THE HISTORICAL IMPOSITION OF ENGLISH: PREQUELS AND SEQUELS

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INTRODUCTION

After 12 years RCEI devotes a new volume to the development of English. Strictly speaking, it might not be considered a historical linguistics issue since it is also quite concerned with Present Day English; nonetheless the focus is set in the progressive acceptance and expansion of this language. Vol. 46 reflected on standardization but from the non-standard perspective, how there were non-standard variants that contributed, by addition or opposition, to the conformation of an accepted vernacular and also how modern scholars may have acted on its portrayal.

Volume 71 is in a way a continuation of that past issue, once English was acknowledged as a valid language its "imposition" started. *The Historical Imposition of English: Prequels and Sequels* invited several contributors to present their views on the gradual establishment of the language in the recent past and modern, present times. Acceptance led to standardization and the emergence of methods to teach and frame the language. This aspect is considered in the article of Ortega-Barreda who concentrates on the creation of grammars for the instruction both of native and non-native speakers in the eighteenth century. Dossena opens the pages of glossaries from the Late Modern English period, those which go further than "merely" language acquisition, unveiling their sometimes proscriptive, sometimes vindicatory nature.

From the table of contents it can be seen that one of the main concerns of scholars is how English attained a first position in scientific writing. It is clear that English has gained a status difficult to ignore for anyone who longs to hold an academic rank a fact that has been tackled in volumes 59 (Martín-Martín & León-Pérez) or 69 (Burgess) to mention the most recent. For the current issue, authors have presented the paths followed and the walls English has encountered when trying to reach a global summit.

Alonso-Almeida and Mulligan emphasize the importance *stance* markers had as a means to reinforce the optimality of English in translations and science works. Against the idea of a reduction of interpersonal features in scientific discourse, seventeenth-century writers use large numbers of *epistemic* and *effective* strategies. They show how objective and (inter)subjective devices are advantageously combined in order to reach a wider audience while also conveying meaning and authority. A specific register is devised for specific matters and that is what Crespo remarks in her paper, claiming that the birth of Empiricism was, among others, an important factor for making of English the language of modern science.

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La Coruña Corpus serves as a complement of these two previous works. Moskowich measures the use of classical terms in eighteenth-century scientific writing in English once Empiricism had settled, contrasting Philosophy and Life Sciences. Differences are evidenced when one branch resorts to the established authorities and their works and the other appears to have moved on to the description of new things.

The displacement of other geographically close vernaculars shows the force English has been provided with. The evolution of this displacement and the attitude of Celtic language communities' representatives is the main issue of MacLeod's article which leads to the question of how to confront language minoritisation.

The confrontation of English and Spanish in Puerto Rico, shows the unbreakable association between politics and languages. Analyzing the inclusion and evolution of language policy proposals from 1989 to 2010 in U. S. congressional bills, Shenk provides good measure of the relationship sustained between the status of the island regarding U.S. and the pressure of English first policies. Even last September the linguistic controversy reappeared when Spanish was declared the first official language of Puerto Rico (EFEUSA).

Our final article reviews several documents issued by the European Commission trying to enhance multilingualism and presenting CLIL as a valuable pedagogic tool in learning languages. It seems, nevertheless, that this European policy has not been successful for its supposedly initial purpose, advocating countries to prioritize the teaching and use of English over other "minor" languages.

The present volume of *RCEI* presents photograms, pieces of a prequel which can only be reconstructed from what English is today. We can only give a draft of the future sequels of a historical and present imposition. More volumes will be necessary for a happy ending.

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IN AND BEYOND: TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN THE MODERN PERIOD

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Abstract

This paper examines the diverse methodologies used to teach English as a foreign language during the Modern period. The English language began being widespread in the sixteenth century as "the first years of Elizabeth I's reign saw further expansionist moves" (Bauer 23), and grammars, which were published as a method to use the English language correctly, would play an important role in the promotion not only of the use of the vernacular but also in its endorsement as a prestigious variety. The production of books in the vernacular was significantly higher than in previous centuries thanks to a growing social mass of middle class citizens, i.e. the new bourgeoisie, able to consume as much knowledge as they could to meet their new social standards. Reading in English was felt as more natural than reading in other less comprehensible tongues for the traditionally unlearned in Latin, Greek or even French. It is rather significant the enormous amount of scientific and utilitarian books written in English rather than in Latin, which was globally considered as the language of scientific communication. In a way, they were but imitating Continental practices, and this involved a bulk of unprecedented translated material in English. In this same context, trading with foreigners stimulated the learning of foreign languages, but English was also a language that foreigners in England and abroad wanted to learn. In this paper I revise (a) the status of English according to grammarians, and (b) the methods used to teach English as a foreign language in the eighteenth century. For this purpose I analyse eleven printed books from which data concerning authorial stance towards teaching English are excerpted.

Keywords: grammar, modern period, standardisation, teaching methodologies, English language.

Resumen

En este artículo se examinan las diferentes metodologías utilizadas en la enseñanza del inglés como lengua extranjera durante el período moderno. La lengua inglesa empezó a extenderse en el siglo xvi. Según Bauer (23) "the first years of Elizabeth I's reign saw further expansionist moves" y las gramáticas, publicadas como un método para utilizar el inglés correctamente, jugaron un papel importante, no sólo en la promoción del uso de la lengua vernácula sino también como una forma de impulsar su prestigio. La pro-

ducción de libros escritos en lengua vernácula en este período (siglo xviii) era mayor que en épocas anteriores gracias al incremento de la clase media (nueva burguesía), capaz de adquirir más conocimiento para aumentar su estatus social. Leer en inglés se consideraba más natural que hacerlo en otras lenguas que eran menos comprensibles para aquellos que no sabían Latín, Griego o Francés. Es bastante significativa la enorme cantidad de libros científicos y prácticos escritos en inglés y no en latín, considerada como la lengua de la comunicación científica. El intento por imitar las prácticas del continente se refleja en las innumerables traducciones al inglés. En este contexto, el comercio con países extranjeros estimuló el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras, pero la lengua inglesa también era una lengua que los foráneos, tanto en Inglaterra como fuera de sus fronteras, querían aprender. En este artículo, revisaré (a) el estatus del inglés según los autores de libros de gramática y (b) los métodos utilizados para enseñar inglés como lengua extranjera en el siglo xviii. Para ello, analizaré once libros impresos de los cuales he extraído los datos sobre la visión de sus autores hacia la enseñanza del inglés.

Palabras clave: gramática, período moderno, estandarización, metodologías de la enseñanza, lengua inglesa.

1. INTRODUCTION

Different studies show that the history of Great Britain has been immersed in a massive amount of invasions that were determinant in the language established in the island (Knowles, Baugh and Cable, Mugglestone, Burns). This was conditioned by its geographic setting (Burns xiii) allowing the English language to be in close contact with other European languages. The English language spoken in Britain after the first Germanic invasions, came to replace the Celtic language (circa 449 AD) that was spoken by the majority of the population. However, many new invasions had an influence on the English language, as the Scandinavian invasions since 793, and mainly, the Norman Conquest in 1066, when Norman French started being used by upper classes while Latin was sustained as the main written language. English continued being spoken by low classes, although highly influenced by the French language.

With the introduction of the printing press by Caxton in 1470, written texts became much more widely available than before. From this time scholars began to appreciate writing in English instead of doing it in Latin. Later, the interest in fixing the language grew so the first grammars flourished as an attempt to settle the English language rules. For this reason, in this period (17th-18th centuries) in which nationalism raised at the court of Elizabeth I, the first books of grammars were published in English. The obvious fact is that English turned into the main language, and there was a necessity of publishing the main rules that everybody needed to follow in order to establish the English language as the national language. Thus, a considerable amount of material written in Latin was translated into English to be available for the general public. As Knowles (17) explains, the English language was imposed and used “by a wide range of people” and it is used all over the world:

> Modern English was standardized from the fourteenth century on by people who had the power to impose their own kind of English, and the process was completed by a wide range of people including schoolmasters, Anglicans, scholars, pedants and gentlemen. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the process by which it came about, the practical result is that, for the first time in history, millions of people literally all over the world have an effective means of communicating with each other.

This standardisation process might have helped both the teaching of English, and its spread beyond the British Isles. As it comes obvious, standardised forms inevitably contribute to the creation of grammar books for locals, so that they could learn and improve their English, and for foreigners who wanted to learn English as a second language.

In this article, I will show the authors' motivations for writing their grammars, and the utility their texts had for the general public, in their own words. I will also highlight the ways in which they formulate the new rules to take into account when learning English in grammars for natives and for non-natives. To accomplish this study, I have used eleven books published in the eighteenth century since in this period English was established as a standard language.

This article is organised into other three different sections. Section 2 analyses the corpus used to carry out this study. Section 3 offers the different methods used to teach and learn English in this period (18th century) and, in Section 4, the conclusions of this study are offered.

2. CORPUS

The corpus used to carry out this study comprises eleven printed books published in the eighteenth century, all of them taken from the ECCO (*Eighteenth Century Online Collection*) database. These books have been published between 1700 and 1800, by different authors as shown in the following table in which titles, author's names, place and year of publication are given (a letter in square brackets preceding the title is included for referential use throughout this article):

Table 1. Corpus of grammars

Title	Author	Place	Year
[A] An illustration of a design for teaching the English language	William M' Cartney	Edinburgh	1791
[B] A practical English grammar for the use of schools and private gentlemen and ladies, with exercises of false orthography and syntax at large	Rev. Mr. Hodgson	London	1770
[C] The young ladies and gentlemen spelling book, on a new and improved plan containing a criterion of rightly spelling and pronouncing the English language	Caleb Alexander, A. M.	Worcester	1799

[D] Grammar of the English tongue for the Italians	Reverend father Edward Barker	Venice	1749
[E] Diálogos ingleses y españoles con un método fácil de aprender la una y la otra lengua / Spanish and English dialogues containing an easy method of learning either of those languages	Félix Antonio de Alvarado / Felix Anthony de Alvarado	Londres / London	1719
[F] Vraie méthode pour apprendre facilement a parler et a écrire l'Anglois; ou grammaire générale de la langue Angloise	Augustin-Martin Lottin	Paris	1766
[G] A new vocabulary of the most difficult words in the English language, teaching to pronounce them with ease and propriety	William Fry	London	1784
[H] A key to English grammar, by which it has been proved, by experience, that a boy, with a tolerable capacity, and of then years of age only, may, in a few months, be taught to write the English language properly and correctly	Rev. Daniel Pape	Newcastle	1790
[I] The idioms of the French and English language being equally necessary to the French, foreigners understanding French, to learn English	Lewis Chambaud	London	1751
[J] A short grammar of the English language whereby a stranger may soon and easily acquaint himself with its principles, and learn to speak English properly	William Johnston, M. A.	London	1772
[K] A Rational Double Grammar for both English and French: in two parts.	Isaac Cousteil	London	1757

The corpus includes grammar books written to teach and/or learn English. Some of them are addressed directly to foreigners, as [D], [E], [F], [I], [J], and [K] while others have been written to teach English, not only orthography and syntax, but also pronunciation, which have been selected because they can also be used by foreigners to teach and learn English. They are [A], [B], [C], [G], and [H].

The contents found in the different books addressed to foreigners are the following: [D], written in Italian, presents the English grammar starting with the letters and finishing with texts. The author is always comparing the English grammar with the similar aspects of the Italian one. [E] portrays different dialogues dealing with a variety of contents, not only grammatical ones, but also dialogues on diverse fields as science and travelling, among others.

The grammar in [F], written in French, explains how to speak, read and write in English, with all grammar rules explained with different examples which are translated to the French language. [I] is composed by a list of different idioms in both languages, that is, English and French. [J] comprises English grammar rules, including sounds and verses, and in [K] the book is divided

into different sections, namely: grammar, verbs, the most used phrases and a correction to the translation of Mr. Arnoux's Dialogues.

The grammars written for natives comprise five books. [A] is mainly concerned with the grammatical rules and the reading and writing skills. The author gives pieces of advice to improve grammar, reading and writing. In [B], a pure grammar book is presented with all grammar rules on pronunciation and orthography with exercises "of false English" (94). A similar content can be found in [C], although in this case, the author presents long lists of words and their pronunciation, including a list of the most common abbreviations used in English. In [G] the lists offered by the author include the spelling and the pronunciation of the words presented. [H] deals with grammar in the form of dialogues to present the rules, including a set of exercises to practice and reinforce the rules explained and learned in the book.

The selected printed books have been written mainly in English, although some of them combine different languages as English and Spanish, and English and French, including one that has been written in Italian language. All of them are representative examples of an English grammar written in English or in a foreign language to teach English as a foreign language to non-native speakers.

3. TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN THE MODERN PERIOD

Many grammars had been written in Latin in previous centuries, as it was the most used language by educated people. According to Nevalainen:

> It may sound paradoxical that many of the English grammars published between 1500 and 1700 were written in Latin. A number of them were, however, intended for foreign learners of English, and it was therefore appropriate to use Latin, which was still the international lingua franca of learning. English learners mostly studied the structure of their mother tongue in order to be able to master Latin. Latin grammatical categories constituted the basis for language learning throughout Europe at the time, and they were also followed by English grammarians and educationalists (16).

In this quotation, Nevalainen affirms that the use of Latin to write grammar books, not only for Latin grammars, but also for grammars addressed to foreign learners of English, was common between a the 16th and 18th centuries, as Latin was the lingua franca used by educated people and its grammar was established as a reference for learning other languages. In this period there were not many English grammars written in English. In fact, the first one in English was written by William Bullokar (*Pamphlet for Grammar*) in the 16th century, concretely in 1586.

Grammar books flourished in the Modern period as a way to homogenise the English language since it had been used by lower social classes, and it

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 13-28

was highly influenced by Latin and French languages. In the 18th century the production of books in the vernacular was significantly higher than in previous centuries thanks to a growing social mass of middle class citizens, i.e. the new bourgeoisie, able to consume as much knowledge as they could to meet their new social standards:

> Language use was an issue of relevance to a social group which was increasing steadily in numbers throughout the eighteenth century: the middle classes. Referred to as the 'middling orders' as this time (Earle 1989, Rogers 2002), this was a group which obviously sought acceptance by the established elite who were above them on the social scale (Hickey 8).

This new social group, the middle class, wanted to be socially accepted and "the right pronunciation and grammar of English was essential" (Hickey 9) to be recognised. It is rather significant the enormous amount of scientific and utilitarian books written in English rather than in Latin, which was globally considered as the language of scientific communication during this period.

The concept of grammar, defined as "rules of language governing the sounds, words, sentences, and other elements, as well as their combination and interpretation" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* online), is different from its conception during 17th and 18th centuries. In this sense, Michael, describing grammar books, states that a grammar book in this period was "any book which contains at least an enumeration, and some description, of the parts of speech" (149). Mitchel supports this idea:

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 13-28

> We assume that a book about grammar is one that records the standardized, codified language used by educated people. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, "grammar" was an elastic term, one that varied from textbook to textbook. (17)

By using the term "elastic", this author refers to the fact that during 17th and 18th centuries dictionaries and spelling books were reckoned as grammar books.

There is not a single definition of the term grammar in the books studied. Some authors explain this concept in their books, giving a definition in which they refer to grammar in different terms, mainly in those grammar books intended for native people:

> (1) GRAMMAR is the Art of speaking and writing with Propriety.
> It consists of four Parts, viz
> 1st. ORTHOGRAPHY, which teaches us to spell Words with proper Letters; as we must write *Caution*; not *Caushon*
> 2d. ETYMOLOGY, which either respects the Derivation of Words, or treats of the different Parts of Speech, and points out their various Changes, Analogy, or Likeness to one another.
> 3d. SYNTAX, which joins the Words of a Sentence properly together, with Respect to their Order and Agreement, as *these* Boys *are* diligent: and not Boys *this* diligent *is*.

4th. PROSODY, which teaches the true Pronunciation of Syllables and Words, respecting Accents, Quantity and Emphasis. ([B], pp. 1-2)
(2) GRAMMAR in general, is the Art of expressing Thought, which is performed two Ways, either in writing or speaking. Grammar, consists of four principal Parts, viz. 1. Orthography, 2. Prosody, 3. Analogy, 4. Syntax. ([K], p. 1)

(3) GRAMMAR in general teaches the art of conveying our thoughts to one another, in proper language; therefore English Grammar teaches to convey our thoughts, in proper English.
Grammar consists of four parts. The first treats of Letters; the second, of Words; the third, of Sentences; and the fourth, of Versification. ([J], p. 4)

These definitions of grammar differ in some aspects but they all coincide in that grammar has to do with conveying thoughts through the productive or active skills, that is, writing and speaking. Therefore, they divide grammar into four parts which receive different names (*orthography* or *letters*; *etymology*, *prosody* or *words*; *syntax*, *analogy* or *sentences*; and *prosody*, *syntax* or *versification*), even though they refer to the same.

Grammar books can be divided into two different groups according to their internal structure and content. The first one includes those grammars that present a definition of the matter, i.e. a definition of grammar, and then divide the book into sections dealing with orthography, syntax, etc., as shown in example (4). The second group contains dialogues in which all grammatical aspects are explained, as in example (5), mere translations of the dialogues, as in (6), or idioms translated, as in example (7):

(4) *The Gender* is the difference of Sexes, which are properly but two; however the *English* make four, *viz, the Masculine*; *the Feminine*; *the Common*, and *the Neuter*. These the *French* have, excepting the *Neuter*. ([K], p. 12)

(5) Master.
What are *prepositions*?
Scholar.
Prepositions shew the relation *one* thing bears to *another*, and upon which the *name* immediately following depends, or is connected with; but more particularly in the *Latin*, *Greek*, &c. *languages*. They serve also to enlarge the sense of other words by being in *composition* with them; as, he was *inhospitable*; thus, the quality *hospitable* is compounded with the preposition *in*.
Master.
Repeat the *prepositions*?
Scholar.
Thus - above, about, after, against, among, amongst, at, before, behind, beneath, below, between, beyond, by, through, beside, for, from, in, into, on, or, upon, over, of, to, or, unto, towards, under, with, off, within, without. ([H], pp.19-20)

(6) Juan John

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 13-28

Quen te ha traído aquí, Rodrigo?	Who hath brought you here, Rodrigo?
Rodrigo. Mi mala fortuna.	Rodrigo. My bad Fortune.
Juan Has cogido novillos?	John. Have you play'd Truant?
Rod. Si.	Rod. Yes.
Juan. Porque?	John. Why?
Rod. Porque el maestro	Rod. Because my Master
me azota muy amenudo; y	often whips me, and
mi padre me riña siempre	my Father always chides me.

Coger novillos, To leave the School, and run from his Father's House.
Cogió novillos. He hath left the School, and run away from his Father.
Cogerá novillos, He will run away from home, from School, &c.
Reñir, To Chide, to Beat
Han reñido, they have Scolded, they have Beaten. ([E] pp. 89-90)

(7) A broken voice.	Une voix entrecoupée.
Hell broke loose.	L'enfer déchainé.
A bunch of feathers.	Un bouqued de plumes. [...]
Cast away.	Qui a fait naufrage.
An ill chance.	Un malheur. Une infortune. ([I], p. 18)

In example (4) there is a linguistic definition of gender and a comparison between the concept in English grammar and in French one by using the expression *These the French have, excepting the Neuter*. Instances (5) and (6) present dialogues. Dialogues have been used in different periods and they have been studied by different authors as Ong, Rallo quoted in Martínez-Torres, Watts, Taavitsainen, Heitsch and Vallée (eds.), and Bevan Zlatar, among many others.

According to Rallo, they are a literary genre that simulates a conversation, organised by the author, among different characters. Thus, they present the ideas in a different way, since those ideas that are hard to understand, in the dialogue appear as concrete and easier to follow:

> El diálogo es un género literario en donde se simula una conversación o controversia, cuidadosamente organizada por el autor, entre varios personajes ficticios que se intercambian y crean ideas sobre un determinado tema. Se distingue de otros géneros en que muestra alternativamente las diversas facetas de una cuestión, lo que permite huir de las exposiciones dogmáticas. Además, presenta las ideas de forma viva por estar teñidas de las cualidades de los interlocutores: astucia, ingenio, estupidez, terquedad, etc.; de esta manera se evita la aridez y solemnidad que caracterizan a las exposiciones convencionales. En resumen, las ventajas de este género son claras: ideas que expresadas de un modo formal podrían ser abstrusas, en el diálogo, llegan a ser concretas y adquieren vida y fuerza dramática (334).

In example (5), the dialogue between the master and the scholar reflects pure grammar with the definition of prepositions (*what are prepositions? Prepositions shew the relation one thing bears to another* [...]), enumerating them in alphabetical order (*Thus - above, about, after, against, among, amongst, at* [...]). In (6) there is a mere

translation of a dialogue and the definition of some Spanish expressions in English (*Reñir, To Chide, to Beat*). Example (7) offers the translation of different idioms (*A broken voice. Une voix entrecoupée*). This indicates that the L1 is used as an important resource to learn the grammar of the L2. Alonso-Almeida and Sánchez have studied the different strategies used in the translation of a 17th century book. Following Cruz-García's approach, they analyse translation methods that are used in example (7). All of them, except for the last one (*an ill chance*) present a literal translation. Therefore, in some sentences as *a broken voice* / *Une voix entrecoupée*, and *a bunch of feathers* / *Un bouqued de plumes*, the same structure is found in both languages, that is, *determiner* + *adjective* + *noun* for the English one, and *determiner* + *noun* + *adjective* in French, for the idiom *a broken voice*; and *determiner* + *noun* + *preposition* + *noun* for *a bunch of feathers*. The last sentence, *an ill chance*, offers an addition in French language in which two options are given (*un malheur* and *une infortune*).

As far as content is concerned, there is a tendency to compare the English language with the classical ones in the grammar books under analysis. In these introductory lines there is also an emphasis on the importance of teaching and learning English, adding that it is not more difficult than any other language:

> (8) I am not so insensible of the Advantages of the dead Languages, as to discourage the teaching of them at a proper Time; but this I am willing to maintain, that the Study of our own, ought to precede that of all others; because, as the Principles of Grammar are nearly the same in all Languages, those Principles will be sooner understood in a *living* and a *dead* Language, especially by Children, to whom the bare Terms are sufficiently puzling. ([B], p. A3-A4)
>
> (9) [...] that to understand English tolerably well, will be of much more use, than a smattering of Latin, French, &c. ([B], p. VII)
>
> (10) Our language, not much more than a century ago, seemed unworthy the notice of a classical scholar, and men of learning thought it unfit for use, either in conversation or writing. Though it has since gained great reputation for copiousness and elegance, and has been made the vehicle of all kinds of knowledge, it has never yet occupied a place in schools appropriated to language, equal to its extent and importance ([A], p. 1)
>
> (11) The elements necessary to enable us to speak and write English well, are more various and dissimilar than any other are commonly studied. To aid the memory, the English language cannot be reduced to so few, nor to so comprehensive rules as the ancient, and many of the modern, admit. ([A], p. 9-10)
>
> (12) It is generally supposed there is more difficulty in acquiring the English, than almost any other living language [...] they will meet with much fewer difficulties, in learning the principles and grounds of this, than of most other languages; [...] ([J], p. 1-2)
>
> (13) A questi medesimi Precettori, come fu allora avvertito, erano stati notati quei due non indifferenti difetti, di non far parola delle Regole del sillabare, e dealla Prosodia Inglese; ([D], p. 5)

In all the examples above, the authors are accentuating the importance of knowing and, for this reason, of teaching and learning English because it is more use-

ful at that time than any other language (referring to the classical ones), and it can be learned as any other language. The idea of teaching and learning English before any other language is seen in some sentences as *I am willing to maintain, that the Study of our own, ought to precede that of all others*, in example (8); or *that to understand English tolerably well, will be of much more use, than a smattering of Latin, French, &c* in (9), or even in (13) *a questi medesime Presettori, come fu allora avvertito*. Likewise, English is not more difficult to learn than other languages as expressed in example (12) in which the author admits that *It is generally supposed there is more difficulty in acquiring the English,* but he considers that *they will meet with much fewer difficulties, in learning the principles and grounds of this, than of most other languages*. Furthermore, the teaching and learning of English is easier as it offers a different way or methodology to learn it, as exposed in (11): T*he elements necessary to enable us to speak and write English well, are more various and dissimilar than any other are commonly studied*. However, English language has not been considered as it should be, as stated in (10) *it has never yet occupied a place in schools appropriated to language, equal to its extent and importance*, possibly because it was starting being taught in schools as L1 and L2 at that period, and not before, relating to children as a new target audience (*especially by Children*, in (8)). Thus, we must remember the process of standardisation and the development of English, which was widely spoken and written. This reflection is explained in two books to teach English addressed to foreigners:

> (14) The English Tongue, ever since the famous Queen Elisabeth, has spred itself through all the northern nations and countries; not a noble man, Gentleman, officer, or man of business in Russia, Sueden, Denmark, Germany & Holland but speak English. Now-a-days, it begins to spread in the southern parts of Europe; France, Italy Spain and Portugal, are desirous to learn a language in which they can read in their original beauty, so many hundreds of the greatest authors that ever wrote, and do still write upon every science. ([F] p. viij)

> (15) A proper and uniform pronunciation is very necessary to render the language easier to foreigners, as well as more agreeable to each other; for, let us learn what language soever, our thoughts are clothed in English; our business is mostly transacted in English; we therefore ought to study its *true accent* and *grammatical construction*, in preference to all other languages: and if in the several counties a foundation were early laid of a regular accent and pronunciation, they might by degrees spread, and become universal, at least among such as may have had a tolerable education. ([G], p. A2)

In examples (14) and (15) above, there is an allusion to the spreading popularity of the English language. So much so that the author claims that both northern and southern continental countries *are desirous to learn* English, since this would enable reading master pieces in the original. This portrays a sense of national vindication towards the English language and its literature in a way not seen before in England. The comparison of English with the Classical languages reports on the eligibility of English to communicate knowledge in any spheres of life. As shown in Alonso-Almeida and Mulligan, the modern English period witnessed this steady

shift of English towards a more prestigious consideration in consonance with other Continental tongues, and this included English in specialised domains:

> English for specialised discourse practices was promoted from different fields of knowledge during the modern English period, even though Latin was identified with the language of global scientific communication [...] This promotion of English also had a political cause and effect, since its use entailed a sense of nationalistic pride comparable to that which was accorded to other languages of the European continent (Alonso-Almeida and Mulligan).

The presumed interest of foreigners in learning English, i.e. *to render the language easier to foreigners*, serves as a sound argument in example (15) to vindicate the teaching and learning of the tongue besides writing grammars that describe its rules and functions. One way in which English needs to be ruled out is in the regularisation of pronunciation that, in the author's own words, must be *uniform* and comparable to other national vernaculars. At the heart of this, there is again the idea of national identity and prestige, and the usefulness of English for both daily and specialised communicative needs when he says *our thoughts are clothed in English*, and *our business is mostly transacted in English*.

After these allusions to the differences between the Classical languages and the English one, and the importance of learning English, each author presents its own book and explains the way in which English has to be taught and the main strengths of their books:

> (16) Tis a mistaken opinion that the English Language cannot be prove by Rule. Long experience convinces me, that it may be taught in this way independent of any other.
> I have boys under my care of different capacities, who are entirely unacquainted with Latin, and yet are all able to correct, at one view, any piece of English, however false, provided it is tolerably connected.
> After boys can read, you may, then, with great confidence of success, put into their hands this book, together with any approved English Grammar, and, I trust, with these assistances, the language will soon become perspicuous and inteligible, be rendered perfectly attainable, even to dull minds, in the space of a few months. ([H], p. A3-A4)
> (17) In the *English* I have writ the *Words*. as used in *Common Discourse*, as being more agreeable to *Dialogue*, not as spoken by *Grammarians*, (ex. Gr. Thou lovest, he loveth,) but you love, he loves; which *Difference* between *Common Discourse*, and *Grammar*, very much confounds all *Foreigners*, to whom also I was willing to make this *Treatise* in some *Measure Useful*, in order to their more easily Learning *English*. ([E] p. xiv)
> (18) You were able in six months learning to translate and relish those beautiful lines of Milton's *Paradise Lost.* ([F] p. v)
> (19) I have extracted in this book the quin essence of the two languages: and therefore it will be of service both to the *English* to learn *French*, and to the *French*, and other Foreigners understanding *French*, to learn *English.* ([I] p. iv)

(20) In fine all the advantages that can be expected, will be found in this Grammar, I here present the public with, and by a strict application to its rules, the learner will in six months be able, with help of a good Teacher, to read, speak and comprehend almost any English Author. ([E] p. Xvj)
(21) As no Body can arrive to the perfect Knowledge of their Mother Tongue, or make any great Progress in a foreign Language without being acquainted with Grammar. ([K], p. 5)

Instances (16), (17), (18), and (20) present their teaching of English as an easy method by which the people who use it, will be able to learn the English language, and even translate and read some literary works: *I have boys under my care of different capacities* [...]*and yet are all able to correct, at one view, any piece of English*, in (16); *I was willing to make this Treatise in some Measure Useful, in order to their more easily Learning English* in (17); *You were able in six months learning to translate and relish those beautiful lines of Milton's Paradise Lost* (18)*, and the learner will in six months be able, with help of a good Teacher, to read, speak and comprehend almost any English Author*, in (20). This kind of assertion is used as a medium to advertising their books.

In (19), the author relates the two languages: French and English, and presents the book as a two-way teaching method, that is, *it will be of service both to the English to learn French, and to the French, and other Foreigners understanding French, to learn English* (English people will learn French, and French people or people who know French will learn English), so it is presented as a useful book. In (21) the author emphasises the importance of learning grammar, not only for native but also for non-native people (*As no Body can arrive to the perfect Knowledge of their Mother Tongue, or make any great Progress in a foreign Language without being acquainted with Grammar*). The same occurs in the following example in which the author writes some words "for Foreigners learning the English Tongue":

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 13-28

(22) This Treatise will also be of Use, and absolutely necessary to Foreigners in their learning of English; because in this our English Verbs are conjugated according to our Tenses and Idioms, and not built upon the Latin or French Tenses, as other Grammars are, which is teaching the Idiom of a Foreign Language, instead of the English. No Wonder then, if few Foreigners attain to any Purity of the English Tongue, since by the aforesaid Grammars they are taught to express themselves in English according to their own Idioms which is teaching them to speak Nonsence. ([K], p. 8)

In this extract, the author compares English with French and Latin (*our English Verbs* [...] *and not built upon the Latin or French Tenses*) and his grammar with other grammar books (*as other Grammars are*), criticising the fact of teaching Idioms and not the English language (*according to their own Idioms which is teaching them to speak Nonsence*).

After this information given about the methods presented in the books and their effectiveness, all the books provide the different grammatical aspects or explanations. There is not a significant variation according to the explanations given by the authors

who write books that are addressed to native speakers and those written to be used by foreigners. They present either translation of idioms and/or dialogues from one language to another, or the essential points of English grammar explained with examples, as shown in the examples (4), (5), (6) and (7) above. A remarkable aspect is the presence of moral sentences included in [C]. These moral sentences are exemplified in (23), (24) and (25):

> (23) A good child will not lie, nor steal, nor take God's name in vain. He will be good at home, and he will ask to read his book (p. 27)
> (24) As that for that boy, who mind not his book, nor his school, nor church, but plays with such boys, as tell lies, swear, steal, and take God's name in vain;
> He will come to some ill end, [...] till he leaves of such things, and learns to be a good boy. (p. 28)
> (25) Train up a child, in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it (p. 54)

In these examples, we appreciate the moral messages that the author wants to transmit to the teacher in order to educate students. In these cases, grammar is mixed with other parts of education as a compendium of the perfect methodology to follow: *a good child will not lie, nor steal* [...]. *He will be good at home* [...] (example 23). Thus, if they do not follow these moral considerations, *he will come to some ill end* [...], although he can change *and learns to be a good boy* (example 24). In (25), the author ascertains that if a good education is given, it will accompany us during our lifetime (*he will not depart from it*).

4. CONCLUSION

This descriptive and analytical study has shown that there was a growing interest in teaching and learning English as L1 and L2 in the 18th century. It promotes the flourishing of grammar books written in English both for native, and for foreigners, dissimilar to those grammar-translations used for the Classical languages. The interest to spread the English language, which had been used by lower social classes, was stimulated by the emergence of a new social class, the middle one, who wanted to read in English, creating a national vindication towards the English language and its literature.

The grammar books were written to homogenise the language and teach it to local people and foreigners. English is compared with the classical languages, in a context in which English language is advertised as dissimilar to the classical ones, easier, and learned in a short period of time. Furthermore, it will help the learners to know English literature, spreading the popularity of English and emphasising its prestige.

The acquisition of active or productive skills (speaking and writing) is accentuated in the grammars studied (in some cases through dialogues), which use a clear tone and which are addressed to children, a new target audience in this period. In the teaching-learning process of L2, L1 is used as an important resource to learn the grammar of L2.

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LATE MODERN ENGLISH GLOSSARIES AS TOOLS OF DEFINITION AND CODIFICATION

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ABSTRACT

This contribution aims to discuss instances of glossaries appended to literary and non-literary works in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in order to investigate their function as more or less neutral sources of information on the meaning of lemmas. While on the surface such glossaries appear to be relatively innocent lists illustrating, or indeed translating, lexical items occurring in a different variety, such as we see in Scottish literary texts by Allan Ramsay or Robert Burns, in fact they reinforce the idea of the same variety being obscure, old-fashioned, and therefore inappropriate for daily usage. In other contexts, instead, glossaries laid the basis for the development of dictionaries of specialized discourse. In both cases glossaries appear to have been valuable tools for language codification, providing (often indirect) guidance to language users, while offering clarification on the semantic value of individual items.

KEY WORDS: Late Modern English; lexicography; specialized vocabulary; literary discourse.

RESUMEN

Esta contribución tiene como objetivo discutir los casos de glosarios adjuntos a las obras literarias y no literarias de los siglos XVIII y XIX, con el fin de investigar su función como fuentes más o menos neutras de información sobre el significado de los lemas. Mientras que en apariencia tales glosarios parecen ser listas relativamente inocentes, que pretenden traducir las palabras que ocurren en una variedad diferente, tal como lo vemos en los textos literarios escoceses de Allan Ramsay o Robert Burns, de hecho refuerzan la idea de que dicha variedad sea oscura, pasada de moda, y por lo tanto inadecuada para el uso diario. En otros textos, en cambio, los glosarios sentaron las bases para el desarrollo de los diccionarios de discurso especializado. En ambos casos los glosarios parecen haber sido útiles para la codificación del lenguaje, ofreciendo orientación (en ocasiones de forma indirecta) a los usuarios de la lengua, al tiempo que ofrecen una aclaración sobre el valor semántico de cada palabra en particular.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Late Modern English; lexicografía; vocabulario especializado; discurso literario.

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1. INTRODUCTION: GLOSSARIES VS. PROSCRIPTION LISTS

For the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth OED), a *glossary* (n.[1]) is "**a.** A collection of glosses; a list with explanations of abstruse, antiquated, dialectal, or technical terms; a partial dictionary". The quotations provided to illustrate usage range from the late fourteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, and it is in the late seventeenth century (i.e., 1696) that the contemporary meaning begins to be recorded:

> *a*1380 *S. Paula* 36 in Horstm. *Altengl. Leg.* (1878) 8 As seiþ þe bok, iclept Glosarie.
> 1483 Caxton tr. J. de Voragine *Golden Legende* f. 379v/1, It is sayd in the glosarye that clemente is sayd rightwys, swete rype, and meke.
> 1610 P. Holland tr. W. Camden *Brit.* i. 364 Whence it is that an Old Glossary interpreteth *Alpes Italie*, The Woulds of Italie.
> 1696 *Philos. Trans. 1695–7* (Royal Soc.) 19 264 The Glossary, at the end, is not only an Account of Words and Phrases, but also an explication of ancient Customs, Laws, and Manners.
> 1785 W. Cowper *Needless Alarm* 70 He...needs no glossary to set him right.
> 1797 W. Turton (*title*) A Medical Glossary.
> 1894 J. T. Fowler in St. Adamnan *Vita S. Columbae* Pref. 8 A glossary is appended. *fig.*
> 1839 Dickens *Nicholas Nickleby* iii. 15 The expression of a man's face is commonly a help to his thoughts, or glossary on his speech.
> 1859 I. Taylor *Logic in Theol.* 49 Having no participation of the elements of the animal and moral nature, it would want the glossary of mundane life.

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 29-40

Leaving aside the philological meaning of "collection of glosses", the definition of a glossary as "a list with explanations of abstruse, antiquated, dialectal, or technical terms" may bear some qualification. The vocabulary employed in such a definition immediately characterizes the variety to which the glossary refers, be it geographically-, historically-, or diatypically-marked, as distant from ordinary usage. If an item is glossed, i.e. –in most cases– translated, rather than illustrated, it is immediately labelled as an element beyond the competence of readers, even at the receptive level; it is distanced in place, time, and/or social context, and attributed traits of quaintness, when not distinct inappropriateness for everyday usage.

Where geographical varieties are concerned, glossaries may be seen to complement lists of proscribed items, such as those that circulated in Britain throughout Late Modern times, when awareness of differences between varieties concerned both accent and vocabulary. Smollett, for instance, thus commented on Home's *Experiments on Bleaching*:

> The language in some places is a little uncouth. – We meet with some *Scottish* words and measures, which an *English* reader will be at a loss to understand. Such as *tramp* for treading under foot, *lint* for flax, *dreeper* for a dripping-stand, *bittling* for a beetling, *mutchkin* for a pint, *chopin* for a quart, *Scots pint* for two quarts, *Scots Gallon* for sixteen quarts, etc. (*The Critical Review* 1: 114, in Basker 87)

James Beattie's *Scoticisms, arranged in Alphabetical Order, designed to correct Improprieties of Speech and Writing* (1779, republished 1787), though prescriptive in its aim, was also descriptive in offering one of the earliest distinctions between overt and covert Scotticisms (Dossena, *Scotticisms* 61), but lists of proscribed Scotticisms, provincialisms, and vulgarisms continued to be drawn up well into the twentieth century. Among such lists, the one compiled by David Hume is both well-known and perhaps surprising, given its author's importance as a philosopher; Hume's list of Scotticisms to be avoided, apparently meant for private use only (Rogers 58), appeared in some copies of the 1752 edition of his *Political Discourses*, then was reprinted in the *Scots Magazine* in 1760. It comprised about 100 items, apparently listed in random order: 33 verbs, 18 nouns and noun phrases, 14 prepositions and prepositional phrases, 12 adverbs and adverbial phrases, 12 adjectives and adjectival phrases, 4 pronouns, 1 conjunction and 1 idiom, together with notes on word order and modality, particularly on the notorious usage of *shall* and *will* with first-person subjects – see Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Arnovick.

On the other hand, James Adams (154) listed Scots lexical items, such as "*blate*, bashful; *bonny*, more than simply good; *brae*, declivity; [...] *ingle*, fire-place;" and many more, whose adoption into English he recommended on account of their semantic efficacy (Dossena *Scotticisms* 88-89). A more ambivalent attitude was displayed by James Boswell, who began to draw up a dictionary of Scots nearly half a century before John Jamieson's lexicographic landmark, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, of 1818 (see Rennie *Jamieson's Dictionary*). Despite his attempts to "improve" his diction, Boswell had also written "Proposals for a periodical paper in the Scots dialect", *The Sutiman* (see Pottle, Abbott & Pottle 106). As for the envisaged dictionary of Scots forms, the idea of which had been under consideration since 1764,[1] it had actually been encouraged by Samuel Johnson, but the project was never completed, and indeed the manuscript was untraced for nearly two centuries (see Dossena *Scotticisms* 73 fn. 37 and Rennie *Jamieson's Dictionary* and "Boswell's Scottish Dictionary").

The attitudes with which these lists were compiled are important in many respects, not least because such lists bear witness to stages of language change, when attitudes and perceptions had an impact on the viability of varieties, and could commend or discourage usage, depending on the prestige or stigma attached to phonological features, lexis and/or morpho-syntactic aspects. In Late Modern times Scots –and indeed all 'provincial' varieties– could be perceived as obsolete, and therefore inappropriate for current usage, but at the same time these varieties appeared to be worthy of preservation on account of their antiquity. In the next sections I will attempt to outline some of the ways in which glossaries functioned as tools for the preservation of lexical items (especially when appended to literary texts), the promotion of new vocabulary (in the case of specialized discourse), and the codification of usage in both cases.

[1] The project is outlined in Boswell's Journal entry for 24th February 1764: "I am writing a dictionary myself! [...]. It is a Scots dictionary. [...]. We have not a single Scots dictionary. Really, that is amazing" (Pottle 103-104).

2. GLOSSARIES OF GEO-HISTORICAL VARIETIES

The strain between the search for propriety and the wish to preserve antiquity was pervasive in many Late Modern works. Among the authors, printers, and publishers who paid specific attention to these issues, Allan Ramsay (1685-1758) is perhaps emblematic, as his works enhanced the dignity of Scots as a contemporary literary language, but may also have crystallized its image as a language for bucolic expression. In the preface to his *Poems* (first published in 1721), Ramsay wrote:

> The *Scotticisms*, which perhaps may offend some over-nice Ear, give new Life and Grace to the Poetry, and become their Place as well as the *Doric* dialect of *Theocritus*, so much admired by the best Judges.

However, the author provided a glossary, possibly also relying on the one that in 1710 Thomas Ruddiman had appended to Gavin Douglas's *Aeneid*. Similarly, a glossary featured in the collection of proverbs that Ramsay published in 1737, in which the last five pages were devoted to the "Explanation of the Words less frequent amongst our Gentry than the Commons": a sociolinguistic observation that shows awareness both of variation in usage and of different expectations on the part of potential readers.

Readers' expectations were perhaps also the reason why glossaries in the sense of lists of "provincial items in need of an explanation" were often published alongside both proverbs and notes on local 'popular' superstitions: language, folklore, and "pithy" forms of expression were presented to audiences presumed to consist of outsiders for whom lists of "quaint" lexical items, idioms, traditions, and supposedly uncanny events could elicit curiosity and provide entertainment. For instance, Francis Grose's *A Provincial Glossary, with a Collection of Local Proverbs and Popular Superstitions* (1787) comprised items like the following, which occur in the glossary and in the section on superstitions respectively:

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 29-40

> *Hag*, or *Haggus*, the belly. N.
> *Hagester*, a magpie. Kent.
> *Haggage*, a slattern. Exm.
> *Haggenhag*, mutton or beef baked or boiled in pie-crust. Corn.
> *Haggis*, or *Haggass*, the entrails of a sheep, minced with oatmeal, and boiled in the stomach or paunch of the animal. Northumb. and Scots.
> [...]
> Children are deemed lucky to a ship; their innocence being, by the sailors, supposed a protection.
> It is lucky to put on a stocking the wrong side outwards: changing it, alters the luck.
> When a person goes out to transact any important business, it is lucky to throw an old shoe after him. [...]
> It is unlucky to walk under a ladder; it may prevent your being married that year.

Other works, such as those currently available in the *Salamanca Corpus*, followed similar patterns, often focusing on specific counties or areas: for instance, in 1887 Walter Rye discussed "superstitions, folklore and dialect" in *A History of Norfolk*, while in 1900 Jabez Good's *A Glossary or Collection of Words, Phrases, Place Names, Superstitions, & c., Current in Lincolnshire* appeared.

As a matter of fact, collections of proverbs were popular throughout the nineteenth century, not least on account of the moral guidance that such dicta often provided, or were made to provide (see Dossena, "Sense, Shortness and Salt"). In such collections editors highlighted, sometimes implicitly, the presumed difficulty of original forms –for instance, the title pages of the collections published by Alexander Hislop (1862) and Andrew Cheviot (1896) stressed the presence of "notes and parallel phrases" (Cheviot) and "explanatory and illustrative notes and a glossary" (Hislop). Indeed, Hislop described his fourteen-page glossary as "simple but comprehensive [...] containing and explaining the meaning of the Scottish words to be found in the book" (xi). The glossary, however, provided translations, explanations, and English equivalents even of lexical items that were only different from the phonological point of view– see for instance the following cases (Hislop 367):

> *Wi'*, with. [...]
> *Window-bole*, "the part of a cottage-window that is filled by a wooden blind, which may occasionally be opened."
> *Windlin*, a bottle of straw or hay.
> *Wink*, an instant, a twinkling.
> *Windlestrae*, a stalk of ryegrass.
> *Winna*, will not. [...]
> *Woo*, wool.
> *Woodie*, diminutive of wood.
> *Worry*, to strangle, to suffocate.
> *Wow*, the cry of a cat.
> *Wrang*, wrong, injury, hurt.

Still in relation to literary texts, the case of Robert Burns's works cannot be ignored on account of their huge popularity. The poet, famously dubbed the 'heaven-taught ploughman' by Henry Mackenzie, was far from the uneducated peasant he was sometimes made out to be, though of course he owed much to his own self-education. His command of English was remarkable, and yet his most successful works were written in a variety that was presented as outlandish and therefore in need of glosses. James Currie, who prepared the first collected edition of Burns' works (published in Liverpool in 1800) as a charity task on behalf of the poet's family, commented: "The greater part of his earlier poems are written in the dialect of his country, which is obscure, if not unintelligible to Englishmen" (Currie LXXIX).

Also an unsigned notice in a 1787 issue of the *Critical Review* said: "It is to be regretted, that the Scottish dialect, in which these poems are written, must obscure the native beauties with which they appear to abound, and renders the sense often unintelligible to an English reader" (Low 80). The comment was to

be echoed by other critics, for whom his "uncouth dialect" was a serious obstacle to the appreciation of the poems – see Low (1974/1995). Indeed, Mackenzie (278) had stressed the need for a glossary, disruptive though its use might be for the reading experience: "Even in Scotland, the provincial dialect which Ramsay and he [Burns] have used is now read with a difficulty which greatly damps the pleasure of the reader: in England it cannot be read at all, without such a constant reference to a glossary, as nearly to destroy that pleasure."

The relationship between geographically-marked usage and older stages of the language was also emphasized in John Cuthbertson's *Complete Glossary to the Poetry and Prose of Robert Burns. With Upwards of Three Thousand Illustrations from English Authors*. This was an attempt to show that many lexical items believed to be difficult were in fact used by English authors at other points in the history of literature, and the book provided explanations meant to associate individual items with the lore of other parts of the country – see for instance the entry for *bannock*:

> *Bannock*. Flat, round, soft cake. As Jamieson has pointed out, a *bannock* differs from a cake principally in not being toasted before the fire as well as on it–
>
> A *bannock* is also much thicker than a cake or scone.
>
> *Bannock*, an oat-cake tempered in water and baked under the embers. *Bailey, Ray, and Grose*.
>
> These definitions, Scotch and English, speak only of bannocks made of oatmeal, whereas, in Scotland at least, they were often made of cheaper material, as witness the song,
>
> Bannocks o' bear meal,
> Bannocks o' barley !
>
> Indeed, when bannocks were in common use, oat-meal was considered too valuable to form more than a small part – parritch always excepted – of the food of a cottar's or even of a farmer's house This is well brought out in an incident in the life of Burns's mother, related by Chambers. When a child, "Agnes Brown was sent to live with her mother's mother. When this old person was more than ordinarily pleased with her grand-daughter's doings at her wheel, she gave her, as her *ten-hours*, or lunch, a piece of brown bread, with a piece of white as *kitchen* to it, both being only varieties of oat-meal cake."
>
> Now, I believe the brown bread was *mashlum*, a cheaper kind of bread, oat-meal being always, till recently, called *white* meal, and long after Agnes Brown's useful days it was customary to reward deserving youngsters with a piece of oat-cake along with the *mashlum scone*, not as kitchen, but as a *bonne bouche*.
>
> In Ireland they (fairies) frequently lay *bannocks* in the way of travellers. *Grose*.
>
> The butter, the cheese, and the *bannocks*,
> Dissolved like snaw in a fresh. – *The Northumberland Garland, Ritson*.

As we saw above, glossaries had long been in existence for English dialects too –the *Salamanca Corpus* lists glossaries concerning Northern, Southern, West and East Midlands varieties of English dating from the seventeenth century to

1950. One of the earliest specimens is the anonymous "clavis" (i.e., key) to *A Yorkshire Dialogue between Will a Wally, and his Wife Pegg, & her Brother Roger, their Son Hobb, their Daughter Tib, their Neece Nan, & their Landlord* (Ruano-García 138-139). These lists, however, are not meant to be actual lexicographic tools, such as John Ray's *Collection of English Words Not Generally Used* (1674). Rather, they are typically meant to illustrate "peculiar" or "provincial words" and "vulgarisms" pertaining to different areas– for instance, William Humphrey Marshall published *Provincialisms of East Norfolk* (1787), *of East Yorkshire* (1788), *of the Midland Station* (1790), *of West Devonshire* (1796) and *of the Vale of Glocester* (1797). In addition, works like the "clavis" supplemented humorous dialogues in which dialect was a comic tool, such in the case of *Tim Bobbin's Tummus and Meary* (1850), written in the dialect of South Lancashire and one of the best-known examples of dialect literature meant for entertainment.[2]

At the turn of the twentieth century stress was still placed on the 'rustic' quality of speech found in provincial areas, and particularly as witnessed in the language of older speakers. Among these, the collections presented by James Wilson (4) meant to illustrate "the homely pithy speech of the village folk" with vocabulary lists, notes on grammar and phonology, riddles, rhymes and songs. Also, in *Lowland Scotch as Spoken in the Lower Strathearn District of Perthshire* (1915), *The Dialect of Robert Burns as Spoken in Central Ayrshire* (1923) and in *The Dialects of Central Scotland* (1926), Wilson adopted a phonetic spelling to represent the realisation of different items, as in "Dhe neerur dhe kirk, dhe fawrur fay grais. The nearer the church, the farther from grace" (*The Dialect of Robert Burns,* 92), so as to facilitate his readers' reconstruction of the pronunciation, which might differ from theirs.

As for the idea of antiquity, or in any case an association of the items in the glossary with a lost age, this was sometimes made explicit in the titles of the collections: for instance, William Henry Long's *Dictionary of the Isle of Wight Dialect* (1886) also included "provincialisms used in the island, [...] the Christmas Boy's play, an Isle of Wight "Hooam Harvest", and songs sung by the peasantry; forming a treasury of insular manners and customs of fifty years ago". The language of 'provincial' expression, popular culture, and the past were thus blended into a unique image of quaintness and preciousness – it may not be accidental that Long's collection was indeed called "a treasury". Nor was it just 'provincial' idioms that attracted this kind of attention: the link between antiquity and literature was highlighted also in glossaries concerning Elizabethan works – among these, Robert Nares's *Glossary* (1822) was presented as a *Collection of words, phrases, names, and allusions to customs, proverbs, etc., which have been thought to require illustration, in the words of English authors, particularly Shakespeare, and his contemporaries.*

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[2] On the use of Scots for humorous purposes in Late Modern local papers, see Donaldson.

3. GLOSSARIES OF SPECIALIZED VOCABULARY

Late Modern times also took an interest in older registers concerning specific professional areas: in 1837, for instance, James Raine published a glossary of the 14th century *Charters of Endowment, Inventories and Account Rolls of the Priory of Finchale*. This attention, however, had very deep roots: already in 1597 (1641), in Edinburgh, Sir John Skene had compiled his *De verborum significatione, the exposition of the termes and difficill words conteined in the foure buikes of Regiam majestatem and vthers in the actes of parliament*, a glossary of legal terms pertaining to the Scottish legal system, to which the OED owes as many as 153 quotations. Similarly, the Enlightenment promoted the circulation of numerous specialized dictionaries, such as those listed by Rousseau (315-316, fn. 77) in relation to maths, geography, military terms, and mining. At the time of the Industrial Revolution, such works appealed both to specialists and to non-specialists who appreciated innovation, and this attention to novelty is witnessed in the OED's interest in specialized vocabulary; the striking number of new lexical items or meanings recorded throughout the nineteenth century and, more specifically, in its second half is a clear indication that the world was changing, and –predictably– so was language (Dossena, "Late Modern English"). In addition, also in these cases the connection between specialized lexicon and both social and geographical variation featured quite prominently: for example, a flyer published by the National Coal Mining Museum for England in Wakefield states:

> Not only does mining have, like any other industry, numbers of technical words or jargon, but also different dialects in different regions. A person who hauled the wagons or tubs might be known as a *waggoner* in one part of the country, a *hurrier* in Yorkshire, a *drawer* in Lancashire, a *putter* in Northumberland or a *haulage-man* in Scotland!
> The language that a miner would use in the pit was usually confined to the pit, and he would use words there that he would not use at home. The use of a different language in the mines emphasized and strengthened the brotherhood which existed amongst miners.
> (https://www.ncm.org.uk/)

Increasing awareness of variation resulted in increasing attention to language. In addition, the discoveries, explorations, and innovations that occurred throughout Late Modern times in life sciences, physical sciences, maths, medicine, and also in the arts could not but have a great impact on vocabulary. As shown elsewhere (Dossena, "Dispenseis"), many new items or meanings first occurred in dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and lexicons – among these, the *New Sydenham Society's Lexicon of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* (1879-1899) would contribute material to the OED for a total of 2,375 quotations, 482 of which provided first evidence of a word, such as *cholecyst*, *hypothermia* and *hyperthermia*, and 1002 provided first evidence of a particular meaning, such as in the case of *avalanche theory*, in the sense that "nervous influence gathers force as it descends", or *knee reflex* meaning *knee-jerk*.

In addition, many OED quotations were derived from manuals and introductory texts, i.e. genres meant to disseminate knowledge among both learners and interested readers, according to the ideology of (self-)improvement that was so pervasive in Victorian times (see Secord). Among these, we find Lindley and Moore's *The Treasury of Botany. A Popular Dictionary of the Vegetable Kingdom* (1866), but also Alexander Macaulay's *Dictionary of Medicine Designed for Popular Use* (1845, 8th edn), William Audsley's *Popular Dictionary of Architecture and the Allied Arts* (1879, 2nd edn), and Edwin Lankester's *Haydn's Dictionary of Popular Medicine and Hygiene; Comprising All Possible Self-aids in Accidents and Disease* (1880).

Such glossaries, lexicons, or popular dictionaries often had a distinctly encyclopaedic interest, as they meant to cater for fairly broad audiences; for instance, *The Popular Encyclopedia* (1874) presented itself as a *Conversations Lexicon; Being a General Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, Biography, and History*. Similarly, *The London Encyclopaedia* (1829) had the following subtitle: *Universal Dictionary of Science, Art, Literature and Practical Mechanics: Comprising a popular view of the present state of knowledge.*

Popularizing sources focused on many different subjects, such as we see in the numerous dictionaries that appeared in the series published by Samuel O. Beeton and his wife Isabella:[3] for these include *Beeton's Dictionary of Useful Information* (1861), *Beeton's Bible Dictionary. A cyclopædia of the truths and narratives of the Holy Scriptures* (1870), *Beeton's Dictionary of Every-day Gardening: Constituting a popular cyclopaedia of the theory and practice of horticulture* (1871), and Isabella Beeton's *Dictionary of Every-Day Cookery* (1865). Entries in such publications are of course different from the ones found in glossaries of geohistorical varieties, in that they provide both translations and explanations – see for instance the following: "American Plants. Under this general name are included Rhododendrons, Azaleas, Kalmias, Ledums, Andromedas, and others, which are supposed to require what is called bog earth. This, however, is not absolutely necessary to their successful cultivation" (Beeton s.v.).

Lists of lexical items are also found in materials meant for learners of English, but in this case what may distinguish them from bilingual glossaries is the fact that they may group items according to the semantic field to which they belong, rather than alphabetically. In Anon. (1905),[4] for instance, meant to cater for the needs of Italian immigrants to the USA, there is a thematic dictionary on 38 topics, ranging from 'Proper names' to 'Jobs' to 'The city', which follows traditional grammar lessons and a conversation manual, and precedes 60 model letters in Italian with their English translations –see Dossena "Prescriptiusme a Century Ago". Within each section of the thematic dictionary, the lexical items

3 See www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/beeton_samuel.html (last accessed July 2014).

4 Unfortunately so far it has not been possible to identify either the publisher or the author(s); as for the place of publication, this can be assumed to have been in the USA (see Dossena, "Terms").

are listed in alphabetical order and arranged in three columns: Italian, English, and pronunciation represented as phonetic spelling– see the examples below:

Mercante di panno	Cloth-merchant	clot-merciant
Merciaio	Mercer	moerser
Merciaio girovago	Peddler	pedler
Metti-foglio	Press-feeder	press-fiider
Minatore	Miner	mainer
Miniatore	Miniature painter	*miniatciur penter*

The items in such lists, however, were not exemplified in meaningful contexts: the presupposition was that users would know when to use specific items in their language, and use the equivalent foreign items in similar situations. On a different note, what remains fascinating is the images of a bygone age that some lexical items evoke when they present jobs that are no longer in existence, as they do allow us glimpses of an increasingly distant past.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

An overview of glossaries appended to Late Modern literary texts, collections of proverbs and idioms, and to materials meant for self-education, has enabled us to highlight the importance of these lists for the development of specialized dictionaries on the one hand, and for the intersection between lexicography and encyclopaedic interests on the other. While glossaries may seem to provide mere lists of equivalent lexical items occurring in different varieties, in actual fact the comments with which they are introduced shed light on the codifying agendas they were expected to meet. Presenting the glossed items as provincial or old-fashioned placed them in a very specific category, where they could be preserved on account of their antiquity, while their usage was discouraged on account of this very distance from current fashion. This prescriptive attitude was not as explicit as in other lists of "vulgarisms", but marked lexis both from a social and a diachronic perspective. In the case of lists of specialized vocabulary, instead, usage was recommended on the basis of the greater accuracy of the glossed items, which were illustrated, and therefore made familiar, while becoming the tools of more professional expression. Though materials like the ones discussed in this brief contribution have seldom featured prominently in the history of lexicography, the contribution they have given to the history of the language may be shown to have been significant, as the audiences they reached were certainly numerous, interested, and eager to 'improve' both their knowledge and their usage.

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MEETING READERS. PROMOTING THE USE OF ENGLISH IN EARLY MODERN UTILITARIAN AND SCIENTIFIC BOOKS (1500-1699)

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Abstract

The recognition of the leading role of English as the language of science would not have been possible without the concerted efforts of men and women of letters and science who promoted its use, other than as conversational discourse, during the Modern period. In this paper, we concentrate on attitudes towards the use of English in this time focusing on material from the period. Primary sources include books from different scientific domains as well as utilitarian prose. One aspect which is relevant to the use of English for science and specialised uses concerns obvious shifts in language style from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. Some scholars claim that English for scientific use underwent a drastic change in style from the Elizabethan to the Jacobean period. This appears to involve a plainer style at the expense of the interpersonal in order to reduce subjectivity. We argue, however, that this does not seem to be the case in the texts selected for analysis. We think that, despite obvious changes in style to reduce superfluous verbosity, interpersonal strategies are still necessarily used. Our ultimate objective is to demonstrate the legitimacy of English to convey scientific thought as demonstrated by contemporary writers and translators.

Keywords: Early Modern English; language attitudes; early scientific English; stance.

Resumen

El papel dominante de la lengua inglesa como vehículo de expresión científica no hubiese sido posible sin la importante labor realizada por hombres y mujeres de letras y ciencia que promovieron su uso, más allá del lenguaje coloquial, durante el período moderno. En este trabajo, nos ocupamos de las actitudes hacia el uso de la lengua inglesa durante los años 1500-1699, centrándonos en material de la época. Las fuentes primarias incluyen libros de diferentes campos científicos. Algunos críticos afirman que el estilo de uso de la lengua inglesa con fines específicos de la época isabelina sufrió un cambio drástico en la jacobina. Se produjo un proceso de simplificación a expensas de los mecanismos interpersonales con la finalidad de reducir la subjetividad en el texto. Mostramos, sin embargo, que esto no parece ser el caso en los textos analizados en nuestro trabajo. Pensamos que, a pesar de los

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cambios de estilo obvios para reducir texto superfluo propio del estilo ampuloso de la época isabelina, las estrategias interpersonales se utilizan necesariamente en los años siguientes. Nuestro objetivo final es demostrar la legitimidad de la lengua inglesa para transmitir el pensamiento científico, como reivindican los escritores y traductores estudiados.

Palabras clave: inglés moderno temprano; actitudes hacia la lengua; inglés científico; punto de vista.

1. INTRODUCTION

The recognition of the leading role of English as the language of science would not have been possible without the concerted efforts of men and women of letters and science who promoted the use of the language, other than as conversational discourse, during the Modern age. The implementation of English as a scientific language had begun even earlier with the medical, legal and religious writings produced in King Alfred's reign. In this context, English was felt to be an excellent vehicle to convey ideas beyond those minor issues concerning daily life. The Norman Conquest brought about an obvious disadvantage for English. The imposition of Latin and French as the languages of official communication and science, in the case of the former, created the ideal conditions in which English was downgraded to the lower status of the language of the vulgar. Scholars were delighted to be able to set their writings out in internationally acceptable languages, especially Latin, although other equally distinguished languages, such as Greek and Anglo-Norman, were also used. They could register whatever idea they considered suitable in these languages, thus preserving this knowledge for the classically educated minority within the same specialized community. In a way, this sense of deliberately concealing information from certain sections of society was good entertainment for the élite. However it strengthened their own ignorance, both of what was going on in other spheres of life where English was the first language, and of the attitudes of rejection these methods originated in the vast majority of citizens who had no access to higher education.

This situation, involving the dominance of Latin and French over English, began to decline towards the end of the fifteenth century (Rikhardsdottir 37). Political and cultural issues concerning a sense of national pride allowed English to be more visible and more widely appreciated. English, remaining as it did outside the focus of attention, was able to improve gradually, with the addition of new vocabulary from the imported languages creating a lexical stock surpassing that of many other modern European languages in frequency and richness of detail. More language input was yet to come with the role of England extending beyond her island territory and the consequent linguistic contact this involved with other cultures. English came to represent a suitable language not only for science but also for global communication. The road was not without its obstacles that made the journey difficult, but the work of many sixteenth and seventeenth scientists, translators and printers was essential to pave the way. The work of translators is fundamental during the Elizabeth Age and later, both in order to understand the present state of the language, and also the cultural and literary heritage from this period and after

(Winny xix). In this paper, we concentrate on these attitudes towards the use of English in these centuries focusing on material from the period. Primary sources include books from different scientific domains.

The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 reviews the state of affairs concerning early English utilitarian and scientific books. These include a variety of fields of knowledge, namely medicine, language, religion, and cookery, among others. Within this section, we also describe the primary sources used in the present research. The results of the analysis and the discussion of findings are offered in Section 4. Section 5 affords the conclusions drawn from the present study.

2. SHAPING AN ENGLISH SCIENTIFIC REGISTER. EARLY ENGLISH UTILITARIAN AND SCIENTIFIC BOOKS

In Lehman's words (424), "modern science in England began in the Jacobean Age", and indeed this period witnessed an unprecedented interest in the use of English as an acceptable means of expression at all levels of communication, including religion and science. The humanist's view that the word was more important than the fact itself was now being superseded by an interest in logic and empiricism, in the modern sense of the words. In this context, translation played a fundamental role as the need grew to provide readers with new scientific information rendered either in Latin or in any other European tongue. This meant more than just the entrance of an enormous mass of scientific terminology into English to fill lexical gaps in the vernacular. It also means new discourse traditions and styles in English. In line with this, Bennett (190-191) argues that the new traditions of writings and the contemporary concern for facts rather than for the rhetoric of language resulted in several linguistic consequences. One of the most interesting relates to interpersonal discourse features:

> Although the term 'Scientific Revolution' is today disputed by scholars seeking to emphasize the continuity of the scientific project with the Medieval and Renaissance past, on the level of discourse at least, there is evidence that a major epistemological shift took place in the 17th century that had far-reaching repercussions. This shift can be summed up by Francis Bacon's famous injunction, "think things not words", which meant that knowledge was no longer to be sought in ancient texts but rather was to be found outside language, through the systematic observation of the natural world. This shift had a number of linguistic consequences... a new plainer style was cultivated which focused almost exclusively upon the referential dimension of language at the expense of the interpersonal.

Bennett (192) is more explicit when she describes the changes in style during the period:

> The elevation of reason at the expense of emotion led to an emphasis on neutrality and objectivity, believed to be the only way to achieve conclusions that were truly

universal. Hence the new prose gradually developed grammatical features (such as nominalizations and impersonal verb forms) that effectively eliminated subjectivity in order to focus upon the object of study.

This idea of a reduction of interpersonal features in scientific discourse is not always supported in the literature. Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero suggest that, contrary to this position, seventeenth-century writers use large numbers of epistemic and effective strategies in the sense of Marín-Arrese to gain both credibility and reputation. Objective and (inter)subjective devices are shown to strategically combine in order to reach a wider audience while also conveying meaning and authority. The pompous rhetoric of Elizabethan writers may have diminished, but this represents a partial effect upon interpersonal discourse features. It would have been impossible for them to ignore the use of elaborate expressions, at a time when copying, excerpting and re-editing Elizabethan materials along with translating earlier Latin and Continental books were still common editorial practices.

A selection of examples from a random search in the EEBO database supports this view (our emphasis; spelling and punctuation are original):

(1) **It is by reason of** a shadow in the midst of a cloud, the extremities whereof are enlightened. **You may** see the like almost in the night by a candle, on a wall, which hath any hollownesse in it, though it be **whitish** (Comenius K4).
(2) **It is pleasant** to see the beautifull and goodly representation of the heavens intermixed with clouds in the Horizon, upon a woody scituation, the motion of Birds in the Aire, of men and other creatures upon the ground, with the trembling of plants, tops of trees, **and such like**: for everything will be seen within even to the life, but inversed: notwithstanding, **this beautifull paint** will so naturally represent itself in such a lively Perspective, that **hardly** the most accurate Painter **can** represent the like... [image]. Now the reason why the images and objects without are inversed, is because the species doe intersect one another in the hole, so that the species of the feet ascend, and these of the head descend (Oughtred 7).
(3) **MY first Experiment** is afforded me by the Dissolution of Sal Armoniac, which **I have somewhat wonder'd**, that Chymists having often occasion to purifie that Salt by the help of Water, should not have, long since, and publickly, taken notice of. For if you put into three or four times its weight of Water a pound or but half a pound (**or even less**) of powder'd Sal[t] Armoniack, and stir it **about to hasten the dissolution**, there will be produc'd in the mixture a **very intense degree of Coldness**, such as will not be onely very sensible to his hand that holds the Glass whilst the Dissolution is making, but will very manifestly discover it self by its Operation upon a Thermoscope. **Nay, I have** more than once by wetting the outside of the Glass, where the dissolution was making, and nimbly stirring the Mixture, turn'd that externally adhering water into real Ice, (that was scrap'd off with a knife) in less than a minute of an hour. And this thus generated Cold continued **considerably intense**, whilst the action of dissolution lasted;

but afterwards by degrees abated, and within **a very few hours** ceas'd. The particular Phaenomena **I have noted in the Experiment**, and the practical uses that **may** be made of it **I reserve** for another place*, [side note: ***Divers of the Phaenomena, &c. of this Experiment were afterwards printed Numb. 15. of the Ph. Transact.]** the knowledge of them being not necessary in this, where what **I have already related, may** suffice for **my present Argument** (Boyle 4-5).

These excerpts from the mid-seventeenth century onwards present a strategic combination of plain language and marked stance language to gain both authority and credibility concerning the scientific methods deployed. These methods are based on the alleged notions of reason and experiment (i.e. empirical means). This is seen in the use of the expressions *It is by reason...* in example (1) and *the reason why...* in (2) as well as the lexical items *experiment, argument, phaenomenona, manifestly,* and *operation*, among others. The idea of process is also marked by the presence of linkers, such as *for* in (2) and (3), *now* in (2), *so that* in (2), and *thus* in (3), among others, to indicate logical reasoning. Likewise, the use of the expositive text-type when it comes to the description of the method for the duplication of the experiment in (3) reinforces this same idea: "For if you put into three or four times its weight of Water a pound or but half a pound... but will very manifestly discover it self by its Operation upon a Thermoscope".

Interpersonal strategies in these excerpts range from vague expressions (Channell) to the use of stance devices. In short, vague language (Cutting 6) refers to those linguistic devices that convey imprecision. Vague expressions may have varied functions and one of these may also point to shared knowledge within the members of a specialized community, e.g. astronomers, doctors, or mathematicians. Belonging to a group of experts made the task of describing particular phenomena easier because these experts were believed not to need many descriptive details, either because they already knew these details or because they were able to infer what their colleagues mean. One case of vague language is extenders, as put forward by various authors (Overstreet, Carroll, and Ortega Barrera, "A Diachronic"). The use of stance devices in these texts also plays an important role since they portray the way in which writers relate to their texts and how much they are involved in the formulation of new knowledge. In many ways, the authors appear as witnesses to the procedures, thus legitimizing the integrity of their observations. In what follows we offer a list of the interpersonal devices detected in the three examples cited. This list supports our view that, despite obvious changes in style to reduce superfluous verbosity, interpersonal strategies are still necessarily used (numbers in brackets refer to examples).

1. Use of vague language:

a. Lexical items and expressions: *somewhat* (3), *even less* (3), *less than a minute of an hour* (3), *about to hasten* (3), *very intense degree of* (3), *considerably intense* (3), *very few hours* (3).
b. Morphological endings: *whittish* (1).

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 41-56

c. Extenders: *and such like* (2), *&c* (modern *etc.*) (3).

2. Laden value words and words of appraisal: *beutifull* (1), *lively* (1), *hardly* (1), *wonder'd* (3), *accurate* (1).

3. Modal verbs: these devices show a variety of meanings, as seen below:

   a. dynamic possibility: *that hardly the most accurate Painter can represent the like* (2).
   b. epistemic probability: *the practical uses that may be made of it* (3).
   c. deontic necessity: *but* [it] *will very manifestly discover it self by its Operation upon a Thermoscope* (3).

4. Use of first person stance markers:

   a. possessive adjectives: *my first Experiment* (3), *my present Argument* (3).

5. Evidential expressions and matrices: *nay, I have noted in the experiment* [experiential evidential] (3), *I have already related* [communicative evidential] (3).

This list evinces that English for specialised purposes is not characterized by authorial detachment. Leech et al. (147) present opposing views concerning depersonalization strategies and scientific writing. Oldireva Gustafsson (133) states that these writings show a "depersonalized tone of discourse" due to the desire for objectivity. However Dixon (353ff) rejects this claim, when discussing the use of the passive voice in relation to the overt aim of the subject to disagree with the alleged association concerning the use of the passive voice, depersonalization with objectivity. Scientific writings are always authored, and so claims can be safely attributed, even if the subject of conception is deliberately omitted. Only in those cases where the subject is opaque, e.g. *it seems*, might we have issues concerning its identification, if this not evident from the context.

In general, our examples exhibit devices concerning the authors' attitude towards their texts. Authors use language to make themselves visible. This accounts for the presence of modal verbs expressing differing degrees of propositional certainty, for example. This is the case of *may* in 3b in the list above. In this context, evidential matrices of the type in 5 in the list indicate the way in which they have construed knowledge. Linguistically, modals show scope over the proposition, while this is not a feature of evidentials (Alonso Almeida, "On the Mitigating"; Alonso Almeida, "The functions of"). Strategic use of these devices in scientific and specialized discourse reveals a sense of mastering the language at different levels. English is shown to be able to represent high quality knowledge. Its permeability to external linguistic influences and, especially, its sensitiveness to social changes make this language an exceptional tool for communication in professional and scientific settings.

3. ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMPLEMENTING AND DIFFUSING THE LANGUAGE

The use of the English language in all spheres of life, including the academic setting, gained momentum as England's borders blurred, and the language of birth seemed to be an appropriate tool to maintain all kinds of social ties. The growing numbers of translations into English were steadily expanding the language with new words seeking to fill the gap originated by the use of the classical tongues and the dramatic entrance of the Norman French variety after the Conquest. Prologues to books and translators' prefaces were filled with pleas and arguments providing reasons to use English. These reasons are varied but they all show the inevitable decline of Latin as the language of prestige in England, gradually giving way to the use of the vernacular in writing. In what follows, we have gathered these motivations into three sections, namely (a) order and patronage, (b) giving help, and (c) prestige and pride.

3.1. Order and patronage

One reason to translate foreign texts into English follows from order and patronage, as shown in the following instances: (original spelling and punctuation):

> (4) Forasmuch as it hath been thought convenient by several good Chirurgeons, to contrive a safe way of Blood-letting, for the benefit of young Beginners in that Profession; and whereas Dr. LOVVER of late, in his Treatise of the Heart, hath discovered a plain and secure way of Bleeding, and given a figure of the Lancet, which he commends for that purpose, **I have been advised, for the publick Good, to translate what he hath written**, and likewise give the figure of the Lancet, and description of the Use of it, as it is printed in the 166 page of the last and truest Edition of his Book, Printed at Amsterdam 1671, in the Author's own words (Fabricius Hildanus 2).
> (5) RIght Honorable; If it appeare presumption in me to shew my love, my dutie betraies me to it. The advantage I have gleaned from idle houres, in exchanging this Indian History from Spanish to English, is commended to your **Honors Patronage**, whose first father Ioseph Acosta, hath with great observation made worthie the over-looking. A greater motive then that you are your selfe, needed not to excite me to this dedication. I beseech you my good Lord, take it into shelter, and receive that which is not, for that which I would it were. Let my insufficiencie be measured by my good will. So shall my poore abilities thrive vnder your incouragement, and happily leade me on to some stronger vndertaking; wherein I shall bee bound to thanke you for mine owne paines, and for ever remaine (Acosta A3).

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 41-56

The first quotation is revealing, as the English rendering seems to emerge from a real need to offer practical advice on bleeding. The translation firstly formed part of the scientific literature available in English, but it was also meant as a didactic resource for young learners. A very important aspect of this quotation is the view of surgery as a *Profession*, which deserves scientific descriptions, as opposed to the medieval conception of the surgeon placed low down in the rank of medical practitioners (Alonso Almeida and Sánchez). The translation of foreign material reports on this conception of surgery as a profession, since this surgical text stands as a valuable piece *for the publick Good*. The deontic expression *I have been advised... to translate what he hath written* reflects both a positive attitude towards the use of specialized English and a change in linguistic social practices. A lucrative interest is most probably the impetus for this change of mind.

The second quotation in (5) refers to patronage, as shown in the use of the words *Honors Patronage*. Translation was also a way of gaining a living, and readers sought books for instruction but also for entertainment, as seems to be the case of this history book. Wear (43) states that this demand of books for the new bourgeois class had a clear didactic objective and publishers were aware of this fact, and so instruction and profit went manifestly hand in hand:

> Publishers of vernacular books were responding to the demand of increasingly confident groups such as the gentry, yeoman and merchants who saw the possession of useful knowledge as confirmation of their status. Moreover, vernacular books were seen as ways of reducing what was perceived by translators like the lawyer-physician Thomas Phayre as a sea of public ignorance (Wear 43).

3.2. Giving help

A practical function of offering help and guidance seems to be behind the use of the vernacular in many books in the Elizabethan and the Tudor periods. The patronizing attitude to the facilitation of knowledge allowed writers using English to level the language and bring it into line with to the status of other European national languages. Moore (40), describing the work of the humanist Paynell, states that his works were "concerned to place practical and spiritual knowledge into the hands of those who do not understand Latin". The translations of new and old texts were geared to maximising understanding with the sole intention of helping others to benefit from knowledge. The following instances illustrate this point:

> (6) TO ye laude of our sauyour Chryst Ihesu. & the honoure of his blessyd moder our lady saint mary. and all the holy company of heuyn. & for the helpe of mankynde / this boke is translated out of duche in to englishe And for ye loue & comforte of all them that entende to studye the noble arte of Chyrurgia / ye whiche is called the handyworke of Surgery / **very vtyle and profytable to al that entende to occupye this noble sciens ye herein is openly exprest and shewyd** / how it shalbe practysed & vsyd / For many one is therin **very ignorant** yt wyll medle ther with

/ whyche neuer laboured nor neuer sa poynt of ye begynnynge or endynge therof / wherefore it is often tymes senc and dayly chaunceth in small townes / borowghs / & vyllages / **that lye farre from ony good cyte or great towne ye dyuerie people hurt or dyseased for lacke of connynge men** / be taken in hande of them yt be barbers or yonge maisters to whome **this sciens was neuer dysclosed** / not thynkynge on the wordes of the olde lernyd men that say / (Brunschwig 1525: Aii).

(7)¶ Thus endeth the noble experyence & the bertuous handy worke of Surgery / with the Antithodario / practysed & Section of <...> pyled by the experte mayster Iherome / whiche boke of late was translated out of the speche of hye Almayne into lowe Duche. And afterwarde in to our **moders tonge of Englysshe / moche necessary & profytable for surgyans** / as wel for them that haue conynge / as for them that be lerners. For who dylygently often tymes redeth ouer this present boke shal fyndether in grete scyence & conynge. ¶ Imprynted at London in South warke by Petrus Creueris. In the yere of our lorde god. M. D. xxv. and the. xxvi. day of Marche (Brunschwig 1525: colophon).

The excerpt in (6) has been taken from the English translation of a Dutch surgical manual. In this occasion, surgery is regarded as an art (*the noble arte of Chyrurgia*), but also as a science, in the text *noble sciens*. This text is addressed to experts and novice practitioners and it makes very clear the fact that *this sciens was neuer dyclosed*, and so the translation seeks to remedy the situation and make it *openly exprest and shewyd*. The writer claims that new practitioners and also barbers living outside cities and large towns in villages without learned doctors may use this book to help the sick because they are now able to read and learn from it. This motivation is quite common in medieval and early modern practical medical texts, as suggested in Alonso Almeida and Ortega Barrera. Example (7) from the same source records the last lines of the translation of the Dutch surgical text. It reinforces the idea of surgery as a science with words, such as *conynge* and *scyence*. This is a clear indication of the new status of surgical texts.

This utilitarian side of translation for health purposes is also described in the following instance where the objective of the volume is to instruct English readers in how to prepare medical remedies:

(8) Wherfor, I haue caused this precious treasure **to be translated into oure vsuall, and natiue language**, that like as all men are subiecte to sicknes: so in likewise all men may by this occasion learne the way vnto helth (...) As touchinge the excellencye of the preparinge medicines, **the vtilitie springinge therof**, and the argumente of the worke, because it is exactlye sette oute by the author in the preface folowing, I wil leaue to trouble the further herein (Gesner ii).

The practical side of reading English texts goes beyond the medical spectrum to cover other areas, such as pedagogical instruction and religion, as evinced in these excerpts:

(9) It was first written in Latine, but now translated, **whereby the simple and vnlearned English readers, as well as the learned Latinists**, might

enioy part of the pleasure that is had in the reaping of this so delectable discourse of the figured warre, and blood-lesse battell, without mortall shot, sweate, or noyse of Canon. **For the vtilitie of our English Children**, but especially beginning to studie the Latine tongue, who reading this pleasant fight in their owne tongue, might learne by way of mirth and <…> pastime, the principall points of the Grammar (Guarna 163: A4v).

(10) I HAVE thought it mete (good Reader) for thy further profite and pleasure, **to put into Englishe**, these foure Bookes of husbandry… And though I haue dealt vvith many, both Graines, Plantes, and Trees, **that are yet strangers and vnknovven vnto vs**, I doo no vvhit doubt, but that vvith good diligence and husbandry, they may in short time so be denisend and made acquainted vvith ou soyle, as they vvyl prosper as vvel as the olde inhabitantes (Heresbach 1577: iij).

(11) CONO. For my part (without vaunt be it spoken,) I haue seruice euery day at certaine appointed houres, where preacheth to me dayly the Prophetes, the Apostles, Basil, Chrisostome, Nazianzen, Cyril, Ciprian, Ambrose, Austen, and other excellent preachers, whom I am sure I heare with greater profite, then yf I shoulde heare your sir Iohn lacklatines and foolishe felowes in your Churches. My wyfe also being geuen to readyng, readeth the Byble and certaine Psalmes **translated into our owne tongue, if there be any thing to hard or darke for her, I make her to vnderstand it**: besides, she hath priuate praiers of her owne that she vseth: in the meane time I haue one, that vppon the holy dayes (if the weather or our businesse be such as we can not goe to Church) readeth the Gospell, teacheth the Catechisme, and ministreth the Sacramentes when time requires: but in the Sommer time, if the weather be not vnreasonable, we goe alwayes vpon the Sundayes and Festiuall dayes to our Parishe Churche, where we heare our Curate, and receaue the blessed Communion: as for my household, I bring them to this order, that they alwayes serue God before their going to woorke, and at their comming to meales (Heresbach 1577: 4).

The first excerpt is taken from the prefatory material of a grammar textbook for children, who can now study Latin grammar in their own language. This facilitates learning Latin significantly. The second text has been taken from the *Epistle to the reader* of a book of husbandry, and the last one is from a religious book. The rationale behind the translations happens to be the same, i.e. to help readers understand the texts to benefit from their contents, as evinced in the expressions: *for the vtilitie of our English children* in example (9), *made acquainted with our soyle, as they vvyl prosper* (10), *I make her to vnderstand it* (11). The last quotation is of special interest, as it suggests a husband reckons the translated Bible is for his wife, who is *geuen to readyng*. In contrast with earlier centuries, reading here refers to English rather than to Latin, and this reflects a radical change in the consideration of English as a language of prestige. The expression *if there be any thing to hard or darke for her* is very likely a reference to Latin terms or Latinized English, which was then felt to hinder understanding to those less instructed or unfamiliar with this Classical tongue.

3.3. Prestige and pride

The sense of national pride in the mother tongue is at the heart of the use of specialized English and of translations, as shown in the following excerpt:

> (12) Whiche saiynge (I feare me) is verified more in some of vs Englishe men, than in anye other nation, I woulde God it were not. And yet I thincke there is no man so bestiall, so rude, or so blunt of wit, but that he is (by a certaine instinct of natural inclination) desirous to know things not before knowen, to heare newes not before heard, and to vnderstand bokes in his maternall tonge, written first in a forein langage, to thende not to seme altogether ignoraunte in matters both of the liberall sciences, and also of histories, set forth for his rudiment and instruction, as in Cosmographie, in Astronomie, in Philisophie, in Logike, in Rhetoricke, and specially in Phisick, whereof we had neuer so muche neede as in these our daies, considering the straunge and vnknowen diseases that swarme amonge vs, and mo in number then can be found remedy for. Therefore considering with my self (right honorable) that I could not better declare my bounden duetie vnto you, nor do my countrey a greater pleasure, than to put some thinge abroade vnder youre honoures name, whereby it mighte receiue some commodite: **I haue taken in hand to translate this noble and excellent woorke called, The Secretes of the Reueuerende Master, Alexis of Piemount, firste written in the Italian toungue, and after tourned into Frenche, and of late into Dutche, and nowe laste of al into English, because that as well Englishe men, as Italians, Frenche menne, or Dutchmen, may sucke knowlege and profit hereof**.

In this quotation, the translator states openly that he is moved by a patriotic feeling since he wants to *do my countrey a greater pleasure*, although his major motivation to render foreign works in English is to offer remedies for *the straunge and vnknowen diseases that swarme among vs*. This patronizing attitude, we have seen, can frequently be found in the prefaces of translated material in modern English. The book industry is a very profitable way of making money. Unsurprisingly, authors and translators knew that bestsellers combined knowledge and authority with a presumably philanthropic desire to help other English speakers (Alonso Almeida and Mele Marrero). The translator states clearly that all fields of knowledge can be expressed in his own native language. English in this passage is given the same status as other national languages, namely Italian, French, and Dutch. In the following excerpts, the status of English is also enhanced to the extent that it is compared to the Classical languages Greek, Latin, and Arabic:

> (13) Gentle Reader, although I haue giuen the onset to publish in our owne naturall tongue, this most excellent worke of Distillation, for which cause, it should not be the lesse estéemed, although some more curious than wyse, estéeme of nothing but that which is most rare, or in harde and vnknowne languages. Certainly these kynde of people cannot abyde that good and laudable Artes shoulde be common to many, fearing that their name and practise should decay, or at the least shoulde diminishe. The intension truely of such

persons séemeth much like them which gape for all, and woulde all haue, leauing nothing to anye body, but that which they must néedes forgo, not considering that we are not borne for our selues onely, as Plato sayth, but for the profite of our countrie. Surely, if that I did not feare to be to long in this Preface, I would prooue howe all Artes and sciences may be published in that tongue which is best vnderstanded: as for example, Hippocrates, Galen, Paulus Aegineta, Aecius, were Grecians, and wrote all in the Gréeke, to the perfect vnderstanding of their countrie men. Also Cornelius Celsus being a Latinist, wrote in the Latin. Auicen and Albucrasis, Arabians, wrote in the Arabicke tongue. **... For what kinde of science or knowledge euer was inuented by man, which is not nowe in the Italian or French. And what more prerogatiue haue they than we English men (of the which many learned men haue made sufficient proofe within the few yeres, fully to furnish & satisfie our Nation with many goodly works.) For our English is as méete & necessary for vs, as is the Greeke for the Grecians, though in the translation we be constrayned to make two or three words sometyme for one**. For if it were not permitted to translate but word for word, then I say, away with all translations, yt which were great losse to the common weale, considering that out of one language into another haue ben turned many most excellent works, the which the best learned haue both receyued & approoued to the singular commoditie of all men.

This instance explains the suitability of using the vernacular language, which is shown to be more natural for the writer of writing scientific works in the following terms: *I would prooue how all Artes and sciences may be published in that tongue which is best vnderstanded*. Translated material does not undermine the status of English since translation is seen both as a product and as a process. The author of the translation engages in the production of a new text using reduction and extension procedures (Cruz García; Alonso Almeida and Sánchez) so as to accommodate meaning to the customs of the target language and culture, as evinced in *though in the translation we be constrayned to make two or three words sometyme for one. For if it were not permitted to translate but word for word, yt which were great losse to the common weale*. This rephrasing represents a plea for the fundamental role of the translator, but it also accounts for the significance of English as an independent and prestigious language.

This prestige is also manifested in the following excerpt concerning religious activities:

(14) **we syng & pray god w[i]t[h] our tonge** / let vs se that we do so also with our hert & mynde / we speke fayre and deuoutly with our mouth / let vs meane aswel in our soules / or els it is not well (Ryckes 1525: Ciij).

There has been always a correlation between language and religion. Language is the means to express beliefs and to reach God, and this had only been possible through the use of Latin in the Middle Ages and later. In this case, the quotation is in fact a reference to the spectral independence of religion with respect to Latin, because it is only through real feelings along with faith that people can reach God, and that is possible *w[i]t[h] our tonge*. The reality is,

however, that the vernacularisation of religion brought about the adoption of Latinate words and expressions (Nevalainen), which were meant to dignify the use of English for religious purposes.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has shown that English for specialised discourse practices was promoted from different fields of knowledge during the modern English period, even though Latin was identified with the language of global scientific communication. In this context, translation was an important practice, as much of the scientific, and even utilitarian, prose was presented in this classical language at the expense of the vernacular. Publishers were able to profit economically from translated material, so consequently much material was rendered into English. Other books were translated as the result of patronage for the new bourgeois class that demanded books for instruction. This didactic tone is behind the use of English since the vernacular was thought to facilitate students' learning. In the specific case of medical utilitarian texts, the intention was to provide knowledge for those occasions where a learned practitioner was not available. In the realm of religion, the use of English also represented a democratisation of religious practices since praying in the vernacular was possible due to a seeming disassociation between language and religion. Faith was gained through unconditioned belief and genuine feelings rather than through specific words. This promotion of English also had a political cause and effect, since its use entailed a sense of nationalistic pride comparable to that which was accorded to other languages of the European continent.

The process by which science and practical material gradually came to be expressed in English provided, for the first time, an extraordinary wealth of information for those not instructed in Latin. During the Jacobean Age, the objective of description became central for researchers and this apparently implied an increase in the number of linguistic devices used to convey objectivity. We have shown that, even if Jacobean rhetoric employed a plainer style with respect to Elizabethan practices, the connection between a less elaborated style and a reduction of interpersonal features leading to objectivity is not attested at all. Although expressions showing an opaque or implicit conceptualizer are used, these do not necessarily make the information presented more objective, since identification of source of information is possible through context.

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FROM KNOWLEDGE TO POWER: THE SLOW BUT RESOLUTE PROGRESS OF ENGLISH AS THE LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE

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Abstract

This paper considers some of the possible reasons for the use of English as the international language of science. An exploration of the evolution of science in English culture is a decisive step in understanding why the language has become so prestigious in the communication of science, to the extent that non-native scientists learn it and use it as their principle means of expression. It is argued that events in the history of modern science, from its beginnings to the present time, have played a crucial role in the modelling of scientific English and its worldwide expansion. The picture painted here, it is hoped, will convince the reader that, at least in this case, history matters.

Keywords: scientific discourse, diachrony, register, external history.

Resumen

En este trabajo se analizan algunas de las posibles razones en las que se fundamenta el uso del inglés como lengua internacional de la ciencia. Estudiar la evolución de la ciencia dentro de la cultura anglo-sajona es un paso decisivo para llegar a comprender el prestigio que esta lengua ha adquirido en el terreno de la comunicación científica, hasta tal punto que los científicos no nativos la aprenden y la utilizan como su principal vehículo de expresión. Los argumentos con los que se intenta dar cabida a la realidad de la lengua inglesa en el momento presente hacen referencia a diversos acontecimientos en la historia de la ciencia moderna, desde sus inicios hasta la actualidad, que han desempeñado un papel crucial en el desarrollo del inglés científico y su expansión a nivel mundial. Con suerte, el lienzo pintado aquí con el color de los hechos históricos, será útil para convencer al lector de que, al menos en este caso, la historia importa.

Palabras clave: discurso científico, diacronía, registro, historia externa.

And who in time knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue, to what strange shores
This gaine of our best glorie shal be sent.
T'enrich unknowing Nations with our stores?
What worlds in th'yet vnformed Occident
May come refin'd with th'accents that are ours?
Samuel Daniel, *Musophilus*, 1599

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1. INTRODUCTION

When Francis Bacon and Robert Boyle struggled to combine the Nova Scientia and its methodology with a form of linguistic expression appropriate to the transmission of this emerging knowledge, they could not have predicted the global extension of the English language in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The new methods embraced by Empiricism based scientific findings on facts and experiments, leaving little or no space for the intuitions of natural philosophers. For any study to be taken seriously, solid evidence on the observation of Nature had to be provided. Such broad principles situated the new science at the opposite pole from the previous scholastic tradition, which involved textual dialectic and abstract logic (Vallée). Scholasticism, intrinsically introspective in nature, relied heavily on the work of classical authors and the citation of these as authorities (Taavitsainen; Crespo, "General survey"). The scholastic model produced a firm and unchanging kind of knowledge, this fairly distant from reality. But it was not only the method that fostered a gap between knowledge and society, it was also the language used to convey it, Latin, and the reduced circles of power in which it was developed, particularly medieval monasteries and universities (Crespo, "La intervención femenina"). Indeed, changes in the way that society and science were understood are at the root of today's dominance of English in the field of science, although of course they are not the only reason.

In this paper I will explore the socio-historical causes for the imposition of English as *the* current language of science, as well as looking at the increasing suitability of English for this kind of scientific discourse. The paper has five sections. In the first of these I will briefly discuss the term 'imposition' in relation to the generally held view on the role of English at present and its imposition as such. In section 2 a historical outline is given, focussing on the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, with the aim of beginning the process of disentangling the position of the English language today. The effects of the Industrial Revolution up to recent times, both in socioeconomic development and scientific progress, will be discussed in section 3. Following this, section 4 deals with the imposition of a particular discourse on the scientific community, in both oral and written mediums, through generic conventions. Some final remarks will then be offered in section 5.

2. ON THE TERM IMPOSITION AND OTHERS

The historian of modern science Michael D. Gordin recently observed that "contemporary science is Anglophone" and that "science speaks English". He also talks about the "English dominance as a language of science" (Gordin, 310 *Scientific Babel*) and the "anglification of the sciences" (Gordin, 307 *Scientific Babel*). Elsewhere we can read about how "English dominates the formal dimension of international science" (Montgomery 3) and note the use of terms such as linguistic imperialism (Phillipson "Linguistic Imperialism", "Lingua Franca"), dominance, hegemony, monolingual monopoly (Montgomery) and imposition. Whereas some authors simply seek to find

an explanation for this (Crystal), others wonder about the pernicious effects for science of such monolingualism (Hamel). Indeed, some authors go a step further and venture that "if English is considered the default 'language of science', then the implication would seem to be that what is not in English is not scientific." (Seidlhofer 394). The situation, then, does not seem to be a trivial matter.

Interestingly, the Merriah Webster Dictionary online defines the *noun imposition* as:

a. a demand or request that is not reasonable or that causes trouble for someone;
b. the act of establishing or creating something in an official way: the act of imposing something.

In light of these two senses, the semantic prosody of the term seems to be fairly negative, in that with sense a) "not reasonable" and "causes trouble" convey clearly negative connotations, and sense b) refers to the official nature of the imposition itself, and thus to the obligatory nature of compliance. However, Drubin and Kellogg (1399) offer a much more positive and optimistic view:

> English is now used almost exclusively as the language of science. The adoption of a de facto universal language of science has had an extraordinary effect on scientific communication: by learning a single language, scientists around the world gain access to the vast scientific literature and can communicate with other scientists anywhere in the world.

Thus, researchers in this area certainly hold a wide range of opinions on the pros and cons of English as a lingua franca or as an international language. However, by turning briefly to the *British National Corpus* (*BNC,* 100 million words, 1970s-1993) and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA,* 450 million words, 1990-2012) we can get a glimpse of how, more generally, members of the English-speaking community view their tongue as the worldwide language of science. Thus, the noun phrase "English language" was assessed in these corpora, looking specifically at its collocation with words from the semantic field of 'imposition'. The results were manually disambiguated, and are as follows:

Table 1. *Results in BNC and COCA*

	BNC	*COCA*
Hegemony	1	4
Imperialism	1	6
Imposition	0	3
Dominance	3	30
Domination	1	0

A further search for the noun *science* and the adjective *scientific* showed that 'science' did not occur with *English language* whereas the adjective *scientific* did, three times in the *BNC* and just once in *COCA*. In principle, these findings do not

seem to lead to any significant conclusions but to mere speculation; yet some of the extracts returned in these searches provide interesting opinions on the role of English and the contexts in which it operates.

First, in the following excerpt taken from the *BNC* scientific English is seen as influencing equivalent registers in other languages through translation. Here the author hints at the strategic place scientific English occupies:

> (1) The use of the passive voice is extremely common in many varieties of written English and can pose various problems in translation, depending on the availability of similar structures, or structures with similar functions, in the target language. Because of its widespread use in technical and scientific English in particular, it has had a strong influence on similar registers in other languages through translation. The tendency to translate English passive structures literally into a variety of target languages which either have no passive voice as such or which would normally use it with less frequency is often criticized by linguists and by those involved in training translators. (Baker, 1992).

Second, other examples report on the causes behind the dominance and hegemony of English, this being taken for granted:

> (2) English is used as an official language in 60 countries and is the main language of international business – over three quarters of the world's mail is written in it. The only really significant inroad into the dominance of English in recent years has come from Spanish in the southern states of the US. Much of this is a legacy of the British Empire. [...] in the post-colonial era, the dominance of English has been more due to the commercial power of the United States. Faced with mutual incomprehension on one hand and linguistic imperialism on the other... (BNC, New Internationalist).
> (3) This media blitz contributes in its own right to the public perception of the hegemony of English in the global world. (Anthropological Quarterly, 2004).
> (4) Three factors have been quite instrumental in uplifting and boosting the role of English in the international arena: British colonialism, research productivity and mass global communication (Benson, 1994; Crystal, 2003). The power and dominance enjoyed by the English language in the changing scenario led to the upsurge of feelings of linguistic imperialism. (College Student journal, 2011).

Third, in reading the expanded fragments of these searches, it seems that *English language* and *power* is presented from the point of view of *TEFL* or *TESOL* in the *BNC* texts, whereas in *COCA* statements seem to be much more concerned with hegemony and imperialism. Clearly, these are merely intuitions, and would require the extensive analysis of empirical data for confirmation. However, we must leave this for future research, and return to the origins of the dominance of scientific English.

Looking at the history of English we might wonder whether this has always been so, or on the contrary, whether a kind of tacit consensus has arisen over the

course of time and events. At any rate, a journey through the history of English science and its relation to the language might shed light on the contemporary state of things (Siguán, Crystal). To know and understand the past can help us better understand the present as well as to predict likely changes in the near future.

3. FIRST STEPS TOWARDS "ENGLISH AS THE LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE"

My view as to the role of present-day English as a language of science is that it has its origin in the very roots of modern science, and as such I concur with Hyland (18) in claiming that the foundations of the language of science can be dated from the 1600s.

Prior to the emergence of the empiricist method among those devoted to the scrutiny of nature and all things natural, the abstract mode of thought of Scholasticism dominated the various fields of knowledge. Scholastic authors from the Western tradition, as well as their peers in the Arabic world, used the same language to communicate their claims about nature: Latin. But Latin was already a dead language, with no native speaker, and with a few exceptions was confined to the written medium. Learning the language, then, implied a certain degree of education, and hence of social position. Latin was a vehicle for the transmission of elevated concerns, used by the social elite for the purposes of control: the control of knowledge, the control of people, the control of power. But it was generally considered a fitting tool in science, given that it was a "cross-national" means of communication, and one which was well accepted among the members of the epistemic community. The Graeco-Roman tradition contained the wisdom of all classical authors who could be read directly without translations or further interpretation. The attraction of this language, and the benefits it was seen to offer, perhaps lay precisely in it not being the language of a particular people with defined geographical boundaries and political objectives; the converse, of course, is true of current-day English.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, authors, finding themselves immersed in the humanistic renaissance and also the wave of nationalism of the period, began to use their native tongues in academic issues. These vernacular languages and Latin coexisted for a period of time, in the case of England until well into the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, in Europe Galileo Galilei published his discovery of the moons of Jupiter in the Latin *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610), but following this switched to Italian, the language of his major works, not least because he needed to attract support and patronage. Newton's *Principia* (1687) appeared in Latin, but seventeen years later his *Opticks* appeared first in English, with the Latin translation published two years after this in 1706 (Gordin, *Scientific Babel*). The Renaissance culture paves the way for an incipient multilingualism in Western countries in which socioeconomic power will end up imposing its own rules. Particularly in England, there is an atmosphere of support for national interests that encourages and enhances the use of English and the development of all things necessary (instruments, objects...) to contribute to the nation's welfare. We cannot overlook in this

context the fact that the English language was used by the kings of England as a symbol of freedom and independence from France, a means of stirring the English people into war against France during the Hundred Years' War and later (Crespo, "Change in Life"). This, indeed, is the very essence of history, a sequence of linked past events which exerts its influence on further events, from which we inherit our current situation and probably also our future.

The current of empiricist thought developed by John Locke began to emerge early in the seventeenth century, guided by Francis Bacon, a man considered by some authors to be the very father of empiricism (Sgarbi). Bacon's philosophy defended learning through sensory experience as well as the observation of natural phenomena, which has to be systematized and conveyed through mathematical language. As Dear (69) puts it: "Bacon's stress on first-hand experience and experiment, together with his high evaluation of utility, subsequently promoted precisely the kind of pragmatic corpuscular mechanism that is so typical of the early Royal Society later in the century."

However, early post-Baconian natural philosophers were still imbued with vestiges of the scholastic style and preferred focusing on authorial statements rather than on the object of study itself. This is the reason why we can still find some linguistic traces of scholasticism in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century works. Some of these traces are evident uses of a prescriptive nature, as in constructions like "it is to be noted" or references to classical authorities in sequences such as "after NAME" or "by the authority of NAME", while some others are hidden in the construction of arguments (Puente-Castelo, forthcoming). Between 1500 and 1700 complaints were voiced by authors about the use of English in scientific texts, in that the polysemy of its terms sometimes resulted in ambiguity. They called for the creation of new terms with more appropriate referential meanings. Gotti (156) mentions how in *The Breuiary of Helthe*, Borde (1552) comments that "the field in which the English language proved to be particularly inadequate was that of names of art" where, he claims, technical terms that form the basic lexicon of a particular field are not adequate to transmit the corresponding content. This is also something Locke recalls of language in general in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (online edition, The University of Adelaide):

> But to understand better the use and force of Language, as subservient to instruction and knowledge, it will be convenient to consider: First, To what it is that names, in the use of language, are immediately applied. Secondly, Since all (except proper) names are general, and so stand not particularly for this or that single thing, but for sorts and ranks of things, it will be necessary to consider, in the next place, what the sorts and kinds, or, if you rather like the Latin names, what the Species and Genera of things are, wherein they consist, and how they come to be made. These being (as they ought) well looked into, we shall the better come to find the right use of words; the natural advantages and defects of language; and the remedies that ought to be used, to avoid the inconveniences of obscurity or uncertainty in the signification of words: without which it is impossible to discourse with any clearness or order concerning knowledge: which, being conversant about propositions, and those most commonly universal ones, has greater connexion with words than perhaps is suspected.

The importance of language in scientific concerns is taken up by Lavoisier (asqueted in Barlett, 359) a century later (1789) when he writes:

> It is impossible to dissociate language from science or science from language, because every natural science always involves three things: the sequence of phenomena on which the science is based; the abstract concepts which call these phenomena to mind; and the words in which the concepts are expressed. To call forth a concept a word is needed; to portray a phenomenon, a concept is needed. All three mirror one and the same reality.

As Crossgrove and Pahta and Taavitsainen have explained, the Latin conventions of science writing were transferred into the vernaculars of Europe, especially in the late Middle Ages, but it was in the Age of Reason that scientific and technological issues were seen and treated as economically beneficial (Jardine). Economic advantage, and consequently economic power, may thus have motivated the publication of scientific works in English (sponsored by native speakers). At the same time, in the field of grammar, considerable debate raged on the enrichment of English and its validity as a vehicle of scientific communication (see Borde, above).

Apart from economic issues, some authors (cf. Martin 177) search for an explanation of the dramatic changes in the world of knowledge during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in religious dissension:

> The motivations of seventeenth-century innovators in natural philosophy, whether Protestant or Catholic, were deeply religious. Their abandonment of Peripatetic philosophy arose, at least in part, from the conviction that the best historical studies of the day demonstrated that Aristotle deviated from Christianity giving permission to seek more pious alternatives.

So far, social, economic and religious factors have all been credited with helping to initiate, and to a certain extent accelerate, the break with the medieval academic tradition.

Another relevant element here has to do with publication and dissemination. The distribution of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* in the eighteenth century led to an explosion in scientific activity, largely written in English. But this was not the only language; other vernaculars were also used for the expression of science (Kaplan).

In seventeenth-century England, Boyle's works, echoing Bacon's claims, set the tone for the new paradigm of scholarly writing. The Baconian claim that scientific subjects had to be conveyed by means of a non-ornamental style, devoid of those figures of speech that could cloud or obscure the scientific message, was adopted by members of the *Royal Society* in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and indeed by scientists in general. In fact, two types of proposals were involved; first, that a plain style should characterise scientific writings; second, that science demanded a style of its own, one capable of expressing objective truth. In the midst of this debate, Henry Oldenburg himself translated letters and articles that he had received into English to be published.

The main principles behind scientific work were truthfulness and reliability, and this was directly connected to the kind of people who could devote themselves to the pursuit of knowledge: the gentleman, who was "financially independent" and could afford these "socially approved pastimes" and who adhered to "genteel standards of conduct and communication" (Kaplan 8). Scientific development was, then, conceived of as a gentlemanly activity, one which generated a genteel discourse (Bazerman, Atkinson) in which certain discursive rules were also established. This discourse set the basis for modern scientific English.

Boyle was quite interested in making readers participants of his experiments as a means of gaining witnesses. At the same time, reporting experimental activities in detail reinforced the idea of reliability. Boyle's endeavours to use a plain, naked style was sometimes accompanied by apologies for being too long-winded, although as Shapin (483) has stated, verbosity and ornamented sentence structure formed "part of a plan to convey circumstantial details and to give the impression of verisimilitude". This method of transmission was in accordance with the moral and social values of Restoration England: simplicity and service to the community, the basic pillars of puritan religion.

The publication of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* also contributed greatly to the spread of the use of English. This current extended across Europe alongside empirical research and the kind of discursive rhetoric it implied (Kaplan, Prelli). In Gordin's words (*Absolute English*), then, it can be said that "modern science emerged organically from the polyglot stew of the Renaissance."

4. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND EVEN CLOSER

By the end of the eighteenth century, works in chemistry, physics, physiology and botany had come to be published in a myriad of languages, not only in English but also in French, German, Italian, Dutch, Swedish, Danish and others.

However, European industrialization in the nineteenth century, in a quest for optimum efficiency, began to see this polyglot system of publication as an additional hurdle for scientists, who had to waste time learning languages so as to be able to learn about new discoveries, inventions or current theories instead of focusing their efforts on industrial or technical matters. This in turn led to a reduction in the number of languages which were habitually used as vehicles of communication, and also in a functional distribution among those that remained: English, French and German, the latter used mainly in Chemistry (Gordin, *Absolute English*).

The nineteenth century also saw a revival of national sentiments and the flourishing of national literatures under the umbrella of the Romantic Movement. Nationalism typically runs parallel to praise for the mother tongue and as part of a celebration of cultural and distinctive idiosyncrasies. In the case of Britain, infused by the rising dominance of the British industrial economy and the imperialist attitude of its citizens, the English language spread world-wide.

In nineteenth-century Britain science developed in the universities and at learned societies. It was also the subject of long and profound debate by clusters of individuals

in various clubs and associations who, while themselves anonymous, would come to see their thoughts, reasoning and formulations echoed in the formal centres of knowledge. Exchanges of information in their meetings were conveyed solely through English, and in addition to science, literature and politics were discussed (MacLeod). Such individuals constituted an elite that marked the progress of the country and its citizens. As long as the effects were beneficial for the population, the commitment to science and technology was supported and enhanced. And all this was done without recourse to Latin.

Broadly speaking, Britain dominated the industrialised world both in terms of international trade and technological development (rail networks and steamships), together with having a growing middle class that demanded material goods and was the driving force behind industrial expansion. Steam power dramatically improved the key British industries of coal, steel and textiles. It was also important for the mechanization of agriculture and the subsequent increase in food production.

Another explanation for this amazing growth can be found in the expansion of the empire and the process of colonization. The moral codes of Puritanism, encapsulated in the values of 'improvement' and 'self-help', played a significant role in the process by which the middle classes could rise up the social ladder, and such codes were, consequently, part and parcel of this scenario of socio-economic prosperity (Atterbury).

The imperialist ideology that dominated the discourses of nineteenth-century British society "demanded imperialization on moral, religious and scientific grounds" (Bratlinger, 168) which obviously included education in English, at least for a small part of the population, in that this education was further "constrained by economic concerns" (Pennycook 77). Yet, the English language was seen by contemporary authors as "the great medium of civilization, the language of law and literature to the Hindoo, of commerce to the African, of religion to the scattered islands of the Pacific" (Guest 703) and as "the grand medium for all the business of government, for commerce, for law, for science, for literature, for philosophy, and divinity" (George 6). All these observations seem to confirm that as the ideology became more nationalist the loyalty to the language of the speech community increased (Martel). The language, hence, becomes a cultural standard, a symbol of identity, an agglutinating element of a people and, at the same time, its distinctive feature. Contemporary authors not only reported on the current situation but also predicted the future of English as a world language. This was the case with the German linguist Jacob Grimm who in 1832 wrote: "the English language [...] appears destined hereafter to prevail with a sway more extensive even than its present over all the portions of the globe".[1]

In the nineteenth century science was exceedingly important for human thought, given that scientists tried to explain the grounds of any technological developments or apparatus, and this willingness for giving explanations brought about an immense growth of research in fundamental science. In addition, scientific advances were shown to benefit the general public. This is one of the reasons why the popularisation of science played a paramount role, in that it made people understand the "whys,

[1] The quotations from Guest, George and Grimm have been taken from Pennycook (99).

hows and what fors" of the scientific enterprise. After all, "the true and legitimate goal of the sciences is to endow human life with new discoveries and resources", as Bacon (Jardine&Silverthorne's edition, 66) had already claimed two centuries earlier. Scientific pedagogy, as well as scientific research, were conveyed in English at a time when this tongue was starting to be learned and thought of as dominant by speakers of colonised territories.

Scientific knowledge and economic progress run in parallel. National pride enshrined in geo-political success touched all spheres of life resulting in a feeling of superiority which extended throughout British culture and its language (Pennycook).

4.1. Closer to us: the past century

The dormant United States will emerge in the twentieth century as the spearhead of the linguistic dominance of English, with a variety of historical events clearly precipitating the demise of competing languages in the global scientific community.

The first of these was the Great War. The consequences for German as one of the languages of science were devastating. As Americans entered the war they issued public regulations to weaken the use of German in the German-speaking areas of the USA. An anti-German feeling spread in the country that would result in the study of foreign languages being neglected for an entire generation. Moreover, in the 1920s international associations for scientific research were established which barred German scientists from joining. The decay of German in science was inevitable (Knight).

The second event was World War II and its aftermath. Many German scientists fled to the United States and started publishing in English. While Europe was devastated by the effects of the war, scientific institutions in the US remained intact, and would begin to accept students from abroad, including third-world countries, who would end up writing in English and becoming leaders in scientific research and communication (Kaplan).

Russian had also been a significant vehicle of scientific communication, but ceased to be considered as such with the onset of the Cold War (Gordin, *Absolute English*). The Anglo-American model of science began to be exported with the compliance of non-English speaking countries from Europe and Latin America. All these external factors led to the rise in English to a position of dominance in the field of science.

More recently, and as an illustration of how far this dominance has extended, the official global record of plant species, the so-called "International Code of Botanical Nomenclature", officially replaced (previously compulsory) Latin with English in 2012. The current situation is one in which English is overwhelmingly used as the vehicle of scientific communication *par excellence*, as attested in a huge number of international forums and databases, although not without controversy. The benefits and flaws of this historico-political choice is beyond the scope of the present study, which focuses on scientific English as an evolutionary register. Hence, I will now complete the arguments on possible reasons behind the resolute pace of the rise of English as the language of science.

5. GENERIC CONVENTIONS

In this section I will briefly introduce the topic of generic conventions in English from the beginning of modern science to the present.

Scientific practice in the modern era required appropriate formats to channel empiricist voices. As already mentioned, after the emergence of the new methodology, scholasticism began to undergo a dramatic change, with authors beginning to cite evidence to support their arguments and basing their statements on observation and experimental procedures, what Boyle called the "rhetoric of immediate experience", as Atkinson (335) has already noted. The new methodology, then, involved a new discourse that emerged as a reaction to deductive logic from classical sources and demanded precision and objectivity in writing, specific terminology, the omission of rhetorical devices, and the avoidance of authorial presence. Writers of the early modern period represented a moral and social model to be followed. Scientific authors acted as guarantors of truthfulness and reliability which would give an "impression of objectivity" (Gross et al. 47). Boyle, one of the writers who produced scientific reports in precisely this way, also expressed some ideas of his own on the organisation of scientific writing, and these would come to constitute part of the origins of current scientific rhetoric. He defended the introduction of images in texts and the integration of new meanings in the semantic range of reference of old words; he claimed that findings should be the pure object of scientific dispute, experimental essays should be published in the form of letters, and that witnessing and trustworthiness were reinforced by reference to authorities. This was the basis for a system of citations to ensure the validity of scientific claims (Allen, Qin and Lancaster; Swales).

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 57-72

Thus, as science and its method progress, the genteel discourse of seventeenth-century science is rendered insufficient. The reliability and truthfulness which scientific rigor demands are no longer achieved by the credibility of the author alone but by the methodology of research and the way in which the practice of science is communicated (Crespo, "Astronomy"). From the late 1660s to the beginning of the nineteenth century scientific narratives are characterised by moving from authorial involvement in discourse (verbal structures) to the representation of a more informational and object-centred rhetoric (Atkinson xxvi; Crespo, "Astronomy").

Likewise, during the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century some external factors exerted a downwards pressure on the genteel code in the scientific arena; these included an increasingly literate population and modern methods and technologies that had developed mainly during the industrial revolution. The linguistic corollary is that the discourse of science adjusts to accommodate new scientific settings, shifting from an involved to an informational tone. In this way science also comes to occupy a social role, and as a consequence its language becomes differentiated from that of other domains, creating a new

variety of English.[2] Scientific discourse was mainly presented in books in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but in the following century the journal article would gain much more importance (Allen, Qin and Lancaster).

Originally, the journal article typically contained the description of a natural phenomenon which had been observed, in accordance with the Baconian tenets of simplicity and clearness of exposition (Harmon & Gross). Overall we might say that until the nineteenth century, scientific works were written according to the norms of general expository prose, a particular prose style with a corresponding lexicon, and that endeavours at specialisation were tentative. Specialisation and the institutionalisation of science, as well as the view that scientists were professionals, developed during the period of the industrial revolution and the great expansion of the British Empire. However, stylistically speaking, nineteenth century articles tended to be more impersonal, moving towards the consolidation of a "homogeneous communicative style" as Gross et al. (138) have shown in their analysis of English, French and German works. From a structural point of view, nineteenth-century articles are organised into sections and include recognisable introductions and conclusions. Indeed, Gross et al. (138) note the presence of "title and author credits, headings, equations segregated from text, visuals provided with legends, and citations standardized as to format and position", all of which points to the contemporary format. No doubt, the specialization and professionalization of science consolidates during the twentieth century alongside the IMRD article format. As David Knight (149) has explained:

> The language of science overlaps with that of ordinary life, but words like 'field', 'elementary' and 'family' came to be used in the later nineteenth century in rather different senses in physics, chemistry and biology. Learning science is in part learning a language. As scientific courses proliferated, so this aspect became more prominent; the people working in particular sciences came to expect of each other that they would speak the same language, and gaps between physicists, chemists, biologists, geologists and so on increased.

This implies a move closer to today's scientific register, modelled on disciplinary and generic conventions and described by some as "highly compressed, neutral, monotonal" (Gross et al. 137). It is a register conveyed mainly through nominal constructions, objectification or reification, specialised lexical items, and passive voice structures. Indeed, passivisation is one of the linguistic mechanisms used in scientific English that confers objectivity on the message

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[2] Some 19th century authors included in *CETA* (*Corpus of English Texts on Astronomy*, 2012) are known to have coined new terminology within this emerging field of science. Whewell (1833), a founding member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, devised the terms "anode," "cathode," and "ion" for the chemist Michael Faraday. He was also asked to conceive of a term to replace the then current expressions "natural philosopher" and "man of science", and thus the word "scientist" came into being. Similarly, the well-known mathematician Chauvenet (1871) is said to have invented a list of mathematical terms, which included "continuous function".

by positioning the writer at a distance from what is stated in the text (Baker). Its illocutionary effect has turned it into a distinctive feature in the communication of science, and its pervasive influence can also be traced in translations and even in works written in other languages.

It is the quest for objectivity by those carrying out scientific work from the seventeenth century onwards that endows the English language with the touch of neutrality used nowadays by writers of all nationalities to communicate scientific work on a global scale. Leaving aside the fact that the business of scientific publication is also largely in Anglophone hands, impartiality seems to prevail over the association of English dominance in science with "geopolitics, personal preferences, economic pressures, and a host of contingent twists and turns" (Gordin, *Scientific Babel*: 310). This association might also be understood as part of the key to success.

6. FINAL REMARKS

This swift walk through the history of modern science was intended to demonstrate that current statements and opinions on the spread of English worldwide are well rooted in the actions and ideologies of language users in previous periods. Simply put, the situation we are presently facing is a consequence of the past.

When we ask why Central and South American countries are Spanish-speaking countries, the answer is to be found in the history of Spain and the expansion of its empire through the discovery of new territories. Similarly, if we want to know why English has become the language of science, in all likelihood we will find the answer in the origin and evolution of science itself, in its main philosophical trends and the postulates of key figures, as well as in the socio-economic and political factors that have framed this progress. No matter what speakers do or think, their language will inexorably follow them.

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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCIENTIFIC WRITING IN THE CORUÑA CORPUS: ENGLISH "CULTIVATED BY INDUSTRIOUS AND GOOD HANDS"[1*]

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Abstract

This paper aims at comparing the use of classical terms in eighteenth scientific writing in English once the patterns of Scholasticism have been abandoned and the new methods brought about by Empiricism are settled. The paper will focus on how two different disciplines, Philosophy as a representative of the Humanities, and Life Sciences, representing the observational sciences, make use of such forms as an indicator of their links to the past as well as one of the discursive traditions typical of each. The data to carry out this analysis will be taken from two subcorpora of the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing*, namely, the *Corpus of English Philosophy Texts* (*CEPhiT*) and the *Corpus of English Life Sciences Texts* (*CELiST*). Both quantitative and qualitative methods will be used.

Keywords: Classical terms, corpus linguistics, scientific writing.

Resumen

Este trabajo pretende comparar el uso de términos clásicos en la escritura científica en inglés en el siglo dieciocho una vez abandonados los modelos del escolasticismo y que se ha asentado el empirismo con sus nuevos métodos. El artículo se concentrará en cómo dos disciplinas diferentes, la Filosofía, como representante de las humanidades, y las Ciencias de la Vida, como representante de las ciencias observacionales, usan tales formas como indicadores de sus lazos con el pasado así como de las tradiciones discursivas típicas de cada una de ellas. Los datos usados para llevar a cabo este estudio se toman de dos sub-corpus del *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing*, en concreto, del *Corpus of English Philosophy Texts* (*CEPhiT*) t del *Corpus of English Life Sciences Texts* (*CELiST*). Se usan tanto métodos cuantitativos como cualitativos

Palabras clave: términos clásicos, lingüística de corpus, escritura científica.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Science written in English is generally considered to have become a well-established practice by the eighteenth century, the vernacular having replaced Latin as a vehicle of communication, the culmination of a process which started as early as 1375 (Taavitsainen and Pahta). The linguistic situation was so stable at the time that authors such as Tieken-Boon van Ostade (254) claim that "according to traditional accounts of eighteenth-century English, nothing much happened to the language during this period." One might expect to find that some words of a classical etymology would still be used in texts dealing with scientific issues (as is also the case today), although perhaps these not equally present across all disciplines. Indeed, even nowadays some fields of knowledge seem to be more prone to use such terms. A simple example will suffice here. In 2005 a new dinosaur fossil was discovered in Australia. After observing its characteristics palaeontologists immediately gave it a pseudo-Latin name, *Spinosaurus*, illustrating that Latin persists as a preference in the scientific register of this field.

It is the aim of the current paper to examine late Modern English scientific texts in order to ascertain whether scientific writing was wholly vernacularised, as claimed by some, and to what extent not only isolated terms but also expressions of Greek and Latin origin are still to be found in scientific works of different technical levels. A further goal here is to compare the behaviour of these forms in disciplines which today we would call hard or soft sciences. To this end, section two provides a short overview of the scientific and linguistic situation in the English-speaking world during the eighteenth century, and also sets out the initial working hypothesis for this study. Section three describes the material and methodology used, followed by a section presenting the findings of the analysis, both in general terms and in a more detailed way, offering a perspective on the kind of terms predominating in each of the disciplines analysed, plus their type and distribution. Finally, some conclusions will be presented.

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 73-90

2. SOME BACKGROUND

It is difficult to speak of eighteenth-century English science specifically, in that the field was in fact an international one. However, it is worth noting that English scholars did contribute greatly to scientific development in general and to the solutions to some of the most significant issues of the time, such as the separation and identification of gases and the nature of electricity, hugely important questions that English scientists such as Henry Cavendish (1730-1800) helped to resolve (Plumb 101).

[1] Douglas, 1707, in *CELisT.*

* I would like to express my gratitude to Anabella Barsaglini Castro for her help in collecting some of the data for this study and to Leida Maria Monaco for her valuable questions and comments.

The eighteenth century witnessed the emergence and development of the scientific method, and with it a new way of writing. However, we must bear in mind that some of the authors who encouraged the development of science just a century earlier in England, like Boyle, Newton and Bacon, were often inspired by their reading of Latin authors... in Latin (Silver).

Although there is no way of knowing definitively whether the new mechanical philosophy (replacing the old natural philosophy) appeared first in *Latin* or in a European vernacular (Gabbey 14), authors such as Garber (10) claim that it was Robert Boyle who introduced the term *mechanical philosophy* in English in the seventeenth century. Educated in Latin, Boyle nevertheless used English in his writings, a practice which had its parallel in the movement in France by which natural philosophers deserted Latin in favour of French and preferred small books that could be carried around with them instead of the huge tomes which had been the cornerstones of their education (Roux 68).

From the moment at which the so-called Scientific Revolution erupted, objectivity was the main goal of all scientists. The experimental or scientific method favoured this search for objectivity, in that experiments were now to be described with sufficient precision that anyone could reproduce them and thus seek to confirm the findings. This form of making science also had an inevitable consequence on the way science was written. However, studies on discourse tend to view the second part of the eighteenth century as a period of reaction to this focus on objectivity and also as a reaction to Rationalism. It seems there is a continued shift, not only in scientific writing but in discourse in general, that goes from this object-centred world to a reality that is more deeply related to the inner self of authors (Adamson), such a shift finally giving rise to the Romantic Movement. Also, from the middle of the century onwards, the relation between language and its users began to be taken into consideration by authors such as Harris (1751) and Beattie (1783). Whereas it is true that certain linguistic features and constructions were associated with science during the eighteenth century, it is worth noting that other features denoting interpersonal interaction between writer and reader can also be detected in eighteenth-century scientific writing (Crespo; Alonso Almeida, “Sentential Evidential” and “An analysis”; Moskowich).

It may be true, as traditionally claimed, that not much happened to the language during the eighteenth century apart from the impulse of its speakers to search for purification of expression. Linguistic behaviour was part of social behaviour and language was used as a means of emphasising social exclusivity. Words of Anglo-Saxon origin were considered low and were often replaced by Latinisms because words derived from Latin were supported by the “authority” of classical writers (Gifford), which indeed was one of the controversies of the century.[2]

[2] Millward and Hayes (224-237).

Both the changes occurring in science and those occurring, if not to language itself then at least to people's conceptions of it, had an effect on its use. Latin had been the language of knowledge for a long time, but the transformation of science also provoked its widespread abandonment in face of the use of vernaculars. Latin was no longer considered the *lingua franca* of science, yet somehow it managed to persist for a considerable time. With all these changing attitudes to language as a vehicle for knowledge, our research question here is whether classical linguistic elements survived better in the Humanities or in other more observational, scientific disciplines. Looking at the evolution of scientific texts in English, it seems plausible to suppose that such lexical items and expressions would be more frequently found in the Natural, observational Sciences (an example of which is Life Sciences) than in the Humanities (the Philosophy texts used for this work). But is this in fact the case?

3. CORPUS MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

The data for this study, itself an empirical one, have been drawn from real eighteenth-century scientific texts. Two subcorpora of the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing* (*CC*, henceforth) have been used, the *CEPhiT* (*Corpus of English Philosophy Texts*) and the *CELiST* (*Corpus of English Life Sciences Texts*). Although the *CC* contains texts from 1700 to 1900, only those samples belonging to the eighteenth century have been considered in both disciplines for this study. *CELiST* eighteenth-century samples cover practically the whole century starting with a text by Douglas (1707) and finishing with one by Smith (1795). The samples in *CEPhiT* begin in 1700 with a text by Mary Astell and end in 1793 with one by Alexander Crombie. Complete lists of the texts analysed, their authors and year of publication, are provided in Appendices 1 and 2.

Following the principles that govern the *CC*, every sample contains around 10,000 words. Hence, the material used in the present analysis amounts to 400,244 words in all. Table 1 below shows the very similar distribution of these words across the two groups:

Table 1. Word count for the present study

Subcorpus	Number of words
CEPhiT	200,022
CELiST	200,220
TOTAL	400,244

Since this is a microscopic study, automatic analysis is very limited and manual disambiguation is relatively more important. In other words, it is essential in this type of study for texts to be considered as such, that is, to be read. Two wordlists were created for these data, with a two-fold purpose: on the one hand, to make sure no hidden manifestations (Köhnen) were missed; on the

other, to make it possible to revise every single term and apply the necessary criteria of analysis. Thus, not all classical-looking terms have been included. Non-classical proper names or place names have been disregarded, although Latinised in their form. Hence forms such as *Japonica*, *Matthiolus* and *Linneus* were excluded. On the contrary, proper names such as *Ponponius Mela* (who lived in the first century AD) have been considered since it is the prevalence of Greek and (mostly) Latin in English texts that we aim to describe. Other terms that have a clear Latin origin have also been disregarded since they already function as part of the English word stock in the same corpus. Such is the case of *ocular*, in the following example from *CELiST*:

> (1) from this Principle (for which we have **ocular** Demonſtration) I ſhall endeavour to ſhew how the Corpuſcles that compoſe the Secretions are formed in the Blood (Keill, 1717:103).

On occasions manual disambiguation revealed that certain terms could be both English and classical (mainly Latin), as in the case of *per*. In fact, our manual scrutiny of the automatically created word list showed that only one of the two instances of this form in *CELiST* (illustrated in the Latin expression in example (2) below) was actually classical, the other being unequivocally integrated in English (see example (3)):

> (2) ten per inſolationem (Blair, 1723: 23)
> (3) pence ſterling per gallon (Vancroft, 1769: 169)

So, a multi-method approach was used, since both automatic searches and manual disambiguation were required, thus combining corpus linguistics techniques with a philological treatment of the texts. This was only to be expected, given the nature of the data, and one of the tools and methods used was the Coruña Corpus Tool (CCT) (Moskowich et al). The CCT served a twofold purpose: to create one wordlist for each subcorpora, and to search for terms in the texts themselves in order to disambiguate uses and meanings. The first step involved the creation with CCT of one wordlist per discipline in order to obtain a closed list of the elements to be analysed.[3] After this, each list was saved separately in a spreadsheet. Figure 1 illustrates the initial, bare wordlist for the Life Sciences subcorpus before any editing or revision. Types are followed by number of tokens, which will, however, be subject to revision:

[3] Köhnen (139) claims that one of the problems in the study of language is that we do not always have a complete inventory of the forms to be considered, and thus we can miss what he calls hidden manifestations. In our study, wordlists are a fundamental means identifying any Latin or Greek terms which we might otherwise have overlooked.

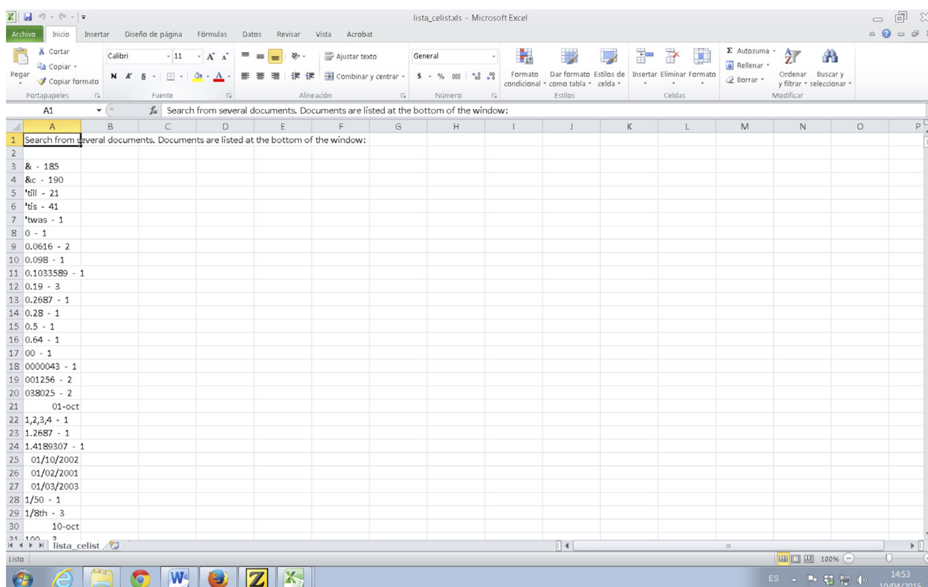


Figure 1. Initial word list for *CELiST.*

The two initial lists were manually revised and cleaned, eliminating all those types that were clearly non-classical and leaving any which would need to be searched for in a second stage. The types in the list were then cleaned manually again, this time eliminating all forms that were not of a classical etymology or that, although classical in origin, were already adapted and completely integrated into the language (often with phonological and spelling adaptations). The online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) was useful here since the dates of introduction of the terms and the language through which they had come into English could also be taken into account.

A second revision of the two lists was made to make sure only the tokens of a particular type that were really either Latin or Greek remained (as exemplified with *per* in (2) and (3) above). The remaining terms were classified into five groups: technical terms, technical expressions, proper names, work titles and place names. Technical terms here often refer to names of objects or living beings in nature (plants, anatomical parts, etc.), and have been treated independently from proper names that refer only to people. Technical expressions are multi-word constructions that cannot be considered as compound nouns and that fulfil a special role in a particular jargon. Examples (4) to (8) below provide an example of each of these five categories respectively:

(4) Technical term: bell-polypus, or hydra **ſtentorea** (Smellie, 1790: 47)

(5) Technical expression: When we come to a **ne plus ultra** in any chain of reaſoning, we… (Macaulay, 1783: 43)
(6) Work title: In the Flora Anglica this plant is marked as biennial (Smith, 1795: 241)
(7) Placename: Alcmæon of **Croton**, [Segm]. 83. was alſo an Auditor of Pythagoras (Greene, 1727: 12)
(8) Proper name: Nor are capital puniſhments without their uſe among beaſts and birds. **RORARIUS** tells us, that Quod bruta… (Collins, 1717: 97).

Once all these steps were taken for each subcorpus, the resulting elements were analysed, as described in the following section.

4. ANALYSIS OF DATA

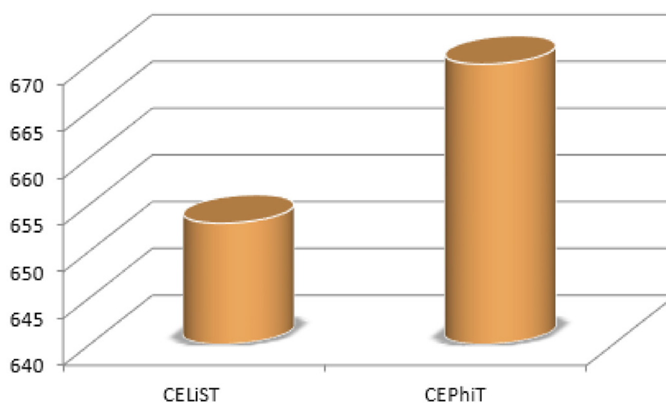
Although my data contain approximately the same number of words (200,000) for each of the two fields of knowledge under study, it is worth noting that the final material to be scrutinised, that is, terms and expressions taken from Greek and Latin, is not at all equally distributed. On the contrary, of the 2,936 types of classical origin, those texts belonging to the Natural Sciences contain 1,530, whereas texts dealing with Philosophy contain only 406. That is to say, of the total of Latin or Greek forms recorded, only 13,82% appear in Philosophy texts, which is surprising since our counts include proper names and ancient authors (authorities) which are mentioned often in the samples.

Perhaps the first notable feature of the comparison of the two lists is that only 39 types are common to both disciplines. In other words, Philosophy and Life Sciences seem to have inherited independent sets of lexical terms that are, one supposes, characteristic of the respective disciplines. The fact that we have fewer types in texts dealing with Philosophy may also be a result of the fact that many of the terms there were excluded from the analysis because they were already perfectly integrated in the language and anglicised after a long period of continued use in philosophical writing. Such is the case of the word *panacea*, recorded as early as 1548 according to the *OED*, and whereas a high-level word, was not considered to be Latin proper. A similar effect can be seen in the word *data* (ironically excluded from this work based on data) since it appeared in texts as early as 1645.

Those types occurring in both subcorpora are mainly terms referring to nature and was at the time labelled Natural Philosophy. This is the case with words such as *parenchyma* (with 5 hits in *CEPhiT*, all of them in the text by Smellie, 1797, a text about natural history, and only 1 in *CELiST*) and *strata* (with 1 case in *CEPhiT* and 4 in *CELiST*). As already noted, this may point to an already independent development of both fields, even though *natural phi-*

losophy and *natural philosopher* were still in use to refer to *science* and *scientist*,[4] respectively. Curiously, the word *scientist* is recorded only three times in this corpus, with both *sciences* and *scientific* occurring just once.

Types, however, are little more than indices of lexical richness and, to some extent, millstones left by traditional learning within each field. When we turn to the issue of tokens, however, something different emerges. The samples in *CEPhiT* contain 991 tokens and those in *CELiST* 3,487, in a proportion that could be expected. The presence of hapax legomena differs, with 999 types occurring only once in Life Sciences and 272 in Philosophy. However, once these raw frequencies are normalised (to 1,000), we find that Philosophy texts are richer from a lexical point of view with 669.95 types, whereas texts from *CELiST* contain 652.94 unique types (see graph 2 below):



Graph 2. Hapax legomena of classical origin.

Such a finding is not easy to explain. Life Sciences might be expected to contain a wider variety of vocabulary if we consider that most samples belong to catalogues describing elements of nature, as in:

> (9) At the **Os ſeſamoidæum** of the firſt Joint, each divides into two Tendons (Douglas, 1707: 121).

Although *hapax legomena* help us see the degree of lexical variety in the samples under survey, the fact that certain other types appear repeatedly might

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[4] The term *scientist* is in fact coined by Whewell (1794-1866), one of the authors whose work is sampled in the *CC*. This term came to replace expressions such as *natural philosopher* and *man of science*.

also be revealing. That the proper name *Plato* is mentioned 51 times in Philosophy texts whereas it does not appear at all in Life Sciences should not be much of a surprise. However, the word with the greatest frequency here is *genus*, recorded in the *OED* in 1551, with 67 occurrences. Looking at the other four most frequent words in each discipline, whereas in Life Sciences these are *os*, meaning "bone" (56), *vertebrae* (39), *calyx* (30) and *major* (27), in Philosophy the most frequent types are *vacuum* (35), *Philomela* (29) *genius* (29) and *Cloris* (27). No doubt this tells us something about the overall use of Latin (more abundant than Greek in my material) in English scientific texts, but it also tells us something about how these Latin words are used as indicators of the transmission of knowledge specific for each discipline. Thus, in the eighteenth century, philosophy seems still to be at the point of resorting to the established authorities and their works (as indicated by the types *Plato*, *Philomela*, *Cloris*) whereas Life Sciences seems to have moved on to the description of new things.

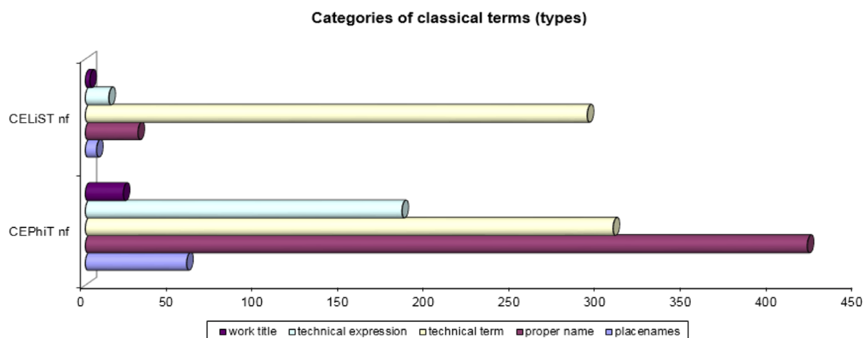
More detailed information about the distribution of types in the two subcorpora under analysis can be seen both in table 2 and graph 3 below:

Table 2. Distribution of types per category and discipline

Types	CEPhiT	CELiST	CEPhiT nf	CELiST nf
Placenames	24	10	59.11	6.53
Proper name	171	47	421.18	30.71
Technical term	125	448	307.88	292.81
Technical expression	75	21	184.72	13.72
Work title	9	4	22.16	2.61

Both table 2 and graph 2 confirm that the most frequent category in Philosophy samples in terms of types is proper names (171 types, 421.18 nf), as noted above in discussing the five most frequent types. The number of types grouped as technical terms is certainly high in Life Sciences (448), yet the normalised frequency here (292.81) is not as high as that for proper names in Philosophy. Technical terms come second in *CEPhiT* and are not very far from the most abundant category. In general, we can say that types are more equally distributed in the five categories in Philosophy than in Life Sciences where we can see a big difference between the most prevalent (the 292.81 nf for technical terms) and the other four: proper names (30.71), technical expressions (13.72), place names (6.53) and work titles (2.61). This irregular distribution is set out graphically in graph 3 below, where the more regular distribution of classical lexical items in Philosophy samples can be observed. Philosophy has a more frequent use of classical multiword (technical) expressions (184.72 nf) followed by place names (59.11). Although work titles is the category in

which fewest types were found, the analysis also reveals that authors writing Philosophy follow the tradition of naming previous works (22.16 nf) whereas those writing about subjects we could include in the Life Sciences refer less often to work titles (2.61 nf) and in this way seem to want to indicate some kind of break with the past.



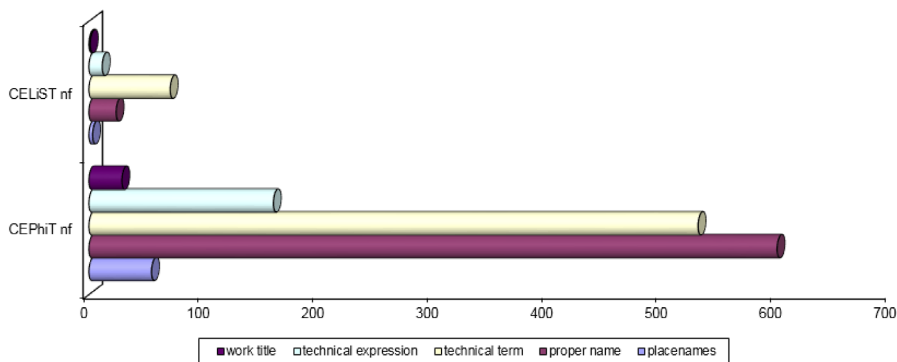
Graph 3. Distribution of types per category

A closer look at the five categories established in terms of tokens may perhaps also shed some light on both disciplines and their textual traditions. This information is provided in table 3 below, where both absolute and normalised frequencies can be observed, and in graph 4, where the proportions of the terms present in the five categories can be seen.

The lexical richness of the material reflected in the use of different types above is reinforced by the way in which types materialise in tokens. However, we can also perhaps claim that whereas all categories present fewer tokens in each, that is to say, fewer repeated items, the samples in *CELiST* seem to have a richer vocabulary. This can again be seen in table 3 and graph 4:

Table 3. Distribution of tokens per category and discipline

Tokens	CEPhiT	CELiST	CEPhiT nf	CELiST nf
Placenames	38	11	54.597	3.18
Proper name	418	82	600.57	23.71
Technical term	370	245	531.60	70.87
Technical expression	112	40	160.91	11.57
Work title	20	4	28.73	1.15



Graph 4. Distribution of types per category

All this broad, quantitative analysis seems to require some complementary discussion of particular cases. One interesting example is from the text sample by Doddd (1752: 36) in *CELiST*, in which we find apparently technical terms such as *caca* (from the colloquial Latin verb *caco*), not recorded at all in the *OED*, that pertain to the realm of Latin profanity, that is to say, to those elements of the lexicon that were not considered fit to be used in public and were often relegated to familiar circles. Some of these terms, though, have come down to us thanks to satirical authors such as Martial.

Although I have resorted to the *OED* to establish direct etymological origin and date, I have used this information simply as reference, since I have also come across terms in my corpus that were not recorded in the *OED* at all. This is the case with the form *chollic*, as in:

> (10) Serapius, an Arabian Phyſician says, that Spinage creates Wind; so that thoſe who are troubled **Chollic** had better not eat it. (Blackwell, 1737: 13).

This form appears in the *OED* spelt *cholic* and with the meaning "Of or pertaining to bile. Cholic acid n. an acid ($C_{24}H_{40}O_5$) discovered in 1838, which is produced from the nitrogenized acids of bile during its putrefaction. Sometimes called *cholalic acid*; the name *cholic* having been formerly given to *glycocholic acid*." The date provided for this entry could well make us wonder whether Elizabeth Blackwell was referring to something else in her text.

We can also observe in the data that Life Sciences authors are often very careful to provide minute explanations of ideas and terms, thus expanding the amount of technical vocabulary to be found in *CELiST* as compared to *CEPhiT*. This is the case with Boreman (1730: 19), who seems to be concerned with terminology. Hence, he writes:

(11) THE **MANTICORA**, (or, according to the Perſians, Mantiora) a Devourer, is bred among the Indians.

In the above example two terms, rather than one, have been recorded, both *manticora* and *mantiora* and in fact both existed in the literature of the time to refer to present-day English *manticore*. The *Etymological Dictionary Online* says that this word, referring to a fabulous monster (half man, half scorpion), was originally Greek although it entered English through Latin. For Boreman's example I have only considered the first of the terms since the author himself attributes the second to the Persians.

In terms of a qualitative analysis of the present material, that is, in approaching the texts themselves by reading them in some depth, I have also observed that some authors do not only use some classical words but go as far as to create names and expressions, such as in the case of Douglas in *CELiST*, from whose sample we take the following example:

(12) The Brachiæus externus, and the Biceps externus, or Gemellus, make but one ſingle Muſcle with three Heads, to which I give the name of Triceps Cubiti, or Extenſor Cubiti magnus triplici principio natus. (Douglas, 1707: 105).

5. FINAL REMARKS

The texts sampled in the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing* date from a period in which Western Philosophical knowledge and its transmission had already undergone a long and complex process of development. In fact, it is not very long ago that what we have labelled Life Sciences could be considered to have gained a certain level of independence from their origins in "natural philosophy". This relatively new field, as represented in the *Corpus of English Life Sciences Texts*, can be seen striving to come of age, and, like a teenager struggling for legitimacy, does so by opposing its parents, in this case mother science. The way in which knowledge is transmitted in Life Sciences can be seen to be radically different from that of Philosophy, at least at certain levels of analysis, one of these being the shift in writing traditions, and particularly the way in which classical languages are used within the discipline. My findings seem to indicate that whereas Philosophy is more traditional and continues to resort to the authorities, as seen in the continued abundance of the names of classical authors, Life Sciences have already moved towards being an object-centred rather than an author-centred discipline, thus abandoning the clichés of Scholasticism and adopting the new observational techniques fostered by the Scientific Revolution.

In sum, the present findings on the richness of the vocabulary found in texts, looking at both types and tokens, have revealed that authors who followed the new tendencies seem to use Latin terms with the intention of being precise and objective, as was demanded by the times. Philosophers, who tended to write about more speculative subjects, seem to have lingered in the old pre-Modern patterns, although a thorough quantitative study here, including samples for

the nineteenth century, would give us a fuller portrait of the discursive (and, therefore, epistemic) patterns in the different fields and their evolution.

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APPENDIX 1. *CELIST* SAMPLES FOR STUDY

Year	Author	Work title
1707	Douglas, James	Myographiæ comparatæ specimen: or, a comparative description of all the muscles in a man and in a quadruped... To which is added an account of the muscles peculiar to a woman, etc.M.D.
1707	Sloane, Hans	A Voyage to the islands Madera, Barbadoes, Nieves St Christophers and Jamaica; with the Natural History of the Herbs and trees, four footed Beasts, Fishes,Bbirds, Insects, Reptiles, &c. of the last of those Islands. To which is prefix'd an introduction, wherein is an account of the inhabitants, air, waters, diseases, trade, &c. of that place, with some relations concerning the neighbouring continent and islands of America. In Two Volumes. Vol. I.
1717	Keill, James	Essays on several parts of animal oeconomy. Essay IV: Of Animal Secretion.
1720	Gibson, William	The Farriers new Guide: containing first, the anatomy of a horse, being an exact and compendious discription of all his parts; with their actions and uses: illustrated with figures curiously engrav'd on copper plates. Secondly, an account of all the diseases incident to horses, with their signs, causes, and methods of cure; wherein many defects in the farriers practice, are now carefully supply'd, their errors expos'd and amended, and the art greatly improv'd and advanc'd, according to the latest discoveries. The whole interspers'd with many curious and useful observations concerning feeding and exercise, &c.
1723	Blair, Patrick	Pharmaco-botanologia: or, an alphabetical and classical dissertation on all the British indigenous and garden plants of the new London Dispensatory. In which their genera, species, characteristik and distinctive notes are methodologically described; the botanical terms of art explained; their virtues, uses, and shop-preparations declared. With many curious and useful remarks from proper observation.
1730	Boreman,Thomas (bookseller)	A description of three hundred animals; viz. beasts, birds, fishes, serpents, and insects. With a particular account of the whale-fishery. Extracted out of the best authors, and adapted to the use of all capacities; especially to allure children to read.
1737	Blackwell, Elizabeth	A Curious Herbal, containing five hundred cuts, of the moſt uſeful plants, which are now uſed in the practice of Physick. Engraved on folio copper plates after drawings, taken from the LIFE. To which is added a short description of ye plants and their common uses in PHYSICK. In Two Volumes. Vol. I.
1737	Brickell, John	The Natural History of North-Carolina. With an account of the trade, manners, and customs of Christian and Indian inhabitants. Illustrated with copper-plates, whereon are curiously engraved the map of the country, several strange beasts, birds, fishes, snakes, insects, trees, and plants, &c.
1743	Edwards, George	A NATURAL HISTORY OF Uncommon BIRDS. And of some other rare and undescribed animals, quadupedes, fishes, reptiles, insects, &C. Exhibited in two hundred and ten copper-plates, from designs copied immediately from Nature, and curiously coloured after life. With a full and accurate description of each figure. In Four Parts. Part I.

1750	Hughes, Griffith	The Natural History of Barbados. In Ten Books.
1752	Dodd, James Solas	An Essay towards a Natural History of the Herring.
1758	Borlase, William	The Natural History of Cornwall. The Air, Climate, Waters, Rivers, Lakes, Sea and Tides; Of the Stones, Semimetals, Metals, TIN, and the Manner of Mining; The Constitution of the Stannaries; Iron, Copper, Silver, lead, and Gold, found in Cornwall. Vegetables, Rare Birds, Fishes, Shells, Reptiles, and Quadrupeds: Of the Inhabitants, Their Manners, Customs, Plays or Interludes, Exercises, and Festivals; the Cornish Language, Trade, Tenures, and Arts.
1766	Pennant, Thomas	The British Zoology. Class I. Quadrupeds. II. Birds.
1769	Bancroft, Edward	An essay on the Natural History of Guiana, in South America. Containing a description of many curious productions in the animal and vegetable systems of that country. Together with an account of the religion, manners and customs of several tribes of its Indian inhabitants. Interspersed with a variety of literary and medical observations. In several letters from a Gentleman of the Medical Faculty during his residence in that country.
1774	Goldsmith, Oliver	An History of the Earth, and animated Nature: In Eight Volumes. Vol VIII.
1776	Withering, William	A botanical arrangement of all the vegetables, naturally growing in Great Britain. With the descriptions of the Genera and species, according to the system of the celebrated Linnaeus. Being an attempt to render them familiar to those who are unacquanted with the learned languages. Under each species are added, the most remarkable varieties, the natural places of growth, the duration, the time of flowering, the peculiarities of structure, the common English names; the names of Gerard, Parkinson, Ray and Baubine. The uses as medicines, or as poisons; as food for men, for brutes, and for insects. With their applications in oeconomy an din arts, with an easy introduction to the study of botany. Shewing the method os investigating plants, and directions how to dry and preserve specimens. In Two Volumes. Vol. I (ver comentario).
1786	Speechly, William	A Treatise on the Culture of the Pine Apple and the Management of the Hot-house. Together with a Description of every Species of Insect that infest Hot-houses, with effectual Methods of destroying them by William Speechly. To which is added A method to preserve peach and nectarine trees from mildew &c. by Robert Browne. With plates. Book I.
1789	Bolton, James	An History of Fungusses, growing about Halifax. With forty-six copper-plates; or which are engraved sixty-four species of funguses, Including the Seven following GENERA, viz. CLATHRUS, HALVELLA, PEZIZA, CLAVARIA, LYCOPERDON, SPHAERIA, and MUCOR. Wherein their various appearances in the different stages of growth, are faithfully exhibited in about three hunded figures, copied with great care from the PLANTS, when newly gathered and in a state of perfection. With a particular DESCRIPTION of each SPECIES, in all its stages. From the first appearance to the utter decay of the plant; with the time when they were gathere; the soil and situation in which they grew; their duration; and the particular places mentioned, where all the new or rare species were found. The whole being a plain recital of FACTS, the result of more than twenty years observation. In Three Volumes. Vol. III.

1794	Donovan, Edward	Instructions for collecting and preserving various subjects of natural history: as animals, birds, reptiles, shells, corals plants, &c.: Together with a treatise on the management of insects in their several states: selected from the best authorities.
1795	Smith, Sir James Edward	English Botany; or coloured Figures of British Plants with their essential Characters, Synonyms, and Places of Growth. In Thirty Six Volumes. Vol. IV.

APPENDIX 2. CEPHIT SAMPLES FOR STUDY

Year	Author	Work title
1700	Astell, Mary	Some reflections upon marriage. London: John Nutt.
1705	Cheyne, George	Philosophical principles of natural religion: containing the elements of natural philosophy, and the proofs for natural religion, arising from them. London: printed for George Strahan.
1710	Dunton, John	Athenianism: or, the new projects of Mr. John Dunton.
1717	Collins, Anthony	A Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Human Liberty.
1727	Greene, Robert	The principles of the philosophy of the expansive and contractive forces. Or an inquiry into the principles of the modern philosophy, that is, into the several chief rational sciences, which are extant. In seven books. By Robert Greene. Cambridge : printed at the University-Press, by Cornelius Crownfield, and are to be sold by him, E. Jefferys, and W. Thurlbourne booksellers in Cambridge, and by J. Knapton, R. Knaplock, W. and J. Innys, and B. Motte, London, 1727.
1730	Kirkpatrick, Robert	The golden rule of divine philosophy: with the discovery of many mistakes in the religions extant.
1733	Balguy, John	The law of truth: or, the obligations of reason essential to all religion. To which are prefixed, some remarks supplemental to a late tract; entitled, Divine rectitude.
1736	Butler, Joseph	The analogy of religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature. To which are added two brief dissertations: I. Of personal identity. II. Of the nature of virtue. Dublin: Printed by J. Jones. For George Ewing, 1736.
1740	Turnbull, George	The principles of moral philosophy. An enquiry into the wise and good government of the moral world: in which the continuance of good administration, and of due care about virtue, for ever, is inferred from present order in all things, in that part... London. Printed for J. Noon.
1748	Hume, David	Philosophical essays concerning human understanding. By the author of the essays moral and political.
1754	Bolingbroke, Henry	The Philosophical Works of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. Published by David Mallet, Esq; Volume I. London : printed in the year, 1754.

1755	Hutcheson, Francis	A system of moral philosophy, in three books. Glasgow, printed and sold by R. and A. Foulis.
1764	Reid, Thomas	An inquiry into the human mind, on the principles of common sense. Edinburgh : printed for A. Millar, London, and A. Kincaid & J. Bell, Edinburgh.
1769	Ferguson, Adam	Institutes of moral philosophy. For the use of students in the college of Edinburgh. By Adam Ferguson, LL.D. Edinburgh: printed for A. Kincaid & J. Bell, 1769.
1770	Burke, Edmund	Thoughts on the cause of the present discontents. Dublin. [Dublin] : London: printed for J. Dodsley. Dublin: reprinted for G. Faulkner, J. Exshaw, H. Saunders, W. Sleater, D. Chamberlaine, [and 8 others in Dublin], 1770.
1776	Campbell, George	The philosophy of rhetoric. London : printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell; and W. Creech at Edinburgh, 1776.
1783	Macaulay, Catharine	Treatise of the immutability of moral truth. London: Printed by Hamilton, Jun.
1790	Smellie, William	The philosophy of natural history.
1792	Wollstonecraft, Mary	Vindication of the Rights of Woman.
1793	Crombie, Alexander	An essay on philosophical necessity. London : printed for J. Johnson, 1793.

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THE INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH IN GAELIC SCOTLAND, IRELAND AND WALES: THE DYNAMICS OF IMPOSITION, ACQUIESCENCE AND ASSERTION

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University of Edinburgh

Abstract

From the Middle Ages onwards political authorities in Scotland, Ireland and Wales have implemented policies to establish the English language and displace the Celtic vernaculars. These measures have met with varying reactions in Celtic-language communities, although the principal outcome everywhere has been language shift to English. Cultural leaders of different kinds have followed different strategies for language retention over the centuries, typically involving varying degrees of acquiescence, with full-scale rejection of English rarely understood as a viable option. Activists often endeavoured to retain particular spaces and contexts for the Celtic vernaculars, while conceding key public and economic domains to English. These strategies have also developed in different political contexts, so that, in contrast to the situation of Gaelic in Scotland and Welsh in Wales, defence of the Irish language has long been connected to the issue of national independence. In modern times, activists concentrate on seeking viable strategies to support the Celtic-language minorities in the globalised, digital world.

Keywords: language shift, language maintenance, centralisation, bilingualism, nationalism.

Resumen

Desde la Edad Media en adelante las autoridades políticas en Escocia, Irlanda y Gales han puesto en funcionamiento medidas dirigidas a instaurar la lengua inglesa y desplazar a las lenguas vernáculas celtas. Tales procedimientos han tenido diversa acogida en las comunidades de habla celta siendo, no obstante, el principal resultado en todas ellas el cambio idiomático. A lo largo de los siglos líderes culturales de diversa índole han seguido distintas estrategias de preservación de lenguas que normalmente conllevan grados de aceptación variable del inglés, pero el rechazo pleno de este es rara vez entendido como una opción viable. Con frecuencia los activistas pugnaron por mantener espacios y contextos específicos para las lenguas vernáculas celtas, mientras concedían al inglés dominios clave en lo público y lo económico. Cabe señalar que estas estrategias se han desarrollado también en distintos contextos políticos, así, en contraste con la situación del gaélico en Escocia y el galés en Gales, la defensa de la lengua irlandesa ha estado largamente conectada con la cuestión de la independencia nacional. En la actualidad los activistas se concentran en encontrar estrategias viables que den soporte a las minorías de habla celta dentro del mundo globalizado, digital.

Palabras clave: cambio idiomático, preservación de la lengua, centralización, bilingüismo, nacionalismo.

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From the Middle Ages onwards political authorities in Scotland, Ireland and Wales began to enact laws and implement policies to establish the English language and displace the Celtic vernaculars from public institutions or private use. In Ireland, the Statute of Kilkenny of 1366 required English settlers in Ireland and Irish persons living among them to use only English, while in Wales the so-called "Act of Union" of 1536 stipulated that only English could be used in the law courts and that all holders of public offices would be required to use English (see Crowley, 15, and Roberts, 129-30). In Scotland, from the early seventeenth century, the government pursued an aggressive policy of linguistic assimilation, or indeed extirpation, in relation to the Gaelic language. The most direct statement of this policy is the enactment of the Scottish Privy Council known as the "Education Act of 1616". In order to advance and establish "the trew religion" and promote "civilitie godlines knawledge and learning", the government decreed "that the vulgar Inglish toung be universallie plantit and the Irische language which is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amangis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit" through the establishment of schools in every parish of the kingdom (Macdonald, lxi-lxii.).

While the most important long-term response to these policies and the ongoing pressure for linguistic assimilation was language shift from the Celtic vernaculars to English, leaders and intellectuals from Celtic language communities often expressed rejection and resistance in various ways. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, for example, Gaelic poets in Scotland became increasingly assertive in mounting defences of the Gaelic language, as did their counterparts in Ireland, whose works tended to take a more political, national articulation, set against a background of conquest and expropriation following the Battle of Kinsale (1601) and the Flight of the Earls (1607). This article will consider a number of different aspects of these responses through the centuries, using illustrations from Wales, Ireland and especially Gaelic Scotland. While there are significant differences between the three contexts in terms of the time scale and the trajectory of language shift, there are many important points of commonality between them.

In Scotland, the most prominent early expression of rejection or resistance is not actually in Gaelic but in Scots: the complaint of the Gaelic-speaking poet Walter Kennedy, as preserved in William Dunbar's "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie" (*c.* 1500). Kennedy came from Carrick in south Ayrshire, an area that remained Gaelic-speaking long after the emergence of the "Highland Line" that separated the main Gaelic-speaking area of the north and west from the newly de-Gaelicised "Lowlands". Responding to the coarse insults that Dunbar had directed at Gaelic language and culture, Kennedy responded:

> Thow lufis nane Irische, elf, I understand,
> Bot it suld be all trew Scottis mennis lede [language];
> It was the gud language of this land,
> And Scota it causit to multiply and sprede,
> Quhill Corspatrik, that we of tresoun rede,
> Thy forefader, maid Irisch and Irisch men thin,

Throu his tresoun broght Inglise rumplis in,

So wald thy self, mycht thou to him succede. (Mackenzie, 5-20, § 44, ll. 345-52).

For Kennedy, then, Gaelic –which was invariably labelled *Irish* in Scots/ English sources between the sixteenth century and the middle of the late eighteenth– was the original and "trew" language of Scotland, displaced by treason and English incomers. Two centuries later, in 1707, the Mull poet and minister Maighstir Seathan MacGill'Eathain also cast aspersions on those Scottish leaders who had abandoned Gaelic: "Reic iád san chúirt í, air cáint úir o Nde | 's do thréig le hair [.i. tàir] budh nár leo ncán'mhain fein", that is, '[t]hey sold it in the court for a new speech dating from only yesterday | and scornfully abandoned it: they were ashamed of their own language' (Ó Baoill, 100-03, ll. 27-28).

The most famous defence of Gaelic in this period came from the Jacobite poet Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair in his "Moladh an Ùghdair don t-Seann Chànain Ghàidhlig" (Praise of the Ancient Gaelic Language), composed *c*. 1738 (Thomson, 77-80, §§ 10-11). After praising Gaelic as the language of the Garden of Eden, Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair asserted its past and future place in Scotland (my translation):

Mhair i fòs
Is cha tèid a glòir air chall
Dh'aindeoin gò
Is mìoruin mhòir nan Gall.

Is i labhair Alba
Is gallbhodaich fèin
Ar flaith, ar prionnsaidhe
Is ar diùcanna gun èis...

Still it survived
And its voice will not be lost
Despite the deceit
And great ill-will of the Lowlanders.

It is [Gaelic] that Scotland spoke
And even the Lowland churls
Our nobles, our princes
And our dukes, without defect...

To this day "mì-rùn mòr nan Gall" (to give it its modern, uninflected form) remains a common phrase in Gaelic, used to refer to the hostility towards Gaelic among non-Gaelic speakers that remains a disturbingly prominent feature of Scottish life.

In Ireland, the poets repeatedly identified language as a key marker of national identity. A potent example is Aogán Ó Rathaille's vigorously Jacobite "Tairngaireacht Dhuinn Fhírinne", 'The Prophecy of Donn Fírinne', (1710(?)), which presents the restoration of Irish and the suppression of English as joyous outcomes of the true king's anticipated restoration (Dinneen and O'Donoghue, 166-67, § 4):

Beidh Éire go súgach 's a dúnta go haerach
Is Gaedhilg 'gá scrúdadh n-a múraibh ag éigsibh;
Béarla na mbúr ndubh go cúthail fá néaltaíbh,
Is Séamus n-a chúirt ghil ag tabhairt chonganta do Ghaedhealaibh.

Ireland will be joyful, and her strongholds will be merry;
And the learned will cultivate Gaelic in their schools;
The black boors' English will be humbled and put beneath clouds
And James in his bright court will lend his aid to the Gaels.

Another Munster poet of this period, Donnchadh Caoch Ó Mathghamhna, expressed a similar viewpoint but with even more forceful hostility to the foreign incomers and their language. Thus, the poem "Tá an oiread-san tarcuisne ar bhreathaibh na binn-Gaoidhilge" ('There is such disregard for the matter of the sweet Irish language' (Ó Foghludha, 242-43, §§ 1-3; my translation):

Is ise ba chneasta, ba ghasta is do b' fhíor-líomhtha
Do b'oilte, do b'aite is bu bhlasta i ngach brigh binn-ghuib,
Ba snoidhte, ba snasta ar reacaireacht gaois-laoithe —
Ní hionann is glafairneach mhalluighthe ár bhfíor-naímhde.

Sirim an tAthair 's an Geala-Spirid caoin naoimhtha
'S go deimhin dár gcabhair-na gairmim fíor Íosa,
Scrios ar na Gallaibh 's a n-agall go ndíbrighthar
Ionnas go leanainn-se teanga mo phrímh-shinsir.

It [Irish] is the most gentle, the most wise, the most truly polished
Most learned, most excellent and most precise in each sweet-mouthed meaning,
Most comely, most elegant for recitation of artful lays —
Not so is the accursed prattle of our true enemies.

I entreat the Father and the gentle bright Holy Spirit
And indeed for our aid I call Jesus himself,
To destroy the Foreigners and banish their speech
So that I may adhere to the language of my great forefathers.

This intertwining of national, ethnolinguistic and religious rhetoric is common in defences of the Irish poetic language, given the connection between adherence to the Catholic faith and resistance to English/British rule, but plays no such role in counterpart material from Scotland or Wales.

Poetic rhetoric of this kind could become stereotyped, however, with any real political relevance drained away. Songs in praise of the antiquity, beauty, vigour and expressiveness of the Gaelic language proliferated in Scotland from the mid-eighteenth century (see McLeod), but the composition and transmission of such material by no means signalled resistance, organised or otherwise, to the imposition of English or collective determination to maintain and promote Gaelic (a pattern that Joan-Lluís Marfany (137-67) has detected in the supposed "literary revivals" of minority languages in Europe more generally). The forceful rhetoric of this anonymous song to the Ossianic Society of Glasgow University (*c.* 1833) gives a useful illustration of the kind of material in question (Macrury, 150, §§ 4-6):

'S i 'Ghailig cainnt nam fineachan,
'S i 'Ghailig cainnt ar cridheachan,
'S i dhuisgeas blaths is cinneadas;
Cha 'n ionnan i 's a Bheurla.

S i so ar canain mhathaireil,
O! 's caoimhneil agus baigheil i;
Gur math gu deanamh manrain i;
Gu brath cha leug sinn eug i.

Lionaibh mar a b' abhaist duibh,
Na glaineachan le gairdeachas,
Gu aiseirigh na Gailig
Is gu buille bais na Beurla.

Gaelic is the language of the clans,
Gaelic is the language of our hearts,
She rouses warmth and kindred-feeling;
English is not the same.

This is our mother tongue,
O! it is gentle and friendly;
It is good for making a melody;
We will never let it die.

Fill the glasses with gladness,
As is your custom,
To the revival of Gaelic
And the death-blow to English.

This call to deliver a "death-blow to English" was essentially idle.

From the middle of the eighteenth century the assimilationist ideologies promoted by centralising authorities began to place increased attention on the inability of monoglot Celtic-language speakers to participate fully in civil society and economic activity in a consolidating Britain. These ideologies became more forceful in the nine-

teenth century, driven by the administrative needs of the modernising nation-state (see Wolf) and the operational requirements of an industrialising national economy. Again and again, in Wales, Scotland and Ireland alike, officials and commentators argued that the adoption of English was essential to enable material progress and social participation.

In 1847 the government-appointed Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales published the reports of their work in three large blue volumes. The views expressed in their report concerning the Welsh language were strikingly negative (*Reports of the Commissioners,* Part II, 66; Part III, 61; Part I, 3):

> The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to over-estimate its evil effects.
>
> [The Welsh] remain inferior [to the English] in every branch of practical knowledge and skill.
>
> Equally in his new, as in his old, home, his language keeps him under the hatches, being one in which he can neither acquire nor communicate the necessary information. It is the language of old fashioned agriculture, of theology, and of simple rustic life, while all the world about him is English [...] He is left to live in an underworld of his own and the march of society goes [...] completely over his head!

Elsewhere in the report, the commissioners also cast aspersions on the morals and manners of the Welsh people, prompting widespread outrage in Wales, so that the matter is remembered as "Brad y Llyfrau Gleision", 'The Treachery of the Blue Books' (see Gwyneth Tyson Roberts). This view that minority language communities were cut off from wider intellectual and cultural discourse and that modernisation and development required their assimilation into larger political units was widely held in the nineteenth century, and received its classic statement from John Stuart Mill in 1861:

> Experience proves, that it is possible for one nationality to merge and be absorbed in another: and when it was originally an inferior and more backward part of the human race, the absorption is greatly to its advantage. Nobody can suppose that it is not more beneficial to a Breton, or a Basque of French Navarre, to be brought into the current of the ideas and feelings of a highly civilised and cultivated people — to be a member of the French nationality, admitted on equal terms to all the privileges of French citizenship, sharing the advantages of French protection, and the dignity and prestige of French power — than to sulk on his own rocks, the half-savage relic of past times, revolving in his own little mental orbit, without participation or interest in the general movement of the world. The same remark applies to the Welshman or the Scottish Highlander, as members of the British nation. (375)

The British inflection of this ideology was most famously expressed by Matthew Arnold (1822-88), celebrated poet, essayist and school inspector, who asserted in his influential 1867 volume *On the Study of Celtic Literature* that:

> The fusion of all the inhabitants of these islands into one homogeneous, English-speaking whole, the breaking down of barriers between us, the swallowing up of separate provincial nationalities, is a consummation to which the natural course of things irresistibly tends; it is a necessity of what is called modern civilisation, and modern civilisation is a real, legitimate force; the change must come, and its accomplishment is a mere affair of time. The sooner the Welsh language disappears as an instrument of the practical, political, social life of Wales, the better; the better for England, the better for Wales itself. (12)

The dominant version of assimilationist language ideology in Britain, however, tended to place greater emphasis on the advantages of economic mobility and access to opportunity than to matters of identity, affinity and belonging. Often the two were intertwined, however, and the economic rationale could appear as an instrumental justification for a deeper form of assimilationism, as in the Registrar-General for Scotland's discussion of the results of the census of 1871 (Census Office):

> The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen who speak the English tongue. It ought, therefore, to cease to be taught in all our national schools; and as we are one people, we should have but ONE language.

Far from prompting broad-based resistance, these negative or constricting views were widely accepted within Celtic language communities. In the nineteenth century it was not uncommon to find leading voices in these communities from the worlds of politics, business or culture asserting the value and necessity of linguistic assimilation, especially for reasons of material advancement and "improvement". In Ireland, the most famous statement came from Daniel O'Connell, the so-called *Liberator* who led the campaign for "Catholic Emancipation" (the securing of full civil and political rights for Catholics) in the 1820s. O'Connell was a native Irish speaker from a prominent family with deep cultural roots in the language; his aunt, Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill, had composed one of the most famous poetic works in Irish, "Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire" ('The Lament for Art O'Leary') (*c.* 1770). Yet O'Connell said in 1833:

> I am sufficiently utilitarian not to regret its abandonment [the Irish language]. A diversity of tongues is no benefit; it was first imposed on mankind as a curse, at the building of Babel. It would be of vast advantage to mankind if all the inhabitants of the earth spoke the same language. Although the Irish language is connected with many recollections that twine around the hearts of Irishmen, yet the superior utility of the English tongue, as the medium of modern communication, is so great, that I can witness without a sigh the gradual disuse of the Irish. (Daunt, 14-15).

In Wales, the prominent industrialist David Davies of Llandinam made a similar point in more pointed terms, writing (originally in Welsh) in 1885, "If you wish to continue to eat barley bread and lie on straw mattresses, then keep on shouting

Bydded i'r Gymraeg fyw am byth ['May the Welsh language live forever']. But if you want to eat white bread and roast beef you must learn English" (see Breverton)

As part of the government's preparations to develop a system of state education in Scotland, which came to fruit with the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872, the advocate (barrister) Alexander Nicolson was commissioned to prepare a *Report on the State of Education in the Hebrides*, which was pub-lished in 1866. Nicolson was a native Gaelic speaker from Skye who made a successful legal career in Edinburgh but is best known in Gaelic circles for a major collection of proverbs, which remains in print today. In Nicolson's report (125-26), he commented as follows:

> The fact that, in respect of their language alone, most of them [Highlanders] are in the position of foreigners when they set foot in the Lowlands, is a very special feature in their condition. This disability has undoubtedly been one of the grand obstacles to their improvement. It is not necessary to hold that the use of the Gaelic language is per se incompatible with enlightenment, even without recurring to the days of St Columba, to whom the civilisation of Scotland and Britain owes so much. Nor is it likely that the mere possession of the language of Shakespeare, supposing it to be in-stantaneously conferred upon all the inhabitants of the Highlands, would straightway produce a marked change in their character and habits. It would not, I think, of itself, and by virtue of any inherent civilizing power in it, make them more intellectually acute, more moral, or more religious, qualities in which, in spite of everything else inferior in their condition, they can bear favourable comparison with any portion of Her Majesty's subjects. But it would unquestionably convey upon them a power, the lack of which [...] is one of the most serious hindrances to their attainment of their just position in the scale of civilisation — the power of expressing their ideas in a manner intelligible to the majority of their countrymen, and of receiving ideas in return. The disadvantage under which Highlanders, unable to speak English freely, labour as competitors for employment in the South, other than the most mechanical, is too obvious to require illustration. They find themselves, in fact, in the predica-ment of dumb persons, and their sensitiveness to ridicule often exposes them to the pain of being reckoned barbarians, by persons perhaps inferior to themselves in all the elements that constitute real civility, but endowed with the precious faculty of speaking some more or less intelligible form of the English language.

Nicolson appears to accept two of the key premises of the assimilationist ideology, that without English language skills, Gaelic speakers were unable to participate in intellectual exchange (what Mill (375) would have called "participation [...] in the general movement of the world") or to succeed economically in the Lowlands. On the other hand, outside commentators like Mill (375), who saw nothing in minority language communities but "the half-savage relic[s] of past times", Nicolson would not have detected in the monoglot Gaels "all the elements that constitute real civility" or drawn attention to the contribution of Gaelic culture to "enlightenment" through the centuries.

Other Gaelic writers of the period rationalised the displacement of Gaelic in slightly different terms. In the introduction to his 1897 poetry collection *Luinneagan Luaineach*, Dr John MacGregor, a Lewis-born medical surgeon and writer who was active in Gaelic circles in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow at the turn of the twentieth century, wrote as follows:

> It is true enough that English has cut a short march, as it were, on Gaelic, as the business language of bread and butter, which unfortunately we cannot do without. And however devoted to the Gaelic we may be, we should never under-value the advantage and even the necessity for Highlanders to know English, without which they cannot nowadays make much headway in the world. But if we Highlanders have such small heads as to be capable of containing only one language, we are not the kind of people that we claim to be. [...] It is the duty of every Highlander to do his best to uphold the language, not only as a true and faithful servant, but also in order that, if the heroic language of a heroic people be doomed to die, its last days may be its best; and that it may perish like a gallant man-o'-war sinking in the ocean, with her flags flying, and fighting to the last. (9)

MacGregor's comments demonstrate how much of the "revivalist" activity on behalf of Gaelic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fully accepted the marginal socio-economic position of Gaelic vis-à-vis English and was in no way aimed at bringing about a transformation of that fundamental dynamic. It was essentially conceded that Gaelic had no "commercial value", to use the preferred phrase of the time, so that arguments in favour of language maintenance were typically framed in strictly cultural terms.

On the other hand, a distinction can be drawn between securing economic access and achieving fully blown assimilation of the kind urged by Arnold and the Registrar-General for Scotland. Political and intellectual leaders from the Celtic language communities were much more concerned about the former (as was the mass of the population, who were clearly keen to acquire English), and they concentrated their efforts on finding ways to develop and maintain distinct spaces for the Celtic languages within a developing Britain. Securing an appropriate place for the Celtic language alongside English within the school curriculum following the establishment of state education in the 1870s was the principal aim of language activists in the following decades. Many, like MacGregor, argued that bilingualism was a viable strategy for the minority language communities, and in Scotland and Wales no conflict was perceived between loyalty to native language and culture and loyalty to monarch and empire.

The situation was different in Ireland, where some intellectuals and activists from the 1870s onwards pressed a very different interpretation and strategy, even if economic assimilationism (much of it driven by the necessity of emigration) remained very powerful among the wider population, which had undergone extremely rapid language shift from the time of the Great Famine of the 1840s onwards. The classic statement of this new revivalist ideology in Ireland was that given by Douglas Hyde, who was to become the first president of Conradh na Gaeilge (the Gaelic League), in his 1892 address "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland":

> The Irish race is at present in a most anomalous position, imitating England and yet apparently hating it. How can it produce anything good in literature, art, or institu-

tions as long as it is actuated by motives so contradictory? Besides, I believe it is our Gaelic past which, though the Irish race does not recognise it just at present, is really at the bottom of the Irish heart, and prevents us becoming citizens of the Empire [...]

In fact, I may venture to say, that, up to the beginning of the present century, neither man, woman, nor child of the Gaelic race, either of high blood or low blood, existed in Ireland who did not either speak Irish or understand it. But within the last ninety years we have, with an unparalleled frivolity, deliberately thrown away our birthright and Anglicised ourselves [...] The race will from henceforth be changed; for as Monsieur Jubainville says of the influence of Rome upon Gaul, England 'has definitely conquered us, she has even imposed upon us her language, that is to say, the form of our thoughts during every instant of our existence'. It is curious that those who most fear West Britonism have so eagerly consented to imposing upon the Irish race [...] 'the form of our thoughts during every instant of our existence.'

I have no hesitation at all in saying that every Irishfeeling Irishman, who hates the reproach of WestBritonism, should set himself to encourage the efforts which are being made to keep alive our once great national tongue. The losing of it is our greatest blow, and the sorest stroke that the rapid Anglicisation of Ireland has inflicted upon us. In order to deAnglicise ourselves we must at once arrest the decay of the language (As quoted in Crowley, 186-87)

The revivalist ideology of the Gaelic League became immensely influential in early twentieth-century Ireland, particularly once it had become accepted by the Sinn Féin party, which drove the successful campaign for Irish independence. The stated objective of the new Irish Free State government was to bring about the *restoration* of the Irish language. Such "restoration" could logically be interpreted as requiring the displacement of the English language and the re-creation of a monolingual Irish-speaking Ireland, but there are real doubts as to whether such an aim ever enjoyed meaningful support among political leaders and civil servants, let alone the wider population, the great majority of which had passed through the great language shift of the nineteenth century and developed a new cultural identity rooted in the English language. As the sociologist Donncha Ó hÉallaithe (182-83) has observed:

It is too easy to blame the state for the failure of the revival. That the state was negligent, unimaginative, authoritarian, obstructive, piecemeal, hostile and downright stupid at times, is beyond question. Even if it had been the opposite of all those things, the revival would have failed because the people in English-speaking communities did not want to revert to Irish. Forcing them to learn Irish as a second language was one thing, but the revival project wanted them to replace English with Irish as well. Why should they? English had become their language, in the same way as Irish was still the language of some Gaeltacht areas. To change the language of Kilkerrin [Anglicised form of the Irish "Cill Chiaráin"] in East Galway to Irish would have done as much violence to that community's cultural life as changing the language of Cill Chiaráin in Conamara from Irish to English. There are examples of Irish-speaking communities within which language shift was

arrested, but there are no examples of Irish being restored as the main language of any community after language change had taken place.

Since the 1960s, the Irish state has moved away from a policy of national language revival to a model by which the existing Irish-speaking population will be supported and serviced (Óhlearnáin). This much narrowed ambition can be analogised to development strategies that have emerged elsewhere, by which particular minority-language networks are to be supported, as an alternative to wider, more ambitious societal initiatives. One inflection of this approach, typically articulated in relation to urban communities, is to seek to enable minority-language speakers to live their lives through the minority language to the greatest extent possible (even if the majority around them continue to live entirely through the majority language). As the nature of social life changes, so too does the nature of "living one's life". Thus the current national language strategy in Wales aims to equip "Welsh speakers to participate fully as digital citizens" and expresses "our ambition and our expectation... that Welsh speakers should be able to conduct their lives electronically through the medium of Welsh, should they so desire, whether that be for cultural, informational, entertainment, leisure, retail, transactional, community, or social networking purposes" (Welsh Government).

In the early twenty-first century, all three languages, Gaelic, Irish and Welsh appear to have reached a crisis of viability, although the situation of Gaelic is much the weakest and Welsh retains the strongest social base of the three. Activists have shifted their terms of reference and debate accordingly, so that questions such as whether a language community can meaningfully exist in the absence of intergenerational transmission have come to the fore, or how 'post-vernacular' language use might meaningfully function. As in past centuries, the dominant position of English is unquestionable, but varying strategies seem possible, some more polarising or puristic than others. In this sense there is continuity through the long centuries of language minoritisation.

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PUERTO RICO AND THE UNITED STATES: THE INCLUSION AND EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE POLICY IN U.S. CONGRESSIONAL BILLS, 1989-2010

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Abstract

From the beginning of the 20th century, language contact between Spanish and English has been a significant, and often polemical, aspect of the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. A series of legislative proposals presented in the U.S. Congressional bodies in the latter half of that century were aimed primarily at the clarification of political status of the Island in relation to the United States. Nevertheless, they also included language policy to be imposed in/on Puerto Rico. This paper analyzes the inclusion and evolution of these policy proposals in a series of bills that were presented in the U.S. legislative bodies during the period of time from 1989-2010. The analysis situates the development of these proposals within the sociopolitical framework of the growth and development of Official English movements in the United States.

Key words: language, language policy, Puerto Rico, political status, United States, plebiscite, official languages, legislation.

Resumen

Desde los comienzos del siglo xx, el contacto lingüístico entre el español y el inglés ha constituido un aspecto significativo y con frecuencia polémico en las relaciones entre Puerto Rico y Estados Unidos. Aunque una serie de propuestas legislativas del Congreso estadounidense se ha dirigido principalmente hacia la clarificación del estatus político de la isla con relación a los EEUU, tales propuestas también han incluido políticas lingüísticas que se impondrían en Puerto Rico. Esta ponencia analiza la inclusión y la evolución de las políticas lingüísticas en una serie de proyectos de ley que se elaboraron en el Congreso estadounidense en el periodo de 1989-2010. Estas políticas se sitúan dentro de un contexto no sólo de extensión del español como lengua pública en los Estados Unidos sino también junto al crecimiento de los movimientos del *inglés oficial* en este país.

Palabras clave: idioma, políticas lingüísticas, Puerto Rico, estatus político, Estados Unidos, plebiscito, idiomas oficiales, legislación.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The historical imposition of English has had an ongoing effect on the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. Since 1952, Puerto Rico has been a Commonwealth with its own constitution. Nevertheless, the political status of the Island has been the subject of continued debate, on and off the Island, with many advocating instead for U.S. statehood or independence. The U.S. Congress has intermittently examined the Island's political status more closely, and although a number of proposed bills originated with this focus, they have also included the assertion of language policy for Puerto Rico. This article examines how language policy has appeared in the text of U.S. House and Senate bills, as well as how the proposed policy has evolved from 1989-2010. The analysis is additionally situated within a broader context related to the growth of movements that have advocated for official English legislation at both the state and federal levels in the United States.

2. THEORETICAL AND CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1. Language contact and policy in Puerto Rico

Following the Spanish-American War in which the United States claimed Puerto Rico as a territory, Puerto Rico's Official Languages Law of 1902 declared that "in all Departments of the Insular Government, in all the Courts of this Island and in all public offices, the English and Spanish languages will be used interchangeably" (Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico "Official Languages Law"). The law indicated that translations and interpretations from one language to the other would be made as needed. This law preceded a half century of shifts in educational policy for elementary and secondary students (Algrén de Gutiérrez). Overt processes of Americanization, connected to the use of English as a required language of instruction in the Island's public schools, as well as its use in the federal court system on the island, were "founded on the presumed supremacy of American social norms and cultural traits" (Barreto "*Nationalism*" 22). Nevertheless, U.S. insistence on English in the educational system was accompanied by Puerto Ricans' active resistance to these policies (Simounet-Geigel). José de Diego advocated strongly for Spanish as the primary language of instruction through public and legislative advocacy, which was finally established in 1947 by Education Commissioner Mariano Villaronga (Muñiz-Argüelles).

Throughout the entire 20th century and into the present time, Spanish has continued to hold a central role in national identity (see for example, Clampitt-Dunlap; Delgado Cintrón; Duany; Dubord; Negrón-Muntaner; Vélez). The daily use of Spanish confirms this centrality, although English also serves various functions in ordinary life on the Island (Fayer et al; Mazak; Nickels) and is particular relevant for those involved in a circular migration between the Island and the U.S. (Barreto "Speaking English"; Clachar; Kerkhof; Zentella). In 1991, under the leadership of the Partido Popular Democrático's (PPD) Governor Hernández Colón, the legislature designated Spanish as the only of-

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 103-118

ficial language on the Island, a decision that was reversed in 1993 by the Partido Nuevo Progresista's (PNP) Governor Rosselló, who reinstated English as co-official (Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico; Vélez and Schweers). The preservation of Spanish is supported by all political parties (Rúa). Nevertheless, debates arise regarding the appropriate role of English. Torres González has proposed a "differential officialization" (391) that would clearly identify English as a secondary official language.

Officialization of one or more languages is one strategy that legitimates language (Bourdieu). However, there are other strategies as well. Van Dijk points out that speakers' daily decisions, or media coverage, are other ways in which language legitimation can occur. These are part of the public sphere, where various perspectives can be presented, debate held, and public opinion formed (Habermas). Although the topic of status and accompanying language policy, form the basis for numerous legislative proposals and discussions in the U.S. Congress over the past century, the parties present at that debate have been significantly restricted to voting members of Congress, which excludes active voting representation from the Island. The following section discusses the nature of this legislation.

2.2. U.S. congressional action 1952-1988

During the years following the establishment of the Commonwealth, U.S. Congressional members presented a series of proposals and actions related to the Island's status, most of which were not approved, including a proposal in 1976 by President Gerald Ford for statehood; one notable exception included the establishment in 1964 of a Commission on Status (Bea and Garrett). By January 1989, representatives of three of the Island's political parties highlighted this lack of attention in a letter, indicating that "the People of Puerto Rico wish to be consulted as to their preference with regards to their ultimate political status and the consultation should have the guarantee that the will of the People once expressed shall be implemented through an act of Congress" (Bea and Garrett 41). In his Administration Goals address on February 9 of that same year, President George H.W. Bush asked Congress to authorize a recognized process for Puerto Ricans: "I've long believed that the people of Puerto Rico should have the right to determine their own political future. Personally, I strongly favor statehood. But I urge the Congress to take the necessary steps to allow the people to decide in a referendum" (Bush 1989). This was the extent of his remarks, but Congress soon began to take a more proactive role, the momentum of which would continue to develop over the next two decades. By 2000, President Bill Clinton established a President's Task Force on Puerto Rico's Status, whose 2005 report recommended a plebiscite regarding whether Puerto Rico should continue as a territory or not (Bea and Garrett).

2.3. Plebiscites and referenda on status in Puerto Rico

On five occasions, the Island has conducted an official consultation regarding Puerto Ricans' status preferences. Results have varied, due partly to ballot wording and partly to what was considered to be a success. The Commonwealth received the

majority of the votes in 1967, but all three political parties celebrated: the PPD won, the PNP had improved its following, and the PIP had held an effective boycott (Bea and Garrett). A 1991 referendum focused on self-determination and rights, a vote supported by both PDP and PIP; the 'no' vote won. In 1993 none of the options received a clear majority vote. Although the commonwealth received slightly more votes than statehood, the U.S. Congress rejected the option presented on the ballot for the Estado Libre Asociado (Bea and Garrett). In 1998 five options were presented and subsequently critiqued for a lack of clarity; *ELA* supporters urged voters to choose 'none of the above'. The most recent plebiscite in 2012 was also criticized; although statehood was proclaimed the winner, the wording and two-part structure of the ballot were perceived by a number of Puerto Ricans to have nullified this result.

3. METHODOLOGY

Due to the time that passed between the establishment of the ELA and U.S. renewed action on status, this study focuses specifically on the period from 1989 to 2010, during which there was increased congressional action in terms of the number of bills proposed. Overall bill content was examined to identify the terms of each (i.e., most called for a referendum or plebiscite on status, offered three or four options, and indicated two plebiscites, the second based on results of the first). The text of each bill was reviewed for references to *language*, *Spanish,* or *English* to identify whether language policy provisions were included in the bill, and if so, what policies or parameters were being proposed. Any language policy was analyzed with regard to the options for status —that is, to discover whether the policy varied according to a given status option. The bill texts were accessed through the U.S. Library of Congress' THOMAS website. A list of the bills discussed in this paper can be found in Appendix A.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: U.S. LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS 1989-2010

Each bill examined was overtly focused on addressing and resolving the question of political status of Puerto Rico, stating the need to ascertain the will of the Puerto Rican people and specifying the conditions that would apply for each of several options if chosen. During this time period, however, it is evident that language policy took on a varying role in the proposals, based on the sponsors' goals and ideologies about language. During the first 9 years, from 1989-1998, nineteen bills were put forward, four of which moved from their respective committees to the greater House. Two were approved by the House, none by the Senate, although the latter did agree to a resolution on the topic. Following this initial period, there is a marked decrease in emphasis on language policy during the first decade of the 2000s, which then changes dramatically by the legislation proposed in 2010. In the next sections, we examine bills from each of these periods of time in more detail.

4.1. U.S. Congressional Bills 1989-1999

4.1.1. The Puerto Rico Status Referendum Act

The *Puerto Rico Status Referendum Act* (S.712, 1989)[1] was sponsored by Senator J. Bennett Johnston and inspired eight days of hearings (Bea and Garrett 42). During the discussion of this bill on the Senate floor and in committee, significant content was either altered or eliminated. The original text lays out several introductory statements in the section devoted to the statehood option that laid out the case for language policy under that option, statements which were later deleted from the text:

> (1) [Struck out->] SEC. 17. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is assured of its reserved State right under the Constitution **to continue to maintain both Spanish and English as its official languages**, as well as of its right to preserve and enhance its rich Hispanic cultural heritage. However, **all records and proceedings** of all agencies, departments, offices and courts **of the United States Federal Government operating in Puerto Rico, shall continue to be conducted and kept in the English language as heretofore**. (S.712 Title II, §17).

The text referenced Puerto Rico's law of 1902 and its establishment of both Spanish and English as "official State languages" protected by the U.S. Constitution. It also included the protection of voting rights independently of language:

> (2) [Struck out->] SEC. 18. The State shall never enact any law restricting or abridging the right of suffrage on account of race, color, previous condition of servitude, or **ability to read, write, speak, and understand any language sufficiently**; and the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States shall be respected in Puerto Rico according to the provisions of paragraph 1 section 2 of article IV of the Constitution of the United States. [<-Struck out] (S.712 Title II, §18).

Within this bill, different language policies were proposed according to the particular status option under consideration. Thus, as we have seen with the statehood option, both languages would be official and federal government proceedings would be carried out in English; the right to vote would be protected regardless of ability in

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[1] The bills discussed in this paper were accessed online through the United States Library of Congress online resources, at Congress.gov. In this article, they are cited throughout according to the legislative body (H.R. or S), the bill number, and the year when they were first proposed. Additional information is provided for each cited text to locate the example within the bill's text. Bills can be located on the website by number/title and the number of the congress in which they were proposed (e.g., 101st Congress); it provides information on bill sponsors, text, actions taken, as well as links to the Congressional Record.

either language. The option for Commonwealth, on the other hand, simply confirmed the existing requirement that the Resident Commissioner, Puerto Rico's representative to the U.S. House, be able to read and write in English (Title IV Commonwealth, Subpart 14, §892). It affirmed specific language rights such as being permitted to request proceedings in Spanish in the court system (Subpart 15, §42) and to have voting ballots available in Spanish (Subpart II). For the Independence option, no language policy at all was indicated. Notably, however, following the initial introduction, later committee reports in 1989 and 1990 no longer included any reference at all to *language, Spanish,* or *English*, even for the statehood option. The bill continued to address a variety of issues related to all three options, but references to language had been withdrawn. This bill was referred to committee and received no further action on the Senate floor.

4.1.2. The Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act

During that same Congress, House Representative de Lugo introduced the *Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act* (H.R.4765, 1990). Like the Senate bill, it focused on a potential referendum with several options. In addition to independence, statehood, and an 'enhanced' commonwealth, a "none of the above" option was included (Congress.gov). No linguistic policy—protective or restrictive—was included in this bill. There was little recorded debate, particularly in comparison with that recorded for S.712; however, neither were there any provisions that would protect the language and culture of Puerto Ricans (Bea and Garrett 45). The House passed this bill.

4.1.3. The United States-Puerto Rico Political Status Act

There was little action on status in the 102nd and 103rd Congresses.[2] In 1996, Representative Young proposed the *United States-Puerto Rico Political Status Act* (H.R.3024, 1996). The original text references language twice, the first time in the context of the Independence option, as in (3) below, a section which was ultimate struck out, and replaced by a slightly altered version, with no mention of language, as in (4):

> (3) "A path of separate Puerto Rican sovereignty leading to independence or freeassociation, in which—
> "(A) Puerto Rico is a sovereign nation with full authority and responsibility for its internal and external affairs, **exercising in its own name and right the powers of government with respect to its territory and population, language and culture**, and determining its own relations and participation in the community of nations; (HR 3024 §4).

[2] S.244 and H.R.316 were introduced in 1991-1992, but neither passed.

> (4) "The path of separate Puerto Rican sovereignty leading to independence or free association is one in which—
> "(1) Puerto Rico is a sovereign nation with full authority and responsibility for its internal and external affairs and has the capacity to exercise in its own name and right the powers of government with respect to its territory and population; (HR 3024 §4).

The final bill provides no language policy, whether of protection or restriction, for the commonwealth or independence options. Subsequently the bill addresses statehood, which is the second time in which language was mentioned:

> (5) "The path through United States sovereignty **leading to statehood is** one in which—
> "(1) the people of Puerto Rico are fully self-governing with their rights secured under the United States Constitution, which is the supreme law and has the same force and effect as in the other States of the Union; ...omitted content...]
> "(7) Puerto Rico adheres to **the same language requirement as in the several States**." (HR 3024 §4):

First we observe that this bill clearly asserted a particular language policy should Puerto Ricans opt for statehood. Nevertheless, the requirement is ambiguous and imprecise. It is unclear what this "same language requirement" entails, nor in which states the requirement applies. In 1996, according to U.S. English, Inc., twenty-three states had Official English laws on the books under varying conditions, but there was not at that time nor is there currently a federally designated official language. Thus, the bill sent a message but the actual stipulations were not bound by legal precedent. The word *English* was never used in the bill's text. Although the word *Spanish* appears twice, it is in the context of the phrase *Spanish-American War*; thus, it did not constitute recognition of the language spoken on the Island. This bill was reported by the Committee on Rules on September 18, 1996, but also did not pass.

In summary, these proposed bills from 1989-1996 focused nearly exclusively on political status. Alterations to the bill texts tended to delete references to language policy, and where policy was retained in the final proposal, it functioned to ensure that the statehood option, as opposed to other options, would match Puerto Rico with what was presumably the case in the United States, even though a consistent policy did not exist.

4.1.4. The United States-Puerto Rico Political Status Act

Representative Young proposed another bill by the same title the following year (H.R. 856, 1997). This bill also included no language policy for either Commonwealth or independence but this time the language policy for statehood was expanded:

> (6) (b) OFFICIAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—In the event that a referendum held under this Act results in approval of sovereignty leading to Statehood, **upon accession to Statehood, the official language requirements of the Federal Government shall apply to Puerto Rico** in the same manner and to the same extent as **throughout the United States**.
> (c) ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT.—It is in the **best interest of the Nation for Puerto Rico to promote the teaching of English as the language of opportunity and empowerment in the United States** in order to enable students in public schools to achieve English language proficiency by the age of 10. (H.R. 856 §3).

There are several points of interest in this text. First, in (b), Young again asserts the existence of a (nonexistent) U.S. federal official language requirement, as well as the presumably unified and homogenous application of said official language policy throughout the United States. It is unclear whether the provision was intended for some future time in which such legislation might be enacted, or whether it was intended primarily to indicate that official English would be required for statehood. Nevertheless, the second point in (b) is predicated upon the first; both were invalid. Secondly, in (c), it is unclear whose best interest was being served —whether this was intended to refer to the United States or to Puerto Rico. Third, it is clear that English was presented as the "language of opportunity and empowerment in the United States", although the bill was directed towards Puerto Ricans and their decision on status. These provisions are more extensive than what was included in previous bills, both in terms of a legal requirement for an official language as well as recommendations of promoting the English language. The inclusion of the Official English policy was reiterated elsewhere under the statehood option:

> (7) **Official English language requirements of the Federal Government apply in Puerto Rico** to the same extent as Federal law requires throughout the United States." (HR 856 §4).

The promotion of English language proficiency was also reiterated in this bill for the statehood option, additionally emphasizing the importance of teaching English in the public school system and promoting the use of English:

> (8) (C) Additionally, in the event of a vote in favor of continued United States sovereignty leading to Statehood, the transition plan required by this subsection shall—
>
> (i) include proposals and incentives to increase the opportunities of the people of Puerto Rico to **expand their English proficiency** in order to promote and facilitate communication with residents of all other States of the United States [...];
>
> (ii) **promote the use of English** by the United States citizens in Puerto Rico in order to ensure — [...]

(III) the ability of all citizens of Puerto Rico to take full advantage of the opportunities and responsibilities accorded to all citizens, including education, economic activities, occupational opportunities, and civic affairs; and [...] (HR 856 §4).

This bill thus presents a departure from the emphasis of prior bills. In the text, *language* appears seven times, *English* appears nine times, and *Spanish* appears only one time, again in the context of the phrase *Spanish-American War* and not in any way connected to the language spoken on the Island. Unlike Young's previous proposal which included very little language policy, this one passed the House.

In summary, the 105th Congress focused again on the potential status change to statehood, indicating that, in the event that statehood were to be selected, federal laws (i.e., official language) would be applied, and the teaching, and use, of English, would be promoted. As before, the Commonwealth and Independence options did not receive accompanying English language policy provisions.

4.1.5. The Puerto Rico-United States Bilateral Pact of Non-territorial Permanent Union and Guaranteed Citizenship Act

In the following Congress, Representative Doolittle presented a bill (H.R.4751, 2000) to recognize Puerto Rico as a nation "legally and constitutionally" (§2). This bill twice asserted:

(9) [...] the recognition that **Puerto Rico is a nation with its own history, national character, culture, and Spanish language**. (HR 4751 §2(2)).
(10) [...] acknowledging that **Puerto Rico is a nation with its own history, idiosyncrasy, culture, and Spanish language**. (HR 4751 §3(2)).

The only place where this bill addressed the question of language policy was in the context of federal district courts, where Spanish and English would be designated as the official languages of the court (HR 4751 §3(20). This bill differed from those discussed previously in that the text clearly asserted the Island's cultural and linguistic identity, a fact that, although seemingly relevant to previous bills, had regularly been overlooked or minimized in the bill texts. In Doolittle's proposal, this information is foregrounded from the beginning in §2 and repeated shortly thereafter in §3. Nevertheless, although the bill text was relatively devoid of language policy, in his opening remarks, Doolittle made clear that he was critical of the current relationship and the linguistic "separatism" that characterized the Island's relationship with the U.S.[3] The bill was referred to committee, and no further action was recorded.

[3] Doolittle indicated that he did not intend for the bill to become law but rather to "provoke an honest discussion of Puerto Rico's future and the truth about its current

4.2. U.S. Congressional Bills 2000-2008: No language policy

From 2000 to 2005, there was little action in the U.S. House and Senate on the status issue, but by the 109th and 110th Congresses (2005-2008), legislators showed renewed interest in a resolution to the ongoing question of the relationship between the Island and the United States (Bea and Garrett 2009). Four bills were put forward in 2006, two each in the House and Senate: the *Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act of 2006* (S.2304), the *Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act of 2006* (H.R.4963), the *Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2006* (H.R.4867), and the *Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2006* (S.2661). The first two were parallel proposals with significant overlap in content, although with some differences such as timing of the referendum and congressional approval. The latter two presented different scenarios regarding plebiscite structure. The following year three additional bills were introduced: the *Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2007* (H.R. 900) and the *Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act of 2007* (H.R.1230), which were combined into a compromise bill, and the *Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2007* (S.1936), which was related to H.R. 900 but presented different voting options.

Most importantly, in none of these seven bills do we find any language policy at all, whether protective or restrictive.[4] All were referred to committee; none were approved or received further official action, as recorded in the online archive. In summary, following Young's 1997 proposal, much less attention was given to restrictive language policy from 1999-2008, regardless of the status options. Thus, although bills from 1989-1998 included some limited language policy in varying ways, a marked decrease in emphasis was seen from 1999 through the latter part of the first decade of the new millennium.

4.3. The Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2010

The *Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2010* (H.R.2499, 2010) signaled a clear change from this decreased emphasis on language policy with a clearly articulated language policy. During the consideration of the bill, three English language requirements were inserted into the text by way of the Burton Amendment.[5] The amendment sought to ensure that the "full content of the ballot" would be printed in English, an erasure of the fact that Puerto Rico already requires ballots to be published bilingually. Additionally, the amendment inserted specific language policy and advocacy into the document:

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status" and to end the current relationship (Congressional Record, 6/26/2000). He cited the lack of public English language education and "the creation of a Quebec-like enclave of linguistic separatism in Puerto Rico", among other issues.

[4] As in other cases, this determination was based on whether the terms *language*, *Spanish*, or *English* were included in the bill texts, not whether these topics surfaced in the floor discussion.

[5] See Shenk (2013) for an analysis of the floor discussion of H.R.2499 and the proposal of this amendment.

> (11) (2) inform persons voting in any plebiscite held under this Act that, if **Puerto Rico retains its current political status or is admitted as a State** of the United States, **the official language requirements** of the Federal Government **shall apply to Puerto Rico** in the same manner and to the same extent as throughout the United States; and
> (12) (3) inform persons voting in any plebiscite held under this Act that, if **Puerto Rico retains its current political status or is admitted as a State** of the United States, it is the Sense of Congress that it is in the best interest of the United States for the **teaching of English to be promoted** in Puerto Rico as the language of opportunity and empowerment in the United States in order to enable students in public schools to achieve **English language proficiency**. (§3(e)).

As discussed earlier, the United States has not designated an official language at the federal level. Thus, point (2) must be interpreted either as emphasizing covertly that there would be no official language requirement for the Island or, alternatively, that it was looking to the future when said requirement might be enacted. In either case, the point was irrelevant at that time. Nevertheless, this text clearly implied federal government control over the Island's language policy. There are parallel discourses present between this text and that of earlier bills, regarding English being *the* (not "*a*") language of "opportunity and empowerment" in the United States. Finally, there is a substantial shift in the conditions for these provisions—that is, both sub-points (2) and (3) above indicate that the language requirement and recommendations about the promotion of English teaching and language proficiency are no longer linked exclusively to the option of statehood, but rather would apply regardless of whether the voters chose in the plebiscite to retain current status (i.e., Commonwealth) or to alter that status (i.e., statehood—independence is not mentioned). The final version of this bill thus differs substantially from the series of proposals made from 1989 on and discussed above, in which language requirements were linked to the potential selection of the statehood option.

Thus, we can summarize the overall shifts in policy included in these bills over the period of time from 1989-2010 as follows. Given the impetus to clarify the way forward, nearly every bill discussed here proposed a referendum or plebiscite on status to be conducted in Puerto Rico, most with several status options; most suggested carrying out two related plebiscites, the second based on the first. From 1989 to 1999, language policy formed a relatively minor part of the bill proposals, and where it appeared, it was particularly oriented towards the statehood option. From 2000 to 2008, language issues took a back seat, with the primary focus remaining on political status. By 2010, language issues moved front and center, and this time policy was laid out independently of status options, to be applicable even if Puerto Rico were to retain its current status.

4.4. The Official English Movement in the United States

The inclusion and evolution of language policy in the congressional bills discussed in this paper must be situated within the broader sociopolitical context of the United

States. On one hand, the Spanish language has expanded its role and functions in the public sphere in the United States due to factors such as the proximity and shared border with Mexico, the generations of Spanish speakers who have been present since before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and a growing Latin@ population for whom Spanish is a native or heritage language. The role of Spanish in the public sphere has been recognized in the media and commercial sectors, which reach this population not only through Spanish itself but also through code-switching and the creation of bilingual linguistic landscapes.

Along with these realities, the United States has also experienced a relatively recent period of expansion in the Official English movement, with efforts expended at both the state and the federal levels. Beginning in 1981, official English legislation has been introduced in every session of Congress (González 625). Former California Senator Samuel Hayakawa was a particularly strong supporter of federal-level official English legislation proposals. Nevertheless, efforts to establish official language legislation at the federal level have been repeatedly denied in Congress.

At the state level the reality is somewhat different, with individual states holding the right to enact or resist the passage of Official English legislation. According to the records kept by U.S. English, Inc., thirty-one states currently have official English laws, twenty-six of which were passed between 1984 and 2010. This time period overlaps almost entirely with the years just prior to and during those included in the current study. Additionally, some cities, towns, businesses, and even schools have passed local ordinances or informal policies regarding the required use of English within the confines of those spaces.[6] These movements are supported by organizations such as U.S. English, Inc., which published grade reports on Congress members in response to their co-sponsorship or votes on bills such as the *English Language Unity Act*; on whether legislators motioned to reconsider the English amendment to H.R.2499; and on whether or not they voted against final passage of H.R.2499. The organization currently offers an *Official English Pledge* to legislators to sign.

There is a relationship between the legislation discussed in this paper and the strength of Official English or English First movements. Muñiz-Argüelles argues that these movements in the United States are a worrisome trend in Puerto Rico due to the power that Congress has to pass legislation that impacts the Island. In the months leading up to the 2012 plebiscite, U.S. English's Board Chair Mauro Mujica visited Puerto Rico to advocate for English usage and teaching.

U.S. English's advocacy efforts in the passage of H.R.2499 were also evident when content from the organization's letters were introduced by legislators into the discussion on the House floor. The concerns of Muñiz-Argüelles and others regarding the role and strength of English on the Island are in some strange way mirrored by the fears articulated by U.S. English in its stark and negative portrayal of a potential future Puerto Rican state of the U.S.: "The acceptance of

[6] See, for example, cases in Hazleton, Pennsylvania (Powell and García), Bogota, New Jersey (Baron "Official English"), Geno's Steaks in Philadelphia, PA ("English"), St. Anne Catholic School in Wichita, Kansas (Baron "Wichita's English-Only"), and Albertville, Alabama (Doyle).

an entire U.S. state where public schools, courts, and the legislature operate in a non-English language would drive a spike through the unifying power of English, our common language" (U.S. English). It is evident that movements for official English in the United States have inserted themselves into the debate on political status (and accompanying language policy) for the Island.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This article analyzes the inclusion and evolution of language policy proposals from 1989 to 2010 in U.S. congressional bills designed to clarify a resolution on Puerto Rico's political status. It examines the ways in which language policy proposals have changed over time in these bill texts, with particular attention to the relationship between the proposed policies and the status option(s) under which they would apply. We have seen that although some bills during this time period focused exclusively on political status with no mention of language policy, the policies evolved from (a) fairly ambiguous policies across the board to (b) more specific policies laid out for the statehood option should voters make that choice, to (c) policies that would apply either for the statehood option or for ongoing status as a Commonwealth. The inclusion and evolution of policy is also situated within the broader U.S. sociopolitical context, suggesting that there has been significant interaction between the legitimation of Spanish in the public sphere and the hegemonic reaction of the official English movement, the latter of which has exerted pressure on congressional bodies to absorb the meaning and message of their own organization into the political relationship of the U.S. and Puerto Rico.

A half decade after the last piece of legislation discussed above, the question of political status for Puerto Rico continues to be debated actively both in the U.S. Congress as well as on the Island, and language issues continue to play an active role in the discussion. Response to the November 2012 plebiscite has been mixed, with different groups on the Island claiming unclear results, due to the wording and structure of the ballot options. The U.S. legislature has continued to consider several bills in the past several years including the *Puerto Rico Status Resolution Act* (H.R. 2000, in 2013, sponsored by Resident Commissioner/Rep. Pedro Pierluisi), the *Puerto Rico Status Resolution Act* (S. 2020, in 2014, Sens. Heinrich and Wyden), and the *Puerto Rico Statehood Admission Process Act* (H.R. 727, in 2015, Resident Commissioner/Rep. Pierluisi). These bills focus on providing for a federally authorized vote on the admission of Puerto Rico as a U.S. State and for subsequent executive and legislative follow-up action. The bill texts do not include language policy. Given that many of the plebiscite-oriented bills have been introduced in Congress and promptly referred to committee from which they do not emerge, the future of these bills is unclear. However, should one of them reappear and be passed by its governing body, the question of language policy and its potential inclusion in the text will merit close attention.

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REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 103-118

APPENDIX A

Selected Bills/Congressional Action 1989-2010[7]

Congress	Introduced	Bill number / title	Sponsor(s)	Result
101st	4/5/1989	S.712 "Puerto Rico Status Referendum Act"	Johnston	Referred to committee
101st	5/9/1990	H.R. 4765 "Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act"	de Lugo	Passed House 10/10/1990
104th	1996	H.R. 3024 "United States-Puerto Rico Political Status Act"	Young	Amended by committee
105th	2/27/1997	H.R. 856 "United States-Puerto Rico Political Status Act"	Young	Passed House 3/04/1998
106th	6/26/2000	H.R. 4751 "Puerto Rico-United States Bilateral Pact of Non-territorial Permanent Union and Guaranteed Citizenship Act"	Doolittle	Referred to committee
109th	2/16/2006	S.2304 "Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act of 2006"	Burr	Referred to committee
	3/15/2006	H.R. 4963 "Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act of 2006"	Duncan	Referred to committee
	3/2/2006	H.R. 4867 "Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2006"	Fortuño	Referred to committee
	4/26/2006	S.2661 "Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2006"	Martínez	Referred to committee
110th	2/7/2007	H.R. 900 "Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2007"	Serrano	Amended by committee
	2/28/2007	H.R. 1230 "Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act of 2007"	Velázquez	Referred to committee
	8/2/2007	S.1936 "Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2007"	Salazar	Referred to committee
111th	5/19/2009	H.R. 2499 "Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2010"	Pierluisi	Passed House 4/29/2010

[7] Full texts of bills prior to 1993 are no longer available on the Congress.gov website.

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 103-118

A PRESTIGIOUS IMPOSITION: FROM MULTILINGUALISM TO ENGLISH CLIL

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Abstract

Along its history English has had to overcome many obstacles to achieve the prestige it holds today. Its submission to the Classical and other vernacular languages is a matter of the past. In spite of the omnipresence of the word multilingualism in the European legislation, English maintains its position as the first foreign language learnt. The purpose of this paper is to discern if the European linguistic policies have somehow contributed to this fact. By analysing documents issued by the European Commission as well as others it has funded, it is shown that multilingualism is actually in decay. Furthermore, considering reports on Spain and specifically the Canary Islands, it can be revealed that CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), rather than favouring multilingualism as it was once suggested by the EU, has promoted the use of English-Only in public classrooms occupied by selected students. Though it is not the objective of this paper to evaluate CLIL as method, a final concern is manifested when it might become a tool of segregation. Hence, if multilingualism needs a serious reconsideration, the use of English as a lingua franca does too.

Keywords: multilingualism, European Commission, linguistic policies, English-Only, CLIL, Spain, Canary Islands.

Resumen

A lo largo de su historia la lengua inglesa ha tenido que sortear muchos obstáculos antes de llegar a alcanzar el prestigio del que goza hoy en día. Su sometimiento a las lenguas clásicas o a otras vernáculas europeas es ya una cuestión del pasado. A pesar de la omnipresencia del término multilingüismo en la normativa europea, el inglés mantiene su posición como primera lengua extranjera. El propósito de este trabajo es discernir si las políticas lingüísticas europeas han contribuido de alguna manera a otorgarle esta posición. El análisis de documentos elaborados por la Comisión Europea así como otros realizados con el apoyo de la misma muestran que el multilingüismo está en receso. Es más, al estudiar informes sobre España y concretamente de las Islas Canarias, puede señalarse que el sistema AICLE (Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras, CLIL en sus siglas en inglés), más que favorecer el multilingüismo como sugería la Unión Europea, ha servido para promover el uso de "solo inglés" en aulas ocupadas por alumnos preseleccionados. Aunque no es el objetivo de este trabajo, evaluar AICLE como método, cabe manifestar la preocupación de que este pudiera convertirse en una forma de segregación. De aquí que, si bien el multilingüismo necesita ser reconsiderado seriamente, el uso del inglés como lengua franca más aún.

Palabras clave: multilingüismo, Comisión europea, políticas lingüísticas, "solo inglés", AICLE, España, Islas Canarias.

1. INTRODUCTION

Along history, English speakers have struggled first to accept their vernacular as a valid source of communication and then to convince every other speaker that it was the most valid language for international communication. As already stated in this volume and in previous works (among others: Lass 6-9, Leith, 48 and recently Sutherland 26-34) from the end of the Middle Ages onwards many English middle class families demanded for their children's education the use of a language they could command and abandon Latin as a vehicular language; nowadays many Spanish families (and from other nationalities too) consider English is a *must* for their children and search best forms for them to use a language which, quite often they, as parents, do not master themselves.

The "supremacy" of English goes without discussion (Crystal, *English as a global*; Graddol, *The Future of English?, English Next*) except when combined with the concepts of *variety of English, lingua franca, Globish, linguistic imperialism*… Maybe in Spain the discussion of *what* should be learnt is still secondary (in spite of factors like the growing numbers of Spanish speakers[1]) as compared to the sensed need of learning "THE language".

In the last decades, many European articles about learning foreign languages have used as their starting point the European policy of implementing second languages acquisition. The "White Paper on education and training. Teaching and learning - Towards a learning society" issued in 1995 by the E.U, focused on multilingualism as part of the European identity and citizenship, with the intention of promoting the proficiency in three community languages. That paper underlined the importance of an early introduction to foreign languages at school and encouraged the use of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) as the most adequate form of introducing language learning in the curriculum:

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 119-134

> In order to make for proficiency in three Community languages, it is desirable for foreign language learning to start at pre-school level. It seems essential for such teaching to be placed on a systematic footing in primary education, with the learning of a second Community foreign language starting in secondary school. It could even be argued that secondary school pupils should study certain subjects in the first foreign language learned, as is the case in the European schools. (47).

Nonetheless, in the same text it was already regretted that the learning of three Community languages was a commitment which Member States limited when added the words: "if possible" (47).

CLIL was meant to be a method to support multilingualism, which in turn would sustain that principle of the Treaty on The European Union in its article 3 (17): "It shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced". CLIL was not supposed

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[1] See Instituto Cervantes, Anuarios 2012, 2013.

to enhance just English, but in fact it has favoured bilingualism and diluted the policy of the European Union to sustain linguistic diversity. At least that seems to be the situation in Spain.

The aim of this paper is twofold: first we will try to show, through the documents and information provided by the European Union, how the multilingualism policy remains quite often in a declaration of intents; second it will be shown how CLIL, which was supposed to support the previous multilingual policy, has become identified with the main tool of a mollified "mono-bilingual" education in Spain, especially in the Canary Islands, thus, assuming the prestige of English. This promotion, though far from favouring multilingualism, might be considered by many legitimate, given the current linguistic globalization, but it is at the least disquieting when it may produce as a collateral effect the segregation of students.

In order to achieve these purposes, in the next two sections the concept of multilingualism within the European Union will be exposed leading to the relation between multilingualism and CLIL. The fourth section presents data obtained from an external evaluation of CLIL in the Canary Islands and questionnaires applied to a small group of university students; these data will be discussed to reach some conclusions in section five.

2. MULTILINGUALISM

In 2006 the Commission's multilingualism policy (EUR-lex c11084 – EN "Framework strategy for multilingualism") presented three aims:

1. Encourage language learning and promote linguistic diversity in society.
2. Promote a healthy multilingual economy.
3. Give citizens access to European Union legislation, procedures and information in their own languages.

Starting from the third aim, the official website of the European Union, EUROPA, states that European citizens have the right to consult and receive information in their own mother tongue. Thus, legislation & key political documents, official documents which are legally binding, and general information are to be published in all EU official languages. To this ideal panorama, restrictions start appearing: when the documents are not legally binding, they are usually published in English, French and German; when the information is considered "urgent or short-lived" it might appear initially in a single language; specialized information may also appear in a few languages or just one, "the choice depends on the target audience" (EUROPA website (2015)). These limitations are explained by making users aware of the costs of maintaining such policy:

> With a permanent staff of 1,750 linguists and 600 support staff, the Commission has one of the largest translation services in the world, bolstered by a further 600 full-time and 3,000 freelance interpreters. In order to reduce the cost to the tax payer, the European Commission aims to provide visitors with web content either in their own language or in one they can understand, depending on their real needs. This language policy will be applied as consistently as possible across the new web presence. An evidence-based, user-focused approach will be used to decide whether many language versions are required or not.

Though it may be true that not all European citizens will read every single publication of the EU, this procedure comes to reinforce the idea most "ordinary people" have: if you want to reach the higher levels of society you must speak English, an idea that makes them search for "bilingual schools" or private lessons that reinforce the language their children should learn at school.

An interesting, though *working document* only published in English, is "Language Competences for Employability, Mobility and Growth. Accompanying the document Communication From [sic] the Commission Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes". In this Commission's analysis and recommendations there is mention of the poor results in language learning and also how (my emphasis):

> **English is becoming de facto the first foreign language**. It is the most taught foreign language, both in Europe and globally, and it plays a key role in daily life – **but: it is proficiency in more than one foreign language that will make a decisive difference in the future**. This calls for language policies and strategies inspired by a clear vision of the value of language skills for mobility and employability.

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 119-134

The same document indicates that the lack of sufficient linguistic skills affects not only the mobility and integration of workers but also their safety when, for example instructions cannot be followed properly (3.1). This can be linked with a need highlighted by the European Commission supporting language diversity in Europe: "It is also essential to ensure that languages are not a barrier to participation in society, and that marginalized language groups can be identified, represented, and included in society." ("Languages in education"). After all, and according to the Commission's Eurobarometer of 2012 ("Special Eurobarometer 393"), Europeans consider that the highest levels of discrimination are related to ethnic origin, and language is no doubt part of it. In present times this perception must have increased given the socio-economic problems of the Union and neighbour bellic conflicts which have derived in new migrant waves. A second aim of a "healthy multilingual economy" seems difficult to achieve.

Multilingualism is certainly coupled with multiculturalism but whereas the first still maintains an apparent value, the latter seems to be out of question. According to authors like Ossewaarde, most relevant political figures in Europe have claimed that "multiculturalist policies have failed, and resulted in social exclusion

and cultural segregation" (173). Giving support to the original culture of immigrants apparently obstructs their assimilation into the recipient country. That primary ideal of the integration of different cultures to favour migrants, especially Muslims, clashed with monoculturalist defendants that grew together with an anti-Islam populism.

> The death of multiculturalism discourse reached a certain climax in 2010–2011, but since then political entrepreneurs have lost some media attention. Although the media discourse certainly continues newspapers have appeared a little bit less willing to communicate cultural imperialist messages. Newspapers seem a little bit less concerned with Muslims now (by the end of 2013) than they were in 2010–2011. Newspapers have found themselves new priorities, particularly the Eurozone crisis and the possible influx of migrants from Southern Europe hit by mass unemployment and austerity measures (Ossewaarde 186).

In December 2014, the conservative party Christian Social Union (CSU), part of the coalition government in Berlin, issued the proposal that was basically reported as: "people wanting permanent residency 'should be urged to speak German in public and in the family'" (*The Guardian*). Although, because of the criticism and mockery received, they had to backtrack on their discourse this was not essentially different from what the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) said in a study on *Jobs for Immigrants* published in 2007 with respect to the school performance of the children of immigrants in Germany (227) as compared with what happened in communitarian and extra-communitarian countries (my emphasis):

> However, the remaining differences, after controlling for the socio-economic background, appear to be largely **due to the fact that less well performing persons of the second generation do not speak German at home**. This is surprising since, in principle, the share of the second generation which does not speak the national language is not higher than in other OECD countries.[25] A recent econometric study (Schncpf. 2004) analyzed the OECD's PISA study and other international evaluations of pupils (PIRLS. TIMSS) 26 with respect to the determinants of their educational achievement.

The difference lays on the advice given by the OECD, that children should be exposed and trained in the German language from kindergarten, facilitating immigrants' children attendance to these pre-school stages. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be a policy in harmony with multilingualism when considering that speaking your mother tongue at home has a "negative impact":

> Moreover, kindergarten and primary schooling are generally only half-time. This may explain why the effect of a foreign language spoken at home has a stronger negative impact on students' educational outcomes than in other countries. Language training should thus be systematically integrated into the kindergarten activities, and ideally he offered also after the half-day kindergarten (OECD 242)

Concerned with the education of children and young people with a migrant background, the EU launched a project called SIRIUS (2012-2014). This project was

in turn connected and funded by the by the Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Commission. Its web, TV channel, Facebook, its policy brief exposing "The importance of language proficiency among pupils", insist on the importance of multilingualism in and out of the EU: "[a]t European level the recommendations on language support to children and youngsters with a migrant background by European Institutions also emphasize the importance of providing teaching of languages of the host country for migrants while exploring the ways to respect and value the languages of their country of origin" (2). However, except for Austria and Sweden, most countries present one difficulty or another (amount and varied origin of immigrants, lack of preparation of teachers, no funding…) to implement the good practices that the Commission reiterates. In the case of Spain the SIRIUS policy brief by Siarova and Essomba (7) states:

> In other cases, these difficulties are rooted on a homogeneous approach to culture. In Spain, diversities are respected but there was a monolingual policy before. It is with democracy that the system became decentralized so that regions could adapt the national school system according to their own cultural specificities. This happened only three decades ago

It might be true that the Spanish political past has had an influence on the present linguistic views, though it might be wondered if it also has something to do with the prestige given to the English language. According to Roith (203) it is right the opposite:

> During the Franco dictatorship education-policy-makers did not consider foreign language learning as a priority for Spanish students, given this tradition of imperial thinking [...] Today, Spain is making efforts to enhance language teaching in state schools, especially in the context of EU recommendations and the Bologna reforms. All autonomous communities within Spain have tried to establish as many bilingual or trilingual schools as possible, but the results, especially relating to the teaching of oral comprehension, are still very poor compared to other European countries. The situation has changed in the last years, but it is still a common phenomenon that only 10 out of 70 students in a university course consider themselves linguistically prepared to follow a lesson in English, and this despite of the introduction of bilingual schools and the obligation to take a test in English at the university access exams.

The improvement of the Spanish English proficiency is also recorded by the EF EPI (Education First company and its English Proficiency Index), that publishes rankings where Spain occupies the 20th position among 63 world countries and the 17th position as compared to the rest of Europe (including Ukraine, Turkey and Russia, that is, out of 24 countries). The studies of EF indicate Spanish adults' proficiency in English has improved in the last seven years though it would still be classified as *moderate proficiency*, right in the middle of the *very high, high, low* and *very low* of other countries. For many, this improvement is the result of multilingual policies enhanced in public schools in Spain and related with CLIL.

3. MULTILINGUALISM AND CLIL

Eurydice, a network dependent on the EACEA (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency) in turn, another unit of the EU Commission, published a survey (2005) on Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) at school in Europe. In the very preface it is stated that "[m]ultilingualism is at the very heart of European identity", curiously enough this report was published in "just" English and French, probably because of its own findings:

> Close examination of CLIL target languages (Figure 1.4) reveals that English, French and German are the most widespread foreign target languages in countries in which provision is in one or several foreign languages. Seven countries (Estonia, Spain, Latvia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria and Sweden) provide scope for trilingual CLIL provision combining the national language and two foreign languages (Spain and Latvia), or the national language, a foreign language and a minority language (Estonia, Latvia, the Netherlands, Austria and Sweden). (18)

In spite of the inclusion of Spain among those countries offering three languages, namely English and French plus Spanish itself, most people, even scholars, assume that when talking about CLIL the only possibility is English.

A recent (2012) and methodical publication of the British Council (edited by Extra and Yagmur) fostered by the European Commission (with disclaimers) analyzes the multilingual situation in different European countries. In the case of Spain three main cities (Madrid, Valencia, Sevilla) and two communities (Catalonia and the Basque Country) are studied. Although with regard to the whole country's context it is asserted that "[m]ultilingualism is not a new issue for Spanish people as four out of every ten Spaniards live in communities with more than one official language"[2], it is also added that "regional languages are not promoted or taught in other regions, leaving the initiative to regional clubs or academies" (194). Not only that but "[i]n the business sector, Catalan moves to third position, behind Castilian and business English, and is followed at a considerable distance by other European languages, mostly those of tourists and European residents" (206). For the Basque Country, English is again the first foreign language offered. Basque is parents' main choice as instruction language at school but according to the same study (211):

> The main problem concerning school is that children whose first language is Spanish identify Basque mainly with homework. They give up speaking Basque as soon as they are outside school. [...] Nevertheless, as mentioned above, school has become crucial in the revitalisation of the language

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 119-134

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[2] Other non-official languages at the state level are mentioned like *Bable* (Asturias) or Aranés (Arán valley in Catalonia), but their position is quite compromised nowadays though making great efforts to obtain higher recognition and survive

The Eurydice report for 2012 presents in its annex II the high numbers of primary and secondary schools in Spain which offer CLIL.

Annexes

	Instruction in two different languages and the ISCED levels concerned			Number of schools providing CLIL according to the language pair and ISCED level(s) concerned (+ reference year)						
	Language status	Names of the languages concerned	ISCED Level	1	2	1 + 2	3	2 + 3	1 + 2 +3	Reference year
ES	1 state language + 1 foreign language	Spanish-English / Spanish-French / Spanish-Italian / Spanish-German / Spanish-Portuguese	1-3	1706				948		2010/11
	1 state language + 1 minority/regional language with official language status	Spanish-Basque	1-3	73				19		2010/11
		Spanish-Catalan	1-3	2430				1036		2010/11
		Spanish-Galician	1-3	662		187		398		2010/11
		Spanish-Valencian	1-3						2062	2010/11
	1 state language + 1 minority/regional language with official language status + 1 foreign language	Spanish-Basque-English or French	1-3	3				4		2010/11
		Spanish-Catalan-English or French or German	1-3	273				148	160	2010/11
		Spanish-Galician-English or French or Portuguese	1-3						351	2010/11
		Spanish-Valencian-English or French	1-3	283				57		2010/11

Figure 1. Eurydice report 2012: Spain extract from annex II

According to the information provided, schools are counted as many times as combinations of languages offered, so it is difficult to know from the total how many teach exactly which languages. In the case of the regional languages these are only taught in their communities. It is also worthy of mention that the concept used for CLIL has also "evolved" from that first Eurydice report in 2006 to that of 2012, the latter includes bilingual schools and schools that work with a third language, one being the regional, the third group found in the language status column from the extract of the annex II above. Thus, the definitions found in the glossary of the first and the second report:

> CLIL: Acronym of 'Content and Language Integrated Learning'. This survey covers the use of at least two languages to teach various subjects in the curriculum, one of which is the language used in mainstream education (generally the official state language), and the other a target language (which may be a foreign language, a regional or minority language, or another official state language), independently of language lessons in their own right (the aim of which is not content and language integrated learning) (Eurydice 2006, 61).

> CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning).
> CLIL is the acronym for 'Content and Language Integrated Learning'. This acronym is used as a general term to designate different types of bilingual or immersion education. It is necessary to distinguish two types of CLIL on the basis of the languages used to teach non-language subjects (subjects other than languages and their literature/culture):

> Type A. Provision where non-language subjects are taught through a ▶ foreign language (status conferred in the central curriculum). The number of non-language subjects taught through the foreign language may vary according to schools and countries. In some schools (case 1), all non-language subjects, are taught through the foreign language. In others (case 2), some non-language subjects are taught through the foreign language and others through the language of the governing or administrative body of the school. In this latter case, two languages are thus used to teach non-language subjects of the curriculum.
> Type B. Provision where non-language subjects are taught through a ▶ regional and/or minority language or a ▶ non-territorial language or a ▶ state language in countries with more than one state language, and a second language, which may be any other language. In short, in these schools, the non-language subjects are always taught through two languages. In a very few schools, in addition to these two languages, a third is used to teach non-language subjects. The three languages include a minority and/or regional language, a state language and a foreign language (Eurydice 2012, 137).

The second definition is more convenient for Spain because of the communities whose languages have obtained official recognition; however, with the exception of Spanish-Catalan schools, the figures show higher numbers for combinations with foreign languages, correspondingly, in the whole Europe, there is evidence that the balance is still inclined towards English:

> English is a mandatory language in 14 countries or regions within countries (see Figure B13). It is by far the most taught foreign language in nearly all countries at all educational levels. Trends since 2004/05 show an increase in the percentage of pupils learning English at all educational levels, and particularly at primary level (see Figures C4 and C10). In 2009/10, on average, 73 % of pupils enrolled in primary education in the EU were learning English [...] In 2009/10, the percentage of pupils learning languages other than English, French, Spanish, German or Russian was below 5 % in most countries, and in a significant number the percentage was less than 1 % (Eurydice 2012, 11).

The prestige acquired by this language in Spain is such that parents demand extra-tuition for their children on this language as well as public language schools with extra hours devoted to English. Central and Community governments try to satisfy this demand (that somehow they have also nurtured) through the implementation of CLIL in primary and secondary schools. Concerning the achievements of CLIL itself or/and bilingual schools there is, nevertheless, a certain controversy, see recent (Nuez, May 2015) blog articles like "El Timo de la Enseñanza Bilingüe en la Comunidad de Madrid" and the debate created among its readers. Basically, parents consider the general knowledge children should acquire at early stages might be compromised because of a lack of command of the vehicular language, nearly always: English. Whether the use of English might be to the detriment of other languages and cultures is apparently less questioned or timidly done (my emphasis):

> El equipo de profesores que lidera el proyecto considera que el AICLE no solo contribuye a mejorar competencias en inglés del alumnado, sino que posee un fuerte carácter empoderador y mejora la autoestima de todos los alumnos y de sus familias. Sin embargo

se teme que un programa más intensivo en inglés (una asignatura a lo largo de toda la secundaria, por ejemplo) podría afectar al desarrollo del catalán y castellano como lenguas de uso académico (Escobar-Urmeneta, 211)

In pragmatic terms, the hedging used to talk about possible side-effects of a *more intensive English programme* contrasts with the boosters used to show the CLIL benefits: *not only* improving the students' competences *but also* providing *empowerment* and *improving the self-esteem of students and families*. This is an aspect that needs reflection on since we would be talking of power and high self-esteem which usually do not pair well with equality and sharing. Even more when not all students are admitted in CLIL programmes.

Since 1992 Phillipson has dealt thoroughly with "linguistic imperialism" and answered criticisms that ascribed his work to conspiracy theories (Spolky, Language policy; Phillipson, "Linguistic imperialism: a conspiracy"), this author (*English-only Europe?*, 7) questions if a certain hierarchy of languages is evolving in Europe as it happened in former colonies of Asia where English is "the key medium for prestigious purposes" and its use correlates with socio-economic privilege. This seems to be the case in Spain and in the Canary Islands where parents consider the level of English their children will reach without apparently reflecting on other aspects of the same or higher importance. Roith (203) states:

> The ability to fluently speak a foreign language, above all English, is in Spain a clear distinguishing feature between social classes. The possibility of acquiring a satisfactory knowledge of English in a state school is relatively minimal, so that only children from families who can afford to enrol them at private language academies, or by paying for language courses in English speaking countries, have a realistic chance of mastering the language as adults. The necessary reforms of language teaching in the public education system have been initiated but much more effort will be needed, especially relating to oral comprehension and speaking, if Spain desires to reach the levels of Northern European countries

At the moment, only in the Canary Islands there are about 482 authorized public educational centres (primary and secondary schools) implementing CLIL and which clearly state this methodology refers, exclusively, to English. In the Canarian Community when searching for CLIL centers, the Consejería de Educación, as mentioned before, identifies them with learning English (my emphasis): "Centros con Programa CLIL en el cursos 2014-15 (Modalidad de aprendizaje integrado de **lengua inglesa** y contenidos de otras áreas o materias)".

4. ENGLISH CLIL IN THE CANARY ISLANDS

It is not the objective of this paper to question how good the CLIL system might be for learning a foreign language. Though the reader may reach tangential conclusions, the main argument here is to what extent this system has helped multilingualism, as it was supposed to do when it was first proposed.

In the Canarian Community, the identification of CLIL with English is most outstanding. The previous quote may arise some doubts but the website of the Consejería de Educación answers the question *what is the CLIL programme?* as follows:

En el año 2003, la Comisión Europea adoptó un plan de acción para promover el aprendizaje de idiomas y la diversidad lingüística. Este propone la adopción a nivel europeo de una serie de medidas destinadas a apoyar las de las autoridades locales, regionales y nacionales que propicien un cambio decisivo en la promoción del aprendizaje de idiomas y la diversidad lingüística. Siguiendo estas directrices europeas, la Consejería de Educación, Universidades y Sostenibilidad del Gobierno de Canarias, a través de la Dirección General de Ordenación, Innovación y Promoción Educativa, ha promovido acciones concretas orientadas a mejorar el proceso de **aprendizaje del inglés**, favoreciendo el desarrollo de la competencia comunicativa del alumnado a través de un currículo que utilice la lengua extranjera como medio de aprendizaje de contenidos de otras áreas o materias curriculares no lingüísticas.

In the Canarian Community pilot projects started as early as the academic year 2004-2005. In 2014 the Gobierno de Canarias published an external report (Frigols-Martín & Marsh), which analysed the evolution and success of CLIL in the islands although it was only from 2010 when the denomination CLIL started to be used here.

The progression of the programme depicted in the report shows the efforts that have been made to improve the use of English: from an initial primary school project, a year later secondary school was also included; non-English teachers have been asked to improve their linguistic competence from a B1 to a present day B2 in order to participate in the project, providing professionals with the help of meetings, courses, and even in 2007-2008 with the possibility of periods of stay abroad. The specific involvement of the English teachers, particularly, and the rest of the staff has always been a requisite and from 2007-2008 informing the families about "características del proyecto y de los criterios establecidos para la incorporación del alumnado" (55) was also requested.

Once reached the consolidation of the CLIL programme, according to the report in 2008-2009, the non-linguistic subjects to be taught in English were established: *Conocimiento del Medio Natural, Social y Cultural* in the first two years and *Conocimiento del Medio Natural, Social y Cultural y Educación Artística* in the final four years of primary school. The subjects for secondary school were not so clearly specified.

The number of groups per course under the CLIL umbrella is one of the aspects mentioned and how the school centres have been asked to increase them each year according to the resources (human mainly) they have. Nonetheless, the main issue is that specially in secondary school, students are pre-selected to be able to attend one of the CLIL groups. Normally they have to prove through a test a certain level of English and from 2012 the families also have to sign a compromise document whose elaboration is the responsibility of the school: "Elaborar de forma consensuada un compromiso de participación e implicación en el programa para el alumnado y las familias" (79).

The results obtained from questionnaires and their interpretation in the IV part of report are quite significant for our purpose.[3] In primary school 77% of the children are in the programme because of their teachers' decision, however the study considers

[3] There are aspects that could be questioned such as the use of a 55% of Spanish to clarify doubts in CLIL subjects where more than 75% of the content was partially known by the students

this: “un resultado positivo porque demuestra que las familias han participado más en la decisión de continuar con el programa. Con un 23%, la combinación de la decisión individual y la de las familias es un resultado razonablemente positivo”. Age could be a factor to take into account, but in secondary school only a 45% of the students took the decision by themselves, knowing also that those students who attended CLIL classrooms in primary school have a preference to continue in the programme in secondary school.

According to the graphs, more than 80% of the students find it difficult to follow their subjects in English; the commentary made by the authors shows some concern (134) but still underlines the positive perception in the acquisition of linguistic skills:

> Este resultado resulta preocupante. Es difícil determinar si los alumnos están diciendo que aprender a través del inglés es más difícil, que sin duda ninguna lo es, o si les cuesta avanzar como harían si estudiaran en español. Es llamativo el contraste entre la percepción con respecto a la dificultad del proceso de aprendizaje de los contenidos y la percepción con respecto a la adquisición de destrezas en la lengua, muy positiva a juzgar por las respuestas a las preguntas anteriores.

Some of the aspects mentioned before already pointed to the possibility of segregation of students but the most assertive could be the answer given by secondary students when asked whether their inclusion in the programme has meant a difficulty in relating with the rest of the students in the school. More than 80% answered it did. In this case the authors consider (136):

> Este resultado resulta preocupante. Habría que indagar con mayor profundidad en qué centros, aspectos y hasta qué punto, para tomar medidas correctoras con la finalidad de evitar el efecto “dos centros en uno”.

This is a disturbing aspect that needs some sort of reflection. The journal of the Universidad Internacional de la Rioja, also includes it within the four challenges of a bilingual education, related with first, the selection of the staff; second, their training; third, the process of learning and how it may affect other subjects, and finally, the access of the students: “¿Puede entrar cualquier alumno? ¿Hay prueba de acceso? ¿Voluntaria u obligatoria para todos?” These are left as open questions for which no one seems to have a suitable answer.

Frigols-Martín and Marsh offer different proposals of improvement for CLIL in the Canary Islands at the end of their report. Nonetheless, a concern about selection is not clearly present among them, except tangentially in the following paragraph:

> Considerar si la situación socioeconómica actual requiere un esfuerzo mayor por parte de los centros educativos en sus programas de inglés en lo que se refiere al desarrollo intercultural [sic] del alumnado (por ejemplo, para seguir impulsando el fomento de la tolerancia, la comprensión y las actitudes positivas hacia el otro). (154).

(99-101) and the authors comment that teachers and students need to improve their linguistic skills as well as their self-confidence. However, his would be the concern of a different type of paper.

Among the suggestions appear: increasing the information provided about the objectives of the CLIL programme; encouraging other teachers with less English fluency to join "los grupos que enseñan en lengua inglesa" (155) or searching forms of sharing the experience:

> Seguir buscando maneras de compartir la experiencia (la metodología) con todo el personal, con el fin de establecer un impacto positivo en la enseñanza a través del castellano. Cualquier práctica innovadora en el centro educativo, cualquiera que sea la lengua, puede interesar y beneficiar a todos los docentes. (157)

A final suggestion to the goverment is:

> Plantear de manera consistente la idea de establecer el programa CLIL como algo más que un simple proyecto, hasta formular la educación bilingüe como el modelo vigente de educación reglada para las Islas Canarias. (160)

If there were any doubts about the reference Spanish-English when talking about bilingual education, another suggestion comes to clarify this (my emphasis):

> Realizar un análisis de **coste-beneficio del programa en lengua inglesa**, si aún no está disponible, que comunique el valor del mismo, comunique con los principales grupos de interés, y potencie la sostenibilidad a largo plazo. Lo probable es que los costes disminuyan tras la fase inicial de desarrollo, y un análisis de estas características puede guiar la toma correcta de decisiones por parte de [sic] las administración educativa. (161).

The Canary Islands have a reasonable offer of languages schools and academies that offer other languages different than English but reading this report it seems that multilingualism is completely out of question in terms of community policies.

It seems clear that further reports will be necessary in the future and not only external like this one but also detached from the methodology itself. The length and purpose of this paper does not allow for it, though this might be a start for future research. Even so, in order to obtain a "personal" snapshot of the present situation, a group of 2nd year students in an English degree[4] were questioned about their previous experience in high school. Doing an English degree and being at the end of the second year presupposes some sort of motivation to use English professionally and be very involved in its study, nevertheless out of 45 students (all of Spanish nationality but 6 ERASMUS), only 9 coursed studies in a CLIL secondary school and of these only 3 knew what CLIL was.[5] Only one student had attended a bilingual school and high school. All of them, but one ERASMUS, studied English as first foreign language and only 6, from no-CLIL schools, considered they had achieved a high level when finished high school.

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[4] My special thanks to those students who anonymously answered the questionnaire during the academic year 2014-15, University of La Laguna.

[5] They were not asked about the acronym but just if they had studied in a CLIL center and three possible answers were given: yes, no, I do not know.

The majority, including the CLIL students and the bilingual school one, considered the level of English they reached was medium and 4 considered it was low.

When asked about what three European languages,[6] other than their mother tongue, they would like to dominate, more than 90 % maintain English in the first position (logical to a certain extent because they are coursing an English degree) and the second and third choices go for other "dominant" languages: French and German, precisely the target languages included in the educational systems of most European countries according to the Eurobarometer report of 2012.

Enquired about the reasons for their choice, most students include the option of favouring intercultural dialogue or understanding other cultures for both the first (English) and the third language selected. Curiously enough, these are motives for promoting multilingualism included in most European documents, the question is if intercultural dialogue and full understanding of other cultures can be done though English-only policies.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Multilingualism seems to be in decline. It is a term maintained in documents even though in many cases it appears as a euphemism, an understatement or a fallacy, considering that English is always the first second language taught, if not the one and only. The policies may be right but the reality they describe goes far from what they want to enhance.

It is also apparent that CLIL policies which were started to sustain multiculturalism have ended benefiting bilingualism. It is not easy trying to implement a method for which initially professionals have not been prepared. Nor is teaching a language through other subjects in which you are not a specialist, and the reverse, teaching the contents in which you were specialized through a language in which you did not learn them or simply you do not command. In the case of students the difficulty is also clear: you have to learn new contents in a foreign language. Trying to do this with more than one foreign language increases the inconveniencies, not only for both parts but in terms of the economic support expected from the governments. The ultimate factor is the assumed prestige of English as a global language. Hence, it is not surprising that most European documents conclude that English is the mostly preferred language.

Even when accepting that English is well worthy sacrificing other "minor" languages, a serious reflection on the type of instruction students receive would be required. If this means learning English as a lingua franca, capable of favouring intercultural dialogue, a change in the perception of the prestige given to a specific accent or even syntactic structure would also be necessary. Additionally, diminishing the quality of contents for the sake of "certain" linguistic skills will not supply better workers.

It might be difficult to assert if CLIL –even as a bilingual tool– is actually working or not, considering there might be an apparent students' progress because there has been a previous selection of their capacity, motivation and supportive family background.

[6] A list was provided with 24 languages.

Many of those who are language teachers nowadays did have these three elements on their side, though their curriculum did not include learning other subjects in English. But this is not the main point of this paper.

Multilingualism needs review and revival. A language should not be imposed and people cannot be segregated because of the language they speak or want to speak, this is certainly not a way of respecting Europe's *rich cultural and linguistic diversity* nor ensuring that its *cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced*.

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"THE GREATEST EXTASY O BLISS": REALISM, SUBVERSION AND EROTICISM IN *THE DUMB VIRGIN; OR THE FORCE OF IMAGINATION*

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Abstract

The 1690s was a decade of great productivity in terms of prose fiction in England. *The Dumb Virgin; or, the Force of Imagination,* dating from 1698, exhibits some of the narrative methods employed by Aphra Behn in the earlier stages of her literary career with *The Fair Jilt* and *Oroonoko*, published ten years previously. In this article, we will firstly examine the traces of realism evident in the presentation of the characters, in the family of the Venetian senator (Rinaldo), his wife and children (Maria, Belvideera and Cosmo, or Dangerfield). We will analyse the locations, the historical and chronological references, popular beliefs of the time, the reflection of the emerging wave of scientific methodology –even the intervention of the narrator as a character– all of which structure and define the story as a whole. In addition to this, we will study the misfortunes that occur throughout, in order to demonstrate the mastery of an author who played a fundamental role in paving the way towards the development of the novel. Secondly, we will explore the question of gender that lies beneath the surface of the narrative, drawing attention to the prominence of the young women and the reflection of their desires as well as the description of their romantic experiences. Thirdly, we will investigate the portrayal of eroticism in the female protagonists (particularly with regard to Maria), which confers a notably feminine aspect to the narrative, in contrast to the interpretation of the female body as defective. Lastly, we will see how Aphra Behn deconstructs the dominant *status quo* of her time, in terms of female desire and the explicit portrayal of women in 17th century society. The author depicts characters that draw attention to the idea of the projection of desires, as well as the presence and active participation of women in society.

Keywords: Aphra Behn, New Science, Dumbness, Erotization, Narrative Tecniques, Prose Fiction.

Resumen

La década de 1690 es fértil para la ficción en prosa en Inglaterra. *The Dumb Virgin; or, the Force of Imagination* data de 1698 y despliega algunos de los recursos que Aphra Behn viene ensayando desde que inaugurara su etapa narrativa con *The Fair Jilt* y *Oroonoko* diez años antes. Este artículo indaga, en primer lugar, los rasgos caracterológicos del realismo que se observan en la familia del senador veneciano (Rinaldo), su esposa, sus hijas y su hijo (Maria, Belvideera y Cosmo o Dangerfield). De esta forma se analizan los lugares, las

coordenadas temporales e históricas, las creencias populares, el reflejo de la nueva ciencia e incluso la intervención de la narradora como personaje los cuales enmarcan y modelan la ficción. Asimismo se estudian las adversidades que tienen lugar a lo largo del relato para de esta forma dar cuenta de la maestría literaria de la escritora que allana el camino hacia la novela. En segundo lugar, se ahonda en las cuestiones de género que subyacen al tejido textual de la obra señalando el protagonismo de las jóvenes, el reflejo de sus deseos así como la articulación de su enamoramiento. En tercer lugar, se investiga la plasmación de la erotización en la figura de las protagonistas (concretamente en la persona de María) que aporta un ingrediente notable de la femineidad, frente a la interpretación que considera al cuerpo de la mujer como defectuoso. Finalmente, se infiere cómo Aphra Behn deconstruye el statu quo imperante en la época en lo que atañe al deseo femenino así como a la explicitación de la mujer en la sociedad del siglo XVII ya que genera unas actantes que capitalizan precisamente la proyección del deseo, la presencia de la mujer en la sociedad y su participación activa.

Palabras clave: Aphra Behn, nueva ciencia, mudez, erotización, técnicas narrativas, ficción en prosa.

1. INTRODUCTION: BEYOND THE FEMINOCENTRIC TALES OF LOVE

The story we will deal with in this chapter is part of a tradition that extends back to the Middle Ages, specifically to the German poetic novel *Erec*, *Gregorius o Der gute Sünder* (Hartmann von Aue) which takes up the plot of an old English poem included in the "Vernon Manuscript" (Summers 418). In the thirteenth story of *Il Novellino*, Masuccio Salernitano tells the story of Mariotto and Giannozza, characters who were subsequently reimagined by Luigi da Porto as Giulietta and Romeo and later still by Matthew Bandello. In 1562, Arthur Brooke translated the story into English under the title of *The Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet*, using an indirect translation from the French version of Pierre Boaistuau (1559). William Painter published his prose version as *Palace of Pleasure* (1566). The following century saw the publication of *L'Inceste Innocent, Histoire Véritable* by Desfontaines. The plot of *The Dumb Virgin* also appears in *The Dutch Lover*, Aphra Behn's third theatrical piece. After Behn's interpretation of the subject continued to be explored, as shown by *Le Criminel sans le Savoir, Roman Historique et Poëtique*.

The Dumb Virgin; or The Force of Imagination (1698) addresses issues typical of women's literature of the seventeenth century –issues centred around the female sex–such as pregnancy, reproduction, physical and mental illness, loneliness and the position of women within society. However, the story goes beyond the prototypical "feminocentric tales of love," since alongside the usual themes of love, jealousy and passion, there are other more complex interpersonal issues, including even incest and extreme suffering, all of which eventually come to a tragic end. Aphra Behn (Zozaya 265-270, Goreau 20-40) reconsiders the position of the female sex in society. She presents the reader with a woman who wants to make her dreams come true, whose decisions upset the balance in the narrative –that is, the breaking up of thematic harmony (heterotaxis). As a text, *The Dumb Virgin* marks the culmina-

tion of the 1690s, a prolific decade in terms of prose fiction (Figueroa-Dorrego 83). Aphra Behn's efforts in this form begin in 1688 with *Oroonoko*o and *The Fair Jilt*.

2. COORDINATES OF PLACE

One of the first geographical aspects to appear in the story is the island in the Adriatic Sea, depicted as an earthly paradise in terms of its climate and the flora and fauna it contains. It is also presented as a place of high-level commerce. It is to this highly symbolic setting that the central character sets out, wishing to spend a few days in peace and quiet, away from her place of origin in Italy and her husband Rinaldo. She is accompanied on her journey by her young son.

Another setting is the boat aboard which she travels, where the majority of those accompanying her are women. However, the primary *locus* and the setting for the great majority of the action is Venice. A specific reference to location comes with the description of the fight between Rinaldo, Gonzago and Erizo. Gonzago and Erizo are said to head to Rialto, a reference to Ponte di Rialto over the Grand Canal in Venice, designed by Antonio da Ponte and constructed in 1591. The disagreement between Erizo and another character, Dangerfield, also arises as the narrator explains how the Englishman is appointed captain of the Rialto by unanimous decision. In so doing, he supplanted Erizo who was initially going to be awarded the position. Erizo is tormented and filled with envy at this appointment given to a foreigner and –more importantly– his enemy.

The basilica of San Marco is another clue to the location of the narrative, serving as a link between history and fiction. Dangerfield and the Venetian Gonzago, both of them in love with the same woman, come to blows and challenge each other to a duel outside the back entrance of the church at six o'clock in the morning. At the time stipulated the Englishman shows up and encounters not only Gonzago but also Erizo, who has also appeared seeking vengeance on Dangerfield. One fights for Maria, the other for Rinaldo's other daughter. Alerted by the sound of clashing swords, the Italian politician comes to meet Dangerfield in person; having already heard news of him and his exploits from his brother the admiral. At the time, Rinaldo was attending the morning service inside the church, which was also the place where his wife had been buried. This gives an indication of the elevated social status of this family, given that they have a private crypt here. It is worth mentioning the fact that the characters are all carrying swords is indicative of their high social status. This detail is a recurring factor in other works of this author, who seems to have been very concerned with the "quality" of her characters. The senator urges the duellers to reconcile their differences and invites them to dine at his house. However, Gonzago and Erizo refuse on the grounds that they are unable to accept Rinaldo's having appointed a foreigner to a position of authority in honour of his service to the State (Behn 432).

Within the geographical framework of Italy, one location stands out for its extravagance: the grand dukes' palace where Francisco celebrates his naval victory and where the *crème de la crème* of Italian society flock. A large part of the key narrative is played out here, with its fair share of misfortunes, grievances and fateful news.

3. HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETAIL

The escort boat sails quickly for two hours until encountering the main ship. "and plying her warmly the space of two hours, made her a prize, to the inexpressible joy of the poor ladies" (423). When the threat of the Turkish pirates passes, the protagonist's mind turns to the fate of her son, realising that she is unable to do anything, since "they were above ten leagues from any land" (423). She orders her brother in law to sail as fast as possible day and night, but still they do not succeed in finding Gasper or her son. The precision of detail employed by Behn here serves to support the verisimilitude and credibility of the story, a technique of which the author makes use throughout her work.

There are also other notable historical references that serve as markers in the text: "Francisco, brother to Rinaldo, was made admiral of the Venetian fleet, and upon his first entrance upon his command, had obtained a signal victory over the Turks" (425-426). This is the first time that the character's name appears in the story. Until now, he had remained nameless, referred to only as the captain of the ship escorting the other boat carrying his sister in law. The historical detail in question is the Italian naval victory over the Turkish forces.

With the return of the victorious admiral, we are presented with a young English gentleman who fights on a voluntary basis, renowned for his bravery and fearlessness. When he appears at the celebrations, mention is made once again of his extravagant turban, this time as a symbol of veneration for a Christian woman: "and this turbant (taking it off) is now to be laid at the foot of some Christian lady" (428). The etymology and literal meaning of his name (Danger-field) point to his bravery and daring. Senator Rinaldo wishes to make Dangerfield a candidate for the position of captain aboard the Rialto, as at that time the senior officials had to elect someone to that post. While the admiral Francisco wants the appointment to go to Erizo, the senator wishes to reward the Englishman for his efforts in the victory over the Turks.

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 137-156

A custom of the time reveals the presence of Dangerfield, hidden in Rinaldo's house, when Gonzago and Erizo see his servant by the entrance to the building. In this case there are two key issues; firstly, the high social status of the Englishman; secondly, the custom of travelling to social functions and important events in horse-drawn carriages driven by servants.

Lastly, the reference to the Turkish merchant is of significance, demonstrating as it does the emerging commerce at the time. We are told of an individual who undertakes the journey from Smyrna to London: "that my suppos'd Father, who was a Turky merchant [...] [who] told me 'twas time to undeceive me, I was not his son, he found me in the Adriatick sea, ty'd to two planks in his voyage from Smyrna to London" (442). This reference to merchants appears in other of Behn's texts; the issue also arises as the action reaches its climax. This view is supported by the finances which –besides his last wish to find his parents– Dangerfield has inherited. The inheritance is indicative of the fact that trading was a prosperous business at the time ("left me all his inheritance") (442).

The question of money surfaces again when, at the end of the story, Belvideera gives her father's inheritance to her uncle, only keeping enough to allow her to live in

reclusion for the rest of her days. This is not the only time when this particular issue appears Behn's literary work: it is also notable in other texts, often in an even more pronounced manner. The concept of time is another parameter that enhances the level of detail and "truth-telling" (Villegas-López 207) in the text and which is the subject of this study. One first example is at the ball, when the narrator specifies that after half an hour a handsome gentleman enters, dressed in the elegant attire of an Englishman. Another indication is the specific outlining of the time period during which Dangerfield and Maria give in to their passions, their urges empowered by the eroticism of their physical encounter, which lasts more than two hours (Behn 441). Later, when the Englishman goes downstairs upon hearing the sounds of his servant's death, another fight breaks out which continues for more than ten minutes (442).

4. BETWEEN POPULAR BELIFS AND THE EMERGING SCIENCE

Behn's writing corresponds with the scientific advances of her day. Towards the end of the 17th century the cosmological perspective was becoming pseudo-scientific. At that time, a new epistemological framework was being established alongside an emerging scientific order with figures such as Kepler and Galileo, as well as Newton, Locke and Hobbes and the founding of the Royal Society. This period saw Charles II order the construction of the Royal Observatory in Greenwich, the first stone of which was laid in the 11th August 1675. It was the time of William Harvey and his investigations into physiology and anatomy, the age of Thomas Sydenham and his descriptions of previously unknown diseases such as gout and rheumatic fever. It was also the time in which James Young produced his *Currus Triumphalis* and his investigations into amputations. It is this exact context that is echoed in *The Dumb Virgin*, in linking the state of mind of a pregnant woman with the development of the foetus (Stiker 93).

One related detail appearing early in the text is the explanation given by the doctors consulted as to the causes of the first daughter's deformity. Their explanation points back to the mother's suffering on the island in the Adriatic sea, and particularly the extreme stress experienced when her boat was boarded by pirates: "Physicians being consulted in this affair, derived the cause from the frights and dismal apprehensions of the mother, at her being taken by the pyrates" (Behn 424). With the arrival of the second daughter, who is born dumb, the explanation given by the narrator is that this "defect the learn'd attributed to the silence and melancholy of the mother, as the deformity of the other was to the extravagance of her frights" (424). Here, the doctors are referred to as "the learned" and the conclusion is given in the indirect style, the same form of speech used earlier in proposing the likely cause of the other daughter's deformity. An thematic index related to this one is that Isabella, in *The History of the Nun*, loses her unborn child as a result of the torment caused by her husband's decision to go to war – a decision which he then reconsiders, remaining with her for some time.

Maria becomes adept at sign language, to the point that Belvideera understands her as well as if she were able to speak. At this point, the narrator interjects that this is the first woman they have seen using sign language. The intervention of the narrator, in the guise of a character, is an important element: “I remember this lady was the first I saw use the significative way of discourse by the fingers; I dare not say ’twas she invented it (tho’ it probably might have been an invention of these ingenious sisters) but I am positive none before her ever brought it to that perfection” (425). Aphra Behn’s inclusion of this subject seems to have been ground-breaking in literary terms.

Not only does the author portray verbal language, she also refers to the method of communication used by Maria. In the following extract, sign language appears as a counterpart to verbal language, as Maria has to communicate with Dangerfield, giving him the necessary instructions to allow him to remain hidden from her sister, who is about to enter the room: “made signs that he shou’d run in to the closet, which she had just lock’d as Belvideera came in” (437). When Belvideera tells Maria not to come to the dinner so that the foreigners might not witness her disability (“but you must not appear, sister, because ’twere a shame to let strangers know that you are dumb”) (437), once again the young lady addresses her by means of sign language: “she made farther signs, that since it was her pleasure, she wou’d keep her chamber all that day, and not appear abroad” (437). The author challenges convention and subverts the established social order, since individuals with disabilities of this nature were generally kept hidden from society, denied the opportunity of an education or of self-determination.

In Spain, there were a few notable figures who helped to educate the deaf, such as FrayPonce de León, Ramirez de Carrión and Juan Pablo Bonet. We have written testimony of this from Carrión in his book published in 1629 as well as from a manual written by Bonet dating from 1620. Aphra Behn’s thematic approach testifies to the investigation also taking place at that time in England. Once again, her writing echoes the scientific and intellectual advances of her day.

5. THE INTERVENTION OF THE NARRATOR

The narrator’s voice acts as authentication of the discourse (Bowles 2). This is the “authorial I” of the text, which condemns and lays bare the marginalization of women in contemporary society. Time and again, Aphra Behn makes it very clear that she sympathises with the protagonist in her struggle to achieve autonomy, both as a woman and in terms of her own sexuality. This can be seen in *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and His Sister*, *The Fair Jilt*, *Oroonoko*, *The Lucky Mistake*, *The History of the Nun, The Nun*, *The Unfortunate Bride* and in *The Unfortunate Happy Lady* (Bowles 1).The first time that the narrator appears as a character directly intervening in the action occurs -as has already been mentioned – with regard to the system of communication developed by Maria. The second instance in which the narrator descends to the level of the scene, she is once again in conversation with the two young Venetian women, who inform her of the presence in the city of a brave gentleman. They mention him to her precisely because he, like the narrator, is English:

> the two sisters sent presently for me, to give an account of the exploits of my countryman, as their unkle had recounted it to them; I was pleas'd to find so great an example of English bravery, so far from home, and long'dextreamly to converse with him, vainly flattering myself, that he might have been of my acquaintance. (Behn 426).

The first thing that stands out in this extract is the social status that the two sisters must have attained in order for them to ask the narrator to visit them so that they can tell her the news. It is also interesting to note that the two young women are very much involved in current affairs, insomuch as their uncle, the admiral Francisco, keeps them updated as to what is happening around them. Another point worth mentioning is the narrator's comment that the Englishman in question might be an acquaintance of hers; at first sight this seems to be nothing more than idle boasting, however, it in fact turns out to be an early glimmer of the drama that is to be played out in later scenes.

Later, the narrator appears alongside the two sisters at the ball being held at the palace. She is confused when a gentleman with an English accent arrives, later discovering that this is in fact the brave young man who has made a name for himself in battle against the Turks, risking his life on the battlefield (Danger-field). In the final stages of the story, when the neighbourhood is alerted to the noise of fighting, the narrator appears in person, informing the reader that she lives very near to Rinaldo's house: "I lodged within three doors of Rinaldo's house, and running presently thither, saw a more bloody tragedy in reality, than what the most moving scene ever presented" (444). In this instance the narrator refers to herself as a character within the narrative, adding in summation that "the father and daughter were both dead, the unfortunate son was gasping out his last, and the surviving sister most miserable, because she must survive such misfortunes" (444). It is a recurrent theme, and one that is employed in other works by Aphra Behn, for the neighbours to be alerted by the disturbance as the drama reaches its climax. It appears, for example, in the final part of *The Nun: or, The Perjur'd Beauty* when the whole neighbourhood is alerted to the clash of swords and finds the lifeless bodies of Don Antonio, Don Henrique and Elvira.

The narrator's English heritage is mentioned again when the unfortunate Dangerfield cries out to her: "O! Behold the fate of your wretched countryman" (444). The narrator-character is left speechless at this remark, overcome with emotion. The mortally wounded young man adds a metaliterary detail to the narrative when he declares: "I was your countryman, and wou'd to heavens I were so still; if you hear my story mention'd, on your return to England, pray give these strange turns of my fate not the name of crimes, but favour them with the epithet of misfortunes; my name is not Dangerfield, but but Cla—' His voice there fail'd him, and he presently dy'd" (444). The character referring to himself here as "Cla—" implores the narrator, on returning to her homeland, not to allude to the events of the story as crimes but rather as misfortunes. The prodigal son gives the necessary instructions in order that his story might be properly interpreted; at the same time he shows a desire for posterity, for *ars longa*, even possibly in terms of the fame bestowed upon his creator, the author.

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 137-156

It follows that in the writing of Aphra Behn, the figure of the woman is portrayed by various means; both through the development of the female characters (Maria, Belvideera, their mother) and through the employment of the objective narrator-character, whose liveliness and proximity to the action imbue the drama with unprecedented levels of verisimilitude and credibility (Ballaster 189). Aphra Behn takes a rebellious stand against female subordination in the androcentric society (Pollak 2) of her time.

6. MISFORTUNES

A key early occurrence, that takes the form of a meteorological event, is the storm that hits the boat on the day it sets sail, causing it to become separated from the packet boat escorting it and miss the intended port of destination. At this early stage, there is a notable amount of action and unity between the boat guarding and protecting them and the boat on which Rinaldo's wife is travelling.

The next difficulty occurs as a pirate ship is spotted rushing straight towards the boat, leading to the belief that captivity is not only highly possible but in fact imminent. The characters predict the nefarious intentions of the pirates and envisage a lifetime of slavery ahead of them, a detail that ties in with a subject dealt with by the author in *Oroonoko*.

The women on board give voice to their suffering and their dire predictions. However, it is the wife of Rinaldo that suffers the most: "but the heaviest load of misfortunes lay on Rinaldo's lady, besides the loss of her liberty, the danger of her honour, the separation from her dear husband, the care for her tender infant wrought rueful distractions" (Behn 421). In the case of the protagonist, there are in fact four misfortunes which weigh down on her. The female aspect - or rather, that of ten thousand women - is considered with the masterful expression: "had sustain'd the horrors of ten thousand deaths by dread in gone" (423).

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 137-156

One of the misfortunes occurs when Gasper attaches two boards together with ropes to serve as a makeshift raft in order to carry the child to the safety of the nearest shore. He swims for some two hundred feet before his efforts are discovered. Shortly afterwards we learn that Gasper dies on reaching the shore, his lifeless body discovered alongside the boards. Interestingly, nothing of the infant's whereabouts or his fate is discussed; at this point in the narrative, he has not even been referred to by his own name: the reader still does not know what he is called.

Rinaldo and his wife - who is also not referred to by name - attempt to alleviate their suffering with the birth of another child. However, with the pain of the presumed death of their son still fresh in their minds, further torment begins as their latest child, a daughter, is born deformed: "This misfortune was soon lessen'd by the growing hopes of another off-spring, which made them divest their mourning, to make preparations for the joyful reception of this new guest into the world" (Behn 423). It is worth mentioning that in *The History of the Nun*, Isabella loses her unborn child; thematic links between the two works are self-evident. Behn's artful description of the newborn child's "dis-symetry" is a powerful portrait: "and upon its appearance their sorrows were redoubled, 'twas a daughter, its limbs were

distorted, its back bent, and tho' the face was the freest from deformity, yet had it no beauty to recompence the dis-symetry of the other parts" (424). The suffering is illustrated by the mother's state of mind, overcome with sorrow: "the mother grew very Melancholy, rarely speaking, and not to be comforted by any diversion" (424).

A third child is then conceived. However, suffering and worry continue to take hold of the mother's thoughts, growing in intensity as the unborn child "grows in her belly". Another daughter is born, and a further terrible tragedy takes place when the mother dies in childbirth: "for she died in child-birth" (424). The girl turns out to be dumb from birth. The way in which the author presents the birth is notable in terms of gender issues (Pearson 46) and the depiction of the woman's suffering, as she is said to have been relieved of her suffering by death: "but no hopes of better fortunecou'd decreaseher grief, which growing with her burden, eased her of both at once, for she died in child-birth" (Behn 424). Aphra Behn emphasises a woman's suffering which, given the author's description, seems only to abate at her death.

At the same time, conflict of a different nature comes in the form of the various fights that occur throughout the novel, such as when Gonzago and Dangerfield fight over Belvideera. These confrontations are varied in nature. On the one hand, Belivideera views her sister Maria as her sworn enemy; on the other hand Erizo is convinced that his chances of securing the position of captain have been stolen from under him by Dangerfield, while Gonzago claims that during the night Dangerfield will try to come between him and his beloved Belvideera. In addition to these clashes, another notable aspect are the references to war that pervade the text, naturally reflecting the general atmosphere of conflict and the post-war environment in which the author lived.

7. PAIN AND DEATH: "OH, INCEST, INCEST"

Rinaldo's brother sends a boat to ask the local people if they knew what had happened to Gaspar, soon discovering that his lifeless body had turned up on the beach alongside the boards that he had tied together to keep afloat. The question which remains unresolved is the whereabouts of the young child and whether or not he has survived.

As mentioned earlier, the second death to occur in the novel is that of the mother, who dies while giving birth to her second daughter. Later on, when Erizo is overcome by anger upon discovering that he has lost his treasured military position while his friend Gonzago will surely lose the woman he loves, he kills Dangerfield's servant. Alerted by the sound of fighting, the Englishman rushes to the scene, wounding Gonzago who in turn draws his sword and stabs Dangerfield, who in turn deals Erizo a fatal blow. Rinaldo also comes to the scene upon hearing the sound of fighting. He tries to stop the brawl from escalating, and in the confusion he is tragically wounded by Dangerfield's sword, who, soon realising his mistake, begs forgiveness from the dying senator. Rinaldo then notes that the young man has given him poor thanks for the favours that he secured him from the Senate: "you have ill rewarded me for my care in your concerns in the senate today" (442).

Belvideera is also overcome with grief after being alerted to the noise of fighting; rushing towards the brawl, she witnesses the macabre scene between her father and the man she loves. When Maria arrives, she is equally distraught for her father and her lover. At this point it becomes clear that the two sisters are in love with the same man: none other than the Englishman, Dangerfield. Their suffering is compounded by having lost not only their future husband and their mother, but also their honour.

Another occurrence which adds to the tragic denouement of the narrative is when Rinaldo notices a scar on the left side of Dangerfield's neck, his wig having fallen off in the struggle. The fatally wounded father reveals that he is Cosmo, his son, the meaning of his name pointing to the concept of universal order. This is the first time in the text that the name of the child, up to this point presumed drowned in the Adriatic Sea, is stated. The dialogue between the two dying men is a central climax to the narrative of the story: "'How! (reply'd Dangerfield, starting up with a wild confusion) Lost! say'st thou in the Adriatick? Your son lost in the Adriatick?' 'Yes, yes,' said Rinaldo, 'too surely lost in the Adriatick.'" (442).

From this point on, suffering upon suffering continues to destroy the good fortune that Dangerfield had been enjoying before the unfolding of the tragic climax. This is made particularly clear when he curses certain "impartial powers", making use of a form of personification as he cries out "why did you not reveal this before? Or why not always conceal it?" (442), signalling a "before" and an "after" in the narrative with his exclamation: "How happy had been the discovery some few hours ago, and how tragical is it now?" (442).

At this crucial point Dangerfield recounts his personal history, a story which is not only unknown to his father, but also to the reader, who until now could only assume that as a child he had been lost or drowned in the Adriatic Sea. The newly-discovered son explains that his adoptive father had been a Turkish merchant, who before dying had revealed to him that he was not in fact his biological father, but that as a child he had been found in the sea, tied to a few wooden boards. The merchant had taken the child in and raised him as if he were his own son and heir, only disclosing to him in his last will and testament that he should go to Venice in search of his real parents. The allusion to the subject of commerce and merchants is yet another recurring element in the works of this author, and reflects the newly emerging mercantile class of the time.

Both Belvideera and Maria are witnesses to the exchange between Rinaldo and Dangerfield, which intensifies their suffering. The youngest daughter's torment is palpable as she visibly shakes, triggering another unprecedented occurrence which we will examine further on. Meanwhile, the Englishman cries out in pain: "O! Horror, Horror, I have enjoy'd my sister, and murder'd my Father" (444).

Maria kills herself, after walking through the room and discovering her lover's sword: "at last spy'd Dangerfield's sword, by which he had supported himself into the house, and catching it up, reeking with the blood of her father, plung'd it into her heart, and throwing herself into Dangerfield's arms, calls out, 'O my brother, O my love,' and expir'd" (444). Maria's piercing cry is notable for its combined use of the two noun phrases which indicate the two aspects of the character to whom

it is directed: firstly, as the object of her love, and secondly as her brother. As well as those that have already been described, two further deaths occur: the narrative closes with Francisco seizing and then killing both Gonzago and Erizo.

Ultimately, the tragic events experienced by the mother of the three children culminate in the horrific circumstances with which the story ends. Dangerfield makes this painfully clear as he cries out "Oh, incest, incest" (444). The pages of this story are full of pain and violence, death and tragedy. The Englishman eventually declares this condemnation which brings together certain key moments in the novel, as well as revealing his own sense of profound guilt. We also learn that the foreigner is Dangerfield, the name given to him by his adoptive parents who raised him, while at the same time he is Cosmo in the eyes of his biological father.

8. GENDER: "WE SCORN MEAN PRIZES"

Another thematic aspect which recurs constantly in the works of this Canterbury-born writer is the denunciation of the subjugated role of women (Pearson 45). Behn presents an insightful defence of womanhood. An initial reflection, which also points to the customs of society at that time, is when we learn that Rinaldo's wife must seek her husband's permission before spending a few days on the island in the Adriatic Sea. The fact that Rinaldo willingly grants her request affords us a glimpse of the authority traditionally invested in the husband, and with which they tend to act: "but repeating her request, he yielded to her desires, his love not permitting him the least shew of command" (Behn 420). Travelling on board the ship, as we have already mentioned, are a large number of women. This not only demonstrates the author's interest in matters relating to the female sex, but also her preference for female characters.

When the narrator describes the threat of imminent attack at the hands of the pirates, she chooses this moment to make a comment on feminine beauty: "beauty always adds a pomp to woe, and by its splendid show, makes sorrow look greater and more moving" (421). The author brings to our attention the emotion and suffering which the female sex externalizes with far greater sincerity and more profound sentiment than men tend to do. She goes even further than this in returning to a theme recurrent in her literary universe, that of the boundaries between pleasure and adversity, between beauty and monstrosity.

A reflection on youth in the context of unhappy events is given as the mother, carrying her child in her arms, gives voice to the following thought: "he caught her child in her arms [...] the pretty innocent smiling in the embraces of its mother, shew'd that innocence cou'd deride the persecution of fortune" (422).

Emily Bowles (1), referring to Maria, states that "she was born mute, and her struggle to give voice to her bodily needs and desires is one of the main themes of the text". This struggle to give voice to her desires and her bodily needs is indicative of the struggles undergone by the female sex itself. A further indication of the potentiality of womanhood lies in the codes followed by the young protagonists in

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 137-156

matters of courtship, which place them within a clear hierarchy, situating them over the young gallants who appear over the course of the narrative.

The ball scene at the palace is important as it shows Belvideera preparing for a meeting with a handsome male newcomer, tapping him on the shoulder with her fan. This stands as an instance in which a woman can be seen to take the initiative in the context of social and human interactions, and in the context of courtship. This is remarkable when we consider the social mores of the second half of the seventeenth century (Dietz 380), whereby women were confined to the spheres of home and family. Their "romantic" interactions and their marriages were arranged by third parties and were essentially intended to advance the economic and social well-being of the family.

It is notable that the young Englishman believes the disguised Belvideera to be a man; responding by saying "if you are a man, know that I am one, and will not bear impertinence" (Behn 426). He also tells her, "I must inform you, that I am under a vow, not to talk with any female tonight" (426). Belvideera's response is emphatic: "Know then, Sir [...] that I am a female, and you have broke your vow already" which points to young woman's spirit and her courage. To this she adds that the ladies are keen to talk with such a distinguished gentleman. A far cry from the typically demure female character, resigned to the background in social life, Behn's creation is notably courageous, happily taking control of her own actions.

This is the first occasion in the story where direct speech occurs, the characters' words clearly defined with speech marks. Evidently the author wishes to call the reader's attention to the audacity of this young woman who, taking the initiative, dares to approach this foreign guest. Belvideera displays great ingenuity in her conversation with the gentleman, who is left captivated by the young woman, unable to resist her passion. Belvideera's confidence begins to wane when she discovers how fluently the Englishman is capable of speaking Italian. Eventually, Belvideera comes to learn that he is in fact a shameless Venetian man.

Meanwhile, another gentleman dressed in a Turkish turban approaches Maria. At the same time, Belvideera tries to conceal her sister's muteness, stepping in to let the man know that she cannot speak due to the penance imposed upon her by her confessor. Belvideera mocks the young man's turban and comments on his peculiar accent. He ensures her that "this turbant might have been in the Turkish seraglio, but never in so fair a one as this; [...], I had the happiness to win it from the captain of the Turkish admiral galley" (427-428).

Belvideera speaks English with the handsome guest, demonstrating her impressive education in modern languages. It is worth pointing out here that her linguistic capabilities and her education are exceptional for a young woman of that time; although it was more normal within the highest levels of society. This trait of the protagonist, *inter alia*, clearly suggests a certain degree of self-representation on the part of the writer herself, in terms of the self-teaching of languages and exposing herself to other aspects of culture. The narrator takes it upon herself to explain that the eldest daughter is capable of understanding all the European languages at the age of sixteen, and able to speak in the majority of them. Again this stands as yet another implicit *auctorial* reference, since the writer was also well versed in modern languages.

At this point in which the two gallants find themselves in the company of the young ladies, Belvideera gives a display of her wisdom, firmly declaring: "Sir [...] you must share in his good fortunes, and learn to conquer men, before you have the honour of being subdu'd by Ladies, we scorn mean prizes" (428). The young woman addresses the Venetian, advising him to model his behaviour on the gestures and education of Englishman, even going so far as to point out that women "scorn mean prizes". Once again there is an autobiographical aspect to the scene, as the author directs her sympathies towards her fellow countryman over the Italian man.

The conscience of the young woman who monopolizes the last section of the work is also remarkable, particularly when she makes love to Dangerfield and, immediately afterwards, appears to lament the loss of her honour: "The ruin'd lady now too late deplored the loss of her honour; but he endeavour'd to comfort her by making vows of secrecy, and promising to salve her reputation by a speedy marriage, which he certainly intended, had not the unhappy crisis of his fate been so near" (441). In this way, the author calls attention to the social stigma associated with a woman having sexual relations outside of, or prior to, marriage. Her lover tries to comfort her by proposing that they be married with haste, and this in spite of the knowledge that he must soon depart on his new job as captain, having been awarded the position by the protagonist's father.

Further issues regarding the female sex arise in the last paragraph of the text when Belvideera decides to go into seclusion for the rest of her life. She has, by this time, inherited part of her father's estate which would allow her to survive financially. And yet the sole survivor of the entire family is not destined for a life of society, even if at the cost of great suffering; instead she decides to live in confinement for the rest of her days. We witness the unfortunate ending of a woman who is left an orphan, with no family whatsoever and who would also be marginalized from a society that has discovered the incest committed (albeit unwittingly) by her brother and sister, as well as the deaths of those involved.

An alternative interpretation of the conclusion to the narrative is that offered by Mintz (2), who argues that a woman who overcomes such terrible tribulations is a perfect symbol of rebellion, freedom and the shaking off of the oppressive chains of patriarchal society (Prieto-Pablos 99). Now the woman is free to choose her own destiny, even if her choice must lead her into a life of reclusion and solitude.

9. EROTICISM: "FREE FROM THE INCUMBRANCE OF DRESS"

Another area in which Behn gives evidence of her creative abilities is in her descriptions of the female characters. In this particular work, these descriptions go beyond the mere representation of beauty, the author consciously accentuating the erotic aspect of her characters. This factor is also included in other stories, although with less emphasis. It is apparent, for example, in *The History of the Nun*. Todd gives the opinion that "Isabella eroticises the space in such a way that the final effect, like that of *Love-Letters* is sardonic rather than tragic" (Todd 292).

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 137-156

In particular, there are two episodes of a markedly erotic nature. The first takes place when Dangerfield, after fighting with Gonzago and Erizo, is separated from the fight by Rinaldo (who comes out of the church where he had been attending the morning service) and invited to eat at his house. As they walk together, Maria, who has recently woken up, is leaning out to the balcony "and with her night-gown only thrown loose about her" (Behn 432) when Dangerfield looks up and contemplates "such an amazing sight of beauty, made him doubt the reality of the object" (433). "He saw her in all the heightening circumstances of her charms, he saw her in all her native beauties, free from the incumbrance of dress" (433), suggesting this to be a culminating moment in the reader's perception of this young lady, intensifying as it proceeds from her dress to her half-naked body.

The description takes on a comparative tone and emphasizes several details. The first to be mentioned is her hair, which is said to have particularly positive and sensual qualities: "her hair as black as ebony, hung flowing in careless curls over her shoulders, it hung link'd in amorous twinings, as if in love with its own beauties" (433). Then the focus shifts as her eyes, still drowsy with sleep, are compared to two suns: "her eyes not yet freed from the dullness of the late sleep, cast a languishing pleasure in their aspect, which heaviness of sight added the greatest beauties to those suns" (433). The imagery goes on, incorporating the concepts of brightness and shade. The technique employed is similar in the description of the dress: in this instance it uses the symbol of a veil which cannot hide her great beauty. "because under the shade of such a cloud, their lustre cou'd only be view'd; the lambent drowsiness that play'd upon her face, seem'd like a thin veil not to hide, but to heighten the beauty which it cover'd" (433). Earlier her clothing lovingly grazed her figure, providing a glimpse of the woman's body; now her eyes and face give evidence of a deeper, inner beauty.

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 137-156

Lastly, the description returns to her night-gown and the eroticism with which it began, referring directly to her breasts: "her night-gown hanging loose, discover'd her charming bosom, which cou'd bear no name, but transport, wonder and extasy, all which struck his soul, as soon as the object hit his eye" (433). The sight has a remarkable effect on the Englishman, as is reflected in the text by three consecutive nouns of a very direct nature: "transport, wonder and extasy", the connotation of which is modified by the adverbial phrases employed further on, which evoke the dramatic effect that the vision has both on his soul and his eyes. This climax is important because it represents a tipping point in the mind and in the senses of Dangerfield:

> her breasts with an easy heaving, show'd the smoothness of her soul and of her skin; their motions were so languishingly soft, that they cou'd not be said to rise and fall, but rather to swell up towards love, the heat of which seem'd to melt them down again; some scatter'd jetty hairs, which hung confus'dly over her breasts, made her bosom show like Venus caught in Vulcan's net, but 'twas the spectator, not she, was captivated. (433).

The synesthesia of the moment is palpable ("struck his soul") (433) sending the young man's senses into disarray. Next, the narrative turns its sharp

focus to the movement of her breasts, revealing not only her skin but her soul as well, awakening the passions of the protagonist at the same time as it engages the interest of the reader. The simile that compares Maria's breasts to those of Venus is important in its attributing divine traits to this dazzling, unattainable and (for the time being) unblemished young lady.

The state of mind of the father's guest is all too clear, as the author describes his reaction, including a rhetorical question to emphasise his extreme rapture: "This Dangerfield saw, and all this at once, and with eyes that were adapted by a preparatory potion; what must then his condition be?" (433). The shock suffered by the protagonist is clearly demonstrated, as he ends up supported in the arms of the young woman's father: "He was stricken with such amazement, that he was forced to support himself, by leaning on Rinaldo's arms, who started at his sudden Indisposition" (433).

Every thought that passes through the Englishman's mind is then revealed in first-person, as a shift is made into direct speech while Dangerfield begs forgiveness from Rinaldo: "Your pardon, sir [...] my indisposition procedes from an inward malady, not by a sword, but like those made by Achilles's spear, nothing can cure, but what gave the wound" (433-434). The mythological reference to the spear of Achilles only serves to heighten the sense of extreme pain that is the effect of love, impressions which possibly also come directly from the author's own experiences.

As we have noted, the description continues to intensify, until Maria is compared with the Roman goddess of love, beauty and fertility herself. Dangerfield's eventual reaction is to explain his indisposition, which he attributes to love, passion and the beautiful figure that he had just unexpectedly come across. The second erotic episode is more intense than the first, occurring while the characters are at dinner with the senator. Maria has remained in her bedroom at the request of her sister, who takes it upon herself to explain that her sister is unwell. Belvideera clearly wants her rival in love removed from the scene. Earlier, Maria had been shown hiding Dangerfield in her bedroom closet.

While her sister, her father and the other guests (Gonzago and Erizo) are playing cards, the young woman decides to open the closet doors. From this moment on the scene is filled with eroticism, desire and passion. The setting lends itself to the romantic nature of the scene, a fact that is noted by Dangerfield shortly afterwards (440). It is night; the two are alone in a bedroom; Maria believes that her sister will not come up to the room; the guests are enjoying their card games and they both come together after the brief confinement:

> at length it grew dark, and Maria [...] innocently took Dangerfield by the hand, to lead him out, he clapt the dear soft hand to his mouth, and kissing it eagerly, it fired his blood, and the unhappy opportunity adding to the temptation, raised him to the highest pitch of passion; [...] he fell down on his knees, devouring her tender hand, sighing out his passion, begging her to crown it with her love, making ten thousand vows and protestations of his secrecy and constancy, urging all the arguments that the subtilty of the devil or can could suggest. (440-441).

It is worth noting that it is Maria who takes the initiative, "innocently" taking Dangerfield's hand. He, for his part, does not hesitate either, bringing her hand to his mouth and repeatedly kissing it, awakening his own desire and greatly exciting the young woman. The passion and desire of the moment continue to intensify until their two bodies melt into one another. The wordplay evident in the phrase "with her love, making ten thousand vows" (411) offers the reader a subtle hint of the sexual act that is about to take place:

> She held out against all his assaults above two hours, and often endeavoured to struggle from him, but durst make no great disturbance, thro' fear of alarming the company below, at last he redoubling his passion with sighs, tears, and all the rest of love's artillery, he at last gain'd the fort, and the poor conquered lady, all panting, soft, and trembling every joynt, melted by his embraces, he there fatally enjoy'd the greatest extasy of bliss, heightned by the circumstances of stealth, and difficulty in obtaining. (441).

The author depicts this climactic episode with an erotic lexicon, supported by a language of war and conflict that are particularly apt for this scene. The sense of conquest is reflected in words such as "struggle", "disturbance", "peek", "gain'dthefort" and "conquered lady" (441). Both Behn's remarkable skill as a writer and her explicitness reach their greatest heights as she vividly describes the image of a panting, languorous woman whose every joint is trembling, weak in the arms of her lover. To further emphasise this, Behn clarifies it by stating that Dangerfield "enjoy'd the greatest extasy of bliss". The sexual imagery employed will already be well known to those familiar with this writer's semantic world. We only need refer to the seventh verse of "The Disappointment" – published in 1680 in *Poems on Several Occasions* – in order to demonstrate this:

> He saw how at her length she lay;
> He saw her rising bosom bare;
> Her loose, thin robes, through which appear
> A shape designed for love and play;
> Abandoned by her pride and shame.
> She does her softest joys dispense,
> Offering her virgin-innocence
> A victim to love's sacred flame,
> [...] (*Oroonoko* 225)

In this poem of fourteen stanzas Aphra Behn also employs sexual and erotic language emphasised by terms of conquest ("offering", "virgin-innocence", "victim"), and supported by a syntax of parallel structures and a synchronized rhythmic prosody; all crowned by the same sensual language which can also be seen in the text of *The Dumb Virgin* nearly two decades later.

10. FEMINITY AS DEFECTIVE: THE FORCE OF IMAGINATION OVER TRAVEL NARRATIVES

The journey to the island on the Adriatic Sea gives rise to a flight of imagination, coupled with a 'feminine' desire to travel and to discover far-off, exotic lands. From a meta-literary point of view, the voyage embodies the style of fantasy stories and even travel narratives. The conclusion is that a combination of desire, the period spent on the island and the journey itself all serve to provoke the exacerbation of the defects inherent in womankind. The tendency towards exoticism and fantasy result in a "literature" that is faulty, full of shortcomings and deficiencies. Behn favours realism over romance literature and fantasy stories.

As we have already mentioned, two particular misfortunes occur in the story. The eldest daughter (Belivideera) is born with physical deformities that are noticeable at first sight, while the younger daughter's defects are not immediately noticeable, only becoming evident when somebody tries to engage her in conversation; Maria is mute. The writer explains the causes of these deformations, stating that "the frights and dismal apprehensions of the mother, at her being taken by the pyrates", led to Belivideera's physical defects, while the reason for Maria muteness can be found in "the silence and melancholy of the mother" (Behn 424). In the midst of the tragedy played out in the final scenes when the protagonist witnesses the deaths of both her lover and her father, she miraculously begins to speak again. In this way the author indicates that while the suffering of her mother during pregnancy had been the cause of her inability to speak, now it is the daughter's own suffering which compels her to be able to speak.

In essence, the plot tells the story of a mother who gives birth to children with certain deformities, and who is implicated in the outcome of her pregnancies, these being the mental and physical disabilities in the children (Nusssbaun 34). There is evidence of a string of misfortunes befalling the mother, the wife of the Venetian senator, who is presented as the cause of these tragic events. She is portrayed as the instigator of the images of "female voicelessness" and "non-agency" depicted in the story.

One crucial factor is the mother's daring decision to travel by boat, which leads her to great suffering and pain as a result of the disappearance of her son. According to the semantics of the narrative, it is her desire for pleasure and enjoyment in life that eventually leads to the deformations suffered by her daughter Belvideera. In particular, this period of great suffering gives rise to her own spirit of helpless melancholy, leading in turn to her second daughter's inability to speak. Felicity A. Nussbaum (28) states: "In both cases the mother's reproductive power is compromised by immoderate desire, and her womb, the defective appendage, makes manifest her hidden faults to produce a more defective second category of flawed femininity in the second generation". The portrayal of "defective femininity" permeates the misogynist narrative of the period, in which femininity itself is depicted as inherently defective.

As the story progresses, the suffering endured by the characters transcends its purely physical manifestations. It encompasses not only the physical disabilities, but also the suffering and psychological (and social) torment of the young protago-

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 137-156

nist. By succumbing to her desires, her appetite for pleasure, Maria commits an act of incest. When the woman makes a physical reality of her love, giving free rein to her own impulses, she commits a crime far graver that the mere instance of physical deformity or muteness (Mintz 2-12).

The culmination of the narrative makes all too clear the fate that awaits the women of seventeenth-century English society. It was customary at the time for a male figure - personified usually by either the father or brother - to govern and map out the path to be followed by a woman over the course of her life. In this story, incest is the dire consequence of a woman who refused to be led by the counsel of others in terms of her personal affairs. As a result of this daring affront, Naussbaun (*The Limits* 39) points to the instances of deformity and destruction which occur in the story.

This is an example of the fusion of the worlds of literature and reality. Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century a text written by the third Earl of Shaftesbury's appeared entitled *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, in which he proposes that stories of travel are dangerous and even harmful to the mind. He expresses this view in "Soliloquy: or Advice to an Author" (Klein xiii) where he states his disapproval of "high Imagination, florid Desires, and specious Sentiment". On the other hand, Ashley Cooper lamented the participation of women in civil society.

11. CONCLUSIONS

The courage and desire to travel to *terra incognita* has its just reward. The wife of the Venetian gentleman loses her son when he disappears. The sadness she feels is considered to be the cause of the deformities of her next child; next, her period of profound melancholy causes the younger daughter to be born mute. They are defects that the writer reflects, as a painter portrays their subject. However, far from to subverting the narrative by detracting from the protagonists' beauty and vitality, these are in fact accentuated; the writer stresses the qualities that interest her to such an extent that an unprecedented level of eroticism is achieved in the text. In this sense, Behn clearly did not fear the judgement of her critics (iudicis argutum quae, non formidat acumen). As if she were a painter (ut pictura poiesis), she takes up (de la Calle 87-92) the *dictum* of Simónides (Galí 19) and Horace (112).

Aphra Behn's work deconstructs the reigning status quo with respect to female desire, as well as to the development, involvement and depiction of women in society. She also subverts other deeply-rooted social customs, as the two daughters do not hide from the public eye as might be expected, secluded in the safety of the home as a result of Maria's muteness and Belvideera's physical deformity; instead, they actively pursue a life among high society. These defects do not prevent the young women from pursuing their desires; nor serve to deter their potential suitors. In this way, Behn formulates a wholehearted defence of the right of all women to a social life of their choosing, as she depicts one woman with physical deformities and another who is mute, yet who is still capable of contracting a marriage (Nussbaum 38).

The author carefully controls the times when the names of the characters appear in the text. One example is Rinaldo's wife, whose name does not appear

in the narrative at any point. The technique seems to reflect certain beliefs regarding the shortcomings of being a woman, emphasized here by the deformity of one daughter and the disfigurement of the other. Belvideera is deformed but very intelligent; Maria, a mute, is extremely beautiful. Another example is Dangerfield's first name – Cosmo – which is only revealed at the end.

As if by magic, Maria speaks for the first time when she discovers that her lover is also her brother, as a direct result of the effect that this shocking news has on her. It is interesting that at this exact moment the narrator (who is also a character) loses the ability to speak. This is a case of semantic dexterity whereby the individual tesserae, artfully placed, produce the overall image which Aphra Behn wishes to convey: that of a young girl who is born mute and, as a result of the events played out in the narrative, recovers her voice just as the narrator loses hers upon witnessing said events, as the narrative itself draws to a close.

The Dumb Virgin; or, The Force of Imagination deals with two key issues concerning England in the seventeenth century: firstly, the new advances in medical science, demonstrated by the explanations given for the abnormalities of the children and secondly, the role of women in society conveyed by the presence of the protagonists in community life. Both Rinaldo's wife, who boards the ship and travels to the island and her two daughters who attend the finest Venetian social functions, are examples of this. In conclusion, the story interweaves certain issues which are still of great concern to women of contemporary, modern England. Being in the public eye, or feeling a profound sense of loneliness and dejection; participation in society and the resulting social standing, or reclusion and weariness; freedom of choice in marriage and within the marriage, as well as the inherent issues of procreation and pregnancy, among other matters.

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WATER IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF MICHÈLE ROBERTS'S IN-BETWEEN CHARACTERS

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Abstract

Water has been considered as a symbol of different and even contradictory issues: life, power, maternity, regeneration or purification, but also chaos, destruction and death. Similarly, it has also been connected with the feminine and the unconscious, topics which have been extensively dealt with by Michèle Roberts in her writings. Analogously, in many of Roberts's works, water appears as a key element in the construction of identity for her in-between characters. Even though Roberts has had no experience related to the postcolonial world, she has dealt with topics such as hybridity and otherness in her writings. In this paper, I will show how the element of water is closely linked with some of the most recurrent topics in Michèle Roberts's writings, especially in the construction of a true identity for those characters who, as Roberts's herself, belong to two different cultures and are therefore feel as foreign in both.

Keywords: water, hybrid, unconscious, feminism, Michèle Roberts.

Resumen

El agua ha sido considerada como símbolo de diferentes conceptos, en ocasiones incluso contradictorios: la vida, el poder, la regeneración o la purificación, así como del caos, la destrucción y la muerte. De igual forma, el elemento del agua se ha unido a lo femenino y al mundo del subconsciente, temas que han sido extensamente tratados por Michèle Roberts en sus obras. En gran parte de ellas, el agua aparece como elemento clave en la construcción de la identidad de sus personajes cuyas vidas se desarrollan entre dos culturas diferentes. A pesar de que Roberts no ha tenido ninguna relación con el mundo postcolonial, ha tratado, en algunas de sus obras, temas como la mezcla de culturas, el desplazamiento y la otredad. Este ensayo muestra cómo el elemento del agua cobra especial importancia y está estrechamente relacionado con los temas más tratados por Roberts, en especial en la construcción de la identidad de personajes que, como en el caso de la propia autora, pertenecen a dos culturas distintas y que se sienten extrañas en ambas.

Palabras clave: agua, híbrido, subconsciente, feminismo, Michèle Roberts.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since her first work was published, Michèle Roberts has been one of the most distinguished writers on the contemporary British literary scene. Both a poet and a fiction writer, her name is present in most of the studies and anthologies dealing with contemporary British literature, especially in those devoted only to women's writing. Since she began publishing, critics like Malcolm Bradbury (*The Modern British Novel*, 1993) or Lorna Sage (*The Cambridge Guide to Women's Writing*, 1999) and more recently, Emma Parker (*Contemporary Women's Fiction*, 2004) or Nick Rennison (*Contemporary British Novelists*, 2005) have included Roberts as one of the most representative women writers of our age.

All her works in prose have been concerned, the same as her poetry, with feminist issues, and have explored human relationships, especially those between women, as friends, lovers, and as mothers and daughters and all the conflicts derived from them. Religion, especially Catholicism, where she was educated and which she rejected, is also a key component of all of Roberts's works, first as a critique of its misogynistic views and then taking it to fight against patriarchal discipline. She also included Catholicism in her writings in order to explore and rewrite the history of women characters who also fought against it and who rebelled, most of the times through writing, against the Catholic male oppression from the inside, like the figures of Mary Magdalene (*The Wild Girl*), Mrs. Noah (*The Book of Mrs. Noah*) or Teresa of Avila and other women saints (*Impossible Saints*).

Apart from feminism and religion, Roberts's novels come, according to her, from her unconscious: "every novel I've written has come from an image, usually an image in a dream, that's been so powerful that I'm haunted by it or obsessed with it, and have got to translate it into words" (Newman 123). Actually, the unconscious is something very powerful in her fiction too, with the presence of ghostly appearances, haunted places and characters or mediums included in her novels. Roberts has acknowledged her interest in psychoanalysis and Freudian and Jungian theories, as well as in French feminist theory and the influence of Hélène Cixous, Julia Kristeva or Luce Irigaray.

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 71; 2015, PP. 157-166

Michèle Roberts is the daughter of an English Protestant businessman and her mother a French Catholic teacher. This fact of being half-English, half-French has exerted a great influence both in her life and her writings to such an extent that, as she has acknowledged in an interview with Newman, "living in a double culture" was "the second impetus to my becoming a writer" (124). Roberts grew up in England, but spent the summers in her French grandparents' house in Normandy. Having two homes, speaking two languages and living in two different cultures, the English and the French, is present in most of her books, both in fiction and poetry. Because of this, in a very autobiographical manner, some of the characters in her novels are in-betweens, hyphenated subjects with a double nationality who live between two cultures.

Interestingly enough, in Michèle Roberts's writings, all these topics previously mentioned have, in one way or another, been connected with the same element: water. Likewise, this connection has also appeared in other studies connected with feminism and feminist writing, psychology, postcolonialism or literary studies. The aim of this paper is to discuss how water plays an essential role in the lives of Roberts's hyphenated subjects, especially in the construction of their real and true identity, and how all these topics with which Roberts

is concerned in her writings are linked by the presence of this element. To do it, I'm going to concentrate in the novels *Daughters of the House* and *Flesh and Blood*, where this link between water, the in-between, femininity and the unconscious is more clearly portrayed.

2. WATER AS A HEALING ELEMENT FOR THE IN-BETWEEN

Terms like in-between, the dichotomy of home and abroad, or concepts such as identity, displacement, otherness, and hybridity have usually been defined by postcolonial studies and have always been present in postcolonial literature. A great number of studies have tried to find a definition for these terms and have argued about their meaning and implications both in society and literature;[1] however, they have not been so much taken into account in other contexts different from postcolonial or migrant literature. Even though Michèle Roberts has not written any novel related to the postcolonial world, she has explored these so-called postcolonial terms beyond the postcolonial paradigm, albeit with no relation at all with the postcolonial experience.

In *Daughters of the House* (1992), Roberts deals with hybridity, with belonging to two different countries, England and France, and at the same time with being regarded as foreign in both. The protagonist, Léonie, also the daughter of a French mother and an English father, feels displaced in her two countries: she is considered English when she is in France and French when she is in England, and therefore not accepted and marginalised in her two places of origin. The fact that she cannot feel at home in either place, and having to live between two different cultures, languages and customs make the protagonist question her own identity, only finding her true self and her true language when she is in the middle of her journey between England and France, in the waters of the English Channel.

Regarding the change of countries and cultures, this is, in the case of Léonie, and in the case of Roberts herself, always preceded by a change of language in their travels. In the same way that Roberts describes this experience in her autobiography, Léonie felt how changing places and therefore cultures and languages, was something that happened in the middle of the Channel, when travelling from one country to the other. The passage describing this experience is probably the most interesting part of the book in this respect. Roberts has defined this account as "a description of translation as a metamorphosis occurring in the middle of the Channel, when languages, like monsters, change into each other far beneath the sea." (*Paper* 322). It is, in fact, one of the most powerful images of the novel, and it is also essential to understand Léonie's feelings of hybridity and double identity:

> For as they left England so they left the English language behind. Familiar words dissolved, into wind and salt spray, ploughed back into foam, the cold dark sea in whose

[1] See Homi K. Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*, Elleke Boehmer's *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* or Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin's *The Empire Writes Back*.

bottomless depths monsters swam, of no known nationality. Halfway across, as the Channel became *La Manche*, language reassembled itself, rose from the waves and became French. [...] Léonie fought to keep awake, to know the exact moment when, in the very centre of the Channel, precisely equidistant from both shores, the walls of water and of words met, embraced wetly and closely, became each other, composed of each other's sounds. For at that moment true language was restored to her. Independent of separated words, as whole as water, it bore her along as part of itself, a gold current that connected everything, a secret river running underground, the deep well, the source of life, a flood driving through her, salty breaker on her own beach, streams of words and non-words, voices calling out which were staccato, echoing, which promised bliss. (*Daughters* 35 -36).

In the same way, we find another example of a double self in the story of George Mannot in what is perhaps Roberts's most experimental novel, *Flesh and Blood* (1994). It is a collection of short stories with a circular and never-ending structure, in which the readers first know the beginnings of all the stories until they get to the centre of the book, which is a poem, and then they are taken back to see the endings, moving from the last to the first story. So, in the first part of the story, "George", we meet a young English painter who spends the summers in the French coast of Etretat, looking for inspiration and painting the beautiful coastal landscapes of the area. When we get to the story of Georgina in the second part of the book, it is told like a documentary film script. A film director is planning a documentary about the life of Georgina Mannot, a famous English painter whose interesting and unusual life is told. It is then that the reader discovers that Georgina Mannot signed her paintings as G. Mannot, something that "indicated her ambivalence, her wish for secrecy and her love for disguises" (*Flesh* 155), as the letter G could stand both for Georgina and for George, and this is what takes the reader to the previous story of George. Immediately afterwards, we are told how Georgina "allowed herself two selves, two lives, or was it three? Her life as a woman in London, her life as a man in France, his/her experience at the moment of crossing over from one to the other and back again" (*Flesh* 156).

Therefore, Georgina, born a woman, transformed herself into a man, George, when she was in France, and again into a woman when she was back in London. This clearly reminds us of the change suffered by Léonie in *Daughters of the House* and by Roberts herself between England and France, for Georgina is also an in-between character. She is the daughter of a French father and an English mother (there is a slight difference in her case, since Léonie and Roberts were both born to an English father and a French mother). In the same way as Léonie, Georgina also found her true self when she was in the waters of the English Channel in the voyage from France to England and vice versa. However, while Léonie found her true identity and she connected it with language, for Georgina, this change between countries is marked not by the change of languages but of gender:

Two bodies, apparently separate and different, male and female, which were joined together by the to-ing and fro-ing between them. One skin stitched to the other then ripped off, over and over again. Two separate land masses, one called England and one called France, which were connected by the sea drawing itself back and forth, back and forth, between them. Her parents: a French man and an English woman, with the Channel between them, with the sea (herself in those waters?) held in their arms. She

> made herself into a marriage. She married two split parts of herself, drew them together and joined them, and she also let each other flourish individually. (*Flesh* 156).

As we can see, the waters of the Channel are again a key element in this story, for it is where the protagonist found her true identity, where she merged her French and her English parts, her male and female parts, that became one in the middle of the Channel only to be a different self when s/he reached the other shore. It is not only that s/he was seen as the "other" in the other country as happened to Léonie, because apart from culture or language, George/Georgina was the "other" inside him/herself due to her double gender identity, a man in France, a woman in England, and only a whole and true self in the waters that separated both countries.

It should be stated at this point that the sea voyage has also been described as a negative experience in postcolonial literature. As Torabully puts it taking into consideration the Indian postcolonial paradigmatic experience, "the sea voyage bears very strange, troublesome, muffled and censored echoes among the Indian descendants" because it was "a traumatic experience" (158). However, despite this, he also acknowledges that "by giving this marine essence to the text, what was sought was not only a poetic universe or atmosphere, but primarily a space where this trauma could be revisited, and once this has been done, the sea voyage was chosen as the space of the metaphorical construction of a new identity" (159).

Actually, the image of the sea as a safe place for the in-between is also seen in more than a few postcolonial writings. Just to name some examples, an instance of the notion of being healed by water settled in a postcolonial environment can be found in the Guadeloupean writer Maryse Condé's *I, Tituba, Black Witch of Salem* (1986). This time, the reader is presented with a woman protagonist in search of her true self and she finds it, as Roberts's characters, when crossing the sea:

> It was the sea that healed me. Her great, wet hand pressed against my forehead. Her salts filled my nostrils. Her bitter potion moistened my lips. Gradually, I pieced myself together. (119).

Analogously, in her analysis of *Mother Tongue* (1990), the first book by Emine Sevgi Özdamar, a German-Turkish borderland woman writer, Azade Seyhan describes how Özdamar uses the image of the split body of the in-between protagonist being healed in the ocean waters, an element, as she describes "that knows no borders and boundaries" (85). This appears in Roberts's texts too. This in-betweenness, this merge of cultures, and the going from one to another, takes place in the waters, in our case, of the British Channel. In the water true language and true self are restored to Léonie and George/Georgina; there are no boundaries, just a "current of promised bliss". There was no difference in language, and therefore no difference in culture either; according to the protagonists, in the water nothing was foreign.

As Seyhan points out, this image of the water as restoring the true identity for the in-between also appears in the most acclaimed book by the Chicano writer Gloria Anzaldúa's, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987). In that text she explores what living in the borderland between two cultures means to her, taking into account not only the physical separation of that frontier but also questions of race, gender and

identity. To her, "*el mar* [the sea] does not stop at borders. Standing at the edge between earth and ocean, her heart surges to the beat of the sea. With the ease the ocean touches the earth and heals, the narrator switches codes'." (qtd. in Seyhan 84-85). Thus, we can see in Anzaldúa the same feeling experienced by Léonie when she reached French land and she realised this because of the switching of languages.[2]

Regarding language, there is something else that Roberts shares with other writers with a double nationality: the introduction of the other language into their writings, even bilingual writing, and the search for a place they can belong to. Concerning the use of two languages when writing, Roberts's novels, especially *Daughters of the House*, although written in English, are full of French words and expressions, mainly related to the French culture, especially to food. These words are not translated into English, and even though most of them are not crucial for the understanding of the text, it is worth mentioning the fact that they are present in the novel. Many other writers from the borders have included words or sentences in their other language, as Seyhan explains, "because they expect the reader to engage in a more informed and conscientious way with another discursive practice, with willingness to know about the other, somehow to reclaim the other's language" (87-88). This happens in a more obvious way in Roberts's short story "*Une Glossaire*/A Glossary", where we can find complete sentences written in French (with no translation provided) that a reader who does not speak French would not understand at all; as well as in *A Piece of the Night*, where even the name of the protagonist is full of meaning, for Julienne makes reference to the French name of a soup that her family ate every night, made of a mixture of vegetables, which could be also seen as a representation of her mixed identity.

In this manner, we can clearly perceive Anzaldúa, Özdamar and Condé's texts as valuable examples of how the sea and the voyage from one place to another and thus from one culture to another have been used in the same way Roberts does in her writings: the sea is for all of them the place where the in-between characters change languages and identities, as well as a borderless place where the split personality can be at ease because waters cannot be divided and, therefore, the only place where the in-between protagonists do not feel foreign. However, in the case of Roberts, this link between the restoring of true self, true language, true and whole identity with water, appears also connected with two other very important elements in Roberts's literary production: the feminine and the unconscious.

3. WATER, THE FEMININE AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

Water has been historically considered as a feminine element, as well as has many times been linked with the unconscious. An example that clearly illustrates this connection can be found in Carl Jung's theory, for he saw water as an archetype present in the collective

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[2] Particularly remarkable in Léonie´s experience as an in-between is the change of language as a key element that separates her double self. As in many examples of postcolonial writing, the change of languages is connected to otherness and hybridity. Besides, in this novel it is also related with the element of water, as in many feminist and psychological studies, since we cannot forget that feminism lies under Roberts's narrative production, as will be explained later on in this paper.

unconscious and therefore present in all of us. He considered water, together with earth, as passive, and therefore feminine elements in contrast with fire and air, which were, for him, active and thus male elements. Likewise, according to Jung, water is linked to the unconscious. In a study of his work, Welch interprets from Jung's thinking that

> The entrance into one's unconscious is often imaged as entrance into water. Or the flooding of consciousness by the unconscious may be imaged as a flood of water in some form. Psychologically, water refers to spirit that has become unconscious. It does not, then, mean a regression to an inferior life but a descent to depths where there is a possibility for nourishment. Healing and new life can be the result of entering these waters. (60).

Taking a closer look at the idea of healing, Jung observes that water "has healing value, because it brings things back to their origin, where nothing is disturbed, yet everything is still right [...] water is healing simply because it is the low condition of consciousness where everything is undisturbed and can therefore fall into the right rhythm" (61).

In the same way, Roberts herself has linked the sea with the unconscious and with the notion of being "healed" in the water, as she explained in her interview with Bastida-Rodríguez:

> think I feel at home in that [the unconscious], and I know why: it's because of the sea [...] I've got the sea inside me, and the sea was what was between England and France, and it's where I felt most at home as a child, because I never knew: Was I English? Was I French? On the sea, back and forth in a boat, I was at home, and somehow the sea and the unconscious became the same thing. (96).

This conception of water as a healing element that Roberts herself felt is precisely what we see in her writings. The suffering for being a split subject felt by her in-between women protagonists, Léonie and Georgina, was immediately healed in the waters of the Channel, since it was in these waters where they achieved unity, and found their true identity. As Stokowski points out, "water symbols are often used as referents for interconnectedness, and to imply wholeness and totality" (136). Following this idea, in these cases, there is no difference between French and English, man and woman: the moment true language and true self are restored to the protagonists Léonie and Georgina is in this travel through the Channel. It is only when they are surrounded by water, neither in England nor in France, that languages, cultures and identities melt and become only one. Thus, from this connection of their two halves, they get a true identity and the wholeness the sea represents.

It is worth noting here that in the same way as for Léonie "the secret changeover" of places, languages and cultures took place "in the night" (*Daughters* 36), Georgina's change of places and of gender

> was performed out of sight, in darkness, in the middle of the night, on the cross-Channel steamer. Georgina Mannot got on to the boat, and George Mannot disembarked on the other side. [...] Her truth was a trick performed in the darkness of the Ladies's Cabin of the overnight boat to France. (*Flesh* 156-157)

However, in these changes there is not only a link between water and the element of the unconscious, but here there is also a connection between the unconscious and the element of darkness. As C.G. Jung affirmed in his study of the collective unconscious, as "day and light are synonyms for consciousness", the same are "night and dark for the unconscious" (167). Therefore, despite their negative connotations, night and darkness are here positive for the protagonist's construction of her true identity.

Another example of the connection of water with the feminine can be found in the works of the French feminist theorist Hélène Cixous. As previously mentioned, feminism is a recurrent topic in Roberts's writings, and the influence of French feminists in her written production is undeniable. For Cixous, water is also one of the main symbols of the feminine: to her, "the inside of the water is truth and [...] the lack of water is felt as a kind of feminine castration" (qtd. in Andermatt-Conley 100). In this case, what Léonie feels coincides with Cixous's assertion, as it is in the water, or in connection with the water, that Léonie and Georgina find truth —true language, true self, true identity.

Additionally, Cixous also links women with the element of water and with the unconscious because of the relationship between mother and child. To her, women "know how *s'eautrer* (to become other in birth water) as *mer-mère* (sea-mother) and to communicate preverbally from unconscious to unconscious" (qtd. in Andermat 100). Therefore, we feel at home and safe in the ocean's water as we do in the waters of the mother's womb. The relationship with the mother is also a topic extensively dealt with by Michèle Roberts.

Indeed, some other studies such as that of Sarah Falcus have pointed out the importance of water in Roberts's novels in relation with the semiotic and the maternal in novels such as *The Looking Glass* (2000) or *The Book of Mrs Noah* (1987). The latter is actually a re-writing of the biblical story of the Flood and the construction of the Ark, a job which is, this time, accomplished by a woman, Mrs Noah. What Mrs Noah provides with the creation of her Ark is a place where women can tell their own stories, as a way to fight back the canonical and male-dominated narratives that have forgotten them in literature, history and religion; a place for women who have been silenced because they did not fit in the role imposed on them by men. To Falcus, the Ark, which is surrounded by water, is a metaphor for the maternal womb, which gives the protagonists a sense of freedom (80).[3]

Linked to this view of life connected to water and the maternal, Jung also provides a similar connection. To him, "whenever water appears it is usually the water of life, meaning a medium through which one is reborn. It symbolizes a sort of baptism ceremony, or initiation, a healing bath that gives resurrection or rebirth (…) the return to such condition has healing value, because it brings back to their origin where nothing is disturbed, yet everything is still right" (61).

[3] Analogously, and taking the idea of wholeness and freedom connected to feminist thoughts is also seen in Gruss's study of this novel. To her, "the idea of being without borders as a typical feminine state that defies patriarchal closure tends to play into the hands of patriarchal assumptions about female sexuality and writing" (46).

Therefore, water is connected to the feminine and the unconscious and as a gateway to freedom for Roberts's female protagonists, as water is something that cannot be split, but as a symbol for wholeness, which is precisely what they achieve in their travels through the waters of the Channel, finding their true identity and being healed from their feelings of displacement and non-belonging.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In a very autobiographical manner, Roberts deals with concepts such as hybridity and double self in many of her writings. Even though these terms have traditionally been linked with the postcolonial world and Roberts has no connection to it, she has suffered from displacement as she belongs to two different cultures, the English and the French. In a similar way, her female protagonists in *Daughters of the House* and in the stories of "George" and "Georgina" in *Flesh and Blood*, present the point of view of the outsider. As happened to Roberts herself, in both novels, the protagonists' mixed origins —half English – half French make them feel as "others" in both countries: they are seen as foreigners in both to the point that they can only find their true identity, true language, and true self when travelling from one country to another, in the middle of the waters of the English Channel.

Interestingly enough, the sea has many connotations in these and other novels by Roberts, and they are also shared up to some point with postcolonial literature and with many examples of literature written from the margins, such as feminist literature or literature of the borderlands. In all these cases, water is also linked with transformation and healing of the in-between characters.

At the same time, the element of water is also connected in these novels with two of Roberts's favourite topics: femininity and the unconscious. These two topics are very present in Roberts's literary production. Here, the in-between protagonists are women, and that is where the connection of all these elements can be identified. Léonie, Georgina and Roberts herself can only find their true identity in the water, which has been, together with the unconscious, traditionally considered as a feminine element. In addition, water is defined as an element which cannot be split, which has no borders and which reminds of the safety of the mother's womb, and hence a place in which the in-between is healed and reborn to find a new identity, where all their parts, in which they had been divided, are joined back.

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