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Cooper's Pioneer: Breaking the Chain of Representation

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Abstract
In Cooper's *Pioneers*, the transition from "national literature" and a realist epistemology of representation toward a Romantic imaginary and increasingly individualized politics is linked to the decline of liberal political philosophy and to the loss of landed property as the political basis of society. While the dominant narrative reconciles two families, healing the breach between colonial and post-revolutionary society, displacing Indian claims, and re-legitimizing land ownership, a tragic epilogue—the regressive departure of the pioneer toward a new frontier— opens up a Romantic sub-narrative of desire. A complementary psychosexual narrative and discourse relocates the origin, so deliberately theorized in this novel in terms of natural property rights, in oedipal problematics. It is a regressive move which, paradoxically, also constructs the post-Enlightenment subject.

The position that the works of James Fenimore Cooper hold in the American literary canon has been considerably weakened during the past few decades. To an earlier generation of Cooper scholars, eminently represented by the American literary historian Robert E. Spiller, Cooper was a writer who shaped a characteristically American view of nature and the frontier—key features in American national mythology. Evidently the interest in this mythology has declined, and, subsequently, the perceived literary merit of Cooper's works. Postcolonial perspectives have exposed the oppressive aspects of his nationalism, in effect relegating his historical novels and romances to a secondary status in the canon.[1] Yet Cooper's declining reputation can be viewed in terms of a more distant origin since, as Jonathan Arac has shown, the interest in literature as a bearer of national history comes to an end in Cooper's time.[2] Against this broader background, the literary offenses that already

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[1] See, for example, Nadesan Permaul's "James Fenimore Cooper and the American National Myth" and Ezra F. Tawil's "Romancing History: *The Pioneers* and the Problem of Slavery."

[2] "The major narrative form that preceded literary narrative in the United States, and also succeeded it, was what I call *national narrative*" (16). What Arac calls

Mark Twain exposed are compensated by the cognitive value that, paradoxically, emerges out of the problematics of literary form. Our distance from Cooper's historical moment, as evidenced in the waning appeal of national history and mythology, allows a text such as his first and most realistic historical novel to be inscribed with new value. If the historical theme of *The Pioneers* has lost its ideological urgency, and thus also some of its literary charm, this novel nevertheless preserves a sense of historical crisis. In my reading, it throws fundamental aspects of cultural variation into sharper relief by means of its very resistance to them, thus revealing how the past is also the history of the present.

The claim on our interest that *The Pioneers* may still powerfully exert derives not only from its representation of a stage when the frontier recedes westward from the Eastern seaboard of the United States, but also from the way that its ambivalent form enacts a historical shift from one social formation and sensibility to another. In the shift from Neo-classical form and comic emplotment to Romantic form and tragic emplotment lies the fundamental historicity of this novel. By means of its generic confusion and conflicted act of literary composition, *The Pioneers* inscribes another history than that of its thematic representation. Though we may experience *The Pioneers* as dated if we regard its former canonical status to have relied more heavily on ideological than aesthetic merits (a distinction which of course not everyone would accept), we might still read its lack of plot resolution, for all of its drive toward wish fulfillment, as characteristic of our own time. In this sense, the historicity of the text lies not in a remote past but in a literary gesture which perpetually impinges on and supports the present. Within the performance of a certain reading one may discover,

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"hypercanonization" and the consequent nationalizing of literary narrative involves the "psychologization of politics." "Cooper's national narrative was grounded from its words on up in claims that were no longer representable aesthetically or politically to Twain and many of his contemporaries. National narratives held a positive understanding of the course of American history, and they believed it was a responsibility of culturally ambitious and important narrative not only to show but also to make explicit this understanding. Literary narratives denied any such responsibility" (29).

experientially as it were, the historical rupture that is one essential condition of the present.

In Cooper's *Pioneers*, the transition from "national literature" (Arac) and a realist epistemology of representation, toward a Romantic imaginary and increasingly individualized politics, is linked to the decline of liberal political philosophy and to the loss of landed property as the political basis of society. While the opening scene of *The Pioneers* dramatizes a conflict over property rights, the story may be said to originate in the mythologizing of property in the state of civilization as having its basis in natural property. Already on the title page, Cooper gives us a clue as to the importance that origins are going to have in *The Pioneers*, with the subtitle "A Tale of the Sources of the Susquehanna." The reference to the origins of the river gives a sense of an intention to delve into the heart of nature, to go upstream beyond the settlements of civilization to their natural sources. The figure of geographical exploration, combined with the reference to a "tale," gives the impression that the literary enterprise is going to have a certain scientific character.

The origins which we will encounter in this tale, however, will more radically take on cultural than geographical and physical forms. Indeed, the curious double ending of the novel, both comic and tragic, is likely to cause the reader to reconsider the meaning of the central conflict in the opening scene of the novel, which pits different property claims against each other. The comedy of the marriage celebration gives way to the tragic displacement of the man who bases his claims on natural right. While the narrative of Elizabeth Temple and Oliver Effingham reconciles two families, healing the breach between colonial and post-revolutionary society, displacing Indian claims, and re-legitimizing land ownership, the inevitable departure for the new frontier of the first and archetypal white pioneer, the Leatherstocking, suggests that the marriage celebration still leaves something to be desired. I will return to this point and an alternative plotting of desire after tracing the novel's argument about property rights.[3]

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[3] My method is a combination of marxist and psychoanalytical approaches which considers neither to be sufficient in itself. *The Pioneers* can be read in terms of economic concepts such as mode of production and social class, but

The ostensible Indian claim

Though the American industrial revolution followed the British, the transformation of land into a commodity was a dominant historical feature in both countries at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the great difference, as E. J. Hobsbawm has observed, was that the "Northern American solution [to the problem of economic transformation] depended on the unique fact of the virtually unlimited supply of free land, and the absence of all relics of feudal relations or traditional peasant collectivism" (182). In America, it was the claim of the native Indians to the land rather than the claim of a hereditary aristocracy which posed an obstacle to bourgeois expansion. But the obstacle was slight, Hobsbawm argues, because the "view of society which regarded individual perfectly alienable property not merely as the only rational but the only natural arrangement" made the expropriation of land from the Indians seem "as moral as it was profitable" (183).

What are we then to make of the concern of a James Fenimore Cooper with the passing of the Indians from the landscape of the old Northwest, his sense of the problematic transition from natural to civil law, and his attacks on the new middle class? Isn't there an explicitly moral concern there, and a resistance to the commodification of land? It certainly seems that way, and much of what has been written about Cooper's fiction has been predicated on such a view. I will argue, however, that Hobsbawm's view of the uniqueness of American history is essentially correct as applied to Cooper, while the apparent departures from it indicate political and ideological dimensions, both reflected and produced in Cooper's literary texts, which are significant in themselves also.

Cooper's relative sympathy with the Indians, largely a retrospective, literary creation which follows the elimination of the Indian threat from

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equally in terms of oedipal issues and the narration of desire. The double method consists in identifying two parallel narrative thematics, while the narrative of property is analyzed first and at some length, then briefly revised in the analysis of desire. The double method is intended to restore a certain value to an aesthetically deflated *The Pioneers* through the interpretation of literary form as both symptomatic of social change and creative response.

New York by several decades,[4] plays the role in his fiction of justifying the wealth and privilege of the landed gentry against the ascendancy of the new middle class. Cooper was destined to fail in this attempt, as we know today, but he succeeded, in spite of himself, in contributing to the very society whose emergence he wanted to restrain. We can see in *The Pioneers* the effect of Cooper's attempt to inscribe his own position as an individual, privileged subject within an allegedly universal space of political representation. In failing to extend eighteenth century concepts of both political and literary representation into the nineteenth century, Cooper produced the very splitting of the personal and political which he wanted to avoid, the formation of an abstract political space external to the individual which then became the space of imagination and ideology.

The argument embodied in the plot of *The Pioneers* (1823) is relatively straightforward on the surface—though as we shall later see, it is indeed a covertly complex and important argument, in spite of the novel's being styled a "Descriptive Tale". Judge Temple, owner of a large tract of land in upstate New York, is placed in a difficult position, both as proprietor and judge, in the opening scene of the novel. He quarrels with Natty Bumppo, a pioneer who has lived on what is now Temple's land since it was a frontier, over the rightful claim to a deer on which both men have fired. The Leatherstocking, as Cooper's popular character is also called, grumbles that "might often makes right here". But the dispute as to which of the two bullets lodged in the buck has effectively made the kill reaches a more intense level when a young man, Oliver Edwards, steps out from behind a tree and demonstrates that Temple's bullet has struck him in the shoulder.

The rest of the novel is essentially an elaboration of this scene. Bumppo continues to assert his natural right to hunt on the land, in defiance of the laws which Judge Temple has brought with him and which specify a restricted hunting season. Edwards continues to act with resentment against the Judge, though his motive is not clear: is it because of the wound, or because Edwards too, claims a natural right to the land,

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[4] "[B]y 1790, the Six Nations of Iroquois had surrendered their hunting grounds in central New York to the white man, and its remnants had either joined their brothers in the west or agreed to re-settlement on reservations within the state" (Pickering 9). The Indian Removal Act was passed by Congress in 1830.

based on his relation to Chingachgook and an ostensible Indian ancestry? The conflict eventually escalates to a break in personal relations between Edwards and the Judge, and to the exchange of gunfire between Bumppo and the representatives of the law. Natty has escaped from jail after a conviction on hunting deer out of season, and is also suspected of illegally carrying on a mining operation on Temple's land. It turns out, however, that the Leatherstocking was concealing a person, not precious minerals, in the cave which he has been defending. This person, who comes out of the cave in order to put a stop to the violent conflict, is Major Effingham, father of the man who was Temple's partner in commerce prior to the War of Independence, and whose land Temple then acquired by purchase after their confiscation, in the absence of his friend Effingham. Other revelations then ensue, bringing about the reconciliation of all parties. The only sad note is that Natty has to accept that his old home in the wilderness has vanished, as he leaves Templeton for the new frontier on the great prairies.

Interpretations of these events and the political themes they signify still adhere generally to Robert E. Spiller's 1964 formulation:

> The three theories of the relationship of property rights to social stability—the Tory view held by young Oliver, the democratic view held by Judge Temple, and the view of primitive rights held by Indian John—supply the ideological background for this novel and are directly drawn by Cooper from his earliest experience. They were also to remain with him as an unsolved social and political problem and as the theme of all his serious writing. The central conflict in this novel between Judge Temple and the Leatherstocking is based on this difference in social theory, and the reconciliation of the Judge with the young Oliver is testimony to Cooper's fundamentally conservative leanings, which he carried—albeit as a Democrat rather than as a Federalist like his father—right through the equalitarian era of Jackson and down almost to the eve of the Civil War. (440)

There is no doubt that the central conflict in the novel, in terms of its dramatic emphasis, is just as Spiller describes it, between Tory, democrat, and Indian.[5] As we shall see however, the "primitive" position

[5] In terms of political philosophy, it is also possible to see the conflict in terms of a pre-capitalist use-right theory of property versus a capitalist exclusive right theory. As Nan Goodman points out in her essay on *The Pioneers*, Cooper gives Temple the upper hand in this conflict, but the plot also turns on the

attributed to the Indian is a product of liberal political philosophy, a piece of mythology which conceals the presence of another, displaced position in the conflict—that of the new middle class. Besides, there is evidence that Coopers' early commitment to Federalist and Republican figures was far more important than his Jacksonian sympathies[6]. To note that the "democrat" has Federalist leanings is to open up the possibility that the conflict with Jacksonian democrats, representing an emergent middle class, can reach troubling dimensions.

Judge Temple occupies the middle position between the aristocratic view of inheritance and the liberal view of natural rights, which enables him to prevail in the final moment of reconciliation. As Spiller also notes, however, the theme of property remained an unsolved problem which occupied Cooper throughout his career. How is it possible that this theme should be a central and permanent concern for Cooper, when we consider that his early works already justify a specific resolution of the conflict over property, that this justification did not change essentially during his career, and especially, that Cooper did not have to answer either to the Tory or the primitive claim to property?

As I have already suggested: because the conflict Cooper thematizes in *The Pioneers* is a displacement from his actual life. This displacement is obliquely inscribed in his works, undercutting the attempt at resolution and reconstituting the real conflict from which it springs. But the conflict is reconstituted in a new form: the impossibility of maintaining the individual subject in the political space represented by land produces simultaneously the closure and the splitting of this space, the privatization of this space and its separation from emergent political relations. Consequently, the problem then arises of reinserting the privatized subject within a new political space, the abstract institutional space of the bourgeois state. This reinsertion of the subject now takes the form of the class struggle characteristic of bourgeois society, and it is within this struggle that Cooper's narrative strategy is reinscribed.

In itself, this narrative strategy consists in the reversal of two relations: an initial, though tenuous, link of Judge Temple with the petty

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modification of a purely capitalist concept of property and a market economy (Goodman 5).

[6] This point is based on Pickering's account in "Cooper's Otsego Heritage."

bourgeois, Richard Jones, and an equally tenuous separation from the aristocrat, Effingham. A somewhat reformed Judge Temple prevails at the end of the novel because his conflict with the Leatherstocking is defused by a revelation which, though it seems to reconcile all parties, favors the Judge. But even before this point, the Judge has approached Natty Bumppo's philosophy, and begun to differ from his cousin Richard Jones's materialistic attitude to nature. He has done so directly in his condemnation of hunting practices which amount to wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter, as sharply contrasted with Natty's reverent and sparing use of nature. And he has done so indirectly in his gratitude and admiration for the man who has saved his daughter's life. But the Judge is still ranged on the side of Sheriff Jones and his men until the very end. Though Jones's accusation that Natty is illegally mining Temple's land is more a reflection of Jones's interests than of anything in Natty's character, the Judge's suspicion has overtaken his good sense.

Eventually this suspicion, however, gives way as Richard Jones's accusation becomes increasingly transparent and rebounds on him, thus preparing for the final reconciliation. When Jones and his men try to recapture Natty after his jail-break (in which he was assisted by Elizabeth Temple), attacking his fortified position in the cave which is believed to be an illegal mine, no possibility of a peaceful and even-handed resolution seems possible. To be sure, the novel's conclusion is a piece of *deus ex machina*. Major Effingham's emergence out of the cave introduces an element from a miraculously revived past rather than from the troublesome present. The immediate effect of his appearance is to bring to light the true identity of Oliver Edwards, who is actually Edward Effingham, while the ultimate effect is to justify Temple's claim to the land, the legitimacy of laws which protect his property and govern its use.

Through a series of character associations, a chain of displacements, the justice of the Judge's position is established. It is revealed that Major Effingham bought the land from the Indians, and, as if to dispel our doubts about this purchase, we are informed that he was made an honorary member of the tribe. Judge Temple is shown to have behaved industriously and responsibly in managing his friend Effingham's land, when his genteel friend disdained to engage in commerce; Temple behaved morally and legally in acquiring ownership of this same land after the War of Independence, which saw the two friends fighting on

opposites sides, then the Loyalist property confiscated; and even then, Temple tried to find the lost Effingham, to restore him to his possessions. When we add that Temple gives half of his land to the third generation Effingham, and then his daughter's hand in marriage (thus also the other half of the property); when we also add that the Leatherstocking has a relation to the Effinghams, not only through his recent association with Edward, but in having been a personal servant to the Major; and when we finally add that the last claimant of the Indian tribe, Chingachgook, has recently died, shortly followed by Major Effingham, another potential or former claimant, then the unbroken connection between Temple and the original and natural owner, indeed a "man in the state of nature," is firmly established.

Only two claimants remain: the first, Edward, is incorporated into Temple's position through marriage. As Janet E. Dean argues in "The Marriage Plot and National Myth in *The Pioneers*," the revelation that "Oliver", who was rumored to have Indian ancestry, is actually an Effingham, attempts to establish a pure American lineage and property claim:

> The death of Chingachgook, truly the last of the Mohicans, heralds the death of the "Indian" in Oliver/Edward. With all Indian claims eradicated or explained away, white possession of frontier property is secured. (Dean 18)

The marriage between Edward and Elizabeth thus consummates a "national myth" in which claims are made simultaneously to land and to woman in a symbolic enactment of Indian removal. Similarly, the second claimant who remains, the Leatherstocking, is also displaced, though less violently. The revelation of the Temple-Effingham connection has defused the conflict, and made any further claims by Natty impossible.

The new claimant

Yet one more claimant remains, though he is so far displaced by the center stage position of the Effinghams as to be virtually ignored—Richard Jones. We are briefly told that Sheriff Jones was so humiliated by the evidence that Natty and his friends were not in fact mining for precious metals that he did not give the Judge any more trouble for a long time. Significantly, gold and silver are what Richard suspects the

others of stealing, because they are the most precious commodity for him and his class—not a practical commodity, but the basis of money itself, the commodity par excellence.

The most significant effect of the revelation plot's conclusion is the final separation of Temple from the commercial interests of Richard Jones and the rendering ineffective of the latter. The reconciliation that is the culmination of the plot also results, indirectly, in an act of exclusion which undercuts the sense of resolution. The Indians, the Effinghams, the pioneer—these are not really threats to Temple or the author he represents (Temple is based on Cooper's father).[7] It is rather Richard and a money economy, the overturning of personal by commodity relations, and their consequent loss of social and political influence, that Temple and his class have to fear.[8] Temple's view of the land is, of course, not blind to economic development, but it is a view which implies constraints that are foreign to Richard and which, in fact, leave him out of the picture. For Temple, the preference of coal over precious metals as a valuable resource is characteristic; his view of economic development implies an extension, not a transformation, of existing social and political relations:

> The mind of Judge Temple, at all times comprehensive, had received from his peculiar occupations a bias to look far into futurity in his speculations on the improvements that posterity were to make in his lands. To his eye, where others saw

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[7] "As a narrative recreating life in a central New York village during its first years of settlement, *The Pioneers* must be regarded as the author's attempt to come to grips with the memory of his father, Judge William Cooper, the pioneer who brought civilization to 'The Sources of the Susquehanna.' Cooper was justifiably proud of his father's achievement and of the village which bore his name" (Pickering 12). Cooper's own disclaimer, however, suggests the extent to which it is the character type, as representing a political position, rather than a personal portrait, that dominates the characterization of Judge Temple: "There is not a particle of distinctive resemblance between the personal history of Judge Temple and that of my father; so far as I know any thing of the latter" (Cooper, qtd. in Pickering 17).

[8] See McWilliams on Cooper's involvement in land disputes. McWilliams also comments on the improbability of the fictional resolution of property conflict in *The Pioneers*.

> nothing but a wilderness, towns, manufactories, bridges, canals, mines, and all the other resources of an old country were constantly presenting themselves, though his good sense suppressed in some degree the exhibition of these expectations. (306)

Judge Temple's ideal is a society where economic development is restrained by rational foresight based on a consideration for posterity.

It is an ideal which certainly differs from that of the European landholding nobility, for they, as the lumberjack and maple sugar producer Jack Kirby observes, let the resources of their land stand unimproved and unused. But in Temple's view, a Kirby, or a Richard Jones—the social classes ranged below him—are by necessity motivated by a personal gain which would put no check on the exploitation of natural resources, ultimately destroying the land and spoiling it for posterity. Temple is therefore represented as the kind of man who could oversee the transition from the frontier to "civilization," from an agrarian society to a society of moderate industrial development. It is a difficult job, characterized by the gravest moral responsibility, and so one theme in the novel is the Judge's moral education. He must prove capable of detaching himself from the perspective of a Richard Jones, and controlling this class of men, as well as being able to respect the conservationist values of a Natty Bumppo. Most importantly, he must provide for the transfer, not only of his wealth, but also his responsibility and position of influence, to an equally responsible posterity. Ideally, such a posterity would be an extension of the Judge himself, and so it is in *The Pioneers*: the descendants of the original property owners consolidate an estate through marriage, like the members of two noble families forming an advantageous alliance—or perhaps more like two characters in a fairy tale. As Nancy C. Shour's analysis of Cooper's landscapes suggests, this involves the transfer of a cultural inheritance in the broadest sense, where land has a symbolic and aesthetic value deriving from the past, as well as an economic value:

> Cooper's landscapes invoke not the optimistic, limitless possibilities of the American future, but serve as a record of the past, a record whose "meaning" and whose history must be passed from generation to generation, as illustrated by the development of Elizabeth Temple into the type of citizen-historian who becomes the custodian of cultural memory. [. . . she is a] model of the daughter as the "heir" to historical memory and the poignant mirroring of this inheritance in Cooper's own daughter and heir, Susan Fenimore Cooper. (2)

The marriage of Elizabeth Temple and Edward Effingham is the synthesis of the double signification which nature, or land, carries in this novel (and generally in Cooper's fiction). In one sense, it is obvious that Richard Jones is dead wrong about Natty Bumppo and his friends: they are not in fact concealing a mining operation in the cave, but Major Effingham, whose presence they construe, wrongly as it turns out, to be a challenge to Judge Temple. In another sense, what is concealed here within the land itself is actually its wealth, inscribed with the Judge's title. The Major was the person who acquired the land from the Indians, passing it on to his son, from whom it again was transferred, with the help of the war with Great Britain, to Marmaduke Temple. The land—Temple's land, confirmed here as a form of private property insulated from the consolidation of wealth under industrial capitalism—signifies both a personal relation, as under feudalism, and raw materials convertible into commodities, as under capitalism.

The differentiation of Temple and Jones is therefore concurrent with the identification of feudal and bourgeois, though this is an identification which is symbolic, marked by the absence of the thing itself. The function of the revelation plot is to establish for Temple the other, feudal connection to the land, separating him from Richard Jones and the class he represents. This differentiation can only occur if the Judge comes to represent traditional authority, his friend Effingham, who originally was "hiding in his bosom," not in the management of commerce as before, but socially. The reconciliation with the Effinghams is in fact significant insofar as the Major now dies—or dies again, one is tempted to say, after his miraculous resurrection. And this disappearance of Effingham, symbol of civilized refinement, significantly coincides with that of the"last" Indian, symbol of natural nobility and original ownership as "man in the state of nature." Finally, the Leatherstocking, link between nature and civilization and strongest white representative of the state of nature, departs also—at least some distance westward.

By the removal of these figures, which are ranged as a great chain of being premised on natural rights, the Judge comes to displace Natty Bumppo and is thereby constituted as the representative character of a new stage of society, the civilized man who administers the political justice of a republic based on natural principles. Temple becomes the central character of the new society of Templemore just as Natty, the pioneer, was the central character of the frontier. Natty is the link

between nature and civilization, participating in both worlds, but Judge Temple is a synthesis of the two, a representation of nature in the civilized state. This is the liberal mythology by which Temple is made secure in both his private property and his political influence. In this context it is important to realize, however, that just as property is not reducible to the concept of capital or commodities, the political relation is not wholly a bourgeois one. Natty provides a link between nature and civilization not only in the frontier stage of society but also in the stage of American society prior to the revolution. The Leatherstocking is the democratic prototype. Judge Temple is consequently not merely the civilized man who represents natural justice, but the bourgeois who represents the nobility, in the sense of substituting for its absence. The aristocratic position is revealed in this narrative as Major Effingham steps out of the cave, only to be made absent again, the representation of an absence, embodied by Judge Temple.

The failure of wish fulfillment

But why does Natty not wholly vanish from the scene? Why do we simply have his displacement to a new frontier? Why indeed does Cooper return to the Leatherstocking tales later in his career, even after he has already written of Natty's death in *The Prairie*? Because the resolution, in the form of the reconciliation of the feudal and the bourgeois, the marriage of Edward Effingham and Elizabeth Temple, is impossible. It is already the symptom of the loss Cooper fears, a simple wish fulfillment which only succeeds in displacing the object of desire. This is why the resolution of the novel also involves the departure of the Leatherstocking. The escape to the frontier and into nature is also an escape back in time, a historical regression to a social formation in which the economic and political relations which are being undermined in the 1820's were still stable.

In classical liberal philosophy, the function of the myth of the state of nature is to reduce the difference between nature and civilization, to naturalize bourgeois politics as it contests the landed nobility. In Cooper's America, however, this historical situation has already changed, and besides, the confrontation between feudal and bourgeois interests is initially much weaker. The logic of *The Pioneers* demands that Judge Temple be linked to the natural and original property owner.

Only this link can put a stop to the rule of force that must prevail in the absence of political legitimacy. One might think that the link between Temple and the Leatherstocking, as pioneer and representative of a natural subsistence economy, could establish Temple's rightful claim.[9] The central conflict in the novel, however, is not as it literally appears, between subsistence economy and a "system of organized and rationalized surplus production" (Buchholz 99-100). The conflict lies rather between the landed gentry and the emergent power of a new middle class, more specifically, between landowners and tenants. Thus the Leatherstocking figures in *The Pioneers* as the natural man on which liberal philosophy built its concepts of natural right and private property, but this symbol is evidently no longer a sufficient source of legitimization. Only the revelation of Major Effingham, with his ties to the Indian as well as to Natty Bumppo, makes it possible to resolve the conflict without force. By this means, Cooper endows the mythical natural man with new content, a content which not only legitimizes bourgeois private property, but which also serves the purpose of defending it against the claims of the new middle class.

Ultimately, however, the content of this new original figure cannot be contained within the form of Temple's character as it comes to replace the Leatherstocking. As Eric J. Sundquist remarks, when Cooper returns to the fictional Templeton in *Home as Found*, the Judge no longer occupies the key "middle position" (2). But there is evidence that this middle is hollow already in *The Pioneers*, and therefore the displacements it makes possible are suspect. Though Cooper makes the process of displacement from primitive to aristocratic to democratic quite explicit, the process cannot ultimately find closure in the wish fulfillment which condenses bourgeois and feudal images. The process continues in

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[9] "In the dramatic climax of *The Pioneers*, however, Natty clearly represents one of the opposed social forces which determine the conflict. This is a result of the nature of the conflict itself—that between a primeval, subsistence mode of production closely tied to the cycles of abundance and scarcity in the material world, and a 'secondary' system of organized and rationalized surplus production, based on class exploitation. [. . .] because of the sensitivity of the question of ownership of the land, subsistence production could not be represented principally by an Indian in *The Pioneers*" (Buchholz 99-100).

the nostalgic and sentimental portrayal of the Leatherstocking's departure, in the projection of the resolution backward in time and the evocation of loss. The marriage is based on the identification of bourgeois and feudal as these represent two forms of social relation, but the novel itself undercuts this closure in the chain of representation, with the tragic, or at least sentimental, investment in the Leatherstocking's departure. Natty must be invented to make Temple possible, to justify his position, only then to be displaced. It is an identification of the representing subject, the writer, with the represented subject, the idealized protagonist, which could only be contradictory, resulting in the splitting of the self-objectified subject and a displacement of the object of desire, failing to be possessed either through mythical/legal justification or in the marriage which represents the culmination of this justification.

This displacement, however, is not indefinite, because it crosses a historical limit. The regression to the frontier which represents an absent past transforms itself into the progression toward the future. The marriage of the Effingham and Temple families symbolically insists that political relations are still representations of the individual subject, a subject whose social being and centeredness is established with the connection to the land. But the individual subject in *The Pioneers* undergoes a new historical transformation, a new splitting, right before our eyes. The effort to recapture a lost political relation, based on economic relations and a form of property which no longer exist, actually involves the relative detachment of the individual subject from the political. The move to the mythologized frontier and the age of classical liberalism entails the individualization of what has ceased to function as a collective relation. Man in the state of nature as an Enlightenment political category undergoes a transformation into the psychological and ideological category of the Romantic self that finds its unity in nature, a nature now conceived, not as the basis of a rational civilization, but as an imaginary domain distinct from the artificial form of society.

Cooper has correctly been labeled a reactionary, but that label is best justified by reference to two works published in 1848, the political catechism entitled *The American Democrat* and the novel *Home as Found*, which argue and illustrate the theory that a social aristocracy can be married to a political democracy. In the books which followed Cooper's hostile reception by a radicalized Jacksonian democracy on the

return from his seven-year stay in Europe, the tension between a Temple and the Leatherstocking, or a Richard Jones, is gone. The embodiment of the natural aristocrat by the democratic gentleman is then no longer portrayed as problematic, and the ambitious middle class figure merely an object of satire, with no kinship acknowledged.

Still, Cooper's political wish fulfillment has its exemplary character, simply by its stubborn refusal of a destructive historical change, combined with a relative persistence in the face of repressive temptations. At least, in early works like *The Pioneers*, where the undermining of the landed gentry of New York through new legislation was only a threat, not yet the reality of the 1840's, it is evident that self-interest is not the only motive.[10] The heavy-handed and ideologically transparent marriage of the feudal legacy and the bourgeois is after all not satisfactory; it is more the quest for a vanishing ideal than it is an effective protection of privilege. The desire recontained within the forced comedic resolution of marriage is released in the displacement of the pioneering Leatherstocking, who seeks a new beginning on the frontier, thus figuring as an early type of what R. W. B. Lewis has called the American Adam. A twentieth-century literary institution that at times has served to validate national destiny, at time focused a critique of American exceptionalism,[11] its appearance in the present context is profoundly ambivalent.

The alternative end of desire

Ironically, perhaps, the resurrection of Adam inn his American form constructs a new, more individualized form of desire. As suggested at the beginning of this essay, the second, alternative ending of *The Pioneers* implies a second beginning, and thus an entirely different plot trajectory. While the beginning of the story which concerns property rights has its origin in the disruption of the natural state of property, narratively

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[10] See Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York, 1801-1840*.

[11] *The American Adam* was a central text in American Studies at least through the 1970s.

speaking, and in the political ascendancy of a new middle class, historically speaking, the narrative of desire concerns that lack which arises in the disruption from the maternal. With respect to this beginning, the marriage of Elizabeth and Edward is one form of restoration of the object of desire, and the imaginary pursuit of a feminized nature by the apparently celibate Leatherstocking is another. From this perspective of an alternate story of desire, the wound that Oliver receives in the novel's opening scene comes to symbolize the oedipal wounding of the son by the father—a castration—and the cave in which Colonel Effingham is hidden comes to represent a womb, evidently the symbolic return of the otherwise absent mother. The origin, so deliberately theorized in this novel in terms of natural property rights and the first premise of rational thought, returns, in this alternative and complementary reading that proceeds from the Leatherstocking's epilogue, as located in a pre-oedipal, imaginary, relation.

The wounding of Edward (Oliver), who is to marry Elizabeth, by Elizabeth's father thus symbolizes a psychosexual wound that is healed by marriage. In this sense Edward bears not only the oedipal symptom but also the wound of separation from the mother, a wound which is also associated with the rift between the two families, divided by the revolutionary war. By extension, the division between the families therefore also has an oedipal character. The rift between Judge Temple and Colonel Effingham anticipates Edward's wound, which, in that sense, is only a repetition of a prior state of affairs. Finally, the wound is repeated in the act of hunting: the expression of manhood in the attempt to dominate nature results in the wounding of another man.

In the figure of Judge Temple and Templeton we find a strong idealization of Cooper's father and his Cooperstown, but the idealization, in this psychosexual reading, conceals an ambivalence. The subjection to the order of the father and the marriage that perfectly assumes the paternal legacy fails to satisfy. One could say that the problem with political wish fulfillment is simply its impracticality, but beyond this there is also the problematic restraint of desire, the libidinal inhibition that arrested political development also implies. In the works of Jane Austen, Cooper's first literary model, the remarkable coincidence of propertied and amorous interests still has some credibility, but in Cooper it does not. While Austen can insist on the freedom of individual desire, only to reinscribe it within a system of class interest, a similar attempt in

Cooper fails more conspicuously. At the same time, however, this failure to reinscribe desire is also the success of desire in itself as essentially irrepressible. Thus the Leatherstocking's journey westward in pursuit of the receding frontier holds its compensatory satisfaction.

One lasting value of Cooper's work, therefore, lies in its exposure of the fall into the Romantic imaginary as a historical event, within the narrative act of mythologizing history. Facing insurmountable obstacles, Cooper's political wish fulfillment becomes a self-defeating attempt to prevent the separation of the subject and the political that only serves to repeat that separation in displaced form. The resistance to the commodification of personal relations and the fragmentation of the political thus anticipate the ideological transformation of these relations, and the destruction of the last feudal remnants of personal dependence, under bourgeois hegemony. Feudal relations now assume a radically internalized afterlife in literary romances which register individual alienation, even as the subject is installed within an abstract and increasingly autonomous political system. In the future of the free and creative Romantic self, the Leatherstocking, having died on the vanishing frontier, will soon be reborn, not in entire forgetfulness, but in idealized intimations of his past social lives.

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"'Your stay must be a becoming': Ageing and Desire in J.M. Coetzee's *Disgrace*"

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> You think it horrible that lust and rage
> Should dance attendance upon my old age;
> They were not such a plague when I was young;
> What else have I to spur me into song?
> — W.B. Yeats, "The Spur", 1939

In a letter to Freud, dated May 20th, 1927, Andrea Salomé makes an intriguing comment about her own experience of old age as a woman:

> I had feared that old age might set in too late [. . .] and that in this way I might be cheated of what old age specifically has to offer. Fortunately, I was able to capture something of it. And certainly, it did bring happiness – indeed, if I had to choose between the two phases of life, I am truly not sure on which my choice would fall. For when one leaves erotic experience in the narrower sense, one is at the same time leaving a cul-de-sac, however marvellous it may be, where there is only room for two abreast; and one now enters upon a vast expanse. (Woodward 1991: 203)

Salomé's description of old age as an opportunity to embrace both emotional equanimity and a fulfilling sense of detachment from the vicissitudes of sexual desire, has been echoed by other female writers such as Jean Rhys, Doris Lessing and Germaine Greer.[1] They suggest that, as sexual desire allegedly assumes decreasing importance during the later stages of life, it therefore becomes possible for interpersonal

[1] For a brief synopsis of Jean Rhys's view of ageing see Roland Blythe's *The View in Winter* (1979). Lessing's view on ageing and desire can be found in "'Lucky the culture where the old can talk to the young and young can talk to the old': In Conversation with Doris Lessing" (2004) by Billy Gray. Germaine Greer's perspective on this theme is outlined in her essay "Serenity and Power", contained in *The Other within Us: Feminist Explorations of Women and Ageing* (1997).

relationships to acquire a depth of understanding which the earlier, more egocentric sex drive would have prevented. This implies that the shedding of one's sexuality can be viewed as a liberating and empowering experience, thereby representing an opportunity to renegotiate our identities as sexual beings. Ideally, therefore, the optimum course for people who enter the first stages of physical decline is to move from physique-based values to "wisdom" based-values, in terms of their self-definition and behaviour.

It is interesting however, that although an increasing number of contemporary middle-aged and ageing writers have situated middle-aged and elderly characters at the centre of their fiction, remarkably few have created male characters who, in the words of J. Middleton Murry, "acquiesce gracefully in the beginning of the declining curve" (qtd. in Blythe 1979: 30). Margaret Gullette has claimed that, in literature as well as in life, many men "attempt to preserve something of the atmosphere of the stag night well into middle age" (1997: 15). She notes how, at the risk of incurring mockery and disgust, many elderly male protagonists flirt with attractive female characters and often visit prostitutes in order to prove both to themselves and the surrounding society, that their sexual potency remains undiminished. For many of these fictional creations, masculinity and sexual identity are intimately linked to their personal sense of identity. They seemingly envisage the ageing process as a threat, not only to their psychological health, but also their concept of self worth. This would partly validate Andy Metcalf's belief that "the hold sex has for men arises from the fact that sex is linked with motives and forces other than the need for sexual satisfaction" (1985: v).

J.M. Coetzee's *Disgrace*, his eighth novel, engages with the issue of the ageing male in a manner that both consolidates and challenges the aforementioned depiction of the ageing process and how it impacts on traditional perceptions of masculinity. Situated in a post-apartheid South Africa, where brutal tyranny has been replaced by brutal chaos, *Disgrace* represents a significant contribution to the theme of ageing and desire. The text which suggestively abandons the parodic, deconstructive complexities of Coetzee's early fiction, investigates how David Lurie, the main protagonist, openly grapples with a profound sense of anomie, triggered by his overwhelming fear of the ageing process. Although Coetzee is best known for his frequent portrayal of the debilitating effects of colonial power on the individual psyche, in *Disgrace*

oppression is represented more by the enforced internalisation of negative cultural stereotypes in regard to ageing, than by the profound changes taking place in the political landscape of the "new" South Africa. He depicts how David Lurie's life journey, his *becoming*, involves a movement away from frantic, ill-chosen sexual liaisons and a resistance to change, towards not only an acceptance of the inevitability of the ageing process, but also the transmutation of sexual desire into expressions of artistic creativity. This article attempts to chart the most salient features of this "progress narrative" that is, from Lurie's initial habit of conflating real or imagined losses—an inclination which, according to Antonio Gramsci, undermines "the optimism of the will" (qtd. in Gullette 1997: 8)—to his increasing awareness that there exists in later life, "a fundamental condition of possibility" (Hepworth 2000: 30). It is necessary to begin however, by positioning Coetzee's text within the historical, cultural and literary context of similar writings on the theme of ageing and sexual desire in order to assess the value of his contribution to a topic that has stimulated, not only remarkably strong opinions, but also avowedly ageist attitudes.

Not yet fifty-five, the philosopher Jean Améry, who had survived internment in a German concentration camp during World War Two, wrote: "The terror of my experiences at Auschwitz have been, incredible to say, less filled with internal horror and anguish than the experience of ageing" (qtd. in Gullette 1997: 7). While Améry's reaction to the experience of ageing is notable for its tone of unreserved nihilism, it corresponds closely to cultural perspectives commented upon by writers such as Simone de Beauvoir, who has noted how in Western society, old age has been, and indeed continues to be, "a kind of shameful secret that it is unseemly to mention" (1996: 1). It can be stated without reservation that both old age and symbolic representations of the ageing body have been imbued with negative connotations throughout the history of Western civilisation. Kathleen Woodward has described old age as being "one of the discontents of our civilisation", which has traditionally been subjected to our society's predilection for dichotomising subjective reality, i.e., body/soul, culture/nature, etc. In terms of the experience of ageing, it has frequently been defined in terms of "splitting": "Youth, represented by a youthful body is good: old age, represented by the ageing body, is bad" (Woodward 1991: 7). This penchant for partitioning the life cycle into two mutually antagonistic categories, together with the

implication that old age reflects not only physical but also moral decay, has inevitably led the ageing process to be viewed with great trepidation. It has frequently been perceived as embodying negative changes to one's identity and self-image, to one's physical appearance and to one's ability to exercise control over the immediate environment. Not only have signs of ageing been invariably equated with bodily betrayal and actual or incipient frailty, they are, at least in modern secular society, experienced as connected to the inevitable, feared encounter with the boundary between life and death. The frequent lack of ambiguity in social representations of ageing and the relative paucity of their elaboration or differentiation are aptly exemplified by the views of Juvenal, who claimed that "Young people vary a lot [. . .] but the old are all like" (qtd. in Magnan 1984: 22). Given that an individual's ageing experience is determined directly by the cultural context in which that person ages, it is inevitable that negative social attitudes towards ageing are internalised to the degree that the powerful and universal experience of ageing is frequently met with an overwhelming sense of denial. In this respect our fear of ageing is similar to our dread of personal extinction, in that it is a reality we wish to retain as an "abstract conception" for as long as humanly possible. Inevitably, such denial is one reason why, as Roland Blythe has pointed out, "The inescapability of old age is now secretly for many, the new predicament" (1979: 19).

One of the most feared consequences of ageing is the supposed diminution of sexual desire. Since the establishment of western society's ideological precepts, primarily rooted in Platonic philosophy, the belief has been widespread that ageing automatically involves the erasure of sensual and sexual pleasure: Hubert C. Corey has commented that, regarding western perceptions of old age and its relationship to physical passion, sexuality "has been perceived with not a trace of ambiguity [. . .] On the contrary, it has been a topic of some fairly strong opinions and ageist attitudes" (1991: 110). Such convictions have encouraged the belief that sexual desire in elderly persons is unnatural and immoral. There is a general image of old people as being infertile in all aspects of life, a phenomenon that is a manifestation of the claim that the aged are devoid of sexual needs. The belief that sexuality automatically "withers away" has long since been turned into the quite unfounded assumption that with age, we naturally become asexual. This widespread opinion has been commented upon by John Cowper Powys who, at the age of

seventy, wrote "How well old people come to know that peculiar look of suppressed disgust which their obstinate concentration on some restricted sensual pleasure excites in the feverish idealism of the young" (qtd. in Blythe 1979: 13). There is a great deal of evidence which suggests that the general belief that sensual pleasure remains the exclusive domain of the young, has condemned many elderly people to feelings of sexual repression, frustration and loneliness. In a culture which either forbids or denies the reality of sexual desire in the aged, those who are unable to conform to the ramifications of such conventional views are seen as pitiful or "unnatural". In the words of one commentator, this is why many elderly people "have been condemned to live half lives" (Blythe 1979: 103).

In fact as Roland Blythe has noted in his seminal book *The View in Winter*, "old age is not an emancipation from desire for most of us: that is a large part of its tragedy" (1979: 16). Montaigne confirmed the difficulty in renouncing sexual desire during the latter stages of life when he observed that "our desires incessantly grow young again; we are always beginning again to live [. . .] we have one foot in the grave and yet our appetites and pursuits spring up every day" (qtd. in Blythe 1979: 21). It is hardly surprising therefore that the aged, in addition to being what geriatric psychologists have termed "wounded in their narcissism" (Blythe 1979: 17) by the natural effects of the ageing process, view the assumption that they should renounce sexual desire as being an additional, gratuitous, insult to their sense of identity.

It is also regrettable that, given literature's role as a cultural artefact which encodes a culture's dominant values, attitudes and prejudices, it has also frequently been culpable of endorsing negative perceptions of ageing and sexual desire. Throughout literary history there has been virtual unanimity in rejecting the sexuality of the aged. Robert Magnan's critical examination of medieval literature has shown how the expression of any form of sexual desire in the aged was frowned upon, partly because of the dogma that intercourse should serve only for reproductive purposes and also due to the cult of youth and beauty in courtly love (1984). In literary texts from this period, age is frequently set in opposition to love and desire, both of which were believed to be the exclusive domain of the younger population. Noting that expressions of this attitude abound in medieval literature, Magnan mentions that it is not only the misalliance between the different generations that brings

reproach upon older people; rather, any manner of sexual activity on behalf of the aged is treated with suspicion. Philip de Novare, for example, once memorably warned against the marriage of two "old" people—that is, over 60 years of age—because "two things rotting in one bed is not at all proper (qtd. in Magnan 1984: 28); and a popular French pamphlet, published in 1873, noted that "like our hair, our desires should wither" (qtd. in Magnan 1984: 14). Such perspectives were also endemic in eighteenth and nineteenth century literary texts which, when they deigned to discuss the subject of ageing and sexual desire at all, frequently pointed to the apparent inevitability of suffering from what could be interpreted as "a lamed eros". This view gained credence from the widely held conviction that the incapacities of old age were precipitated by a decline in hormone levels. Indeed, so pervasive was this assumption that it was as late as 1934 that William Butler Yeats underwent his infamous "monkey gland" operation designed to resurrect his failing libido. As Blythe has cogently pointed out, even in relatively contemporary literary accounts of sexuality and ageing, there is much "which is scandalously similar to that which governed nineteenth century attempts to solve the intractable problem of the poor" (1979: 19).

However, the last three decades or so have witnessed the proliferation of literary texts dealing, in a more considered and nuanced manner than formerly, with an issue that has, due to demographic trends, assumed a greater visibility within popular culture. This period has witnessed two specific and noteworthy changes in terms of literature and the theme of ageing; on the one hand, as Mike Hepworth has pointed out, older characters have more frequently been moved by their authors from a marginal position in fiction to one of centre stage (2000: 12); equally, there has been a proliferation of texts in which such characters begin to comprehend that an individual's experience of ageing and sexuality is directly determined by cultural circumstances. This new type of fiction, which has dealt almost exclusively with ageing female characters, is called the *Reifungsroman*, or "the novel of ripening".[2] It rejects negative cultural stereotypes about ageing and sexuality and produces alternative

[2] For an analysis of the *Reifungsroman* literary subgenre, see Barbara Frey Waxman's *From the Hearth to the Open Road: A Feminist Study of Ageing in Contemporary Literature* (1990).

"progress narratives", which assert that society's problem orientated approach to ageing is both prejudicial and counterproductive. One of the psychological, ethical and cultural functions of women's alternative progress fiction is to redefine experience during mid and later life to include the concept of self-rescue. It confronts the social forces which structure perceptions of ageing as decline and attempts to examine and undermine the "chain of signifiers" that marginalise the ageing woman to the point of symbolic invisibility. These texts recognise that the ageing process is an interactive experience between body, self and society and create female characters who adopt oppositional strategies towards the cultural forces that impose images of decline. This renegotiation is closely connected to a situation which forces women at a noticeably earlier stage than men to challenge society's prejudiced conception of the ageing body. Given that external signs of ageing are frequently remarked upon earlier in their life course, women are often presented with an opportunity to re-evaluate their sense of self at a comparatively early stage. In this regard, they are afforded the opportunity to view the ageing process as a corroboration of both personal and social growth and may even concur with Gullette's view that "ageing can feel like a cure" (1988: xxv).

It is unfortunately the case that men have had fewer and weaker messages of this kind addressed to them. Within the cultural sphere there exists, even today, remarkably little ethnography of male ageing and a scarcity of first-hand reports from men regarding its effects on their concept of identity. Research that has focused on the issue has been characterised by its precariousness, partly because the analysis of the cultural construction of later life has often focused on women, and also because of the existence of a greater number of elderly women than men. Within the field of literature, we have not witnessed the emergence of a large number of texts which fruitfully engage with the experience of male ageing in a manner equivalent to that of the *Reifungsroman*. Those that have done so have largely focused upon the experience of decline, failure and loss. Leslie A. Fiedler has identified how, in various traditional folk narratives, ageing frequently relegates men to a position of status inferiority, a condition they reject by attempting to recoup their sexual potency (1986: 40). This is done with the aid of magical powers as these supernatural forces are thought to enhance their potency and even help them seduce younger partners. In a variation of this recurrent

storyline, which originates with an evocation of impotency in old age, the subsequent events reflect a wish fulfilment fantasy of restoring youth and genital vigour with a secret potion. The narrative ultimately lapses into a nightmare scenario when the miraculous recovery turns out to have been a hoax or a diabolical trap.

Many of the elements woven into this seemingly archetypal tale—such as the seduction of a younger female by an ageing man, the terror of physical entropy and the attendant fear of a loss in sexual possibilities—are all embedded, as central thematic concerns, in Coetzee's *Disgrace*. David Lurie is a fifty-two-year-old Professor at the Technical University of Cape Town. An ageing scholar with a specialist interest in the Romantic Poets, he is reduced to teaching introductory courses in "communications" as the university has changed its emphasis from liberal arts to that of technical education. He has a brief affair with Melanie Isaacs, one of his female students, and when the relationship is brought to the attention of the university authorities, Lurie is asked to make a public apology and enter into counselling if he wishes to save his career. Believing himself to be scapegoated by the forces of political correctness, he pleads guilty to charges of sexual harassment but refuses to issue a public apology. Leaving the university in a state of disgrace, Lurie visits his lesbian daughter Lucy, who lives alone on a small holding in the Eastern Cape. Carving out a living on a subsistence-level income, Lucy, in order to raise additional funds, also sells flowers and vegetables at a local market in co-operation with her black neighbour, Petrus. On an otherwise calm and uneventful day, the farm is infiltrated by three coloured men who, after simulating a need for assistance, attack Lurie and his daughter. They proceed to both set him on fire and lock him in the bathroom while they repeatedly rape Lucy. The remainder of the novel concerns Lurie's and his daughter's attempt to come to terms with the calamitous nature of these shocking events.

Although the novel reflects upon the post-apartheid society in South Africa and its carefully juxtaposed trials and enquiries constitute a compelling debate over confessional and legal versions of ethics, *Disgrace* principally engages with what Coetzee himself has claimed to be the central theme of his work; the creation of characters who are capable of "slipping their chains and turning their faces to the light" (Attwell 1992: 341). In order to embark upon such a process of self-discovery, David Lurie must first acknowledge his internalisation of the

common belief that ageing, of necessity, involves a movement into a constricted mode of living. His habit of conflating losses has produced profound feelings of alienation, a condition compounded by a recognition that his powers of sexual attraction are waning. When reflecting back upon a period of many years duration in which he enjoyed various sexual conquests, he remembers how:

> If he looked at a woman in a certain way, with a certain intent, she would return his look, he could rely on that. That was how he lived; for years, for decades, that was the backbone of his life.
>
> The one day, it all ended. Without warning his powers fled. Glances that once would have responded to his slid over, past, through him. If he wanted a woman he had to learn to pursue her; often in one way or another, to buy her. (1999: 9)

Remarking that "who would have thought it would have come to an end so soon and so suddenly: the roving, the loving" (1999: 120), this abrupt sense of sudden invisibility precipitates an emotional crisis, culminating in an ill-fated affair with a young female student. Seemingly unaware of his ulterior motives and drawing upon a somewhat skewed reading of Byron's poetry, Lurie legitimises his sexual relationship with Melanie Isaacs by suggesting that "my case rests on the rights of desire" (1999: 89). When called upon to explain his brazen breach of professional ethics, he comments that, when embarking upon the affair "I was no longer a fifty year old divorcee at a loose end. I became a servant of Eros" (1999: 52). Perceiving himself as symbolising an honourable bastion of liberal opinions resisting the malign influence of political correctness, he legitimises his behaviour by suggesting that it represents "a last leap of the flame before it goes out" (1999: 27). Lurie's conviction that his future will consist of an unremittingly bleak old age devoid of sensual delights is augmented by an additional event that undermines his sexual confidence; Soraya, the prostitute he patronises on a weekly basis and for whom he has begun buying gifts, suddenly stops receiving him. Offended by her unexpected indifference, Lurie imagines both her and her colleagues shuddering over him "as one shudders at a cockroach in a washbasin in the middle of the night" (1999: 7), and wonders if he can ask his doctor to castrate him as one neuters a domestic animal. Certainly, by this stage of the novel, one is left in no doubt of the intended irony underlying the opening sentence of the text where Coetzee writes, "For a man of his age, fifty-two, divorced, he has,

to his mind, solved the problem of sex rather well" (1999: 1). The use of the words "to his mind", in conjunction with Lurie's identification of sexual desire as representing a "problem", suggests a man who is moving from a stable sense of self into a condition of crisis. Coetzee skilfully endorses this belief by linking Lurie's increasing sense of personal crisis to the painful realignment in the political landscape of South Africa. Lurie's coloured neighbour Petrus, finds himself in the same life-phase as Lucy's father, yet there is a notable contrast in the manner in which they confront the experience of ageing. The portrayal of Petrus as the embodiment of fertility—indeed, one of his wives has just given birth to a new baby—symbolises the increasing vitality of the previously oppressed black majority. This confidence is deliberately contrasted to the situation facing the white minority, who are unsuccessfully clinging to the last vestiges of colonial rule. The relationship between sexual potency and political power is made clear in the scene where Petrus is presented, by Lucy, with a bedcover as a gift; a keepsake that undoubtedly resonates with symbolic significance.

Lurie's insistence on perceiving the relationship between ageing and sexuality as being an inherently problematic one is partly attributable to his unquestioning acceptance of the negative and stereotypical views that proliferate around the issue of ageing. Stating that "After a certain age, one is no longer appealing and that's that" (1999: 67), his projection of a veritable litany of dismal and pathetic images concerning the elderly is symptomatic of his belief that the ageing process is reducible to the experience of ineluctable physical and mental decline. Convinced that "Soon, maliciously he will be shuddered over" (1999: 7), he sees himself "white haired, stooped, shuffling to the corner-shop to buy his half-litre of milk and half-loaf of bread; he sees himself sitting blankly at a desk in a room full of yellowing papers, waiting for the afternoon to peter out so that he can cook his evening meal and go to bed" (1999: 107). It is both interesting and revealing that Lurie's belief that old age consists of "being without hopes, without desires, indifferent to the future" (1999: 52) is based on an intimation of the condition of ageing rather than an actual experience. He is comparatively young—barely fifty-two-years-old—yet his sense of dread reflects a development that is noteworthy from a historical perspective; that is, his angst reflects the comparatively recent phenomenon whereby ageing-as-inward-anxiety has become a quintessentially midlife problem. In this respect, age ideology could be

said to have moved the "problem" of ageing backwards, from old age into the middle years. In fact, many psychoanalysts, psychiatrists and other researchers working with clinical data often view a so-called "middle-age" crisis as a developmental inevitability. According to the psychoanalyst Eliot Jacques (1965), this development is hardly surprising given that at the midpoint of our lives our fears of decline and death reach crisis proportions, partly due to the clear evidence of physiological changes in our bodies. Michael P. Farrell and Stanley D. Rosenberg claim that men entering middle age confront a common range of alterations which predispose them to undergo a crisis (1981: 85-86). They argue that a gradual accumulation of life problems and role transitions ultimately lead a man to experience himself as having become middle-aged. These alterations, in tandem with the acknowledgement that their relation to self and social environment tends to become increasingly problematic, predisposes many men to undergo a crisis. Within a literary context, Margaret Gullette has noted how, at the beginning of the last century, literature began to create a host of ageing male characters, the most striking and canonical of which experienced the ageing process as signifying unexpectedly rapid and absolutely irreversible, physical and mental decline. Arguing that although such texts are often plausible in their depiction of male fears about ageing, she contends that what is being constructed in these novels is "a midlife crisis, but without resolution to follow". Gullette states that:

> In the middle-class novels, male midlife disabilities are petty but telling. In other words, a reader can find the symbolism ludicrous and nevertheless conclude that the midlife is drearily predictable and his own physique deteriorating. And he may share the conclusion I have many times heard men say and never understood: "Downhill all the way". (1997: 53)

In a humorous aside, Gullette suggests that many such male characters appear to be suffering from the vicissitudes of a condition affectionately known as M.A.A.D, an acronym for "Middle Aged and Downhill" (1997: 16).

One manifestation of a typical male midlife crisis frequently commented upon and which is identifiable as an important component of David Lurie's personality is a tendency to indulge in what has been termed as "untheorized nostalgia". In Lurie's case, the immersion in "anxiety-producing, masochistic, life-course nostalgia" (Gullette 1997:

56) is determined by two overriding factors; the centrality of the body to his past sense of identity, and also the burden of what Cowper Task, in 1784, referred to as "Memory's pointing wand / that calls the past to our exact review" (qtd. in Butler 1968: 486). Of course, in general terms the ageing body is never just a physical entity subjected to the imperatives of cellular and organic decay; rather, it is continually being inscribed with cultural perspectives that equate the ageing body with deterioration, while its youthful equivalent is suggestive of energy, vigour and grace. For Lurie ageing equals decline, and decline is primarily judged from the external signs of ageing. As a younger man, his physical attractiveness encouraged him to view his body as "the bedrock of the real" and this, together with a mental image of his remembered body in the past, makes him nostalgic for a time when his sexuality was most active. As A.L. Vischer rightly points out: "It is difficult to renounce a thing when we know its value [. . .] and our memory of it does not fade but even calls for repetition" (qtd. in Blythe 1979: 19). This echoes Lurie's belief that nostalgia for a time of personal sexual fulfilment, allied with a realisation that one's ageing body precludes the possibility of indulging in such pleasures, is truly one of the greatest tragedies of the ageing process: "Yet the old man whose company he seems to be on the point of joining. – all of them were once upon a time children of God, with straight limbs and clear eyes. Can they be blamed for clinging to the last of their places at the sweet banquet of the senses?" (1999: 24).

These "old men", as Lurie refers to them, seem, like Lurie himself, to have their point of reference in the past—in the experience of young minds and bodies—and this overwhelming sense of desperation and nostalgia makes them resistant to the whole concept of change. For the greater part of the narrative, Lurie instinctively equates change with decline and seems oblivious to the idea that life can be a set of acquisitions, an active process that includes flexibility and growth. Although he is aware that he is living in a political world that is uncomfortably in transition—at one point he confides that "It is a new world they live in, he and Lucy and Petrus" (1999: 119) —, he continues to insist that "His temperament is not going to change; he is too old for that" (1999: 2). His inability to view identity as fluid rather than a static collection of clearly compartmentalised roles makes him reluctant to accept the inevitability of time passing.

Nevertheless, several factors coalesce which oblige Lurie to recognise the importance of coming to terms with his ageing body and realise that his acute sense of stagnation and depression can be transformed into an acceptance of what is, after all, a natural phenomenon. The horrific rape of his daughter, together with the shocking experience of having his body badly burned by the intruders, pushes Lurie into a hitherto unprecedented period of self-reflection. A reassessment of his role as a father in the face of an inability, not only to protect his daughter from physical harm, but also to persuade her to terminate her subsequent pregnancy, provides a forceful momentum for his acceptance of loss. The recognition of what he no longer has—his career, his parental role and, most importantly, his youthful self—leads to a period of mourning. That his phase is superseded by a sense of acceptance is partly due to his relationship with Bev, a married friend of Lucy's, who works in the local area as a moderately qualified, voluntary veterinarian. Bev not only encourages him to show sympathy and respect for what are essentially abandoned, mistreated or simply dying animals, she also, by engaging in a brief physical relationship with Lurie, forces him to confront his conflicted sexual desire. Although he finds Bev remarkably unfeminine, Lurie, principally at her instigation, embarks upon the affair as a *rite de passage*. After their first sexual contact is over, Lurie interprets the experience as symbolising a form of initiation: "let me not forget this day, he tells himself, lying beside her when they are spent. After the sweet young flesh of Melanie Isaacs, this is what I have come to. This is what I will have to get used to, this and even less than this" (1999: 177). The relationship rapidly becomes a platonic one as Lurie learns to value Bev for her qualities of endurance and perception, rather than viewing her as an—admittedly to Lurie's eyes, somewhat unattractive—sexual object. Equally, it is through his friendship with Bev and his admiration for her ability to offer solace to maimed and sick animals that Lurie comes into daily contact with the inescapable reality of death. His transition from a position of scepticism regarding the value of providing emotional support to dying animals, to a conviction that such animals should not face extinction unaccompanied, is indicative of a growing need to confront the reality of his own inevitable demise.

A consequence of Lurie's willingness to confront the ever-present spectre of non-existence, together with his insight that ageing involves

not only decline but also a sense of "value-added", is quite remarkably, a period of unforeseen yet intense creativity. It is true that the idea of converting profound experiences into a form of artistic expression is hardly new: when asked to reveal what constituted the original impetus behind one of his literary works, Proust retorted "I had to recapture from the shade that which I felt, to reconvert it into the psychic equivalent. But the way to do it, the only way I could see [. . .] was to create a work of art" (qtd. in Woodward 1985: 9). Although in Lurie's case he has previously published two somewhat insubstantial critical texts on the Romantic Poets, he has long toyed with the idea of writing music. This idea had crystallised around the form of a chamber opera, incorporating a meditation on love between the sexes. As first conceived, the opera had as its thematic core Lord Byron and his mistress the Contessa Guiccioli, together with Byron's lover, Teresa. In its original form, the work engaged with an articulation of the perennial topics of love and death, with the focus upon a passionate young woman and a once passionate but now less than infatuated older man. Nevertheless, despite this interesting blueprint, Lurie concedes that "the project had failed to engage the core of him". However, his increasingly successful negotiation with the ageing process, leads him to return to the chamber play and it is revealing how the ageing process has come to assume a central role in its revamped construction. No longer fixated upon Teresa as an energetic young lover, Lurie wonders if "an older Teresa will engage his heart as his heart is now?" (1999: 197). It is noticeable that the "new" Teresa has lost the attribute of physical beauty: "The passage of time has not treated Teresa kindly. With her heavy bust, her stocky trunk, her abbreviated legs, she looks more like a peasant than an aristocrat" (1999: 198). Yet evidently Lurie finds this creation of an ageing woman much more compelling than the younger, more physically attractive incarnation. So much so in fact, that he feels "he can now put himself in the role of giving voice to a woman" (1999: 200). The successful and rapid completion of the chamber opera symbolises a creative resolution of the imaginative mind, the genesis of which originates in Lurie's acceptance of the ageing process in all its multifarious forms. This interpretation is given credence in the final scene of the novel, in which we glimpse Lurie walking contemplatively towards his daughter's farm. He admits that he "lacks the virtues of the old: equanimity, kindness, patience. But perhaps these virtues will come as other virtues go: the virtue of passion for

instance. He must have a look again at Victor Hugo, poet of grandfatherhood. There may be things to learn" (1999: 210).

Lurie appears ready to embark upon a new phase of life, one that perhaps will be characterised by the acknowledgment that change underpins all experience and that to be old is not necessarily to be "pre-death". Desire for Lurie has moved from a fixation on sexuality to a desire to create a work of art that reflects his new state of being. His success in transforming his troubling sexual desire into a creative form of artistic expression represents not only a resolution of his midlife crisis but also the acceptance of future possibilities. He views the completion of his chamber opera as a gift and "like a flower blooming in his breast, his heart floods with thankfulness" (1999: 201).

It could be argued therefore that Disgrace constitutes that rare phenomenon within the literary canon; a *Reifungsroman* or "novel of ripening" featuring a central male protagonist. David Lurie's fear of ageing has driven him to dwell upon what he perceives to be his implacable deterioration, an attitude of despair which ultimately leads to a form of retirement from life. Thankfully, rather than experiencing a diminution of creative potential his subsequent wealth of creative possibilities serves as a refutation of the common belief that the latter stages of life necessarily involve, in Cowper Task's words, "dropping buckets into empty wells / And growing old in drawing nothing up" (qtd. in Blythe 1979: 283). One of the most notable achievements of Coetzee's novel is to oppose the major discourse of western culture which rarely presents the topic of male ageing in terms of creativity in later life. If it is true, as Irma Kurtz has claimed, that "age throws a shabby cloak over all women" (2004: 5), the same fate has surely befallen many men. Although the consumerist system whose values we imbibe clearly exploits gender differences, it is not primarily concerned with the biological sex it utilises. If the starting point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of oneself as being a product of a historical process, it is vital that men identify the infinity of traces which ageist cultural ideas have impacted upon their sense of self. This is why, as theorist R.W. Connell has mentioned, understanding the ageing process is of utmost importance to men: "Age is crucial. If they can get you to 'feel your age'.–.to feel over-the-hill and wistful about youth because you think youth equals true masculinity.–.you are theirs" (qtd. in Gullette 1997: 143). If, as Irma Kurtz suggests, "a long, long time must pass before you

reach a harbour to call home" (2004: 8), *Disgrace* at least holds out the possibility of navigating a course towards the shore of acceptance.

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More than Murderers, Other than Men: Views of Masculinity in Modern Crime Fiction

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Introduction

In the crime novels *The Silence of the Lambs* (*SL*) by the American author Thomas Harris,[1] *The Mermaids Singing* (*MS*) by British Val McDermid, and *Night Sister* (*NS*) by Norwegian Unni Lindell[2] the murderers in these texts are discussed, explicitly in two cases and implicitly in one, as not being homosexual, transsexual or transvestite. The narrative technique is subtly elaborate: to propose that someone is not homosexual, for example, concurrently verbalizes homosexuality. Furthermore, considering the fact that the characters are so firmly located in a narrated environment characterized by heterosexuality and heteronormativity, they stand out as being, to say the least, and for want of a more appropriate word, non-heterosexual. This article argues that the murderers' non-heterosexuality is depicted as contributing to, or is even suggested as the reason for, their violent behavior; it drives them to murder and ultimately to their own death. Joseph Grixti describes Jame Gumb in *The Silence of the Lambs* as "the psychopathic loner who turns into a vicious beast, largely as a consequence of serious gender identity problems […]" (91). This is true of all three killers: in the novels 'gender identity problems' are equated with psychological problems. By providing these characterizations, masculinity as a result is represented as being 'sane,' normal, and more or less stable.

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[1] Director Jonathan Demme's film adaptation of *Silence of the Lambs* will also be referred to when relevant. The novel and the film are two different narratives of course, but the major themes are the same.

[2] *Nattsøsteren* has not (yet) been translated to English; I have therefore made my own translations when necessary.

The novels' criminals are characters who cross perceived gender boundaries. The novels themselves cross the boundaries of the crime genre. The deaths and the murders that are portrayed in these novels are only a conventional part of crime fiction since violence is a prerequisite of the genre itself. When a gender and sexuality perspective is added, however, the narratives can be read as horror stories, and the influence from the genre of horror movies is difficult to ignore. This is so for three reasons; firstly there is the link between the homosexual and the monster, secondly there is the theme of metamorphosis and thirdly, the motif of the mask.

Mixtures, madness and monsters

In this article connections are made between heterosexuality and masculinity because they are linked in the novels too, which of course in no way makes them unique. Without this thing called gender there would be no classification called hetero-or homosexuality. Eve Sedgwick formulates this herself when she maintains that "to be gay, or to be classified as gay" is to be "sexed or gendered" (54). Michael S. Kimmel writes that from a historical and developmental point of view, "masculinity has been defined as the flight from women, the repudiation of femininity." What every young man —boy—must do is form "a secure identity for himself as a man." He concludes that "[m]asculinity is irrevocably tied to sexuality" (185). In the descriptions of the killers' childhoods, we are told a similar story over and over again, only slightly altered. They do not—as boys—develop and secure a masculine identity. They, instead, develop in a feminine direction. In the case of Alf Boris Moen in *Night Sister*, for instance, we are told that he forced his younger sister to take off her dresses and nightgowns so he could wear them instead. As a consequence, his violent behavior starts at an early age too; he viciously chooses to bite his sister's ankles, for example. It furthermore becomes apparent that the love and affection he feels for his mother is based on her feminine qualities, illustrated here by Alf Boris Moen saying: "I have always loved my mother; the smell of her, her dresses, hats and stockings. Not that she dressed particularly well" (*NS* 323). His femininity is highlighted further by his comment in passing on how his mother was in the habit of dressing shabbily.

Angelica Thorpe of *The Mermaids Singing* illustrates the same insecure male identity and explains: "*About that time [at the age of 16] I discovered that dressing in women's clothes made me feel good about myself*" (MS 353-354, original italics). This is described as a very active decision on Thorpe's part, because she had "*seen enough men to know that [she] didn't want to grow up like them*" (MS 353, original italics). This means that she actively repudiates manhood and what manhood implies, and that the identity she wants to secure is outside the boundaries of masculinity.

All three murderers in these crime narratives are depicted as inviting femininity; they deliberately cross the boundaries of masculinity. Richard Tithecott writes about real serial killers and the relation between their acts and homosexuality and homophobia,

> [t]he motivation of serial killers is frequently explained in terms of the need to expel: to expel the feminine, to expel the homosexual. The idea that serial killers kill repeatedly in order to demonstrate their manhood (and its associate, heterosexuality) is expressed in the negative; that is they are represented as attempting to destroy manhood's 'opposite(s).' Such maneuvering allows masculinity to be literally silent. (57)

Masculinity and heterosexuality are 'associated' and masculinity in a type of pure form is thus an ideal state—'silent' as Tithecott expresses it—and ostensibly has the status of a concept that does not require critical investigation or questioning. The killers in these three novels do not kill in order to expel anything feminine, instead they kill because they do not engage in expelling at all. They break the bond between masculinity and heterosexuality and embrace femininity, and in the end then also non-heterosexuality, as in the example of Angelica Thorpe. Yet, as Tithecott mentions: "The question (and its problem) becomes not masculinity but femininity, or rather femininity's invasion of masculinity" (58); it is when masculinity (manhood) is disturbed by femininity that homosexual tendencies can surface and threaten not only the person in question but also the general public. Moreover, this disturbance leads to a mixture of gender attributes,

The mixture of femininity and masculinity can be seen as representations of what Philip L. Simpson calls a "cultural phobia" (2) and the mixture furthermore, in many ways, transforms the murderers into the familiar monsters of the horror genre. In his article "The Monster

and the Homosexual," Harry M. Benshoff recapitulates a study of anti-homosexual viewpoints, and locates three chief areas of interest. Anti-homosexuality is evidently born and nurtured in the sense of feeling threatened and the three forms of threat are: homosexuality as a threat to the individual, as a threat to others, and finally as a threat to the community itself. He summarizes: "In short […] homosexuality is a monstrous condition" (91). The first threat we can link to the business of expelling: the possibility that you yourself might be homosexual. The second and third dangers are displayed in the novels quite clearly. There is nothing subtle about murder, it is an immediate threat to others, as well as to the community, since, in two cases, the characters are serial killers. If we linger a bit on the issue of community, we can moreover see the killers in yet another perspective: the main threat that they represent is not death itself but their un-normative masculinity/sexuality. Their unconventionality threatens the traditional values of the community. Benshoff points out that both monsters and homosexuals have lived in the closet, and when they dare enter the world they cause panic and fear (92). In other words, the closet works as a guard of gender boundaries where those who transgress them are hidden or choose to hide.

The symbolic closet in the case of Angelica, Alf Boris Moen, and Jame Gumb is the basement, a commonly depicted sphere in the horror movie genre. Angelica has built her torture chamber in the cellar. When Tony Hill is being held captive there he notices that "[s]he moved well in her heels, her stride measured and feminine. It was interesting, since she had obviously reverted to more masculine movements under the stress of kidnapping and killing" (*MS* 343). This viewpoint shows the sharp line that is drawn between feminine and masculine, and that a mixture of genders is so remarkable that it is worth contemplating, even though Tony Hill is at the time being tortured.

Furthermore, it is in this area below ground Alf Boris Moen in *Night Sister* keeps his tools to step out of masculinity and into femininity: his mother's clothes, makeup and so on. Like a vampire or werewolf he is usually active at night. Hiding in the dark he can transform himself into a woman: "*I am your night sister. You can't tell anyone, because you want a big sister, don't you?* (*NS* 332)," as he tells his younger sister. When it comes to Jame Gumb in *The Silence of the Lambs*, Thomas Harris describes his basement as resembling a nightmare vision: "Room onto room, Jame Gumb's basement rambles like the maze that thwarts us in

dreams. When he was still shy, lives and lives ago, Mr Gumb took his pleasure in the room most hidden, far from the stairs" (*SL* 232). Harris speaks directly to the reader here, making the dream of the maze a shared one, and in a similar fashion to Unni Lindell emphasizes nighttime. This basement is very much linked to masculinity and violence since it is now the place where he imprisons his victims and also where he keeps his moths. The female victims provide him with the skin he needs to make himself a woman suit, and the moth is a symbol of Gumb himself, the transformation he is going through.

The clothes, makeup and new skin are in the novels versions of the mask of the horror film, and thus enhance the monstrosity of the quest for femininity the murderers have embarked upon. Benshoff also stresses the monstrous quality of the dangerous mixing of gender characteristics: it is the male gay or queer's display of femininity that makes him monstrous. Femininity "taints" masculinity (94). The choice of the word 'taints' signals that the mixing of femininity and masculinity entails the mixture of something not so good with something good. The attributes that are associated with masculinity and femininity respectively may have changed over time and are changing still, but the evaluations of them have not changed to the same extent. An example of this tainting can be seen in *Night Sister*. Here, the killer's apartment is described and the feminine aspects of the apartment are highlighted. Lindell writes that "the furnishing was a strange mix of masculine and feminine elements" (*NS* 54). Stereotypical examples of femininity are given such as a pink, knitted tablecloth with lace, a thermos with a pattern of pink roses, and a book by Virginia Woolf (*NS* 54). Moen has some ultra-masculine attributes in his home too: antique weapons hanging on the wall. The combination of weaponry and pink roses underscores the unnatural quality of the apartment. The police also note that Moen "was apparently proud of his apartment" (*NS* 55) and thus questioning why, when evidently, as the author puts it, it is 'strange.' The apartment is thus constructed through what seems to be a dialogue between masculinity and femininity, and what makes it strange is not the mixture *per se*, but that Moen is a man living there alone. He is even a man who works at the department of defense, a masculine type of job in a masculine type of space. Despite his gender and line of work Moen displays feminine emotions and almost starts to cry (*NS* 62), making the two police inspectors—one man and one woman—who visit him in his home

equally embarrassed. When it is eventually discovered that Moen dresses in women's clothes, his mother's clothes to be precise, reiterating *Psycho*'s Norman Bates, the question arises if "he had other dangerous secrets too" (*NS* 355). What the dangerous aspect of cross dressing actually is, is not elaborated on but a question left to the reader to ponder.

Cross dressing as a dangerous activity is apparent in the 1960 classic horror movie *Psycho* by Alfred Hitchcock. In separate yet similar discussions of this film, both Brian Baker and J. Tharp claim that Norman Bates's issues with his mother, and the cross-dressing that follows, have influenced many subsequent killer narratives. J. Tharp makes specific links between *Psycho* and *Silence of the Lambs*, the movie, saying that "there are so many common threads between *Psycho* and *The Silence of the Lambs* that I cannot imagine the latter not to be subconsciously imitating the former" (107). Baker cites Carol J. Clover and stresses the impact *Psycho* has had on the genre (of horror film), "the killer propelled by psychosexual fury, more particularly a male in gender distress, has proved a durable one, and the progeny of Norman Bates stalk the genre up to the present day"(72).

There are traces of *Psycho* and other horror movies as regards the treatment of masculinity and violence in all three novels. The masks which cover or obscure the faces of Jason in *Friday the 13th*, Leatherface in *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre*, *Halloween*'s Michael Myers and countless others, are replaced with heavy makeup, cross dressing, body remodeling and other changes. Angelica Thorpe in *The Mermaids Singing* is at one point referred to as "she, he, *it*" (*MS* 380, my emphasis) to stress a monstrous quality she possesses. Furthermore, the theme of metamorphosis is prominent, as in any vampire or werewolf movie. In *The Silence of the Lambs* metamorphosis is the key theme above all others, highlighted by the motif of the moth. In addition, but also as a parenthesis, both vampires and werewolves are monsters often linked to the topic of sexuality.

In quite a striking manner, the narratives place substantial emphasis on the killers' personal psychological history and development into killers. Two of the murderers, Jame Gumb and Angelica Thorpe, are found by medical expertise to be unbalanced and consequently denied a sex change operation. *The Mermaids Singing*'s Angelica Thorpe "has been examined by psychiatrists and found to be unstable" (*MS* 368), or, as one male police officer states, "was definitely a few butties short of a

picnic" (*MS* 368). He has no medical background or expertise necessary to make comments on somebody's psychological state of mind, but as a male authority figure he can make this comment, since his position is still one of power. Thorpe is indeed a male in gender distress, to use Clover's term again, "'because of her lack of insight into her own sexuality'" (*MS* 384), as psychologists stated.

In his turn, Jame Gumb in *The Silence of the Lambs* is described by medical authorities as someone who did very well on "the Wechler Intelligence Scale—bright normal—but the psychological testing and the interviews were another story" (*SL* 358). He is 'revealed' in the psychological tests, tests that the second serial killer in the same novel, Hannibal Lecter, is described as too intelligent to let himself be labeled by. The last of the three murderers, Alf Boris Moen is called a mad, evil failure (*NS* 345) and he claims himself that he is losing his mind (*NS* 347). Unni Lindell writes:

> He liked having control over others. He knew he had a limited behavioral pattern, which he kept repeating over and over again. He had read in an article that it was called grave pathological narcissism. He was not so stupid that he did not realize that he was sick, he had read about narcissistic anger. (*NS* 342)

There are no medical experts that comment on his psychological health; Alf Boris Moen himself is depicted as showing great insight into his own psyche.

The narratives thus blur the line between gender distress and insanity, making it hard to separate the two states, as well as to determine what leads to what, if indeed one is a result of the other. What is clear, however, is that the blurring is also a strategy to avoid explicitly expressing homophobia. Two of the characters are even portrayed as being homophobic themselves. Angelica Thorpe is said to be someone who "despises those who express their homosexuality openly" (*MS* 188) and explains in her own 'queer' narrative within the frame hetero-narrative:

> *I was a woman trapped in a man's body. That explained why I'd never had much sexual interest in girls. And although I found men attractive, I knew I wasn't a poof. They disgust me, with their pretence at normal relationships when everybody knows that it's only men and women that can fit together properly*. (*MS* 354, original italics)

She not only despises openly gay people, she finds them repulsive. In addition, Jame Gumb was arrested for assaulting homosexual men (*SL* 358). Through presenting the killers as homophobic, other homophobic tendencies in these stories can flourish more easily. For example, Tony Hill, a clinical psychologist and a profiler and thus the major authority in *The Mermaids Singing*, states—"mildly", too—that "'[n]ot all gay men dislike women,' […] 'But a lot do […]'" (*MS* 151). Tony Hill's authoritative position and the allowance for Angelica Thorpe's version of events contribute to the view that the novel is in fact not anti-gay or homophobic, and we should only regard the characterization of Angelica Thorpe as a characterization of an individual person who had a terrible and tragic childhood.

As mentioned above, Angelica Thorpe is given a voice in *The Mermaids Singing*, and her words might serve as a redeeming factor when we are confronted with her violent crimes. We 'get to know her' in a manner of speaking, and learn first-hand of her tragic childhood. However, Thorpe may speak—she is not silent—but she is given meaning in the frame narrative, the heteronormative narrative, more than in her own. This is due to the fact that it is in the frame narrative that the medical experts, Tony Hill and other authorities are situated. They represent the norm, and have the power to define her as abnormal. As a result, in the normative story, Thorpe is abnormal and a threat to the order of society. We find the detailed descriptions of her sadistic streak and how she tortures her victims in her own narrative, however. "*I stroked his soft hair and said, 'Welcome to the pleasure dome*'" (*MS* 92, original italics). Every bloody detail is graphically described and as she dehumanizes her victims she is herself simultaneously also dehumanized and the metamorphosis obviously does not lead to femaleness but monstrosity. Torture sexually arouses her and adds to an aura of disgust around her person.

The way the non-heterosexual killers are represented is evidence of what Eve Sedgewick calls "ignorance of a knowledge:"

> Insofar as ignorance is ignorance of a knowledge—a knowledge that may itself, it goes without saying, be seen as either true or false under some other regime of truth—these ignorances, far from being pieces of the originary dark, are produced by and correspond to particular knowledges and circulate as part of particular regimes of truth. (8)

The particular ignorance of knowledge that circulates in the novels deals with aspects of sexuality in general, and homosexuality in particular. The link—which is blurred but still discernible—between 'non-heterosexuality' and mental un-health adds further to this particular knowledge production. The murderers in the narratives are repeatedly pictured as gender confused and psychologically unstable, two 'states' that are intertwined and ultimately hard to separate from each other. Thorpe "is not comfortable with his own sexuality" (*MS* 188) and Jame Gumb is "not a real transsexual" (*SL* 187) yet "thinks he is" (*SL* 189). *Psycho*'s Norman Bates was created in and for a different medium, but his cross dressing and transgression—moving from male to female, being a 'psycho'—have obviously become stereotypical in the genre of crime and horror, literary or otherwise.[3] These stereotypes indeed 'circulate as part of particular regimes of truth.'

Construing the norm: The silent heterosexual frame narrative

Conventionally in the genre of crime fiction, law represents order and crime disorder or anarchy. When focusing on gender in these novels it is biology that represents order and the disturbance of biology that represents disorder. The major theme in the three narratives is the fatal consequences of non-heterosexuality, or to use Richard Tithecott's words, "severe anxieties about gender" (57). The link between gender anxieties and violence almost overshadows the mystery. The novels confirm the stereotypical and fundamentally homophobic suggestion that anxieties about gender lead to murder. The novel *Night Sister* is the only one which never specifically mentions the words homosexual, transsexual or transvestite in connection with the killer. It also differs from the Anglo-American ones in not dealing with serial killing but with 'ordinary' killing. A serial killer is still quite an unusual character in Scandinavian crime fiction. Homosexuality is mentioned once and then it is regarding a female police officer. The protagonist stops himself just

[3] As a parenthesis, Bates's issues with his mother have also been inherited: all three killers in these novels have unresolved problems with their mothers. But that is a topic for another article.

before pronouncing the 'L-word' and also saying something judgmental about it (*NS* 99). The characterization of the protagonist opens up for the interpretation that homophobia is one of the elements that produce masculinity itself, as has been established many times by, for example, Michael Kimmel.[4] The protagonist and, following the conventions of the genre, the one who will eventually capture and defeat the murderer in the nick of time, police inspector Cato Isaksen, is described as a very masculine man. He has great sexual needs and evaluates the physical appearances of the women he meets and fantasizes about them on a regular basis (*NS* for example, 22, 46, 51, 86, 89, 90, 127, 164, 167). His affairs have caused him trouble over the years, mainly because he is also a married man. He ponders his former affair with a co-worker:

> It had been easy to have Ellen as a mistress, easy and hard at the same time. They understood each other. There was never any fuss afterwards. Ellen had once told him that she was the one who was using him, and not the other way around. He thought that was a beautiful thing for a woman to say. (*NS* 13)

Isaksen is described as someone who is aware of gender constructions, the traditional male and female roles in a romantic relationship and also that this particular relationship was modern from that perspective: he and his mistress had switched roles. His male partners at work tease him for being such a ladies' man, something that undoubtedly suggests envy. A comparison can be made between the very masculine Cato Isaksen and the 'less' masculine Tony Hill in Val McDermid's *The Mermaids Singing*. One common denominator is the homophobic tendency that surfaces at times, as is seen in the above mentioned comment made by Hill concerning gay men and their dislike of women.

McDermid's narrative thus also establishes heterosexuality as the norm, even though the author adds some unconventionality to it: she lets Dr Tony Hill be a sexually insecure character who regularly engages in

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[4] See Kimmel's article "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity" in Peter F. Murphy (ed), *Feminism and Masculinities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

telephone sex.[5] Nevertheless, as soon as he meets the female (heterosexual) protagonist D.I. Carol Jordan they are attracted to each other. Carol Jordan is "instantly aware of the smell of him" (*MS* 84), and Tony Hill "found himself staring at her face" (*MS* 85). Their flirtatious behavior (*MS* for example 31, 42, 55, 77, 80, 84, 85, 111) is emphasized to the extent that it alters the mystery into a twofold one: will the killer be caught and will Carol and Tony start a romance? "'Will you marry me?' [Carol] asked, mock romantic. Tony laughed again, to cover the lurch of apprehension that shifted his stomach, a familiar response to even the most idle of flirtations" (*MS* 80). Will Tony overcome his sexual insecurity and become a more masculine man?

Furthermore, when in the narrative the police believe they are chasing a homosexual murderer the male police officers go undercover at a gay S&M club and are described as feeling very awkward. "Merrick felt like Snow White at an orgy. He didn't have a clue how he was supposed to behave" (*MS* 125), and "[m]ostly, [his colleagues at the club] looked as uncomfortable as he felt" (*MS* 125). They are clearly depicted as men who cannot put on the proper mask, because they lack the knowledge—they are as innocent as Snow White—or talent, and do not want to put on a mask either, pretending to be homosexual. Disgust is also described when a gay man approaches police officer Merrick and Merrick tries hard "not to let his revulsion show in voice or expression" (*MS* 128).

The Silence of the Lambs can on the one hand be understood as a feminist text. It is a story about the young and talented FBI trainee Clarice Starling who struggles with and stands up to the dinosaur FBI and male domination, and eventually is the one who captures "Buffalo Bill." Yet, on the other hand, the stage is also a more traditional, quite familiar and Freudian one: Starling's dead father was a town marshal so Clarice wants to follow in his footsteps. She has two male, older mentors and father figures in her life: FBI agent Jack Crawford and serial killer

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[5] Telephone sex makes him feel like a real man: "For now, it seemed he'd have to settle for the mysterious stranger who managed to make him feel like a man for long enough to drive the demons underground. […] She was everything anyone could desire in a fantasy lover, from gentle to raunchy." (53)

Hannibal Lecter. Both are men who have power and are in control. Lecter is almost ultra masculine: he is behind bars throughout most of the narrative but still has power (over both women and men) and is in a clear authoritative position. Despite the fact that Lecter the only one who is openly labeled a "monster" in the narrative and thus of course induces fear in people, he induces as much respect. Jame Gumb, in comparison, inspires only fear mixed with repulsion. The never outspokenly mentioned heterosexuality that helps define Jame Gumb as a non-heterosexual is also of the often brutal and sexist kind. Starling is a sexual target for both Dr Chilton and an inmate who ejaculates on her when she walks by his cell on her way to see Hannibal Lecter.

While the other two novels use the oppositional relationship between the protagonist and the antagonist, Thomas Harris invites the reader to make comparisons between the two killers of the novel. Harris contrasts a secure, sophisticated (yet, cannibalistic) and super intelligent Hannibal Lecter with the psychologically unsound killer who, to use Lecter's phrasing, "wants a vest with tits on it" (*SL* 173), using women's skins. His crude way of expressing himself here is, in addition, a narrative method to show one of the many great differences between the two killers of this particular novel. Lecter's choice of words corresponds to a deliberate descent down the social ladder; he specifically uses the other killer's words, and not his own, always very cultivated way of expressing himself. In short: he is depicted as more intelligent. In a reception study of the movie, Janet Staiger mentions several critics who also underpin the characterizations of Lecter and Gumb as being binary opposites. Lecter is a vicious genius, straight and upper-class, while Gumb is stupid, working-class, grotesque, and gay (284). Staiger continues, "[a]nother reviewer writes that the film has 'two villains who represent quite different incarnations of evil. Buffalo Bill a grotesque enigma, has absolutely no redeeming virtues. But Lecter is strangely sympathetic, a symbol of muzzled rage'" (284). In comparison to Gumb, and even Dr. Chilton (on the right side of the law), the portrait of Dr. Lecter is basically more positive. It is not so unexpected then that Clarice Starling prefers Lecter to Gumb, since Gumb is constructed in a way that makes it impossible to understand him. Moreover, by giving Gumb the very

masculine nickname Buffalo Bill[6] the 'grotesque enigma'—to reuse Staiger's choice of words—is stressed even more, since he turns out to be a non-heterosexual unmasculine perpetrator. Grixti touches on the subject of crossing the line between fiction and non-fiction and argues:

> The prototypes are not Harris's invention, but appear to derive from a popular tendency to stereotype murderers as either 'making sense' because they are 'obviously' psychotic and sexually messed up, or else, when the label doesn't appear to fit, as somehow being associated with a realm of supernatural evil. (91)

Finally, Lecter and Clarice Starling form together a traditional heterosexual couple, albeit with a morbid twist. This could not have been accomplished if Starling had teamed up with the non-heterosexual Jame Gumb.

Towards the end of the novel we are told that: "At least two scholarly journals explained that [Gumb's] unhappy childhood was the reason he killed women in his basement for their skins. The words *crazy* and *evil* do not appear in either article" (*SL* 411, original emphasis), suggesting that these words should have appeared in any attempt to recapture the events, or ensuring the reader that *The Silence of the Lambs*, never mentioning evil or crazy either, is not a prejudiced narrative when it comes to descriptions of unconventional sexuality.

The True Crime? The Mixing of Femininity and Masculinity.

David Schmid, in *Natural Born Celebrities*, a book on the state of fame of serial killers in the US, underscores the fact that the term monstrosity is never explained. It is in fact so wide and simultaneously vague that it can encompass a large variety of meanings. Its opposite, normality, is used in the same way. He too makes the connection between these terms and the issue of sexuality and asserts that we can "map the terms 'normality' and 'monstrosity' onto 'heterosexuality' and 'homosexuality,' thus demonizing homosexuality by arguing that it is

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[6] Angelica Thorpe is also given a masculine nickname in *The Mermaids Singing*. She is called Handy Andy.

intimately connected (indeed, almost identical) with violence" (209). This intimate connection is seen for example when Angelica Thorpe reaches climax during torture:

> *If he'd worked like Adam had [another victim], the pleasure would have lasted longer. As it was, his screams of agony mingled with my grunts of pleasure. I came like a Guy Fawkes rocket, fire flashing through me and erupting in an orgasm that had me buckling at the knees*. (*MS* 181-182, original italics)

The mingling of the two voices here, one marked with pain and one with pleasure, shows that for Angelica Thorphe to reach a sexual climax, violence is a prerequisite, and violence is born out of severe aggression, born and bred in non-heterosexuality.

The killers are limitless, monstrous, they aggressively transcend the boundaries of maleness to invite and eventually reach femininity, but since these are moral tales, they must fail too. Harris writes: "A lot of electrolysis had removed Gumb's beard and shaped his hairline into a widow's peak, but he did not look like a woman. He looked like a man inclined to fight with his nails as well as his fists and feet" (*SL* 155). The mixing of femininity and masculinity is ridiculed rather than depicted as a sign of monstrosity but the result remains the same: male femininity signals aggression as well as craziness, since he physically looked like somebody 'inclined to fight.'

All three of the killers' physical appearance is accentuated to in turn accentuate their unnatural masks and the theme of metamorphosis. They are also themselves preoccupied with their bodies and looks. The most obvious example is of course Jame Gumb whose goal is to sew himself a new body. His life is lonely, resembling many other stories about killers. His only friend is his poodle Precious and it is to the dog Gumb tells his dreams and life goal: "'Mommy's gonna be so *beautiful*!'" (*SL* 330, original emphasis). His last words, which he utters to Starling before he dies, are appropriate and a sign of his ultimate failure: "'How … does … it feel…to be… so beautiful?'" (*SL* 400), suggesting that for him never finding the answer to that question is worse than losing his life.

The murderers' own view of femininity, which is also of course a long-established one, is linked to beauty. Angelica Thorpe works hard to reach that beauty, but fails because her face is so extremely unattractive, the reader is told by those who see him, as we are told above that Gumb 'did not look like a woman' but more like a grotesque parody of a

woman. Thorpe was "so distinctively ugly" (*MS* 337), that "[n]ot even her mother could have called her attractive" (*MS* 338), and "[f]rom the neck down, she could have been a model for a soft-porn magazine" (*MS* 341). It seems as if Thorpe comes close to beauty and almost succeeds in her metamorphosis, but her ugliness guarantees failure, because "[e]ven though she was skillfully, if heavily, made up, there wasn't a lot she could do with the basic building materials" (*MS* 338). This is Tony Hill's description of Thorpe when he meets her. His own masculinity, which has been described as a bit unconventional due to his sexual insecurity, becomes more secured and stressed here, considering the choice of the very masculine words 'basic building materials,' and the reference to pornography.

Jame Gumb kills to become beautiful and his beautifying procedures are described in detail, and here his insanity is given new dimensions in his blatant disgust with his own biological male sex: "Gumb used the dishmop to tuck his penis and testicles back between his legs. He whipped the shower curtain aside and stood before the mirror, hitting a hipshot pose despite the grinding it caused in his private parts" (*SL* 155). He "applied Friction des Bains, rubbing it over his chest and buttock with his hands and using a dishmop on the parts he did not like to touch" (*SL* 155). If he cannot even touch himself it becomes logical that he would have assaulted homosexual men: to him they represent something repulsive. Harris avoids the word penis in the above description of Gumb, he instead uses euphemisms as 'private parts' or only 'parts,' thus stressing the distancing on Gumb's part from his maleness. He also lets Gumb use a typically feminine attribute in his cleansing procedure, the dishmop. There is no need for other characters' point of view here, because the disgust is planted in Gumb's own view of himself.

Concerning the descriptions of Alf Boris Moen, they are even more obviously coloured with disgust. Lindell uses an almost dated linguistic style, and rather simplistic ways to depict him. He smiles "viciously" (*NS* 360) and he once leans his head back and laughs, like a classical villain in an old silent movie. What makes him differ from the classical villain in this scene is that it is also raining, and his makeup is running down his cheeks (*NS* 335), making him look even more repulsive.

Moen's cross dressing produces feelings of disgust in those who see him. His sister "feels sick from seeing him in his disguise" (*NS* 287). When his mother catches him in her clothes, he starts to paint black

stripes in his face, "where his tears usually fall"—simultaneously stressing femininity and insanity—and he can see repulsion in his mother's eyes (*NS* 342). Despite his many years of secretly cross dressing, he comes across in the narrative as a person who does not quite master the feminine skill of applying makeup. Contrary to what he claims too, he dresses badly. He wears heavy makeup, with blackened eye brows, and bright orange lipstick. In short: he "looks like hell" (*NS* 321). His blouse does not fit due to his fat stomach, and his fake breasts are not on straight (*NS* 323). His pink nail polish has been applied too hastily.

In a similar fashion to Jame Gumb, Alf Boris Moen poses a great deal in front of the mirror, and his sister remembers that since childhood he has been both dangerous and an exhibitionist (*NS* 333). He accuses his sister of not knowing what femininity entails: "*You might not understand what it is to be a woman, he said sarcastically. You always dress shabbily, you don't wear makeup*" (*NS* 345 original italics). This accusation, and the comment he made about his mother's way of dressing, only mirrors the physical appearance of Moen himself, and becomes a sarcastic comment on his complete lack of self knowledge. Teresa De Lauretis says that femininity and masculinity are placed in "an antagonistic and asymmetrical position" (269), and then the murderers' ultimate transformational failure becomes even more logical. As John Benyon puts it: "The still widely accepted view among the general public is that men and women fundamentally differ and that a distinct set of fixed traits characterize archetypal masculinity and femininity" (56). The fundamental differences, the asymmetry and antagonism all signal an essentialist view of gender. The killers illustrate exactly this: to transgress the borders of the genders is not permissible. The projects of transformation become death traps: first other people's death traps, and finally their own.

Lastly, all three killers are described as speaking with strange voices. Angelica Thorpe uses an "odd, strained voice" (*MS* 124), Jame Gumb resembles the most the traditional monster: he has an "[u]nearthly voice" (*SL* 176), and when Alf Boris Moen in *Sister of the Night* dresses himself in women's clothes he uses a high pitched tone, and—when in drag—all his lines are in italics, producing even more emphasis on the 'unnatural' quality of his voice. By defining and appreciating what is unnatural, the reader can also define and appreciate what is natural, without ever having

to discuss it openly. The words 'odd' and 'unearthly' are easily recognized as words with negative connotations.

When adding gender and sexuality to the discussion of these three novels, they can be viewed as part of a commentary on modern masculinity. Or to narrow it down even further: the project of trying to stabilize modern masculinity. It may seem like a contradiction, since masculinity and its associate heterosexuality remain unspoken (silent). From a historical point of view, the term homosexuality appeared in 1869, 11 years prior to the term heterosexual, thus "heterosexuality only comes into being as a consequence of the notion of homosexuality" (Barry 144). Accordingly, by providing illustrations of men who are 'not heterosexual,' we also know what heterosexuality is, and what it should be like. It is silent, yes, but it is a silence that reverberates with values and meaning. These authors write silence in perhaps an unorthodox way; it is not the powerful subject's silencing of the oppressed minority but the silence of the norm. It is a comforting silence, heterosexuality simply *is*.

In extension, the novels are part of a commentary on our contemporary western culture, where it seems that masculinity and femininity should not be mixed. This message makes them ultimately also moral stories. As we have seen in the discussion above, what is produced in the hazardous mixture resembles in many ways more a monster than a human being; even the person's speech is affected. In the words of Edward J. Ingebretsen, "[m]onster-talk […] is narrative and meta-narrative, all at once; it tells a story, explains that story and draws moral conclusions, simultaneously" (43). As stated above, the novels here demonstrate how the men, due to their lack of heterosexuality, become monsters/killers, and the moral conclusions, which simultaneously are transferred into moral consequences, are blatant and unforgiving: they are in the end killed themselves. The dangerous quality of the mixture is thus two-folded: the killers kill others and the killers are (must be) killed.

Thus, the crime novels are stories not openly talking about masculinity, essential manhood or heterosexuality, but by talking about their binary opposites (femininity/lack of masculinity and non-heterosexuality), masculinity and heterosexuality are represented as sane, normal, and quite stable. The reader is encouraged to hate these men—they are, after all, killers—but should also feel disgust because they are

not real men. They represent people who have not understood that biology cannot be disturbed. The narratives are not unique in their stand, and Tithecott maintains that "[…] plots which construct murder or serial murder as an event arising from homosexuality are not only of the subplot variety" (74). Alf Boris Moen in *Night Sister* speaks of Virginia Woolf and says that women have functioned as looking glasses for men; they have reflected the men at twice their natural size (*NS* 345). Ironically, the illustration of Alf Boris Moen, works the same way. His crossing of gender boundaries reflect nicely upon, for example, the protagonist whose own masculinity in light of Alf Boris Moen's unmanly behavior and appearance shines even brighter. These two characters are constructed and situated in an antagonistic and asymmetrical position where one represents law, order and masculinity and the other one death, disorder and non-heterosexuality.

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"Ye Tories round the nation": An Analysis of Markers of Interactive-involved Discourse in Seventeenth Century Political Broadside Ballads

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Abstract
The period of the English Civil War saw an exponential increase in the number of political broadsides. In a time when the printed word acted as a powerful weapon in the hands of the opposing forces, the balladeer constructed his propaganda exploiting the involving potential of the written-spoken genre. In this paper I shall investigate markers of interactive-involved discourse in Royalist broadsides and highlight their strategic function as builders and bearers of ideological consensus within a heterogeneous cross-section of English society. I shall also consider the direct reporting of other characters' speeches, showing how the authorial authenticity of their idiom reinforced the validity of the author's political claim. The analysis will show that some of the propagandistic principles of modern journalism were already at work in the ideologically-oriented discourse of seventeenth-century cheap-print.

1. Introduction

In the mid-seventeenth century the broadside ballad was an important source of political news and social comment. In a time when the printed word acted as a powerful weapon in the hands of Roundheads and Cavaliers, the ballad-author was primarily interested in charging his news discourse with a clear ideological message. This was possible thanks to the personal voice of the I-narrator, who relied upon an oral mode of discourse and on the reporting of characters' speeches in order to inform, persuade and entertain his audience/readership.[1]

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[1] The presence of a personal, narrative voice in ballads may be traced back to the XV and XVI century, when the late medieval minstrels filled their songs with professional tricks and ear-catching patterns (i.e. the personalization of the message through the explicit reference to the speaker's communicative function, forms of address, requests for attention, colloquialism) (see Bold 1979: 26,

The aim of my paper is to examine features of orality—in Biber's terms markers of *interactive-involved* discourse (1988)—in mid-seventeenth century Royalist broadsides and show how they are deliberately exploited as means for constructing an ideology of consensus. As Fowler argues, commenting on the relationship between ideology and media-work, "only an interpersonal mode of discourse can create that illusion of familiarity and friendliness with the audience which is crucial to the construction of ideological agreement around a set of institutional values" (1991:57). Bearing this in mind, I shall investigate *to what extent* and *how* the proto-editorial style of ballads is placed at the service of the propagandistic purposes of the Royalist author.

On account of the embedded structure of broadsides, a distinction will be drawn between the functional use of orality at the I-narrator—audience discourse level and that at the character—character discourse level. Indeed, even the author's habit of giving voice to particular personages responds to a precise socio-political and argumentative design. In the second part of my inquiry I shall consider why only certain characters are authorized to speak and how the authorial authenticity inherent in the direct report of their spoken idiom reinforces the validity of the author's political claim. Attention will also be given to the way in which the spoken discourse of political figures provides an insight into their moral rectitude, thus prompting people's sense of membership with them and eventually biasing their ideological interpretation of the events.

The samples of ballads selected for analysis are taken from the *Bodleian Allegro Catalogue* and are dated from 1640 to 1660.[2] The two decades cover a very dramatic period in the history of the English

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Würzbach 1990). A case in point are XV and XVI century Robin Hood ballads, which, according to Fowler, determined a stylistic precedent for the development of the XVII and XVIII century popular broadsides (Fowler 1968: 65).

[2] The *Bodleian Allegro Catalogue* went on line in 2004. The collection contains over 30,000 ballads ranging from the 16th to the 20th century. The catalogue can be consulted at the following website: http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads/ballads.htm

monarchy, from Charles I's campaign against Scotland (1639-1640) to the Civil War (1642), from the Constitution of the Rump Parliament (1649) to the Restoration of the monarchy (1660). The present qualitative study focuses on 10 out of 32 samples of political broadsides recorded in the *Allegro Catalogue* for the period 1640-1660. Altogether the corpus formed by these 10 texts comprises about 6975 words.[3]

2. Ballads: an oral tradition

As popular songs intended to be sung in domestic and public environments, ballads boast a long tradition of oral delivery. They were sung/told at homes when the family sat around the fireplace or in ale-houses and taverns where people enjoyed intoning merry tunes. The high degree of colloquialism and structural convention characterising the genre facilitated its spoken delivery as well as its mnemonic retention. Though crucial, however, transmission by word of mouth would not have been sufficient to ensure the development of the genre without it being combined with the powerful impact of the printed word. It was in fact thanks to the wide, written circulation of broadside ballads from the 16th century onwards that print managed "to reinvigorate a spoken genre which was in danger of disappearing" (Fox, 2000:9).

Broadside ballads were songs printed on one side of a single sheet of paper and sold for about a penny in Britain between the sixteenth and seventeenth century (see Capp, 1985; Würzbach, 1990; Watt, 1991; Fox, 2000; McKean, 2003; Green and Bennett, 2004). Ballads were stuck up on the walls in alehouses and private homes so that passers-by could stop

[3] The Royalist sponsorship of ballads, together with the resurgence of popular support for Charles after the end of the first civil war in 1646 explain why most of the surviving broadsides are Royalist in stance. It is worth pointing out, however, that, because of the strict censorship against any form of Royalist propaganda in the period of the Cromwellian Republic, Royalist broadsides are not homogeneously distributed throughout the decades. The majority of samples occur in the years following Cromwell's death in 1658, when censorship ceased and the ballad production flourished again with renewed vigour (Würzbach 1990: 25).

and take a look at them. Though illiteracy was still widespread throughout the country, the seventeenth century registered an increase in the number of people who could read. Furthermore, even non-readers were used to buying broadsides and other forms of cheap print in the expectation of finding a skilled person who could read them out for them. Finally, everyone, children included, had access to broadside ballads al least in their oral form when they were sung aloud in squares and market-places (see Watt, 1991: 1-8 *passim*).

Vital importance in the distribution of broadsides was ascribed to the ballad-singer and seller. Capp (1985:200) reports that in 1641 there were said to be almost three hundred ballad-sellers working in the English capital, standing at streets and corners, market places, on benches and barrels to attract passers-by. The fact that they did sing confirms that the ballad was primarily a performance and not merely a printed text to be sold and read detached from its tune. Oral-delivery thus remained an indispensable part of the ballad-man's trade, necessary for attracting the customers and getting them hooked by the story. Fox (2000) notices how many printed ballads began with an opening refrain which demonstrated their purpose of being read or sung aloud: "Now for your credit list to me" (*Britaines Honour,* 1640); "If none be offended with the Sent…Ile be content to sing of the Rump of a Parliament" (*Resurrection of the Rump, or, Rebellion and Tyranny revived,* 1659). The ballad author was deeply aware of the context of performance and sale at the time of writing. Since he was paid once, in a lump sum, "it was in his interests, if he wanted further commissions from the printer, to ensure sales by bolstering up the function of the singer as a salesman and producing a performer-friendly text" (Würzbach, 1990: 27).

As a form of popular literature, broadside ballads generally dealt with popular themes such as love, cuckolded husbands, betrayal, legendary heroes and natural wonders. This however does not mean that more socially-committed topics were excluded. My research in the *Allegro Catalogue* provides evidence of the extent to which the enormous diffusion of cheap print turned broadsides into an effective vehicle for religious and political propaganda too.

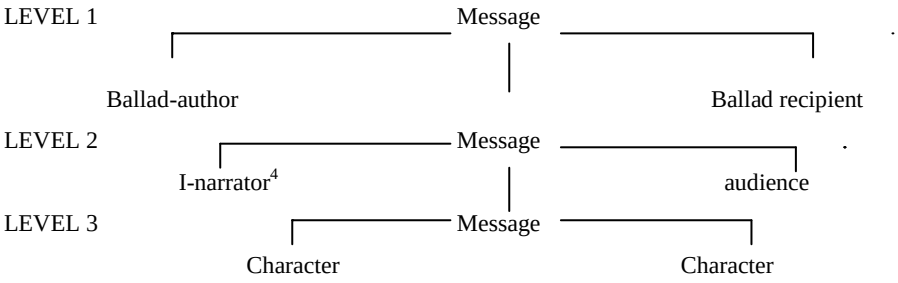
On account of censorship and of the ordinary reader's lack of awareness of the higher levels of political governance, committed-ballads usually avoided complex issues in order to focus on the personal drama of common people disappointed with contemporary

misgovernment, important political personages or key-figures in a battle. The balladeer reported the characters' direct speech in order to highlight the dramatic impact and foster the audience's emotional involvement in the story narrated.

The period of the Civil War and the Interregnum gave greater scope for political and polemical ballads. The Restoration of the Rump Parliament and its misgovernment in 1659-1660 contributed to the diffusion of a high number of satirical political ballads imbued with vulgar humour.

3. Discourse levels and structure in seventeenth century political broadsides

My analysis of spoken discourse—intended in its broadest meaning of words uttered by someone in speech—articulates along the multiple discourse levels of broadsides. The diagram below attempts to capture the embedded structure of printed ballads:



At level 1, the ballad-author is the empirical person who writes the broadside as a text supposed to be read across time. At level 2, the entire body of the ballad is considered as a communicative act in its own right

[4] Würzbach (1990) uses the term "presenter" to refer to the speaking voice in the ballad text.

performed by the I-narrator and addressed to the audience who shares the *hic et nunc* of the telling.[5] Finally level 3 regards the characters' speech as it is embedded in the narrator's discourse.

On account of the multiple levels involved in ballads, I have identified three main types of discourse structure, running from a minimum to a maximum of narratorial presence. The 10 texts selected for analysis will be distributed along the categories and illustrated in the remainder of the paper.

A) *Minimum or No Narratorial Intervention*—broadsides where the characters' imaginary dialogue is almost entirely dramatized. Examples of this kind are found in the political ballads *The Cavaleers Complaint* (1660) and *A Dialogue Betwixt Tom and Dick* (1660). In the former text stanzas are distributed along two columns, one reporting the Cavaleer's complaint, the other reporting his friend's answer. In the latter, each stanza presents an unmediated alternation of Tom's and Dick's speech contributions.

B) *Narratorial Intervention*—broadsides where the characters' speech is embedded in the narrative. Two famous broadsides belong to this category. One is *Britaines Honour* (1640) where the I-narrator relates the fictional story of two Welshmen who fought against fifteen thousand Scots, zooming in on the two characters' direct speech. The other one is the ballad about King Charles's execution (*'he Manner of the Kings Tryal at Westminister…* 1649-1680) where the I-narrator introduces, reports and comments on the monarch's speech during the trial.

C) *Maximum of Narratorial Presence*—broadsides presenting the I-narrator's long speech to the audience with minimum or no reporting of other characters' speech. The category comprises a conspicuous number of satirical ballads against the Rump Parliament (*Rumpatur*, 1659; *The Resurrection of the Rump*, 1659; *Rump Roughly yet Righteously handled*, 1660; *A Pack of Hell-hounds*, 1660), as well as enthusiastic broadsides celebrating the victories of the Royal army (*Good Newes from the North*, 1640) or welcoming the Restoration of the king (*King Charles the Seconds Restoration*, 1660).

Before proceeding to an in-depth analysis of specific broadside samples for each category, I intend to provide an overview of the orality markers

[5] Levels 1 and 2 are often conflated.

in 17th century political broadsides, focusing on their discourse distribution and ideological function.[6]

3.1. Discourse framing in seventeenth century political ballads

Most of the broadsides present a set of rather conventional lines introducing and concluding the main body of the text. In each ballad the opening frame is intended to establish a communicative, interpersonal contact with the audience. The narrator attempts to catch the hearers'/readers' attention through a set of linguistic devices which Douglas Biber associates with the interactive-involved discourse common to spoken language. In his pioneering work of 1988, *Variation across Speech and Writing,* Biber accounts for the two modes of discourse applying a set of 'dimensions', which represent the communicative process. One of the six dimensions discussed by the linguist is the 'informational versus involved production' which enables us to determine to what extent the communicator's main purpose is informational or interactive and involved. The general idea is that a text that presents a high percentage of informational linguistic features will be closer to writing, while a text which presents a majority of interactive-involved elements will approximate the oral style. The point is particularly relevant to an analysis of seventeenth century broadsides.[7] As written songs deeply bound to the situation of oral delivery, ballads share many features of the oral discourse and as such they provide an interesting example of the seventeenth century infusion of written word

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[6] In the present study I have concentrated on a qualitative analysis in that, given the limited size of my corpus, a quantitative analysis could not be considered sufficiently representative.

[7] Biber's model for the analysis of written/spoken language has been extremely influential in the field of historical pragmatics and has fostered a set of excellent studies (see Atkinson 1992, Biber & Finegan 1992, Meurman-Solin 1993, Taavitsainen 1993, 1997, Suhr 2002, Brownlees 2005). The present paper places itself within the emerging literature on historical spoken/written texts and shows how Biber's model (1988) can be equally relevant to an analysis of seventeenth century broadsides.

and spoken idiom. In Royalist ballads, markers of interactive-involved discourse include: address terms ('Sir', 'Christian people', 'My friends'), especially the 2nd person pronouns ('you', and the seventeenth century variations 'ye', 'thou', 'thee') combined with the narrator's own self-referential pronominal usage *I/my*, temporal and spatial deixis ('now', 'today', 'then'; 'here', 'there'), the imperative construction, WH-questions, exclamations ('Oh', 'Alas', 'Hail', 'Ah'), abbreviations (the seventeenth century ''twas', ''twere', 'I'le', 'ne're') and the use of the inclusive *we/us* so as to create a sense of ideological bonding with the audience.[8]

> **All you**[9] who wish prosperity,
> to **our** King and Country
> and their confusion which false hearted be,
> **Here** is some news (to chear **your** hearts)
> lately from the Northern parts
> of brave exployts perform'd with courage free (*Good Newes from the North,* 1640)

> **Ye Tories** round the nation
> Of every birth and station,
> The glorious day is coming on
> King Charles's Restoration... (King Charles the Seconds Restoration, 1660)

> **You that are opprest**
> With the Viperous Nest
> Of Hell-hounds near WARRINGTON
> **Do but listen a while**
> And with all their guile,
> **I'le** discover them everyone (*A Pack of Hell Hounds,* 1660)

The occurrence of this sort of *quasi-conversational style* in the opening frame enables the I-narrator to construct an illusion of familiarity and friendliness with an audience sympathetic to the king. His oral mode of discourse, in fact, acts as a strategic device through which he manages to

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[8] For studies on orality in Early Modern England see Biber and Finegan (1992), Taavitsainen (1995), Kryk-Kastovsky (2000), Culpeper and Kytö (2000a), Culpeper and Kytö (2000b), Brownlees (2005).

[9] In this and other quotations the bold type is my own and not found in the original document.

create *consensus* around a set of shared values which sanction the Supreme authority of the monarchy.[10]

Consensus is a key term in critical linguistics as it is documented in the work of the influential linguist Roger Fowler (1991). The critic argues that in modern media institutionalised concepts are subliminally conveyed through an oral style which assumes solidarity, friendliness and common ground between writer and reader. The writer skilfully exploits the illusion of cooperation and agreement with his readership in order to shape reality on the basis of institutional values which are presented as commonly accepted and taken for granted. On articulating the ideology of consensus, the Press guarantees ideological affinity between government and individual readers. The transposition of the notion of consensus in the context of seventeenth century political broadsides helps our understanding of the way in which the spoken mode assumes reciprocity between producer and reader thus fostering agreement on a range of consumer-oriented values. This function of orality is crucial in the politically volatile climate before and after the Civil War. Royalist ballad-authors—especially in the years preceding the Restoration—feel the need to establish a consensus which "assumes, even *affirms* that within their group there is no difference or disunity [in the interests and values of the nation]" (Fowler, 1991: 50).

In a similar fashion, the oral style of the closing formula is intended to re-establish the narrator-hearer interpersonal relationship and to re-state their commonly held view of the world:

> And thus **I'le** conclude
> With this impious brood,
> OF CERBERUS that cursed Tyke:
> **Doe but set** the Rump aside
> And if HELL were tryde,
> **I** think **you** can scarce find the like (*A Pack of Hell Hounds*, 1660)

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[10] In the ballad, the form of address ("All you who wish prosperity to our King and Country") is topic-related in the sense that it establishes a direct link between the political topic and the royalist section of the public which the ballad is meant to affect. Other ballads have similar address formula: "Ye Tories round the nation" (*King Charles the Seconds Restoration* 1660); "You that are opprest with the Viperous Nest" (*A Pack of Hell-hounds* 1660).

> **Now churchmen of each station**
> **Pray** that **this** British nation,
> By canters ne'er be overcome,
> The love of feuds and factions (*King Charles the Seconds Restoration,* 1660)

In some political ballads one finds the narrator not only addressing the audience but also establishing a dialogic relationship with them. This exchange is generally achieved through 'procatalepsis': a rhetorical strategy which consisted of the speaker anticipating and answering the hearers' possible objections to his claims. This form of animadversion was particularly frequent in political pamphlets as its powerful rhetorical effects helped the author make his argumentation more convincing in the readers' eyes (see Brownlees, 2006: 23). Though less articulated than in pamphlets, the occurrence of procatalepsis in political broadsides suggests that the dialectical, argumentative strategy was generally recognized as an effective means to convince and persuade common people. The presentation of ideas through dialogic interaction had in fact the merit of satisfying the audience's preference for dramatization and of facilitating their understanding of the political message. Let us consider a couple of examples.

In a satirical ballad against the Rump, the narrator ironically praises the qualities of Parliament by roughly playing with the double meaning of the word *rump*.

> There's scarce a Lady to be found
> that loves either Pear or Plum
> One halfe so well, if she be found,
> as tabering at her B---,
> It may be, **you'l say**, I'm wide of the Case,
> Since that Musick's made in a distant place:
> **I answer**, the bredth of your Thum (*Rumpatur,* 1659)

The term 'rump' commonly denotes the back end of an animal, though here the narrator plays with the association between 'rump' and a lady's *bum* (as can be inferred from the initial of the omitted word which should rhyme with 'plum'). In the stanza procatalepsis enables the narrator to articulate his humorous joke, by allowing him the last turn thereby completing the mockery. The opponent's view is introduced by the

reporting tag 'you'l say' while the I-narrator's rebuttal is overtly signalled by the predicate 'I answer'.

In another political ballad praising the courage of two Welshmen during Charles I's campaign against Scotland, the I-narrator reports—in the indirect/distancing mode—dissonant voices in an attempt to deny their value and finally re-state his original ideological claim. The speaking voice condemns the English people's general reluctance to support their king during the war (Coward, 1994:180) and celebrates the military heroism of the Welshmen as an example of loyalty that should be followed.

> **Now some may say** (I doe confess it)
> That all such desperate attempts
> Spring only from foole hardinesse; yet
> Who ever this rare deed exempts,
> From valour true,
> (if him I knew)
> **I would tell him** (and 'twere but due)
> Such men our Soveraigne hath too few (*Britaines Honour,* 1640)

What cannot have escaped notice is the frequency of orality features present in the quoted ballads: apart from the *I/you* pronouns, consider the use of abbreviations ('perform'd', ''twere', 'ne're', 'I'le', 'you'l') and the parenthetic comment. Parenthesis is recognised as characteristic of oral discourse in that "its paratactic possibilities suit the spontaneous nature of spoken language where speakers tend to add on ideas to whatever they happen to be saying at that particular moment" (Brownlees, 2005:74). Moreover, the parenthetic construction fits the ballad's metrical constraints as it allows the writer to put less structured information into brackets, instead of adding more lines which would subvert the musical and metrical pattern of the song.

4. Spoken discourse in 17th century political ballads

Now I intend to focus on the forms and functions of spoken discourse in a specific set of broadsides belonging to category A, B and C (see 3.). The analysis will show how the three categories rely on a stock of orality features, including proverbs, catch-words, idioms and colloquial

expressions, in order to give voice to people's mood and create public consensus.

4.1. Category A: broadsides with no narratorial intervention

I have selected for analysis the ballad *A Dialogue Betwixt Tom and Dick* (1660) which is explicative of the persuasive import of dramatization in propagandistic discourse. The structural organization of the text presents an alternation of Tom's and Dick's voice followed by a chorus. Unlike what happens in other Cavalier broadsides (e.g. *The Cavaleers Complaint* 1660), in the text the characters are not identified as belonging to a specific political party but as representatives of the two main sections of society: respectively, countrymen and citizens. This social, rather than political characterisation is interesting from an ideological point of view, as it assumes that by 1660 people's scorn of the Rump was not just a matter of political orientation but a common, revolutionary feeling shared by the nation.[11]

In order to assume and construct public consensus around the Restoration of the king, the balladeer makes a conspicuous use of spoken idiom which makes people—both countrymen and citizens—feel as one. Although orality markers are a predictable feature of the ballad genre, polemical broadsides of category A and C often emphasise non-standard features of the oral style as a strategic means to enhance the sociolinguistic and ideological bond between ballad author and ballad recipient.[12] Below is an example of the way in which spoken idiom contributes to the audience's acceptance of the political message embedded in the two characters' complaints.

Tom. ____Why *Richard*, 'tis a *Devilish thing*,

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[11] It is worth pointing out that, although the broadside *A Dialogue Betwixt Tom and Dick* seeks to establish a sense of community which goes beyond political alignment, Restoration England remained ideologically and politically divided (see Jenner 2002:110).

[12] In the present study the term non-standard refers to forms that are socially or emotionally marked (see Culpeper and Kytö 1999).

We're not left worth a groate.
My *Doll* has *sold* her *wedding-ring,*
And *Su* has *pawnd* her *Goate*
The ***Sniv'ling Rogues*** abus'd our *Squire,*
And calld our *Mistris* ***Whore***.
Dick. Yet—*If GEORGE don't what we desire, }* chorus
Ne're trust Good-fellow more.

Tom.---By this good day; I did but *speak;*
They tooke my Py-Bali'd Mare,
And put the Carrion Wench to th' Squeak:
(Things goe against the Hair)
Our Prick-ear'd Cor'nel looks as bigg
Still as he did before
Dick. And ***yet if GEORGE dont bumme his Gigg****, }* chorus
Ne're trust Good fellow more

The exemplary stories of Tom and Dick—Tom was robbed of his mare, his wife had to sell her wedding ring—mirror the miserable condition in which people live under the republican government. Their direct speech is characterised by colloquial idiom (e.g. 'put the Carrion Wench to th' Squeak', 'things goe against the Hair', 'if George don't bumme his Gigg, 'damned', 'snivling rogues' 'whore') and a number of concrete words related to people's every-day life ('Doll', Mistris, 'Py-bali'd Mare', 'Goate', 'Gigg' 'Squire') which create common ground with the audience. The use of the first name to refer to George Monck is also worthy of consideration.[13] By assuming a mock-intimacy between the political figure and the characters, the ballad-author engineers a humanizing/familiarising process by which Monck is conceptualised as an old acquaintance capable of meeting people's expectations.

[13] General George Monck engineered the king's restoration in 1660. He was often represented as a hero in the guise of St. George rescuing England from the cruel Republican dragon.

4.2 Category B: broadsides with narratorial intervention

Following a chronological order, I shall start with a closer examination of the broadside *Britaines Honour in the two Valiant Welchmen who fought against fifteenthousand Scots* (1640).[14] Despite the union of the English and Scottish crowns in 1603, the Scots repeatedly showed their intolerance of the Caroline government. Accused of being traitors of the king, they soon became one of the main targets of Royalist vexation in broadsides. The English campaign against the Scots in 1639-1640 represented one of the most significant mistakes in the history of Charles's personal rule. His attempt to impose uniformity of worship on Scotland—a country with a very different religious situation—led to a war against the Scots which, as the ballad suggests, did not find great support in England. Welshmen, on the other hand, backed up Charles's politics and the Royalist authors celebrated them for their loyalty.

Since the broadside presents *narratorial intervention,* in my analysis of the spoken mode I shall distinguish between I-narrator-audience and character-character discourse level. As usual the opening frame is dedicated to the I-narrator's appeal to the audience:

> *I-narrator – audience discourse level*
> **You noble Brittaines bold and hardy,**
> That [sic] are **deriv'd** from Brute,
> Who were in battell **ne're** found [sic] dy,
> But still will fight for **your** repute:
> **'gainst** any **hee**,
> What **e'r a'be**
> **Now** for **your** credit **list to me**
> Two Welchmens valour **you** shall see (*Britaines Honour,* 1640)

The I-narrator's *conversational style* attempts to arouse the public's interest in the ballad by inviting the audience to identify with the courageous and heroic characters of the text. Operating on an

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[14] The ballad was written by the prolific composer Martin Parker who issued several songs exhorting listeners to take up arms against the invading Scots, such as *A True Subjetcs Wish for the happy Successe of our Royal Army* (1640) or *News from New-castle* (1640).

emotional/attitudinal basis, this advertising technique for promoting sales anticipates persuasive features of modern journalism and advertising.[15] The initial complex nominal address form "You noble Brittaines bold and hardy" acts as a sort of *captatio benevolentiae* aimed at reminding people of their honourable reputation as restless fighters. The foregrounding of the 'Britaines'' historical valour establishes a sense of national identity and comradeship, which continues in the next lines. Here, abbreviations ('deriv'd', 'ne're', ''gainst', 'e'r', 'a'be'), 2nd person pronouns ('you', 'your') and the imperative construction ('list to me') contribute to the reader/hearer's emotional and patriotic involvement in the event which is going to be told.

During the telling, the narrator reports the two Welshmen's speech so as to promote their psychological foregrounding. His choice of giving voice to the 'Britaines', whereas the Scots are represented as lacking an individual voice of their own is purely ideological. Through the dramatization of their discourse the two characters are, in fact, perceived as living *persona*e. Their spoken word assumes a communicative potential which has the effect of shaking English people out of their torpor and urging them to courageous action for the Royal cause. What is more, the direct reporting of the characters' voice highlights their rectitude and valour in a way that neither 3rd person narration, nor indirect speech can do. The ballad construction reveals to what extent the narrator relies on the popular appreciation of the dramatic mode in order to foster the audience's ideological closeness to the Welshmen.

Character—character discourse level

> [...] one to another thus did say,
> Report hereafter shall not shame us,
> **Let Welchmen scorne to runne away;**
> **Now** for **our** king
> **Lets doe a thing**
> Whereof the word shall loudly ring
> Unto the grace of **our** offspring

[15] For an analysis of the persuasive function of the emotional/attitudinal dimension in modern news discourse, see van Dijk (1988).

> The vaunting Scot shall know what valour,
> Doth in a Britains brest reside:
> They shall not bring **us** any doleur,
> But first **wee'll** tame some of their pride. (*Britaines Honour*, 1640)

Apart from instances of the exhortative construction with *let* suggesting comradeship between the two heroes, it is interesting to notice the repetition of the in-group markers *us/our* as opposed to *they* (Scots). At the character-character discourse level, the *we*-pronouns refer to the Welshmen but in the economy of the whole ballad—intended as the I-narrator's message to the audience—the same pronouns may be said to stimulate the English identification with the Welshmen as Britaines and to enhance their hostility against the rebels.

In a moment of strong political and religious tension even the Scots' silence becomes meaningful from an ideological point of view. Being deprived of their voice and thus of their individuality, the Scots are objectified and labelled as opposing, aberrant *others* (*they-their*) representing "the antitype of the English nation" (Porter, 1999:362). This confirms to what extent the author's choice of reporting or *non*-reporting the characters' speech responds to a precise political and ideological design.

It is not easy to assess how Stuart people reacted to the improbable report of the fight between two Welshmen and fifteen thousand Scots but, judging on what contemporaries said, the seventeenth century audience appeared to be highly receptive towards whatever was presented as news: 'little books widely disseminated are like bait for the masses. The average person being attracted to whatever is new, takes them so much to heart that it is therefore impossible to eredicate the impression they make" (Soman, 1976:442).

The next ballad I wish to examine is *'he Manner of the Kings Tryal at Westminister-Hall* (1649-1680). The broadside narrates the trial and execution of king Charles in January 1649. The strong opposition existing between royal and parliamentary authority after 1640—along with the people's growing dissatisfaction with the king's policy—led to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. The results of the war were uncertain until Cromwell's leadership prevails and king Charles was defeated and executed after a hasty and unjust trial.

As seen in *Britaines Honour*, the characters' direct speech is embedded in the narrator's telling. This kind of discourse structure

enables the author to construct his ideological argumentation exploiting the assumption of authorial authenticity inherent in the direct reporting of the king's, the solicitor's and the President's speech during the trial. In the first part of the ballad the narrator aims at denouncing the illegitimate authority of the Court of Justice and at disguising its cunning stratagems to incriminate the monarch. In the second part, Charles I's loyalty to his country emerges through the direct report of his last moving speech to his subjects and to God.

First, I shall analyse features of orality at the I-narrator-audience discourse level. Although the narrator's first stanzas are quite informative, as they are intended to provide the contextual framework to the reported speech of the jury and of the king, they still preserve markers of spoken discourse in the forms of exclamatory items, contractions and alternation of *I/you/we* pronouns.

I-narrator-audience discourse level
King Charles was once a Prince of a greate State
But yet he dy'd a death unfortunate
Oh, he is gone, and now hath left **us** here
And **God doth knows** what courses **we** shall steer

Now **my** sad story to **you I'le** relate [...] (*'he Manner of the Kings Tryal,* 1649-1680)

The exclamation 'Oh' and the idiomatic expression 'God doth knows' reveal the narrator's strong, emotional involvement in the king's tragic destiny. While the *my/you* pronouns contribute to the construction of the communicative, interpersonal contact with the audience, the repetition of the inclusive *we/us* denounces its closeness. The narrator assumes common ground with his addressees, implying that they both share the same feeling of desperation after the loss of their king. The use of the in-group marker *we* creates an ideological consensus around the political figure of Charles I, which aims at invalidating the value and authority of any anti-royalist positioning.

What follows is a verbal reporting of the Court's and of the king's speech. The spoken discourse of each character is overtly signalled by subtitles: The Kings Charge—The Kings Answer to the Charge—The Kings Speech upon the Scaffold and by additional reporting tags. Again one needs to point out that since the context is highly formal, and both the king and the solicitor Cook are two figures of authority, their voices generally reflect the conventions of standard written English. Even so,

instances of the spoken mode are found in the use of address terms, parenthesis and a few colloquialisms.

I shall start with an analysis of address terms. The Court addresses the monarch through an alternation of *you* and the contextually improper *thou* pronoun, which, in the seventeenth century is either used for addressing lower social ranks or for expressing temporary feelings of either distance or proximity.[16]

> *Character-character discourse level*
> Then by the Clerk his Sentence there was read
> Saying **Charles Stuart thou** shalt loose **thy** head
> For murther, treason, and for tyranny,
> And to the Land a publique enemy (*'he Manner of the Kings Tryal,* 1649-1680)

The *thou* selection may be interpreted either as indicative of the prosecution's strategic denial of the King's superior authority or as a marker of strong contempt of his conduct.

In the trial proceedings published in 1650 and entitled *King Charls His Tryal at the High Court of Justice Sitting in Westminster Hall* (the Second edition, Much Enlarged, and Faithfully Corrected) the king is addressed by the un-marked *you* pronoun and never through *thou.*[17] All the same, several similarities between the ballad's rendering of the trial and the published record suggest that the ballad-author has in all probability read the original account. This being the case, we may ask why he has attributed to the court the marked *thou* pronoun selection without there being evidence of it in the real trial. It may be claimed that part of his intention is to exaggerate the Court's improper address behaviour towards the king in order to denounce the solicitor's vile deligitimization of the monarchy.

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[16] For studies on the use of *you/thou* pronouns, see Bruti (2000), Kryk-Kastovsky (2000), Mazzon (2002) and, more recently, the book by T. Walker (2007), Thou *and* You *in Early Modern English Dialogues: Trials, Depositions and Drama Comedy*.

[17] *King Charls His Tryal at the High Court of Justice* (The Second Edition, Much Enlarged and Faithfully Corrected. London, printed by J. M. For Peter Cole, Francis Tyton, and John Playford, 1650) is taken from *EEBO* (*Early English Books Online, 1473-1700*): http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home.

In the ballad the lines "Charles Stuart thou shall lose thy head/For murther, treason, and for tyranny/and to the Land a publique enemy/" appear as a transposition of the original sentence read to the king and reported in the proceedings: "For all which Treasons and Crimes this Court doth adjudge, That the said Charls Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traytor , Murtherer and a publike Enemy; shall be put to death…" (*King Charls His Tryal at the High Court of Justice*, 1650: 47). Interestingly, however, while in the record Charles is referred to in the third person, in the ballad the author deliberately rephrases the sentence in the direct I/you mode so as to dramatize the moment and enhance its emotional impact on the audience. Both the record and the ballad rendition show that at the end of the trial the king is totally deprived of his title and Royal status. His process of deligitimization however began much earlier when—at the onset of the trial—the Court addressed him as "Sir".[18] Compare the occurrence of the improper honorific in the broadside with that in the proceedings:

I do desire to me you would unfold
/by whose Commission you this Court do hold/
To whom the President did straight reply/
Sir you shall know by whose Authority
('he Manner of the Kings Tryal, 1649-1680)

Lord President: *Sir*, you have now heard your Charge read, containing such matter as it appears in it
The King: I would know by what power I am called hither…
(*King Charls His Tryal at the High Court of Justice*, 1650:5)

In the ballad, Charles relies on improper colloquialism in order to pay back in its own coin the Court's irreverence. His rebuttal of the charge is in fact expressed through the irreverent idiomatic form "As for your charge *a rush I do not care*". In the original account the king conveyed the same meaning but in a slightly more formal way: "For the Charge, *I value it not a Rush*". The I-narrator's choice of rephrasing the king's rebuttal can be read as a means of drawing the person of Charles I nearer to common people. The monarch's *echo* of the spoken idiom establishes in fact a sense of solidarity between the sovereign and the ballad-consumers, which seems to be aimed at increasing the latter's sympathy towards him. If at the content level, the reporting of Charles's speech

[18] The term 'sir' at the time was mostly confined to upper social levels below that of nobility.

functions as a means to downgrade and deny the authority of the Court of Justice, at a stylistic level its higher degree of informality serves to narrow the socio-linguistic gap existing between the king and his subjects.

In the second part of the ballad, the narrator gives free rein to the monarch's voice, thus enabling him to declare his innocence to his people and to God. In order to foreground Charles's trustworthiness and Christianity the narrative voice withdraws from the text and lets the king's words touch people's hearts:

> [...] **I'le** little say
> for in this World I have not long to stay
> It is my duty first with God to clear
> By conscience free, next to my Country dear
> […]
> The greatest enemies that sought my death
> I do forgive before I loose my breath
> I wish the Kingdoms peace and Churches bliss
> For now Religion out of order is
> […] *('he Manner of the Kings Tryal*, 1649-1680)

4.3. Category C: broadsides with maximum of narratorial presence

The last category of political broadsides which I wish to analyse are satirical ballads against the Rump Parliament. In the period of the Interregnum, the Rump had a rather turbulent history. Established in 1649, after the king's execution, its primary task was that of carrying out the Parliament's godly reformation. Reforms, however, did not come as soon as expected and in 1653 the Rump was dissolved. After Cromwell's death a second Rump Parliament was restored in 1659 but again it proved completely incapable of meeting people's expectations.

In this period the proliferation of political-satirical ballads against Parliament became reflective of England's growing dissatisfaction with its forms of misgovernment and of the stricter censorship measures which the ballad trade was particularly skilful in evading. In the ballads instances of abbreviations, idiomatic lexis, rough language and double meanings enable us to reconstruct the flavour of popular discourse and to highlight its function as a vehicle of political propaganda.

As already mentioned, the I-narrator generally creates humour by playing with the double meaning of the word 'Rump' as 'buttock', 'tail' and 'bum' with obvious sexual allusions. The scurrilous metaphors are inserted in a festive context of drinking and eating which represents the triumph of the bodily pleasures over the days of fasting and humiliation established by the Puritans (see Jenner 2002).

> And when you are dallying with a young Maid,
> Would you not her **buttocks** bethump?
> And I have been often well apaid
> With a Goose both fat and plump
> The body being eaten we strive for the **tail**
> Each man with his **kan'kin** of nappy brown Ale
> Doth box it about for the **Rump** (*Rumpatur,* 1659)

Proverbs—as markers of popular wisdom and idiom—are also reported and ironically applied to the Parliament:

> There is a saying belongs to the Rump[...]
> **That on the Buttocks I'le give you a Thump**
> Ther's a Proverb in which the Rump claims a past [...]
> **that for all you can do I care not a fart**
> Ther's another Proverb gives the Rump for his Crest [...]
> **That of all kind of Lucks, shitten Luck is the best** (*The Resurrection of the Rump,* 1659)

As happens in broadsides of category A, colloquial elements are aimed at gaining popular favour by echoing those elements of spoken discourse which were presumably common among the vulgar.[19] As Wűrzbach notices "familiarity with the style register […] indirectly helps to boost the recipient's ego and steer his attention positively in the [spatial and

[19] Jenner suggests that the coarse language of Rump ballads was closer to the mode of communication of the vulgar, as opposed to the decorum advocated by "those with pretensions of civility" (2007: 280). McShane, on the other hand, argues that "the more scurrilous the piece, the higher up the social scale one needs to look both for author and audience" (2007:265). The two different viewpoints highlight the ubiquity of the broadside, as a genre which had the potential to accommodate the taste of the vulgar and the élite (see Watt 1991).

ideological] direction of the presenter" (1990:75). In the satirical ballads the pervasive usage of different forms of orality—in particular popular sayings—also confirms to what extent the rendering of spoken idiom constitutes an effective means of downgrading and ridiculing the authority of the institution. Quite interestingly, the repetition of words connected to defecation, and the gross materiality of the body suggests a parallelism between the ballad style and the popular festival of irreverent voices characterising the Bakhtinian carnivalesque.[20]

References are also made to political figures of the time, *in primis* Cromwell and his attempt to rule the Rump:

> Yet **stammell**[21] **nos'd Oliver** smell out a way
> with Pistol and Mosquet he brought the Beast under
> and aw'd it so much [...]
> that tamely he dock't it (*Rump Roughly yet Righteously handled*, 1660)

It is not the first time that political personages are referred to by means of the first name only (see 4.1.). In the example above, it is interesting to notice how the downgrading and mocking reference to Cromwell—combined with abbreviations and metaphorical language—creates a tension between the authority of the political personage and the roughness of the narrator's discourse. Still more interestingly, on account of Schegloff's claim that "the selection of a

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[20] In *Rabelais and His World* Bakhtin analyses the grotesque realism as a typical aspect of folk humour. Grotesque realism is based on the degradation principle by which all that is institutional, respectful and high is debased and transferred to the material bodily level. In political broadsides the use of the words "rump", "bum", "tail" and "buttocks" to refer to the Rump Parliament appears as an interesting instance of the downward movement characterising the bawdy humour of the carnivalesque, though it did not originate from the festivities of the streets. For a very interesting study on the influence of Bakhtin's carnivalesque on Rump ballads see Jenner (2002).

[21] First appearing in 1530, the term refers to a coarse woollen cloth, or linsey-woolsey usually dyed red. In attributive position it generally denotes the colour, i.e. the shade of red in which the cloth was commonly dyed (*OED*). In the context of the ballad I interpret the word as indicating the 'vaguely red' colour of Cromwell's nose.

nominal reference requires of a speaker an analysis of his own social and psychological location and of the location of his co-conversationalists [in this case the ballad-consumers]" (1972:105), the narrator's improper naming of Cromwell ('stammel nos'd Oliver') assumes agreement with the audience's ideological conceptualisation of the referent, and thus contributes to the creation of political consensus around his mockery.

Interestingly enough, in the same ballad, there is only one political personage who is authorized to speak and that is general George Monck. In the text only 13 words out of 1.200 are attributed to the political personage but the dramatization of his discourse is extremely effective from an ideological point of view. Below is one of Monck's epigrammatic utterances representing his rejection of the Rumps's intriguing proposals.

> Yet he's wise enough to resist and disdain 'em
> And cry, *Get behind me, then Bob-tail of Satan* (*Rump Roughly yet Righteously handled*, 1660)

Monck's speech is orally-marked as can be seen in the use of the imperative, the discourse marker 'then' and the overtly insulting address term 'Bob-tail of Satan', which dramatizes his scorn of the Rump and personalises people's discontent with its misgovernment. The narrator-author exploits the *authority* of the character's speech in order to legitimate and foreground his own anti-Cromwellian ideology. Interestingly, Monck's degrading term 'Bob-tail of Satan' for addressing the Rump echoes the I-narrator's use of the words 'fart', 'shit', bum' and tail' for referring to the Parliament. This inner dialogism between the two voices reinforces the denigrating import of the political ballad through the combination of two popular tropes: the excremental and the devil. Furthermore, by adhering to the carnal language of folk humour, the I-narrator's and the character's speech facilitate the comprehension of the political message fostering its reception through amusement and fun.

5. Conclusion

The qualitative analysis of the broadsides selected suggests that mid-seventeenth century political broadsides appeal to spoken idiom as an effective means to sensitise people towards the controversial issues of the

time. While the representation of orality in ballads was generally quite conventional as it had to ensure ordinary people's general comprehension, the functional motivations determining its markedness in the text have proved worthy of attention from an ideological point of view.

At the I-narrator-audience discourse level, orality features have been adopted to establish a familiar, interpersonal relationship with the audience. This was, in fact, crucial to the creation of consensus around a set of values sanctioning the supreme authority of the king and fostering the debasement of the parliamentary institution.

At the character-character discourse level, on the other hand, the spoken idiom of common people and political personages was basically aimed at 1) establishing authorial authenticity, 2) providing insight into the character and moral value of the speaker and 3) giving dramatic voice. Each of these three functions were skilfully exploited by the ballad-author so as to construct his political propaganda. The way in which the authorial authenticity of the character's discourse interacted with the narrator's framing argumentation reinforced the validity of his political claim. The insight into the moral rectitude of characters prompted people's sense of membership with them. Finally, the creation of individual voices met with people's preference for dramatization and facilitated their comprehension of the political message.

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The Lingua Franca of Globalisation: "filius nullius in terra nullius", as we say in English.

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> English as a lingua franca is a child of the postmodern world: it observes no national boundaries and it has no definite centres. In many ways, it is part of a transcultural flow, with its speakers using it in their own ways, constructing their own identities and forming their own groupings.
> (Mauranen and Metsä-Ketelä 2006: 2)

Introduction

In a key early text, Roland Robertson defined globalisation at two levels: as "both […] the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992: 8). In other words, globalisation has as much to do with how we conceive the world as it has with engineering its social and economic compression. Consequently, theories of globalisation have an important performative dimension: how we talk about globalisation contributes to the shaping of consciousness of "the world as a whole". It would be a commonplace (though not an insignificant one) to observe that nowadays discussion of globalisation is conducted to a large extent in English; this article addresses the fact that, because of the role of communication in globalisation discourse, and of English in global communication, globalisation discourse is also, to an extent unrivalled by any other language, a discourse spoken *about* English.

It follows then that how we talk, and what we say, about "English as a global language" (Crystal 1997), "English as an International Language" (Jenkins 2000), "World English" (Brutt-Griffler 2002), "World Englishes" (Kachru and Smith 2008), or simply "Global" (Toolan 1997) goes beyond defending positions in linguistic debates and becomes an intervention in the formation of our consciousness of the globalised world, contributing in particular to the sorts of subjects and

cultures we envision as inhabiting it. This is not least the case for the masses of those involved worldwide in the learning and teaching of English at all levels and ages. The very salience of English within globalisation means that the way it is presented—in theoretical texts as in language teaching materials—has an important role in developing understandings of language as such, particularly its relations to culture and, through this therefore, to attitudes to the cultural politics of globalisation itself. It is in this context that the present article will examine the theoretical discourse of "English as a Lingua Franca" (ELF)—a discourse that supports what David Graddol (2006: 87) has described as "probably the most radical and controversial approach to emerge in recent years" to thinking about English under globalisation. Rather than providing a further linguistic critique of ELF, this article will focus on the *cultural* claims for English within globalisation that ELF weaves into and builds out of its linguistic arguments.[1] I shall also aim to suggest how those cultural claims contribute to the resilience of ELF despite the critiques raised against it by many specialists in linguistics and language teaching.

Talking about globalisation; talking about language

How, then, do we talk about language? Or, put another way, what *else* do we talk about when we talk about language? Although linguists have various technical discourses for talking about their subject, it is difficult for non-specialists at least (and often for specialists too) to avoid the slip from talking about "the language itself" to talking about something else, something to do with culture.

Take, for example, an article promoting English as "A Language for Europe" that the travel writer Michael Jenner contributed in 1996 to the British Airways in-flight magazine *Business Life*—a genre of publication of evident importance for the way the global is constructed (cf. Thurlow and Jaworski 2003). "On top of the 370 million native speakers of

[1] For a range of critical approaches, see Berns 2008; MacKenzie 2009, forthcoming; Mollin 2006; Prodromou 2007.

English," Jenner began in a strain that has become familiar, "another 1 billion people use it as a lingua franca" (Jenner 1996: 19). Jenner acknowledges (as effectively all writers on the subject do) that "the economic power of the USA has been the prime promoter of the language in recent times." But he goes on immediately to point out that this is not the ultimate reason for its present position: rather, he argues, "there is a *linguistic* reason for the triumph of English" (my italics). The "linguistic" reason is that, owing to its hybrid nature, English is "user-friendly": as "the mother of mongrels", it has a "formidable adaptability", and is "by instinct an acutely cosmopolitan creature" (Jenner 1996: 20). As Jenner goes on to explain: "The Germanic engineering of Anglo-Saxon combined with the elegance and clarity of French in a resonant mix that has served literary talents as diverse as Samuel Johnson and James Joyce. What English lacked in classical beauty, it made up for in pragmatism and humour" (ibid.).

Although his article reads as something of a caricature of such discourse, Jenner's cultural associations are of course entirely traditional. In his project to establish the national language, Dr Johnson, bereft of classical models on which to base his *Dictionary*, evoked deeply embedded attitudes to rival European powers and contemporary domestic political cultures as he situated the historical bounds of his corpus between the early "rudeness" of the "original *Teutonick* character" of English and the recent "false refinement" provoked by its deviation "towards a *Gallick* structure and phraseology" (Johnson 1755: 8). A century later, as the study of language was establishing itself as a historical science, Richard Chenevix Trench, the pioneering English philologist and the promoter of the great sequel to Johnson's pioneering work, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, spoke of English in language that invoked the excellence of the national Church and an imperial vision of both the language and the nation. Trench linked the fact that, in founding the modern national language (as with the Anglican Church), the translators of the English Reformation "gave to the Latin side of the language its rights, though they would not suffer it to encroach upon and usurp those of the Teutonic part of the language" with the "great things in store for the one language of Europe which thus serves as connecting link between the North and the South … [and] which is as a middle term between them" (1855: 37). Trench cites Jakob Grimm in support of the "surprisingly intimate alliance of […] the Teutonic and the Romance" in

English (Grimm 1851: 135; cited in Trench 1855: 38). "In truth," Grimm continues:

> the English language, which by no mere accident has produced and upborne the greatest and most predominant poet of modern times (I can, of course, only mean Shakespeare), may with all right be called a world-language; and like the English people appears destined hereafter to prevail with a sway even more extensive than its present over all parts of the globe. For in wealth, good reason, and closeness of structure no other of the languages at this day spoken deserves to be compared with it. (ibid.)

In short, the slide from "linguistic" arguments to national stereotypes and their narratives, from speaking of language to speaking of culture, has characterised discourse on language for as long as language has been regarded as bound up with national culture. Moreover, at an important moment in the development of linguistics as a discipline, it served to convey the prophetic sense of a world-destiny for English.

This historical alignment of language with nation has furnished a tradition of talking about language that revolves around notions of property. "E'NGLISH. adj. [*engles*, Saxon]. Belonging to England"—as Dr Johnson (1755) defined it in his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). At the other end of the narrative, the turn of the century lingua franca project derived considerable impetus from Henry Widdowson's much-cited assertion to an audience of English language teachers in the early nineties that: "[English] is not a possession which [native speakers] lease out to others, while still retaining the freehold. Other people actually own it" (Widdowson 1994: 385).[2] More radically, Jacques Derrida, writing from a postcolonial point of view, stretches the metaphor to breaking-point: "I only have one language; it is not mine" (Derrida 1998: 3). As these three very different historical and/or theoretical contexts suggest, our discourse regarding what "belongs to" a language links the defining characteristics inherent to a language to the question of what culture or community that language "belongs to": in describing a language we ask not only what *properties* does the language possess? but *whose* language is it?

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[2] I shall have occasion to return later to the peculiar Englishness of the notion of property employed here.

The relationship between statements about the properties and the proprietorship of the language was essential to the construction of nation and of empire, as English was theorised for implementation in educational systems at home and abroad in the nineteenth century.[3] However, we are supposed to have got past this conflation today in the language we use about language. It is, presumably, not because of any "English" virtues that English occupies its current place in the world. The acceptance of its global status relies on this: that the world no longer believes that English is "owned" by the British or the Americans, or that it embodies, transmits or inculcates qualities and values associated with those cultures. But Jenner's recidivism, slipping into promoting English as a lingua franca on the basis of qualities easily identified with a certain vision of Englishness, illustrates the unconscious persistence (at least in the native-speaker psyche) of a language of linguistic property that imbues language with qualities associated with particular cultures. As such it points to the question as to whether, even when modelling English as a lingua franca emancipated from particularly "English" cultural ownership or properties, one can avoid speaking of it in a way that imbues that language with cultural properties of *some* sort—properties, moreover, that cannot help but have implications for English culture itself. In looking at the discourse of "English as a Lingua Franca", I will, then, be seeking to identify the cultural properties attributed to "English" in a context that, in contrast to our eighteenth- and nineteenth-century examples, is conceived as postnational. I shall likewise explore their implications for the broader contexts of what Philip Seargeant has sought to render as neutrally as possible with the expression "English within a globalized context" (Seargeant 2008: 220). This will return us to the question of the issue of the "ownership" of the lingua franca.

[3] See, for example, Bacon 1998; Bailey 1992; Michael 1987; Viswanathan 1989.

From international communication to a global lingua franca

Given the tradition of discourse on language just referred to, a fundamental element in the appeal of ELF is the way in which it allows English to play a global role by definitively releasing it from the ownership and properties of its imperialist predecessors. Hitherto, in explaining how English came to occupy its present position under globalisation, all accounts recognise as a matter of course the role of British imperialism and American economic and military power up to the mid- to late twentieth century; but they tend to stumble at the next stage—as illustrated by David Crystal's almost throwaway comment that English occupies the place it currently does because it has "repeatedly 'found itself in the right place at the right time'" (Crystal 1997: 110).[4] In accounting for the accelerated spread of English in the last part of the twentieth century and beyond, a stronger narrative than this was required if one was to break with the earlier history and rebut arguments that understand globalisation as the unbroken pursuit of Empire under another name, in which English is complicit. In a word, English had to be released from the inheritance of its imperialist parents. For this to happen, it would be necessary to separate the way English as a language was talked about from the earlier account of English as a complex of cultural values associated with particular nation-states and their historical narratives, the paradigm that had provided the founding rationale for departments of English or Germanic philology across Continental Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (cf. Engler and Haas 2000; Haas and Engler 2008).

The communicative revolution of the 1970s and 1980s was a crucial but incomplete step in the process of disembedding English from the old narrative and its associated paradigm. The development of the communicative approach to English Language Teaching (cf. Brumfit and Johnson 1979) is precisely contemporaneous with that of the modern technologies of global communication: the internet, e-mail, messaging,

[4] The accusation of complacency provoked by this phrase brought about a retrospective clarification as to its ironic (and Welsh) nature in the second edition: see Crystal (2003: 78), fn. 10.

the World Wide Web.[5] While English became popularly identified as the language for communication par excellence through its evolving association with these revolutionary technologies, it was, at the same time, discussed in theoretical, policy, and pedagogical texts and materials primarily in terms of communicational function, rather than linguistic structure or cultural content (cf. Van Ek 1975). In privileging a functional model of communication in language teaching, this approach turned cultural understanding into no more than a matter of appropriateness and effectiveness in the realisation of universal transactional goals in international contexts (Kayman 2004). In short, culture became a supplementary skill theoretically open to all, rather than an essential content possessed by some.

Yet subordinating the cultural properties of English to the inter-cultural functional properties of communication did not entirely release it from its "English" inheritance. As the teaching and learning of English expanded throughout the world, the discourse of English, and particularly of the English Language Teaching profession, was still very much "owned" by Anglophone nationals. The new theory of English of the late twentieth century was largely elaborated by British, Australian and American scholars (with crucial contributions from South Asia; e.g. Kachru 1985); the new materials were published by the multinational

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[5] In 1972, for example, while Ray Tomlinson was writing the first e-mail programmes and FTP protocols were being developed, Dell Hymes and D. A. Wilkins, in their seminal papers "On Communicative Competence" and on "Grammatical, situational and notional syllabuses" respectively, were reconstituting language as the means of realisation of a set of communicative functions (Hymes 1972; Wilkins 1979). Brumfit and Johnson's (1979) influential anthology, which reprinted both essays, was published in the same year that the first IBM PC came on the market. Likewise, Jan Van Ek published the first "Threshold Level" syllabus for the Council of Europe a year before the first Apple computer was launched (1975). The Threshold Level set the stage for the revolution in teaching methods and materials in the 1980s, during which period the demand for teaching and learning of English became increasingly the centre of foreign language instruction in European school systems. BBS technologies began in the USA in 1978 and expanded during the 1980s. In another register, CNN was launched in 1980 and MTV in 1981. The HTTP system and the Web arrived at the beginning of the 1990s.

Anglophone publishing houses; the new methodologies were promoted in large part through the British Council's reinforced network of schools and through the seminars, symposia and lectures it sponsored; and international assessment was controlled largely by British- or American-based institutions.[6]

This, rather than the crude Whorfianism of which it is sometimes accused (e.g. Mair 2002: 166), is the central argument of Robert Phillipson's (1992) critique of the spread of English as "linguistic imperialism". Phillipson's work seeks to trace out the agents, discourses, and practices responsible for the spread of English and to analyse their effects, the values they promote, and the cultural and economic asymmetries they perpetuate within the globalising context of late capitalism (cf. also Pennycook 1994). At the bottom of Phillipson's position is the case that the adoption of English as a global language is fundamentally incompatible with an emancipatory project for globalisation, and that there are alternatives, based in support for multilingualism. Although published over 15 years ago, Phillipson's text still seems to haunt the debate; against the background of the accelerating "triumph" of English, the recurrent need to rebut these arguments has testified to the persistent spectre of the imperial inheritance (in addition to Mair, see, for example, Brutt-Griffler 2002: 26 et seq).

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[6] For a brief account of the early history of communicative language teaching, see Howatt and Widdowson 2004: 326-340. As is well known, the main players in assessment remain Cambridge ESOL, IELTS, international TESOL (founded 1964) and the Michigan University testing service in the USA (founded in the 1950s). The Cambridge Certificate of Proficiency in English was established by the Cambridge Board in 1913 (see the catalogue of the Cambridge ESOL 150th anniversary exhibition at http://www.cambridgeassessment.org.uk/ca/digitalAssets/166664_114603_Complete_150th_Anniversary_Exhibition.pdf; accessed 13 December 2009). The English Language Testing Service (ELTS) was established in 1980 to respond to "the growth in 'communicative' language learning and 'English for specific purposes'" (see the IELTS website at http://www.ielts.org/researchers/history_of_ielts.aspx; accessed on 13 December 2009). Major expansion took place following the revision of the test, which became the International ELTS in 1989. IELTS was established by a consortium involving Cambridge ESOL, the British Council, and an Australian organisation.

On the other hand, the twenty-first-century discourse of English as a Lingua Franca totally inverts the situation described by Phillipson. Indeed, as I shall demonstrate, it responds to this critique of English as an instrument of neo-imperialism in terms that would make ELF the very image and vehicle of an emancipatory vision of globalisation.

English and the emancipatory project of globalisation

Building on the idea of English as the world language of communication established during the last decades of the twentieth century, the discourse of English as a Lingua Franca represents a theoretical and cultural rupture with previous theories of English in the globalised context by virtue of two fundamental and related moves. On the one hand, the model of language shifts away from the cultural paradigm based on the (inter-)national (English as a *Foreign* Language) and the intra-national (English as a *Second* Language) and aligns it with the postmodernist visions of globalisation developed in the 1990s by the likes of Arjun Appadurai (1990; "flows"), Jan Pierterse (1995; hybridisation; "third spaces"), and with the sort of notions of "reflexive modernity", disembedding, and identity developed by Scott Lash and John Urry (1994) and Anthony Giddens (1990; 1999). This move is complemented by the dislodging of the English language from its previous location in Anglophone sources, models, and users. In other words, ELF intertwines an argument about the cultural contours of globalisation with a revision of the subjects and sites of English as a language.

I should indicate at once that I feel that the move has much to recommend it; however, the way in which it is articulated ends up making considerable cultural claims for the role of English in globalisation. By drawing its language from sociocultural theories of globalisation, the discourse of ELF effectively transfers the cultural values it ascribes to the global vision onto the language, in the same way as national values were fused with linguistic arguments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While this does deterritorialise English, it is far from releasing the idea of the language, as the pure medium that the phrase "lingua franca" appears to intimate, from *a priori* cultural values which attach to it. In other words, while modelled as a culturally neutral lingua franca, English in fact appears to embody or instantiate the values

of a particular version of globalisation and thereby become inseparable from it. As a result, it renders any attempt to consider alternatives to the universal adoption of English as global language redundant. By the same token, it obscures a fundamental question: in what way does support for an emancipatory vision of globalisation necessarily in fact imply a positive understanding of the role of English in realising this vision? I want to consider first, then, how the interweaving of discourses on globalisation and discourses on language locates English as *the* language of progressive globalisation, before turning to the shift in its subjects and its sites.

Take, for example, the way Christian Mair (2002) responds to the need for an alternative narrative for English at what I identified above as its stumbling point, the end of the British Empire and of the Cold War. In his review of explanations for "the continuing spread of English in the world today", Mair uses a language drawn from theories of globalisation to gather explanations for this spread of English into two camps, "the exploitation theory" and "the grassroots theory" (Mair 2002: 160). For the former set of views, Mair claims, globalisation is an "Anglo-American conspiracy" (p. 159) and English an "imperialist language", "a language that conveys an Anglo-Saxon/ Western point of view" (p. 165). For the latter, on the other hand, the motor is a "global grassroots movement" with English as a "post-imperial" language (pp. 163-164), "an ideologically neutral lingua franca" (p. 165). Unsurprisingly, Mair favours the latter view, since it maps onto "the—in my view—very real possibility of social modernization that is not directly promoted by United States interests" (Mair 2002: 164). Attractive as such an aspiration undoubtedly is, the conflation of discourses provides a circular argument that is more advocacy for such a view of globalisation than an analysis of its actual dynamics. Furthermore, it constructs an image of English within a globalised context as a language of popular choice and one that is actively resistant to the very "Americanisation" of which it is accused by the defenders of "the exploitation theory".

Martin Dewey (2007) builds on this sort of approach, employing an explicitly "interconnected perspective" between the discourses of globalisation and of linguistics to situate the Lingua Franca project. Borrowing explicitly from contemporary sociology (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton 1999), Dewey presents three positions in relation to globalisation—the hyperglobalist, the sceptical, and the

transformationalist—and maps them onto what he presents as three theoretical positions on contemporary English in the world. Interpretations of globalisation as a form of imperialism promoting "the hegemony of English" are classified as "hyperglobalist" and allied to a belief in a global market controlled by the West "leading ultimately to greater overall homogeneity" (Dewey 2007: 334). The sceptical position is, apparently, less anxious about globalisation, seeing it not as a moment of rupture, but as a long historical process in which national governments continue to retain a large measure of power. These two negative positions frame the transformationalist view of globalisation which, invoking Giddens and UNESCO, maintains that "[f]ears of homogeneity and cultural uniformity are … largely unfounded, and human cultural diversity (although clearly met with significant challenges) remains in good health" (Dewey 2007: 336). In sum:

> From a transformationalist perspective, globalization represents something other than straightforward Americanization or Westernization. While it is essential to acknowledge the obvious imbalance of power and inequality in the share of world resources, it is also possible to overstate the extent of the economic, political and cultural influence of Western powers. (Dewey 2007: 335)

The key corollary for Dewey is that, in the realm of English, "the significance of the native speaker can be similarly overstated" (Dewey 2007: 335). A "transformationalist take on globalization" demonstrates that traditional definitions of standard English based on the figure of the native speaker "are no longer suitable" (p. 347).

It is in the speaker of global English, then, that we see the connection between a theory of English imbued with the values of a given vision of globalisation, and the shift in the subjects and sites of English in a globalised context. According to Dewey the mainstream English Language Teaching profession aligns with the "sceptical" position in relation to globalisation inasmuch as their commitment to native-speaker models allegedly demonstrates their "neo-conservativ[e]" (p. 346) view that global English remains ultimately the property of the nation. Furthermore, on this basis, anti-imperialist and nationalist are cast as two sides of the same reactionary coin, inasmuch as the hyperglobalist critique, Dewey argues, effectively promotes the uniformity that, for him, characterises the position of those who advocate retaining native-speaker or national ownership (p. 348).

In other words, the "native speaker" comes to embody the imperial spectre. As a consequence, the "transformationalist" theory of globalisation offers the possibility of liberating both globalisation and English from the imperial inheritance represented by the Western powers on the one hand and the native speaker on the other. At the same time, by both invoking data concerning the variability of English in "lingua franca" interactions between non-native speakers "as evidence in support of the transformationalist hypothesis" (p. 337) and modelling English "in light of a transformationalist take on globalization" (p. 347), Dewey ensures that English as a language becomes characterised by the values that inform the transformationalist project, and that English as a Lingua Franca thereby becomes, in his word, an "integral" part of that postimperial cultural project (p. 334).

The new global subject of English

Dewey's "transformationalist take" relies then on the important change in the terms of debate that was noted by Janina Brutt-Griffler in her book on *World English*: "From the fundamental question that inaugurated the field—the relation of the acquisition of English language and 'English' culture—scholars have increasingly turned to questions of standard and variety" (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 8-9). In other words, while, in analytic terms, the integration of English into an emancipatory project for globalisation hinges on the decentring of the native speaker model that had underwritten previous understandings, in discursive terms, the subject of cultural value and knowledge has been translated into the subject of stylistics.

In this context, it is certainly the case that, as Anna Mauranen and Maria Metsä-Ketelä point out, "The strong presence of the native speaker in linguistic theory has cast a long shadow on many fields of research as well as applications" (Mauranen and Metsä-Ketelä 2006: 3). Hitherto, the discourse of English as a world language for communication had been centred on the native-speaker—the human subject seen fundamentally as the subject of a nation or an ethnicity, and hence caught up in the asymmetries of relations between nations and communities. Thus, even if English as a Second Language had made room for members of postcolonial nation states or communities to speak a variety

of the metropolitan standard, a "new English" (Platt, Weber, and Mian Lian 1984), the imaginary British subject who speaks Standard English had remained persistently at the centre of what, since Braj Kachru's (1985) pioneering description, has been conceived of as a set of "inner", "outer" and "expanding" circles of English. Now, in place of these concentric subjects, theorists of ELF seek to de-centre English onto a new subject, constituted not by a single "pure" native-speaking individual, but by a plurality of heterogeneous non-native speakers. This new figure represents the postnational subject of globalisation since, although each individual may be a member of a nation-state, collectively they speak English primarily as a means of engaging in "globalised"—i.e. transnational and "transformational"—interactions.

As Jennifer Jenkins points out in her combative defence of *English as a Lingua Franca* (2007), previous "auxiliary languages", like BASIC English (Ogden 1935), have all been simplified, cut-down versions of a native English standard.[7] But ELF is so much *not* the English of the national subject that the latter is, in theory at least, effectively *excluded* from its conversations. As Jenkins explains:

> ELF is the preferred term for a relatively new manifestation of English which is very different in concept from both English as a Second Language (ESL)—the label frequently given to outer circle Englishes—and English as a Foreign Language (EFL)—the traditional […] label for English in the expanding circle. Unlike ESL varieties, it is not primarily a local or contact language *within* national groups but *between* them. And unlike EFL, whose goal is in reality ENL (English as a Native Language), it is not primarily a language of communication between its native speakers and non-native speakers, but among its non-native speakers. (Jenkins 2007: 4).

Put more simply by Barbara Seidlhofer, ELF is "a language which has no native speakers" (Seidlhofer 2001: 146). Conceiving ELF in this way brackets out, as it were, the whole problem of the dominance of national or imperial Anglophone cultures by excluding them from the theoretical and cultural context (if not entirely from the actual corpus).[8]

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[7] For relations between ELF and BASIC, see Seidlhofer 2002.

[8] As Barbara Seidlhofer explains on the site of the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English, lingua franca interactions do in practice also include L1

This explicit shift in subject fulfils the communicative project of the 70s and 80s. By cancelling in this way the threat of contamination of the properties of English by its historical proprietors, ELF, it can be argued, does not bring with it any intrinsic cultural weight at all. As Juliane House maintains, it is because "ELF is not a national language" but "a mere tool bereft of collective cultural capital" (House 2003: 560), that it can serve as "language for communication" (p. 559). This does not necessarily mean that ELF has no relation at all to cultural identity. Christiane Meierkord argues that, as a lingua franca, English can certainly operate as "a 'language stripped bare' of its cultural roots", a pure instrument; but it can also be what she calls "a 'linguistic massala'", a hybrid blend of codes in which speakers perform linguistic identities of their own choice (Meierkord 2002: 128-9). ELF, in other words, can be either language free from culture, or, inasmuch as it is able to transmit cultural values, it is a language whose cultural content is not a function of its "English"-ness, but of its users' choice, according to "what culture a speaker wants to construct in a particular conversation" (Meierkord 2002: 128-9). In a word, far from being the language of Western (neo-)imperialism, English becomes the pure plastic medium of global multiculturalism.

"Lingua franca"

> **frank,** ***a.***
> **1.** = FREE in various applications of the word; often ***frank and free***.
> **a.** Free in condition; not in serfdom or slavery.
> ***Oxford English Dictionary***

The discourse of ELF has clearly performed an important service that reflects in a number of ways the developing universe of English language

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speakers of English: "Nevertheless, so-called non-native speakers of English commonly outnumber English native speakers in ELF interactions, a fact also represented in VOICE. Currently, speakers who have English as a first language make up less than 10 per cent of all speakers recorded in VOICE." See VOICE at http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/faq, accessed 13 December 2009.

use and the questions it might pose. Not least of these is its role in promoting the visibility of non-native speakers of English and insisting that they be viewed as independent subjects of English, not as subjected to it. However, as the rest of this paper will argue, notwithstanding the name that has been attributed to it, in making the larger claims it appears to, "English as a Lingua Franca" may not be as "frank and free", that is to say, as independent of English culture, nor, therefore, as candid and transparent, as it seeks or appears to be.

We have already observed how the conflation of ELF and that of a progressive project for globalisation ends up making the properties of each appear to inhere essentially in the other, so that, in advancing a particular and undoubtedly alluring view of globalisation, the terms in which ELF is described implicitly intensifies the privileged role of English in that project. This conflation is amplified by the term "lingua franca" itself. On the one hand, terminologically it denotes particular contexts of language use, the technical appropriateness of which in the case of English in the globalised context is open to debate within linguistics. Indeed, Yamuna Kachru and Larry E. Smith argue that "the current profile of [English] in the world" fails to qualify it as a lingua franca, according to any previous category so designated (Kachru and Smith 2008: 11). Be that as it may, the expression connotes cultural values well beyond its technical meaning within linguistics which may help account for its currency regardless of the various positions on the specific issue of standards and varieties taken by individual linguists. If we now look at the properties that, it is argued, make "Lingua Franca" a more appropriate designation than "English as an International Language", "World English", "World Englishes", "Global English", or any other possible nomenclature, we shall find ourselves returning to the issue of ownership and from thence to a conclusion.

The first reason Jennifer Jenkins gives for preferring "ELF" is precisely the idea the expression conveys of a language of a community made up of speakers of diverse national cultures. In this way, Jenkins points out, the appellation "ELF" is in marked contrast to its dominant predecessor, "EFL" (English as a Foreign Language). By characterising interactions between speakers of different languages as "lingua franca" communication, she argues, this term "suggests the idea of community as opposed to alienness; it emphasizes that people have something in common rather than their differences" (Jenkins 2007: 3). In this sense,

whereas English as a Foreign Language can be connoted with a culture of imperialist imposition and exclusion ("foreign", "alien"), ELF is enhanced by association with the values of transnational communities.[9]

In the second place, the term "lingua franca" links contemporary international English to earlier instances of lingua francas. By attaching itself to the contexts for lingua francas in the past, Jenkins claims, ELF draws attention to the mixing of languages, to different voicing, to linguistic hybridity—all values associated with positive multicultural approaches to globalisation. Jenkins points out, furthermore, that because of the dynamic nature of lingua francas, the term also implies that non-native speakers are "at the forefront of innovation and change" in English as a global language (Jenkins 2007: 4).[10] While national English remains connoted with a monocultural and conservative standard, ELF becomes intrinsically associated with the creative capacity of globalisation within hybrid third spaces.

Curiously, in responding to the expression "English as a Lingua Franca" we are in fact by now so used to thinking of English in the role of world language that we probably miss the irony implicit in the adoption of an apparently *Latin* term for global English. After all, although "Vulgar Latin" did develop in a variety of hybrid vernacular forms, later to evolve into the Romance languages, the status of the classical languages as the lingua francas of learning and the models of literary decorum in the Medieval and Early Modern periods cast a major shadow over the development of English as a national language (for a pertinent comparative historical discussion, see Meierkord 2006). In this sense, the original "triumph of English" (to recall again the phrase from

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[9] English as a Foreign Language need not, however, designate a reactionary attitude to the other: "But it is perhaps on the basis of that contemporary individualism's subversion, beginning with the moment when the citizen-individual ceases to consider himself as unitary and glorious but discovers his incoherences and abysses, in short his 'strangenesses'—that the question arises again: no longer that of welcoming the foreigner within a system that obliterates him but of promoting the togetherness of those foreigners that we all recognize ourselves to be" (Kristeva 1991: 2).

[10] For a detailed discussion of the role of "exoteric" communication in the evolution of languages, see Wray and Grace 2007.

Jenner 19) was in fact the victory in Early Modern England of vernacular English over the classical languages, as recounted in Richard Foster Jones's 1953 study of *The Triumph of the English Language*. So too, part of Lord Macaulay's justification for the imperial role of English in the notorious 1834 Minute to Parliament on Indian Education was that "What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham our tongue is to the people of India" (Macaulay 1952: 724). In the twenty-first century, however, aligning English with Latin as a world language now has a thoroughly different purpose to such earlier national and imperial instances. Jenkins most of all favours the appellation, she tells us, because "the Latin name symbolically removes the ownership of English from the Anglos both to no one and, in effect, to everyone" (Jenkins 2000: 11).

"filius nullius"

If we remember the way in which, as I have maintained, discussions of language and culture revolve around notions of property, and, at the same time, how English in globalisation revolves around the importance of liberating it from the imperialist inheritance, Jenkins's "symbolic" move from "Anglos" to no one and thus everyone is, I would suggest, key. To make her point more forcefully, Jenkins reaches out here to Salikoko Mufwene's (1997) discussion of "legitimate and illegitimate offspring of English" in support of creole languages, in order to present ELF as a bastard offspring of English and non-native Englishes, of equal dignity with the native, "legitimate", language (Jenkins 2007: 16). Bearing in mind the importance Jenkins gives to the Latin name and the inheritance of Latin as a lingua franca in Britain, we should note that, in English law, the legal term for a bastard is "filius nullius", the child of no one. Crucially, under the Common Law, the "filius nullius" was not permitted to inherit from the father (Blackstone 1979 [1765-69]: I. 459).[11] Because of this, he or she relied on the community for

[11] Although the illegitimate child of a mother who died intestate became able to inherit in Britain under the Legitimacy Act of 1926 (but only if there were no

sustenance, and hence, by being the offspring of no one was, at the same time, considered to be "filius populi", the child of everyone. Within the language of property, then, as a "filius nullius" ELF leaps free of any kinship with its patriarchal progenitor and simply *cannot* inherit the cultural values of English as a native, national or imperial language. Conceived as the illegitimate offspring of English with a variety of other L1s, it is a hybrid that defies the Order of the Father and breaks the relationship between language and nation. As a child of the people, a "filius populi", it disturbs propriety, upsets hierarchy, and celebrates popular community.

In this way, the representation of English as a "filius nullius" not only finally dispels the spectre of neo-imperialism; it actually turns English into its opposite. English ceases to be the means for imposing a homogenous set of cultural values. Instead, it becomes associated with a polycentric and democratic dynamic that promotes heterogeneity and innovation in a process of globalisation theorised as a progressive movement. It is not the language that reflects and imposes globalised monocultures, but the deterritorialised, transnational language of "flows" and innovative, hybrid "third spaces".[12] Conceived as a bastard language, a "love-child", if you will, English is released from its historical association with nation and empire and transformed into an instrument for a multicultural vision of globalisation.

There is however a paradox here. Just like Widdowson's metaphorical use of a peculiarly English mode of property (freehold/ leasehold) in his influential statement on the ownership of language (Widdowson 1994: 385, cited above), the doctrine of non-inheritance regarding the "filius nullius" is native to *English* law. In Roman law, for example, the illegitimate child does inherit from the parents. So this is the key question: in what sense does removing English from its "belonging to England" (Johnson 1755) or from the possession of the

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legitimate children), the general legal position of non-inheritance lasted until the Family Law Reform Act of 1969 (Morris 1970).

[12] In this respect, Allan James (2008) goes so far as to call English as a lingua franca a "post-geographical" language, pointing to the fact that the individuals who use English in a lingua franca function are not co-located in a particular *geographical* space.

"Anglos" (Jenkins 2000: 11) and conceiving it as a hybrid truly make it a "filius nullius", a child that does not inherit the properties of its patriarchal parent? Or does this rather indicate that the cultural history and location of meaning is not quite so easy to escape? Although language is always subject to hybridisation and can always be used to make new meanings, it does not do so *ex nihilo* (to coin another lingua franca phrase); new and hybrid meanings are possible precisely because language does carry meanings *in potentia* that are culturally dependent and locatable and realisable in specific contexts – and not always under the subject's ownership and control.

"… in terra nullius"

In other words, English as a lingua franca can be a "filius nullius" in the way Jenkins wishes it to be only in an "English" sense. Put another way, in terms of site rather than subject, English as a "lingua franca" can be free from the cultural locations of the language only to the extent that John Locke was right when he observed in 1698 that "In the beginning, all the World was America" (Locke 1988 [1698]: 301). By this I do not intend a glib assertion that globalisation is no more than Americanisation. Indeed, Locke meant a number of things by this striking statement; most importantly, from the perspective of narratives of Anglophone globalisation, by invoking America at this moment in the history of colonisation, he was making the continent stand as the instantiation of the legal doctrine of "terra nullius" (see Kayman 2006). The notion that the New World was "empty land", land owned by no one, was central to the imperialist project. As Locke's concept of the "tabula rasa" in the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Locke 1979 [1690]) denied any pre-inscribed content to the human mind, the "terra nullius" wiped out previous possession from the New World; America was a blank space, ready for inscription by British values. Jenkins's "filius nullius" is, I would venture, an idealised postmodern inversion of this imperialist concept—a language without owner or inheritance that operates in a context unscripted by earlier local meanings. Furthermore, the third spaces where the lingua franca is spoken are, in their turn, an idealisation of another, postmodern, sort of "terra nullius": spaces across and between those of sovereign nations,

owned by none of them.[13] If Locke's concept was a authority for colonisation, Jenkins's aims, most properly, to be an instrument for emancipation from it. Opposed as they are, what the imperialist and postimperialist arguments have in common however is that they are both, literally, "u-topian"; they exist in spaces where things have properties in the sense of having qualities or virtues, without already being the property of anyone in particular.[14] But, if globalisation is driven by anything, it is by the commodification of everything—not least of all language, not least of all the "lingua franca" of global communication.

Within what is both an ideological and a commercial market for "English", then, the commodity "English as a Lingua Franca" is branded with values associated with an emancipatory vision of globalisation, associated with hybridity, innovation, and the creation of new communal contexts, third spaces crossing the boundaries of national frontiers. It is the language of the authentic global citizen: whatever their national language, this is the language that enables subjects as global citizens to communicate and thereby be part of the global community.

Conclusion

In sum, then, the very large cultural claims ELF makes for the English language have a number of potential effects. In the first place, the discourse of ELF obscures the other, arguably more dominant, role of English as the language of neo-liberal global capitalism, and thereby disarms any cultural threat posed by the role of English in globalisation. As I have been arguing, by associating the values of progressive postmodernist globalisation with "English" as a language, however qualified in terms of its standard forms, ELF positively enhances the image of English overall. In the same way as it is problematic to separate interactions between non-native speakers from interactions involving

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[13] For discussion of the relevance of the doctrine of *terra nullius* in the absence of sovereignty, see Ederington 1998.

[14] One is, perhaps, reminded of Sebastian's comment on Gonzalo's rhapsodic imagining of a commonwealth with 'No Sovereignty' in *The Tempest*: 'Yet he would be King on't' (Shakespeare 1623: II, i).

both non-native and native speakers (see Berns 2008: 329), so too one cannot control the washback of values associated with the discourse of "English as a Lingua Franca" to English *tout court*. Even if by no means everyone subscribes to the proposals regarding standards in the formal project of "English as a Lingua Franca" being advanced by Barbara Seidlhofer, Jennifer Jenkins, Martin Dewey and others, the renaming of the object from "English as a foreign language" to "English as a lingua franca" has a serious appeal, as does the association of this discourse with that of a postmodernist vision of globalisation. In consequence, without attention to the technicalities of the debate, English becomes popularly associated with this positive vision of globalisation, and becomes globally branded as such—as can be seen, for example, in the British Council's emphasis on English as the language of intercultural dialogue and its highly effective slogan for its role in globalisation: "making a world of difference" (British Council 2008).

By their nature, discourses on globalisation tempt one to offer "globalising" theories—theories that apply uniformly "to the world as a whole". In the same way, then, the concept of English as a lingua franca subsumes into itself the range of specific cultural and institutional contexts in which English is actually used (see Phillipson 2008). Englobing interactions between non-native speakers as "lingua franca" in itself tends to smooth out all cultural specificity and associated power relations and suggests participation in one global community, united by that language—a "world language", in short.[15] Furthermore, by naturalising the role of English in globalisation, the language of the lingua franca contributes to the shutting off of the sort of alternatives for

[15] One might recall in this context Jenkins's point about lingua franca and "community", based on the "something in common" of the interaction. If the Greek waiter's use of English in satisfying the requirements of the German or American tourist, the Danish factory owner's interactions with the Romanian or Cape Verdian worker, or exchanges between the security services of Poland and Morocco are signs of "community", they are signs of communities of very particular kinds, and not all akin either to negotiations between the managers of multinational corporations, the intellectual exchange of scientists, or the amorous conversation of travelling youngsters (not that any of those are culturally symmetrical, either).

globalisation that are not based on English as a single (however varied) global language.

In one sense, English as a lingua franca might be conceived as a creature of the people, a *filius populi*, if what we mean by this is the wide variety of expressions in English and of communicative attitudes used spontaneously in "fleeting relationships" (Jaworski, Thurlow, Ylänne, and Lawson 2009 (in press)) as millions of non-native speakers negotiate their exchanges with each other in the notoriously ad hoc and forgiving and accommodating spirit that conversation analysts tell us informs this language use (see, for example, Knapp and Meierkord 2002: 16-17). But, however much they may draw on this ethos, this does not appear to be what Seidlhofer, Jenkins or Dewey mean by "English as a Lingua Franca". What is at issue here are the properties of ELF in a most fundamental sense; it is an issue of ontology—the very being of ELF as a language, rather than a repertoire of communicative strategies.

Seidlhofer is clear that "ELF has taken on a life of its own […] and that warrants recognition" (2004: 212). For this autonomous existence to be recognised, she argues, English not only needs new theoretical properties; it also needs a body of its own. In order to establish "the real English of ELF speakers" according to the canons of "what [since the 1990s] constitutes legitimate descriptions of any language", a massive "corpus" is needed which can then provide the empirical material for the codification and description that nowadays gives scientific being to language (Seidlhofer 2001: 150; 139).

There is however a hesitation here. As announced in 2001, the original purpose of the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE), directed by Seidlhofer, was "to explore the possibility of a codification of ELF with a conceivable ultimate objective of making it a feasible, acceptable and respected alternative to E[nglish as a]N[ative]L[anguage] in appropriate contexts of use" (Seidlhofer 2001: 150). Although in the area of phonology, the corpus constructed earlier by Jenkins had resulted in the specification of a "lingua franca core" for ELF pronunciation (as explained in Jenkins 2000), the precise ambitions for lexicogrammatical description to be undertaken by the VOICE team have become less clear with time. Seidlhofer had declared that "The overall objective will be to find out what salient common features of ELF use (if any, notwithstanding all the diversity) emerge" (Seidlhofer 2004: 219). But, as the release of the corpus drew nearer, the team became

more reticent, arguing that it is still "premature to ask questions about the degree to which ELF in Europe can be regarded as an actual variety (Euro-English) in any meaningful sense […] As more descriptive findings become available, it will be interesting to see how they relate to issues of standardization versus self-regulation" (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder, and Pitzl 2006: 21).[16]

Deferred or not, the "life of its own", this "real English", needs to come into being, if ELF is to be recognised. Be it through standardisation or self-regulation, the thrust of the corpus-based description would appear to be towards stabilisation. There is an evident tension between the transformative cultural claims being made for English as a dynamic, pluricentric lingua franca use, and the inevitably selective, relatively static consequences of codification. Why then seek to catch that particular wind? As Kachru and Smith (2008: 1) point out, "Codification is not a prerequisite for legitimizing a language." Codification is juridical in nature. It legitimises options and establishes a standard, and a standard serves, amongst other things, to assess and validate competence; in the commodified world of English, validation is clearly essential in commercial and professional contexts. In other words, while ELF could compromise the traditional ownership exercised by native speakers, it does not throw English upon the public highway, as the (English) common lawyers might say. Or, in the words of Margie Berns (2008: 333), "identification of core features of non-native speech in an effort to control language performance and guarantee the success of this performance—even if the result is the overthrow of the tyrannical native speaker—is simply meeting the new boss who's same [*sic*] as the old boss, or the hegemony of the old with the hegemony of the new."

The term "lingua franca" means the language of the Franks, derived from the Arabic, "*lisan al-firanj*", the "language of the Western/ Latin speaking Europeans" (Barotchi 2001: 503-4). "Frank and free" is the expression used by the common law to describe one who is not a "villeyne" or slave. The *OED* tells us that "francus" was "originally identical with the ethnic name *Francus* […] which acquired the sense of

[16] The release of VOICE was originally announced for the autumn of 2008, and it finally became available in May 2009.

"free" because in Frankish Gaul full freedom was possessed only by those belonging to, or adopted into, the dominant people." The need to shift from Anglocentric and nation-based maps of English and to recognise non-native uses or approaches to using English should not obscure us to the larger issues of cultural politics raised by the various roles English plays within the globalised context.

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Don't get me wrong! Negation in argumentative writing by Swedish and British students and professional writers

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Abstract
Negation is a means by which writers take their readers into account, anticipate their expectations and what inferences they may make, and dismiss those which are in conflict with their own. This is a pilot study comparing negation in argumentative writing in English by Swedish advanced learners, British students and professional writers in the British broadsheet press. The findings suggest that Swedish advanced learners use negation to negate interpersonal meanings (i.e. interactional and attitudinal meanings) more frequently than British students, a tendency which can be attributed to a high degree of subjective involvement generally found in Swedish advanced learners' essays. In comparison to the professional writers, both categories of student writers use negation less frequently to negate meanings on the content level of their texts. This can be attributed to the difference in the tenor relations which professional and student writers have to their readers.

1. Introduction

According to Grice's cooperation principle, and the first maxim of quantity which states that communicators should "Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)' (Grice 1975:45), negative utterances are issued when speakers believe they have caused a proposition which is false to be presupposed by their addressee (Tottie 1982:101). Negations are thus typically used when the speaker or writer believes the corresponding affirmative can be plausibly inferred by the given context and may, for some reason, be in the mind of their addressees (Jordan 1998:710, Givón 2001:370, Miestamo 2005). This depends, of course, on the writers' assumptions concerning their readers' knowledge of the topic being dealt with in the text as well as their general background knowledge, which is, to a certain extent, culture-specific. The corresponding affirmative may, of course, have actually been expressed in the preceding discourse (as in e.g. *John isn't married* uttered in response to *John is married*), in which case the negation is, according to Tottie (1991:21-24), an explicit denial, in contrast to implicit denials which negate propositions which have to

be inferred from the context (as e.g *John isn't married*, uttered in response to e.g. *John's wife is a teacher,* negates the implicit affirmative proposition *John is married*).[1]

Seen from a Bakhtinian perspective (1986), and in the terminology of Appraisal theory developed by Martin (2000) and White (1998, 2003a and 2003b), Martin and White (2005), negation is thus typically dialogic, i.e. it "places one voice in relation to a potential opposing one. Two voices are implicated" (Martin and Rose 2003:49). A negative sentence such as *They have not sacked the minister,* for instance, implicates the existence of the directly opposing affirmative proposition *They have sacked the minister*. The producer of this negation is thus, as Pagano (1994:256) observes, "projecting a world in which what is denied is accepted, that is, in which there is an understanding that the producer and his/her readers accept the proposition being denied."[2] This creates a dialogic relationship between two opposing positions, the negation itself and an affirmative proposition. By rejecting this affirmative proposition, the negation contracts the dialogic space in the discourse (White 2003b:261, Martin & White 2005:118). In Appraisal terms, then, negation is a linguistic resource for dialogic contraction, which is a

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[1] Tottie's usage of the term implicit denial for the denial of a proposition which has not been explicitly formulated in the text has been criticised on the grounds that the term implicit denial may also be used for denials where the negation itself is implicit and there is no formal marker of negation (Pagano 1994:252). Pagano illustrates this with the exchange:
A: Has the garbage been emptied?
B: You know bloody well I've been out all day, how could I have emptied the garbage can?
For our purpose here, however, Tottie's distinction between implicit and explicit denial is useful as it refers to the intertextual vs. intratextual status of the dialogistic relationship between the negation and its directly opposing affirmative proposition.

[2] Pagano (1994:256) illustrates this with the negation *The bride was not wearing a white dress*, which is accepted in a world where the alternative positive position, "that brides wear white dresses" can be assumed. According to Pagano, assumptions which are experientially linked in a certain context belong to an existential paradigm, i.e. a set of alternative positions which can be negated in the given culture-specific context.

subsystem of Engagement, i.e. the meanings speakers and writers express to ignore or acknowledge heteroglossic diversity and to negotiate a position for themselves within that diversity (Martin and White 200:97-135). Negations are used thus to contract the dialogic space of texts by denying their directly opposing affirmative propositions. Within the system of dialogic contraction, they are maximally contractive, ie. they close down discussion by rejecting these alternative positions altogether (Martin and White 2005:118).

It has been found that negation occurs frequently in argumentative writing. In Martin and White's (2005:182) study of broadsheet media language, for instance, the frequency of negation was much higher in Comment, opinion and editorial page items than in news reporting. This is perhaps not surprising, considering that argumentation involves both establishing one's own standpoint and challenging and rejecting opposing viewpoints which one believes others may have concerning the issue in hand. Argumentation can therefore be expected to involve a great deal of dialogic contraction. As negation is both dialogic and contractive, i.e. it is "a resource for introducing the alternative positive position into the dialogue, and hence acknowledging it, so as to reject it." (Martin and White 2005:118), it is, then, as Martin and Rose (2003:49) have pointed out, "a feature of persuasive writing where contesting positions need to be addressed and set aside".

This is a pilot study of how negation is used in argumentative writing in English by three categories of writers: Swedish advanced learners of English, native-speaker students writing in an educational setting and professional writers in the British press. For this purpose, I have examined two small samples (each a total of approx. 20,000 words) from the Swedish and native-speaker components of the *International Corpus of Learner English* project (ICLE, 2002, See Granger 1998a & b). The former (SWICLE) consists of argumentative essays written by Swedish students in their second year of university studies of English. The sample comprises the first 37 essays in the corpus, each consisting on average of 500 words. These essays are about topics such as immigration, equality, environmental issues, etc. The latter, the *Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays* (LOCNESS), consists of argumentative essays by American and British university students and some British A-level students. The sample comprises the first 38 essays in the corpus, which were all written by British students. These essays range from approx. 400

- 1200 words each, and they are about topics such as road and rail transport problems in the UK, fox hunting, boxing, etc. I have also collected a small sample of "Comment" or "Opinion" articles (23 articles, each consisting on average of 900 words, making a total of approx. 20,000 words), which I downloaded from the Internet versions of four British broadsheet newspapers *The Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, and *The Independent* during a period of six months from November 2003 to March in 2004.[3] These articles were written by experienced writers: journalists, authors, and public figures, as well as regular columnists employed by the newspapers, and their purpose is to argue the case for a personal point of view on a controversial issue, such as immigration, gender equality, fees for university education, the drugs crisis, genetically modified crops, to mention just a few (See list of articles in Appendix). I will refer to this from now on as the COMMENT sample.

From these three samples I have collected all the instances of *not (n't)*-negation and *no*-negation, i.e. *no*-negation with the negative words: *no, never, neither, nor, nobody, no one, nothing, nowhere, none* (Johansson and Lysvåg 1986:239, Quirk *et al.* 1985:775-799, Tottie 1991:87 and 106),[4] and examined how they are used and what kinds of meanings they are used to negate. The latter will be done from the Hallidayan perspective of language function, i.e. that language is used for three main metafunctions, to express experiential meanings (i.e. the propositional content), interpersonal meanings (i.e. interactional and attitudinal meanings) or textual meanings (i.e. meanings concerned with the writing process), respectively (Halliday 2004: 29-31).

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[3] I have used Comment articles rather than editorials in order to collect texts by as many different writers as possible.

[4] I have not, however, included other types of negation, such as affixal negation by the prefixes *in, un-, dis-* and *non,* and the suffixes *-less and –out,* etc. (Tottie 1991:45-59), and inherent negation by lexical items with negative meaning though positive in form, such as *fail, seldom, hardly,* etc (Quirk *et al.* 1985:780).

2. Negation in SWICLE, LOCNESS and COMMENT

There are no striking differences in the numbers of negations in the three samples. In the SWICLE sample there are 245; in the LOCNESS sample there are 224; and in the COMMENT sample there are 288 (See Table 1).

Table 1. *Not*- and *no*-negations

	Not-negation		*No*-negation		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
SWICLE	189	77.1	56	22.9	245
LOCNESS	156	69.6	68	30.4	224
COMMENT	218	75.7	70	24.3	288

About three quarters of these negations are *not*-negations (77.1% in SWICLE, 69.6% in LOCNESS, and 75.7% in COMMENT). Tottie, in her corpus study of negation (1991:139), found that *not*-negation was used more frequently in spoken language and *no*-negation more frequently in written language. Similarly Biber *et al* (1999:170) note that *not*-negation is much more frequent than *no*-negation in conversation. The higher proportions of *not-negation* in the SWICLE and COMMENT samples (77.1% and 75.7%, respectively) may reflect a tendency for these writers to use a somewhat more informal, conversational style in their argumentative writing.[5]

[5] According to (Johansson and Lysvåg 1986:240, Biber *et al.* 1999:169, Downing and Locke 2006:23), *no* negation is often used to express judgements and that it may be more emphatic than *not* negation. This emphasis, is, according to Cheshire (1999:39), due to the fact that *no* negatives such as *no, nothing, never* etc are absolutes at ends of scalar implicatures of quantity and usuality, etc. As such, they invite the addressee to determine as wide a scope as possible for their content, thus creating an overstatement. They are, therefore, "a very effective intensifying device" which has "an important role in securing interpersonal involvement" (Cheshire 1999:39). It appears then that Swedish advanced learners may use this kind of negation slightly less often than the native speaker writers.

As would be expected in written texts such as these, most of the negations are what Tottie (1991:21-24) refers to as implicit denials, i.e. they are used to implicate and reject potential affirmative propositions which the writers believe can be plausibly inferred by their readers at this point of the text and in a certain culture-specific context. In (1) and (2), for example, the negations implicate the potential affirmative propositions, 'that pretty unromantic rights are to be sniffed at', and 'that the times which literature and art describe are merely fiction', respectively. These are propositions which can be inferred in culture-specific contexts where being 'unromantic' may be valued negatively, and where it is believed that literature and art may be regarded as 'merely fiction', respectively.

(1) The civil partnerships bill, announced in the Queen's speech on Wednesday, will give homosexual lovers who have registered their partnership some of the standard rights that married couples take for granted. They are pretty unromantic rights, but still, *not* to be sniffed at - things like a share of a partner's pension or the waiving of inheritance tax when one partner dies. (COMMENT *Unmarried Couples*)

(2) If we compare that literature with the literature that is being written today we can see a pattern. We see the same kind of anxiety for the future and the criticism of what is right now. Literature and art often mirror society, and the times they describe are *not* merely fiction. (SWICLE - UG-0015.2)

There are, however, a small number of negations (8 instances each in the SWICLE and LOCNESS samples, respectively, and 5 instances in the COMMENT sample) which are explicit denials, i.e. they occur in response to affirmative positions which are expressed in the preceding discourse (Tottie 1991:21-24). These explicit denials set up an internal dialogue within the text itself, with one utterance acting to replace the other. According to Appraisal theory, they function within the system of intratextual Engagement, in contrast to implicit denials which negotiate positions outside the text and therefore function with the system of intertextual Engagement (White 1998:95). In (3) and (4) for instance, the affirmative propositions and their negations are juxtaposed as two directly opposing standpoints, in (3) by *or*-coordination and in (4) by *and*-coordination. As they are expressed in direct response to an assertion of their directly opposing affirmative position, these negations are also elliptical.

(3) This hypocritical view is showed by so many that whether boxing should be banned or *not* will remain a controversial issue for the forseeable future. (LOCNESS Boxing 4)

(4) Hence, we get disconnected from our origin, and lose our sense for what is 'natural' for human beings, and what is *not*. (SWICLE-UG-0020.2)

In (5), on the other hand, the affirmative proposition and its negation form an exchange pair in which the negation is issued as a contradiction of the affirmative proposition.

(5) a. In times of social change one would perhaps have thought that people should be too concerned about politics to have the time to contemplate on spiritual questions. However, this is *not* so. (SWICLE-UG-0012.2)

b. All the evidence of boredom, disaffection and stress among children and teachers, of employers' dissatisfaction and of universities' unease, is dismissed with one simple argument: that what the government is doing is what works. Except that it does*n't*. (COMMENT *Tests*)

c. If we were to listen to Roy Hattersley, only telling people where they have to go to hospital will create equity. But it has*n't*. (COMMENT *NHS*)

As Tottie (1991:23) has pointed out, explicit denials are typical of spoken discourse. By creating exchanges between two directly opposing positions and using ellipsis in the denials, the writers of (5) are imitating the interactive role reversal that takes place between the sender and addressee in face to face conversation, thereby creating an informal, "chatty" style in their written texts. Negated exchanges such as (5) are thus overtly dialogistic.

Some of the negations in the three samples combine with interrogative Mood to form rhetorical questions which expect the positive answer, *yes* (9 instances in the SWICLE sample, 5 instances in the COMMENT sample and one instance in the LOCNESS sample). In (6) and (7), for instance, the negated interrogatives invoke the directly opposing affirmative propositions 'it should be even more important' and 'that there is a danger', respectively.

(6) I mean: it is very natural when you go to a country on vacation; that you try to conform to their rules and speak in their language. So; should it *not* be even

> more important to follow these rules and speak this language when you know that you are going to stay in this country for a considerable amount of time in the future? (SWICLE-UG-0008.2)

(7) A pragmatic faith that struggles with the big questions is far more appealing than one that claims to offer the big answers. But is*n't* there a danger of culling the benefits of spirituality without considering the attendant responsibilities? What does crystal healing or a quick prayer to an ill-defined god teach us about community or kindness? You can't turn belief on and off like a tap – it should weave itself through a whole life rather than be seized upon to plug the gaps. (COMMENT *Spiritualism*)

These rhetorical questions are a request for the reader to provide the directly opposing affirmative proposition, not to reject it. Negations with an affirmative assumption such as these function thus as strong proclamations of their directly opposing affirmative propositions (Halliday 2004:144). According to Hyland "the most manipulative rhetorical questions, however, offer no answers at all. They position their readers by presupposing their response as well; assuming they will go along with the writer and see the answer as obvious." (Hyland 2002:551). In Appraisal terms, these rhetorical questions may therefore be regarded as concurrences, i.e. proclamations of generally shared knowledge and assumptions (Martin and White 2005:122). They are also explicitly dialogic in the sense that the writers enter into an imaginary conversation with their imaginary readers (Hyland 2002:551). The highest number of negations used as concurrences is found in the SWICLE sample. This is not surprising as it has been found earlier by Ädel (2006:133) in a comparison of metadiscourse in the SWICLE and LOCNESS corpora that Swedish advanced learners tend to overuse interrogative clauses, in particular as rhetorical questions.

In sum, there are a number of features in the SWICLE sample, i.e. a slight preference of *not*-negation, usage of explicit denials and negative rhetorical questions, which suggest that the Swedish students' usage of negation may tend to often be explicitly dialogic and close to spoken language.

I will now go on to compare what kinds of meanings the negations in the corpus samples are used to negate.

3. Semantic functions

Texts may be seen as consisting of different levels of meaning, i.e. a propositional information 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 by commenting on the writing process itself, explicitly guiding the reader through its structure and organisation or by expressing their opinions and beliefs concerning its informational content (vande Kopple 1985,1988, Crismore 1989 and Crismore *et al.* 1993). The meanings expressed on the writer-reader level of the text are referred to in some analyses 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). In Hallidayan terms (2004), however, a distinction is made between the meanings concerned with the writing process itself, i.e. the textual metafunction of language to construct a message by building up "sequences of discourse, organizing the discursive flow and creating cohesion and continuity as it moves along" (Halliday 2004:29) and the meanings concerned with opinions and beliefs concerning its informational content, i.e. the interpersonal metafunction, of language to enact "our personal and social relationships with other people around us" by organising it as an interactive event (Halliday 2004:29). The propositional information content level of the text, on the other hand, is concerned with the experiential metafunction of language, i.e. the use of language to construe human experience as configurations of processes, participants involved in these processes and any attendant circumstances. Seen from this perspective, then the dialogic space of a text may be regarded as consisting of two levels, the writer-reader level of the text, which is made up of interpersonal and textual meanings, and the content level, which is made up of experiential meanings.

In the following, then, I will examine how the writers of the three corpus samples use negation on these two levels of the text. For this purpose, I have classified the negations in the three samples according to whether they function on the writer-reader level of the text by negating textual meanings, i.e. meanings which are concerned with the structure and organisation of the text or with the ongoing communicative process itself, or by negating interpersonal meanings, i.e. attitudinal meanings

towards the propositional content of the text. The remaining negations in the samples have been counted as negations on the content level of the text. These include negations of whole propositions, such as (8a), participants such as (8b) and circumstances, such as (8c).

(8) a. One should also keep in mind that Sweden is *not* an isolated island and that it has always thrived on foreign influences. (SWICLE-UG-0003.2)

b. The problem with these schemes is that they are unpopular and beneficial to *nobody* in the short term. (LOCNESS Transport 08)

c. The road network is *no* longer able to carry this traffic without hold-ups and traffic jams. (LOCNESS Transport 12)

The results of the classification (Table 2) show that the COMMENT sample has the highest number of negations on the content level of the texts (235 vs. 186 and 180 negations in the LOCNESS and SWICLE samples, respectively). The SWICLE sample, on the other hand, has the highest number of negations on the writer-reader level (65 vs. 53 and 38 negations in the COMMENT and LOCNESS samples, respectively), so that more than a quarter of the total number of *no*- and *not*-negations in this sample negate interpersonal or textual meanings. This high proportion of negations on the writer-reader level of SWICLE is, above all, due to a large number of interpersonal negations (45 negations). These are twice as many as in the other two samples (21 and 25 instances in the LOCNESS and COMMENT samples, respectively). There are, on the other hand, fewer textual negations in the LOCNESS and SWICLE samples (17 and 20 negations, respectively) than in COMMENT (28 negations).

Table 2. Semantic functions of negations

	Content Level	Writer-Reader Level		
		Interpersonal	Textual	Total
SWICLE	180	45	20	65
LOCNESS	186	21	17	38
COMMENT	235	25	28	53

These interpersonal and textual negations will be discussed separately in the following subsections:

3.1 Interpersonal Negations

Interpersonal negations are negations of attitudinal meanings towards the propositional content of the text, negating, for example, the extent to which its information is to be regarded as reliable, unusual, significant, etc. I have only included here negations which frame the proposition, i.e. the attitudinal meanings are expressed in loosely attached or distinct structural components, which (Biber *et al.* 1999:969) refer to as stance complement clause constructions,[6] or stance adverbials. The attitudinal meanings negated in the three samples include modal meanings of probability and usuality, as in (9) and (10), and obligation and inclination, etc. as in (11 and (12), and other evaluative meanings, such as surprise, or significance, etc. as in (13). By both implicating and rejecting attitudinal values such as these, these negations contract the dialogic space on the interpersonal level of the argumentation.

(9) Probability

a. At some level, Sweden has probably always had immigrants, and judging by the situation of today it is *not* likely that the future is going to be much different. (SWICLE-UG-0001.2)

b. I am *not* sure that we in all senses live in a more violent world than people did one hundred or one thousand years ago. (SWICLE-UG-0022.2)

c. And I do *not* think that it is wrong to claim that those Swedes that celebrate traditions most are those living abroad. (SWICLE-UG-0005.2) [7]

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[6] I have included complement clauses that negate attitudes which frame nonfinite clauses (as in e.g. (11c)). On the other hand, negations of attitudinal meanings which are incorporated within the proposition itself, for instance those expressed by modal verbs, e.g. *The person in general may not be able to afford it* (SWICLE-UG-0028.2) have not been counted as interpersonal negations.

[7] Negations of complement clauses such as (9c), are regarded as examples of transferred negation (or negative raising or *not*-hopping) i.e. when a negative in

d. It can*not* be denied by any boxer that boxing is dangerous and that each time he walks into the ring he is risking his life? (LOCNESS Boxing 11)

e. Like most conservatives, I do*n't* think that hunting should be banned. (COMMENT *Drugs*)

f. It is simply *not* true that it is irreversible, in the sense that people could *not* be encouraged to behave otherwise by tax incentives and changes in the law. (COMMENT *IVF*)

g. As I see it, to-day's young people and those of the next generation will *not* necessarily suffer from the prevailing state of high unemployment. (SWICLE-UG-0014.2)

h. It is, *no* doubt, a fast way of commuting to and from destinations with little stress on the body, however traffic congestion is becoming a major concern in any city or town. (LOCNESS Transport 4)[8]

i. The foxes are *not* really given a chance. (LOCNESS Foxhunting 2)

(10) Usuality

a. Scientists speak about holes in the ozon layer and abnormal fluctuations in the weather, but it is *not* often that people encounter environmental destruction themselves.[9] (SWICLE-UG-0006.2)

(11) Obligation

a. It is *not* for outsiders to comment on the morality of the sport; (LOCNESS Boxing 6)

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a higher clause is interpreted as a negation of the embedded clause (Miestamo 1999, Givón 2001:394, Downing and Locke 2006:26). This is possible with mental processes such as *think* which have midscalar values between certainty and obligation. Verbs which do not allow negative transport have weak or strong values on this scale (Horn 1989).

[8] The literal meaning of *no doubt* is the absence of doubt. However, as this expression is used to emphasize one's commitment to the truth of one's statements, it infers, in fact, that there may be some reason for doubt. *No doubt* has therefore come to be used in many contexts to express some doubt or uncertainty rather than complete certainty (Simon-Vanderbergen 2007:30).

[9] Students' spelling and grammar mistakes have not been corrected.

b. It is *not* supposed to feel good to go to jail, but I doubt that Swedish prisons have the scary effect on criminals they ought to have. (SWICLE-UG-0021.2)

c. There is *no* need to treat them like poor victims. (SWICLE-UG-0021.2)

(12) Inclination

a. On the other hand, I do *not* at all approve of forcing people to assimilate, by legal means or any other way of putting them under pressure. (SWICLE-UG-0007.2)

b. Well, mostly because I do *not* like it when people use terror as a way of getting their will trough. (ICLE-SW-UG-0013.2)

(13) Other Evaluations

a. Non-prescription sleeping pills are hopeless and it comes as *no* surprise that the excitement of the prospective amputation triumphed over the tablets' sedative effects. (COMMENT *Cannibalism*)

b. It is therefore *not* surprising that the trend we see in the growing sales of such literature has its roots in this part of the world. (SWICLE-UG-0030.2)

c. Many times we act just as if there will be no tomorrow, as if it does *not* matter what dangerous waste our offspring will have to take care of. (SWICLE-UG-0032.2)

d. *No* wonder some women feel that caesareans equal failure. (COMMENT *Push*)

The distribution of negated attitudinal meanings is given in Table 3, where we find that in all three samples probability is the most usual negated attitudinal meaning.

Table 3. Interpersonal Negations

	SWICLE		LOCNESS		COMMENT	
	Obj.	Subj.	Obj.	Subj.	Obj.	Subj.
Probability	14	12	8	3	12	5
Usuality	1	-	-	-	-	-
Obligation	4	2	6	-	3	1
Inclination	2	5	-	2	-	2
Other	5	0	2	-	2	-
Total	26	19	16	5	17	8

Negated attitudes with *it* as the subject, such as *it is not likely, it is not supposed to, it is not surprising* in (9a) , (11b) and (13b), respectively, make the attitudes expressed appear impersonal. On the other hand, 1st person negations of mental processes, such as *I am not sure, I don't think, I do not approve*, etc. as in (9b), (9e) and (12a) respectively, attribute the negated attitude overtly to the writers. These mark a subjective intrusion by the writers into the text in order to clarify their personal standpoint on the issue. The distribution of these objective and subjective interpersonal negations is also given in Table 3, where we find the highest number of subjective interpersonal negations in the SWICLE sample (19 negations vs. 8 and 5 in COMMENT and LOCNESS, respectively), in particular these are first person negations with the verb *think*, as in (9e) above.

3.2 Textual Negations

The textual negations in the three samples could be divided into two main types: those concerned with the structure and organisation of the text and those which are concerned with the ongoing communicative process between the writer and reader. For convenience, I will refer to the former from now on as "conjunctive" negations and the latter as "illocutionary" negations.

"Conjunctive" negations function as cohesive, transitional devices which link new information or a new topic to what has already been expressed in the text. This is done by negating the exhaustiveness of the preceding information. In (14) and (15), for instance, the negative correlative coordination pairs *not only …but (also)* add new information by negating the exhaustiveness of the first chunk of information. As Quirk *et al.* (1985:941) point out, the information following *not only* is presented as given, whereas the information following *but (also)* is given more emphasis suggesting that it is more surprising than what preceded.

(14) It is said that the Olympic Games would *not* only bring work to the unemployed but also tourists that would spend a lot of money. (SWICLE-UG-0013.2)

(15) *Not* only is there problems in traveling from A to B but the likelyhood is that if B is any major city you will waste more time looking for somewhere to park there. (LOCNESS Transport 14)

Similarly the negations in (16) and (17), also add new information by negating the exhaustiveness, or "completeness" of the informational content previously presented, thereby preparing the reader for the next step in the argumentation. In (16), for instance, the negation of the exclusivity of one source of opinion (*Mary Steel is not alone*…) prefaces the addition of new information from a second source (*both the headmasters warned…*), and in (17) the negation of the "completeness" of the information given in the text (*But this is not the whole picture*) signals that there is more to follow.

(16) It was Mary Steel, headmistress of St Mary and St Anne, a private school in Staffordshire which charges its boarders £16,899 a year, who set the cat among the pigeons at the GSA conference last week. …
'Everyone in society now only seems to be concerned with their own achievements and ambitions,' she declared. …
Mary Steel is *not* alone in her concern. Both the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Conference and the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers have recently warned that the culture of self-interest and self-gratification has invaded every family to a greater or lesser degree. (COMMENT *Community*)

(17) The crucial claim for GM crops is that they are necessary. They can out-yield traditional varieties, and can be made especially rich in protein and vitamins. The world's population is rising fast and without GM, the story has it, famine and increasing deficiency are inevitable. To oppose their development is to be effete to the point of wickedness.
But this is *not* the whole picture. The world population stands at 6 billion, and the UN says it will reach 10 billion by 2050 - but then should level out. Present productivity could be doubled by improving traditional breeding and husbandry, so whatever the virtues of GMOs, necessity is not among them. (COMMENT *Genetics*)

In (18) – (19), on the other hand, the negations add new information by negating a causal conjunctive relation which is represented by the verb *mean*. These negations function thus as a cohesive and information-organising device which links a counterargument to earlier arguments.

(18) Finally, the idea of animals being human in a "good" sense and humans being animals in a "bad" sense must be seen as an incidental theme in "Animal Farm". This does *not* mean that it is a theme lacking in importance and urgency. (SWICLE-UG-0034.2)

(19) You may think it right that gay sex was decriminalised, but that does*n't* mean you would necessarily be encouraged to try it yourself, or assume it was good for you. (COMMENT *Drugs*)

"Illocutionary" negations, on the other hand, are concerned with the ongoing interactive communication between the writer and reader, i.e. they negate the writers' own speech acts or the reader's interpretation of them in order to clarify the writer's intended meanings and correct possible alternative interpretations. In this respect, communication negations tend to be somewhat more overtly subjective than "cohesive" negations. In (20) and (21), for example the negated speech acts, *suggest* and *say*, reject propositions which the writers do not intend their readers to infer.

(20) The question in reality is whether people should be able to choose to go somewhere else if their local hospital has a long waiting list and they can be treated elsewhere quicker in the NHS. Alongside the increases in capacity, most visibly seen with the introduction of 55,000 more nurses and 14,000 more doctors, we want to give the power to patients to help the whole NHS system navigate to excellence. I do *not* suggest choice is absolute, because we all know capacity is not infinite. (COMMENT *NHS*)

(21) As religious orthodoxy fails to accommodate contemporary mores, there is a case to be made for encouraging a new spiritual dimension that offers moral structure without stricture. But is this it? There is minimal intellectual or moral rigour to "bespoke belief" that knits together the cosiest aspects of the systems on offer and ignores any broader inconsistencies. This is *not* to say that it's lightweight not to be wrestling with cosmology. A pragmatic faith that struggles with the big questions is far more appealing than one that claims to offer the big answers. (COMMENT *Spiritualism*)

In (22), on the other hand, the negated act of interpretation by the reader, *get*, signals that the writer is aware of the risk that the reader may misinterpret his intended meanings and that he is therefore about to make adjustments to prevent them from being misinterpreted. This negation is in the imperative Mood. It is therefore explicitly dialogic, invoking the presence of the reader in the text. It illustrates clearly the writer's awareness of heteroglossic diversity and the risk that the reader may infer other propositions than those intended.

(22) We must target help on groups excluded from mainstream society, who often face the greatest deprivation. But there are also many children across Britain

> living in close families and strong communities who suffer disadvantage and are denied opportunity. Do*n't* get me wrong. Tackling social exclusion is a difficult and vital challenge. And impressive progress has been made - as we set out in the latest report published today by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU). But the unit's work on the causes of deprivation and the challenges ahead makes clear that we cannot simply promote a communitarian notion of inclusion. We have to tackle long-term inherited inequalities too. (COMMENT *Poverty*)

In (23) finally, the negation comments on the writer's choice of words, indicating that another formulation could also have been used.

> (23) But, then again, a certain degree of assimilation is unavoidible, *not* to say desirable since noone will take harm from seing the world from a new perspective. (SWICLE-UG-0007.2)

The distribution of the "conjunctive" and "illocutionary" types of textual negations is given in Table 4, where we find that "conjunctive" negations are more or less evenly distributed in the three samples (15 negations in SWICLE, 16 in LOCNESS and 18 in COMMENT), whereas there are more instances of "illocutionary" negations in the COMMENT sample (10 negations) than in the SWICLE sample (5 instances), and there is only one instance in the LOCNESS sample.

Table 4 Textual Negations

	SWICLE	LOCNESS	COMMENT
Conjunctive	15	16	18
Illocutionary	5	1	10
Total	20	17	28

In sum, then, there are some differences in the kinds of meanings negated in the SWICLE, LOCNESS and COMMENT samples. In the samples by both categories of student writers (SWICLE and LOCNESS), there are fewer negations on content level of the texts and there are also fewer textual negations of the "illocutionary" kind. If we compare the samples by the two groups of student writers (SWICLE and LOCNESS) with each other, we find similar numbers of negations on the content level of their texts. On the writer-reader level, however, there are more

interpersonal negations in the SWICLE sample than in the LOCNESS sample, in particular to negations of subjective interpersonal meanings and textual meanings of the "illocutionary" kind. It appears, then, that the usage of negation may be more subjective and involved in the SWICLE sample than in the LOCNESS sample.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

As Miestamo (1999) pointed out, "Negation is not present in the physical world. It is a mental process for which the users of language are responsible". It is, furthermore, a marked linguistic resource, which occurs much less frequently than affirmative sentences in discourse (Givón 2001:372), and this is reflected by the fact that negative sentences appear later in children's speech than affirmative ones (Clark & Clark 1977:513). This "mental process", then, sets up a dialogistic relationship with a directly opposing affirmative proposition which has either been stated earlier in the cotext or which the writer believes is inferrable from the context. By negating this proposition, the writer contracts the heteroglossic space in the text. This may be on the propositional information content level of the text or on the writer-reader level, where writers monitor the attitudinal orientation of the text, mark transitions between chunks of information by denying the exclusivity of the preceding information or the consequential relations between them, and clarify their intended meanings.

Negation is therefore a means for writers to take their readers into account, to anticipate their expectations and what inferences they may make and to dismiss those which are in conflict with their own, making sure their readers do not make incorrect interpretations. This is an important feature of argumentation, as, in order to be convincing, writers must not only develop a line of reasoning, but also assess their readers' beliefs and opinions and reject any opposing views. Further, writers may liven up their argumentation by making explicit the dialogistic relationship between the two directly opposing positions (i.e. in explicit denials). In this way negation contributes to the engagement and involvement of the readers, and, at the same time, it makes sure they follow the writer's line of reasoning.

The results of this pilot study of negation in argumentative writing in English by Swedish advanced learners, native speaker students and professional writers suggest that there may be differences in the way these writers use negation. First, the student writers (both native-speaker and Swedish) may use negation on the content level of the texts somewhat less frequently than the professional writers. They may also use fewer textual negations of the "illocutionary" kind, which monitor the ongoing communicative process with their readers. These differences can be attributed to the different tenor relations that professional writers and student writers have to their readers. The writers of the COMMENT sample are professionals writing not just to inform but also to entertain the general public with their opinions on controversial issues about which they often have some kind of experience or expert knowledge. This means, then, that they are able to reject opposing arguments concerning the content of their texts more often than the learner writers. Furthermore, as they are more confident in their own role as writers, they also monitor the ongoing communicative process with their readers, more frequently. The student writers, on the other hand, are writing about topics which have been selected by their teachers for the purpose of testing their language proficiency and writing skills. They may lack personal experience of the topic itself and feel insecure in their argumentation. They are consequently less able to reject opposing arguments concerning the content of their texts and less confident when it comes to using illocutionary negations to monitor the ongoing communication with their reader.

Second, the Swedish advanced learners' usage of negation, in comparison to the native-speaker students, appears to be more overtly dialogic, i.e. their sample contains more explicit denials in dialogic exchanges, which increase the rhetorical force of their argumentation by creating an internal dialogue between two opposing standpoints, and there are also more concurrences, i.e. negations in rhetorical questions to underline affirmative propositions. The Swedish advanced learners' sample also contains a much higher number of negations of interpersonal meanings, a tendency which can be attributed to a high degree of subjective involvement generally found in advanced learners' essays (Wiberg 2000). These results suggest, then, that the Swedish advanced learners usage of negation may be somewhat more emphatic, involved, and closer to spoken language than the native students'.

Earlier comparisons of Swedish advanced learners' argumentative essays with essays written by British and American native speaker students have found a similar tendency for Swedish advanced learners' to overuse a number of linguistic features which increase their investment in what they are saying. Ringbom (1998), Petch-Tyson (1998), Aijmer (2001) Herriman (2007) have found, for instance, that Swedish advanced learners overuse first person references with mental verbs such as *think* and *feel*, etc. First person references such as these are often used in a deliberative sense by writers who wish to make proclamations of themselves as opinionholders (Simon-Vanderbergen 2000, Ajmer 2001, and Herriman 2007). Similarly, Boström-Aronsson (2005:97) has found that Swedish students overuse of *it*-clefts, which typically have a contrastive, emphasizing function (Herriman 2005). Within Appraisal terminology, features such as these, which increase the force of the writer's position, may be regarded as resources for the subcategory of dialogic contraction which is referred to as 'pronouncement' (Martin & White 2005:127). The overuse of these linguistic resources suggests, then, that Swedish advanced learners, perhaps because of their lack of experience and their insecurity as writers or because of a lack of genre awareness, tend to overuse dialogistically contractive linguistic resources, and as a result their writing has a tendency towards hyperbolic expression. Although the samples studied in this pilot study are too small to draw any definite conclusions, it appears, then, that the negation of interpersonal meanings may be another dialogistically contractive device which is overused by Swedish advanced learners and which may contribute to some of the 'non-native soundedness' in their writing.

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APPENDIX: 'COMMENT' Articles

Amiel, Barbara 'No matter how you cut it up, eating people is simply wrong' *The Telegraph* 08.12.03 (*Cannibalism*[10])

Bell, Emily 'Too realistic to push' *The Guardian* 26.03.04 (*Push*)

Benn, Melissa 'Jobs for boys' *The Guardian* 04.01.05 (*Jobs*)

[10] Keyword for source of examples

Booth, Cherie, 'Beating the batterers' *The Guardian* 09.12.03 (*Batterers*)
Brooks, Libby 'Spiritual tourism' *The Guardian* 08.12.03 (*Spiritualism*)
Chancellor, Alexander 'A date to forget' *The Guardian* 22.11.03 (*Online Dating*)
Collins, Tim 'Why top-up fees must be killed off' *The Independent* (*Top-up Fees*)
Cooper, Yvette 'Left out or left behind' *The Guardian* 22.03.04 (*Poverty*)
Dalrymle, Theodore 'The fact that there are single mothers doesn't make it right.' *The Telegraph* 22.01.04 (*IVF*)
Goodhart, David 'Close the door before it's too late.' *The Guardian* 19.02.04 (*Migration*)
Heller, Lucy 'Fair selection can be found beyond Belief' *The Guardian* 19.01.04 (*Selection*)
Hilton, Isabel 'Just poppycock' *The Guardian* 04.12.03 (*Columbia*)
Hutton, Will 'Death of community spirit' *The Observer* 16.11.03 (*Community*)
Kennedy, Helena 'Take no comfort in this warm blanket of security' *The Guardian* 15.03.04 (*Security*)
Parsons, Robert 'Revolution haunts the land of monsters and poets' *The Guardian* 24.11.03 (*Georgia*)
Preston, Peter 'Out of the shadows of Beckham' *The Guardian* 24.11.03 (*Rugby*)
Redwood, John 'How much more of a bashing does the motorist have to take?' *The Telegraph* 28.11.03 (*Cars*)
Reid, John 'It's Labour's rebels who block choice.' *The Guardian* 19.11.03 (*NHS*)
Richard, Alison 'In peril from the £24m black hole' *The Guardian* 13.01.04 (*University Funds*)
Robinson, Stephen 'Solving the drug crisis' *The Telegraph* 23.01.04 (*Drugs*)
Russell, Jenni 'Give kids a break' *The Guardian* 17.12.03 (*Tests*)
Tudge, Colin 'Bad for the poor and bad for science' *The Guardian* 20.02.04 (*Genetics*)
Walter, Natasha 'Unmarried heterosexual couples are now third class citizens' *The Guardian* 28.11.03 (*Unmarried Couples*)

Own and *Possess*—A Corpus Analysis

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Abstract
This study is a corpus-based analysis of the verbs *own* and *possess*, which are two of the verbs that are used to express possession and ownership in English. The results show that there are areas of overlapping use as well as areas where only one of the two is a valid option. It has also been shown that *own* has a legal feature at its core and is predominantly used to express ownership. The most frequent usage of *possess*, on the other hand, is that of describing that someone or something has a quality or property of some kind. This difference also has consequences for what kinds of entities appear as the subject and object arguments of the verbs.

Key words: own, possess, corpus linguistics, semantics, possession

1. Introduction

Ownership has played an important role in the lives of human beings ever since the Neolithic Revolution started some 12,000 years ago. The concept of 'possession', however, has existed in our predecessors' mental world long before they settled down as farmers. Archaeological excavations and anthropological research have shown that even people living in so-called primitive societies make a difference between what's owned in common and what's private property (Dowling 1968: 504; Hoebel 1972: 270; Hann 1998: 11). Furthermore, research shows that all languages studied so far have some way of expressing possession, even if the rules and traditions surrounding the concept might differ between societies (Langacker 1994: 43-44; Heine 1997: 225).

In English, there are three[1] main verbs to express possession and ownership—*have*, *own* and *possess*. This paper investigates the use of

[1] There are also other verbs that can express the same concepts, e.g. *hold*, but the use of them as verbs of possession is fairly restricted and will not be treated here.

two[2] of them, *own* and *possess*, as evidenced in the *British National Corpus* (*BNC*). Based on corpus data, the study aims at providing new information about the character of the verbs not previously accounted for in dictionaries. Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976: 563) maintain that *have* (in particular) and *possess* show a high degree of flexibility in that they can express all of the three senses of possession, that is, inherent possession, accidental (or temporary) possession and physical possession, but also kinship and part-whole relations. *Own*, on the other hand, can only express inherent possession, that is, ownership. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), "the principal current sense" of *own* is now

> (a) to have or hold as one's own; to have belonging to one, be the proprietor of, possess

In figurative and extended use, however, *own* can also mean:

> (b) to have control over or direction of (a person or thing)
>
> (c) to be or feel responsible for considering or solving (a problem, issue, task, etc.)
>
> (d) to call (a person or thing) one's own; to acknowledge as belonging to oneself, esp. in respect of kinship or authorship (*OED*)

In (b) through to (d) what must be considered as the core meaning of *own*, its legal feature, has been lost and it is no longer possible to reason in terms of ownership. It could in fact be argued that it is not even proper to speak of possession at all. However, following Taylor (1989, 1996, 2003) this could be seen as non-prototypical possession. Moreover, as a further extension of (b) one can hear, especially in everyday talk among young people, expressions such as *I own you in basketball* meaning 'I'm better than you in basketball' (Eble) and *I own you bitches* meaning 'to be superior to the others in a group, to be in control, to be the boss' (*Urban Dictionary*). In these examples, there is also the prosody to

[2] *Have* has been thoroughly investigated and analysed by Brugman (1988) and will therefore only be discussed in comparison with *own* and *possess*.

consider as *own* is heavily stressed. It thus seems that even though Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976) are partly correct in their claim, they overgeneralise. In some of its meaning extensions *own* can be used to express also other aspects of possession than ownership. That this is the case is also substantiated by findings in the *BNC* (see section 3 below). *Own* can thus be considered to constitute a prototype category (see, among others, Rosch 1978) with 'ownership' as the prototypical sense around which other, less prototypical senses are arranged. The prototype category for *own* can schematically be represented as in Figure 1.

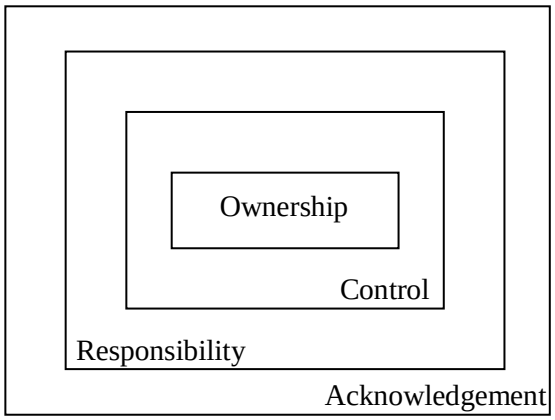

Figure 1. Schematic representation of the prototype category for *own*

The dictionary entry for *possess*, on the other hand, gives evidence of the verb's flexibility as claimed by Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976). Among the different senses still in use are

> (e) to hold as property; to have belonging to one, as wealth or material objects; to own
>
> (f) to have possession of, as distinct from ownership
>
> (g) to have as a faculty, adjunct, attribute, quality, condition, etc. (Often meaning no more than the simple *have*.)
>
> (h) to have knowledge of or acquaintance with; to be master of, or conversant with (a language, etc.)

(i) to have sexual intercourse with (a woman)

(j) of a demon or spirit (usually evil): to occupy and dominate, control, or actuate

(k) of an idea, a mental condition, or the like: to take or have hold of (a person); to hold, dominate, actuate; to affect or influence strongly and persistently (*OED*)

Of these senses, only the first two, (e) and (f), reflect what would generally be regarded as possession in proper terms, while the others, (g) through to (k), can be seen as meaning extensions from a central core. What this central core consists of is not as easy to establish as it is for *own*, since the original meaning of *possess* (see (l) below), as attested by the earliest records in the *OED*,[3] does not seem to have included possession of material objects at all, nor was ownership an obligatory element:

(1) I: of a person or body of persons: to hold, occupy (a place or territory); to reside or be stationed in; to inhabit (with or without ownership)

II: of a thing: to occupy, take up (a space or region); to be situated at, on, or in

In so far as these senses are still in use they have now merged with (e) and (f). Judging by the records in the *OED*, however, it seems that (e) gained ground quite early (earliest record 1500-20), closely followed by (g) and (k) (1576 and 1591, respectively). Considering these senses put together and keeping the original sense in (l) in mind, it seems safe to draw the conclusion that the core meaning of *possess* contains an element of control; an element which does not, however, constitute a sense of its own but is explicitly or implicitly present in the different meanings of the verb. Figure 2 is a schematic image of how, based on the frequencies of different senses found in the *BNC*, *possess* could be represented visually.[4]

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[3] The earliest record in the *OED* for sense (l:I) dates from 1483.
[4] The lines in Figure 2 have been broken in order to save space.

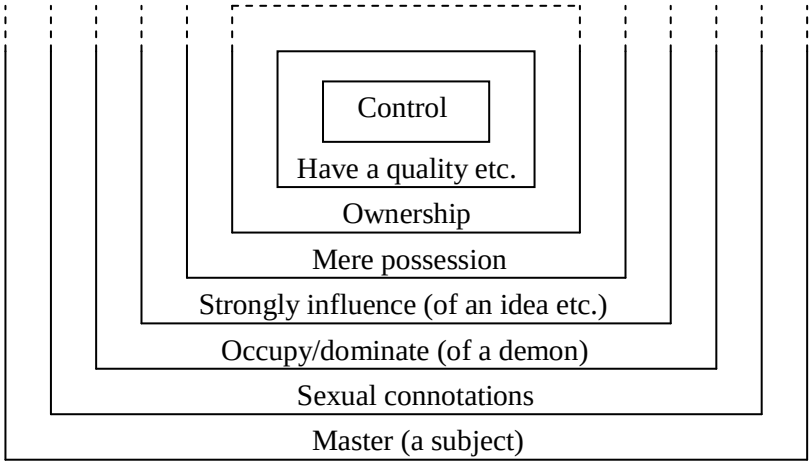

Figure 2. Schematic representation of the senses of *possess*

Admittedly, without psycho-linguist testing it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions as regards what sense constitutes the most prototypical one in speakers' minds. However, frequency is often used as a criterion for establishing the core meaning of a word (see, e.g. Williams 1992; Gries 2006).

2. Method and material

In order to establish how *own* and *possess* are used and to detect and examine possible differences between them a subset of the *BNC*, the A-files[5] containing approximately 14.6 million words, was used. This corpus, which was compiled between 1991 and 1994, is one of the largest language corpora presently available to the general public. It

[5] The *BNC* is delivered in compressed format as ten separate files or subdirectories (A through to K, excluding I). The files can either be unpacked into a single hierarchy or searched alone as separate files.

contains approximately 100 million words, from both spoken (10%) and written (90%) British English, the latter representing a wide variety of text genres. One advantage of using the *BNC* is that it is fixed and stable. It is thus possible to search for and retrieve exactly the same material even after a lapse of several years. Still, not even a corpus of the size of the *BNC* can be exhaustive. It only represents the language produced during a specific period of time and it might be biased towards one specific register. In the case of the *BNC*, for example, it is possible that the predominance of written language in the corpus may influence the results achieved. As Roland and Jurafsky (1998, 2002) have observed, there is much variation between corpora as regards the frequencies of usages as well as the usages which are found. It should also be remembered that even if a corpus does not contain any evidence of, for example, a certain verb usage, this can only be taken as an indication that the usage is rare, not as proof that it does not exist. Bearing these limitations in mind, using the *BNC* nevertheless provides a comprehensive and varied working material.

The importance of studying language actually produced by people is emphasised by, for example, Sinclair who states that "human intuition about language is highly specific, and not at all a good guide to what actually happens when the same people actually use the language" (1991: 4). Kemmer and Barlow (2000: xv) stress the importance of usage-based analyses, that is, analyses of data retrieved from corpora, and maintain that the linguist's primary object of study should be language in use. Using corpus data for linguistic analyses has several advantages compared to other approaches, such as the use of elicited or introspective data. Gries and Divjak list the following advantages:

- corpora provide many instances rather than a few isolated judgments
- corpora provide data from natural settings rather than 'armchair' judgments or responses that potentially reflect experimentally-induced biases
- corpora provide co-occurrence data of many different kinds
- corpora allow for bottom-up identification of relevant distinctions as well as for a more comprehensive description than is typically provided (Gries & Divjak forthcoming)

Corpora have become important tools for linguistic analysis. The approach adopted here is thus in line with the most recent developments within the field.

For each verb, the data retrieved from the *BNC* is analysed as regards different usages as well as regards what kind of entities occur together with the verbs as their subject and object arguments. Throughout the analyses the terms *Subject* and *Object* are used in the presentation and discussion of the results. The term *Subject* refers to the noun phrases constituting the syntactic subjects of active sentences as well as the agents of passive sentences, whereas *Object* refers to all the clause elements that are either owned or possessed. The survey of Subjects and Objects is made because the interpretation of a verb is to a very large extent dependent on its arguments. This is also the outcome of psycholinguistic experiments on the interpretation of polysemous verbs (Gibbs & Matlock 2001). Objects, in particular, are generally of decisive importance for how a verb is interpreted (Ide & Véronis 1998: 20; Pickering & Frisson 2001: 557). Furthermore, an analysis of the Objects could also reveal semantic patterns that might otherwise remain undetected.

3. Own and Possess in the BNC

The study is limited to simple verbs only. Thus, neither the adjectival and pronominal uses of *own*, nor the use of *possessing* and *possessed* as adjectives, nor any phrasal verbs were considered in the analyses. In the corpus material, there are a total of 1,089 instances of *own*, *owns*, *owning* and *owned*, whereas the number for *possess*, *possesses*, *possessing* and *possessed* is 462.

3.1 *Own*

3.1.1 Senses of *own*

As mentioned above, *own* seems to have a legal feature at its core, as exemplified by:

(1) Volvo now owns 20 percent of Renault's car division […]

(2) Who owns the land affects the use to which the land is put […]

There are examples where it is difficult to maintain that it is still a question of legal ownership and where *own* is used rather in one of its

extended senses: the control, the responsibility and the acknowledgement senses (see (b) through to (d) above). The total distribution of senses found in the material is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Senses of *own*

Sense	Number of tokens	Percentage
Legal ownership	1,060	97.34
Control	24	2.20
Responsibility	3	0.28
Acknowledgement	2	0.18
Total	1,089	100.00

The figures in Table 1 clearly show that the legal sense has by far the largest number of tokens, a fact that strengthens the claim that this is the core meaning of *own*. Among the examples with extended use, however, most of them can be referred to the verb's control sense:

(3) In the first day of the war, the Americans and their allies had flown hundreds of sorties against Iraq, dropped thousands of pounds of bombs and met virtually no resistance. "We" owned the skies.

(4) Atari is now Nintendo's arch-rival, but 10 years ago, it owned the video games market.

In examples (3) and (4) above, it is obvious that what is intended is not legal ownership but rather control and dominance of the Object in question. The control sense of *own* is also applicable to sentences (5) through to (8) below:

(5) You may have paid for me but you don't own me.

(6) He might think and act as though he owned her, but he didn't. Nobody did.

(7) The clubs have that much power over players it's as if they own them […]

(8) Until recent times women were more or less owned by men – not allowed to vote or to own property […]

Since the Objects in all these examples are human beings, an interpretation in these cases of *own* as implying legal ownership must be questioned.[6] Yet, in addition to the control sense of *own* it is possible to claim that the Subjects' actions or the description of their actions in the examples above, i.e. the way they behave towards the Objects, show that they in fact consider themselves to be in a position similar to that of a legal owner. Sentence (7), in particular, is a good example of this attitude and it could even be argued that *own* in this sentence should be interpreted as the legal sense only. Admittedly, players are bought and sold by clubs just as any another sort of merchandise. However, the use of the conditional *as if* in the sentence shows that legal ownership was not intended by the speaker/writer. Indications of the same kind are also found in (6) and (8), where the phrases *as though* and *more or less* are used.

In addition to the control sense of *own* there are some instances in the data where *own* actually appears together with the verb *control*:

(9) I am so pissed off with being told how men own and control the world.

(10) We also want to help more leaseholders to own and control the management of their property.

(11) […] the lack of accountability to the resident community of the relatively small set of people who own and control the land has very important lessons for every country.

Using tautology in this way might seem somewhat superfluous, but as a collocation, *own and control* is not uncommon. As regards (9), an additional reason for using this phrase might be a wish to hint at the fact that men actually appear in leading positions in all domains throughout the world more often than women. This use of *own* can also be viewed as an example of metaphorical owning or controlling since *the world* as such cannot really be either owned or controlled. In fact, it could be

[6] There are two examples in the material where the Objects are human beings and the sense of *own* must be interpreted as the legal sense. In both these examples, however, the Object in question is a slave and is, as such, considered no different than any other merchandise that can be legally bought and sold.

argued that the only sentence in examples (9) through to (11) where the Object could actually be owned in the legal sense of the verb is (11).

There are only three instances in the corpus which can be allocated to the responsibility sense. They are here presented as examples (12) through to (14):

(12) The "form" was linked to real people, not distant "researchers", and the whole project was owned by everyone involved.

(13) We are seeking to find out what local people want, because they must own the work themselves.

(14) This is a very important issue for us in politics. We own this agenda.

These examples, however, could also be analysed as a mix of the control and the responsibility senses: the Subjects are in control of the Objects, but they also have a responsibility to achieve the fulfilment and the successful end of it. It is the Subjects who must ascertain that development moves forward and that the wanted result is reached.

In the material there are further two examples where *own* is used in the extended sense of acknowledgement:

(15) He's only a pauper that nobody owns.

(16) […] a harsh, flogging father, who for years "never spoke to me nor owned me" […]

In these sentences, the legal aspect of *own* is not a possible interpretation. Rather, the use of *own* here suggests that the Subjects do not acknowledge having any kinship relations to the Objects in question.

Some examples in the data are difficult to give a clear-cut categorisation:

(17) As it is the ratepayer who funds and owns Council facilities, the DUP believes that any change to Sunday opening of Council provisions should only be undertaken following the test of the electorate's opinion in a local poll held for that purpose in the district of the council.

(18) One in nine of the women surveyed reckoned that male drivers "think they own the road" […]

(19) Both Prince and policeman, their hands clasped confidently behind their backs, move as if they own the world.

In examples (17) through to (19) it is not possible to interpret *own* as implying legal ownership per se, since many aspects of true ownership are lacking (cf. Taylor 1989, 1996, 2003; see also section 1). It is possible, however, to analyse the meaning of *own* in these cases as a variant of the legal sense. In (17), it could be argued that by virtue of the rates citizens pay to the Council they have a legal claim on all Council facilities: they "own" the facilities since they have "bought" them by paying rates. Sentences (18) and (19) are examples of metaphorical owning, a rare phenomenon for *own*. Neither *the road* nor *the world* can be owned in the legal sense of the verb, but the Subjects act as if they were the legal owners of the Objects and thus have precedence over other people as regards the use of them (cf. also the analysis of examples (5) through to (8) above).

Further points of interest in the material analysed are the two examples where *have* and *own* are used together in the same sentence:

(20) His family owns a bakery and have two shops on the south coast.

(21) May we reserve our admiration for the qualities people have rather than for what they own.

The reason for choosing *have* as the verb in the second clause of sentence (20) is probably only to avoid repetition. Both *own* and *have* in this sentence must be interpreted as legal ownership. Sentence (21) is different, however. Here, the choice of *have* in the first clause is not because the speaker/writer has tried to avoid repetition. The reason is that *own* is not a possible substitute for *have* in this case: one can have or possess qualities, but they cannot be owned (see also section 3.2.3 below).

There are also a few examples in the material where the legal aspect of *own* is emphasised and contrasted with mere possession:

(22) Blackadder believed Cropper to have designs on those manuscripts lodged with, but not owned by, the British Library […]

(23) […] two brothers, who had conflicting views on where the relics should be housed and who should own them.

(24) This unit [a family] is the smallest one which collectively makes decisions about its allocation of labour and other privately controlled resources (though it may not necessarily own them, in the sense implied by private property).

In sentences (22) and (23) the distinction between legal ownership and mere possession is made explicit through the pairs *lodged with/not owned by* and *should be housed/should own*, respectively. It is obvious that possession in these cases does not equal ownership. In (23), however, neither the question of where the relics should be kept nor the question of ownership are finally decided and it is therefore possible that when an agreement has been reached possession and ownership will coincide. Sentence (24) is yet another example of the fact that *own* in its legal sense contains something more than simple control of an Object, this something more being the sanction a society gives to its members to call a thing of some sort their private property. One may have a resource, as in (24), at one's disposal and under one's control, but that does not automatically entail that one owns the resource: ownership cannot exist without social agreement (Snare 1972: 201; Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976: 559).

3.1.2 Subjects of *own*

One interesting finding, which reflects the legal aspect of the verb, is that the Subjects of *own* are almost exclusively humans, either individual persons or groups of people. Many Subjects cannot be regarded as human per se, but rather as standing metonymically for the people they represent. Subjects in this category include, for example, companies, countries, etc.[7] There are also 26 instances in the data without an explicit Subject but where the contexts make it clear that human Subjects are involved. Table 2 presents the distribution of Subjects of *own*.

[7] This Subject group is referred to as *metonymy* in this table as well as in Table 6 (see section 3.2.2).

Table 2. Distribution of Subjects in sentences with *own*

Type of Subject	Number of tokens	Percentage
Human	1,087	99.82
- individual or group of people	732	67.22
- metonymy	355	32.60
Non-human (animate)	2	0.18
Total	1,089	100.00

A more detailed analysis of the figures in Table 2 shows that male individuals and companies are the two groups which appear more often than any other category as the Subjects of *own*: together they make up almost 48% of the material as a whole (520 tokens out of a total of 1,089).

As mentioned above, Subjects of *own* are almost always human. In the data there are, however, two exceptions to this rule:

(25) The little mouse lemur of Madagascar lives in small groups in which each female owns a territory and lives in a tree cavity or hole somewhere within it.

(26) As fewer [gelada baboon] males "owned" harems, the all-male groups had increased in size and contained older males.

The reason why *own* has been used in (25) is probably due to an analogy between human landowners' legal rights to their land and an animal's acknowledged right to its territory. In both cases, other members of the society in question have to give their acceptance to the claims on the land/territory laid down by the landowner/animal. In (26), the speaker/writer acknowledges that *own* is used in a rather unusual context by putting it within quotation marks. Yet, it is likely that also in this case the choice of *own* was made analogously to human conditions. In those cultures where men had harems, women did not have equal rights to men and were subjected to male dominance and control in the same way as the herd of gelada baboon females is dominated and controlled by the male. Thus, in both (25) and (26), aspects of human life are thus transferred to and mapped onto aspects of animal society.

3.1.3 Objects of *own*

The Objects of *own* are most commonly an asset of some sort, tangible or intangible. There is a predilection for using *own* together with more valuable assets such as shares, land, works of art, racehorses and cars, etc. A subjective division of the Objects according to value is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of Objects of *own* according to value

Value of Object	Number of tokens	Percentage
High	954	87.60
Low	96	8.82
Uncertain	39	3.58
Total	1,089	100.00

As shown in the table above, there are 954 instances where the Object of *own* can be considered as an asset of higher value and only 96 instances with a lesser-value Object. In another 39 cases, it is difficult to decide how to categorise the Object—valuable or less valuable. In most of these cases, however, *own* is not used in its core meaning, the legal sense, but rather in one of its meaning extensions, the control, responsibility and acknowledgement senses (cf. (b) through to (d) above and section 3.1.1). Again, these observations are reflections of the legal feature of *own*. Since replacing (if possible) a high-value asset would entail a substantial financial investment it is more important to emphasise one's ownership of such an asset. Hence, possessions of high value are more likely to appear as Objects of *own* than are possessions of lesser value.

As mentioned above, Objects of *own* are either concrete or abstract. However, most of them are concrete—1,050 out of a total number of 1,089 (just above 96%). The overall distribution of Objects is illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of Objects in sentences with *own*

Type of Object	Number of tokens	Percentage
Concrete	1,050	96.42
- concrete entity	1,035	94.99
- human	15	1.43
Abstract	39	3.58
Total	1,050	100.00

If the data behind the figures in Table 4 is studied in more detail, it gives further support to the claim that high-value assets are more likely to appear as the Objects of *own* than assets of lower value: the top three assets are businesses, land and buildings, together representing almost 60% (629 tokens) of the total. A bit surprisingly perhaps, dogs have quite a high number of tokens and come in fourth place.[8] The reason is that in the majority of the cases—80 out of a total number of 88—the examples are gathered from reports of dog shows, which include results, participants, owners' names, etc. It is, thus, a question of pedigree dogs of high value.

Noteworthy is also the fact that money is not among the most frequent Objects. There are only two examples in the data which refer to the lexemes *money* or *fortune*:

(27) American retailer Sam Walton, who drove a battered pick-up truck to work all his life despite owning a fortune, estimated at $24 billion, has died of cancer aged 74.

(28) It is easy to believe that owning money brings happiness.

The reason why there are no other examples than these two referring to money or fortunes could be an indication that money and fortunes as such are not generally looked upon as something one owns, that is, has

[8] It cannot be completely ruled out that a search of the *BNC* as a whole would have yielded a slightly different result, with a lower overall frequency for dogs (cf. the discussion on corpus design in section 2).

legal ownership of. Money and fortunes are, of course, valuable assets, but it is likely that they are rather seen as a means to acquire other assets.

Abstract (intangible) Objects constitute a rather heterogeneous category and, as is shown in Table 4, they are not as common together with *own* as their concrete counterparts. Furthermore, not all abstract-Object tokens can be considered as examples of the legal sense of *own*: in many cases *own* is used in its control sense (see section 3.1.1 for examples).

3.2 *Possess*

3.2.1 Senses of *possess*

Possess is a verb with quite a wide range of senses (at least seven according to definitions in the *OED*; cf. section 1 above) and in the data analysed examples of six of them have been found. No examples of definition (h) above were found. The distribution of the senses is illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5. Senses of *possess*

Sense	Number of tokens	Percentage
have a quality, etc.	302	65.36
ownership	91	19.70
mere possession	42	9.10
strongly influence	12	2.60
occupy/dominate	9	1.95
sexual connotations	6	1.29
Total	462	100.00

As is clearly shown in the table above, the overwhelming majority of the examples—almost two-thirds of the data—belong to the have-a-quality sense. To determine to which of the other senses an example should be referred is, however, not always easy or self-evident from the context; to decide between ownership and mere possession is particularly difficult. Less than a third of the Objects in the data refer to external Objects (see section 3.2.2 below), that is, concrete entities, and not all of them can be categorised as ownership. Instead, many of the external Objects must be

analysed as pertaining to the mere-possession sense—to have something at one's disposal without necessarily claiming ownership of the Object in question. Sentences that have been judged as belonging to this latter sense are, for example, those excerpted from reports of court proceedings (30 out of 42 sentences for the mere-possession sense are of this type; for examples, see (54) and (55) below). Not only is it indictable simply to carry drugs or a firearm without a permit, but those brought to court for these crimes often claim their innocence by refusing to accept any ownership whatsoever of the unlawful items in question.

Other examples assigned to the mere-possession sense are:

(29) […] the general once boasted that he possessed information that would prove highly embarrassing to President Bush.

(30) […] called at the station asking for the duplicate set of keys to his house which he thought the police would routinely possess for the residents' benefit […]

(31) […] but for me it was a magical moment; to possess, momentarily, such a beautiful, wild creature.

As illustrated by the examples above, sentences expressing mere possession constitute a rather heterogeneous group, but the lexeme *information* is somewhat more frequently occurring than any other individual lexeme. Information is usually not regarded as something one can claim ownership of. It may, of course, be paid for, but the interpretation of *possess* which seems most likely in sentences such as (29), as well as in (30) and (31), is 'have at one's disposal, control'.

Together, the senses have a quality, ownership, and mere possession make up close to 95% of the material as a whole. Taking frequency in the corpus into consideration, then, the three remaining senses cannot be said to be very common. They are here exemplified by (32) through to (35):

(32) […] he was losing his grip on reality, possessed as he was by the illusion that perestroika was developing widely.

(33) He wrote: "The gods seem to have possessed my soul and turned it inside out […]."

(34) Salim, too, wants to win, and his affair with Yvette is a victory […] In possessing her, he is both taken out of, and placed in possession of, himself […]

(35) The female soil possessed and misused by the masculine force of the Spanish invaders. The Indian Mexico raped and abused by the conquistador yet bearing his bastard child.

Whereas (32) and (33) are examples of someone being strongly influenced by an idea and dominated by gods, respectively, sentences (34) and (35) are clear examples of *possess* meaning 'to have sexual intercourse with'. Sentence (35) is an example of metaphorical use of *possess*. Even though the entity being submitted to the act is not human the first part of (35) clearly shows that *possess* must be interpreted as having sexual connotations. This view is even more enhanced by the second part where the metaphorical parallel between a woman and pre-Conquest Mexico is taken one step further.

The fact that *possess* and *have* often can be used interchangeably, that is, they have the same usage patterns and take the same kinds of Objects, is evidenced by the following example:

(36) […] so a mare or foal may actually possess a deep voice, and a stallion may sometimes have quite a high voice …

While both *possess* and *have* can take qualities as their Objects, it would have been impossible to use *own* in this case.

3.2.2 Subjects of *possess*

As mentioned earlier (see section 3.1.2), Subjects of *own* are always humans and the Objects are always things. This is not the case for *possess*, a fact which has consequences for the distribution of Subjects of the verb. Depending on what kind of Object a sentence contains, that is, whether the Object can be regarded as being internal or external to the Subject, different kinds of Subjects appear. The distribution of Subjects with regard to what kind of Object they co-occur with is presented in Table 6 (see also section 3.2.3 below for an analysis of the Objects of *possess*).

Table 6. Distribution of Subjects in sentences with *possess*

Type of Subject	Number of tokens	Percentage of total	Percentage of group
External Objects	160	34.64	100.00
Human	139	30.09	86.88
- individual or group of people	109	23.59	68.13
- metonymy	30	6.50	18.75
Inanimate	21	4.55	13.12
Internal Objects	302	65.36	100.00
Human	202	43.72	66.88
- individual or group of people	171	37.01	56.62
- metonymy	31	6.71	10.26
Non-human (animate)	16	3.46	5.30
Inanimate	42	9.09	13.91
Abstract	42	9.09	13.91
Total	462	100.00	

The analysis of the material shows that when the Objects are external, that is, concrete things of which it could be possible to claim ownership, all the Subjects of *possess* are either humans or other entities representing humans. Examples (37) and (38) illustrate this point:

(37) I possess a stone head by Modigliani which I would not part with for a hundred pounds even at this crisis […]

(38) […] substantial tin deposits, a resource which Egypt does not seem to have possessed.

The inanimate Subjects of the influence and dominate senses do not fit in exactly in this group, but have nonetheless been assigned to this one since the Objects must be regarded as external. It is not, however, a question of ownership.

In contrast to Subjects with external Objects, Subjects with internal Objects comprise quite a significant number of Subjects which are either non-human (but otherwise animate), inanimate or abstract—100 tokens representing one-third of the group. The reason for this is that Objects of

possess are often qualities, properties or parts, etc., features that also other entities than humans can have. This is exemplified by sentences (39) through to (41):

(39) These expensive, shrivelled and unappealing tomatoes possess an incredible flavour […]

(40) [Vertebrates] possess two pairs of fins or their derivatives […]

(41) […] for a shape to assume constancy it must be closed and possess a skin, or comprehensible boundary.

Furthermore, it is not possible to claim ownership of qualities, properties or parts, nor is it possible to say that one has them at one's disposal (that is, mere possession as opposed to ownership; see also section 3.2.1 above for an analysis of the senses of *possess*). Qualities, properties and parts are usually inalienable (or inherent), but can also be internalised (that is, acquired) or ascribed and in that way regarded as inalienable (see 3.2.3 below for further discussion).

Another fact worth noticing, which emerges when the data is analysed in more detail, is the substantial number of tokens for specific groups of people as Subjects with internal Objects—70 tokens as compared to five tokens among Subjects with external Objects. These Subjects include, among others, *dancers*, *parents*, *Marxists*, *the public* and *Catholics in America*, terms used for collectively ascribing a specific quality, insight, etc. to all the members of a specific part of society. Sentences (42) and (43) exemplify this point:

(42) Choreographers should, therefore, remember that dancers possess physical and mental abilities of their own […]

(43) Marxists have the dogmatic assurance that comes from possessing a world-view that offers total explanations of social and cultural processes […]

The low number of tokens for this group as regards external Objects is explained by the fact that Subjects of this kind are usually not united by joint ownership but rather by features common to, for example, all dancers.

A further point of interest as regards the Subjects of *possess* is the very low figure for companies—only six tokens (five with external

Objects and one with an internal Object). Again, this can be seen as related to the general nature of the Objects of *possess*, but even more to the fact that *possess* does not have the same strong tendency towards describing legal ownership as *own* has. Hence, it seems as if the most interesting aspect of a company to discuss is what it owns, not which qualities it has.

3.2.3 Objects of *possess*

In contrast to *own*, *possess* generally takes qualities, properties, etc. as Objects; concrete (or external) entities constitute only slightly more than a third of the total number (see Table 7).

Table 7. Distribution of Objects in sentences with *possess*

Type of Object	Number of tokens	Percentage
Internal	302	65.36
- inherent	155	33.55
- internalised	91	19.70
- ascribed	56	12.11
External	160	34.64
Total	462	100.00

The figures in Table 7 give support to the claim made previously that the core sense of *possess* is not likely to be ownership as such but rather control of some sort. Of course, this is not surprising for qualities and properties (internal Objects) since ownership cannot be claimed of them and since what is inside oneself is more easily controlled than what is outside, but it also applies to the category of external Objects (see section 3.2.1 above for further details).

The internal Objects have been divided into three subgroups: inherent, internalised and ascribed Objects. The first subgroup consists of qualities, properties, features, attributes, etc. that can be regarded as innate or characteristic of the Subject in question, for example:

(44) Bats are the only mammals to possess wings and to manage sustained flight.

(45) […] she had always possessed an unattractive, aggressive, sullen personality […]

(46) Perhaps there are special brain cells which we possess that chimpanzees do not.

The Objects in the first subgroup can also be seen as being intimately associated with the Subject or forming a natural part of the Subject which cannot easily be removed:

(47) Australia, after all, shares the problems of other tropical countries – possessing both tropical forest and semi-arid bush.

(48) […] there are fifteenth century references to [the manor house at Cosmeton] having possessed a tower or a corner bastion.

The second subgroup, internalised Objects, contains qualities, properties, etc. which can be regarded as having been in some way acquired by the Subjects and as a result of this acquisition they are now part of the Subjects. Sentences (49) and (50) illustrate this:

(49) […] it would require a deeper understanding of the chemistry of proteins than I possess to explain how the energy […]

(50) The knowledge which the parents possess will be based on perhaps a superficial understanding built up over many years […]

The third subgroup, ascribed Objects, consists of qualities, properties, etc. which are not necessarily part of the Subjects but which are interpreted as being so by outside observers. By way of illustration, the following examples may be considered:

(51) "This Boy Can Wait" was seen in some quarters as possessing a strong gay message […]

(52) It was also said to possess curative powers, as did several other plants […]

(53) […] the ability to respond in crisis is one of the skills which all teachers must possess.

The use of words and phrases such as *was seen in some quarters as* (51), *was also said to* (52) and *must* (53) clearly shows the hypothetical nature of the Objects; apart from having relevance in the observer's mind (or in a particular mental space; cf. Fauconnier [1985] 1994), there might not exist Subjects which have these specific qualities, properties, etc.

External Objects of *possess*, that is, things, constitute a highly diversified group which consists of several unrelated sorts of Objects: more than one-third of the group consists of different kinds of Objects that only appear once or twice in the data. The only Object occurring with any higher frequency in the material analysed is *weapon*. The reason for this is that many of the examples are taken from reports of court proceedings; the same is also the case for drugs:

(54) Finn senior was convicted of criminal damage, wounding and possessing an offensive weapon.

(55) Ms Mitchell was jailed for three years on Wednesday at Cambridge crown court for possessing and supplying cocaine.

Contrary to *own*, high-value assets are not as frequent as Objects of *possess*. Again, this is evidence of the strong legality aspect of *own* which is not present in *possess* to the same extent (see also section 3.1.1 above for a discussion of the senses of *possess*).

Just as was the case with *own*, there are only two examples where the Object refers to the lexeme *money* or other related words:

(56) […] the music of a leisured rock aristocracy, who possessed the money to lavishly construct a LUXURIOUS palace of sound […]

(57) The wealth and power he clearly possesses by the time he is reunited with his brother would have been regarded by the writer and the first hearers of the story as clear signs of God's blessing.

Example (56) in particular supports the claim made in section 3.1.2 above that *money* and other related terms are rather regarded as a means to acquire other assets than as valuable assets in their own right. Using intuition only, one would probably say that the phrase *have money* is more frequently used than either *own money* or *possess money* and a quick search in the *BNC* A-files also confirms this; different forms of the construction *have money* occurs 129 times as compared to one token each for *own money* and *possess money*.

3.3 *Own* and *possess*: a comparison

Even though *own* and *possess* have many similarities and traits in common as well as overlapping domains of usage they also differ from each other in many respects. This section will provide a brief comparison between the two verbs.

Where the Subjects of the two verbs are concerned *own* and *possess* differ quite substantially from one another. Subjects of *own* are almost exclusively humans or entities standing metonymically for humans, for example, companies, nations and various associations. *Possess*, on the other hand, has quite a significant number of Subjects which are either non-human, inanimate or abstract. This difference between the verbs is explained by the very nature of the verbs themselves: while *own* undoubtedly has a core sense, that of legal ownership, which is strongly predominant among the verb's usages, *possess* lacks the same kind of predilection for stating what belongs to someone from a juridical point of view. The most favoured use for *possess* is instead that of stating that someone/something has a quality, property, attribute, etc. of some sort. Since ownership is a socially sanctioned concept it goes without saying that it can only be found in human contexts, while qualities, properties, etc. can be part of or ascribed to any kind of entity.

As a natural consequence of this difference in the nature of *own* and *possess* they also take different kinds of Objects. Quite naturally, the Objects of *own* are always things, concrete or abstract assets. Objects of *possess*, on the other hand, are predominantly qualities, properties, attributes, etc. (internal Objects), but can also be things (external Objects). Moreover, while the things referred to in sentences using *own* are often high-value assets the same does not apply to the same extent for *possess*. According to Dixon (1991), however, the choice between *own* or *possess* might sometimes be due to emotional or mental factors. In a sentence such as *He doesn't possess a single suit*, Dixon argues, *possess* is chosen "partly to draw attention to what this lack tells about his character" (1991: 117), while the use of *possess* in the second clause of the sentence *His father owns an old sedan but John possesses a fine new red sports car* "implies that John is proud of his car, almost that it is an extension of his personality" (1991: 117).

As has already been mentioned, the dominant sense for *own* is that of legal ownership. There are also some extensions from this core sense, but

in the material analysed they constitute only a minor part. In dictionaries, *possess* has more definitions than *own*, a fact that is also manifested in the corpus data. Just as *own*, *possess* can express legal ownership but also mere possession, that is, having something at one's disposal without claiming ownership to it. This distinction is frequent in law and hence quite common in court proceedings. The major part of the data for *possess*, however, refers to the having-a-quality sense.

4. Conclusion

Even though both *own* and *possess*, as well as *have*, can express the same concept, that is, to be the owner/possessor of something, they cannot always be used interchangeably. While all the three verbs can be used to express legal ownership, only *possess* and *have* can be used in expressions referring to someone/something having a quality, etc. of some sort (see sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 above for examples). Furthermore, only *own* can be used in its meaning extensions, the control, the responsibility and the acknowledgement senses. As regards the mere-possession and the sexual-connotations senses of *possess*, also *have* can be used to express these concepts, while for senses (h), (j) and (k) (see section 1 above) *possess* is the only verb possible. In addition, *have* has uses in which neither *own* nor *possess* can be used as substitutes, for example, when a temporary property is expressed:

(58) I have a headache.

The relationship between the three verbs can schematically be illustrated as in Figure 3.

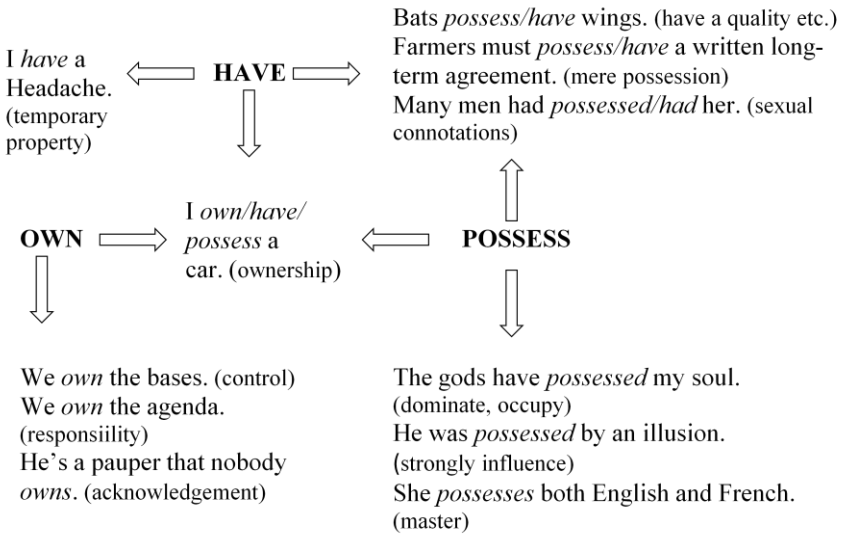

Figure 3. The relationship between *own*, *possess* and *have*

All the three verbs thus have domains where they are the only valid option, but there are also overlapping domains where two or even all three of the verbs may be used.

The result of this study supports and strengthens the information on *own* and *possess* already existing, but it also highlights several points not previously accounted for in dictionaries. It is often the case in dictionaries that a rare usage is given the same weight as the most frequent one. In other words, the imbalance between different usages of a word, which is clearly noticeable in a corpus analysis, is not mentioned. This study has shown that in the overwhelming majority of cases *own* is used in the sense of 'ownership' whereas the frequency of using *possess* to express that someone/something has a quality of some sort is more than three times as high as that of the second most common usage. This might also be seen as pointing towards possible core senses of the two verbs as suggested in the analysis. Furthermore, and related to what has been stated so far, it has been shown that the nature of the two verbs has a considerable influence as regards the character and semantic content of the arguments they take.

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Clausal order: A corpus-based experiment

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Abstract
One variable feature among many in modern English is that of clausal order. The relative order of main and subsidiary clauses seems largely random, which is why a closer look into a representative corpus could be motivated. The present paper attempts to show with the aid of corpus material that the randomness element is more limited than expected and that fairly consistent tendencies on this score can be demonstrated.

Introduction

Different types of language variability have attracted the attention of linguists, particularly in recent times. To establish the extent to which a linguistic feature may vary is an important aspect of such studies. One way, out of many, in which a language like English displays seemingly random variation is in the ordering of the clauses making up a sentence. This paper is about such variation.

Consider the following sentences:

(1) Because I've been here so long I can cope, but the job has become a monster that nobody coming after me should be expected to handle.
Corpus: times/10. Text: N2000960217.

(2) "Surely, you're too big for a rocking-horse!" his mother had remonstrated. "Well, you see, mother, till I can have a *real* horse, I like to have *some* sort of animal about," had been his quaint answer.
Corpus: usbooks/09. Text: B9000001423.

(3) As though it were a litany, Rabbi Binder repeated her words.
Corpus: usbooks/09. Text: B9000001423.

(4) As if she sensed my observation she turned her face our way.
Corpus: ukbooks/08. Text: B0000000051.[1]

The adverbial subordinate clauses underlined precede their matrix clauses, but it is obvious that they can also follow them: "I can cope because I've been here so long", etc., and in many cases postposition may even seem more natural, at least out of context. In fact, it is generally possible to switch adverbial finite clauses between pre and post position in relation to their matrix clauses. "Unlike non-finite clauses, finite [adverbial] clauses appear relatively often in both initial and final positions." (Biber *et al.* 1999:835).

That some reservation is called for on this point is shown by examples like the following, featuring the conjunction *for*:

(5) I feared for my safety for he was trying to tear my office apart.
Corpus: today/11. Text: N6000920901.

(6) Tony Blair cannot afford to lose her, for he would then stand isolated Corpus: times/10. Text: N2000960125.

(7) She broke off, for he appeared to be chuckling.
Corpus: usbooks/09. Text: B9000000418.

(8) Shun that man for he is a part of the vast cosmos
Corpus: usbooks/09. Text: B9000000492.

Any attempt to put the underlined clauses in pre position would result in unidiomatic or even incomprehensible English:

(5a) *For he was trying to tear my office apart, I feared for my safety.

[1] See below about the Corpus.

(6a) *For he would then stand isolated, Tony Blair cannot afford to lose her.

(7a) *For he appeared to be chuckling, she broke off.

(8a) *For he is a part of the vast cosmos, shun that man

If it is not the case that the two positions of adverbial clauses, pre and post, are equally possible or equally frequent in relation to their matrix clauses, it should be of some interest to find out if there are any tendencies in this field, if different types of clause show different preferences. If there are clear preferences in this field, this may tell us something about how the clauses are used to convey information and, perhaps, about other issues of communicative interest.

Adverbial clauses are a subtype of adverbials, and adverbial position has previously been studied at length by a number of scholars, such as Jacobson (1964), Greenbaum (1969) and Ford (1993). The subject receives full treatment in Quirk *et al.* (1985) and, particularly, in Biber *et al.* (1999). It is clear from studies such as those that adverbial clauses cannot be assumed out of hand to have the same positions as adverbs in the sentence. An investigation of the placement of adverbial clauses in an extensive modern corpus like Cobuild may be able to contribute to our knowledge of the modern language, which is why this study was undertaken. No fine-grained analysis will be attempted; it is hoped that the categories offered by the Corpus will suffice to supply the basis for conclusions. Each adverbial clause type will be treated as a unit, and subtypes like subjunct, adjunct and disjunct clauses (Quirk *et al* 1985: 1069-1070) will not be distinguished within each category. Only finite clauses will be considered.

Material

The Cobuild Corpus was used as a basis for the present investigation. It consists of 56 million words from British, American and Australian sources, written and spoken. (See below for a list of the subcorpora

making up the Corpus.) The clause-types singled out for closer study were finite clauses introduced by the following 18 subordinators:

after
although
as
as if
as though
because
before
even if
even though
for
if (conditional)
since
though
till
unless
until
when
while

300 examples of each clause-type were randomly selected from the Corpus, which then resulted in a corpus of (18x300=) 5400 finite adverbial clauses.

The selection criteria applied result in certain restrictions. Thus, as only clauses introduced by subordinators were included, non-introduced adverbial clauses were not included, as e.g. in

> (9) I would have handled the situation in exactly the same way had I been in charge.
> Corpus: today/11. Text: N6000920722.

Further, nonfinite or verbless subordinate clauses are not included, such as

(10) Having equipment serviced or replaced takes place only when absolutely essential.
Corpus: ukmags/03. Text: N0000000577.

(11) Miser's lips always trembled as though about to say something, but they very seldom did.
Corpus: ukbooks/08. Text: B0000001221.

However, finite subordinate clauses whose matrix clauses are nonfinite *are* included:

(12) What if Ted's world had no fixed horizons?
Corpus: usbooks/09. Text: B9000000506.

(13) So much for socialism today if we have councillors who can afford to go to their work wearing designer suits.
Corpus: sunnow/17. Text: N9119980416.

The subject may be omitted in a finite clause:

(14) My checklist runs as follows: ...
Corpus: times/10. Text: N2000960120.

(15) I gather he has left now, though still keeps turning up.
Corpus: ukephem/02. Text: E0000002146.

Prepositional homonyms of the subordinators (*after, before*, etc.) were of course excluded.

The 18 clause-types studied here will have to be seen as examples of different types, rather than as an exhaustive account, as the list of clause-types is not complete. (Some types are excluded because they are too infrequent.[2])

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[2] *In order that* has 79 occurrences in Cobuild, *on condition that* 70, *providing that* 35, *in the event that* 41.

Positions

Three main positions of the adverbial clause are distinguished, "pre", "mid" and "post", the positions being all relative to the position of the matrix clause. In addition, a number of unclassifiable clauses were called "0".

Pre clauses occur "before the subject or other obligatory elements of the clause" (Biber *et al.* [1999: 771]). They are, e.g.,

(16) Unless something is done to improve the situation, we could be facing chaos.
Corpus: today/11. Text: N6000920728.

(17) While there are many blacks playing the blues today, the most popular music is electric city blues.
Corpus: npr/07. Text: S2000901213.

The subordinate clause in "pre" position may be preceded by an adverbial:

(18) Robertson had risen from the ranks. For this reason, though he and Haig agreed on most military issues, a wide gulf always divided them. Corpus: ukbooks/08. Text: B0000000551.

(19) First of all, if you can't spot the issues, you can't score points on an exam. Corpus: usephem/05. Text: E9000000232.

(20) One day when I arrived there, Homer was not in his usual chair on the porch.
Corpus: npr/07. Text: S2000901206.

Note that a matrix clause may itself be subordinated:

(21) Souter recalled that when he was a student adviser at a Harvard dormitory, a freshman asked him to talk to the freshman's girlfriend
Corpus: npr/07. Text: S2000900914.

Mid clauses are those that occur in "all positions between obligatory initial and final clausal elements" (Biber *et al.* [1999: 771]):

(22) Children's rights, unless they are associated with abuse, get a bad press in this country.
Corpus: times/10. Text: N2000951118.

(23) Anyway, the London Symphony Orchestra (for it was they) subsequently sacked the stage manager...
Corpus: times/10. Text: N2000960106.

Mid clauses include subordinate clauses inside cleft sentences:

(24) It is this period, when contractions are closely spaced and strong, that women typically find the most painful.
Corpus: usbooks/09. Text: B9000001405.

(25) it wasn't till he'd be about four or five that he started filling out
Corpus: ukspok/04. Text: S9000001263.

(26) what happens <ZF1> when <ZF0> when you draw that kind of an event is that you have to learn to use spatial relationships in a remarkable way. Corpus: ukspok/04. Text: S0000000294.

Post clauses occur after their matrix clauses:

(27) We will remember him, for we have lost a warrior.
Corpus: ukmags/03. Text: N0000000638.

(28) I tried to call her after I checked in at the Churchill, but there was no answer at their apartment.
Corpus: ukbooks/08. Text: B0000000043.

As the last example shows, a post clause may be followed by another clause.

As post clauses are also classified those whose matrix clauses are uttered by a previous speaker.

(29) <F0X> Erm you know that
<M0X> Yes.
<F0X> there's never been a sense that a waitress was any less capable than a waiter.
<M0X> Yes yes. Though it's always the head waiter not the head waitress isn't it?
Corpus: ukspok/04. Text: S0000000044.

(30) <M01> <ZF1> What <ZF0> what makes you think that they never worked in South Africa?
<M07> Because <ZF1> they <ZF0> they pardon they're no worse off even now.
Corpus: ukspok/04. Text: S0000000107.

Biber *et al.* (1999: 833-834) discuss this phenomenon:

> One of the most striking, though quantitatively small, differences in adverbial clause use across registers concerns adverbial clauses added to other-speaker main clauses in conversation. The face-to-face nature of conversation makes it possible for one participant to add circumstances on to another participant's utterance. Often this occurs with conditional clauses, where a second speaker adds a condition qualifying the truth value of the first speaker's assertion […]

Post clauses are also those where the speaker interrupts himself between matrix and subordinate clause:

(31) I'll talk to Marcus about it," I said, feeling that I had done all that convention demanded, and getting to my feet. Though of course, as you know, it's Colonel Weston who is the senior of the two churchwardens." Corpus: ukbooks/08. Text: B0000000018.

0 clauses, finally, are those where classification is impossible for various reasons (slips of the tongue, interruptions, quotations, changes of tack, fragmented sentences). A few examples are:

(32) That's what 'When We Two Parted' is about.
Corpus: ukmags/03. Text: N0000000812.

(33) <M01> Right. So <ZF1> y <ZF0> you're saying it's not just a question of experts
<M03> Yeah well you can say <ZGY>
<M01> but who's experts they were. Yeah
<M03> argue against their <ZGY>
<M0X> Yeah
<M03> if they wanted well
<M0X> No
<M03> <ZGY> sink it in the middle of the sea the erm Shell <ZGY>
<M0X> Yes
<M0X> Mm
<M01> Right
Corpus: ukspok/04. Text: S9000001543.

Results

Relevant findings will be presented in tables below. As the material was collected randomly from the whole Corpus where the guiding principle was that the same number of every clause-type should be included, this makes it possible to compare the occurrence of adverbial clauses in different subcorpora. The terms used for the subcorpora are these:

npr	= US National Public Radio broadcasts
today	= UK Today newspaper
times	= UK Times newspaper
usbooks	= US books; fiction & non-fiction
oznews	= Australian newspapers
bbc	= BBC World Service radio broadcasts
usephem	= US ephemera (leaflets, adverts, etc)
ukmags	= UK magazines
sunnow	= UK Sun newspaper
ukspok	= UK transcribed informal speech
ukbooks	= UK books; fiction & non-fiction
ukephem	= UK ephemera (leaflets, adverts, etc)

Table 1 presents the evidence.

Table 1. Occurrence of adverbial clauses in different subcorpora

	Total adverbial clauses	Words in subcorpus	Total adv. clauses normalised
ukephem	137	3124354	4.4
usephem	65	1224710	5.3
oznews	412	5337528	7.7
ukspok (1)	264	- 9272579	- 8.2
ukspok (2)	498	-	-
ukmags	408	4901990	8.3
bbc	219	2609869	8.4
npr	275	3129222	8.8
times	540	5763761	9.4
today	511	5248302	9.7
sunnow	578	5824476	9.9
ukbooks	726	5354262	13.6
usbooks	767	5626436	13.6
Total	**5400**	**54293135**	**9.9**

The column called "Total adverbial clauses" gives the raw figures for the number of times each subcorpus contains adverbial clauses in the sample. As the subcorpora are represented by unequal quantities of text, the totals have been made comparable by dividing the clause total for each subcorpus with the number of words and multiplying the result with 100,000.

The result of the calculations is quite striking. Subcorpora differ markedly in their use of adverbial clauses. The two "literary" subcorpora, ukbooks and usbooks, are way ahead of the others in their use of adverbial clauses. One can only speculate about the reason why this should be so, but it does seem probable that literary texts have a greater need for modification, reservation, concession, explanation, condition. Things are rarely black and white in fiction (or in life, come to that). Adverbial clauses are three times as frequent in the literary texts as in official types of writing (ukephem, usephem), where it is in the nature of things that modification is less often called for, the official nature of the material imposing certain restrictions. It may also be noted that there is no difference in adverbial-clause frequency between British and American types of material: ukephem and usephem are very close, the

radio stations bbc and npr are also very close, and ukbooks and usbooks are as close as can be. Oznews (Australian newspapers), finally, favours a more straightforward, matter of fact type of writing than the British newspapers (times, today and sunnow); oznews uses few adverbial clauses and is close to the ephemera subcorpora.

Let us now look at the overall distribution of the 5400 clauses over the positional categories, presented in Table 2:

Table 2. Distribution of clauses over positional categories

	n	%
Pre	1272	23.6
Mid	55	1.0
Post	4044	74.9
0	29	0.5
Total	**5400**	**100.0**

It appears from the table that post position is the most frequent one with adverbial clauses: three out of four follow their matrix clauses. This tallies with earlier observations. In Jacobson's (1964) material,[3] post position is less frequent, 55% (p.106), but still the most frequent option. According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1037), "[c]lauses that are constituents of phrases almost always occur at the end of the phrases." Biber *et al.* (1999) present no overall figures but say (p. 833), "Whereas all types of non-finite clause are uniformly preferred in final position, different types of finite clause are distributed in different ways." It could be noted, in addition, that mid position is infrequent, only 1 per cent.

Do subcorpora also differ in their general positioning of the adverbial clauses? Table 3 shows the distribution of pre and post positioned clauses over the subcorpora.

[3] 66 books by mid-20th century British authors, one half of which is fictional and one half nonfictional.

Table 3. Pre and post position in subcorpora

	Pre position n	Post position n	Other	Per cent pre
sunnow	102	469	7	18
ukspok (1)	54	198	12	20
oznews	87	322	3	21
bbc	46	172	1	21
today	107	399	5	21
usbooks	167	587	13	22
ukspok (2)	126	363	9	25
times	140	391	9	26
ukbooks	188	530	8	26
ukmags	109	291	8	27
ukephem	38	98	1	28
npr	86	181	8	31
usephem	22	43	0	34
Total	**1272**	**4044**	**84**	**24**

The table shows that, although post position is everywhere preferred, pre position is quite frequent in the American subcorpora npr and usephem, every third adverbial clause being pre posed, while pre position is about average in the equally American usbooks. The fact that sunnow, the *Sun* newspaper, has a very low pre percentage in relation to ukmags, times and today makes one suspect a *Sun* house style restricting the use of pre positioned adverbial clauses.

If the variation between subcorpora with regard to pre and post position is moderate, the differences between the clause types with regard to their position in relation to their matrix clauses is again striking. Table 4 shows the frequency in percentages with which the 18 clause types occur in pre position.

Table 4. Position of adverbial clauses (per cent)

1. For	0	
2. Till	1	
3. As though	2	
4. As if	3	
5. Until	6	**POST**
6. Because	7	
7. Before	12	
8. After	15	
9. Unless	24	
10. As	26	
11. Even though	30	
12. While	31	**post**
13. Since	33	
14. When	33	
15. Though	40	
16. Even if	47	**pre/post**
17. Although	56	
18. If (cond.)	57	

As Tables 1 and 3 suggest, most of the adverbial clause types prefer post position. Figure 1, based on Table 4, illustrates the fact that the 18 clause types can be seen to fall into three main groups with regard to relative position. There is some degree of semantic consistency in each group. The first group, 1-8, rarely, if ever, occurs in pre position and consequently normally occurs in post position, mid position being a rare occurrence. The group is dominated by time clauses (*till, until, before, after*),[4] but reason clauses (*for, because*)[5] and similarity/comparison

[4] "Adverbial clauses of time ... may be placed before or after the main clause. After the main clause is the more neutral position." (Carter and McCarthy2006:561)

[5] "Reason clauses may come before or after the main clause:" (Carter and McCarthy2006:561)

clauses (*as though, as if*) also belong here. The second group, 9-14, also prefers post position but not as markedly as the first group. It is characterised by a number of bi- or multifunctional clause types: *as* (manner, time, reason, comparison[6]), *while* (time, concession/contrast[7]), *since* (time, reason[8]) and perhaps *when* (time, concession[9]). The time element is prominent, a fact that we will come back to below. The last group, 15-18, is more undecided when it comes to relative position. In fact, two of them, *although* clauses and conditional *if* clauses, even show a certain preference for pre position. This partly agrees with Jacobson's (1964: 95) finding that in his corpus (c. 40,000 words) conditional clauses differ from other adverbial clauses in being more frequent in pre than in post position. On the other hand, Carter and McCarthy (2006: 562) lump together *if* and *unless* clauses and state: "Conditional adverbial clauses may be placed before or after the main clause. After the main clause is the more neutral position." Our last little group is made up of clauses of concession and condition. One might therefore have expected to find *even though* and *unless* clauses in this group rather than in the second one. However, while the position of *even though* clauses is still unclear, the obvious difference in position between *unless* and conditional *if* clauses, where thus *unless* clauses much more often occur in post position, may be explained by the tendency of *unless*, but not of *if (not)*, to introduce an afterthought, something added to the main statement, as in *She hasn't got any hobbies – unless you call watching*

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[6] "Conversation and academic prose most commonly use *as* to show manner relationships, while fiction and news more commonly use *as* to express time." (Biber *et al.* 1999: 846)

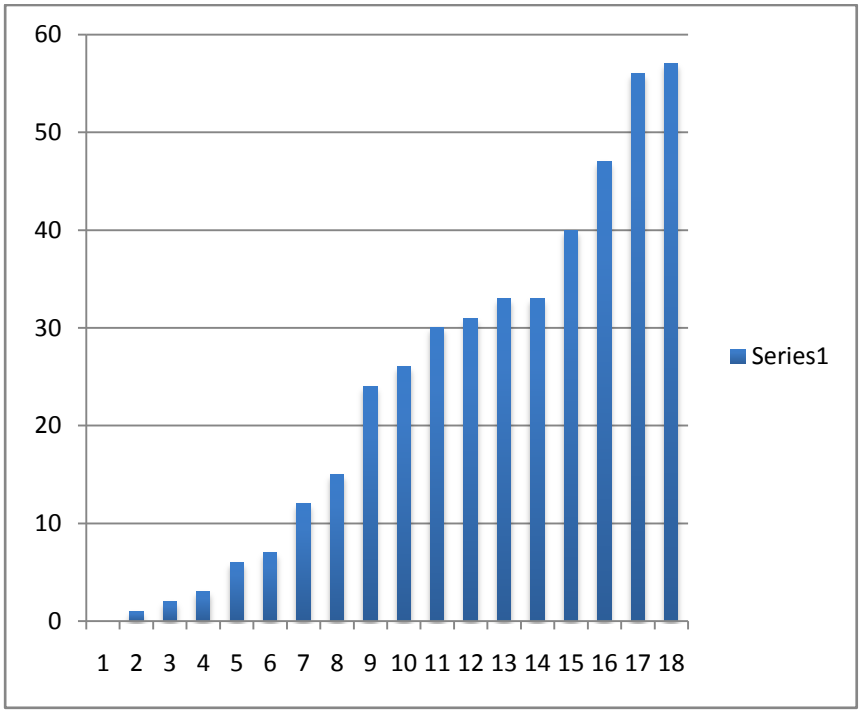
[7] (On concessive clauses:) "After the main clause is the more neutral position." (Carter and McCarthy2006:562). "Almost all occurrences of *while* as a subordinator in conversation express time. In contrast, over 80% of the occurrences in academic prose marks concession/contrast." (Biber *et al.* 1999: 849)

[8] "Conversation and news more commonly use *since* for time. Academic prose and, less markedly, fiction more commonly use *since* for reason." (Biber *et al.* 1999: 849)

[9] *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2003): "when ALTHOUGH /wen/ conjunction despite the fact that: He says he hasn't got any money when in fact he's got thousands of dollars in his account."

TV a hobby or *Have a cup of tea – unless you'd prefer a cold drink* (OALD). Here the *unless* clause is different from *if* clauses in being less well integrated in the superordinated structure.

Figure 1. Pre position of adverbial clauses (per cent)



Although the existence of multifunctional clause types is likely to blur what tendencies there are in the material, it seems possible to suggest that clauses of time rarely take pre position and that, at the other end of the spectrum, clauses of condition and concession taking pre and post position are about equally frequent.

The multifunctional clause types thus blur the picture. It is not unlikely that their different functions tend in different directions, and that the overall percentages therefore reflect a cancellation of the differences.

The common denominator of the multifunctional clause types in the middle category is the time function. It is possible, then, that the clauses in question are used differently with regard to relative position when they are time adjuncts from when they are not. To see if that is so a simple experiment was done. 50 occurrences each of *as, since* and *while* clauses were randomly extracted from the Corpus, and the functions of the finite clauses were analysed. The result is shown in Table 5:

Table 5. Relative positions of some multifunctional clause types

	Time pre	Time post	Non-time pre	Non-time mid	Non-time post	Irrelevant	Total
As	0	4	2	2	9	33	50
Since	6	9	4	0	3	28	50
While	2	11	6	0	12	19	50
Total	8	24	12	2	24	80	150

Most of those called "Irrelevant" in the table consist of nonfinite clauses, which had to be excluded for the sake of consistency with the main enquiry. The rest of the material shows that *as, since* and *while* clauses used as time clauses differ from *as, since* and *while* clauses in other functions. As time clauses they occur in pre position clearly less often, 8/(8+24) = 25%, than they do in other functions, 12/(12+2+24) = 32%. The second group of adverbial clause types can now be seen to represent several contrasting tendencies, one towards post position, and one towards a pre/post equilibrium.

Influencing factors

Biber *et al.* (1999: 835-838) present three factors of importance for deciding the relative position of adverbial clauses, namely (a) cohesion and information structuring; (b) framing subsequent discourse; and (c) structural considerations. The second factor is difficult to apply to whole categories of clauses – and in this study we are dealing with clause types in bulk -- but the first one seems intuitively capable of explaining some

of the differences between our clause types. The factor implies that subordinate clauses in pre position tend to contain given information, while the main clause presents new information, and, conversely, when the main clause contains given information, the adverbial clauses, with new information, tend to be in post position (835). It seems reasonable to think that time and reason clauses regularly contain new information without which the sentence would not make sense, and that they therefore come last in the clausal sequence. That does not happen every time, as is illustrated by example (1), but sufficiently often to form a pattern and to make an example like (1) stand out. That conditional and concessive clauses are used indifferently to present given and new information also seems very plausible. The third factor, too, is relevant in a more general way when the relative positions of matrix and subordinate adverbial clauses are concerned. Adverbial clauses normally contribute important information to the sentential proposition, and the principle of end-weight therefore stipulates that they should follow their matrix sentences. Cf. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 920):

> When two coordinated units are placed in sequence, the second unit gains focal prominence from its position (*cf* 18.3*ff.*). This prominence in terms of information focus also attaches to the final element in a subordination relation, but in the latter case the positional highlighting is combined with a highlighting based on the formal inequality of subordination.

The reason why conditional clauses and concession clauses, particularly *although* clauses, marginally favour pre position is thus probably that they often contain given information whereas the new information is supplied by the matrix clause. There could, however, also be another reason. With conditional clauses, it often happens that the proposition of the main clause cannot be accepted or understood until the condition or constraint presented in the subordinate clause has been presented and accepted. The hearer/reader must take in the information in the subordinate clause in order to understand the information in the main clause:

> (34) If you just knew the minds of the players going into the game at the kickoff, you wouldn't be surprised, you wouldn't be upset.
> Corpus: npr/07. Text: S2000900914.

(35) If they leave, then they know full well that they're not going to be paid.
Corpus: npr/07. Text: S2000900921.

(36) If the contract is accepted tomorrow as expected, all the strikers will be rehired.
Corpus: npr/07. Text: S2000901213.

Something similar is true of *although*-clauses, which are often necessary for the matrix clauses to be fully understood.

(37) Although 94 percent of the children in the survey were smacked and disliked the experience, there was a high degree of acceptance of this form of punishment.
Corpus: oznews/01. Text: N5000951004.

(38) But although Brocket was guilty, it is not a wife's duty to betray. Rather the opposite.
Corpus: times/10. Text: N2000960217.

(39) Although business volumes were up, confidence though now increasing showed a smaller rise.
Corpus: times/10. Text: N2000960116.

In cases such as these the *if* and *although* clause prepares the reader/hearer for the message in the matrix clause and the sentential proposition is instantly accepted. If such necessary adverbial clauses should occur in post position, the message in the matrix clause would be hanging in the air, metaphorically speaking, waiting for the end of the sentence to be interpreted.

Summary and conclusions

Although adverbial clauses can generally precede or follow their matrix clauses, it was suspected that their distribution over pre and post position was not entirely random. 300 occurrences each of 18 adverbial clause

types were excerpted from the Cobuild Corpus and analysed with regard to position in relation to their matrix clauses.

The Corpus is made up of 12 subcorpora representing different styles and origins. It appeared that there were great differences between them in the occurrence of adverbial clauses, which were frequent in the "literary" subcorpora and infrequent in the more formal and official ones. When it comes to pre or post position (mid position is very infrequent), it was seen, first of all that, over all, three quarters of the adverbial clauses occurred after their matrices and that there was moderate variation in that respect between the subcorpora. On the other hand, the clause types differed greatly among themselves in positional tendencies, varying from no pre occurrences or very few (*for* and *till* clauses) to more than 50% such occurrences (*although* and conditional *if* clauses). Time and reason clauses occurred at one end of the spectrum, where post position was definitely preferred, and condition and concession clauses were found at the other end, where pre and post position were about equally common. Those tendencies were reinforced when a sample of *as, since* and *while* clauses, showing contradictory tendencies, were analysed separately.

With reference to Biber *et al.* (1999) it was suggested that information structuring (given and new information) and the principle of end weight influenced the relative positioning of the clauses. A special type of information structuring was the comprehensibility factor, i.e. the factor influencing which part of the sentence needs to be processed first in order for the proposition to be understood.

The general impression left by the survey is that the sequence of clauses is far less random than a superficial look would lead one to think, and also that the tools supplied by the Corpus can take you a long way.

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Trusty Trout, Humble Trout, Old Trout: A Curious Kettle

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'Old trout' as a disparaging and dismissive term for an elderly woman is still with us, although used with a degree of archness, an affectation of the linguistic practices of an earlier time.[1] But the true, trusty, and humble trouts of earlier centuries, close friends and confidants, are a now extinct species. *OED* presents these as figurative uses of the ichthyonym *trout*, the common designation of *Salmo fario.* No explanation of how such extended meanings may have developed is offered.[2]

The origin of the base word, *trout*, is not in doubt. OE *truht*, which is first attested in a supplement to Ælfric's 'Vocabulary', is a reflex of Late Latin *tructus*, which had the variant forms *tructa*, *truta*, *trutta*, etc., yielding Old French *troite*, *troute*, Middle and Modern French *truite*, and the like.[3] Of the two extended or figurative uses here under consideration, 'trusty trout' is the earlier attested, first noted from ca. 1661 in a self-disparaging ballad voiced by a turncoat in the Civil War 'For I was a trusty trout In all that I went about.'[4] Needless to say, the context is not one that would immediately call references to fish and fishing to mind. The vogue for trusty, true, and humble trouts would appear to have been limited to the latter part of the seventeenth century. Rather than having a genetic link with *Salmo fario*, 'trusty trout', I would contend, is a tautological phrasing, coined when the base term seemed to have no other referent than the fish and required an explanatory gloss. *Trout* in this usage is best derived from OE *trēowan* or *trēowian* 'to trust, confide in' (with past participles *treówade* and *treówode*), reflected in early Modern English *trow* as both noun and verb. Some influence of Old Norse *trúa* 'to believe, have confidence in' (past participle *trúat*) or

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[1] See, for example, Christopher Hitchens, *God is Not Great* (2007, 2), who refers to a Panglossian schoolteacher from his young years as a 'pious old trout'.
[2] *The Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. trout*.
[3] *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, s.v. tructa*.
[4] 'A Turn-coat of the Times', in *The Roxburghe Ballads*, IV.518.

of *trúr* ‘true, faithful’ cannot be excluded. This would have come from the Norse-inflected speech of the Danelaw, as this set of Norse words is not represented in the Norman dialect of Old French and could not thereby have reached Britain. ‘Trusty trout’ is then closest to the hypothetical base form; ‘true trout’ retains the alliteration and some of the original semantics; ‘humble trout’ is a further change rung on what would by this time have been seen as a piscine image.

‘Old trout’ could be fitted into this cluster of phrases but so doing would require some explanation of why the quality of trustworthiness has been replaced by a reference to advanced years and why it is *des dames d’un certain âge* who are so designated. The exploration of a separate origin and originally distinct development seems justified. This said, it should be noted that ‘old trout’ is first attested from the late nineteenth century, coincident with a heightened interest in the representation of popular speech in literature and other writing.[5] Like ‘trusty trout’, *OED* identifies ‘old trout’ as slang, but only here is there a suggestion of other factors at work in the history of the phrase. The *Dictionary*’s cross-reference ‘cf. TROT n.[2]’ leads in some very interesting directions, down a linguistic path very different from the angler’s.

Old French had a set of words associated with ambulatory and repetitive movement, just as seen in the English verb *trot*. We find the verb *troter* in the proverb ‘besoin fait vielle troter’, literally, ‘necessity makes the old woman trot’, which could be recast as the twentieth-century American adage ‘necessity sharpens industry’.[6] *Trote à pied* was a term for a valet, while *troton* and *trottin* designated one who ran errands. Negative coloration is seen in *trotier* as ‘vagabond’ and *troteresse* ‘prostitute’. The trot is further broken down into a sequence of ‘micro-movements’ in the verb *troteler* ‘to trot along’ and the adjective *troterel* ‘with an unbroken trot’.[7] As we shall see, the repetitive movement could also be viewed not simply as linear but as reciprocal, a shuttling between two poles.

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[5] See examples in *OED*, which range from 1897 to 1972.

[6] The proverb had currency in medieval Italy as well, e.g., ‘bisogno fae vecchia trottare’, *Conti morali d’anonimo senense,* 496, v. 22.

[7] These forms are exemplified in *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française* and *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*.

Toward the end of Guillaume de Lorris's incomplete *Roman de la Rose*, La Vielle is introduced as a duenna to monitor Bel Acuel (the 'Fair Welcome' that the maiden/rose might accord the lover). The role is greatly expanded in Jean de Meun's continuation of the allegorical romance and, typical of this much longer, more cynical portion of the work, the duenna betrays her charge and assumes the role of manipulative go-between. It would appear significant that Jean reintroduces this character as follows: 'La Vielle iluec point ne sejorne, Le trot a Bel Acuel retorne' ('The Old Woman did not linger but trotted back to Fair Welcome').[8]

In the same century, we find the northern French poet Rutebeuf (1245-1285) in 'Le Dit de l'herbière' proclaiming his quack's allegiance to 'ma dame Trote de Salerne', an expert on matters of sex and love.[9] His dame Trote has been identified as Trotula di Ruggiero, a female physician who wrote on gynecology and female beauty. Whether she was a historical figure or simply a literary myth has been debated. For present purposes we may note that her text had a reputation among the subsequent male readership as a work of pornography.[10]

French linguistic usage also informed John Gower's work, *Le Mirour de l'ome*, which has received relatively little critical attention.[11] Among his satirical condemnations is that of the old woman who prettifies herself to attract a lusty young lover.

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[8] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun (1974), vv. 12541-42; *The Romance of the Rose* (1994), 193. For present purposes, we might prefer the rendering 'returned to Bel Acuel at a trot'.

[9] Rutebeuf, 392, 398.

[10] The putative historicity of Trotula was relatively early the object of close study; see Rowland (1979), effectively responding to Hurd-Mead (1930) and Stuard (1975). Rowland observes that a broad range of nominally medical treatises in the English vernacular were linked with Trotula, whose name is variously found there as *Trot, Troto, Trotta, Trocula, Trutella*. There has been little subsequent scholarship from the perspective of women's and gender studies, in the latter respect as concerns the male reader's gaze on the passive, textualized woman's body.

[11] Gower's relation to continental material has not been studied since Dwyer's 'Gower's *Mirour* and its French Sources' (1951).

> Mais sur trestoutes je desfie
> La viele trote q'est jolie
> Qant seches ad les mammellettes[12]
> But above all I distrust the old hag who is prettified when her breasts are dried up.[13]

Gower also seems to have known *Le lai du trot*, a moralizing piece in which a knight, Lorois, meets two parties of mounted women and men. The first advances comfortably on ambling palfreys; the second is shaken to their teeth and bowels by the jolting advance of the trotting nags. These rewards and punishments are due to the first group having given themselves to and honored Love, while the second abstained from Love. This, at least, is the modern reading of the moral.[14] But other associations of *trot* suggest that there may at least be a subtext available, that the second party of women has offended Love by giving themselves too freely, promiscuity replacing fidelity. In addition to horseback-riding, another frequent facet of this cluster of motifs associated with love and sex, is 'the old daunce', again linking stylized and repetitive movement with both the give and take of courting and flirting, and the sexual act itself.

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[12] *Mirour de l'omme*, in *The Complete Works of John Gower*, Vol. 1, *The French Works*, vv. 17900-03; cf. the fuller exposition on the 'viele trote', vv. 8713-24. Under *trot*, n.[2], *OED* cites the Gower passages and states that 'the word [*trot*] has not been found in Continental French either as *trote* or *tratte*, so that the derivation is uncertain' and goes on to disallow a connection with OFr *baudetrot* (see below). As concerns the former claim, this is, strictly speaking, true, but it seems more likely, given the evidence reviewed here, that the nominal derivative *trote* emerged in the context of Anglo-French from the verb *troter* and such words and phrases as *trote à pied* `valet', *troton*, *trottin* 'runner of errands', *trotier* 'vagabond', and *troteresse* 'prostitute'.

[13] John Gower, *Mirour de l'omme,* 246. A freer rendering, which allows, in the absence of punctuation in the manuscript, for greater sarcasm on Gower's part, would be: ' ... the old hag–how pretty she is with her dried up little dugs'.

[14] *Le Lai du trot*, in *Three Old French Narrative Lays: Trot, Lecheor, Nabaret*. Gower's recasting, which revolves around a pun on *bridle* and *bride ale*, is explored in Bratcher. Bratcher's note, and earlier studies listed there, do not link the trotting mounts of the deficient lovers with the other *trot* associations here reviewed.

La Vielle, who gives a long account of her former life as a beautiful but ruthless and extortionate courtesan, has been seen as a major source for Chaucer's portrait of the Wife of Bath. Yet, unlike La Vielle, the Wife has lived an ethical life within matrimony and sought not a self-indulgent 'freedom' but woman's sovereignty as her goal. Yet the cluster of relationships here under review has affected the portrait of the Wife in at least two respects. Included in her fifth husband Jankyn's *Book of Wicked Wives* are purported excerpts from a work by Trotula, which, the context makes clear, cannot have been about women's medicine but more likely about women's erotic wiles.[15] And, on the conclusion of the Wife's preface to her tale, there is an exchange between the Summoner and the Friar. The former replies to the latter's objection to the length of the Wife's introduction with the sally 'What! amble or trotte, or pees, or go sit doun' (cf. the gaits of *Le Lai du trot*).[16] Thus, the Wife's iterative marital career seems to have prompted at least two echoes of 'trotting' as characteristic of an erotic agent or intermediary. We must regret that Chaucer's fragmentary adaptation of *The Romance of the Rose* did not include the full portrait of La Vielle as found in Jean de Meun, since the English author does not otherwise use *trot* as either noun or verb in quite the sense here under consideration.

Yet Chaucer uses what appears an analogous term in *The Canterbury Tales*, when in *The Friar's Tale* the summoner accuses the old woman of lechery and calls her 'thou olde virytrate.'[17] No sure etymology has been identified for *virytrate* and Rowland, seeing Latin *vir* 'man' in the term, thought it might be a debased Latin compound. The first element is more plausibly Old French *virer* ' to turn around, revolve' and would reference either the iterative movement of a courtesan or promiscuous woman among a sequence of men or the shuttling movement of the procuress between the as yet to be united couple (cf. OFr *viree* 'comings and goings'). Since popular tradition had it that beautiful prostitutes often

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[15] *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, v. 838.

[16] *The Merchant's Tale*, v. 1538. Note, in this respect, Mieszkowski, which is useful for its summary of intermediaries who act in the interests of lust, but, according to Valenzuela's review, succeeds less well in its treatment of go-betweens promoting true and honest love.

[17] *The Friar's Tale*, v. 1582.

ended up as ugly procuresses and go-betweens, this and other related term would appear to reference simultaneously both stages in the lives of these women. The second element of Chaucer's *virytrate* could have originated in French *trot* 'a trotting advance', on the model of other popular compounds of verbal plus nominal elements (cf. *couvre-chef* > Eng. *kerchief*), but shows the influence of the noun *trote* as seen in Gower. The putative vowel shift from *-o-* to *-a-* in this element is addressed below.

Another term for a go-between in amorous matters that occurs in Middle English is *bawdstrot*, defined by *OED* as 'a bawd, male or female; a pander, a procuress'. Here again, we see references to both the prostitute, and the pimp or procuress. The term is first found in Langland when a confessor addresses Meede þe Mayden: 'I schal asoyle þe myself And eke be þi bawdstrot and bere wel þin ernde Among Clerkes and knihtes'.[18] This is a direct reflection of Old French *baudetrot*, *baudestrot*, *baldestrot*, in which the first element is Frankish *bald*, 'bold' when used positively, 'brazen' when negatively. The forward manner of prostitutes led to their association with the word in its pejorative context.[19]

The French and other Romance reflexes of the 'trot' words (e.g., *Trotaconventos* as the name of a panderer in Juan Ruiz's *El Libro de Buen Amor*) are traced to Germanic, in the French case to Frankish *trottôn* 'to run'.[20] There is no native English derivative from common Germanic. English *trot* is then best seen as a loan from Anglo-Norman French into Middle English, just as its literary use has clear French models. At the same time, Middle English and Scots knew a cluster of words displaying a variant vocalism. As a first example, ME *trateler* 'gossip, idle chatterer, talebearer' appears in the versified paternal instructions 'Myne Awen Dere Sone', from the first half of the fifteenth century and situated by the editor in a northern dialectal environment: 'For no trateler þat rennys the tyll Loke þou trowe on þame [servants] noon yll Till þou gare bathe prouse and constrewe Whether þe tale be false or trewe ... Þou sall neuere have reste in lande Whils þou haldes

[18] *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman*, Version A, III.42.
[19] *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Germanische Elemente*, Vol. 15, 29-33, s.v. bald.
[20] *FEW, Germanische Elemente*, Vol. 17, 371-74, *s.v. trottôn*.

swyllke tratelers in hande'.[21] Here the to-and-fro movement seen earlier is reflected in both the physical displacement of the talebearer and the give and take of information.

Medieval Latin had a term *trattus* that, like *anus*, referred both to the rectum and, by extension, to an old woman (possibly a reformation of *tractus*, which had such specialized meanings as a move in chess or the traces in a horse's harness). In English we find the variants *trat*, *trate*, *trattes*, and *trattas* with the meanings 'old woman', more pejoratively 'old hag'.[22] The earliest attestation is in *William of Palerne.*

> Whan þise [tidinges] were told to lasse and to more,
> þat þo tvo trattes þat William wold have traysted,
> þo ladyes þat had him to loke and leren in 3ouþe,
> þei wisten witterly þanne ... þat þei schuld be do to dethe ... for þere wicked dedes.[23]

If we may add the sense 'conduit' to the signification 'old woman', we may see ME *tratte* as a gossip, the purveyor of information (cf. German *Tratsch* 'silly, idle talk' but Danish *tragt* 'funnel', likely from Middle Low German). *OED* traces ME *trateler* and the related forms *trattler*, *trattle, trattling*, all attested in the fifteenth century, to Scots forms such as *tratillar*, *tratlar*, *tratlour*, *tratler* 'chatterer, gossip',[24] although, as noted, we may be dealing with northern, i.e., not exclusively Scots, reflexes of a confluence of French *trote* and English *tratte*, with some possible influence of words such *prattle* and *tattle*.

To return to Chaucer and *The Friar's Tale*, if the *trate* words are admitted as northernisms, *virytrate* might be seen as yet another, and offer some further support to Manly's claim that Holderness in Yorkshire was the Friar's *contree* and that the diction of the tale exhibits a northern

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[21] 'Myne Awen Dere Sone,' vv. 427-36; for the comment on northern provenance, see p. 149.
[22] *OED* does not have *trat(te)* as a head word and it figures only in the discussion of Gower's *trote* (note 12 above). *Middle English Dictionary, s.v. trot,* gives *trat* as a variant of *trot* and calls the (assumed common?) origin "uncertain".
[23] *William of Palerne*, vv. 4768-74.
[24] See *Dictionary of the Scots Language, s.v. v. trate, tratillar*.

flavor.[25] In later authors, the southern or French form reasserts itself, as evidenced in Shakespeare's 'an old Trot, with n'er a tooth in her head although she may have as many diseases as two and fifty horses,' where the equine touch is, curiously, still evident.[26]

To summarize, English *trot/tratte* would have originated in French *trote*, with subsequent reshaping, both semantic and phonological, under the influence of Latin *trattus* and its English derivative, and would have been used as an agent noun for a intermediary, whether in the provision of services (as procuress) or of information (as amorous counsel, gossip). In the reformation as 'old trout', a euphemistic melioration, the word is only lightly dismissive but not condemnatory in moral terms, as the exchange of personal information on other members of the community is prejudicially seen as the quintessential activity of older women. English *gossip*, originating in *godsibb* 'baptismal sponsor', exhibits a comparable semantic movement, albeit in the opposite direction, a positive term gradually turning negative.

Before concluding, we may briefly note three words that have some resemblance, in phonology and perhaps register, to those reviewed here but are unlikely to have any deeper affinity. These are OE *trúð* 'trumpeter', Old Norse *trúðr* 'juggler', and Middle Irish *drúth* 'fool, entertainer'. All the words display respectable historical depth, although only the Irish form is well attested. Most of the imaginable derivations (OIr > OE, ON > OIr, etc.) have had their defenders, but none of these seems to have considered such socio-linguistic factors as which population groups might have sought employment in popular

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[25] Manly, 102-22, summarized in 'Explanatory Notes' to *The Friar's Tale,* 875, where Malone's rejection of this claim is also noted.

[26] Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew,* I.ii.78-80, cited in Rowland, who also calls attention to instances in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 75, where the "old trout" is characterized as "ill-favored", and in Urquhart's translation of Rabelais, I.40. It is of interest to note that Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* offers two definitions for *trot*: 'a contemptuous term for an old woman', and 'foolish talk'; VI.246, while *trotter* is defined as 'a woman of the town', 246. Since the completion of the present study, Anatoly Liberman has published *An Analytic Dictionary of English Etymology*, which includes an entry for *trot* (208-10).

entertainment when cultures came into prolonged contact.[27] From this perspective it seems at least plausible that ON *trúðr* is a loan from Irish *drúth*, the Norse invaders of Ireland quickly setting up kingships, lordships and courts of their own in a rapid merging of Germanic and Celtic culture, while a hypothetical British **drud* (cf. Welsh *drud* 'bold, brave' but also 'reckless, foolish') would have replicated this situation among the Anglo-Saxon invaders and settlers, and the (subaltern?) British population seeking accommodation with the new rulers. Or Norse *trúðr* may have made its way from Ireland and the Islands to York and the Danelaw, and thence into Old English.

The *OED*, we recall, had entries for 'trusty trout' and 'old trout' under the headword *trout* as the designation of *Salmo fario*. Yet the cross-reference to *trot* (however cryptic) in the case of the latter clearly shows that editors had some notion that another explanation might be the correct one. This continues to be the lexicographer's dilemma: to group by etymology or by evolved phonology and semantics–in these cases, analogues of *trusty/trustee* and *trot* recast as *trout* under the effects of folk etymology.

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[27] *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* would derive all three words from an IE root meaning 'tree' and subsequently used of heroic men; I.214-17, *s.v. deru-*. Yet, from this perspective, the words would all have suffered a considerable slide in register, perhaps a feature of loaning among later European languages; cf. Frankish *bald*, above.

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Reviews

Avril, Chloé. 2008. *The Feminist Utopian Novels of Charlotte Perkins Gilman: Themes of Sexuality, Marriage, and Motherhood*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen P.

Since the revival of interest in Charlotte Perkins Gilman in the 1970s, teachers and students of American literature continue to be fascinated by her 1892 short story, "The Yellow Wall-Paper," and its unsettling depiction of marriage, motherhood, and madness. "The Yellow Wall-Paper," moreover, is a realist story that compels readers to read literarily, and one reward for such readings is a clear but chilling insight into the workings of patriarchy on the mind of a creative woman. Gilman's now classic utopian novel, *Herland*, is compelling in other ways. In *Herland*, reason rather than madness prevails, and if the methods of social organization and reproduction in an all-woman society do exert a fascination, it is of a far more intellectual kind. Indeed, utopia is a genre driven by ideas, politics, and an authorial desire to critique and transform society. Freed from the demands of realism which, as Rita Felski has argued, generated pessimistic endings in modern literature about women's lives, the utopian novel, by definition, allows for greater optimism about our imagined future. The genre would have an obvious appeal to Gilman, who claimed to have written "The Yellow Wall-Paper" in order to preach about the dangers of middle-class marriage and who was convinced that rational thought was sufficient to effect transformations in consciousness and in society. Literature, in Gilman's view, was an important vehicle for changing how people thought. So writes Chloé Avril in *The Feminist Utopian Novels of Charlotte Perkins Gilman: Themes of Sexuality, Marriage, and Motherhood*. In this study, Avril examines Gilman's three utopian novels, *Moving the Mountain* (1911), *Herland* (1915), and *With Her in Ourland* (1916), focusing on their ideologies rather than their art. The professed aim of the study is to analyze Gilman's social criticism and utopian ideas, not the aesthetic merits of her writing. Yet, Avril's lucid analysis of Gilman's narrative strategies contributes to an appreciation of Gilman as a deliberate craftswoman, one who cleverly manipulated genre conventions and reader expectations in the service of feminist critique. Avril succeeds admirably in her project of demonstrating that Gilman's feminist critique

of sexuality, marriage, and motherhood is in fact still relevant, even central, to feminists today. In this way, Avril's work contributes substantially to Gilman criticism, but also to feminist theory and debate.

The introduction of *The Feminist Utopian Novels of Charlotte Perkins Gilman* presents the terms of Avril's analysis, locating Gilman's works in relation to utopian writing and feminist literary criticism. Three chapters follow, one concerning sexuality, one marriage, and one motherhood. The opening chapter on Gilman's attitudes toward human sexuality is fundamental, since her treatment of marriage and motherhood is strongly affected by these attitudes. Avril's analysis of Gilman's writing about sexuality is, moreover, rigorous and provocative, challenging many contemporary feminist assumptions about women and sexuality.

Gilman, like other late-Victorian feminists, strongly advocated sexual continence for both women and men. She was among those early feminists "who were concerned with the overindulgence of sex, especially on the part of men, which they saw as detrimental both to women and to future generations" (36). Many feminists of the last decades have been disturbed by or dismissive of Gilman's ideas about women's sexuality, Avril writes, finding them prudish, puritanical, or Victorian in their apparent denial of female sexual desire and sexual pleasure. Others have placed Gilman firmly in her historical context and drawn attention to the difficulties of thinking otherwise. Avril, too, brings the historical and cultural context of the early 1900s to bear on her analysis, but more, she argues that Gilman's thoughts on sexuality can be a fruitful point of departure for reexamining "our own modern assumptions about what sexual liberation means and what it has achieved" (38). She then goes on to question our modern association of female sexuality exclusively with pleasure, drawing on work by Catharine MacKinnon, Susan Sontag, and Caroline Knapp. Quoting MacKinnon, Avril reminds us that "violation and abuse" are as central as pleasure to female sexual experience (44), and it is in light of such negative dimensions of sexuality under patriarchy that she examines Gilman's reasons for emphasizing sexual continence. Venereal disease, unwanted pregnancy, and sexual alienation are other very real negative consequences of women adopting a more permissive attitude toward sexuality. Gilman, she sums up, "never argues against sexual pleasure; nor does she ever suggest that it is something bad in itself. Sexual

pleasure was simply not the main issue in Gilman's work. Instead, she focused on the oppressive aspect of patriarchal sex and sexuality. What is remarkable in her writings is to what extent she was aware of the dangers involved, especially for women, in sexual relations between people of unequal power" (47). The attempted rape of Alima by her prospective husband, Terry, in *Herland* demonstrates that "there can be no freedom to have sex without the freedom not to have it" (54), and Avril reads the Herlanders' choice to seal off their world "as a symbolic act of closure, denying accessibility to their persons" (67) and in this manner retaining full control over their bodies and thus also over their personal integrity.

The issue of female control of the body and sexuality recurs in Avril's analysis of Gilman's critical but ambiguous representation of marriage in her utopias. Avril begins by explaining the legal concept of coverture which characterized marriage in the 19th century and, indeed, can be seen to exist in residual form today. The instant a woman married, she ceased to have any individual status before the law, surrendering her property, her sexuality, and many of her legal rights to her husband. Early feminists thus compared marriage to slavery and to prostitution, and reforming women's rights within marriage was a central point of unanimity in the early women's movement. For these reasons, Avril argues, Gilman's work remains relevant to our contemporary discussions of marital rape, as well as to debates concerning prostitution, domestic violence, and the effect on women's lives of defining marriage as private.

Against this cultural background, Avril traces changes and contradictions in Gilman's novelistic treatment of marriage. According to Avril, Gilman provides radical critiques of marriage in her early non-fiction and in texts such as "The Yellow Wall-Paper." Here, Gilman presents conventional marriage as a form of domestic and sexual servitude for women, and she argues that prostitution and marriage are intimately related practices, derived from the same patriarchal logic, and differing only in that one is condemned, the other sanctioned by society. In the utopian novels written after Gilman's second marriage—a happy one—representations of love and marriage become more positive, emphasizing the potential for intellectual companionship and mutual respect within marriage. Such utopian, "companionate" marriages, however, are riddled with inconsistencies. Some feminist readings, generally approving of the darker view of marriage in the early works,

have suggested that Gilman is heterosexist and unable to think outside of nuclear norms. Avril nuances her critique, using precise readings of the novels to call attention to Gilman's strong sense, particularly in her utopias, that reforming monogamous marriage is a better alternative for women than free love because, potentially at least, it gives them control over their own bodies, and sets male sexuality, and the accompanying dangers of venereal disease, under control. In other words, Gilman's understanding of human sexuality has a decisive influence on her representations of marriage. While the marriage that she advocates in her utopias differs radically from conventional marriage practices at the turn of the century, the seeming inevitability and compulsory nature of marriage generates jarring contradictions in the novels (such as why any of the women of Herland would ever consent to marry the men of Ourland) and appears to weaken Gilman's critique. Avril concludes this chapter by suggesting that "the contradictions that arise in the novels from the perpetuation of marriage seem to suggest that . . . the institution is flawed in itself" (126). In this light, Gilman's work remains valuable for contemporary readers because it unwittingly demonstrates the inherent flaws of patriarchal marriage, resistent to radical reform.

A similar value can be ascribed Gilmans' critique of motherhood under a system of patriarchal values. Women's reproductive capacity becomes a justification for diminishing women's lives and social status, and the limitations of motherhood work to perpetuate nuclear family norms by inculcating in children a sense of the mother's "natural" subordination. Gilman's utopian worlds, by contrast, are based on a concept Gilman called "maternal energy," a strong force among women for racial preservation and for improving physical and social conditions for their children. "Maternal energy" is thus a gendered force for human advancement and civilization. Gilman's utopias also envision a "new motherhood," one that is voluntarily undertaken, highly valued by society, and collective and social in organization. Gilman distinguishes between the biological, reproductive function of maternity and the social, fostering function of motherhood in her writing, and her attitudes towards these two functions, separated in her fiction, are the subject of close analysis. Avril does not shy away from examining evidence of racism and classism in Gilman's ideas about *which* mothers or *types* of mothers should bear children, and *which* are suitable for the high station of nurturing children. Nor does she close her eyes to the curiously

unembodied character of maternity in Gilman's writing, nor to the ideological contradictions generated by the essentialism inherent in Gilman's conceptual universe. Finally, Avril does not use the historical and cultural context of Gilman's time as an alibi for her eugenicist and elitist tendencies. Instead, as throughout this study, Avril subjects Gilman's utopian representations and feminist thought to careful scrutiny and evaluation. She concludes that Gilman's "embrace of eugenics compromises her alternative vision of empowered motherhood " (174), but that examining the flaws of her vision is an important way of "illuminating similar contradictory feminist practices today" (175).

The Feminist Utopian Novels of Charlotte Perkins Gilman argues its points rationally and cogently, working to elucidate the ideological rather than literary merit of Gilman's writing, and to demonstrate its relevance for feminism today. Perhaps too often in the study, contemporary feminism is equivalent to second-wave feminism; there are few traces of the contributions and complications generated by queer studies, masculinity studies, or ethnic studies in the last decade's debates about sexualities, partnerships, and parenthood. Nevertheless, by way of solid scholarship, extended reasoning, and a clear focus on ideas, Avril's work does successfully show the continued importance of Gilman's thought for the feminism of our own day. Written over one hundred years ago, "The Yellow Wall-Paper" still speaks powerfully to readers, who recognize the patriarchal structures at work in the story. Written nearly as long ago, the "post-feminist" utopias Gilman envisioned remain just that: utopian. The challenge of transforming social practices that oppress women remains central to feminist projects, which stand to gain from reviewing Gilman's complex themes of sexuality, marriage, and motherhood.

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Gilquin, Gaëtanelle, Szilvia Papp, and María Belén Díez-Bedmar (eds.). 2008. *Linking up contrastive and learner corpus research*. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi.

This volume presents a collection of ten articles with the overarching research topic of learner language in a contrastive perspective, including both Contrastive Analysis (CA) and Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis (CIA). Following the Integrated Contrastive Model,[1] as most contributions do (implicitly or explicitly), CA involves either a comparison of the L1s in question (original vs. original) or a comparison of a source language and a target language, whereas CIA involves either a comparison of "native and non-native varieties of one and the same language",[2] or a comparison of several learners' interlanguages of different mother tongue backgrounds. The volume is divided into four parts, devoted to methodology and case studies of various aspects involving contrastive learner language analysis.

Part I, on Methodology, contains two chapters—Gilquin's on a new model for investigating transfer and Ädel's on how a study of learners' involvement in written text calls for a warning of uncritically making comparisons across corpora or sub-corpora. First, then, Gilquin develops a new, comprehensive model to detect, explain and evaluate phenomena of transfer (i.e. influence of mother tongue on interlanguage) in learner language. She argues that, in order to study transfer, both contrastive analysis and learner data must be analysed in a systematic way. The Detection-Explanation-Evaluation (DEE) transfer model does just that, and combines the most relevant features of Granger's Integrated Contrastive Model (1996) and Jarvis's unified framework for transfer research (2000). Gilquin successfully illustrates the new model in a case study of French-speaking learners' use of *even if*. She concludes her chapter by pointing to some limitations of the DEE transfer model with suggestions of how to tackle these.

Ädel investigates how features of involvement in learner writing are influenced by external factors such as time available (timed vs. untimed)

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[1] Cf. Granger (1996), Gilquin (2000/2001), and Gilquin (this volume).
[2] Granger (1996: 44).

and access to secondary sources (intertextuality). Her case study of involvement markers typical of spoken language (e.g. 1st person pronouns, disjuncts, exclamations) in two Swedish learner corpora of English confirms her assumption that there seems to be a correlation between involvement and time and intertextuality, the less time available and the less access to secondary sources, the more involved the writing style of the learners. Ädel's findings have broader methodological implications in that off-the-peg corpora are not matched according to all variables, and direct comparisons across, and even within, corpora must be done with caution. Her observations also invite revision of previous studies of ICLE material, where time and intertextuality are taken into account. She ends her chapter on a pedagogical note, recommending untimed writing with access to secondary sources to improve learner output.

In Part II on Learner lexis there is one chapter by Cross & Papp, who compare the use of English verb + noun combinations as tackled by learners with three different mother tongue backgrounds, viz. Chinese, Greek and German. Their aims are to evaluate possible qualitative and quantitative differences and to detect which learner group produces more non-native word combinations. The analysis shows that Chinese learners overall make more errors in verb + noun combinations than their Greek and German peers. Interestingly, Cross & Papp's investigation also points to the fact that Chinese learners are less creative in their writing, as reflected by the type of errors produced by the three learner groups. While Greek and German learners are more creative in the sense that they experiment with verb + noun combinations, the Chinese seem to be more focused on accurate recall, thus producing learner errors rather that creative errors. Cross & Papp speculate on where to draw the line between learner error and legitimate creative use of a language and suggest that a theory of creativity is called for. They close their paper by outlining such a theory, or rather a continuum,—from learner error to deliberate creative use.

Part III includes four chapters that investigate different aspects of Learner syntax. The first one, by Lozano and Mendikoetxea, looks at the use of postverbal subjects by Italian and Spanish learners of English. After a fairly long, and possibly unnecessary, introduction to word order from a generative perspective, they hypothesise that Italian and Spanish learners' production of postverbal subjects in L2 English can be

explained along three different interfaces: lexicon-syntax, syntax-phonology and syntax-discourse. Each interface is confirmed to set a condition for the production of postverbal subjects; along the lexicon-syntax interface, the condition is "unaccusative verb", along the syntax-phonology interface the subject must be focus (i.e. evoked or inferable from the context), and finally along the syntax-discourse interface, the condition is "heavy subject". The study produces quantitative evidence for the learner data, but lacks a systematic, corpus-based comparison with L1 Spanish and Italian, which would have been of benefit to assess to what extent the use of postverbal subjects is due to L1 transfer.

In the second article on learner syntax, Osborne compares adverb placement in texts produced by native English speakers and learners of different L1 backgrounds. More specifically, he is interested in adverbs occurring between the verb and the object: Verb-Adverb-Object. On the basis of four corpora (two native and two non-native), he offers a convincing analysis of adverb placement, concluding that a learner's L1 seems to play a role when it comes to adverb placement and that this may be linked to specific L1-L2 pairings; in the material, speakers of Romance languages (Spanish, Italian, French) show a greater frequency of the V-Adv-O pattern than for instance speakers of Germanic languages (Swedish, Dutch German). Another interesting finding is that the conditions which permit V-Adv-O order in L1 English also play a role in learner English. The difference is that while native speakers tend to fulfil both conditions—heavy NP and collocational link between verb and adverb—learners tend to need only one of these. Osborne concludes his article by wishing for more learner corpora to be developed, in order to carry out studies that cover even more aspects of interlanguage.

Explicitly applying the Integrated Contrastive Model (ICM), Díez-Bedmar and Papp study the English article system as applied by two different L1 groups, viz. Chinese and Spanish. Based on the fact that an article system is absent in Chinese, and that the Spanish article system is different from the English one, the authors hypothesise that the two learner groups will differ in their use of English articles. The hypothesis is confirmed in a thorough and well-structured study, following the ICM with a Contrastive Analysis of native speaker texts in English, Chinese and Spanish, followed by a Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis of L2 English produced by Chinese and Spanish learners. It is shown that while Chinese learners have both grammatical and pragmatic deficits (as

shown in underuse, overuse and misuse of articles compared to native speakers), the Spanish learners typically only have a pragmatic problem (i.e. overuse and misuse). An unexpected and interesting finding reported in this article is the fact that it seems to be the definite article, rather than the indefinite, that poses the most problems for these two learner groups.

Cosme's point of departure is a previous study on participle clauses carried out by Granger (1997), who concludes that learners underuse all kinds of participle clauses, contributing to the stylistic deficiency of learner essays. Granger suggests three possible reasons for this underuse, one of which is the main focus of Cosme's article, namely transfer. Cosme's well-argued contribution is mainly tied to the CA part of the Integrated Contrastive Model, by using comparable and translation data in English, French and Dutch. The observed underuse of participle clauses by both French and Dutch learners may to some extent be attributed to L1 transfer, particularly in the case of the Dutch learners, since participle clauses were shown to be highly infrequent in both the comparable and translation data for Dutch. The picture is slightly more complex for French, since some aspects of the analysis point towards L1 transfer, while others do not. Cosme concludes by addressing the issue of "a complex interplay of factors underlying the underuse, including syntactic maturity, task settings, and even teacher-induced factors" (p. 193). An additional factor that may potentially account for some of the discrepancy is mentioned in a footnote, namely the fact that the comparable and translation data are not matched for genre with the learner data.

Part IV on Learner Discourse contains three articles, one on raising constructions (Callies), one on thematic choice (Hannay & Martínez Caro), and one on discourse organisation (Demol & Hedermann).

First, Callies explores German and Polish learners' use of English raising constructions (subject-to-object raising: *We believe **them** to retire next week*, and object-to-subject raising (*tough*-movement): ***He** is difficult to argue with*.). He compares the learner data with L1 English data both with regard to frequency of occurrence and contextual use. Previous research has shown that although raising constructions occur in the three languages compared, each language imposes different kinds of restrictions in their use, with English as the least restricted, followed by German, and then Polish. Callies thus hypothesises that all types of raising structures will be underrepresented in the German and Polish

learner data. It is surprising then that, with some verbs, subject-to-object and subject-to-subject raising are overrepresented in the Polish data. Callies suggests that the reason for this is the amount of time spent in Polish classrooms on these constructions, i.e. it is a case of transfer of training rather than L1 transfer. Although the picture is slightly different for the German data, subject-to-object raising is also overused by German learners, while there is underrepresentation in the subject-to subject category (with passive). *Tough*-movement is, as predicted, underused by both learner groups. The author illustrates that the problems learners have with raising constructions commonly lead to disfluency, thematic redundancy, and awkward style. Callies argues that the production of interlanguage is a complex interplay of various factors, including avoidance, transfer of training, and unawareness.

Hannay & Martínez Caro compare Dutch and Spanish learners' choice of theme with that of native speakers of English. Not only do Dutch and Spanish differ from each other, but they both differ from English in how the beginning of a clause is constructed. Hannay & Martínez Caro's aims are (1) to find out to what extent the two learner groups have acquired the thematic patterns available in English, and (2) to develop a picture of how students make use of the thematic area in their writing. They present a framework comprising three levels of complexity; level 1 involves no thematic material before the S, level 2 involves one adverbial or a nominal element before the S, and level 3 involves two or more elements before the S. These levels reflect a variety of devices to perform important orientational tasks. According to the authors, it is the way in which students exploit this thematic potential that says something about how developed one's discourse competence is. After carrying out an analysis of the three levels, Hannay & Martínez Caro conclude that Dutch learners have a more highly developed discourse competence than the Spanish learners. Thus, the following suggestions are put forward: Spanish learners need to focus more on the dominant functional pattern and both Dutch and Spanish learners need to focus more on the theme zone in terms of syntax and function.

Finally, Demol & Hadermann's article is the only one in this collection that does not deal with learners of English. They focus their attention on discourse organisation in narratives by Dutch L1 and French L1 learners of French L2 and Dutch L2, respectively. Dutch and French differ with respect to how discourse is organised; while French is

characterised by an extensive use of subordination (hierarchical / vertical organisation), Dutch is characterised by coordination and juxtaposition (linear / horizontal organisation). Demol & Hadermann's main hypothesis is thus that Dutch-speaking learners of French struggle with applying a more hierarchical structure, whereas French-speaking learners of Dutch struggle with the more linear organisation of Dutch. Related to the hierarchical vs. linear dichotomy are discourse phenomena such as packaging, dependency, and integration, where a hierarchic discourse organisation (represented by French) is hypothesised to show a higher degree of all of these. A contrastive analysis of L1 Dutch and French confirms this to some degree, but more importantly points to the fact that the principles of discourse organisation in Dutch and French are highly nuanced in nature. Similarly, their interlanguage analysis does not unreservedly corroborate previous findings suggesting that learners have a clear preference for simple sentences. They conclude by reminding the reader that their data might not be 100% comparable to data used in previous research. Nevertheless, they quite rightly state that there seems to exist no clear organisational pattern typical of interlanguage, "[t]he impact of target and source language […] differs according to the feature being examined" (p. 277).

The four parts of this volume are said to correspond to "four fields of investigation" (p. vii), identified as Methodology, Learner lexis, Learner syntax, and Learner discourse. I am slightly uncertain about how successful this structure in fact is; is Ädel's contribution really on methodology?; how clear is, for instance, the division between part II Learner lexis and Part III Learner syntax, where the former is represented by one article, and the latter by four? However, the overall structure of the book does not disturb too much, as the individual contributions are generally well worth reading.

This volume is an important contribution to a highly topical field, and I agree with the editors that the combination of contrastive and learner corpus research, the state-of-the art of which these ten articles represent, "is likely to stimulate more research studies in the near future and provide new insights into second language acquisition" (p. x). I can truly recommend this collection of articles as a good guide to contrastive learner language research.

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Book Notice

Hutten, Tuomas, Kaisa Ilmonen, Janne Korkka and Elina Valovirta (eds.). 2008. *Seeking the Self-Encountering the Other:* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

The present volume is the result of four research projects funded by the Academy of Finland. As stated in the Acknowledgements the aim of the book is to promote ethical inquiry and postcolonial thought focusing on the concept of "diaspora", referring to "the migrations and movements, both forced and voluntary, that result from shifting global power structures" (xi) in connection with the themes of encounter, identity, alterity, gender, and sexuality.

The issues interrogated are how scattered nations and identities are represented in the diaspora. Another significant issue is how notions of ethics approach the myriad forms of identities represented "outside the logic of nation-building" (xii).

It is with great ambition that the 21 contributors from different parts of the world and from different academic disciplines and institutions inquire into the points above. The book is divided into 4 parts, each part consisting of 4 to 6 chapters. The first part deals with the ethics of encounter, the second with strategies for representing the self and the nation, the third part with bodies as borders, and the fourth part re-writes the home in the diaspora. The book contains a variety of critical articles about novels from many parts of the world, from North America, the Caribbean, India, and Europe. All of them focus on the consequences of migration. The arguments of the contributors frequently rest on Emmanuel Levinas' and Jacques Derrida's ideas. Another authority frequently referred to is Homi Bhabha.

Admirable for its ambitious aim and scope, *Seeking the Self—Encountering the Other* will appeal to those readers interested in literary testimonies from the diaspora mostly in a contemporary context.

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