alleged lack of prestige (Crystal 1984: 27-28); and b) the impossibility of such splitting in other languages, either Classical or Germanic (Crystal 1985: 16).

The pros and cons of the split infinitive have been largely discussed over the last one hundred years, especially from the point of view of its ban in contemporary usage (Close 1987: 217-229; Fischer 2007: 262-267). In a recent publication, Perales-Escudero has traced the history of its proscription in English proposing to consider it a 19th-century reaction associated with the ideology of Teutonic purity in view of the impossibility of this splitting in languages such as German. The Latin-origin hypothesis is then rejected in the light of his close reading of the sources, insofar as there are not written records proving that the proscription stems from the enforcing Latinate standards (2011: 318-319). Even though a word of caution is still the

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[2] Later, however, other linguistic developments also contributed to its gradual spread, such as "the increased frequency of the *to*-infinitive itself, the corresponding parallel finite structures, the restricted position of the adverb from Early Modern English onwards, and the principle of end-focus together with prosody" (Fischer 2007: 262).

rule in many contemporary usage guides (Howard 1997: 341; Sorenson 1997: 579; Fowler and Burchfield 1998: 738; Partridge 1999: 309; etc.), the split infinitive has safely managed to withstand the proscription and today its misguidedness is no longer open to debate.[3]

Given these historical concerns about the phenomenon, the present paper analyses the attitudes towards the split infinitive in some varieties of Asian English, taking the British English practice as a point of departure. The working hypothesis is that the ban against the construction could have also left its imprint in these postcolonial varieties of English, thus hindering the subsequent diffusion of the construction. In the light of this, this paper has been then conceived with the following objectives: a) to compare the distribution of the split infinitive in British English and some of the Asian varieties of English; and b) to explore the phenomenon from a variationist perspective, considering any likely variation across speech and writing and across the spoken and written registers. For the purpose, the use of the split infinitive is examined in some East and south-East Asian varieties of English, in particular the varieties spoken in Hong Kong, India, Singapore and the Philippines.

Despite their parallel developments, South Asian English has been often described as being characterized by unity and diversity (Schilk et al. 2012: 137; Zipp and Bernaisch 2012: 167), creating some tension between the unity of South Asian English and the specific developments of each of the individual varieties. Our main concern here is to evaluate the level of unity or diversity towards the split infinitive in Asian Englishes (AsEs), especially compared with the conservative attitude towards the phenomenon in British English (GB).

The present paper has been organized as follows. After the introduction, section 2 explains the methodology followed and the source of evidence upon which this study is based. Section 3, in turn, deals with the empirical analysis of the corpus data, evaluating the level of variation across the different varieties of English, across speech and writing and across registers. Finally, section 4 presents the

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[3] The *Oxford English Dictionary*, for instance, lifted the ban on the split infinitive in 1998 (OED s.v. *infinitive*; also Phoocharoensil 2012: 1-7).

conclusions together with some suggestions for further research into the topic.


*2. Data and methodology*
The source of evidence is the *International Corpus of English* (henceforth *ICE*), consisting of one-million word samples of native- and official-language national varieties of English worldwide. For the sake of comparison, each *ICE* component has been compiled with the same rationale in terms of dimension (1 million words with 60% and 40% of speech and writing, respectively), chronology (from 1990), informants (native speakers educated through the medium of English, aged 18 or above) and annotation (textual mark-up, word-class tagging or syntactic parsing).[4] The present study relies on the following components of *ICE*, Great Britain (GB), India (IndE), Singapore (SingE), Hong-Kong (HKE) and The Philippines (PhilE). Table 1 below reproduces the word-count of the source data in all the varieties surveyed.

*Table 1. Word-count of the ICE components*

| ICE component | Spoken | Written | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| GB | 637,562 | 423,702 | 1,061,264 |
| IndE | 694,249 | 438,691 | 1,132,940 |
| HKE | 975,063 | 498,893 | 1,473,956 |
| SingE | 681,879 | 436,307 | 1,118,186 |
| PhilE | 687,239 | 452,196 | 1,139,435 |

In geographical terms, the *ICE* components provide us with data from the south and the south-eastern Asian varieties of English, the former comprising Indian English while the latter includes the Englishes of Singapore, Hong Kong and the Philippines. In linguistic terms, on the other hand, the varieties analysed here are all members of the Outer Circle following Kachru's Concentric Circle model of the spread of English (Kachru 1985: 11-36; 2005: 13-14; also Crystal 1997: 60-61). In this model, varieties of English are classified as belonging to the Inner Circle (where English functions as a native language), the Outer

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[4] All the Asian varieties surveyed are hitherto available for lexical use only.

Circle (English is not a native language but is historically and governmentally relevant) and the Expanding Circle (English used as a foreign language without any historical and/or governmental domain). The Inner Circle, on the one hand, is here represented by British English, serving as a control group for the standard British English practice. The Englishes of India, Singapore, Hong Kong and The Philipines, on the other hand, are members of the Outer Circle where English plays an important second language role in these countries.

These Asian varieties of English are taken to be stable (Mesthrie 2004: 807). According to Schneider's Dynamic Model, the Englishes of India, Hong Kong and the Philippines are already in phase 3 (nativization), which is "the most vibrant one, the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation" (2007: 41). In linguistic terms, "this stage results in the heaviest effects on the restructuring of the English language itself; it is at the heart of the birth of a new, formally distinct Post-Colonial English" (Schneider 2007 44). These three varieties are, however, well advanced in the process of nativization and already moving towards phase 4, the phase of endonormative stabilization (Setter, Wong and Chang 2010: 116). The English of Singapore is, in turn, the most advanced variety with evidence of phase 4 where "the country's unique, territory-based, and multicultural identity construction has paved the way for a general acceptance of the local way of speaking English as a symbolic expression of the pride of Singaporeans in their nation" (Schneider 2007: 160; Seoane and Suárez-Gómez 2013: 5).

*AntConc 3.2.4* has been used for the automatic retrieval of the instances (Anthony 2011). The process, however, was not straightforward. First, the complete concordances for the word *to* were generated. Next, manual disambiguation was needed to weed out the irrelevant prepositional uses and identify tokens of the split infinitive construction, as shown in examples 1-2 below.

(1) But you have *to also understand* that you're already in this earth (ICE-SIN:S2A-028#9:1:A).
(2) Uh I will like *to in the next few slides discuss* other than this visual aspect and the noise aspect some of the other measures that we take to control the uhm the problem (ICE-HK:S2B-046#140:1:B).

More often than not, however, the separation of the infinitive marker *to* and the infinitive results from the interpolation of non-lexical noises such as *uh/uhm*, and discourse-functional lexical expressions such as *you know*, *I mean*, *like*, *sort of* or *kind of*, which allow for the speaker to pause while collecting his/her thoughts in the flow of conversation (Fox 2010: 1). These instances have been ruled out on the grounds that they do not serve the same kinds of grammatical functions as an adverbial actually does, as shown in examples 3-5:

(3) Uh it helps you *to uh develop* your application base on some rules (ICE-HK:S2A-059#11:1:A).
(4) We first have *to uhm contact* the company and get the application (ICE-HK:S1A-012#X9:1:Z).
(5) Maybe I should get my friends *to you know send* it to me (ICE-SIN:S1A-039#222:1:A).

## 3. Results

### 3.1. The split infinitive across the AsEs varieties

The *ICE* corpora have provided us with a total of 785 instances of split infinitives, of which 104 belong to GB while the other 681 correspond to AsEs. Table 2 reproduces the number of split infinitives in the corpus (absolute figures and normalized frequencies), which have been classified in terms of a) the language variety and b) their speech and writing variation. For comparison, the figures have been normalized to tokens per million words.

*Table 2. The split infinitive in the ICE components (absolute and n.f.)*

|  | *Written* | | *Spoken* | | *Total* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GB | 13 | 30.6 | 91 | 142.7 | 104 | 97.9 |
| IndE | 41 | 93.4 | 87 | 125.3 | 128 | 112.9 |
| HKE | 51 | 102.2 | 111 | 113.8 | 162 | 109.9 |
| SingE | 53 | 121.4 | 148 | 217.04 | 201 | 179.7 |
| PhilE | 95 | 210.08 | 95 | 138.2 | 190 | 166.7 |
| **Total** | | 253 | | 532 | | 785 |

These data show that the split infinitive is more constrained in the British English practice. While the construction amounts to 97.9 instances in GB, it shows 109.9 occurrences in HKE, 112.9 in IndE,

166.7 in PhilE and 179.7 in SingE. These figures allow us to gather two different attitudes towards the split infinitive in AsEs. IndE and HKE, on the one hand, are at the bottom of this continuum showing a more conservative use of the split infinitive, remaining closer to the British English practice.[5] This can be explained in the light of the imprint of English in some of these territories. India was under the rule of the British Empire since 1765 until independence in 1947, a nearly 200-year period which eventually derived in its configuration as a second official language in the country together with Hindi (Gargesh 2006: 94). For that reason, in contrast with other Asian varieties of English, "the syntax of Indian English, as opposed to phonology and lexis, is said to conform most to standard British English" (Saijala 2009: 39). On the contrary, the spread of English in the South-East Asian territories is a 20th-century phenomenon, when English managed to become the language of government and the legal system but also with a growing importance in education and the media (Crystal 1984: 57). While IndE seems to be more reluctant to these kinds of changes, the other Asian varieties are found to be freer from this strict ban towards the construction.

SingE and PhilE, on the other hand, then show the other side of the coin with a wider diffusion of the split infinitive, amounting to 179.7 and 166.7 occurrences, respectively. The phenomenon is more frequent in SingE than in the other AsEs, plausibly as a result of the status of English in Singapore, considered to be more advanced according to Schneider's Dynamic model, with clear traces of endonormative stabilization (2007: 41). In PhilE, this high proportion of split infinitives can be explained as an influence of the superstratum

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[5] Indian English is generally reported to be the most conservative variety of Asian Englishes. In their analysis of the levelling between the present perfect and the simple past for the expression of the perfect in Asian Englishes, Seoane and Suárez-Gómez conclude that it is the variety with the highest percentage of present perfect forms, therefore more tightly in the line of the British English practice. The conservatism in this case is reflected in the mildness of the decline of the present perfect vis-á-vis the preterite (Seoane and Suárez-Gómez 2012: 12).

language, American English,[6] which has been recently reported as using the construction on a frequent basis. Perales-Escudero has investigated the use of the split infinitive in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA), concluding a) that the construction is notably diffused in American English; and b) that the split infinitive is also register-dependent in American English in the sense that some combinations "are much more common in written registers than they are in spoken ones, and much more common in academic registers" (2011: 324-325).[7]

### 3.2. The split infinitive across speech and writing

Figure 1 below reproduces the distribution of the phenomenon across speech and writing. The split infinitive is observed to predominate in speech-based text types, however, the occurrence across the different varieties is far from uniform, with 113.8 occurrences in HKE, 125.3 in IndE, 138.2 in PhilE, 142.7 in GB and 217.04 in SingE. However, crucial differences arise when speech and writing are taken into consideration. While GB shows the most significant difference between speech and writing (142.7 and 30.6), the phenomenon is found to have a more balanced distribution in IndE (125.3 and 93.4) and HKE (113.8 and 102.2), where a sharp rise is confirmed if compared with the British English practice. SingE, in turn, is found to be one step further in the continuum inasmuch as the split infinitive amounts to 217.04 occurrences in oral-based texts, almost doubling the occurrence of the phenomenon in the written domain (with 121.4 occurrences). PhilE, on the other hand, shows the other side of the coin insofar as the split infinitive is found to be more frequent in writing than speech, amounting to 210.8 and 138.2 occurrences, respectively.

Even though the split infinitive is observed to predominate in speech-based text-types in all the varieties, it is worth noting that all AsEs show a substantial use of the construction in the written domain, especially if compared with the constrained attitude towards the

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[6] The Philippines became part of the United States colonies from 1898 to 1946, and the influence of American English has remained hitherto strong (Bautista and González 2006: 131; Crystal 1997: 55).

[7] The combination *to just*, for instance, is reported to have 3217.7 occurrences per million words in the spoken samples.

phenomenon in GB. While the split infinitive just amounts to 30.6 in GB, this figure is more than tripled in the Asian varieties with 93.4 in IndE, 102.2 in HKE, 121.4 in SingE, and 210.08 in PhilE. These results again corroborate both the conservative attitude of both IndE and HKE towards the split infinitive and the wider diffusion of the phenomenon in SingE and, more importantly, in PhilE. The figures in SingE and PhilE corroborate that these varieties have already set free from the traditional objections to the split infinitive in GB, showing a more widespread use of the construction even in the written medium.
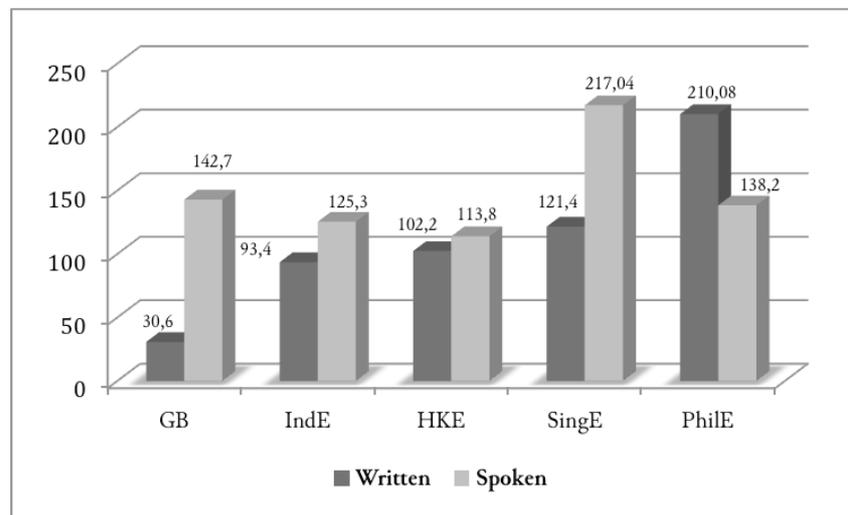


*Fig. 1. The split infinitive across speech and writing (n.f.)*

*3.3. The split infinitive across registers: dialogues and monologues*
The *ICE* corpora have also been designed to account for any likely variation in the written and the spoken samples. Figure 2 presents the distribution of the split infinitive across the spoken component of *ICE*, distinguishing whether they occur in dialogues or monologues. For comparison, the figures have been normalized to tokens per million words. The results confirm the same tendency in the different varieties under scrutiny in the sense that the split infinitive predominates in monologues over dialogues, SingE in particular. These figures tentatively confirm the on-going diffusion of the split infinitive in all

these varieties, giving room for the construction in monologues, considered to be less spontaneous than face-to-face communication.
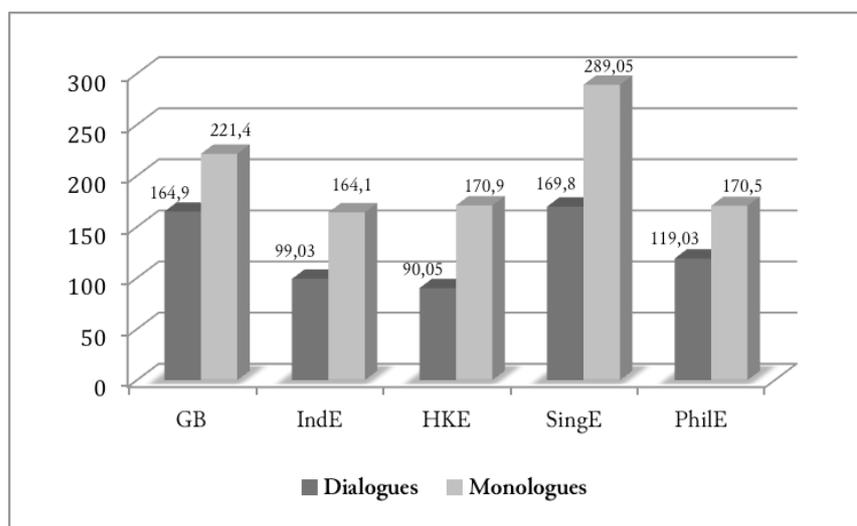


*Fig. 2. The split infinitive across dialogues and monologues (n.f.)*

Dialogues are subdivided in *ICE* into private and public dialogues. *Private dialogues* include direct conversations and telephone calls while *public dialogues* display class lessons, broadcast discussions and interviews, parliamentary debates and business transactions, among others. As reproduced in Figure 3, the split infinitive presents a different use in GB and AsEs. In GB the split infinitive is favoured in private dialogues (with 188.2 and 135.2 occurrences, respectively). The other side of the coin, however, is witnessed in the other AsEs to such an extent that the split infinitive finds more room in public dialogues, as its occurrence in all cases exceeds that of private dialogues. Interestingly enough, the bulk of public dialogues in *ICE* includes broadcast discussions and parliamentary debates, giving then an idea of the level of diffusion of the split infinitive in AsEs, particularly if compared with the constrained use of the construction in GB.

Monologues are classified into scripted and unscripted. The former display broadcast news together with broadcast and non-broadcast talks while the unscripted material contains spontaneous

commentaries, unscripted speeches, demonstrations and legal presentations, among others. As in the case of dialogues, there are again two different attitudes towards the split infinitive in GB and AsEs. In GB, on the one hand, the use of the phenomenon in scripted monologues is negligible, amounting to 31.3 and 174.7 occurrences in scripted and unscripted monologues, respectively. AsEs, on the other hand, present a substantial diffusion of the construction in scripted monologues, to such an extent that in some cases it outnumbers that of unscripted monologues, HKE and PhilE in particular. This fact confirms the increased diffusion of the phenomenon in AsEs, presenting a parallel use of the construction both in scripted and non-scripted material. In addition to these general tendencies, SingE stands out for the number of split infinitives in unscripted monologues (with 350.2 occurrences), therefore doubling in some cases the figures obtained from the other varieties surveyed. This is plausibly connected with the status of English in Singapore, considered to be more advanced than the others according to Schneider's Dynamic model (2007: 48-52). Already immersed in the phase of endonormative stabilization, our data show how the split infinitive is in an on-going process of diffusion in Singapore and, more importantly, how that process is finding more ground in spontaneous material, unscripted monologues in particular.
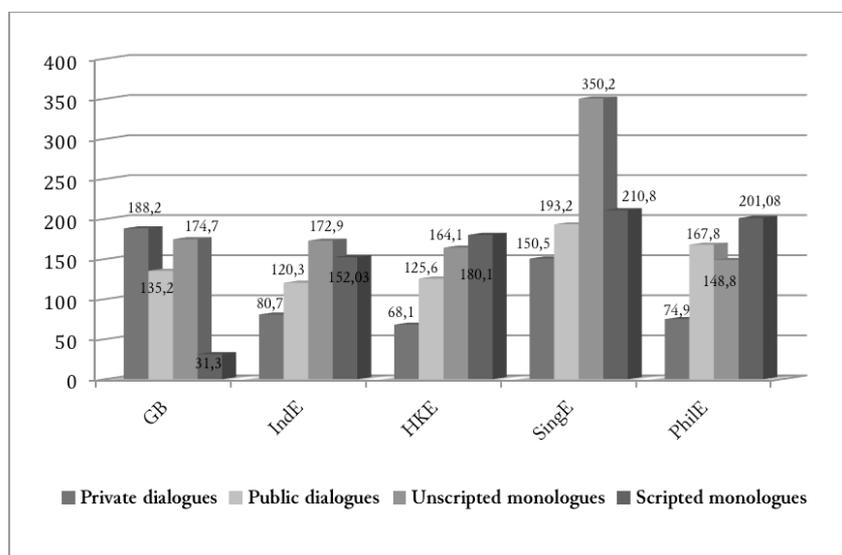
*Fig. 3. The split infinitive in terms of spoken variation (n.f.)*

### 3.4. The split infinitive across registers: printed and non-printed material

In this same vein, Figure 4 below reproduces the distribution of the phenomenon in the written component of *ICE* distinguishing whether it occurs in printed and non-printed material. These data confirm an overwhelming preference for the split infinitive in non-printed material in all the varieties as a result of the spontaneous nature of this textual category. However, the figures also allow us to reach the following conclusions. GB, on the one hand, is again more reluctant to use the construction in printed texts (with 40.7 occurrences) especially if compared with HKE (100.5), SingE (98.09) and PhilE (204.1). SingE and PhilE, on the other hand, again present the highest number of split infinitives, the latter in particular regardless of the printed or non-printed nature of the texts.
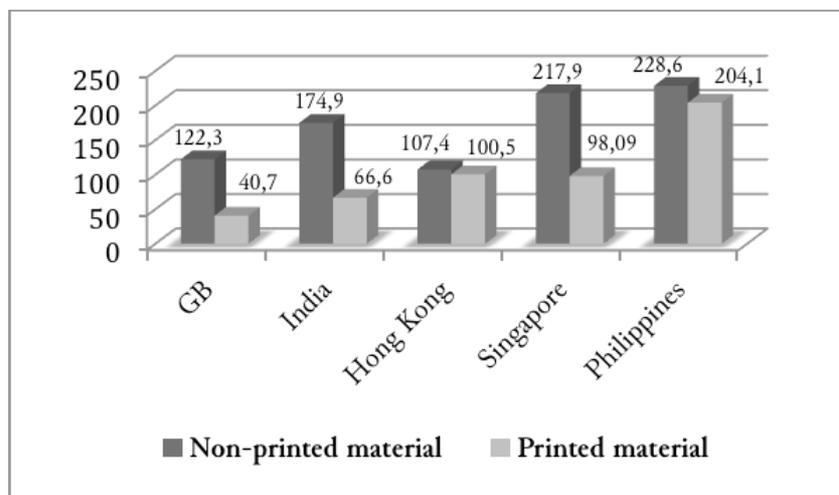
*Fig. 4. The split infinitive across printed and non-printed material (n.f.)*

In *ICE*, non-printed material includes *correspondence* (i.e. social and business letters) and *non-professional writing* (i.e. student essays and examination scripts), the split infinitive predominating in letter writing across the different varieties. Printed material, in turn, consists of the following types of writing, i.e. academic writing, popular writing, instructional writing, persuasive writing, creative writing and reportages. The split infinitive is subjected to a higher level of variation here, mostly preferred in popular writing, academic writing and reportages. Persuasive and creative writing would then be at the bottom of the continuum with a more constrained use of the construction.

*4. Conclusions*

The present paper examines the split infinitive in GB and AsEs, paying particular attention to the quantitative dimension of the phenomenon. For the purpose, the study has been based on the *International Corpus of English*, which has provided us with material for comparative analysis of the East and South-East Asian varieties of English surveyed. The *ICE* corpus design in terms of dimension, chronology and profile of the informants has ensured the compatibility

across the individual corpora, thus becoming the ideal input for investigating a linguistic construction such as the split infinitive. In our case, GB has been taken as the touchstone for comparison to note any likely deviation from the standard British English practice. The data obtained have allowed us to reach the following conclusions.

First, the split infinitive is generally more constrained in British English than in the Asian varieties of English, where a looser attitude towards the construction is confirmed. This trend, however, cannot be equally corroborated in all the varieties surveyed. IndE and HKE, on the one hand, present the lowest number of split infinitives, and they stand out for their moderate use of the construction, remaining still closer to the British English practice. SingE and PhilE, on the other hand, are located at the top of the continuum showing evidence of a more widespread use of the construction, a fact plausibly associated with the spread of English in these territories. The spread took place throughout the 20th-century and, as a result, these varieties plausibly developed a more positive attitude towards the construction, not under the shelter of the 19th-century objections. Within this group, the frequency of the split infinitive is particularly conspicuous in SingE, a fact which is surely justified in the light of the status of English in Singapore, considered to be more advanced according to Schneider's Dynamic model (already in phase 4 – endonormative stabilization).

Second, the split infinitive has also been investigated across speech and writing. Even though the construction is overwhelmingly favoured in speech-based text types in all the varieties of English, this paper reports a sharp increase of the phenomenon in written texts in all AsEs in general, especially if compared with the constrained GB practice, therefore confirming that these post-colonial varieties have already set free from the traditional objections to the split infinitive, showing a substantial diffusion of the phenomenon also in the written medium. Following the previous trend, IndE and HKE are again the most conservative varieties in contrast with SingE and PhilE, the latter in particular with 210.08 instances. This is plausibly associated with the American ascendancy of PhilE, where the split infinitive is confirmed to have gained substantial ground in both speech and writing.

Third, the split infinitive has also been analysed from the perspective of register variation. As for the spoken component of ICE,

our study reports an overwhelming preference for the construction in monologues over dialogues in the different language varieties surveyed, despite their less spontaneous nature than face-to-face communication. However, a close examination of the data leads us to postulate a different use of the construction in AsEs, especially in terms of the typology of dialogues and monologues. While the split infinitive is favoured in private dialogues in GB, in AsEs the construction finds more room in public dialogues. In this same vein, while in GB the split infinitive is found negligible in scripted monologues, the other AsEs present a substantial diffusion of the phenomenon in scripted monologues, PhilE in particular.

The written component of ICE also allows the classification of the phenomenon in terms of the printed or non-printed nature of the texts. Our analysis confirms an outstanding preference for the split infinitive in non-printed material in all the varieties as a result of the spontaneous character of this category. However, GB again is observed to be significantly reluctant to use the construction in printed texts (just 40.7 occurrences) in sharp contrast with AsEs where the split infinitive is disseminated irrespective of the printed or the non-printed nature of the texts, especially in HKE (100.5 occurrences), SingE (98.09) and PhilE (204.1).

Split infinitives are more often than not disregarded in many present-day English grammars as a result of the longstanding influence of the 20th-century prerogatives, the only references being just limited to the inclusion of brief notes about their frequency and their stylistic implications (Thompson and Martinet 1960: 248; Alexander 1988: 305; Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 582). This study has shed light on the on-going diffusion of the phenomenon, not only in British English but also more conspicuously in these post-colonial varieties of English, SingE and PhilE in particular. In our opinion, the traditional tenets published in the literature should be re-examined in view of this quantitative piece of evidence as the construction has gained substantial ground in the last decades. A call is made here for more insight into the topic to gain a wider scope not only synchronically, to explore both regional and sociolinguistic variation, but also diachronically to analyse the origin and development of the construction in Middle English.

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# Review

Martínez Lirola, M. (ed). 2013. *Discourses on Immigration in Times of Economic Crisis: A Critical Perspective*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

At the historical moment when the volume edited by M. Martínez Lirola is designed and later on published, its merits seem self-explanatory. More than ever, the subject matter dealt with in *Discourses on Immigration in Times of Economic Crisis: A Critical Perspective* is undeniably relevant in the four contexts where it is examined (i.e. Spain, the US, Britain and Central Europe). In a time of crisis, migration is portrayed as a problem, and moreover, as a threat to the countries welcoming migrants, who are said to constitute the out-group, in Edward Said's (1978) words, "the Other", a collective which the in-group will find to play the role of the perfect scapegoat. Furthermore, the different approaches from which this volume addresses its study prove that multidisciplinarity is a very potent analytical tool to comprehend the particularity of various social practices, and to make sense of the complex nature of discourse functioning (see Weiss and Wodak 2003). Finally, there is no doubt that, having changed the landscape of ideologies and priorities in less than a decade, the economic factor generating this research (i.e. the financial collapse that has reshaped human relationships in the twentieth century) encourages scholarly work on one issue of paramount importance in Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 2003, Wodak and Chilton 2005, Wodak and Meyer 2006): The prejudiced representations of minorities, as especially privileged in the media and the public arena, tend to lead to asymmetry and inequality, and, consequently, to victimisation, racism and xenophobic discourse (see van der Valk 2000, van Dijk 2000, Wodak and van Dijk 2000, Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Gabrielatos and Baker 2008, KhosraviNik 2009).

This is not the first time that the editor herself delves deeply into the portrayal of immigrants in all sorts of multimodal texts (see Martínez Lirola 2006); nonetheless, so far this book is definitely one of the few on the market where scholars from different universities all over the world, with very diverse backgrounds but similar agendas,

tackle the matter of migration from what comes to be complementary perspectives (e.g. sociology, communication, anthropology, linguistics, etc.). In the eleven chapters this volume consists of there is room, as well, for especially influential theoretical models such as conceptual metaphor analysis, for example, and for other topics with which the main one is intertwined. Henceforth, I will outline its main contents and justify the reasons why it is worthwhile both reading and using it as a resource in the university teaching context, as well as for research purposes.

Some of the papers show the findings of comparative studies, as in the case of Martínez Lirola's, who analyses both the linguistic and the visual components in a collection of articles from several Spanish newspapers with different readerships (i.e. Spaniards and Latinos). The author's familiarity with Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) canonical multimodal theory leads to a very convincing application of this model, although some other views which contradict it in some respects, such as Forceville's (1996) visual metaphor theory, would have been welcomed. Lirola's approach to this type of materials results in an excellent prototypically qualitative study that could have accommodated data revealed by corpus-based research methods with a quantitative bent.

The chapter by J. Retis provides detailed data about a phenomenon which seems to have similar sociodemographic patterns in the USA and Spain: The perception of women as construed in the discriminatory discourse of the host country's media can be justified on the grounds of misunderstanding and biased imagery. The members of the out-group under analysis, which is claimed to be treated homogeneously, and misrepresented or underrepresented most often in connection with criminality and domestic violence, are invisible because of their class, race and gender; this is a fact which encourages exclusion, victimisation and patronising attitudes in an area that needs more corpus-informed research. The comparative nature of this paper allows for extrapolation.

I. Alonso Belmonte, D. Chornet and A. McCabe write on user commentary regarding racial issues in the digital edition of Spanish broadsheet *El País*. Bearing in mind the authors' main hypothesis about how the financial crisis has caused immigrant scapegoating in the media, in their examination of the reactions to one news article

reporting immigrants' access denied to nightclubs in Madrid, they aim for a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis using Altas.ti 6.0. Although attention to more texts and statistical treatment of the findings would improve this paper, the detailed description of the methodology itself, which facilitates replicability, makes it a notable contribution to the field, especially given the dearth of studies where race relations with ethnic groups are understood in terms of Spaniards' racial identity as "white". The discourse of normalcy vs. otherness comes to the fore along with the notion of xeno-racism.

In "The Treatment of Immigrants in the Current Spanish and British Right-wing Press: A Cross-linguistic Study", E. Crespo-Fernández combines CDA and the conceptual metaphor framework as theoretical paradigms. Aware of the limitations of the paper due to the time span and the relative small amount of data, the author carries out a mainly qualitative analysis with a clear explanation of the findings and the research process. The analysis of X-phemism (i.e. ortophemism, euphemism and dysphemism) as a means for verbal manipulation point to interesting conclusions concerning the newspapers under analysis: (1) *El Mundo* prefers euphemistic lexical items in comparison with *The Daily Telegraph*, which opts for both euphemism and dysphemism alike; (2) the British press shows a greater tendency for a negative representation of immigrants, by comparison with the Spanish, which is more balanced in this respect; (3) the criminalisation of this group can result in public outrage.

The research hypothesis of Chapter 5, by A. Bañón Hernández, S. Requena Romero and E. González Cortés, is that immigrants' alleged abuse of the national health system may have its reflection on discourse. Although the authors analyse the comments sections of some online Spanish newspapers together with a limited number of items taken from an audiovisual corpus we cannot have access to, as well as their failure to proceed systematically, the paper's interest lies in the very topic itself. This encourages the reader to disentangle the particular strategies of elite discourse on immigration and its power to produce the negative and patronising evaluation of a group that the media generally associate with fraud.

The paper by F.J. García Castaño, A. Olmos Alcaraz and M. Rubio Gómez revolves around the positive and negative sides of diversity, and discusses the Spanish media's depiction of immigrant

students, especially Muslims, in the education system through contradictory discourses that tend to cause social alarm. Despite its clear exposition of the aims, this chapter lacks in a more detailed presentation of the methodology adopted and the materials analysed. Nonetheless, its focus on image and text analysis as a means for the naturalisation of racialization is a plus in a paper where difference and segregation, and thereby, stereotyping, cultural essentialism and problematisation are taken to go hand in hand.

Chapter 7 deals with a different type of corpus which comprises the messages put forward by the two main Spanish political parties in the election campaigns from 2000 onwards. F. Checa Olmos, J.C. Checa Olmos and A. Arjona Garrido examine the role played by these organisations in shaping the phenomenon of immigration through their platforms so that they can compare and finally draw conclusions about their supposedly dissimilar ideological premises. Agenda-setting theory is the theoretical framework that assists them very well in explaining how social perceptions lead to hostility and discrimination. The coda of the paper is socially promising: Some policies are being carried out to change things in order to encourage integration.

There is a change in the geopolitical focus of the paper by Jan Chovanec. The object of investigation is the Czech Republic's immigrants and internal outsiders such as the Roma, who embody the interconnection between delinquency and ethnic stereotyping. For the analysis of the representation of social actors in crime reports, the author relies on the main tenets of the Discourse-Historical Approach (Wodak and her colleagues') and Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis (van Dijk's in the main). With a good description of the context and an appropriate application of the method, this chapter confirms and exemplifies the basic ideas presented in most papers in this volume: People belonging to a minority group, especially if ethnically diverse, are generally assessed in a negative light based on the prejudice originated in xenophobia.

N. Lorite García looks at the development of intercultural relationships in a period when blogs, free messaging, twitter or facebook have changed dramatically what communication means. The author studies the press coverage of a conflict roaring in Catalonia after the death of a young Muslim hiding from the police along with the media representation of immigrants during the 2011 municipal,

regional and national election campaigns. Some political speeches are also scrutinised by the author in an outstanding qualitative analysis, with a thorough delineation of the context. Although the findings would benefit from some statistics, they are already very interesting: (1) Newspapers may condemn racism but only in a defensive fashion; (2) the social impact of bad news happens to surpass that of good news such as the final reconciliation of the in-group and the out-group. Another merit of this paper is the final avenues for research mentioned (applied action research, multimodal methodology).

The team of the Migrations Institute at the University of Granada, formed by A. Granados Martínez, F.J. García Castaño, N. Kressova and L. Chovancova, is centered on the way in which racism and xenophobia can be combated in the public domain. The authors describe the measures taken by the EU in order to fight racism, with education and the media being key cornerstones, and make reference to all the projects by the government bodies designed to pinpoint and minimise the levels of discrimination in Spanish society. Although the country enjoys a rather advanced legal system and there exist well known guidelines journalists must follow to avoid discursive exclusion, the fact of the matter is that discriminatory patterns are still reproduced in the media, where the simplified perception of actors and phenomena facilitate the stereotyping of social practices, and as a consequence help to view migration as a problem. On the whole, this paper is well written and reports interesting findings concerning how figures can be used in a subjective way. However, a further developed analysis would have enriched its final output.

The research hypothesis of the last chapter by G. Rubio Carbonero is that the way politicians represent reality may have a bearing on society's behaviour and attitudes. For that reason, the paper focuses on Spanish parliamentary discourse concerning immigration from a CDA perspective. The analytical categories employed are mainly van Leeuwen's. Other aspects taken into account are presuppositions, implications, topoi, fallacies, metaphors and rhetorical structures. These help shed some light on the real nature of the discourses of pity, fear and threat in a type of text privileging an overall negative picture of the out-group. The excellent organisation of its contents and the clear explanation of ideas make this paper an excellent contribution which concludes that few changes have taken place after the crisis.

Due to the singularity of this edited volume, in the present review I have especially attracted the reader's attention to its strengths, which does not mean, however, that its few weaknesses have been ignored. As the reader will have noticed, the list of the former is countless: This international enterprise, with a prologue by eminent and prolific discourse analyst Teun van Dijk, produces research less known in the Spanish academic context; it encourages comparative analysis of the way in which the media reinforce the generation and distribution of stereotype-based attitudes; the papers altogether explore both verbal and non-verbal cues of different types of texts such as newspaper articles, news reports, opinion polls or political speeches; there is a fair balance between quantitative and qualitative methods; the volume itself suggests many other avenues for future research connected with the fields that each author works in.

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