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# CONTENTS

## SPECIAL ISSUE

Old English Studies in the 21st Century: A New Understanding of the Past <i>María de la Cruz Expósito González</i> , guest-editor	
Introduction .....	9

## ARTICLES

Anglo-Saxon Mentalities and Old English Literary Studies <i>Antonina Harbus</i> .....	13
The <i>Lacnunga</i> and Its Sources: <i>The Nine Herbs Charm</i> and <i>Wið Færstice</i> Reconsidered <i>Karin Olsen</i> .....	23
A Socio-linguistic Evaluation of the Great Modal Shift: An Overview of the Female Approach <i>María de la Cruz Expósito González</i> .....	33
The Anglo-Scandinavian Connection: Reading Between Lines and Layers <i>María Dolores Pérez Raja</i> .....	47
A Functional Approach to Register in the <i>Preface to the Pastoral Care</i> <i>Dolores Fernández Martínez</i> .....	69
The Metonymic Basis of Prepositional Polysemy in Old English: A Prag- matic Approach <i>María del Carmen Guarddon Anelo</i> .....	85
“Metaphors We Learnt By”: Cultural Traditions and Metaphorical Patterns in the Old English Vocabulary of “Knowledge” <i>Javier E. Díaz Vera</i> .....	99
<i>Beowulf</i> and the Comic Book: Contemporary Readings <i>María José Gómez Calderón</i> .....	107

MISCELLANY

Weavers, Poets and Magicians: Un/Mapping *The Waste Land*  
*Enrique Galván Álvarez*..... 131

New Considerations Propounded in Little Magazines of American Innovative Poetry  
*Manuel Brito* ..... 141

“What Lies Beneath”: Forty Years Later the First Critical Appraisal of James Asher’s TPR Experiments  
*Elaine Hewitt*..... 153

Learners’ Use of Downgraders in Suggestions Under Focus on Forms and Focus on Form Treatment Conditions  
*Alicia Martínez Flor*..... 167



OLD ENGLISH STUDIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY:  
A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF THE PAST

María de la Cruz Expósito González, guest-editor





## INTRODUCTION

After the publication of Allen Frantzen's *Desire for Origins*, a considerable series of works on "The Current State of Old English Studies" appeared inspired by Frantzen's comment that Old English Studies needed to reinvent itself and introduce contemporary theoretical sets in the field. Not all the answers agreed with his hypothesis, but time has proved that something new has come out of those attempts. This issue of the *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* did not have as a purpose to restrict itself, or even be devoted, to this point of view; the response has, however, been clear enough. Most papers do in fact give us a "new understanding of the past" through the application and discussion of new theories to the research on Old English and Anglo-Saxon culture in general.

The study of Old English literature, language and philology have experienced an overall transformation in the last decades that mainly respond to a crucial need for an innovation in methodological approaches. This has concluded in compelling results and new facets in our perception of the medieval and Anglo-Saxon worlds. The traditional views endowed us a contact with the sources that provided the student with a profound knowledge of pre-modern texts. Besides, the must for original research tools opened the field to conclusions, themes and hypotheses that proved a whole new series of perspectives had been left out; several were related to present-day concepts which had not been considered relevant for the Anglo-Saxon period and the individual that lived through those times. The theoretical sources that led to this advance are varied, ranging from historical, even archaeological, to linguistic disciplines such as cognitive linguistics, functional linguistics, metatheoretical renewals in the philological study and so on.

This improvement in the observation of the subject matter and the tools to carry out research were evident in so much as the information lost with traditional methods was sometimes biased and remained a mere set of data which lacked a humanistic setting. The tendency to place limits on philological research due to the constraints of a "scientific" methodology that did not take into account the fact that the literary and linguistic production was generated by human beings in their



social and personal context, however rejected the “personal” aspect for pre-modern periods. Thus, the introduction of new models of research in the study of Old English, combined with data obtained in more traditional works, results in an awareness of aspects of the Anglo-Saxon period left out until recently and a more coherent knowledge of the interactions within that society: their needs, their language, their mental states. They were frequently reduced to didactic-political concepts such as that of the *comitatus* (the bonds established between lord and warrior through the generosity of the lord in giving treasure) and it implied a coherent society that expressed an order of the world that must necessarily be unrealistic. No society lives in a state of social perfection; those who did not fit, those who did not agree would be extraneous agents in those societies. Obviously, even within this ideal society, and within our textual historical knowledge, the others were there; other nations, other groups, other sexes were there as well, though it is true that extracting from surface information will not bring forth a closer knowledge of the feelings and bonds among these peoples.

The study of the language and literature of this period and a good knowledge of the sources will surpass the superficialities of the historical moment. The interpretation of what lies under the surface of the text will lead to contact with the actual world, the individuals that were members of those societies. Thus, we will exceed the alterity of these historical stages with the present, through new methods of study that include a correlation with our modern states of mind, emotions, etc. These societies were not as far from our own state of mind and they, in most probability, had psychological concomitances with any other society, past and present. No single methodological set has been able to give us a greater feeling of closeness to our object of study than a wide variety of them. Restricted by the limits of our minds or our “a priori” ideas of this world, we forget to look at aspects and facts that were not just relevant, but the actual objects that generated the texts, speakers’ interaction, emotional backgrounds and concepts such as identity and self. The effect of phenomena such as population movements or the contact with incoming population was extremely relevant, though, until recently considered external to language change.

The subject of gender, constantly changing due to the pressure between the moralizing rules and the needs of the literary characters and the actual human beings living in this period are other aspects that required considerable attention. Those human beings that had to lose constantly in favour of new orders of the social, political and religious worlds, not to mention the outcast or even the monstrous had to be revised in terms of these societies and their states of mind. The fact that by the Anglo-Saxon period women were able to bequeath wealth is of extreme importance, though not considered yet from the right angle; the later loss of that wealth, as it happened with certain convents in the 10th or 13th centuries, implied continuous drawbacks for the situation of women. Even in the 15th century women had to fight, even forcefully, for their right to their inheritance, since their male kin asserted that they had a better right to it. The Anglo-Saxon woman had a role, but she was not just that role, it was an imposition, accepted willingly or unwillingly. Gender studies have brought new perspectives to our knowledge of the one sided



idea of the peace-weaver, and brought the proposal of the writing woman, one with a voice of her own, though still difficult to be heard.

Our interest in the mental states of the Anglo-Saxons, outside the standard roles of loyalty, friendship, and fighting, has changed with a closer insight of processes such as the idea of the self. Discourse analysis, socio-linguistics, philological and cognitive approaches disclose new facets about those people who lived in a period on constant warfare. Their interests and awareness of their own self, individuality, nationality, gender differences and the concept of the other still existed.

From the linguistic point of view, discourse analysis has been proposed and produced a series of studies with appealing possibilities. The flexibility of this paradigm allows us contact with its concern with emotional, contextual and social layers within the linguistic structure and its semantic patterns. It introduces a renovation of the notion of register as a context expression related to sequences of content. D. Fernández comments in this number on her application of this approach to Old English texts that “supplementary considerations within each variable allow for a critical rendering that proves to be more feasible to explain those issues of social inequality and authority in the text pointed out by previous research.” The concepts of power and inequality are relevant for the study of this period, since it is characterised by the pressure of a novel construct of reality constituted by the introduction of Christianity into a pagan context and its imposition without a separation between both the religious and the secular worlds. The process of Christianization was an indication of power and control because they had to do it through war with the non-Christian kingdoms.

The need to resort to disciplines other than the merely literary and linguistic ones in order to observe and study pre-modern mentalities is a constant in current research on Old English. A good understanding of mental attitudes is a requisite for both literary and linguistic conceptualizations, something that most linguistic paradigms had not accepted in their traditional perspectives. But a diachronic analysis of language does necessarily require a thorough observation of these parameters. Language only changes in its interaction and this is influenced by the participants’ mental states, and so it is recognised by Cognitive studies: “More specifically, the impact of cultural ideas about the mind on textual production has been established as a dynamic worthy of closer investigation, itself drawing upon questions of long pedigree” (A. Harbus).

The mythological understanding of the text is more traditional than the previous methods, but, as before, the contextualisation of the texts adds to the facts and ideas and establishes a relation to power: “both myths were created in their present form in the Christian era for the express purpose of transforming supernatural protagonists into demonic, disease-inflicting beings that were being displaced by the true God” (K. Olsen).

Socio-linguistics has also opened fields and features in studying population movements and language contact, traditionally considered external to language itself, but whose influence on change and evolution has proved to be extremely relevant. Milroy’s social network theory applied to Scandinavian loanwords in English and interdisciplinary perspectives has resulted in “the possibility of correlating



independent variables, like social rank, not only with the linguistic output under concern, but also with the tangible evidence of certain loanwords like the Norse-related loan “cast,” whose social context of usage may be reconstructed thanks to archaeology” (D. Pérez).

The use of the metaphor is a means to analyse the development, form and function of conceptual values present “in Old English language, literature, society and iconography.” (Javier Díaz) Again the tendency to study Old English outside the limitations imposed by a single field leads to the postulation that the “understanding of the past” in the present century is well aware of the requirement to reach a profound interaction among several fields; “The Mind-as-Body Metaphor is the result of the global conceptualization of one whole area of experience (i.e. the internal self and internal sensations) in terms of another (i.e. physical perception)” (Javier Díaz).

The comparison of the original text with modern recreations of it, brings to the fore the fact that those readings are biased by a lack of knowledge and confront the textual hero with his own translation of it. Nevertheless, this alterity between the original and the result opens up possibilities of analysis sometimes left unseen in the distance from the historical past. Taking these past manuscripts to their present elaboration elicits differences in the construal of the text. It does, however, add to our understanding of the textual matter; these approaches expose the limitations of research exclusively conceived as a complete separation from what was observed in the contents of the original copy and the minds that generated them and the present copies and the states of mind and contextualization that conceived them. The relevance of contextualization and the use of other disciplines in the study of the literary and linguistic production of pre-modern periods can be observed very well in this rupture from alterity; “In fact, as soon as the Old English text was accessible for the average reader through modern translations [many abridged, simplified versions appeared, which paved the road to later parodies, adaptations and imaginative rewritings. This process of “vulgarization” of *Beowulf* has, however, run parallel to its legitimation as one of the central pieces of the English literary heritage and corner-stone of Old English Studies; actually, the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship is intimately connected to what in Foucauldian terms can be termed as the “archaeology” of this poem” (María José Gómez).



# ANGLO-SAXON MENTALITIES AND OLD ENGLISH LITERARY STUDIES

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## ABSTRACT

This article reviews scholarship to date and traces developing trends in the investigation of Anglo-Saxon mentalities: concepts of the mind and the textual representation of the mind, the self, and consciousness. The multidisciplinary nature of the topic and recent studies are considered, along with an exciting new development in the academy, Cognitive Literary Studies, where cognitive science is brought to bear on literary analysis. This method of investigation factors not only cultural practices but also innate mental structures into representations of the mind. The future of Old English literary studies relies on combining current scholarly modes, such as interpretive, philological, and source studies, with emerging developments outside the field and even beyond the humanities.

KEY WORDS: Mentalities, Anglo-Saxon literature, mind, Old English language.

## RESUMEN

En este artículo se realiza una revisión de la literatura académica hasta el momento presente y se trata de buscar las corrientes que se desarrollan en la investigación de las mentalidades anglosajonas: conceptos de la mente y las representaciones textuales de la mente, el sujeto y la conciencia. Se toman en consideración la naturaleza multidisciplinar del tema y estudios recientes, junto con un novedoso y excitante desarrollo en lo académico, los Estudios Literarios Cognitivos, en tanto en cuanto la ciencia cognitiva ejerce influencia en el análisis literario. Este modelo de investigación implica no solo prácticas culturales sino también estructuras mentales innatas como representaciones de la mente. El futuro de los estudios literarios del inglés antiguo se sostiene sobre la base de la combinación de los modos investigadores actuales, tales como el interpretativo, el filológico y las fuentes de estudio, con desarrollos que surgen fuera del campo e incluso más allá de las humanidades.

PALABRAS CLAVE: mentalidades, literatura anglosajona, mente, inglés antiguo.

Old English literary studies have always been primarily interdisciplinary, embracing not only literary and philological studies, but also deploying ideas and methodologies from the many other disciplines, including history, cultural studies,

palaeography and codicology. The field has continued to expand its frames of reference in the twenty-first century by borrowing and combining new critical tools to attempt to answer new types of questions about Anglo-Saxon literature and its context of production. A dominant thread within this multi-pronged mode of inquiry is the exploration of notions of identity. Along with investigations into Anglo-Saxon ideas about national identity and group affiliation, there has arisen a growing fascination with personal identity. In particular, scholars are now considering more energetically matters that might be grouped together under the rubric 'mentalities'. This term refers to Anglo-Saxon ideas about the mind and the self, how these two entities interact in the individual person, and the implications for interpreting texts produced in this culture.

Scholars have taken up this line of inquiry, brought to the fore long ago by Peter Clemoes' study of the similarity between patristic and vernacular mind motifs in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* (Pearsall and Waldron 62-77; Clemoes) Malcolm Godden's article, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind' brings philosophy of mind into the discussion, by arguing that the poets of these two texts recognise two separate 'centres of consciousness', the mind and the self (Godden 271-98). Later studies have investigated this distinction further, contributing to recent debate on the culturally specific idea of the self in the fields of the social sciences<sup>1</sup> by bringing Anglo-Saxon evidence into the discussion (Green 211-18; Jagger; Harbus 77-97). While many studies of the mind and the self have been lexical or at least linguistic in origin (Phillips; Ogura; Low 11-22; Stewart 51-62), and others have approached medieval mentalities via poetic language and style (Morse; Matto; Ford 205-226; Herman and Childs 177-203) several studies more explicitly incorporate a range of ideas and methodologies from disciplines such as philosophy and psychology. For example, Michael Lapidge has demonstrated the *Beowulf*-poet's interest in the workings of the human mind, and Soon-Ai Low has shown the psychological focus of *Guthlac B* (Lapidge 373-402; Low 625-636). My book, *The Life of the Mind in Old English Poetry* argues more broadly for a cultural focus on the mind evident in Anglo-Saxon poetic texts (Harbus, "Medieval").

These and other studies demonstrate that, like other types of inquiry, considerations of pre-modern mentalities can fruitfully draw upon fields in addition to literary and linguistic ones. They can canvass the complex subject of mentalities in a more multifaceted way than more traditionally historical studies (Clarke; Radding 577-597). The nature of the topic insists more than most on the importation and deployment of other disciplinary ideas and methodologies. Philosophical and psychological studies of the mind and the self, both medieval and modern, have proven particularly useful for shaping and informing debate on how Anglo-Saxon writers configured the mind, thereby bringing to light the implications of those ideas for

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<sup>1</sup> On the culturally-specific self discussed without specific reference to Anglo-Saxon England, see Shweder and Bourne 158-199. For the Spanish/English comparison, see Martín Morillas 1-21.

literary and socio-cultural interpretation. Similarly, the growing imperative to historicize literary production and analysis insists on the mutual consideration of cultural and historical context and the literary text. More specifically, the impact of cultural ideas about the mind on textual production has been established as a dynamic worthy of closer investigation, itself drawing upon questions of long pedigree. Historians of mentalities such as Marc Bloch and Michel Foucault have long since established the value of investigating the cultural structures that determine mental activity, in order to demonstrate how closely related the two are and how they fluctuate together.<sup>2</sup>

In response to these and many other transdisciplinary developments within literary studies in general, a new and vigorous field of inquiry has arisen in the academy, bringing cognitive linguistics and cognitive psychology into literary analysis. This new field, called “Cognitive Literary Studies,”<sup>3</sup> has a fresh perspective to offer anyone interested in literary interpretation, and is especially invigorating in any attempt to understand texts produced in remote cultures, such as those written in Anglo-Saxon England.

The cognitive approach to literary criticism focuses on the mental processes at work during meaning-making, especially the cognitive logistics of interpretation in the mind of the recipient, but also the historically-situated processes undertaken by the producer of the text. It brings cognitive science to bear on literary studies in order to explore the relationship between mind and meaning from the perspective that the mind and its products are the result of both culture and biology. This new line of inquiry has so far resulted in the creation, since 1998, of a new discussion group of the Modern Language Association and the production of a number of influential monographs and journal articles on the field (Stockwell; Semino and Culpepper; Gavin and Steen; Herman; Richardson; Spolsky, “Richardson’s”). One of the most productive scholars in this field is Mark Turner, who sees classical rhetoric and cognitive neuroscience as the foundations of Cognitive Literary Studies. Turner seeks to claim that “the everyday mind is the essentially literary,” and that language is not the origin but the product of parable, the consequence of the way our mind is hardwired for story (Turner, *Literary* 7, 168; Turner and Fauconnier 397-418).

Turner, who successfully integrates the literary with the scientific inquiry, demonstrates how Cognitive Literary Studies provides a counterpoint to what might be called “Literary Cognitive Studies,” where literary texts are deployed by cognitive scientists as data for their inquiries into the mind from the evidence of its culturally-based products. In other words, they are already investigating how the mind works by look at the products of specific minds in specific cultures. It makes

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<sup>2</sup> Hutton specifically describes this branch of enquiry “not as a history of ideas but a history of the mind” (238).

<sup>3</sup> An MLA Discussion Group since 1998; formally ratified in 2000.

sense for scholars whose primary training is in literary studies to approach the matter from the other side, by using the tools provided by cognitive science to explore literary texts and their production. Lisa Zunshine has shown very convincingly how the particular aptness of the novel for the exploration of human consciousness can be deployed within Cognitive Literary Studies to examine the workings of the human mind and levels of intentionality (Zunshine 270-91; Spolsky, "Richardson's" 127-146).

A recent turn in the cognitive literary movement that has particular relevance for the study of remote culture is the appropriation of ideas from evolutionary psychology. In this schema, mental structures, determined by evolutionary development, play out in cultural practices and products, with the result that cognitive universals may be manifest in these products, which include literary texts (Jackson 161-179). Reuven Tsur argues that developments in literary history are determined by deep-seated universals in cognitive functioning, that "rigid conventions are fossilized cognitive processes" (84).

One such universal is the physical embodiment of the mind: mental functions and states are the result of brain activity, which is physically situated with the human body. The concept of embodiment has been popularised by the widely influential work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, where they argue that the way the mind works arises from the fundamental fact that it exists in a physical body.

This idea is embraced in a similar way in the field of Cognitive Linguistics, where the role of cognitive processes in the creation of linguistic meaning is the focus on inquiry. F. Elizabeth Hart, for example, insists upon the relevance of a theory of "the material embodiment of the subject in and through language" (21). By showing language to be "imaginatively embodied," cognitive linguistics can supply "a new, metaphor centred model of language... that situates the subject within its material world both inside and outside the text" (2). In other words, the reading subject is both culturally and cognitively situated by immediate context. This useful contribution to literary theory and interpretation brings together key ideas from the fields of linguistics, philosophy, cognitive psychology and literary and cultural theory to provide a compelling new way of understanding how textual meaning can be both coherent and unstable. Hart's later work succinctly describes the value of Cognitive Literary Studies as investigating 'the mind's substantive indebtedness to its bodily, social and cultural contexts' and human cognition as "a set of highly imaginative —not logical but figural— processes" (331).

Paul Hernadi looks at the causal relationship between mental functioning and literary texts from the opposite direction, arguing that literature has played a precise role in the development of human nature. His and other articles published in a special issue of *Poetics Today* devoted to Cognitive Literary Studies approach these issues with a keener appreciation of historicist principles, bringing together the idea that literature is the product of both a biologically-created mind and one that is culturally constructed. The editors have created a section entitled "Cognitive Historicism: Situating the Literary Mind," in which articles "address the complex interrelation of evolved neurocognitive structures and contingent cultural en-





vironments with an eye to specific examples of cultural change” (Richardson and Steen 5).<sup>4</sup>

This analysis of literary meaning-making via the tension between embodied universals (biology) and contextual variables (culture) is an exciting and fruitful new departure for literary studies, especially for scholars interested in pre-modern literatures. The representation of consciousness in earlier literary texts, for example, is one area where some exceptionally interesting insights have been presented.<sup>5</sup> Scholars are asking questions such as:

How does the embodied mind show up in earlier texts, and what cultural factors are at work to cause it to show up in the precise way that it does? (Jackson 175)

As yet, Cognitive Literary Studies as an approach has barely touched Anglo-Saxon scholarship or medieval studies, which leaves a range of opportunities for new research in the field. Scholars analysing Old English texts might consider embracing the opportunities of “delineating the models of mental operations that influenced writers working in earlier historical periods” (Richardson and Steen 6). Ellen Spolsky has identified the study of diachronic variability as a core potential of Cognitive Literary Studies:

One of the hardest questions indeed turned out to be how it is that literary systems (both of production and interpretation) change through time, leaving us in the situation of being able to read and appreciate *Beowulf*, for example, but with no chance of that three-thousand-line poetic epic being written now. (“Cognitive” 164)

Spolsky demonstrates the important contribution to be made by the cognitive approach in seeking to understand how systems of literary meaning that rely on culturally-determined mental patterns are nevertheless intelligible beyond that immediate context of textual creation and reception. She argues that cultural patterns constrain human brains—that history mediates knowledge—but that generalised mental processes allow intelligibility to be retained despite cultural change (166). Cognitive Literary Studies provide a new way of viewing the inter-relationship of literary text and socio-historical context. Elsewhere, Spolsky has put into practice this approach, in her analysis of Chaucer’s *Nun’s Priest’s Tale* (Spolsky, “Why and How”), but remains one of the few scholars who interpret medieval literature with the cognitive approach.

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<sup>4</sup> The critique of this special issue of *Poetics Today* by Hans Adler and Sabine Gross, published in the following issue of *Poetics Today* 23.2 (2002): 195-220, was roundly critiqued itself by both Ellen Spolsky (*Poetics Today* 24.2 (2003): 161-83), and the editors of the special volume, Alan Richardson and Francis F. Steen (*Poetics Today* 24.2 (2003): 151-59).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the publications of Lisa Zunshine, mentioned above.



Another scholar who has touched on medieval vernacular literature is Mark Turner (“Cognitive” 10), who identifies what he had termed “conceptual blending” (now a significant idea in the cognitive field: “the mental operation of combining two mental packets of meaning”) in *The Dream of the Rood* (14-15). Turner treats the multiple blending of the Cross with an articulated expression of its history, the Cross with Christ, the dreamer and the Cross, and the Cross and a thane, in this poem, and as “a spectacular example of blending” (14). Turner demonstrates that value of applying the cognitive lens onto older texts, while himself stopping short of blending his own more broadly-focussed argument with either recent criticism on this poem or engaging with the text specifically. While a more complete cognitive literary analysis of this and other Old English texts remains to be done, Turner offers a timely reminder of what literary scholars, “highly attuned to the intricate workings of creativity, invention, language, visual representation, and the construction of meaning” (18) have to offer cognitive science.

By bringing ideas and methodologies from cognitive science, scholars might attempt to understand not only how the minds of Anglo-Saxon peoples worked and how they understood mental states and functions, but also the concomitant implications for textual production and the creation of linguistic meaning. While these and other questions must address themselves to the written products of this culture, clearly findings from cognitive psychology, evolutionary biology, and the history of ideas must be brought into play. With this opening up of the field, texts become key sources of information with relevance beyond their own immediate literary meaning. More specifically, scholars of Anglo-Saxon England might probe more fully early medieval theories of mind, and analyse individual vernacular texts or groups of texts for what they reveal about the life of the mind below the level of consciousness. This approach might entail interpreting how cognitive functions are understood, how mental states are represented, and how behaviour is explained in terms of assumed underlying mental states. This approach entails asking questions such as: “What sort of inferences regarding mental functioning are contained in the written texts?”; “How is meaning determined and constrained by assumptions about the mental state of the text’s recipient?”; and “To what degree are modern readers cognitively and culturally prepared in a way that differs from Anglo-Saxon readers?”

The poetic and prose texts produced in Anglo-Saxon England, especially the comparisons offered by translated texts and the associative logic of poetry, lend themselves to this type of analysis. For example, the tendency to refer to the mind rather than to the person as the site of emotion and the recipient of fate in Old English poetry<sup>6</sup> suggests not just a distinctly different conscious way of viewing human perception and the outcome of events from our own, but also an uncon-

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<sup>6</sup> For example, “min hyge geomor,” “my mind was sad” (*The Wife’s Lament*, line 17b); and “ne mæg werig mod wyrde wi”standan,” “the weary mind cannot withstand fate” (*The Wanderer*, line 15). Citations of Old English poetry are to the ASPR edition and translations are my own.

scious, culturally-determined mind schema that is both alien to us and yet sufficiently recognisable for the text to make sense to us. Indeed, the accessibility of the Old English idea is demonstrated by recent work on the philosophy of emotions that describes how emotions function in thought processes (Damasio). Similarly, by analogy with our own experience of conceptual blending, we are able to identify and comprehend the blends described by Turner of *The Dream of the Rood*, even though we might not use them ourselves in non-literary contexts, or certainly not in Old English. The Anglo-Saxon literary corpus, and in particular its fictional representations of consciousness, is readable to us, but only via the process of linguistic and cultural relocation that operates through translation into Present Day English. Nevertheless, a core degree of intelligibility remains, stemming from our temporal proximity to the Anglo-Saxons in terms of evolutionary biology, and because we share the human experience of an embodied mind and a hard-wired predisposition for narrative. This is not to discount the impact of literary training and the way our expectations are determined by prior reading experiences. We are accustomed, for example, to encountering fictionalised consciousnesses and shifting perspectives—even dream sequences and religious visions—in literary texts, and interpret them in this context.

Texts for which known Latin sources and analogues exist provide further insight into cross-cultural intelligibility and specific ideas and mental states underlying the transformation in the translation process. Culturally variable theories of knowledge, consciousness, and the emotions constrain the possibilities available in the translation process, just as the different lexicons and syntactic structure of the host and target languages constrain linguistic possibilities. Old English translated texts offer a wonderfully rich opportunity for exploring the mental processes at work in the interpretation and linguistic refashioning of a text, because they play out the act of meaning-making within cultural transformation. Old English literary translation is under-represented in scholarly endeavour to date; here is an additional reason to engage with this part of the extant corpus.

Some scholars would depict the future of Old English studies in a less than positive light. In addition to a continued commitment to the ongoing projects such as *The Dictionary of Old English*, and associated publications and editorial undertakings, and the growing exploration of Anglo-Latin literature, the future liveliness of Old English scholarship lies in developing fruitful and exciting new avenues of inquiry, such as those offered and just beginning to be explored via Cognitive Literary Studies. By continuing to exploit new transdisciplinary opportunities such as this one, Anglo-Saxon studies can remain relevant, interesting, and viable in our modern world and competitive academic context.

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THE *LACNUNGA* AND ITS SOURCES:  
*THE NINE HERBS CHARM* AND  
*WIÐ FÆRSTICE* RECONSIDERED

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ABSTRACT

Gods play a very minor role in Old English literature. No mythological tales have survived, and even short accounts of or mere allusions to pagan (major and minor) divinities are extremely rare. All that is left from the Anglo-Saxon period are two references to Woden in *Maxims I* and the *Nine Herbs Charm*, one mysterious occurrence of Ing in *The Rune Poem*, and an equally obscure description of shooting *esa* (*Æsir*), elves and *hægtessan* in the charm *Wið Færstice*. Given the sparsity of such references, we are well advised not to interpret them too quickly as cryptic manifestations of heathen myths. On the contrary, an examination of the two short 'myths' in the *Nine Herbs Charm* and *Wið Færstice* shows that both myths were created in their present form in the Christian era for the express purpose of transforming their supernatural protagonists into demonic, disease-inflicting beings that needed to be fought and destroyed.

KEY WORDS: Elves, *hægtessan*, witches, *Æsir*, valkyries, *dísir*, Woden, Furious Host, Baldr, elfshot Hexenschuss, smith(s).

RESUMEN

Los dioses juegan un papel menor en la literatura del inglés antiguo. Ningún cuento mitológico ha sobrevivido, e incluso relatos cortos o simples alusiones a divinidades paganas (mayores y menores) son extremadamente escasas. Todo lo que queda en la literatura anglosajona son dos referencias a Odín en *Maxims I* y el *Nine Herbs Charm*, una misteriosa mención de Ing en *The Rune Poem*, y una descripción igualmente oscura del disparo de *esa* (*Æsir*), elfos y *hægtessan* en el encantamiento *Wið Færstice*. Dada la falta de tales referencias, es preferible no interpretarlos apresuradamente como manifestaciones de mitos paganos. Por el contrario, un examen de los dos 'mitos' cortos *Nine Herbs Charm* y *Wið Færstice* muestran que ambos mitos fueron creados en su forma actual en la era cristiana con el propósito expreso de transformar a sus protagonistas sobrenaturales en seres demoniacos que provocaban la enfermedad y contra los cuales había que luchar y destruirlos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: elfos, *hægtessan*, brujas, *Æsir*, valkirias, *dísir*, Odín, anfitrión furioso, Baldr, Hexenschuss, herrero(s).



Gods play a very minor role in Old English literature. No mythological tales have survived, and even sporadic accounts of pagan (major and minor) divinities are sparse. All that is left from the Anglo-Saxon period are two references to Woden in *Maxims I* and the *Nine Herbs Charm*, one mysterious occurrence of Ing in *The Rune Poem*, and an equally obscure account of shooting *esa* (*Æsir*), elves and *hægtessan* in the charm *Wið Færstice*. Various possible reasons can be given for the absence of Anglo-Saxon mythological literature, such as a clerical intolerance of pagan stories and the destruction of an already deplete corpus during the Viking invasions. For the few references that have been left, we are, furthermore, well advised to heed Audrey Meaney's warning not to read "heathen memories into passages of poetic description which a more prosaic explanation would illuminate as well, if not better." The warning is certainly appropriate for the two so-called short myths presented in the *Nine Herbs Charm* and *Wið Færstice*. I will illustrate that both myths were created in their present form in the Christian era for the express purpose of transforming supernatural protagonists into demonic, disease-inflicting beings that were being displaced by the true God.

## THE NINE HERBS CHARM

As already mentioned, references to pagan gods, elves and witches are rare in the Anglo-Saxon written corpus. If they do occur, their referents have usually undergone a transformation into either humans or, worse, demons. Woden, for example, becomes a euhemerized royal ancestor in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, in the late-eighth century Anglian collection of genealogies and in a ninth-century West Saxon regnal list. But Woden also occurs in one charm, *The Nine Herbs Charm* in the tenth-century British Library, MS Harley 585:

Wyrm com snican,      toslat he man;  
 ða genam Woden      VIII wuldortanas,  
 sloh ða næddran,      þæt heo on VIII tofleah.  
 Þær geændade      æppel and attor,  
 Þæt heo næfre ne wolde      on hus bugan. (ll. 31-35)<sup>1</sup>

A serpent/worm came crawling, tore a man to pieces; then Woden took nine glorious twigs, slew the serpent/worm, so that it flew into nine pieces. There apple and poison brought it about that it would never enter the house.

After the invocation of the nine (or less?) herbs (Meaney 115) to fight poison, flying venom (*onflyge*) and "the hostile one that travels through the land" (*þam lapan ðe geond lond færð*), Woden is introduced as *næddra*-slayer: the god cuts

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<sup>1</sup> All translations of the Old English texts are my own.



the snake (or worm) into nine pieces with nine *wuldortanas*, which could be either twigs, perhaps with the names of the herbs carved in runes in them, or real weapons (with or without runes).<sup>2</sup> At first glance, this depiction could be an allusion to Woden's role as doctor. In the eddic *Hávamál* (st. 147) Óðinn knows a spell which physicians must know, and in the *Second Merseburg Charm*, Woden heals the dislocated leg of Baldr's horse. Furthermore, Karl Hauck has illustrated the god's role as magical healer on C-bracteates featuring Woden healing a horse. (Dobbie). Yet these parallels are inconclusive as far as the charm is concerned, since the god's destruction of the hostile snake turns out to be futile. True, apple and poison —most likely the serpent's own<sup>3</sup>— accomplish that the serpent does not enter the house (again). At the same time, however, the nine pieces of the adder transform into the nine poisons that then have to be fought by the nine herbs and the *real* (i.e. Christian) healer uttering the charm.<sup>4</sup> Instead of defeating evil, Woden spreads it in the end. If the poet, or compiler,<sup>5</sup> knew of an older myth featuring Woden as serpent-killer, he adjusted it drastically in order to highlight the futility of pagan (magical) healing efforts. Nevertheless, it is even more likely that the poet invented the whole myth to discredit Woden's former role as healer. Woden's role is then used to explain the origins of disease: by killing the snake, Woden has released the personified, hostile poisons to be fought by the equally personified benevolent herbs. This second role certainly stands in stark contrast to Christ's crucifixion mentioned in the following lines of the charm: Christ's sacrifice created eternal life for man; Woden's act only spreads death.

## WIÐ FÆRSTICE/ FOR A SUDDEN STITCH

Woden's role in the *Nine Herbs Charm* is thus not at all as positive as has often been assumed. Indeed, his marginalization corresponds very well to the demonization of lesser supernatural beings, such as the mysterious females with names ending in —*runa* and, of course, the elves. Elves were notorious casualties of

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<sup>2</sup> The interpretation of *wuldortanas* as magical twigs was first given by Storms: "Crowning the achievements of the herbs Woden himself comes to their assistance against the hostile attack of the evil one. He takes nine glory-twigs, by which is meant nine runes, that is, nine twigs with the initial letters in runes of the plants representing the power inherent in them, and using them as weapons he smites the serpent with them" (195). For an alternative rendering of *wuldortanas* as rods or even swords, see Bremmer 412-15.

<sup>3</sup> In *Solomon and Saturn II* (Dobbie 38-48), the wulf's slayer of twenty-five dragons has similar catastrophic consequences. Here the killing causes the rise of poisonous creatures that make the region of the conflict inhabitable (ll. 220-22).

<sup>4</sup> See also Grattan and Singer. (53).

<sup>5</sup> Given the different nature of the various parts of the charm, it is possible that the charm consists of various lays. In this case, a compiler juxtaposed the invocation of the herbs with Woden's feat and the reference to Christ's crucifixion.



the Christianization process. Scholars have argued that Anglo-Saxon elves, like their Scandinavian counterparts, had once been neutral beings who could either aid or turn against humans. This tradition of amoral elves is certainly very different from the Christian notion of them as malignant beings responsible for both physical disease and demonic possession. The three *Leechbooks* and the *Lacnunga* list a variety of remedies against elfshot, (water) elf disease ([*wæter*] *alfadle*), elf-influence (*ælfside*), or simply the elfin race (*ælf*, *ælfcynn*),<sup>6</sup> and in almost all cases, the remedies are herbal drinks and salves prepared in a more or less Christian ritual. For the Christian authors, elves belonged to the devil's domain. If a person was afflicted by elves, recovery could only be brought about with the destruction of their malignant spiritual influence.

The charm *Wið Færstice* confirms the negative attitude towards elves. Here elves, together with *Æsir* and *hægtessan*, are nothing more than antagonistic beings intent upon inflicting bodily pain:<sup>7</sup>

Wið færstice feferfuige and seo reade netele, ðe þurh ærn inwyxð, and wegbrade; wyll in buteran.

Hlude wæran hy, la, hlude, ða hy ofer þone hlæw ridan,  
wæran anmode, ða hy ofer land ridan.  
Scyld ðu ðe nu, þu ðysne nið genesan mote.  
Ut lytel spere, gif her inne sie!  
Stod under linde, under leohtum scylde,  
þær ða mihtigan wif hyra mægen beræddon  
and hy gyllende garas sændan;  
ic him oðerne eft wille sændan,  
fleogende flane forane togeanes.  
Ut, lytel spere, gif hit her inne sy!  
Sæt smið, sloh seax,  
lytel iserna, wund [MS]<sup>8</sup> swiðe.  
Ut, lytel spere, gif her inne sy!  
Syx smiðas sætan, wælspera worhtan.  
Ut spere, næs in, spere!  
Gif her inne sy isernes dæl,  
hægtessan geweorc, hit sceal gemyltan.  
Gif ðu wære on fell scoten oððe wære on flæsc scoten  
oððe wære on blod scoten  
oððe wære on lið scoten, næfre ne sy ðin lif atæsed;  
gif hit wære esa gescot oððe hit wære ylfa gescot  
oððe hit wære hægtæssan gescot, nu ic wille ðin helpan.

<sup>6</sup> For the *Lacnunga* texts, Grattan and Singer 108-111, no. xxix, *alfside*, no. cxxxv, elfshot, no. clxiv, elfshot. i.lxiv *ælfside*, ii. lxxv.1, elfshot, ii. lxxv.5, *ælf*, iii.xli, *ælfside*, iii.lxi, *ælfcynn*; iii.lxii, *alfadl*; iii.lxiii, *wæter alfadl*. For a discussion of the remedies against elvish influence, Jolly 146-167.

<sup>7</sup> "For a Sudden Stitch," Dobbie 122-23.

<sup>8</sup> Dobbie and other scholars emend to *wundrum*, but such emendation is not necessary. See below.



Pis ðe to bote esa gescotes, ðis ðe to bote ylfa gescotes,  
 ðis ðe to bote hægtessan gescotes; ic ðin wille helpan.  
 Fleoh þær \* \* \* on fyrgenheafde.  
 Hal westu, helpe ðin drihten!  
 Nim þonne þæt seax, ado on wætan.

Against a sudden stitch, feverfew and the red nettel, which grows into a house, and waybroad; boil in butter.

Loud they were, lo, loud, when they rode over the mound, they were resolute when they rode over the land. Shield yourself now, that you may escape this enmity/strife. Out, little spear, if you be in here. I/ he stood under the linden tree, under a light shield, where the mighty women deliberated about their power, and[,] screaming[,] spears sent; I will send another [one] back to them, a flying arrow from the opposite side, towards them. A smith sat, forged a knife, little iron, great wound. Six smiths sat, made slaughter-spears. Out, little spear, not in, spear! If a piece of iron be in here, the work of a hag, it must melt. If you were shot in the skin, or were shot in the flesh, or were shot in the blood, or were shot in the bone, or were shot in the limb, may your life never be injured; if it were Æsir's shot, or it were elves' shot, or it were hag's shot, now I will help you. This [be] your remedy for Æsir's shot, this your remedy for elves' shot, this your remedy for hag's shot; I will help you. Flee there \* \* \* on the mountaintop. Be whole, God help you!  
 Take then the knife, put into liquid.

The charm is interesting in several ways. Unlike the myth of Woden's fight with the worm in the *Nine Herbs Charm*, which had been appropriated or even created only to reject the deity, shooting witches and elves were most likely not the product of poetic creativity. Elfshot is a malady mentioned in another medical recipe (Cockayne 290-293), and the concept of shooting elves and witches can still be found in the Modern Scottish "elf-arrow" and Modern German *Hexenschuss*. No doubt, the Anglo-Saxons explained the occurrence of sudden sharp pain with an imagined missile attack by invisible supernatural beings, although it remains unclear whether this explanation is based on authentic mythological traditions, as Heather Stuart has assumed, or developed together with the demonization of the elves.<sup>9</sup> Eric Stanley's claim that our modern distinction between literal and metaphorical concepts should not be applied to the Anglo-Saxon mind is certainly valid.<sup>10</sup> No German today would think of a witch shooting at them with an arrow or spear when experiencing a *Hexenschuss*, yet for the Anglo-Saxons the sudden pain *was caused* by invisible malignant beings.

Even so, the myth given in the first part of the charm does not have to be authentic. The very fact that the identity of the attackers is so obscure should make us pause: who are those creatures riding over the land? Are they the *mibtigan wif*

<sup>9</sup> Stuart (318-320).

<sup>10</sup> E.G. Stanley (237-245).

“mighty women” of line 8, or are they counterparts to, if not identical with, the members of Woden’s Furious Host, who reappear as *esa* in lines 23 and 25? (Hauer 252-53). For Stanley Hauer, the riders, the mighty women and the smiths can be identified as the gods, witches and elves mentioned in lines 23 to 26a. Yet while the riders could be Æsir-like creatures and the mighty women could be hags, the identification of the smiths with elves in this charm remains tentative, as it is mainly based on the interpretations of two specific references in Icelandic texts: the legendary smith Vǫlundr is called *visi alfa* “prince of elves” in *Vǫlundarkviða* (st. 32), and Snorri Sturluson equates metal-working dwarves with *swartálfar* “black elves” in his *Gylfaginning*.<sup>11</sup> Evidence taken from another literary tradition is not conclusive, particularly when it is as scant as in this case. No metal-working elves are mentioned in the Scandinavian texts of the Viking Age, and even the one reference to Vǫlundr is open to interpretation. Should we take *visi alfa* in a literal sense (as is usually done), or could it not be merely a kenning expressing Vǫlundr’s supernatural nature? Furthermore, the kenning is used by Vǫlundr’s opponent King Niðuðr when asking the smith about his sons’ fate and may merely be an expression of the king’s spite for the smith. However this may be, the existence of a tradition of elfish smiths in Anglo-Saxon England remains very questionable.

Once the forging smiths are not necessarily elves, Hauer’s hypothetical equation of the noisy entities riding across the land with the Æsir becomes less convincing. In fact, the causal relationship between the activities of Woden’s furious host and the ailment can only be explained if the riders are the *míhtigan wif* who first advance on horseback and then attack the person standing under the linden tree—most probably the patient or the healer himself—with spears. Even then, however, does the identity of the *míhtigan wif* remain elusive. They could be either Hauer’s shooting witches whose former existence has survived in the word *Hexenschuss*, or they could be elves as “followers of Woden” and “humble relations of the valkyries.”<sup>12</sup> Alternatively, their nature also reminds us of the Scandinavian *dísir*, who occasionally turned against people as well.<sup>13</sup> The statement that they ride over a *hlew*, most likely a funeral mound, associates them with the dead, yet this association is possible for all three groups of supernatural beings. Given the general

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<sup>11</sup> In *Gylfaginning*, for example, Óðinn sends Freyr’s messenger Skinir down to *swartálfheimr* ‘world of the black elves’ to have dwarves make the fetter Gleipnir, with which the Fenriswolf is finally bound. Similarly, in *Skáldskaparmál*, Snorri relates how Loki, after having cut off Sif’s hair, has to obtain a new head of golden hair from the *swartálfum*: *eptir þat for Loki til þara dverga, er heita Ivallda synir, ok gerðu þeir haddin ok Skiðblaðni ok geirinn, er Óþin atti, er Gvngnir heitir*, ‘after that Loki went to the dwarves called Ivaldi’s sons, and they made the head of hair and Skiðblaðnir and Óðinn’s spear called Gvngnir’. For Snorri’s two texts, Jónssonm (36), (*Gylfaginning*) (122) (*Skáldskaparmál*).

<sup>12</sup> Stuart (320).

<sup>13</sup> A well-known narrative in which hostile *dísir* figure prominently is the story of Þiðrandi in *Þáttur Þiðrandi ok Þórballs* in *Flateyjarbók* I and *Formanna Sögur* (221-24 and note 15). Nine supernatural women called both *dísir* and *fylgiur* in the story attack and kill Þiðrandi for his and his companions’ openness towards the Christian faith.

nature of the myth and its Christian manuscript context, it is very likely that it has been re-invented simply as part of the healing ritual (Chickering 99). In other words, the narrative part of the charm is nothing more than an extensive metaphor that explains the occurrence of sudden sharp pain and its remedy in terms of an armed conflict between assaulting supernatural women and an equally aggressive healer.

The role of the smiths is even less certain than that of the *Æsir* and supernatural women. Are they the evil women's accomplices, or are they helpful aids to the speaker? Again, the Christian context of the charm is essential. As Minna Doskow points out, the final benediction reveals that the healing ritual can only be successful with God's help (Doskow 324-326). This clear division between good (Christian patient and healer) and evil (hostile supernatural beings) would certainly be undermined if six smiths are evil and one is benevolent.<sup>14</sup> It is more plausible that all members of the group are on the same side, and much speaks here in favour of that being the enemy side. First of all, the six smiths are the producers of *walsperas* "slaughter-spears," a kenning that expresses hostile intent. These spears then turn into the *gyllende garas* thrown by the noisy women. Furthermore, the single smith makes a *seax lytel* "little knife," which inflicts a *wund swiðe* "great wound." This murderous weapon makes it rather unlikely that the smith is benevolent. Even the assumption that this knife is identical with the one the healer dips into the concoction at the end of the charm fails to convince. After all, even if the knife were used for an incision, the resulting wound cannot be *swiðe*. Rather, the healer's knife is pitched against the evil power of this *seax lytel*, just as the healer fights the *gyllende garas* of the *mihtrigan wif* with another *gar*.

Given the Christian context of the charm's transmission, the association between evil forces and smiths is hardly surprising. Parallels can easily be drawn between the hot smithy and place of eternal fire, i.e. hell. In fact, Anglo-Saxon authors could be even more specific, as in the case of a twelfth-century Anglo-Saxon homily called by its editor "The Old English Honorius." In this homily, the devil becomes a smith, hell his hot smithy:

On swylcen wisen (þegneð) se deofol ure Drihtene. Hwu þegneð he him? For he nolde beon mid uren Drihtene on wuldre mid wele 7 mid blisse buten geswynce, þa geaf God him ane wica þæt he næfre ne byð (ge)swynceas, for he is smið, 7 his heorð is seo gedrefodnyse, 7 seo tynntrega. Ða hameres 7 þa beliges synden þa costninga, þa tangen synden ehteres, þa fielen 7 þa sagen synd þæra manna tungen, þe wyrceð hatunge betweenan heora emcristene, 7 bliðelice specað yfel. Ðurh swylcene smið 7 þurh swylce tol, geclænsað ure Drihten þære halgena sawlen, ac of þan yfela mannen God sylf nymð þa wræce (R.D-N Warner 141).

The devil serves our Lord in such ways. How does he serve him? Because he did not wish to be with our Lord in glory with prosperity and grace, without toil. God

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<sup>14</sup> Such division has been done by Stanley R. Hauer, who, however, allows the possibility that all smiths are evil.



gave him then one dwelling that he is never without labour, for he is a smith, and his hearth is trouble and torment. The hammers and the bellows are the temptations, the thongs are the persecutors, the files and the saws are the men's tongues which create hatred among their fellow Christians and happily speak evil. Through such a smith and through such instruments does our Lord cleanse the souls of the holy, but on the evil ones God takes vengeance himself.

The infernal connotations of the smith certainly make him a perfect companion of the evil pagan divinities, whose association with the devil was a commonplace in the religious literature of Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>15</sup> The re-invented myth of attacking demonic women and their infernal aids thus helped the healer to localize, marginalize and finally neutralize the source of the patient's pain.

In the end, anyone who tries to find sources for *The Nine Herbs Charm* and *Wið Færstice* will be disappointed. Although the writers of the charms could not have been ignorant of their ancestors' pagan religion, they did not transmit their knowledge in the way Snorri Sturluson later did in his *Prose Edda*. While Snorri reproduced many myths in a (suspiciously) systematic and objective fashion, the Anglo-Saxon writers used their knowledge for the invention of new myths. These myths, however, were only to discredit their divine protagonists in the new Christian era. Woden, elves, Æsir and witches were turned into disease-inflicting, malignant entities that needed to be destroyed in the everlasting battle between good and evil.

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<sup>15</sup> OE *deofol* and most of its derivatives and compounds were used for the false gods (*deofol*), or idolators and their practices (*deofollic*, *deofolgyld*, *deofolgylda*, *deofolgyld-hus*, *deofolscipe*, *deofolwitega*); see *The Dictionary of Old English 'D'*, svv. In his famous, Ælfric dismisses both the Roman gods and their Scandinavian counterparts and then concludes: *Se syrwienda deofol, þe swicað embe mancyn, / gebrohte þa hæþenan on þæt healice gedwyld, / þæt he swa fúle menn him fundon to godum / þe þa leahtras lufodan, þe liciað þam deofle, / þæt eac heora biggengan heora bysmor lufodan, / and ælfremede wurdan fram þam ælmihtigan Gode, / se ðe leahtras onscunað, and lufað þa clænnysse* (ll. 159-65) "The plotting devil, who deceives mankind, brought the heathens into that grievous heresy, so that they considered such foul men [their] gods, who loved vices that please the devil: that their worshippers also loved their disgrace and became estranged from the almighty God, who abhors vices and loves purity."

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# A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC EVALUATION OF THE GREAT MODAL SHIFT: AN OVERVIEW OF THE FEMALE APPROACH

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## ABSTRACT

The great modal shift is a semantic drift that took place in the Late Old English period and continued up to the Present-day, even though the official dates to its end are set in the 15th century. A group of Old English verbs undergoes a semantic colision leading to changes in their meaning as well as their syntax, since they are no longer full verbs, but auxiliaries. The contextual and situational factor that effected this process have not been thoroughly studied. Gendered relations within society and within the religious institutions prove relevant for the abovementioned shift, such as the Benedictine reform. Women as audience, as speakers and as producers (both economic wealth and written material —though women as authors and audience are now just beginning to be the subject matter of many studies. The literary voice of the Anglo-Saxon woman and her indirect role as audience led to changes in the modes of expression. There are, however, earlier periods with similar conditions and the study of possible copies of these early texts will lead us to a better knowledge of the female voice in this period.

KEY WORDS: Old English, Great Modal Shift, Benedictine reform, female voice, women as audience.

## RESUMEN

El gran cambio modal es una colisión semántica entre varios verbos del inglés antiguo que continúan desde el 900 hasta el siglo xv. La colisión semántica da lugar a cambios en su significado y en su sintaxis de tal manera que se convierten de verbos con pleno significado en auxiliares. El entorno contextual y situacional tiene que ver con las relaciones de género, tanto socialmente como institucionalmente dentro de la iglesia; un ejemplo es la reforma benedictina. La mujer como parte del auditorio, como hablantes y como productoras (económicamente y literariamente —su autoría de libros siempre en duda). La voz literaria de la mujer anglosajona y su papel indirecto como auditorio causaron cambios en los modos de expresión. Períodos más tempranos contextualmente similares no han sido estudiados a este respecto.

PALABRAS CLAVE: inglés antiguo, gran cambio modal, reforma benedictina, voz femenina, mujer as auditorio.



The study of Old English in all its aspects is not exclusively dependent upon the observation of strictly or internal linguistic issues. Its linguistic contextualization as well as its historical background offers as much information on its structure, communicative patterning and evolution. In order to study any Old English linguistic change, we must always resort to a profound historical knowledge of the period and a contextualization of the particulars that exert a pressure upon those language patterns, be they morphological, syntactic or semantic. This will provide us with the reasons for language change. No change in language takes place in isolation (Milroy) but within a complex set of relations; social, political, and others. Several are the linguistic trends that make an emphasis on this, but this point of view is not restricted to the study of language, other disciplines such as history and economic history relate the progress of human interaction to feature other than those strictly within the limits of the discipline, not being exactly a positioning in favour of an interdisciplinary approach; one example is M. Bloch's definition of mental climate (qtd. Farmer and Rosenwein 3), which is developed out of the study of economic history.

A. Harbus, positioned on the cognitive approach, quotes E. Spolski in observing that one of the most relevant subject matters for the study of Old English literature is based on the change of the literary artifact as regards both "production and interpretation." The disclosure of the text depends "on culturally determined mental patterns [which] are nevertheless intelligible beyond that immediate context of textual creation and reception (166)." Later on she makes reference to Richardson and Steen (6) in that students of Old English texts consider the possibility of "delineating the models of mental operations that influenced writers working in earlier historical periods." The relevance of these points of view can be examined in the study of the literature of the period. Changes in modes of expression and language stylistics are, obviously, directly connected to those "culturally determined social patterns." One pertinent issue is to what extent our reception of literature in its historical context allows the disclosure of the text and opens up our knowledge, even unconsciously, of the textual creation, leading us to a more intuitive associated with cultural and contextual premise. She further gives an estimate on Turner's as to the relevance of "creativity, invention, language and visual representation, and the construction of meaning" (18). This is particularly valuable for our study, since the semantic changes to be studied in this paper are an exponent of this "construction of meaning."

Other approaches on the development or understanding of contextual and situational standpoints in disciplines such as history and historical/philological research have been written by Patterson, Spiegel, Fleischman and others. These perspectives are appealing for the history of the language and the relationship between cultural and historical events and changes on the linguistic structure and the linguistic behaviour of a speech community. Spiegel (3) makes reference to concepts that, even though subjacent in historical revisions, have not been explicitly taken into account for historical research, and the same could be said of the history of the language: "causality, change, authorial intent, stability of meaning, human agency, and social determination." The contextual/situational analyses provide informa-

tion about the linguistic state of affairs and interaction, but most of all, they account for the socio-linguistic explanation of both changes and patterning. This contextual/situational course of action (evaluation process in Labovian terminology) has been primarily studied by socio-linguistic perspectives, but if the historical setting is not well accounted for, much information will be lost in a historical study of the language or any study on medieval philology.

From the viewpoint of New Philology, Patterson, quoting Derrida, believes that:

Deconstruction is not a presence but an effect of presence created by textuality. There is no *hors texte*, and in trying to discover the historically real we enter a labyrinthine world that not only forecloses access to history in its original form but calls into question its very existence as an object of knowledge. For Deconstruction, writing absorbs the social context into a textuality that is wholly alienated from the real. (59)

The opposite can also be said. The textualisation of the study of history and language evolution leaves out information that is so relevant that an explanation of linguistic change is not only limited, but also partial. Language is not used in isolation and the impact exerted upon it throughout its interaction will always have a profound effect on the direction of change.

From the historical point of view, the first, and probably germane, trait to be deemed correlates with the settling of Anglo-Saxon missions on the continent in order to propitiate the Christianization of German heathen nations, even though many of those missionaries lacked formal education. Eckenstein (1-8) comments on the moving of the Anglo-Saxon church to the continent, where Boniface, self-appointed Bishop<sup>1</sup> (Wynfred), and other members of the church set missions by the 6th and 7th centuries among the non-Christian Germans. The areas in which Boniface's missions settled run from the areas leading to the Rhine, Bavaria and Switzerland. Areas which, as we will see later on, could have been motivated by certain heretic movements<sup>2</sup> and ideas whose introduction in England could have

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<sup>1</sup> "They were liberal in tolerating heathen practices, and ignorant of matters of ritual and creed which were insisted on in the Church of Rome. The bishops, who were self-appointed, were won over by the promise of recognising the title to which they laid claim, but the difficulty remained of weaning them from their objectionable practices. Efforts were accordingly made to reconvert the converted districts and to bring some amount of pressure to bear on the clergy" (Eckenstein 119).

<sup>2</sup> These seem to have been related to the role of women in religious practices. Vasiliev: "The Bogomil myth contains some remote echo about a bigger sin of the woman during the fall: women have incarnated the souls of the angels of second heaven /angelo secundi coeli/, while men have incorporated the souls of the angels of the first heaven /angelo primi coeli/. This theologically motivated equality in the material life was supported by an equality in ritual —women had the right to be ordained and shrive. Some visible changes that had occurred in the image of the Holy Virgin in the Orthodox and Catholic interpretation were provoked by the Bogomil consideration of the woman:

– full participation in religious ritual,



taken place by means of the correspondence among Boniface and several nuns, abbesses and other religious women. This implies that they were literate, learned women, who had access to knowledge<sup>3</sup> and an important question arises in this context regarding modes of expression and communicative interaction, both as interlocutors or as audience, since these letters and the interaction they represent must take into account that the interlocutors were women, and it is a well-known linguistic canon that the message is dependent on the interlocutor as well as other constituent such as topic, context, and so on.

It is important to keep in mind that, even though Rome did not commune with these missionaries' custom to accept heathen practices; however, the rejection of some of these nation's kings, distrustful of Christianity,<sup>4</sup> shut down many missions,

Two years later Boniface went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where the idea of bringing his energies to assist in the extension of Papal influence originated. The Pope furnished him with a letter in which he is directed to reclaim the faithless, and armed with this he travelled in the districts of the Main. But as soon as the news of the death of Radbod the Frisian reached him he went to Utrecht, where Willibrord [his pupil] had returned. (Eckenstein 719)

His trip to Rome gained him Rome's favour, and this will ultimately lead to the abandonment of the Irish religious tradition and the rise of a new institutional relation within the church.

As mentioned before, he had extensive correspondence with several nunneries in England, due to the problematic situation they were going through. Only his letters are preserved, but from them we can extract what the situation was for many women, nuns in the present circumstances, though it must not be forgotten that the cognitive, social or political role of these women also implied that women themselves had a part in matters recurrently excluding them and restricted to men.<sup>5</sup> In some of the letters, the condition of female religious, mostly in those kingdoms

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- the right to engage in literary activities,
  - a changed attitude of the official church regarding women, brought about by their emancipation in Bogomil communities" (325).

Later on (1143), he comments on the 10th century: "The heretics absolve themselves, though they are tied up with devilish fetters. This is done not only by the men but also by the women which is worthy of castigation."

<sup>3</sup> He requests the works of Peter to be sent to him by them, and this implies that they were either economically prominent or that they could actually copy them themselves. Theories supporting the latter have come out lately.

<sup>4</sup> One example is the King of Frisia, Radburn, who closed down many missions and expelled the missionaries. Many documents were lost in this manner, and this might be the reason why only Boniface's letters are preserved and not his interlocutor's. Though we know about them.

<sup>5</sup> Many of these religious women were learned women, he asked from one of them Eadburg "Often," he says, Gifts of books and vestments, the proofs of your affection, have been to me a consolation in misfortune. So I pray that you will continue as you have begun, and write for me in



in which heathen kings ruled (northern counties), their distrust towards Catholicism led them to set regulations forbidding female travel. Sexual harassment within convents and nunneries was common and they were defined as objects of sexual “nature.” One recurrent topic in many letters is the necessity for these nuns to leave England, which led them to resort to the authority of bishops of the English church, in this case Boniface, who could give them permission to go abroad.

Eckenstein (716-756) remarks on the position of women following Boniface correspondence:

The desire to go southward was strengthened among religious women by the increasing difficulties of their position at home. Monastic privileges were no longer respected by the kings of Mercia and Northumbria, and the Church lacked the power of directly interfering in behalf of monks and nuns. (125)

In view of this, by the 6th and 7th centuries, religious women were in an extremely complex state of affairs, one that would go on to have a resolution only through the 8th century internal turmoil and warfare. King Ælfred’s wars in the 9th century and his daughter Æðelflæd’s later on. The result of these wars was not just one of christianizing. The loss of men in war and the need for women to take part in the political, social and economic matters probably led to novel guiding principles position, which would be reverted afterwards, as a historical constant with their inclusion or exclusion of concrete settings, which had political interests as the only motive, but many moral excuses as explicit explanations.

716 Her Osred Norþanhymbra cyning wearþ ofslægen, se hæfde .vii. winter rice æfter Aldferþe; þa feng Coenred to rice, 7 heold .ii. gear; þa Osric 7 heold .xi. gear; 7 on þam ilcan gear Ceolred Miercna cyning forþferde, 7 his lic restep on Licetfelda, 7 Æþelrædes Pendinges on Bearddanigge; 7 þa feng Æþelbald to rice on Mercium, 7 heold .xli. wintra Æþelbald was Alweoing, Alweo Eawing, Eawa Pybing, þæs cyn is beforan awriten; 7 Ecgbyrht se arwierþa wer on Hii þam ealonde þa munecas on ryht gecierde. þæt hie Eastron onryht heoldon, 7 þa ciriclecan scare. (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*)

716 At this point Osred, King of the Northumbrians, who ruled for seven winters after Aldferþe was murdered; then Cenred succeeded to the kingdom and ruled for two years; then Osric and ruled for seven years; then Osric ruled for nine years; and that same year Ceolred, king of the Mercian died, and his body rests in Licetfelda, and Æþelræd’s of the Pendinges in Bearddanigge; and Æþelbald succeeded to the kingdom of Mercia, and ruled for fourty one winters, Æþelbald was followed by Alweoing, Alweo Eawing, Eawa Pybing of this king has been written before; and Ecgbyrht the revered man who quarrelled with them and the monks

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gold characters the epistles of my master, the holy apostle Peter, to the honour and reverence of holy writ before mortal eyes while I am preaching, and because I desire always to have before me the words of him who led me on my mission...” (Eckenstein 123).

over the right of the land. So that they held Eastron unrightfully, and the clerics ploughshared. [My own translation]

By the year 900, a semantic change started to materialize, probably due to pioneering circumstances, at least for religious and aristocratic women in the country. The Great Modal Shift, as hypothesised by E.C. Traugott, was the result of a semantic clash among several Old English verbs, all of them belonging to the anomalous or irregular groups. In a previous paper (Expósito), a connection was established between this semantic change and changes in the cultural context and the situation in which it initiated. A historical background does not just imply the event that ensues at the moment in which a specific linguistic change occurs, but also other less tangible effects that are the result of the human decisions being taken when such a shift is generated. Thus, related to the construct of the subject in Late Anglo-Saxon England, a phenomenon known as the Great Modal Shift emerges in such a background in which, despite arguments towards the existence or not of such a concept in this period (it was obviously there), such situational/contextual affairs that were not part of the social reality for the historical and communicative act (Bloch's "mental climate"), are left out. The Anglo-Saxon human being does feel as individual as any other subject and is aware of identity and self.

Three main aspects should be born in mind *a propos* The Great Modal Shift: the construct of the subject, observed linguistically in the ways and manner of expression, the gendered relations within society, including power relations, and, finally, the changing political situation which opens up new cultural contexts for women both as thinkers and active producers. They are a new kind of audience and they produce and read literature, an activity that, solely based on traditional literary standards on the role of the Anglo-Saxon woman, both as passive and active participants in their society (as peace-weaver, mother, and ring giver, but most of all as listener and speaker of the voice of their world's society, not their own), would completely take us by surprise. When we read Anglo-Saxon literature, the most salient characteristic of the female persona is that she has to speak in order to keep peace, though the term peace —weaver does not make reference to this, but to the fact that they were married to opposing nations in order to prevent war, they were hostages. Their speech is the one expected of them by their social group and, even though, at times they have been considered some kind of "councillor"; the role of their speech seems more biased towards the preservation of the status quo as queens, Wealtheow is one example, whose speeches introduce good advice, concern for her future and are structurally related to the passages in which Grendel's mother appears. She represents the opposite role to of that Grendel's mother or Judith. These are not peace-weavers and their behaviour is inclined to spaces traditionally restricted to men. They are warriors, they fight and take revenge, unlike Wealpeow, and there are sexual overtones in their behaviour in battle. Wealpeow is not the only woman evidenced as having attained a certain degree of political power in Germanic societies, so far *Æðelflæd* has been mentioned. She could have influenced a more modern construction of the Anglo-Saxon woman's role, dissimilar from the didactic ones taught through the extant texts and historically attested, as well.



Gardner (2), in dealing with Wealþeow's character, quotes several studies as regards the female voice. Marijane Osborn remarks about the Earlier Germanic literary conspectus exhibiting the idea that one of the social responsibilities of women was to speak (in the manner of a councillor) to her husband in the marital setting as well as it was their duty to do so within the family and to each man within their environment (58), her active role is in any case that of peace-weaver within the group (Butler 779); this role is not so dependent upon trust in their words, but rather a means to spread their social status. Frederic Amory and Pat Belenof note that "The reason that the primitive Germans attended the counsels and sayings of their women (as *Tacitus* reports) was presumably that the women's utterances were regarded as inspired rather than as especially 'intelligent'" (533). Marilynn Desmond further comments that "standard literary histories for the Anglo-Saxon period do little to acknowledge the presence and tremendous importance of women in Anglo-Saxon culture, as authors, characters, or voices" (575); the social role of women within the social construct has been studied by Jenny Jochens, Marijane Osborn, Gillian Overing, Helen Damico, and others. Desmond adds that "every member of Anglo-Saxon culture was measured by his or her social bonds within the kinship networks of the community" (584).

Miranda Green, as regards water, refers to the fact that it is "seen as the foci of the life-force," and that "Water represented liminal space, locations at the interface of earthly and supernatural worlds" (89). Craig Davis comments that water is a representation of the underworld (Davis 93) and it is only natural to wonder whether its connection to the female world is another means to relate women to *Yfel*, since associations with the female art of prophecizing are constantly made. Wealtheow in *Beowulf* is considered a visionary spirit; however, whether Wealtheow's speech about new disasters on Heorot or her concern for the future of her offspring's inheritance does not come out of fear of powerlessness, or even the awareness that her failure as peace-weaver will be her own failure and a subsequent return to her people, as in the Hildeburh episode. Another relevant question is related to her position of power. Wealtheow is not the first woman attested as having political power in certain Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

At the turn of the 10th century, as a result of social and religious changes, the Benedictine reform brings back up a completely innovative state of affairs for women, thus accounting for the continuation of a linguistic change such as the Great Modal Shift. The possible impact in England due to the contact with the continental missions could have brought about the previously mentioned significance of women as early as the 10th century and even later. Obviously, this did not ensue in isolation, but within a social context, such is the aforementioned Benedictine Rule, which obviously brought about changes for the Church and its people; one of considerable relevance is the role of women in the reformation (Robertson) and women's role as audience (Jayatilaka), which implies an altogether dissimilar position for the role of women in the Church. *The Rule of Benedict* was translated into Old English ca. 960-70 by the Bishop of Winchester, Aethelwold, and he includes a feminine version (not extant, though a Middle English 13th-century version is preserved) as well as a masculine one. Layers of socio-cultural mixture emerge giving rise to the construct of the female subject, which will not turn out to



be uninterrupted, with regular and constant drawbacks, socially and politically stimulated. A significant outcome was precisely the higher social emancipation of women. A linguistic proof of this is that the translations introduce feminine or gender neutral components as regards the addressed audience.

E. Treharne comments on Ælfric's misogyny, and, most outstandingly on the way in which he changes his translations of the *Saints' Lives* to fit a socio-political rejection of women as well as an individual one; women are considered the incarnation of all evil, and even in those cases in which the original Latin text offers a positive view of the female saint or observer of the miracle, he adapts it, either as a result of observance to patronage or as his own individual point of view. This is at least surprising, since *Saints' Lives* tended to be contextualised in many ways in Anglo-Saxon England (Damico, Expósito, Treharne) in order to get closer to the audience, after all the northern territories were not at all completely christened. What sort of mental climate produces such an opposite reaction to the textualised one, pagan or christened? Is it Ælfric's own attitude for the the male patron's need? This is in complete opposition to the fact "that women could bequeath land in this period" (Treharne 204, note 23) "in spite of a common association of land and wealth with men" (Treharne 194). The wars Ælfric had to face against his pagan adversaries would raise economic need, mostly in the hands of men, and this could be an answer to Ælfric's attitude towards women, an obvious intention to obtain sympathy and wealth from his male audience. However, by the 13th century literate women still existed, despite the fact that several nunneries had been closed down.

The progress of this semantic change materialized from OE to PDE through the three main periods traditionally mentioned as relevant for the development of the construct of subject. In the late Old English and early stages of Middle English, there was constant grammatical and lexical-semantic variation, however, the study of the semantic values of these verbs correlating with the socio-historical situation has never been noticed.

The drift indicates that the cultural trends that were to come were closely connected to the progression of this construct. The commutability of perspectives defined by Patterson (367 ff) and Aers in their accounts of subjectivity in the late Middle English Period and the early Modern one is also recalled by Rumsey and Benveniste as crucial to the subjective construct, which they believe to be founded first in language (Rumsey 172) rather than in human linguistic interaction. Benveniste, in any case, "presupposes that the incumbents of those roles have wants and desires" (qtd. Rumsey 172) but he also states that the speaker role is more relevant than the hearer's, even though, the role of the audience is relevant in Old English texts, since this is not a speaker oriented language.

The role of the audience in a language such as Old English will differ, since it is not speaker-oriented.<sup>6</sup> The abovementioned facts are unluckily the outcome of

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<sup>6</sup> A listener oriented language has specific features such as the presence of declensions, a listener oriented language is characterised by aspects that make the message clearer for the listener.



a research that has lacked a deep observation of the speech interaction under study, lack of attention to several variables and most important of all, lack of attention to contextual and situational issues, such as emotional ones, as those defined by Milroy as network ties, mental constructs and cultural climates. Erussard quotes Patrick Diehl's comments (67-72) in relation to the use of singular and plural first person pronouns and viewed their function as related to the orality of the text and to the amount of reading public. A. Rumsey considers the utilization of pronouns as marker of the personal awareness of the individual; in child psychology, the development of their role leads to the distinction between the I (first person singular) and others. Rumsey remarks, following Piaget, that the child's interaction with the physical world is prior to interpersonal awareness. The next stage is relevant for the construct of subjectivity in several languages, all of which signify the development of several modal constructions and meanings, such as imperative, locative, hortative, jussive, present progressive and others: "amodal" perception (Stern qtd. Rumsey 174) to participate in a process of mutual "attunement" with others (Stern, Trevarthen, and Aitken quoted Rumsey 174).

[...] the new research supports a more layered model of senses of self, and of self-with-other, in which both of these are present at every phase of growth, and develop simultaneously in relation to each other, so that, for example, when language and verbal skills begin to develop, it opens up a radically new domain of relatedness to others and of self-reflexivity, and also new kinds of gaps between self and other, and between different aspects of the experience of self. (Stern qtd. Rumsey 174)

Subjectivity is expressed linguistically by means of modality, lexico-grammatical categories and semantic distinction of various types in the case of English<sup>7</sup>: "emphasis" ("do"), "obligation" ("shall"), "point of view" ("may," "might," "would" and "should") are late Old English developments. The main verbs involved in the Great Modal Shift are *sceal* and *willan*, *magan* and *motan*. *Sceal* and *motan* begin their evolution by the year 900 and that by the 15th and 16th centuries had lost the meaning of "obligation" with a whole restructuring of the system. Thus "shall": "obligation," "necessity" > "promise," "resolve" > "prediction"; and for "will": "want," "desire" > "volition" > "promise," "resolve" > "prediction." As a matter of fact, the "compulsion" meaning in "shall" and "will" in the 16th century has been frequently related to the religious domain. And this may also be so in earlier periods such as the 10th century when a new social situation arises for women. This historical

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<sup>7</sup> And these categories in the form of these verbs or other means is a relevant factor to the study of women's voice during the Anglo-Saxon period (a project on its way) in which the starting hypothesis might be whether the use of these patterns varies between male and female characters, via the narrator's voice, as a sort of anchor modes of expression. Are there semantic gendered related differences among these verbs in the Old English translation at earlier stages? Hopefully, an oncoming project will tell.



moment gave women a much more important role in religion and society in general, as well as a rise to a new position for women, who would now, as in the 6th and 7th centuries be members of the scribal status. This gives way to a new understanding of women's role on the part of the official church. Nunneries are set up and a considerable compendium of literary works addressed to women is written; such are "Hali Maidhad," "Seinte Margarete," "Sawles Warde," "Ancrene Wisse," etc, written in the A-B language (the only "standard" of the Early Middle English Period.<sup>8</sup> This may be considered one of the standpoints for the development of The Great Modal Shift, since this effect is dated earlier in England. Thus, this will lead to the need of new ways of expression from the linguistic point of view.

Vasiliev concludes on Bella Millet's and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne's commentaries on two facts related to later texts and the need for new ways of expression. These innovative linguistic interaction correlates with a novel role of women within the church and has certain connections with French and Latin more contemporary styles:

they placed women in an equal position. On their part, the cultural activities of women brought about more mildness, mercy, elegance, psychological depth, a deeper interest in literature. Modes and behaviour become milder, to be elegant in manners was a fact of prestige could lead to a greater understanding of the social interaction in those societies and this to a better knowledge of linguistic interaction. (Vasiliev 332)

The aim of this work is to give an insight of the contextual situational factors that led to the Great Modal Shift.<sup>9</sup> In this case, the analysis of these features is historically linked to ongoing religious institutionalisation and, significantly on the role of women within society. Lees and Overing refer to the concept of misogyny (21) and the role of women is based on the maxim "*mulier est traditio*," and this implies the use in Old English of a series of verbs concerning the social duties of women in the Anglo-Saxon society. These are represented by "seal" and its counterparts.

Some female characters have been viewed as representing a negation of the negation of the self in the Old English literary texts. Erussard comments on *Elene*

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<sup>8</sup> It is important to keep in mind that textual production in Old English was still taking place in the North by the 12th century (Swan and Treharne).

<sup>9</sup> Impersonal constructions of the type *me þuhte*, *me semed*, and their evolution can be considered another linguistic structure closely related to the evolution of speakers attitudes in their communicative interaction. From the historical point of view, these constructions date from the Old English period, and they undergo a historical process of profound interest that lasts until the Early Modern English Period and later disappear. It is obvious that these constructions are related to the direct expression of thought. Therefore, the fact that they are left out of the linguistic schemata will probably be related to political situations in which freedom of speech was not so much within the reach of the common speaker, as well as discussions about the correct manner of expression, which could develop a weak tie within the community, from the sociolinguistic point of view.

that both stylistic and language structures employed by Cynewulf are a way to characterise the literary persona towards a negation of the self. As he introduces her status rather than her name in mentioning her, he seems to reproduce, as the heroic epithet does, a means to bring her features to the fore: “Elene is called a modor (mother) only once” (45). The duality between her character and Judas’s through their speech style proves impersonality and negation of self, she elicits “elaborate, impersonal use of paronomasia” (54), Judas, on the other hand, expresses himself as personal even with his treatment of pronouns, her character tends to include the imperative as a queen by ordering and commanding, he, on the contrary, begs. This negation of the self expressed by Cynewulf through the omission of personal pronouns and an impersonal speech style is a sign of saintliness. These features served the diffusion of the ideal image of royal saints (as opposed to martyrs and hermits), conspicuous by this period. The twofold facet of the female roles to be noted in both stereotypes is ever present in the cultural background and will influence language, both in literary characterisation and also as a meaningful semantic expression.

In earlier literature Grendel’s mother is an example of change in the construct of female identity. She is an outsider in the Germanic societies, and at the same time she is a female undertaking tasks generally restricted to men in that society (Chance). There are other female characters in the Junius MS that break those apparent rules in which the female role was that of “mulier-est” (*sceal*), such as Judith, who took revenge on Holofernes. Gilchrist comments as regards the ability of women to bring about change:

Discourse analysis (Foucault 1979) considers the social construction of femininity and masculinity, for example, through classifications of the body, and gender as a relationship structured by power. This approach has been criticised for under-emphasising the role of individual agency and the ability to bring about change (Komter 1991) [...] (16) Hence the “duality of structure” links material culture with structure, agency, and the potential for social change. (13-14)

The categories of mood and modality are then relevant for the evolution (in language acquisition contexts) as well as part of the evolution of the subjective concept in a language. These are not the only relevant elements “demonstratives, adverbs, and adjectives, which organize the spatial and temporal relationships around the “subject” taken as referent... the I which is proclaimed in the discourse” (Benveniste, qtd. Rumsey 175). The concept of self is then defined as one in which individual awareness is a growing feeling among human beings. This is not a material concept but one in which the self could be understood rather as the stage of transcending the physical into the psychological or even religious correlation of being.

Both hypotheses are formulated by Farmer and Rosenwein as autonomous and at a time unitary, since they both flow within the same conceptual paradigm and place the self within a complex of language and space, a non-autonomous unit in this respect: the interaction of elements that take part in a complex relationship that gives form to the text, the fact that the medieval mentality did not conceive space within its understanding of the world. Spence, on the contrary, establishes a



close connection between textual realities and emotional development. This construct of the subject has an important influence on the way they communicate, though it also seems clearly related to the social and political role of women throughout the period; they correlate with each other, one is related to the contextual/situational world, and the other to the mental states founded in such historical changes. The evidence that the roles of women and the construct of the subject have proved relevant for constant modification in the society of the period as well as in their modes of expression, both structurally and thematically is undeniable, and these facts have served as the trigger for several linguistic changes, that up to now had been only explained from the internal linguistic point of view, leaving aside the component and interactions that led to them. The effect on language is not just sporadic, since these transformations take place through considerable historical periods. The need to adapt modes of expression to new contextual and linguistic processes is natural to any adjustment within human interaction, social, political, historical or emotional, if awareness of self can be considered so. A further study, as mentioned above of the semantics of these verbs at earlier stages is needed in view of the social position of women in many circumstances.

From the 6th century onwards the settlement of mission on the Continent by English priests brought into contact perspectives as to the role of women in society. In the northern areas the circumstances were not easy for religious women, first due to the distrust of the kings of those parts of the country, and secondly because these imposed rules and harassed them. In any case, these are the areas in which much of the correspondence with Boniface could have introduced heathen customs and practices. One of them could have been the ones mentioned by Vassiliev as regards the role of women within church and within society, pertinent to the study of a Late Old English semantic change: the Great Modal Shift. The evolution of the English Modal has been studied from the 900 up to the present, however, there is one field that in view of this historical/contextual information could be of great interest and this is the study of these verbs at those earlier stages. Erussard mentions the “mulier est” Latin tradition, translated *sceal* in Old English, but this has not been studied in earlier texts and translations in order to observe the actual semantic values that *sceal* and the other verbs included in the Great Modal Shift since they underwent similar contextual/situational conditions. The Great Modal Shift was also affected by the agency of the female role as regards the concept of self. Since both aspects necessarily implied the need for modes of expression that included women, not only as participants in communicative interaction, but also as the audience and producers of many of those texts. The question of authorship at this stage is not clear, but there may be means to at least begin such studies, both from the linguistic, thematic and stylistic point of view. There are ways to listen to the female voice in Anglo-Saxon texts, and maybe even corroborate female authorship by means of these characteristics if those linguistic, thematic and stylistic components operate as a sort of anchor set of features. Obviously, a thorough study of these issues will be needed, and the relationship between authorship and audience might not end up in a clearcut boundary; however, the different female voices, those that were used as a didactic means and the real ones can still contain at least



stylistic and thematic elements of relevance for this study. On the other hand, a text produced by a man but directed to a female audience will also contain constituent hinting to the female voice, and finally those texts written by women will come to the fore. It is not an easy task, but not an impossible one and worth trying. Historical events and their consequences must never be forgotten when dealing with this topic.

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# THE ANGLO-SCANDINAVIAN CONNECTION: READING BETWEEN LINES AND LAYERS

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## ABSTRACT

Though there is much done on the early linguistic history of Norse-related loanwords in historical and comparative linguistics in the last two decades, a thorough study of their early social history is still needed. The limits imposed by the fragmentary evidence of sources and lack of information about the individual profile of informants —Scandinavian incomers and native population in Britain between c. 850-1100— increase the difficulties when trying to recreate the social reality which surrounded this phenomenon. Hence this paper intends to benefit from recent developments in socio-historical linguistics and archaeology to reconstruct the social context of usage of certain loanwords.

KEY WORDS: Norse-related loanwords, reconstruction of social context of usage, socio-historical linguistics, archaeology.

## RESUMEN

Mientras que nuestro conocimiento sobre la naturaleza lingüística del préstamo escandinavo ha incrementado considerablemente en las últimas décadas gracias a la lingüística comparativa e histórica, los límites impuestos por la escasez de fuentes y la falta de información sobre los hablantes nativos y escandinavos en Gran Bretaña entre c.850-1100 reducen las posibilidades de pronunciarse sobre la naturaleza social de este fenómeno. El objetivo de este trabajo es el de reconstruir el contexto social de uso de ciertos préstamos a partir de las conclusiones de recientes estudios de sociolingüística histórica y de arqueología, a través de las cuales ciertas entidades lingüísticas parecen cobrar vida.

PALABRAS CLAVE: préstamos escandinavos, reconstrucción del contexto social de uso, sociolingüística histórica, arqueología.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The observable phenomena brought about by the Anglo-Norse language contact in Britain between c. 850-1100 (Campbell 157, 222) have always aroused a great deal of commentary among language historians upon the issues they involve. In particular, one of the linguistic innovations which has attracted much attention in historical and comparative linguistics for the past decades is the Anglo-

Saxon borrowing of Scandinavian loanwords since (as the runic evidence is so slight and textual evidence so scarce) Norse loans, together with onomastic evidence, are considered to be a keystone in the corpus of material used to assess the influence of the Old Norse language in England (Townend, *Language* 184).

Our knowledge of the early linguistic history of Scandinavian loans has largely been improved, especially as regards general aspects of formal and semantic character (Skeat, Kluge, Serjeantson, Jespersen, Hug, Kastovsky, Baugh and Cable), etymological sources (Bjorkman, Kluge, Dance), and textual and dialectal embedding in Old English (Brown, Hofmann, Fischer, Kastovsky, Wollmann, Bibire, Pons) and Middle English (Bjorkman, Rynell, McIntosh, Burnley, Skaffari, Dance). Yet, though there is a certainty about the initial localization of Norse-related loanwords in the enclave of primary Scandinavian settlements, there is still no common agreement in how a substantial number of these Norse-derived words might have reached far away textual destinations outside the Danelaw. Hence current research focuses upon the question of inter-dialectal distribution and diffusion of Scandinavian lexical material beyond the limits of the Danelaw in an attempt to throw some light on “how” and “when” these terms might have entered English (Hadley & Richards, Townend, Dance).

In the search for context, the social factors surrounding the adoption of these items by the English language have also generated a great debate among scholars when trying to determine the nature of the linguistic contact between speakers of Norse and speakers of English on the grounds of bilingualism, language contact theories (Townend, *Language* 181-182), and even pidgin and creole hypotheses (Poussa, Leith). In the light of historical, linguistic and onomastic evidence, there seems to be no doubt that the interaction of speakers of Norse and English is to be related to the emergence and development of initially heavy Scandinavian settlements in the area of the Danelaw, and that mutual intelligibility between both speech communities was eased by the structural similarity of both languages. Alternative reasons to explain the speed and depth of penetration of the Norse element into the various linguistic sub-systems of the English language have been namely those of intermarriage, the use of interpreters, widespread bilingualism, and the assumed existence of a mixed speech community which adopted terms of immediate interest to the local community (Burnley 419; Hughes 62; Townend, *Language* 183).

The limits imposed by the fragmentary evidence of sources and lack of information about the individual profile of informants in early stages increase the difficulties when trying to recreate the social reality which surrounded the potential adopters and users of these lexical elements (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 34-35), especially if we consider that many features of spoken language in Anglo-Norse language contact are entirely irrecoverable (Townend, *Language* 182-183). Yet, on the basis of what is known about past societies, historical socio-linguistics proves certainly fruitful in the reconstruction of the external factors which have most likely determined linguistic changes, as it is the case of the writers' social networks in the Late Modern English period (1700-1900) (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 44-45). Though the opportunities to relate linguistic changes to speaker variables (such as social rank) gradually improve from c.1400 onwards,





the Anglo-Saxon period (c.700-1100) is said to provide, though fragmentary, enough material for the study of the social dynamics that might have prompted the demand of communication between both speech communities. Namely focused upon charting ecclesiastical and political events, the professional scribes who wrote and copied Old English texts from the ninth century did no doubt underline the protagonism of monastic, aristocratic and royal networks as the likely instigators of linguistic innovations, leaving practically aside the participation of peasant population. Like the tip of an iceberg, the corpus of Old English texts (over 3,000 texts and 3.5 million words) seems to emerge as the visible outcome of long-term contacts between Old English and Old Scandinavian in the Midland and northern parts of the country among the higher ranks of society whereas, concealed below the waterline, we might find the significant contribution of the lower ranks in the spoken mode. Since the reconstruction of interactional situations remains conjectural in sociohistorical linguistics, how can we know about the role of the lower ranks of society in the spread of linguistic changes?

## 2. READING BETWEEN LINES AND LAYERS

Aware that the answer may lie half-way between written and non-written sources, we intend to read between the lines of the annals and chronicles of the day, and the layers of archaeological sites in order to recreate the socio-historical context in which both speech communities might have established contact. In the same way a book is made up of words and lines to chart historical facts, the physical remains of past societies fill in the layers of dig sites to tell us a story about people and their activities. The evidence of layers will be of great help for us to reconstruct Viking-Age streets and markets, as we believe they might have been the appropriate setting for Danes and English to interact and, therefore, for Scandinavian loans to enter the English language from the ninth century onwards before their appearance in written texts. An exhaustive analysis of the nature of the remains of most products that changed hands in these and similar places could yield valuable information about the economy of Anglo-Saxon England and the standard of living of its inhabitants. As Richards states, “archaeology cannot help us to discover Viking farmsteads, but it does reveal new settlement forms associated with people using artefacts, as well as language, to proclaim an Anglo-Scandinavian ethnicity” (58). The durable nature of some of these materials (such as iron, pottery, antler, bone and ivory) as well as their relative abundance and diversity on most sites in the British Isles may provide a useful index to trace back any type of socioeconomic activity in Late Anglo-Saxon communities in the period under concern and, consequently, of the individuals who might have been involved in its production, consumption and distribution.

A closer examination of the nature of the remains reveals that almost all types of material are somehow related to higher and lower ranks of society. For instance, whereas iron working is namely focused upon the production of military-related objects, it is also related to the production of iron tools for craftsmen (smith's



tools, merchant's scales). Similarly, though the vast majority of non-ferrous metal-working is poor quality jewellery, the fact that many of the items are really worn seems to indicate that they probably were everyday costume fittings, and leads us to think that we might tackle with non-wealthy customers. The functionality of this kind of products leads us to think, however, that men and women of different social ranks might have been also potential customers at the street markets, particularly women. Though wooden objects are namely associated to the lower levels of society when referring to common houseware (plates, bowls, cups), their use for storage and transport (namely wooden barrels) of probably drinks (wine, beer) or food (barley) point to the upper levels. Another instance is drawn from the discovery of a saddle-bow at Coppergate and six wooden vessels recovered —out of 30 pottery ones— at the Saddler Street Site, Durham. Hence it is unavoidable to speculate on the likely relationship between ON *scale* “bowl” in this area and its presence in West Midland texts, as related to Worcester ecclesiastical spheres for everyday use. Glass was also used for tableware, but in contrast to wood, it was mainly used for the production of fine cups and beakers for wine consumption, and occasionally for glazing windows, where its use was restricted to stone buildings. Fragments of window glass have been found at monastic sites, such as Jarrow, Monkwearmouth and Repton, and at aristocratic sites, such as the royal manor at Old Windsor. Yet, it seems that there is no doubt that, even scarce, glass working was directly associated to the upper classes, namely royal and ecclesiastical. When dealing with leather, the making of sheaths and scabbards may reflect the relevance of knives and swords in the area. Whereas sheaths for knives may be acquired by lower and higher ranks, it is quite likely that those for swords might have been associated to the upper levels of society.

With respect to the numerous evidence of debris from the making of combs, pins, skates and other artefacts, this is not considered sufficient to indicate a long-term settled workshop. Rather, it might indicate itinerant craftsmen skilled in the production of antler combs, decorated bone pins or strap-ends as part of the specialist's repertoire. At the same time, as claimed by Mainmann and Rogers (470), the presence of simple bone objects (plain pins, buzz-bones, femur head spindle whorls) may represent a domestic rather than a commercial activity. Similarly, textile production may have been a domestic, household activity. The securing of raw materials and the distribution of finished cloth must have involved households in trade both on a regional and an international level. By the ninth century most communities —rural sites and large states— did not need trade in textiles since they produced cloth for their own benefit. Large estates would supply their own wool, flax and dyestuffs, and prepare, spin, weave, and dye their own textiles.

It is, of course, rarely possible to say who the craftsmen of the items were, but the presence of some of these items in certain geographical areas reflect a number of possible connections with other individuals of lower and higher rank that took part in their production, distribution and buying. In addition, the main production processes attached to these materials provide a general picture of the variety of tasks involved in the finishing of products, such as painting wares, decorating vessels by thumbing, or setting the blades in knives. All these activities must have



required skilful hands which attempted to satisfy the taste of potential customers and their contemporary interests and needs. It is reasonable therefore to think that both producers and consumers must have uttered in numerous occasions the words that referred to all this variety of objects, colours, materials, ornamental styles, actions and, why not, their price when negotiating their acquisition from the hinterland to the workshop or stall.

On the belief that “the principles governing the world were the same in the past as they are now” (Lass 25), we intend to explore through the physical remains of archaeological sites the inner forces which might have led Anglo-Scandinavian individuals, as biological, psychological and social creatures, to interact and take part in the diffusion patterns of linguistic innovations. We believe that the application of the variationist methodology to written data in order to reconstruct the context of human beings as social creatures may be also applicable to the wealth of data preserved in the different strata from the Anglo-Scandinavian period (namely in York) in order to reconstruct the speakers’ activities and, therefore, social networks, on a strictly empirical basis. In this sense, this paper intends to benefit from recent developments in socio-historical linguistics by means of which contemporary theoretical constructs have been successfully used in the interpretation of past linguistic situations, like those possible explanations drawn from social network theory. Moreover, despite the difficulty of adapting contemporary research to past linguistic situations, this paper considers the possibility of correlating independent variables, like social rank, not only with the linguistic output under concern, but also with the tangible evidence of certain loanwords like the Norse-related loan “cast,” whose social context of usage may be reconstructed thanks to archaeology.

### 3. SOCIAL NETWORK THEORY

The purpose of this paper is therefore to speculate on the possible application of the social-network theory to the interpretation of the co-existence of Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians within and outside the Danelaw and, therefore, to the linguistic infiltration of the Old Norse word “cast” into the English language. The versatility of this loan, as inherently related to iron-working industry (ferrous or non-ferrous), may lead us to a subtle relationship of initial connections to some or other members of the speech community in terms of social rank patterns, such as the blacksmith, craftsmen, merchants, royalty, aristocracy, and church to mention a few, and, therefore, to the patterning of their diffusion among speakers (socio-economic context, trading networks). Portable artefacts, either simple or complex, are likely to bear many a diversity of meanings in serious contexts of economic, social and ritual nature. The close relationship between the elements of material culture and the actions involving the production and use of physical objects related to ON *cast* (weapons, coins, moulds and crucibles for jewellery, craftsmen tools) proves, according to Hines (10) “not just [meaningful] in the sense of transmitting information about the past to the present-day archaeologist who observes them, but also meaningful to people within their original contexts.”



Archaeological evidence, if properly identified, may provide significant information about the regular habits of iron working production and distribution in terms of habitual actions, basic needs and functionality. It seems that the interrelation of semantic fields (ON *cast* and ON *brynja*, ON *sala*) is of particular relevance in exploring social relations as well as assertions of status and power (Hines 20). Their association with the expression of identity through material forms (coins, byrnies, armour, horsenails, stirrups, knives, poor/high quality jewellery) may be reflected in groups (either gender-specific or occupational: craftsmen, soldiers, aristocracy, peasant population) and different social configurations, such as gift transactions, individual associations or public figures (Pestell 33-4). Recent archaeological finds have pointed to the interaction between group-associations or identity patterns and their material culture by means of a series of dynamic negotiations. There is no doubt that the objects may betray information about social rank and that certain objects become meaningful when analysed in a purely utilitarian function (stone and church, coins and royalty, weapons and aristocracy, ornaments and aristocracy/peasant population, iron tools and craftsmen). Hence our interest in exploring whether the social-network theory may unveil further links between people and objects related to iron working and ON *cast*.

According to James and Lesley Milroy, the pressures exerted by individuals to maintain the linguistic variety that they normally use are stronger when they are tied to one another on the basis of kin, friendship, etc. and, therefore, the ties between them are dense and the network is close-knit. These situations usually result in resistance to innovations and are common at the highest and lowest social layers. There are, however, many socially and geographically mobile speakers falling in between who, by virtue of their mobility, may establish weak ties within loose-knit networks, and are more exposed to linguistic pressures originating outside the group. The conclusion reached by James and Lesley Milroy is that loose-knit networks favour the diffusion of linguistic innovations and that the weak ties between speakers provide the bridges for linguistic features to spread: they favour the establishment of interpersonal contacts between a great number of speakers — greater at least than those afforded by strong ties in close-knit communities —, they are established with a lot less effort and, finally, they facilitate contact between speakers of different varieties (J. Milroy and L. Milroy 363-366; L. Milroy 209; L. Milroy and J. Milroy 5-10). In this respect, we believe that the thriving socio-economic context of ninth and tenth century England might have favoured the interaction of relatively mobile individuals in the setting of market towns through the channel of negotiation processes, and that the itinerancy of craftsmen, merchants, smiths and moneyers might have acted as a likely transmission element between the material evidence (iron tools, weapons, coins, everyday costume fittings, disc brooches) and their recipients (aristocracy, army, peasantry).

In recent years, the social-network theory has been also applied to experimental research in the field of Economics and Business Studies (Montgomery, Economides and Salop, Economides, Iacobucci, Kosfeld, Cross and Parker) in order to account for similar circumstances in modern societies. The use of social networks on the interpretation of social and economic outcomes proves consider-



ably useful in research areas related to industrial distribution, business organization, marketing systems, and trade, though it proves especially revealing in the field of negotiation processes and buyer-seller interaction. A detail of particular importance drawn from this area is that there seems to be a widespread consensus on the plausibility that transactions between buyer and seller transcend national and cultural boundaries and that, therefore, the place in which negotiations take place represents a neutral culture medium where people from different backgrounds converge (Sheth, Metcalf, Frear and Krishnan, Wilson). In effect, empirical analyses of specific cases have demonstrated that interpersonal contacts (and therefore the exchange of information) produce a co-operative atmosphere between buyer and seller which, in turn, sets the stage for mutual adaptation, leaving behind evident historical and cultural conflicts (Metcalf, Frear, Krishnan, Flores, Ryoo).

One of the most significant case studies in this respect is the one that analyses the talk between African Americans and Korean immigrants in service encounters (Ryoo). This study has demonstrated that despite the widely publicized conflict and tension between both speech communities, frequent incidents of positive and harmonious interaction took place between the participants when embedded in negotiation processes. The author highlights the effort made by both groups to overcome cultural differences and miscommunication when explaining that “shopkeepers and customers not only achieved friendly relations, but also were able to overcome communication difficulties when they occurred (Ryoo 80). Other studies, focusing on the pragmatics of context, demonstrate that the universal condition of transactions seems to be tightly circumscribed to rituals of conversations in terms of power differences (Flores 629), attitudes, as it is the case of bargaining (Orr 78), and even the setting of the interaction, which seems to throw some light on the question of formal and informal linguistic exchanges.

The importance of the setting in language interaction is exemplified by the following case study. The Supply Chain Management Research Group has relied on the social network theory to explain how dependent “the building high-performing supply chains” are on the social ties that exist between buyer and their key suppliers in formal and informal contexts (Lawson, Cousins, Handfield and Petersen). The results suggest that tension between buyer and supplier is smoothed by providing socialization processes to both participants in order to improve relationship performance. Even though both formal and informal types of socialization mechanisms proved successful, informal socialization was the one that reached the highest level of interaction between participants since it took place in open informal environments (off-site workshops, social events, dinners, etc.) in clear contrast to the specific structural formats devised for formal socialization (conference halls, team meetings).

The relevance of the physical setting of the transaction is further highlighted by another study which explores the talk of buying and selling conversation in shops and markets, which respectively represent formal and informal settings (Settineri). The analysis reveals how language use may change according to three main factors: the place of the transaction (shop vs. market) which invariably determines formal vs. informal interaction, the “biographies of interlocutors (in terms of



specific trade or profession, geographical and class origins, interrelationship), and the quality and price of the items for sale (mid-expensive/expensive shops vs. cheap open-air markets) (Settineri 171). The study also reveals that transactional conversation might have favoured the loosening of social networks at two different levels, formal and informal. While the social networks generated between shopkeepers and customers are based on face-to-face interaction involving individuals of a relatively high social and economic status, who maintain formal talking, the relationship between the open-air market seller and the customer is characterised by informal talking, and the participants, who are usually non-acquainted with each other, are usually more than two and belong to lower socio-economic levels of society.

On the basis that loose-knit networks favour the establishment of interpersonal contacts between a relatively higher number of speakers, it is likely that the coexistence of the native population with the Danes in 9th-10th centuries in similar circumstances might have favoured the loosening of social networks and the establishment of weak ties between speakers of different varieties, which have accompanied the emergence and diffusion of Scandinavian loans into the English language (J. Milroy and L. Milroy 378). In the light of the macro-sociolinguistic use of the concept proposed by James and Lesley Milroy, which extends to the possible relationship between socio-economic circumstances and the slower or faster rate of diffusion of innovations in the past, this paper intends to explore whether it is likely to establish a relationship between socio-economic circumstances and the rate of diffusion of the Norse loan *cast* in 9th- and 10th-century England from a micro-sociolinguistic perspective. Whereas a macro-sociolinguistic approach focuses on factors such as industrialization, urbanization, epidemics, internal wars, immigration and contact with foreign communities to provide interpretations for the loosening of close-knit networks and the increase of weak ties between speakers, this particular micro-sociolinguistic approach proposes as basic conditions for this circumstance to occur: iron working industrial processes, the development of trade and the prosperity of urban centres, mobile individuals (moneymen, craftsmen, blacksmiths), harmonious interaction between buyer and seller, and the relevance of an appropriate physical setting to carry out transactions (markets). These circumstances may have indeed facilitated that the social networks of some mobile speakers were weakened in parts of the North and the North-East, so that the Scandinavian loan *cast* could have diffused via the weak ties that they established with members of their urban communities and its hinterland, and beyond.

#### 4. A CASE STUDY: ME “CAST(EN)” (<ON KASTA)

In the search for the social dynamics that might have prompted the demand of communication between Scandinavian settlers and the native population, I intend to extrapolate the mentioned data to the socio-economic circumstances that surrounded England between c. 900 and c. 1100. In the belief that the Norse-related loan “cast” (ON *kasta*), initially with the meaning of “cast metal” (or in other figurative senses), and therefore implicitly related to metalworking objects



(weapons, iron tools, jewellery), might have been involved in this process, we intend to dig out into its social context of usage so as to speculate on its possible connections to some or other members of the speech community and the patterning of its diffusion among speakers in the context of negotiation processes in markets.

Having been identified as definitely deriving from Old Norse (Dance), there seems to be a common agreement about its initial geographical location in the enclave of primary Scandinavian settlement as a result of the colonisation of parts of England by Norse speakers between the ninth and eleventh centuries. The geographical and temporal boundaries provide as full a coverage as possible of its presence in Early Middle English texts between the twelfth and the thirteenth century within the Scandinavian belt, as recorded in *Havelok the Dane* (c1275) and *Cursor Mundi* (1300), where it appears for the first time, but not of its linguistic infiltration southwards in *King Horn* (c1225/c1300); and westwards in the *Ancrene Riwe* (c1230/?a1200) and *Lazamon's Brut* (c1275).

In this paper we attempt an answer to this question in the context of the “dramatic changes” that experienced the manufacture methods of basic products such as iron tools and pottery in the Viking Age from the early ninth century (Richards 103). Though the possibility of direct loans outside the Scandinavian belt is extremely slight, it is not completely ruled out because of its association to political and trading activities as the most likely source for the transference. In the light of written and non-written evidence, we suggest that this loanword must have entered the language much before its definite establishment in written sources behind the shield of its Old English counterpart OE *weorpan/warþ* (“throw” or “sprinkle, scatter (something) on a surface”). The simultaneous occurrence of OE *warp* (as “cast” or “throw”) in Early Middle English texts within the belt, as recorded in *Havelok the Dane* (c1275), and with the meaning of “sprinkle, scatter (something) on (a surface)” in western texts, such as the *Ancrene Riwe* (c1230/?a1200) and *Lazamon's Brut* (c1275) and *Lambeth Homilies* (1225), seems to suggest that both terms co-existed somehow at a spoken level in earlier years, particularly when we focus upon their co-existence in the Northern East Midlands where Scandinavian influence seems to be clear.

In this respect, it is impossible not to conjecture about the purposeful use of both terms (due to their respective relevance in both communities) to underline the establishment of peace and friendship between the Danes and English. The alternative use of a Scandinavian loanword and a native term might represent a record of the very formula used at the process of casting metal (for different purposes: coinage, jewellery, etc), in which the wording was acceptable to both sides. Further than that we cannot go, other than to note that the possibility of mutual understanding seems quite plausible to explain how people might have established communication at this kind of events, either in reduced groups or large groups, or in formal and informal contexts. There are reasons to believe that Old Norse “cast” implicitly entered during the Old English period at the same time as other Norse-related loans, such as *brynige* “mail shirt” (<ON *brynja*), *marc* “marc, half a pound” (<ON *mork*), *ora* “Danish coin” (<ON *aurar/eyrir*), *sala* “sale” (<ON *sala*), or *tacan* “take” (<ON *taka*). Behind the linguistic and semantic nature of these loans (both as physical



objects and actions), the usage of Old Norse “cast” should be seen in the context of an intense interaction of human activities, regular habits in the process of iron industry, such as collection, production, distribution, selling or buying. In the search for context, both objects and actions may betray information about social rank and appropriate setting on which to interpret the diffusion of this loan.

Since the North (and the North-East) epitomizes, for both archaeologists and historians, the culture medium in which the Scandinavian element first emerged and later spread from the ninth century onwards, we shall examine the most representative northern city of the time in which the context of ON *cast* may be initially reconstructed: the City of York (or Jórviik for the Vikings). Although historians do not claim that the Scandinavian settlement of York from 866 immediately affected the industrialization and urban development of the city, the silent layers at the heart of the city tell us a different story. The two rivers running through the city provided useful resources for industry and, sometimes, the sitting of industries may have been governed by the need for natural resources, such as water for tanning whereas others may reflect an act of deliberate planning and organisation. By the end of the ninth century a number of specialised activities had developed in different sectors, as it is reflected by the physical townscape of the city, in which the street names tell their own story, for instance, *Micklegate* (Great Street, which took traffic swerving past the old Roman fort by the new bridge built over the Ouse), *Skeldergate* (“Shieldmakers street” or “shelf street”), *Goodramgate* (“Gurthorm Street”), *Hungate* (“Dogs street”), and most especially, *Coppergate* (“Coopers Street, the Street of the Wood-workers”) (Magnusson 130, Palliser 11-14). Moreover, whereas the north quarter appears to have been a royal and ecclesiastical centre, the north-east one may have been a residential area of an elite group. A broad evaluation of archaeological sources drawn from Coppergate dig sites suggests that the Vikings did provide the indirect stimulus and the mechanism to transform the original Anglo-Saxon town and its socio-economic system by redistributing wealth and fostering its urban growth (Richards 59-78; Rollason 305-324; Mainmann and Rogers 459-487), as well as by promoting the activity of craftsmen, traders, pedlars etc. (Sawyer 178-179). The marvellously preserving conditions at Coppergate kept intact numerous occupation layers to a depth of up to ten metres, in which the evidence of the urban Viking as craftsman, artist and trader was sealed.

It is actually by the evidence found in the layers that we know about the mercantile character of other well-known trading sites such as Kaupang, Birka, Hedeby or Gotland. Common features are shared by all these sites: strategic position, easy access by water-transport system, and the considerable presence of numerous remains sealed in dark-colour layers which betray local and international trade to probably satisfy a growing market. Excavations at Birka (Magnusson 91-94) show that apart from its importance as a domestic mart exchanging food and small handicrafts for the farmers living in the neighbourhood and hinterland, it was also one of the major international emporia of Viking Scandinavia. The nature of the remains tells us about the history of the site: massive stone-and-earth bank suggest strong defensive measures, and the so-called “Black Earth” area, whose soil is discoloured by a deep overburden of occupation detritus, suggests that Birka was





a clearing-place for export-import trade. These dark-coloured layers produced a mass of material of impressive wealth and quality from all over the known world: silver and silk from Arabia, pottery and glassware from the Rhineland, ornaments and weapons from England and Ireland, coins from western Europe worn as amulets, and walrus ivory from the Arctic regions, among others. Magnusson (92) has interpreted all this evidence and depicts Birka as it must have been in the Viking Age: “a place teeming with activity, raucous with a babel of foreign tongues, buying and selling, wheeling and dealing, drinking and brawling, summer and winter alike.” Written sources, such as the records left by the Christian missionary St Anskar, the “Apostle of the North” in the ninth century (829-850), account for an interesting glimpse of Birka society. Governed by a *Ting* (local assembly) and under the leadership of a royal prefect, the control of business of every kind should rest with the whole people and not with the king. Anskar also depicted two separate classes of people —the *populi*, who were the permanent residents, and the *negociatores*, who were foreign merchants. Can we therefore expect to find similar findings in York, Coppergate?

#### 4.1. ME “CAST”: PATTERNS OF DIFFUSION IN THE DANELAW

The enduring effect of those who turned their swords into ploughshares is still seen on the physical, social and cultural landscape of the Northumbrian capital, York, which under Viking rule doubled in size and became the largest trading city in Britain. Assigned a total of 1,607 dwellings (*mansiones*) and an estimated population of 9,000 people by *Domesday Book* (30,000 according to Magnusson 130), there is no doubt that York was one of the most important mercantile cities in western Europe. Historical sources made echo of the city’s populous character, like the well-known passage in the *Life of Archbishop St Oswald* where York is described as “crammed beyond expression, and enriched with the treasures of merchants, who come from all parts, but above all from the Danish people” (Rollason 322) and the passage in the 11th-century survey of the lands and privileges of the Norman Archbishop Thomas of York (1070-1086) in which it is depicted what may have been the hall of a commercial guild with “merchants coming to York with horses or wagons to pay toll, to sales of fish and grain in Walmgate and Fishergate, and to a fishery which paid tax to the archbishop” (Rollason 322). The mercantile wealth of the city also finds confirmation in archaeological sources. Richards, echoing Alcuin, describes 10th-century York as a “massive cosmopolitan emporia” (59) and Magnusson defines it as “the main Scandinavian trade outlet for the British Isles” (130). Moreover, Mainmann and Rogers (459) have defined York as “a growing centre of producers and consumers and an important focus for regional exchange and international trade” as a result of the development of a vigorous home and international market which was certainly favoured by its broad network of communications.

The increase in demand for goods must have stimulated the mobility of natives and incomers to urban markets to sell or exchange products and ideas with



the socially mobile immigrants —merchants, craftsmen or pilgrims— who might have been attracted from far afield for different reasons. One of them might be the ranked hierarchy of church dedications of St Helen in York, St Margaret in East Anglia, and the special devotion to both of them in Lindsey, which might have attracted many visitors for religious purposes. We must bear in mind that the surroundings of churches were natural centres for weekly markets, which were held in connection with the celebration of patronal events and other festivals, the cult to saints, or worship on Sundays, when people were not forced to work (Owen, Sawyer). Hence, since markets and fairs could last several days, the setting of religious festivals might have provided numerous opportunities for buying and selling. This means that the more people demanded products, the closer the dates had to be. Whereas in earlier centuries markets used to be annual meetings, by the tenth century weekly-markets were celebrated in many places. Indeed, Sunday markets were so flourishing and became so popular that neither Æthelstan in the early tenth century nor Æthelred and Cnut a century later were successful in their attempts to forbid them. The evidence of place-names under the form of “torp,” which indicates a “market town,” accounts for the relevance of these places (Blair 277). It seems that to hold markets in or near churchyards was a widespread practice until Edward I legislated against it in 1285 (Sawyer 175-176). Normally, the sites for markets and fairs are indicated by considerable concentrations of ornamental metalwork as it is the case of the church graveyard at York Minster, where people are supposed to have traditionally gathered and traded. When reading between the layers of this past society, archaeological findings bring to life scenes of quotidian character (Hines 10).

In York, the massive presence of archaeological findings related to a wide variety of socioeconomic activities, though namely related to iron-working, is indeed a material manifestation of a period of intense contact. ON “cast” is then likely to have had its origin in the speech of specialised craftsmen and skilful Anglo-Scandinavian smiths involved in the iron-smithing industry within the Danelaw. It is worth noting that the aristocracy who could afford these expensive items might have consisted of an amalgam of the native Northumbrian lords and the incoming Viking ones. This amalgam seems to have been recorded in the *Law of the Northumbrian people* when the author addresses Northumbrian lords in Old English and Old Norse terms (Liebermann I, 456-469). The huge demand for iron products by royalty and noblemen indicates that they probably had their own dedicated teams of smiths who, on displaying a high degree of expertise, would have worked in powerful economic centres like York and Lincoln by the ninth and tenth centuries. It is in this context of ferrous and non-ferrous manufacture that the figure of the blacksmith [or smith], which was held in high regard in Viking Age England, must have acted therefore like the common point in the patterning of diffusion among different groups of individuals from the highest to the lowest layers of society. We refer to rural and urban dwellers, aristocracy and populace, producers and consumers, etc.

York excavations are particularly significant because they have also revealed evidence of a flourishing industrial and industrious community of artisans and



merchants who worked in combined dwellings and workshops. The wide variety of socioeconomic activities (iron, metal, leather and bone or antler working, etc.) revealed by archaeological remains is indeed a material manifestation of a period of intense contact (Ottaway 462; see also: McGregor), which may be a clue “that the buildings were rented out to craftsmen, rather than each being permanently occupied by one individual” (Richards 65). The clues that rents were paid point to the temporary presence in the tenements of highly mobile individuals (craftsmen, merchants, traders, etc.) who must have established weak ties in loose-knit networks with the local population.

At Coppergate the findings of several unfinished objects in two adjacent tenth-century tenements reveal that they were occupied by metalworkers and that the main trade appears to have been jewellery production. A likely explanation for the massive production of jewellery is that during the ninth and tenth centuries the demand for brooches decorated in a Scandinavian style spread beyond those who could afford precious metals. Iron alloys and pewter, which were not so expensive, became particularly popular for mass-produced jewellery, particularly a large number of lead alloy disc brooches which were decorated with stylised animals and plants and geometric motifs. These Scandinavian motifs (Jellinge, Borre and Ringerike style) were manufactured in England since there is evidence that designs were first tested on “trial” or “motif-pieces” of waste bone. At present, metal detector users have found a large number of Anglo-Scandinavian-style objects in the hinterlands of the Viking Age towns (Thomas). Metal detecting has brought to light Viking objects from all over Norfolk and Suffolk in East Anglia. Whereas some were made in Scandinavia, others were made locally in a Scandinavian style.

In fact, metal items found in Coppergate (York) and Heath Wood (Ingleby) suggest that many objects display a mixture of English and Danish style and design, probably as a result of the adoption of West Saxon styles (as it is the case of a mould for making jewellery which was common in Wessex and was found in the Danelaw). In addition, the findings indicate that personal ornaments (strap-ends, buckles, brooches, jewellery), which could be used by the lordly classes and the populace (Hadley), might be an indicator of social rank as well as the ornamental fashion for animals. The design of metalwork items related to horses, like harness-mounts, or falcons point to ninth-century Northumbrian nobility. It is worth noting the case of two tiny bells of Anglo-Scandinavian design whose origin is still unknown according to Richards (113) and that seems to have been contextualized in the context of falconry since falcons were used to wear them on the tail. Initially confined to royalty before the Migration Age, this entertainment became habitual among aristocrats in tenth-century England and, by the late eleventh century, among thanes and probably leading churchmen who used this sport as a common pastime (Owen-Crocker 220-224).

Moreover, different grades of iron were also selected for different purposes, such as the manufacture of other objects like needles, Scandinavian-style chest fittings and even knives. The evidence of some 220 knives found in Viking Age deposits at Coppergate suggests that during the ninth century new types of knife were introduced, including a group with long handles, and decoration proliferated, in-



cluding incised grooves and inlaid designs (Ottaway). The great variety of techniques and subsequent diffusion has much to say about the significance of these items in those days: first, because it indicates the frequency of use; second, because it reflects the customer's diversity; and finally, because they are related to social status since weapons were not just for battle, but also symbols of their owners' wealth. The evidence of a broken mould for a fine trefoil brooch suggests the production of poor/high quality jewellery for both higher and lower social ranks, and a miniature set of bronze scales, complete with chain and pans point to the basic equipment for a Viking merchant to weigh any precious metal he was being offered.

Each tenement had a large central hearth which may have been used for heating metals, and some 1000 crucible fragments were found, of which over 90 per cent were of Stamford ware, which confirms the association of Stamford with Coppergate craftsmen. The smallest, no larger than a thimble, appear to have been used for melting gold, but silver, lead and copper alloys were also being worked. We may infer from this evidence that the recipients of this work might have been from different social ranks depending on the metal. There is no direct evidence for the smelting of non-ferrous metals, though pieces of galena (lead ore) show that it was being brought to the city, which would indicate that there were itinerant routes which connected far-distance places with York.

The two-stage process of iron working proves highly revealing when trying to examine the likely mobility of individuals and their social rank. Since the first step is to tackle with raw material (the ore) to extract the iron, one may infer some connections between the smith and the suppliers in the hinterland. After the ore is smelted, the iron must be worked by the smith to make finished artefacts which will be acquired by individuals of higher and lower levels, depending on the artefact (i.e. normal knife for daily use vs. ornamented knife for status display). Moreover, we must bear in mind that smelting is a very hot and unpleasant process which requires great quantities of fuel, and therefore, it is likely that most smelting was undertaken in the country, close to the iron ore deposits and abundant supplies of wood. In the south of the country, the geographical areas that meet this characteristic are Sussex, where furnaces were found in West Runton, Great Casterton and Ashdown Forest, and Wiltshire, where we find the presence of other industrial iron furnaces at Ramsbury, located out the city walls, and next to large areas of woodland in south-east England. The excavations at Ramsbury industrial iron furnaces dated to the late eighth and early ninth centuries and are thought to have been operating within the sphere of royal influence (McDonnell 374-378). Afterwards, they could have been related to the movements of the Great Army and the reign of Cnut.

In the north, little smelting was undertaken in towns, other than at Stamford where iron ore was brought from the local ironstone outcrops, and in York, where carbonate ore would have been available from either North Yorkshire or Lincolnshire. The close relationship between the ferrous and non-ferrous metalworkers in both Lincoln and York seems to indicate that both sets of activities were often carried on in the same buildings, probably by the same workers. Ottaway (124) suggests that much of the slag may have been brought to Coppergate as rubbish,



possibly after use as ballast in ships on the Foss and that the vast majority of bar iron being used in Anglo-Scandinavian York was probably smelted close to the ore source. In fact, this seems to be the case of approximately 179kg (400lb) of smithing slag which was excavated at Coppergate. Iron bars and strips are thought to have been imported from the smelting sites outside York and large amounts of material to have been brought for recycling. Moreover, it is believed that even the remarkable Coppergate Anglian helmet probably reached the site as scrap (Richards 115).

The finds of contemporary coin dies and trial stamps in these tenth-century tenements suggest that much of the silver may have been used for coinage. It seems that in the process any suitable material might be utilised as a mould. For instance, a Roman tile had shapes cut into it for casting blanks for brooches and pendants. Both stone and clay moulds were used for casting ingots, but soapstone moulds were selected for silver casting [hence the relevance of ferrous/non-ferrous metals and pottery when tracing back ON cast]. Moulds were also made of soapstone and, since it is namely found in Shetland, Norway, France and Sweden, it seems to point to international trade and connections. Its use in York, the only site in England that fulfils this purpose, suggests that it was brought from Shetland or Scandinavia by Scandinavian traders or craftsmen (Richards 112).

Moreover, there is evidence that silver ingots would be used as the raw material for further casting, or might be hammered into arm rings. The evidence from iron slag and smelting waste is common on most sites, though sometimes it may be just dumped material. Apart from Coppergate, according to Mainmann and Rogers (465), the most convincing evidence for iron working of this period comes from the York Minster excavations, where two major groups of ninth to eleventh-century metal working debris has been excavated in what seems to be an ancient forge. In Fawcett Street, slag was also found in a tenth- to eleventh-century pit, and the area of Parliament Street and Saviourgate seems to have welcomed the presence of smith or smiths in the late ninth and tenth century as suggested by the finds, that is, an iron mood, a knife blank, lead tank containing iron tools for recycling. The evidence of coins is illuminating in the sense that they point to the relationship between royal and aristocratic spheres with moneyers, who probably acted as middle-men with the suppliers of raw material in the hinterland and craftsmen to provide them with the appropriate tools. The discovery of strips of lead used by moneyers as a trial piece for testing the coin-dies suggests that ON *cast* must have been involved in the process at some point, though in the spoken mode.

#### 4.2. ME “CAST”: SOUTHWARDS PATTERNS OF DIFFUSION IN OE

Being a centre of government, and military, ecclesiastical and economic power, York also flourished as a minting area (Richards 121-134). The evidence of metalworking in the layers seems to establish links between the making of metal objects (like coins, moulds, pieces of lead, coin dies) and the producer/recipients. According to Sawyer that: “some of these findings may come from the residences of wealthy people, but when the sequence of coins begins in the eighth century and



continues until the twelfth or even later it seems more likely that they were places where people traditionally gathered and traded” (176).

These findings have also helped to date Coppergate tenements to the middle of the tenth century, as it is the case of the discovery of some silver coins from the mint of King Æthelred the Unready in the floor debris.

Early references to “cast” are implicitly suggested by the appearance of common designs on the coins of King Alfred the Great (Wessex) and King Ceolwulf II (Mercia). Surprisingly, the discovery of another coin with the same design, though bearing the name of Halfdan, supports the view that Northumbria might have also benefited from the same trading advantages as his English neighbours, which seems to hint at the absence of conflicts on economic grounds. Given the fact that common designs for coins were in use by London moneyers at that period, it is not surprising that the moneyers could have operated in these three different scenarios (Wessex, Mercia, Danelaw), assuring therefore mobility between these areas (Walker 60). Evidence points to London as a neutral zone in which those designs might have been forged under the three rival spheres of influence, though it is difficult to explain how these moneyers could have operated their mints for Mercian, Viking or West Saxon parties. In the attempt to answer the question of how moneyers operated, Walker (60-61) suggests that “[t]hey may have fled to safer areas taking their skills with them or they may have continued to operate from London on a freelance basis minting coins to a required design for anyone who could supply the necessary bullion.”

In addition, the evidence of coinage leads us to another type of source drawn up some time in the 880s. We refer to the treaty between Alfred of Wessex and the Danish leader Guthrum. For our purposes the relevance of *Alfred-Guthrum* Treaty lies in its references to legal and trade regulations, which are regarded as a means to minimize the possibility of disputes between both ethnic groups. In addition, the text provides some insights on the profile of those who were involved in the process, a socially significant proportion of Scandinavian settlers who intermingled with native subjects under the sounds of everyday usage within the framework of trading activities. It is in this context that the loanword “cast” gains relevance through the presence of the term *marc* or *healfmearc* “marc, half a pound” (<ON *mork*) since it is closely connected with the process of coinage and transactions.

Actually, the finding of coins with Guthrum’s new name, Æthelstan, suggests that, though both kingdoms continued functioning as politically independent from 880s onwards, they did not stop their co-operation in economic terms or their participation in the process of trade and exchange. The evidence also suggests that both the linguistic term and the action involved in the process of melting metal to make coins must have been widely used by speakers from Alfred’s circle and, later on, under Cnut’s reign as well in the form of coin dies (O’Hara 236-248). In the light of this evidence, it may be inferred that Old Norse “cast” was implicitly used in royal spheres and that it may also have favoured mobility from the Danelaw southwards with the activities of the moneyers (Jonsson 219). According to Jonsson, by the mid-tenth century the English coinage had developed a regional character, but at the end of the reign of Edgar (959-975) [...] all old coins



[...] were exchanged for coins of a new type, which was to be the only type allowed to circulate and struck at more than 50 mints all over the country (later on there were even more mints)” (195).

Moreover, there are reasons to believe that “cast” was also involved in military activities in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries with the arrival of the Great Army. The evidence of 40 kg of smelting waste (to cast metal) found in an excavation of the furnace of Millbrook (Sussex) seems to point to the south as the appropriate place to carry out this process. It is likely that smelting was undertaken close to the iron ore deposits and supplies of wood in the south of England at sites like West Runton, Great Casterton and Ashdown Forest (Sussex) and other iron furnaces at Ramsbury (Wiltshire) operating under the influence of royal sphere (Jonsson 196). Indeed, the great amount of iron slag involved suggests expensive processes and, therefore, the involvement of the highest layers of society.

#### 4.3. ME “CAST”: WESTWARDS PATTERNS OF DIFFUSION IN OE

The likely diffusion of “cast” westwards in the eleventh century should be considered in the context of the significant development in military technology on continental Europe, which centred upon mounted men in battle and the consequent use of warhorses. The arrival of the Great Army implied the production of war equipment in combination with mobile forces. Actually, the findings of iron material (horseshoes, stirrups, weaponry) “along the Thames and Lower Severn river valleys and into East Anglia and Lincolnshire” appear to follow the recorded movements of this army between 993 and 1017 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Swanton 126-154).

Behind the shield of military organisation, a conceivable reason for the diffusion patterns of “cast” westwards during the tenth and eleventh centuries may be provided by the inter-semantic relation of this loanword with ON “brynja” in *La3amon’s Brut* (c1275) with the meaning of “put on an armour” (on one’s back). Moreover, the simultaneous occurrences between “cast” and “byrnie” in *La3amon’s Brut* (c1275) and *Ancrene Riwe* (c1230/?a1200) in the South-West Midlands, and the *Orrmulum* (c1200) and *Havelok the Dane* (c1300/a1275) in the north, suggest that these two metalwork-related terms (action and product) might have been used in the context of decoration and display in the Viking Age as a reflection of the historical circumstances (Richards 115). Probably due to fashionable trends among the nobility and the aristocracy, as a conscious expression of character and the image they wanted to present, this infiltration may be further entertained by “the influence of eleventh century settlements under the aegis of Cnut’s earls” in this area (Dance 328).

It seems that the clergy must have been also interested in metal items like church and personal ornaments (brooches, jewellery and the like) and even weapons, as it is inferred from one clause in the tenth-century *Northumbrian Priests’ Law* (Liebermann 1, 380-385) which specifies that they are forbidden from bringing weapons into a church. In later years, the close connection between the dioceses of



Worcester and York between 972 and 1016 seems to be a good indicator of Anglo-Scandinavian relations between scribes, which might have favoured the infiltration of “cast” in ecclesiastical spheres.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This survey is mainly speculative. However, we believe that the proposals of social history —based on both written and non-written evidence— may help to reconstruct the sociolinguistic context in which some individuals were immersed between c. 900 and c. 1100. In this respect, it is feasible that under the new socio-economic circumstances of ironworking industry, previous close-knit networks became loosed in the prosperous streets of some northern and north-eastern towns, like York or Lincoln. The acknowledged commercial character of these towns —as the example of York has evinced— could have been responsible for the diffusion of linguistic changes far beyond the city.

It is likely, therefore, that the speech of these towns was not forged any more by the devastating and violent fire of destruction and plundering, but by the moderate sparkling flames conveniently kindled by the attentive and skilful hands of those who, leaving behind the condition of heathens, submitted to the power of Anglo-Saxon socio-economic welfare cast in the mould of mutual intelligibility.

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# A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO REGISTER IN THE *PREFACE TO THE PASTORAL CARE*

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## ABSTRACT

The functional approach to register proposed in this paper aims to provide a critical analysis that reveals the role played by King Alfred's *Preface to the Pastoral Care* in realizing social action from a new perspective based on the combination of Martin's and Halliday's paradigms of field, tenor and mode. The data obtained represent an endeavour to discern how this study confers a new viewpoint to traditional perceptions relating to the text's persuasive nature and to the presence of issues of authority and social inequality.

KEY WORDS: Old English, *Preface to the Pastoral Care*, critical analysis, functional grammar.

## RESUMEN

La aproximación funcional al registro propuesta en este trabajo pretende proporcionar un análisis crítico que revele el papel que jugó el *Preface to the Pastoral Care* del rey Alfredo en el desempeño de su función social desde una nueva perspectiva basada en la combinación de los paradigmas de *field, tenor y mode* de Martin y Halliday. Los datos obtenidos representan un intento por discernir cómo este estudio confiere un nuevo punto de vista a las apreciaciones tradicionales relacionadas con la naturaleza persuasiva del texto y con la presencia de cuestiones de autoridad y desigualdad social.

PALABRAS CLAVE: inglés antiguo, *Preface to the Pastoral Care*, análisis crítico, gramática funcional.

## INTRODUCTION

King Alfred's prose preface to his translation into Old English of the *Pastoral Care* is without a doubt the most discussed of Alfred's writings. The *Preface*, presented as a circular letter to the bishops of the English church, was composed sometime between A.D. 890 and 896. The letter describes the state of learning in England at the time of his accession and sets forth Alfred's educative aims within the difficult circumstances of his reign, from A.D. 871 to 899, which was mainly spent fighting the Viking invaders. The assessment of the *Preface* as a portrayal of Alfred's reflections and as a source of Anglo-Saxon social and cultural information

is a factor that has been highlighted from different sides (Frantzen 26; Geenfield and Calder 44; Hagedorn 87; Smyth 528; Wrenn 206). Together with the many references to the commitment of the author with the precepts of the Christian culture, researchers have also focused on the overwhelming dimension of this religious project to pervade a secular sphere (Discenza, *Wealth, Persuasive*; Frantzen; Huppé; Nelson; Pratt; Szarmach). Some other frequently discussed lines of debate attached to Alfred's educational and religious enterprise focus on the persuasive nature of the text (Huppé 119; Orton 144; Shippey 354-355), its socially selective intention (Discenza, *Wealth* 454; Frantzen 28; Smyth 559-560; Wormald 18) and the apparent paradox conveyed by the association of wealth and wisdom (Discenza, *Wealth*; Nelson; Orton).

The systemic approach to register proposed in this paper aims to consider the study of these features from a new perspective based on the combination of Halliday's and Martin's paradigms of field, tenor and mode, being this analysis sustained by the flexibility of functional grammar in the study of Old English as attested by previous research (Cummings, *Systemic, Systemic Functional*; Davies; Möhlig and Klages). Martin's (501-502) reinterpretation of register offers a much richer account of Halliday's parameters, as he extends Halliday's notion of register referring to language as context's expression plane to cover in addition part of context's content plane. Martin's supplementary considerations within each variable allow for a critical rendering that proves to be more feasible to explain those issues of social inequality and authority in the text pointed out by previous research. Discourse analysis with critical purposes takes a particular interest in issues of ideological power and inequality and defends the study of discourse not only as a tool for the social construction of reality, but also as an instrument of power and control (Fairclough, *Critical*). Such an approach fits the contextual characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon period marked by the multi-faceted influence of Christianity and that leads to a view of religion as ideology in terms of the lack of exclusion between a religious domain and a purely secular one.<sup>1</sup> Thus, as Bergner (*Pragmatics, Openness*) contends, a proper understanding of the Anglo-Saxon text can only be obtained by assuming an order of phenomena centred on the idea of God.

The linguistic data used to formulate each register variable comes from the double-sided identification of each individual or participant involved in the text as both a centre of structure and action.<sup>2</sup> Concerning the first part, we will use the information coming from Halliday's nominal phrases, Martin's identification sys-

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<sup>1</sup> The Christian church displayed an absolute influence as an institution of social and economic power (Angenendt), bringing also literacy on a very ambitious scale in order to set up education as a complementary service to God (Lees; Lendinara). In this sense, King Alfred's educational reform represented a very ambitious project unparalleled in Europe at that time.

<sup>2</sup> Although Martin uses the term "participant identification" to denote "the strategies languages use to get people, places and things into a text and refer to them once there" (95), the phrase is here confined to those structures referring to people, but not to places or things.

tems and van Leeuwen's socio-semantic categories.<sup>3</sup> As regards their role as a focus of action, the depiction of each participant is completed with the information provided by Halliday's transitivity structures.<sup>4</sup> Four main identification systems have been distinguished in the text, namely those referring to the sender and receiver of the epistle, to a first person plural and to a wide referential system that includes the complex of individuals used by Alfred to support his arguments. The socio-semantic categories generated in the latter lead to several sub-groups that include religious members, kings, other high-status individuals as well as some other generic references. Accordingly, this paper aims to explore the relevance of some linguistic structures illustrating this double function of participants concerning the establishment of the parameters of register in the *Preface*. Traditional perceptions relating to the text's persuasive nature and to the presence of issues of social inequality and authority will also be attached in order to complement this analysis. At the same time, the data obtained attempts to discern how this study confers, in turn, a new perspective to this background of previous research.

## FIELD

Halliday's (Halliday and Hasan 12) concept of field as topic or subject takes shape in the *Preface* around the central issue of the educational reform proposed by Alfred which he articulates through some retrospective sections that contrast the spiritual and cultural splendour of the past with the intellectual decadence of the present. At the same time, the text bolsters the necessity of a doctrinal approach to Christianity and learning under the menace of worldly punishment. This interpretation of field in terms of the contrast between different periods of time offers a more detailed understanding in Shippey's four-fold division in which issues of wealth and wisdom interact.<sup>5</sup> As an alternative to Shippey's historical analysis,

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<sup>3</sup> Martin's system of identification examines the way in which language is structured to refer to the participants in discourse as well as the relevance attached to them in terms of the referential chains they generate: "The more central the participant ... the more likely it is to provide a referent for a phoric item..." (107). Halliday's (180-196) nominal structure is also used as a base to specify the critical and sociological relevance of the participants in terms of the socio-semantic inventory proposed by van Leeuwen whose categories for the representation of what he calls 'social agents' plays an important role within a critical perspective by the systematic association of certain categories to some individuals.

<sup>4</sup> Transitivity structures sustain the function of the clause as representation in order to give a picture of reality as a complex of processes associated to some participants and circumstances (Halliday 106-175).

<sup>5</sup> Shippey divides the *Preface* into four sections, each concerned with a specific period of English history: period I (end of the seventh century), a time of material and spiritual prosperity; period II (A.D. 855-865), a time of wealth without wisdom; period III (A.D. 871 and after), in which neither wealth nor wisdom was to be found; period IV (the time of the writing of the preface, around A.D. 890), in which at least some wisdom flourishes.



Szarmach argues that the text is about wisdom as *sapientia* and stresses the influence of church fathers on Alfred's thought as well. Indeed, these two long-established interpretations of the content of the *Preface* provide a more thorough insight to a general Hallidayan approach, which additionally can be supplemented by Martin's notion of field. See table 1.

TABLE 1. *PREFACE'S* PATTERN OF FIELD

FIELD	
What is happening?	Project of educational reform and exposition of the intellectual decay
Institutional purpose	Institutional purpose linked to Christianity through its different fields of influence: social, cultural and ideological Common sense. Elementary taxonomies

Martin's definition of field "in terms of sets of activity sequences oriented to some global institutional purpose" (536) turns the transitivity structures involving the actions of participants into a valuable means to assess their role as actual or potential members of the Christian institution. Based on this institutional orientation, several paths of interconnection between religion, state power and education come to light. Firstly, the opening transitivity scheme "actor (*Ælfred kyning*) + process (*gretan*) + goal (*Wærferð biscep*) + circumstance (*luflice & freondlice*)" in *Ælfred kyning hateð gretan Wærferð biscep his wordum luflice & freondlice* [3.1-2] embodies the institutional line of communication set up between the crown and the church in the text.<sup>6</sup> This relationship is further itemized in terms of the institutional submission of the first to the latter in the construction "actor (*ða kyningas*) + process (*hersumedon*) + goal (*Gode & his arendwrecum*)" in *hu ða kyningas ðe ðone ónwald hæfdon ðæs folces [on ðam dagum] Gode & his arendwrecum hersumedon* [3.5-6]. Activity sequences also manifest the social, ideological and educational areas of influence of Christianity brought about by the connection between educational or cultural fields and religious ones. In order to articulate the link between religion and education Alfred draws on the use of the first person plural in the following two structures: "senser (*we*) + process (*lufodon/lefdon*) + phenomenon (*hit [wisdom]*)" in *ða ða we hit nohwæder ne selfe ne lufodon ne eac oðrum monnum ne lefdon* [5.5-6] and "senser (*we*) + process (*lufodon*) + phenomenon (*ðone naman anne ðæt[te] we Cristne wæren*)" in *ðone naman anne we lufodon ðæt[te] we Cristne wæren* [5.6-7]. This last configuration materializes "the divergence between the appearance of be-

<sup>6</sup> My citations are in the form [page number.line number] from Hatton MS in Henry Sweet's edition. Transitivity structures only refer to the relevant elements of the fragments selected.



lief and the reality of behavior” that is traditional in Christian literature (Szarmach 61). In view of that, as stated by Frantzen, Szarmach’s analysis “directs our attention away from the preface as a historical record to its use of traditional Christian literary themes” (27). This fact supports the performative nature of these structures, since the author urges the reader to move from a view of Christianity as an outer shell of conviction to an inner ideological reality. Regarding the use of the first person plural, the inclusion of the receiver in what Fairclough terms “inclusive we” (*Language* 106) indicates a desired concurrence between the writer and his audience that additionally imposes an institutional load on them. Yet, Orton moves beyond a mere individual or institutional reference as he contends that the use of *we* in these two clauses reaches a higher projection displayed on a national level (144). Thus, Alfred urges the reader to approach both wisdom and Christianity in an effective manner that embraces the educational domain of Christianity extended on a national dimension. This commitment with Christianity is also made evident in the description of religious members in the structure “carrier (*ða godcundan hadas*) + process (*wæron*) + attribute (*giorne*) + circumstance (*ge ymb lare ge ymb liornunga, ge ymb ealle ða ðiewotdomas ðe hie Gode [don] scoldon*)” in *ða godcundan hadas hu giorne hie wæron ægðer ge ymb liornunga, ge ymb ealle ða ðiewotdomas ðe hie Gode [don] scoldon* [3.9-11], with the link religion–education illustrated through the two-fold role of *ða godcundan hadas* as depicted by the circumstance element. Supporting again a performative character that goes beyond the scope of this structure itself, Frantzen highlights the connotations of this clause in conjunction with the experiential constructions attributed to the kings because of the implicit exemplifying purpose that sustains them and that turns them into a model not only to the reader, but to foreign scholars: “He notes that simultaneously the religious orders were eager to teach and to learn, and to perform holy services as well. So excellent was this civilization that it was a model to foreign scholars who arrived in England to study” (28).

This network of religion, education and crown encompasses a further explicit link with wealth by placing the activity sequences of participants into the much discussed paradox of the association between wealth and wisdom. The structures “actor (*Ure ieldran*) + process (*begeaton*) + goal (*welan*)” in *Ure ieldran, ða ðe ðas stowa ær hioldon, hie lufodon wisdom & ðurh ðone hie begeaton welan* [5.13-15] and “actor (*we*) + process (*habbað forlaten*) + goal (*welan*)” in *fórðem we habbað nú ægðer forlaten ge ðone welan ge ðone wisdom* [5.16-17] establish the contrast between the presence and absence of wealth, something which also conditions Shippey’s historical division, and thus presents power in the text as goal obtained and goal lost. Considering that Alfred completes the historical scheme of the *Preface* by looking ahead to a time in which wealth will be reinstated (Frantzen 27), wealth becomes not only an essential ingredient within the whole institutional purpose of the text, but the goal itself that demarcates the ensuing activity sequences of participants beyond the text. Also, wealth appears as a mark of social distinction in some members: “carrier (*ða kyningas*) + process (*hæfdon*) + attribute (*ónwald*)” in *ða kyningas ðe ðone ónwald hæfdon ðæs folces* [3.5] and “carrier (*eall sio gioguð ðe nu is ón Angelcynne friora monna*) + process (*hæbben*) + attribute (*speda*)” in *eall sio gioguð ðe nu is ón*



*Angelcynne friora monna, ðara ðe ða speda hæbben* [7.10-11]. Alfred's programme of translation and education would strengthen certain individuals who were already powerful in society. Besides the objective of accompanying the *Pastoral Care*, the second main aim of Alfred's prefatory letter was to outline "his hopes for the education of the free-born youth of Wessex" (Smyth 559). This fact depicts power as a relevant qualifying feature of participants and hence reinforces the teleological role of power in Alfred's educational plan and also in the text's paradigm of field. Discenza (*Wealth*), Orton and Nelson have tackled the paradox embodied in Alfred's excessive concern with power by rejecting a metaphorical interpretation in terms of spiritual or intellectual wealth, which is also discarded here. As stated by Discenza (*Wealth* 466), Alfred outlines a programme to institutionalize the connections between wealth and wisdom by encouraging a market in which cultural capital has economic and social value.

This same network of connections that religion embraces has a counterpart in the analysis of religious members as a focus of structure. The linguistic resources that account for their social function uncover a parallel three-dimensional link with culture, God and state power. The presentation of ecclesiastics is registered through the socio-semantic category of classification in *se biscep* [9.6] and *gelerede biscepas* [9.4]. In the latter, the inclusion of the epithet *gelerede* specifying the learned character of the participants shapes the link between religious and educational domains. The nominal groups *Plegmunde minum ærcebisepe* [7.21], *Assere minum biscepe* [7.21], *Grimbolde minum mæsseprioste* [7.22] and *Iohanne minum mæssepreoste* [7.22] merge the socio-semantic categories of nominalization and classification in order to offer an individualized reference and specify their institutional rank respectively. Both categories reinforce their relevance both as individuals and as social members, whereas a third one of relational identification conferred by *minum* establishes in addition the connection between the state power represented by Alfred and the ecclesiastics. In the complex paratactic nominal structure *Gode & his ærendwrecum* [3.6], the noun *ærendwrecum* denotes the function of religious participants through the socio-semantic class of functionalization, whereas the possessive *his* attaches the value of relational identification setting up a further explicit link with God. Huppé explains how this noun phrase specifies the religious origin of the state power: "it springs from their obedience to God and His messengers (*ærendwrecum*), the latter term seeming to define the role of the church as the expositor of God's word, and thus by implication reserving temporal rule to the king" (125). In the nominal group *Godes ðiowa* [5.11] the category of relational identification conveyed by the possessive *Godes* reiterates the bond with God. An added aspect in the mixture of religious and secular environments is contemplated through the references to the communities of secular clergy that according to Orton (142-145), the noun phrase *Godes ðiowa* realizes. Despite living communally and observing canonical hours, they would not follow monastic rules.

Within the variable of field, Martin sets up a second dimension centred on a scale of common/uncommon sense in terms of the degree of taxonomic complexity accompanying discourse (542- 546). Concerning this aspect, the institutional purpose of the *Preface* is materialized through common sense assumptions attached

to a superficial level of explicit taxonomic simplicity and strategic transitivity patterns. As will be explained next, this model disguises a second level of implicit content ascribed to mode that attempts to determine and control the behaviour of the reader. Accordingly, Martin's concept of field accounts for the combination of language and action that underpins the persuasive nature of the text as regards an institutional focus that encompasses the social, educational and political flanks of Anglo-Saxon life.

## TENOR

Halliday's idea of tenor as "who are taking part" (Halliday and Hasan 12) is interpreted in terms of the contact established between King Alfred and Bishop Wærferth within a wider social framework that includes religious members (e.g. *gelærede biscepas* [9.4], *Godes ðiowa* [5.11]), power elites (e.g. *ða kyningas* [3.5]) and some other generic references (e.g. *oðrum monnum* [5.6], *menn* [5.22], *eallum monnum* [7.7.]). As illustrated in table 2, Martin's view of tenor along the three dimensions of status, contact and affect (523-536) helps to systematize these social relationships within some critical parameters of power and social inequality: status refers to the relative positions of participants in a culture's social hierarchy, contact refers to their degree of institutional involvement and affect covers the degree of emotional charge between them.

TABLE 2. PREFACE'S PATTERN OF TENOR

TENOR	
Who are taking part?	Social scheme formed by religious members, power elites and rest of the population referred to in a generic way
Status	Equality between religious members and power elites and inferiority position of the rest of participants
Contact	Regular contact between superior members and occasional with inferior ones
Affect	Occasional affective conduct related to strategy of suspension of authority

Concerning the first dimension, Martin distinguishes a basic opposition between equal and unequal status based on linguistic choice by assuming a symbolic relationship between the social rank of individuals and the linguistic systems that sustain their presence in the text (527-528). This fact can be appreciated in the similarity of socio-semantic categories employed to materialize the presentation of both ecclesiastical members and power elites as a centre of structure and in opposition to the rest of individuals belonging to the fourth reference system detected in the text. Proving that, both sender and receiver are assigned the categories of nomination and classification in *Ælfred kyning* [3.1] and *Wærferð biscep* [3.1] in order to



stress their pre-eminence both individually and as regards a social function that provides them with an institutional support of authority. The analogous socio-semantic and phrase structures of both individuals as the embodiment of state and church respectively symbolize a similarity of status and social value. The social repertoire of the *Preface* also includes the categories of genericization and classification in *ða kyningas* [3.5] and *gioguð* in *eall sio gioguð ðe nu is ón Angelcynne friora monna, ðara ðe ða speda hæbben* [7.10-11], the latter justifying the criticisms against Alfred's socially selective learning project. "The youth (*gioguð*) in question were inevitably male, free-born (sons of *friora monna*), with enough *sped* —wealth or ability or both..." (Smyth 560-61). As previously mentioned, religious members count on the categories of nomination in *Plegmunde minum ærcebiscepe* [7.21], *Assere minum biscepe* [7.21], *Grimbolde minum mæseprioste* [7.22] and *Iohanne minum mæsepreoste* [7.22], underpinning a particularized and pertinent identification that may be linked to their role not only as bishops under Alfred's reign but also as leading assistants in his translation programme (Orton 144). As observed in field, references to the clergy also draw on the socio-semantic types of categorization (classification and functionalization), association and relational identification, all of them contributing to highlight their social role within a system of connections with God, power and education. A further subgroup of social members within the fourth reference system (*oðrum monnum* [5.6], *menn* [5.22], *eallum monnum* [7.7]) represented through the socio-semantic categories of genericization and aggregation expands the scope of participants affected by Alfred's statements. By representing them as an indefinite mass or group Alfred supports the pretensions to universality of his message, sometimes exerting a direct persuasive function (*Geden hwelc witu ús ða becomon for ðisse worulde, ða ða we hit nohwæder ne selfe ne lufodon ne eac oðrum monnum ne lefdon* [5.5-6]) sometimes just describing the state of intellectual decline (*Hie ne wendon ðatt[e] æfre menn sceolden swæ re[c]elease weorðan & sio lar swæ oðfeallan* [5.22-23]). In view of that, this systematic scheme of categories illustrates how the status dimension of tenor supports the existing social hierarchy.

Alfred materializes his authority in the text through an extensive identification system enacted by the first person singular combined strategically with the first person plural. The use of the latter conveys a high degree of authority to the text in terms of which Alfred acts in representation of all the participants by inflicting an institutional load on them. This combination of referential chains supports Szarmach's claim that the *Preface* must be contemplated as a complex personal statement combined with a public intention that proclaims the magnitude of Christian wisdom (63). Alfred's presence in the text embodies some other paths of linguistic control emerging from his role as a focus of action by means of three transitivity patterns. Firstly, in *ic ðe bebiode ðæt ðu... befestan mæge, befašte.* [5.1-4] and *Ond ic bebiode ón Godes naman ðæt nan món... from ðæm mynstre* [9.2-3], the verbal process *bebiode* exemplifies the function of command Alfred exerts not only over the receiver but over a collective participant. In giving specific instructions about his book, Alfred moves from a particular audience to a universal one: "The *bebiode* of the conclusion differs from the others in that it is not addressed to Wærferð, but to all men, present or future, who will make use of the book" (Huppé 131). Secondly,



the *Preface's* five major sections “begin with some reference to the writer’s powers of memory, usually a *ic ða (ðis eall) gemunde*, “When I then remembered (all this)” (Shippey 346). The combination “first person singular + mental process” in e.g. *ic... geðencean* [3.17-18], *wundrade ic* [5.19] and in the repetitive use of *ic... gemunde* [5.8] allows the author to deploy his function as a centre of reflection over the experiential content in such a way that he seems to legitimate his subjectivity position as a source of authenticity in the message. Thirdly, Alfred’s discursive legitimacy is also strengthened through his function both as *sayer* and *receiver* in the same transitivity construction “*sayer (ic) + process + (andwyrde) + receiver (me selfum)*” in *ic ða sona eft me selfum andwyrde* [5.21-22]. This double position condenses in the same structure his role as *sender* of the message, as a *trusted source* of deliberation and as a *central interlocutor* in the text.

The second dimension of contact evaluates the degree of institutional involvement between participants in terms of the distinction between the two ends of involved and uninvolved (Martin 528-32). As previously indicated by the institutional connotations implied in field, the involved side is systematized by the initial transitivity structure “*actor (Ælfred kyning) + process (gretan) + goal (Wærferð biscep) + circumstance (luflice & freondlice)*” [3.1-2] that makes the message be supported on the contact between the crown and the church, a contact that is later identified in terms the submission of the first to the latter: “*actor (ða kyningas) + process (hersumedon) + goal (Gode & his ærendwrecum)*” in *hu ða kyningas ðe ðone ónwald hæfdon ðæs folces [on ðam dagum] Gode & his ærendwrecum hersumedon* [3.5-6]. This contact has a matching part in the enactment of religious members as a centre of structure. The category of relational identification in the nominal groups *Plegmunde minum ærcebisepe* [7.21], *Assere minum biscepe* [7.21], *Grimbolde minum mæsseprioste* [7.22] and *Iohanne minum mæssepreoste* [7.22] conferred by *minum* generates a further connection between the state power represented by Alfred and the ecclesiastics, whereas the same category in *Gode & his ærendwrecum* [3.6] and *Godes ðiowa* [5.11] sets up an explicit link with God by means of the possessives *his* and *Godes* respectively.

Despite the minor influence exerted by the third dimension of affect in the *Preface*, the basic realization principle of amplification associated with it allows for a critical interpretation that justifies the affective dose interspersed in the *Preface* in order to guarantee the effectiveness of power considerations, specifically “at the discretion of participants in a dominance position” (Martin 533). As Martin asserts, affect is something that can be balanced, turned on and off, adjusted to normal levels or turned on really loud when the occasion desires. Concerning this aspect, the use of the first person plural epitomizes the employment of the same linguistic device with a paradoxical mixture of authority and affective doses. The inclusive “we” complies with an oscillating attitude that alternates Alfred’s manifestations of control with some other affective positions of closeness and suspension of power. This inclusive “we” encodes a common identity to all the participants through the fusion of all the identification chains and at the same time, imposes an institutional unification through the socio-semantic category of assimilation supporting it. Thus, despite not implying a distinction of individuals in terms of a social or ideological scale, this first person plural represents one of the most tangible proofs



of the strategy sustaining the contact between all the social members with the aim of holding the pretensions to universality of the text under the façade of an affective posture.

Some other linguistic devices included in this third dimension of tenor are the concluding adverbial phrase *luflice & freondlice* [3.1-2] in the opening transitivity structure of the text which “may just possibly serve, in its warmth, to give a sense of the personal and humanizing to the formal phrases of salutation” (Huppé 124). The affective tone conveyed by interpersonal elements in the evaluative epithet *godena* in *ðara godena wiotona* [5.19] unveils the author’s flattering presentation of the religious members that in a general way also underpins the use of the interpersonal resources in the text. The information provided by the nominal phrases and socio-semantic categories strengthening the social function of ecclesiastics in field and in the previous dimensions of tenor has an additional meaning within affect. The interpersonal resources attached to their role as a centre of structure show different fronts of valuable and complimentary description: link with political power through the category of relational identification (e.g. *Plegmunde minum ærcebiscepe* [7.21]), link with God through relational identification (e.g. *Gode & his arendwrecum* [3.6] and *Godes ðiowa* [5.11]), connection religion-education through the evaluative epithet (*gelærede biscepas* [9.4]), social relevance through the category of functionalization (e.g. *arendwrecum* [3.6]), institutional rank through classification (*ærcebiscepe* and *biscepe* [7.21]) and positive assessment through the evaluative epithet (*ðara godena wiotona* [5.19]).

The variable of tenor exhibits a symbolic relationship between linguistic resources and the social position of participants. The first dimension of rank exemplifies the superiority condition assigned to ecclesiastics and power elites as well as the imposing attitude displayed by Alfred within the institutional parameters exposed in field. In the second dimension, the frequency scale that distinguishes between regular or occasional contact acts as a barometer to catalogue individuals in terms of a relationship regulated by the criteria of power and ideological alignment as designed through the previous dimension of rank. The third component of affect performs an implicit purpose in conjunction with the previous dimensions of status and contact in order to adapt the effectiveness of the discourse through the fluctuating movement of authority, as evinced in the latter ones, and the affective dose the former incorporates. All things considered, Martin’s three-dimensional view corroborates the dynamic character of tenor in the *Preface*, the manifold roles transferred strategically to the participants and even the mixture of the connotations of status, contact and affect in the same linguistic device, namely the use of the first person plural.

## MODE

The persuasive nature of the text is also assisted by the impact of all the previous information on mode due to the textual orientation of this third register variable. As summarized in table 3, Martin’s view enriches the perception of the

*Preface* as an epistle supplied by Halliday's (Halliday and Hasan 12) concept of mode along two metafunctionally oriented dimensions, interpersonal and experiential. According to the interpersonal side, linguistic choice unveils the capacity to generate on the reader some common patterns of reaction or feedback. That strategic imposition to act corroborates how the *Preface* can be assessed as the picture of a man's mind at work, presenting solutions to problems with a concept of effective presentation (Huppé 119-120). Thus, some linguistic devices in the text draw on a calculated mechanism that firstly, aims to activate the action of the individuals by means of some alert sources and secondly, establishes a subsequent pattern of action to follow promoting the adhesion to Christianity and to Alfred's educational reform. This design of behaviour is assisted by the doctrinal propaganda transmitted by the description of religious participants as institutional members.

TABLE 3. PREFACE'S PATTERN OF MODE

MODE	
What part is the language playing?	Preface presented as epistle form
Interpersonal	Complex and subtle mechanism of composing to produce the reaction of participants
Experiential	Strategic construction of a new social order and reconstruction of past events

The transitivity pattern generated around the first person plural in “actor (*hwelc witu*) + process (*becomon*) + goal (*us*)” in *hwelc witu ús ða becomon for ðisse worulde* [5.5] situates all the participants within the first half of a two-sided manipulative system.<sup>7</sup> This first part encompasses some alert sources that by placing them in a situation of despair prepare the path for a second subsequent pattern of action to follow built on the network of wisdom, Christianity and power as depicted in field. Additionally, the structure “senser (*we*) + process (*lufodon*) + phenomenon (*ðone naman anne ... ðæt[te] we Cristne wæren, & swiðe feawe ða ðeawas*)” in *ðone naman anne we lufodon ðæt[te] we Cristne wæren, & swiðe feawe ða ðeawas* [5.6-8] exerts a function within this first side bearing in mind its aim to make the reader aware of the divergence between the appearance of belief and the reality of behaviour (Szarmach 61). But Szarmach also comments on the unique impact of Alfred's version of his Christian complaint on the grounds of a connection with the

<sup>7</sup> As pointed out by Orton, “the *witu* suffered by the English for their slackness are almost certainly the Viking attacks; and the placing of this observation next to the appeal to present bishops may imply some criticism of them” (145). Alfred only alludes to the Vikings in passing, as he recognizes that the problems he was up against were rooted in the English church (Orton 148).



*witu* mentioned in the previous structure: “because he connects it with punishments Anglo-Saxon society has received, presumably at the hands of the Danes” (61). The use of the first person plural gives effectiveness to these warning sources by unifying participants in a plight and hence increasing the dimensions of disaster, but it also reveals the author’s concern with power, whose loss alerts participants: “actor (*we*) + process (*habbað forlæten*) + goal (*welan*)” in *we habbað nú ægðer forlæten ge ðone welan ge ðone wisdom* [5.16-17]. A further side of these alarm devices rests on some existential constructions that assess the lack of learned people in the past as a factor of educational debacle: *swiðe feawa wæron behionan Humbre ðe hiora deninga cuðen understondan on Englisc* [3.13-15], *noht monige begiondan Humbre naren* [3.16] and *Swæ feawa hiora wæron* [3.17]. The socio-semantic category of aggregation formed by the combination “adverb + quantifier” (*swiðe feawa, noht monige, swæ feawa hiora*) supports the existential element in these transitivity structures with the purpose of displaying a statistic value. The attachment of *swiðe, noht* and *swæ* reinforcing quantifiers prompts us to treat participants as poor statistics, whereas the progression they exhibit emphasizes the scale of learning disaster. As posed by Huppé, that “incremental variation serves vividly to picture the dearth of scholars Alfred encountered when he became king and gives particular effectiveness to period 3 with its simple statement of thanksgiving for the present time when there is *ænigne onstal... lareowa*” (127). Within this interpersonal metafunction, Martin includes another feature related to the scale of complexity in the composing of discourse, “the way in which text is shaped as an object of meaning” (513). The strategic mechanism that sustains the construction of the text connects this dimension of mode with the taxonomic simplicity mentioned in field. As previously explained, the persuasive presentation of the message requires a second level of implicit content that is now validated through the interpersonal angle of mode.

Relating to its experiential dimension, which mediates the semiotic space between action and reflection, the *Preface* presents itself as a text constitutive of social processes, in opposition to the ones that simply accompany those processes. As regards the additional distinction between construction and reconstruction suggested by Martin (520-522), although the *Preface* presents a constructing mode in terms of the project of educational reform Alfred portrays, those fragments that illustrate the contrast between the intellectual decadence of the present and the past splendour give form to the reconstruction side of mode. This tactic movement in time acquires great connotations in Shippey’s historical analysis with a potential period V wherein both wisdom and wealth will be restored to his kingdom. Thus, the *Preface* combines a reconstructing process of social reality with a constructing enterprise that aim jointly to generate the ideological allegiance of participants within a new moral, social and cultural order in accordance with the institutional parameters of Christianity specified in field. Alfred conceives a social order in the text dominated by status and ideological criteria that is not casual. Frantzen highlights the carefully arranged subdivisions of Alfred’s society in the *Preface* as well as the role assigned to learning in each part, especially as regards religious and royal members (28). But Alfred also includes a further reference system enacted by the combination of first person singular and first person plural that exercises a tactic





control through the fusion of all the identification systems it entails and hence allows him to impose his authority over the whole social panorama. Likewise, Discenza's (*Persuasive*) statements on Alfred's persuasive power become completely meaningful in mode. As Discenza (*Persuasive* 131) exposes, Alfred's argumentation is subtle and potent, he conveys arguments with beauty as well as authority to win over a variety of readers to his views, his "use of history to authorize the programme gives him a solid foundation on which to build his other appeals."

## CONCLUSION

Halliday's concept of field, tenor and mode together with Martin's views within each register variable fit a critical analysis that reveals the role played by the *Preface* in realizing social action. In the Anglo-Saxon context, discourse is materialized in institutional forms and practices with a strategic purpose according to which the formation of subjects derives from the effect of power of the Christian institution. The rendering of context employed in this examination rejects a strict distinction between a secular and a religious domain in favour of an evaluation of this relationship in terms of the areas of discursive influence of Christian ideology, which provides a solid framework of tripartite interconnection between the institution of Christianity, education and power. As attested in this paper, the *Preface* may be contemplated as an instrument of control, not only of communication, by means of which the Anglo-Saxon reader can be manipulated as he assumes he is just being addressed. But mostly, this functional approach to register allows us to detect a domain of convergence between this new perspective and those issues of persuasion, power and inequality referred to by traditional research. These traditional statements have a counterpart in the analysis of linguistic structures attributed to the participants in the text. Our interpretation of the linguistic devices involved in the description of the individuals both as a centre of structure and action supports a critical view according to which far from giving orders, Alfred crafts a preface to entice the readers to his social, ideological and didactic project.

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# THE METONYMIC BASIS OF PREPOSITIONAL POLYSEMY IN OLD ENGLISH: A PRAGMATIC APPROACH

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## ABSTRACT

This paper examines the semantics and pragmatics of the preposition “on” in Old English. I will show that deviations from its prototype were motivated by pragmatic inferences and world-knowledge. A striking feature of the deviation processes examined here is that they were triggered by metonymic operations. A salient element in the configuration of the spatial relations expressed by the prototype was modulated by several contextual factors modifying the primary relation and producing shifts in meaning. One of the main conclusions drawn from this work is that while the principles governing the distribution of the prepositions “in” and “on” in present-day English rely above all on geometric descriptions of the landmark, in Old English it was determined by pragmatic inferences and communicative constraints.

KEY WORDS: Metonymy, pragmatics, grammaticalization, semantic extension, diachronic evolution.

## RESUMEN

Este trabajo examina los aspectos semánticos y pragmáticos de la preposición “on” en inglés antiguo. Mostraré que desviaciones fueron motivadas a partir del prototipo debido a inferencias pragmáticas y al conocimiento del mundo. Un rasgo llamativo de los procesos de desviación aquí examinado se base en que fueron detonados por procesos metonímicos. Un elemento focal en la configuración de las relaciones espaciales expresado por el prototipo fue modulado por varios factores contextuales que modificaron la relación primaria y produjeron cambios en el significado. Una de las principales conclusiones obtenidas de este trabajo es que, mientras los principios que gobiernan la distribución de las preposiciones “in” y “on” en inglés antiguo sustentan principalmente en descripciones geométricas del espacio, en inglés antiguo, estas estaban determinadas por inferencias pragmáticas y restricciones comunicativas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: metonimia, pragmática, gramaticalización, extensión semántica, evolución diacrónica.



## 1. THE ROLE OF METONYMY IN SEMANTIC EXTENSION: THE CASE OF PREPOSITIONAL SEMANTICS

Recently we have witnessed the arousal of a number of solidly founded papers that show that metonymy is a basic device in some grammaticalization processes (Cuyckens, Hopper, Lehman, Queller, Radden, Traugott and Köning). However, the role of metonymic operations in the extension of spatial categories still is quite unexplored. This is despite the fact that Herskovits as soon as 1986 already explained that the use of prepositions to categorize relationships not matching the prototype of the category was due to metonymic shifts. She acknowledged that the use of metonymy as a theoretical device to define these semantics extensions was not without problems:

These may in general be called “metonymies”, though this is often stretching the intuitive idea of metonymy, since a speaker may not be as aware of an indirect reference as he or she would be if told “the ham sandwich is waiting for his check.” (56)

Herskovits is right when stating that speakers might not be aware of the existence of a case of metonymy in certain uses of prepositions. But the studies referred to above demonstrate that metonymy is a cognitive operation taking part in processes which are complex enough as to go unnoticed by the lay speaker. It is the linguist's task to identify them and describe the principles that have motivated these metonymic operations.

Even though with the advent of cognitive linguistics prepositional semantics have been thoroughly examined in a myriad of works, the views adopted have followed basically the same directions. Thus, several aspects of the behaviour of these close-class elements have been overlooked. The methodology in the study of prepositions recurs in most studies. Linguists are concerned with establishing the degree of polysemy that can be ascribed to these categories. In other words, what is at issue is whether a single meaning, abstract enough as to apply to all the senses of the category, can be found. Due to the referents of prepositions, this abstract sense is usually represented by means of a geometric abstraction. This is often compatible with a network that displays all the uses of a preposition and how they are connected between them. Abstract uses of prepositions have received less attention than physical, and their existence is explained by the consistency of topological schemata recurring in different domains (time, feelings, causality, etc.). Metaphor has been assigned a relevant role in this transference of use from the physical to other realms of experience.

Facts that have been generally neglected are: i) how the diachronic evolution of a preposition relates to the present usage of the category; and ii) the role that metonymic operations plays in the semantic extensions undergone by prepositions. The first point is particularly complex because prepositions' denotational function works differently from that of other words. Diachronic semantics shows that lexical items that refer to concrete entities may change their meaning over the years so that they can be used when referring to new realities. An example of this is the English



word *car* which originally was used to refer to a cart usually pulled by horses, while now it denotes a self-propelled vehicle. But, objectively, basic spatial relations do not change in the way that objects do, nor do they stop existing. Thus, alterations in the way they are referred to is a response to changes in the way they are viewed by conceptualizers. This observation poses the first difficulty in the study of these spatial categories. The linguist must not rely so much on the objective reality, but should try to uncover the factors that mould the conceptualizers' perception of spatial scenes. To my knowledge, only Cuyckens has so far explicitly drawn attention to the fact that the connections between prepositional uses can be described by means other than metaphoric extensions. This author analyses the following examples with the preposition *for* (Cuyckens 260):

- (7) I bought a new suit for my brother's wedding
- (8) The dogs fought for the bone (cf. Radden 193)
- (9) A certain amount must be deducted for depreciation (LDCE)

Cuyckens acknowledges with Radden that these expressions can be interpreted as an instantiation of the CAUSE IS GOAL metaphor. According to this interpretation, the landmarks of the preposition *for* are the motivation of the action and at the same time its goal. But Cuyckens convincingly argues that cause and goal occur simultaneously in these expressions, therefore, a relation of concomitance can be attributed to it. This is where the operation of the metonymy is located. Cuyckens goes further to explain that the diachronic developments undergone by certain prepositions are the result of metonymic mechanisms. As an example Cuyckens presents the case of the preposition *to* in Old English. The grammaticalization undergone by this preposition has been explained by some authors as the operation of a metaphoric operation. Thus, from the expression of ablative relations to purpose reflects the PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS metaphor. However, Cuyckens goes one step further and demonstrates that there exists conceptual concomitance between the notions of "purpose" and "physical destination." This can be read in the following sentences this author presents (Cuyckens 261):

- (16) They came to our rescue
- (17) They sat down to dinner
- (18) We were out to breakfast
- (19) I am going to be married (cf. Hopper and Traugott 82)

These examples show that there is a relation of contiguity between the purpose and the location where that purpose is to be fulfilled.

Cuyckens's claim that semantic extensions can sometimes be more powerfully described by uncovering the metonymic operations that underlie them presents two obvious advantages: i) it does not deny the role played by metaphor; and ii) it establishes firm connections with the role that perception plays in conceptualization since the conceptual contiguity found in this relations mirrors contiguity of the phenomena in extra linguistic reality. This makes his model highly useful for the diachronic analysis of the preposition "on" in two fundamental ways:



1. It explains its distribution with the preposition “in” in Old English, which otherwise would remain rather obscure since there seems to be a rupture between the usage of these prepositions in that period and that in present-day English.
2. It allows the description of the diachronic evolution of the category “on.” In other words, it shows that there exists logical continuity in the usage of the category, despite the remarkable differences in usage between Old and present-day English.

## 2. THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN OLD ENGLISH

An analysis of the uses of “in,” “on” and “at” in Old English shows that geometric conceptualisation is not fully operating in these prepositions’ distribution. For example, an examination of the landmarks collocated with “in,” “on” and “at” in *The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History* (henceforth EH) shows that large geo-physical divisions, such as nations, can appear preceded by either the preposition “in” or by the preposition “on” (Guarddon 2004). The expressions below illustrate this fact:

- (1) a. *XV. Ðætte Angelðeod was gelaðod fram Bryttum on Breotone;*  
 “XV. That the Angles were invited **into Britain** by the Britons:”  
 (Bedehead 1.8.9)
- b. *Ða ferdon Peohtas in Breotone, ongunnon eardigan þa norðdelas þyses elondes;*  
 “Then the Picts came **into Britain**, and began to occupy the north of this island,” (1 1.28.17)

Lundskær-Nielsen provides further evidence in the same direction. As mentioned earlier, this author analysed the years 892-900 in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, where he has found that the preposition “on” co-occurs with the name of a region on 21 occasions, while there is only one case with the preposition “in.” In the same extract, “at” occurs on 10 occasions with a name of town, while the preposition “on” occurs only 3 occasions in the same context and the preposition “in” does not occur at all in conjunction with a town in this corpus. In Lundskær-Nielsen’s examination of the usage of these prepositions in the years 1122-54 of *The Peterborough Chronicle* has found that a location in town is expressed by the preposition “in” on 7 occasions, the preposition “at” on 14 occasions and the preposition “on” on 17 occasions. From these data two fundamental facts derive: i) The knowledge schemata underlying the use of the preposition *on* in Old English were different from those that are active; and ii) They were also fewer. Only a reduction in the number of the image schemata can account for the greater flexibility in the use of the preposition as regards the selection of landmarks.

One of the main reasons for choosing EH to create our corpus is that being quite long—it is made up of five books—we have found enough occurrences of





the preposition *on* to spot certain tendencies in the use of this preposition. Second, the three main topological prepositions, “in,” “on” and “at,” which have a rather restricted distribution are well represented in the text. This allows us to establish the selection restrictions governing the distribution of the preposition “on” in EH, which can also be extrapolated to other Old English texts.

There is a widespread assumption that prepositions are highly polysemous words and thus form extremely complex lexical classes. Their polysemy is based on their capacity to categorise domains other than the spatial. Therefore, the semantic description of a preposition is not complete if no reference is made to the temporal and abstract relationships that it can establish. However, these relations lie beyond the scope of the present paper. At any rate, due to their ontological privileged status, the spatial uses of a preposition should be described in the first place in order to determine the metaphorical and metonymical operations that have led to further extensions of the category in other domains. The landmarks selected for the purposes of our analysis stand for a wide range of spatial categories: large geographic entities, small geographic entities, general geographic designations, buildings, containers, body parts, means of transport and imaginary places. The table below shows the catalogue of landmarks that have been used to build up our corpus:

TABLE 1. PHYSICAL LANDMARKS FROM EH

PHYSICAL LANDMARKS

1. <i>Britten</i> ‘Britain’	8. <i>Gallia</i> ‘Gaul’	15. <i>Mynster</i> ‘monastery’
2. <i>Burg</i> ‘town’	9. <i>Hand</i> ‘hand’	16. <i>Neorxenawang</i> ‘paradise’
3. <i>Cirice</i> ‘church’	10. <i>Heofon</i> ‘heaven’	17. <i>Rice</i> ‘kingdom’
4. <i>Cyst</i> ‘coffin’	11. <i>Hús</i> ‘house’	18. <i>Rom</i> ‘Rome’
5. <i>Eðel</i> ‘country’	12. <i>Land</i> ‘land’	19. <i>Scip</i> ‘ship’
6. <i>Fót</i> ‘foot’	13. <i>Mægð</i> ‘province, tribe’	20. <i>Stow</i> ‘place’
7. <i>Fyr</i> ‘fire’	14. <i>Mór</i> ‘moors’	21. <i>Ðrub</i> ‘coffin’

It must be noted that with some of these landmarks I have found no examples using the preposition “on,” but they have been kept because, I claim, that for the semantic description of a preposition, indicating the type of landmark it collocates with is as relevant as enumerating the type of relationships that it cannot establish.

At this point, it must be noted that EH is the translation of a Latin original and one could argue about the possibility of Latin influence in the prepositional usage of the Old English translation. To check whether such dependence has biased the use of “on,” I have compared all the expressions that compose our corpus with their Latin equivalents and I have not found any repeated synchronicity in this



sense, for example, the Latin preposition *ad* motivating the presence of “at” in the Old English text. In his study of the case values governed by prepositions in Old English Belden also confirmed that the Latin work had not determined the choice of prepositions in EH.

### 3. THE INTERACTION OF PRAGMATIC STRENGTHENING AND METONYMY IN THE DIACHRONIC EVOLUTION OF THE PREPOSITION “ON”

A global semantic description of the prepositions “in,” “on” and “at” can be achieved by means of one factor based in spatio-physical experience: “visual distance.” This visual distance is to be understood as the separation holding between the speaker and the scene being referred to by a prepositional expression. It is argued that this extra-linguistic notion systematically motivates the semantic structure of these prepositions in two fundamental ways. First, it places these prepositions in a semantic continuum that modulates their distribution in the contexts where they are able to alternate. Second, I claim that visual distance is concomitant to the use of these prepositions in those cases where no alternation seems to be at all feasible. In order to illustrate the two points made above consider the following examples:

- (2) a. I will not allow my soldiers to fight in this terrain  
b. I will not allow my soldiers to fight on this terrain

(2a) suggests that the speaker is standing in the place where her soldiers are supposed to fight. The use of the preposition “in” in this example expresses a sense of containment which is not present in (2b). The use of the preposition “on” in (2b) relates to a situation in which the commander is pointing at the terrain on a map. Thus, there is a notion of contact with a bi-dimensional landmark rather than containment by a three-dimensional landmark as in (2a) The preposition “at” very often alternates with “in” to express identical scenes objectively speaking, but which are viewed differently by the speaker. This has been noted by Herskovits through the examples “Lucy is at the supermarket” and “Lucy is in the supermarket” (Herskovits 15). According to Herskovits, “If both speaker and addressee are in the supermarket, for instance, “at the supermarket” is usually inappropriate.” “The train is at the bridge” and “The train is on the bridge” constitute a similar case, the former “highlights the route followed by the train, marking the bridge as a landmark” (Herskovits 15). This is definitely possible because the speaker has a *map* perspective of the relationship between the trajector and the landmark. The map perspective imposes an idealisation of that relationship, where the landmark has become a line and the trajector a point in that line. The latter example implies the existence of a visualised rather than an idealised scene, thus the speaker can account for the location of the train on the upper surface of the bridge. Given the argument I have been developing, the alternation of the topological prepositions “in,” “on” and “at” does not affect the three of them but can group them in pairs according to

the scene referred to. Still the existence of a case in which the three prepositions can appear providing different perspectives of a single, objectively speaking, situation implies the activation of a continuum. In this continuum “in” would represent the maximal proximity of the speaker to the spatial relationship; “at” would convey a sense of maximal distance; and on would designate an intermediate position where the landmark still keeps traits of its overall form, although in a schematic way. For the sake of clarity, see the examples below:

- (3) a. Musical sand including both singing sand in the beach and booming sand in the desert  
b. The zone of continual change on the beach  
c. Things to do at the beach

The sentence in (3a) designates a close-up view of the beach, otherwise one would not be able to hear the sand’s sound. The geo-physical change described in (3b), is tightly correlated with a distant view of the beach that allows the appreciation of its evolution through time. “At” is often used to refer to the location of an agent in a particular scenario, which does not involve, strictly speaking, the identification of a specific place, as illustrated by (3c). The on-line choice of one of these prepositions in each expression above describing location within the boundaries of the same landmark, “beach,” has one fundamental consequence. This is that the concept “beach” is endowed with different configurations in each example, and that these configurations are contingent upon the preposition this landmark collocates with. Thus, I claim that the occurrence of distinct prepositions in these sentences is an example of the concept-to- utterance level of meaning construction.

When it comes to the cases in which these prepositions cannot alternate, I claim that they are tightly connected with relationships whose perception requires a close-up perspective. Put another way, speakers cannot state “The apple is in the bowl” if they are not close enough of both elements taking part in the relationship. The same can be said of “The book is on the table” or “The man is at the door.” I argue that these uses where visual information is determinant in preposition choice and where not alternation is possible, because of the impossibility of imposing different perspectives on a single case of location, are primary with respect to those that give rise to alternation. This is supported by language acquisition; children are able to speak of relationships which they can see and even participate physically in—such as placing objects within containers— far before they are able to categorise idealised physical relations.

As pointed out in Section 2, the data analysed in Old English shows that the prepositions “in,” “on” and “at” were able to alternate with greater flexibility in comparison to their present-day distribution. This alternation is above all found in relationships that cannot be apprehended visually, but through an idealisation of the landmark, i.e. location in geo-physical divisions (countries, town, regions, etc.). Eventually, “on” is also found in collocation with small landmarks such as receptacles, designating a relationship that in present-day English has definitely been taken on by the preposition “in.”



### 3.1. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This analysis has been carried out in relation to the landmarks presented in Table 1. The corpus of expressions where these landmarks co-occur with the prepositions examined amounts to a total of 474 expressions. When analysing the cases of preposition alternation that run counter to present-day usage, I rejected morphological motivations since the case of the landmark —accusative vs. dative— does not correlate with any of these prepositions. I also analysed the phrasal organisation of the landmark, specifically contrasted expressions with landmarks treated generically (no determinants preceding the landmark) vs. landmarks singled out by some kind of pre-modifier. Thus, the presence of a determiner does not play any function in the distribution of these prepositions. Finally, I considered the sentential context where these prepositional expressions occur, above all I paid attention to verb type and the existence of a static —locative verbs— or dynamic scene —motion verbs. I found that all of these prepositions collocate quite freely with locative or motion verbs.

After assessing that the alternation of these prepositions could not be attributed to strictly linguistic or semantic factors, I analysed the wider context where they were inserted. In other words, I looked into higher frames of reference such as discourse dynamics. From this, quite stable patterns of behaviour arose, particularly as regards the alternation of the prepositions “in” and “on.” In Old English the alternation of “in” and “on” in the expression of location in geographic entities depended upon the activation of relevant facts associated to the interior of the landmark, i.e. its internal structure versus its consideration as a plane. The relevant point was whether the speaker took a remote or a close-up perspective of a situation. As regards the preposition “on,” it is certainly not coincidental that it occurs in all the expressions where the narrator takes a remote perspective of the facts and, thus, of their location. One use-type identified can be designated “enumeration of events”. In fact, when lists of events are provided their location is systematically expressed with “on.” There is a section of the *Ecclesiastical History* known as *Headings*, there the contents of all the chapters that make up the Five Books are summarised in a telegraph-like style. In the case of *Briten* I have found four examples with the preposition “on” and none with “in.” The expression below illustrates this fact:

- (4) XI. Ðæt se arwurþa wer Swiðbyrht **on Breotone**, Wilbrord æt Rome biscopas wæron Fresna ðeode gehalgode (BedeHead 5.22.32).

“XI. That the venerable Swithberht in Britain and Wilbrord at Rome were consecrated as bishops for Friesland.”

### 3.2. IDENTIFICATION OF OPERATIVE METONYMIC SHIFTS

Before the examples examined showed that a metonymic shift was responsible for the distribution of these prepositions in Old English. I assessed one fundamental fact: All the relationships where alternation occurred expressed location



within the confines of a bounded landmark. Thus, the question that prompted my line of analysis was what configurational features of the canonical relationships denoted by “on” were transferred to cases such as (4). Finding an adequate answer to this question was pivotal to avoid accepting the traditional view that arbitrariness is one fundamental feature characterising lexical organisation.

It can be argued that the preposition “at” has relatively stuck to quite stable patterns, a very low percentage of the expressions with the preposition with “at” exhibited differences with respect to present-day usage. Regarding the expressions where the preposition “in” was found, they were quite consistent as regards present-day use. Thus, the only behaviour that proved different from the perspective of present-day usage is that of the preposition “on”; taking on uses that currently belong to the range of relations coded by the preposition “in,” such as location within the confines of a building.

The use of the preposition “on” in present-day English is accepted as being regulated by configurational properties of the landmark with which it collocates. Prototypically, a salient aspect of the landmarks associated with “on” is a surface which is in contact with and supports the landmark. Most often the landmark is also bounded but these boundaries are not salient, in Langacker’s terms we could say that they are not profiled by the meaning of the preposition. On the other hand, an important aspect of spatial scenes coded by the preposition “in” in present-day English is the notion of a boundary. Therefore, all the expressions where we find an “anomalous” use of the preposition “on,” this preposition is found coding spatial scenes where the trajector is located within the confines of a bounded landmark; even in cases where objectively these landmarks have perceptually salient limits, such as buildings. Thus, the point is how these two types of location in the interior of an entity are different so that they are conceptualised by distinct lexemes: “in” vs. “on.”

The examples on which I have focused my attention, as (1a) and (1b) show, are apparently identical as regards the spatial scene being described. The only difference between them, as intimated above, is related to the narrative context where they are inserted. In other words, even though from the physical spatial point of view they might constitute identical scenes, they are different spatial relations at the conceptual level.

The fact that we find the preposition “in” those parts of the story where a detailed account of the facts being narrated is provided indicates the existence of a close vantage point. This is tightly correlated to a great deal of visual information. Prototypically, many physical entities with an interior are made of opaque substances that obstruct visual access. Thus, I assume that the vantage point of the speaker is as close to the scene as to be able to “see” the contents contained by the landmark. From an experiential position, this situation leads to two situated inferences. First, visual access is concomitant to physical proximity. Second, full access to the interior of a container is possible when the speaker is within the interior space of the container, and this implies that the speaker must “pass within” the boundaries of the landmark. The reason for using the notions *see* and *pass* between inverted commas is that the perception and motion denoted by these terms does not have to actually happen. That is, they can be the result of mental navigation or



evocation of a scene, as when Bede tells the events occurring in a monastery or a battle field, say.

The preposition “on” is generally used in the expression of location in the interior space of a landmark when no details of the events occurring or the objects placed within the confines of the landmark are provided. This indicates the absence of visual information being activated in the account of facts. This is the case of location being used as simple data, for instance in the case of bare biographical information where are the deeds of a character what is at issue rather than the places or dates related to the events. In these cases the facts happening within the confines of the bounded landmark are given a matter-of-fact cursory treatment. No description of the development of facts or of the entities contained by the landmark is provided, thus the boundary does not constitute a relevant factor either at the experiential or the contextual level. Furthermore, the perspective of the speaker appears to be strongly related to a sense of distance. The relations so encoded by the preposition “on” are close to the uses of the preposition “at” in combination with certain geographic entities such as towns, where no inner-perspective of the speaker is presented and no details of the internal configuration of the landmark is provided.

I take sides with the view that lexicon usage is systematically motivated. As revealed by the voluminous cognition literature, in a primary stage of their development, infants conceptualise facts that are present in their experiential context. Only later are they able to conceptualise abstract and idealised situations. This is in consonance with the hypothesis that meaning extension follows a parallel process. Applied to my study, prepositions in a first place would be used to encode relationships that resulted from the speakers’ interaction with their physical environment. This interaction in turn gave rise to situated inferences, that allowed for the use of these prepositions in cases where no physical interaction takes place.

In the encoding of the location of the trajector in the interior space of the landmark two basic factors are involved: i) the speaker’s vantage point; and ii) the conceptual configuration of the landmark. It must be noted that I am using the notion of vantage point in an extended sense, not referring simply to the physical position of the speaker of the spatial scene denoted by an expression. Instead, I mean the position that the speaker adopts when conceptualising and then linguistically encoding the scene. It is worthwhile noting how these two factors interact. The closer the vantage point is the more features of the landmark configuration can be apprehended by the speaker, among these features is the relevance of boundaries. This manifests in the speaker interaction with the trajector and the landmark. For instance, let us say that the speaker is faced with a small container such a box, she will not be able to know what is inside the box if she is not close enough so that she can access visually the contents of the box from above. In this fashion, the conceptualiser avoids the blockage to visual perception effected by the boundaries of the box. If the speaker is within a room, she is fully aware of the contents of the room, thus, she is aware of the interior structure of the space delimited by the boundaries of the landmark. She would not be able to know the features of the interior of that room if the speaker happened to be located outside the boundaries of that room. On the other hand, the experiential consequences of the relationships en-



coded by the preposition “on” do not imply the salience of limits. Neither is a close vantage point required to assess that such relationship holds. For instance, to see that there is a jar on a table the speaker does not have to be as close as to see the contents of a box, say. Similarly, location within the limits of a prairie is usually expressed by means of the preposition “on.” This does not mean that a prairie is an unbounded space. One could be staring at a prairie from a place other than the prairie. But even in the case that we are not within the confines of the prairie we can have visual access to the entities located within the space that constitute the prairie. Thus, those boundaries are not salient as regards the vantage point of the speaker. By vantage point I do not refer merely to the position of the speaker with respect to the boundaries of the landmark—within or outside—but also the distance of the speaker regarding trajectory and landmark. In order to illustrate this claim consider the presence of two horses on a prairie, they could be spotted even from a considerable distance.

Given the argument I have been developing, the bodily experience of the prepositions “on” gives rise to a fundamental situated inference which is the absence of boundaries delimiting an interior space and as such the absence of an internal structure to be known. This situated inference becomes a new meaning attached to the preposition “on” through pragmatic strengthening. But this situated inference would not be transferred to idealised relationships such as location in countries or regions if it were not for the operation of a metonymy. This metonymy is contingent upon the fact that the more idealised a spatio-physical relationship is, the weaker the conceptualiser’s bodily interaction with that scene is. The fact that our bodily interaction with an idealised spatial scene is more restricted is concomitant with a lesser number of active image-schemata involved in that relationship. This accounts for the greater flexibility found in the alternation of prepositions in map-relationships.

Beitel, Gibbs and Sanders sought to show that there exist tight connections between bodily experiences and linguistic meaning. Their experimental investigation focuses on how image schemas could help to predict relatedness between different uses of the preposition “on.” They demonstrated that the bodily experience of the relationships encoded by the preposition “on” gave rise to five basic image-schemata that through situated inferences, motivated the figurative uses of “on.” These image-schemata are: SUPPORT, PRESSURE, CONSTRAINT, COVERING and VISIBILITY, and it can be argued that they are active in the spatial scenes that constitute part of our bodily kinaesthetic and sensorimotor experiences. Put in another way, with the primary uses of the category. On the other hand, idealised relationships, such as location in large geo-physical divisions do not involve strictly speaking bodily interaction but situated inferences derived from that interaction. Therefore, I claim that most of the image-schemata that initially gave rise to the situated inferences motivating situations such as (4) are no longer required. As explained above, in these map idealisations of spatial scenes only VISIBILITY is an active image-schema in the distribution of the prepositions “in” and “on.”

Thus, I propound the existence of two subcategories  $ON_1$  and  $ON_2$ . That are characterised by obvious different features from the experiential and conceptual point of view.  $ON_1$  has the status of a sanctioning sense or “impulsion” in Vandeloise’s



terms, and originates ON<sub>2</sub> through a metonymic shift. In order to illustrate this claim, the anatomy of the process can be anagrammed as follows:

ON<sub>1</sub> [SUPPORT, PRESSURE, CONSTRAINT, COVERING, VISIBILITY] > ON<sub>2</sub> [VISIBILITY]

The metonymic mapping motivating the extension of the category is one example of CATEGORY FOR MEMBER, since “on” stands metonymically for only one of the schemata that are active in its primary bodily experiential use. The use of ON<sub>2</sub> is licensed on the basis of one of the schemata of ON<sub>1</sub>, VISIBILITY, becoming dominant in the novel meaning. The fact that diachronic evolution has brought about almost the total disappearance of ON<sub>2</sub> can be the result that maybe the schemata which became dominant in this use is not one of the most active in the meaning of ON<sub>1</sub> and other figurative uses as the study of Beitel, Gibbs and Sanders demonstrates (1997: 248). In their experiment, VISIBILITY was rated the third more important image schema, after SUPPORT and PRESSURE. It can be hypothesised that this fact and also the inexistence of other dominant schemata from ON<sub>1</sub> has had as a consequence that the use of ON<sub>2</sub>, which was so prominent in Old English was progressively losing ground in favour of the preposition “in.”

#### 4. CONCLUDING COMMENTS, REMAINING PUZZLES

Recent studies have uncovered the role of metonymy as a mechanism that adapts and extends primary senses of a category to produce new related senses giving rise to the phenomenon of polysemy. As noted in the foregoing discussion, I have analysed the usage of the prepositions “in,” “on” and “at” in EH in order to shed some light on the factors that ruled the distribution of the preposition “on” with the other two. From this analysis, two pivotal conclusions can be drawn: i) Greater flexibility in preposition use is found in those relationships in which speakers’ perspective is allowed a greater role; and ii) The usage of prepositions in the modulation of perspective, is derived from image-schemata active in their conceptualisation of scenes perceived at a close distance. The reduction of these image-schemata in the description of idealised spatial relations is considered as a case of semantic extension based on metonymic shifts. A fact that remains to be accounted for and thus can prompt further research in the subject is the definition of the contexts where this extended use of the preposition “on” started to disappear. This would also explain the reasons why its alternation with the preposition “in” has been relegated to a few marginal situations in present-day English.

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# “METAPHORS WE LEARNT BY”: CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND METAPHORICAL PATTERNS IN THE OLD ENGLISH VOCABULARY OF “KNOWLEDGE”

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## ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the diachronic analysis of the development, form and function of a set of metaphors found in Old English language, literature, society and iconography. More exactly I will focus here on the role of these metaphors as a pervasive factor of diachronic change, with special attention to the earliest stages of development of the English language. Given the Mind-as-Body Metaphor as a background, I will try to reconstruct here some basic connections between the earlier concrete and historically later meanings of perception verbs in Old English. In doing so, I intend to reconstruct some of the semantic connections drawn by Anglo-Saxon speakers and “reflect the culturally important features of objects, institutions and activities in the society in which language operated” (Lyons 43).

KEY WORDS: Cognitive metaphor, Old English, lexicon, semantic change, protogermanic.

## ABSTRACT

Este artículo propone un análisis diacrónico del desarrollo, forma y función de un grupo de metáforas recurrentes en la lengua, literatura, sociedad e iconografía anglo-sajonas. Más exactamente, nos centraremos en el papel de estas metáforas como factores de cambio diacrónico, con atención especial a los estadios más antiguos del desarrollo de la lengua inglesa. Tomando como punto de partida la metáfora ‘la mente es cuerpo’, reconstruimos algunas conexiones básicas entre los significados concretos primarios y los significados abstractos posteriores en el campo léxico de la percepción física en inglés antiguo. Queremos así reconstruir algunas de las conexiones semánticas establecidas por los hablantes anglo-sajones y “reflejar las características culturalmente importantes de los objetos, instituciones y actividades de la sociedad en que este idioma se usó” (Lyons 43)

PALABRAS CLAVE: metáfora cognitiva, inglés antiguo, léxico, cambio semántico, protogermánico.

## 1. THE MIND-AS-BODY METAPHOR: AN OVERVIEW

In this paper I am going to focus on the diachronic analysis of the development, form and function of a set of metaphors found in Old English language,



literature, society and iconography. My research is heavily based on the descriptions of the so-called Mind-as-Body Metaphor provided by Sweetser, Indurkha. More exactly, following Kövecses, I will focus here on the role of this general metaphor as a pervasive factor of diachronic change, with special attention to the earliest stages of development of the English language.

The Mind-as-Body Metaphor was first described by Kurath, who noted that Indo-European words for knowledge and emotions are frequently derived from words referring to physical actions or sensations accompanying the relevant abstract actions of knowing or feeling (e.g. “**anger** is *heat*”; see Gevaert and Vázquez González for some Old English examples), or the bodily organs affected by those physical reactions (e.g. “the **heart** is the seat of *excitement*, *passion* and other strong emotions that affect cardiac palpitation”; Fabiszak). However, there also exist frequent apparently unmotivated and random mappings for which no psychosomatic motivations can be found, and hence are more subject to diachronic and cross-cultural variation.

For instance, **love** was seen as a function of the *liver* by Proto-Germanic speakers, so that the PGmc weak verb \**luŕsijan* “to love” was lexicalised on the basis of the noun \**liŕ* “liver.” This connection between love and the liver, which can also be seen in Greek literature, survived well into the Middle Ages (e.g. *The livere makth him forto love* [1390 Gower *Conf.* III. 100]), when **love** came to be conceived of as a function of the *heart*.

The Mind-as-Body Metaphor is the result of the global conceptualization of one whole area of experience (i.e. the internal self and internal sensations) in terms of another (i.e. physical perception), so that even if the link-up between our vocabularies of mind and body may have some psychosomatic roots (especially in the most prototypical cases), it is essentially metaphorical in nature. Broadly speaking, the Mind-as-Body Metaphor implies a tightly structured mapping of the vocabulary of physical perception into the vocabulary of knowledge and feeling. When we refer to the central Mind-as-Body Metaphor, we are using a mnemonic set of ontological correspondences that characterise a mapping, namely:

1. The **body** corresponds to a *container* of ideas and emotions
2. **Ideas** are *physical objects* that can be obtained, retained, exchanged or lost.
3. **Sensory organs** are *active parts* in the process of reception, understanding, evaluation and exchange of ideas.
4. **Feelings** and **emotions** are *secretions* produced by the relevant body organ.

Given the Mind-as-Body Metaphor as a background, I will try to reconstruct here some basic connections between the earlier concrete and historically later meanings of perception verbs in Old English. In doing so, I intend to reconstruct some of the semantic connections drawn by Anglo-Saxon speakers and “reflect the culturally important features of objects, institutions and activities in the society in which language operated” (Lyons 43).



## 2. KNOWLEDGE IS VISION

The first sense I will make reference to is *VISION*, which is our primary source of objective data about the world. According to Faber and Mairal (160), our prototypical way of perceiving is with our eyes (over 75% of our information about the world is perceived visually), which explains why most verbs of physical perception have to do with vision rather than hearing, smelling, touching or tasting. Moreover, vision gives us data from a distance and is identical for different people, so that our visual perceptions are objective (Sweetser 39).

Following the general correspondence between ideas and objects described above, vision is patterned as physical touching, manipulation and control in Old English. This link is clearly expressed by the PrGmc strong verb *\*sehwan-* “to see” (> OE *sēon*), derived from PIE *\*seku-* “to follow,” or by OE *behealdan* “to catch sight for,” which is a metaphorical extension of PGmc *\*haldán* “to hold.”

- (1) *Ic seah wundorlice wiht* (“I saw a wonderful creature” [Rid 87: 000100 (1)]).
- (2) *þæt englas hie georne beheoldan of þam dage...* (“That the angels looked eagerly upon them until the day...” [HomU 18 (BlHom 1): 005900 (137)]).

As a consequence of a second process of semantic change, which implied a general semantic extension from visual perception to cognition, OE *sēon 1* “to see” becomes OE *sēon 2* “to imagine, predict,” whereas OE *behealdan 1* “to catch sight of” becomes OE *behealdan 2* “to see something mentally, to consider,” which is one of the most common verbs of mental perception in the vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxons:

- (3) *God... bihald to gebede minum* (“God... behold my prayers” [PsGIA (Kuhn): 088800 (60.1)]).

Due to this general change, particular types of knowledge and cognition were expressed as particular types of vision in Old English. This is the case of intellectual knowledge, expressed through OE *witan* “to see > to learn from experience.” This OE verb, etymologically related to L *video* “to see” refers to knowledge as a result of personal experience, as in the case of political advisors (the so-called *witan* “wisemen”), historians and councillors.

- (4) *Frunan maran þinges þonne ænges mannes gemet wære her on eorðan, þæt hit witan mihte* (“He asked further about that thing the only man that he had met on earth who may know it” [HomsS 46 (BlHom 11): 001000 (24)]).

A second type of knowledge, acquired through revelation, is expressed through the OE weak verb *scēawian* “to look at > to see spiritually,” as in the case of prophets, priests and poets. In its primary sense, OE *scēawian* was used to refer to the capacity to see things that are difficult to observe by other people, either because they are hidden or because they cannot be easily interpreted (as in (5)).



- (5) *Episcopus is grecisc nama þæt is on leden speculator & on englisc sceawere* (“*Episcopus* is a Greek name that is in Latin *speculator* and in English *sceawere*” [ÆA BusMor: 012100 (254)]).

Spiritual vision is thus conceived of as a revelation of another level of reality, which was not easily observable by normal people (Sweetser 40).

### 3. LEARNING IS HEARING

I will now refer to hearing, which is considered our major means of intellectual and emotional influence on each other. One of the most productive semantic sources of hearing-verbs is to be found in the semantic field of deferential conduct, as in PIE \**klei-* “to bow” (L *inclino* “to take a bow”) > OE *hlystan* “to listen attentively.”

- (6) *Hlystað, hwæt ic secge* (“Listen what I say” [WPol 2.1.1. (Jost): 0006100 (56)]).

The opposite direction is also possible, so that OE *hīeran 1* “to hear” became *hīeran 2* “to obey”:

- (7) *Ðæt Israhelisce folc... hyrdon Gode & Moyses his ðeowe* (“The Israelites obeyed God and Moses his servant” [Exod: 031000 (14.31)]).

Besides these links between hearing and obeying, described by Sweetser (42) as a candidate for semantic universality, there existed in Old English a very strong semantic connection between verbs of hearing and verbs of learning by reading. The link between both types of action becomes visible from the PrGmc predicate of verbal communication *rædan* “to give/take a counsel,” which became OE *rædan* “to read.”

- (8) *Hwæt... ge næfre reordun in gewritum* (“What...you never read in the books” [MtGl (Ru): 071500 (21.42)]).

The action of reading was thus patterned as an act of interpersonal communication, as a dialogue between author and his readers, as shown by the preference for collective *viva voce* reading in most Anglo-Saxon monastic houses (Carruthers 169-170). Moreover, the mapping READING A TEXT IS LISTENING TO ITS AUTHOR’S VOICE, which is not found in other Germanic languages, implies that written texts and inscriptions had the ability to speak out to their readers, which justifies the Anglo-Saxon fashion of personifying inanimate objects in order to make them speak about themselves. This is the case of, for example, the Alfred jewel, which bears the following inscription:

- (9) *Ælfred mec heht gevyrca* (“Alfred had me made” [Inscr 4 (Ok 4): 000100 (1)]).

A similar example can be found in the famous Ruthwell Cross, a monumental stone cross carved with a runic version of the Old English poem *The Dream of the Rood*. The monument, raised by the beginning of the 8th century., narrates in the first person the story of the crucifixion from the perspective of the cross.

- (10) //Ic riicnæ kyningc heafunæs blafard hælde ic ni dorstæ Bismærædu unget men ba ætgadræ ic was miþ blode bistemid <Bi>// (“I held high the great King, heaven’s Lord. I dare not bend. Men mocked us both together. I was slick with blood sprung from the Man’s side...” [RuneRuthwellA: [000300 (2-3)]).

#### 4. THINKING IS TOUCHING

Differently to seeing and hearing, touching requires actual physical contact with the sensed object, which implies a high degree of subjectivity. Moreover, touching and physical contact can be dangerous and socially inappropriate, limiting enormously the number of objects that can be sensed by touching. Finally, tactile sensations (such as pain or pleasure) have a clear influence on our emotional states. The PIE verb of touching *\*tang-* (L *tangere* “to touch”) underwent a deep series of semantic changes in Germanic, so that it came to express “mental touching, thinking, remembering” in OE *þencan*.

- (11) *And ic þine soðfastnysse symble þence* (“And I always think of your sincerity” [PPs: [122400 (118.117)]).

However, the pervasiveness of the link between touching and thinking is best preserved in the so-called SEAL-IN-WAX METAPHOR (Draaisma 24-27), according to which the mind is conceived as a block of wax upon whose surface ideas are stamped as seals. Within this cultural tradition, which goes back to Homer (Black 219-243), memory, meditation and expectation are conceived of as manipulation of objects (i.e. tactile sensations stamped on the mind’s surface) from the past, from the present or from the future, respectively (e.g. OE *bringan on gemynde*, *habban on gemynde*, *lettan on gemynde*).

Besides this mental metaphor, many OE verbs of touching came to express general physical perception. This is the case of OE *fēlan* “to touch” > “to touch, hear, smell or taste’.

- (12) *Feleþ sona mines gemotes* (“They feel (by hearing) soon my speech” [Rid 25: [000400 (9)]).

However, the Romance metaphor “to touch” > “to feel physically” > “to feel mentally” is not used in English until 1300 (e.g. ME *feel*), so that it can be considered a semantic borrowing from French.



## 5. PARTIAL KNOWLEDGE IS TASTING

I will refer now to taste, which undoubtedly is the most subjective sense. The number of gustative sensations is practically limited to four (sweet, sour, salty and bitter), so that the type of knowledge about an object we can perceive through tasting is necessarily partial. For that reason, tasting verbs metaphorise as partial knowledge and, in a later stage, as need of complementary knowledge.

Given the basic mapping PARTIAL KNOWLEDGE IS TASTING, the OE verb of tasting *gefandian* “to taste” came to express different situations characterized by the necessity of further knowledge, such as “to test,” “to judge” or “to tempt.” Taste is related to eating, so that metaphors of perception that use digestive activities will be frequently used, especially in Middle English. According to the RUMINATION METAPHOR, the mind is conceived of as a stomach that requires a healthy diet. For example, Chaucer includes in his *Summoner’s Tale* many examples of foods and drinks that were considered particularly harmful for the mind: fatty meats, strong wine, vinegar, beans, garlic, onion, leek, etc. Portions of knowledge are paralleled to portions of food. Digestion and rumination were considered a basic functional model for the activities of meditation and verse composition; this is clearly the case in Bede’s account of poet Cædmon, who ruminated (OE *eodorcende*) by night (the optimal time for digestion) what he had learnt by hearing during the day, changing it into verse.

- (13) *Onð he eal, þa he in gebyrnese geleornian mehte, mid hine gemyndgade; & swa swa clæne neten eodorcende in þæt sweteste leoð gehwerfde* (“And he all that he could retain by hearing with his mind, cleanly turned into such sweet verse through rumination” [Bede 4: [057300 (25.346.1)]]).

Cædmon’s profession (i.e. a cowherd) perfectly suits his ruminative activities, recalling the ancient link between poets and ruminative animals found in many other cultures (West; Wehlau; Pizarro). Through the influx of French (e.g. *Ofr goût*), a further semantic change from taste into personal likes and dislikes in different domains (such as clothing, music, food, friends) will affect this set of English verbs, especially after the end of the 15th century.

## 6. RECOGNISING IS SMELLING

Smelling is characterised by its capacity to transmit important genetic, psychological and behavioural information about the individual, radical differences in odour production contributing to racial prejudice. It is obvious that smells played a decisive role in the earliest stages of human evolution, as they do in most animal species (Kohl and Francoeur). However, it is hard to determine the exact historical moment when humans opted for new ways of personal and social intercourse, eliminating both any traces of personal odours and their capacity to consciously interpret them. Etymologies indicate two clear links between words for smell and interpersonal relationships:





1. PIE *\*bhra-* > OE *bræþan* “to emit a good smell” (L *fragare*): words for good smells are linked with different types of kinship bonds, such as OE *broþor* “brother” (L *frater*) and OE *bryd* “bride.”
2. PIE *\*pu-* > OE *fulian* “to stink” (L *pus*): words for foul smells are linked with words for enmity and hostility, such as OE *fāh* “foe,” *fēond* “fiend” and *ficol* “treacherous.”

These semantic links are probably indicating that odours continued to be used as a means of racial differentiation, either consciously or unconsciously, by Germanic times. Finally, the semantic change “to smell” > “to detect (the bad qualities of something)” is considered a French borrowing, so that L *sentire* “to feel” > OFr *sentir* “to perceive by smelling” > ME *scent* “to find out instinctively, to detect.”

## 7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of these routes of change allows a transparent, structured and coherent view of the basic principles underlying the semantic evolution of English, so that words originally used to refer to concrete objects and actions (such as parts of the body, manipulation of objects, digestion, etc) will come to express abstract entities (such as knowledge and understanding). These changes are the result not only of the natural semantic evolution of English, but also of its intimate relation with French after the Norman Conquest, which allowed the introduction of a wide number of metaphors of knowledge and feeling that are unknown to other Germanic languages. A knowledge of this metaphorical system will permit a more complete view not only of the linguistic system known as Old English, but also of different facets of Anglo-Saxon life, mentality and society, extending our experience in time in order to “gain an insight into a way of thinking and feeling and viewing the world that is different from ours” (Jackson 161).

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# BEOWULF AND THE COMIC BOOK: CONTEMPORARY READINGS

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores the appropriation of the Old English poem *Beowulf* by such a distinctive 20th-century art-form as the comic book. Since 1941 to present day, the text has been revisited by several authors at different stages of the development of the comic as an independent genre in a process parallel to its legitimation as a central part of the English literary canon. In the context of the modern commodification of the Middle Ages, the *Beowulfs* in comic book become a territory of negotiation between high and low culture as they revisit early Germanic epic to render it suitable for the taste of wider, contemporary audiences.

KEY WORDS: *Beowulf*, Anglo-Saxon literature, popular culture, comic book.

## RESUMEN

Este trabajo explora la apropiación del poema anglosajón *Beowulf* por parte de una manifestación artística tan distintiva del siglo XX como es el cómic. Desde 1941 hasta hoy día, el texto ha sido revisado por diferentes autores a lo largo de las distintas fases del desarrollo del cómic como medio independiente de forma paralela a su legitimación como pieza fundamental de canon literario inglés. En el contexto de la actual construcción de la Edad Media como objeto de consumo, los *Beowulfs* del cómic se convierten en terreno de negociación entre la cultura oficial y la popular en tanto que revisan la épica germánica altomedieval para adaptarla al gusto del gran público contemporáneo.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Beowulf*, literatura anglosajona, cultura popular, cómic.

As Pierre Bourdieu indicates, the difference between high and low culture products depends on the cultural capital and competence determining their consumption, which derives in the enclassement of both the work of art and its consumer (16). In this sense *Beowulf*, as a medieval text, is clearly a high culture item requiring a considerable level of learning to read it —linguistic competence in Old English and some familiarity with ancient Germanic poetry, to begin with. Although this is not the common cultural background of most contemporary readers, *Beowulf* has attracted wide audiences beyond the academic circles among those

who can just identify the title as one of the classic texts of the English canon. In this line, media and genres as diverse as film, television, the musical, the rock opera or science-fiction and adventure novels have revisited this text more than one millennium old and turned it into one more medieval product catering for popular audiences. This paper explores the appropriation of the Old English poem by modern popular culture in such a distinctive 20th-century art-form as the comic book, which proves that a heroic, legendary story already old for the Anglo-Saxons — it was set *in geardagum*, “the ancient days” — still elicits the interest of the audience in the modern world.<sup>1</sup>

As a derivation of the illustrated story that had become popular in the 19th century, the comic book rises as one of the favourite forms of entertainment for young readers when, in the 1940s, the daily comic strips included in journals and magazines started to be published independently and serialized by distinctive, specializing companies.<sup>2</sup> *Beowulf* has in fact been present in the history of media from an early stage, yet before being turned into comic book matter it had already been the object of numerous revisitings both within the scope of high and low culture since the poem was recovered and first edited in 1815.<sup>3</sup> In fact, as soon as the Old English text was accessible for the average reader through modern translations many abridged, simplified versions appeared, which paved the road to later parodies, adaptations and imaginative rewritings.<sup>4</sup> This process of “vulgarization” of *Beowulf* has, however, run parallel to its legitimation as one of the central pieces of the English literary heritage and corner-stone of Old English Studies; actually, the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship is intimately connected to what in Foucaultian terms can be termed as the “archaeology” of this poem.<sup>5</sup> Nowadays, beyond those

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is part of a wider project studying the modern appropriations of *Beowulf* by multiple contemporary popular media and genres, which was the core of my doctoral dissertation “Los otros *Beowulfs*: reelaboraciones contemporáneas,” Universidad de Sevilla, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> As Robert C. Harvey remarks, “By the end of World War II, the comic book was an established literary form” (16). See Gerard Jones, *Men of Tomorrow: Geeks, Gangsters and the Birth of the Comic Book* (London: William Heineman, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> The first reference to *Beowulf* appears in 1705 in a letter sent by Humphrey Wanley to his employer, the antiquarian George Hickes, and the poem was later included in the catalogue of Old English manuscripts he compiled in the same year. It is not until 1803 when Sharon Turner, an amateur Anglo-Saxonist, acknowledged the relevance of *Beowulf* in the history of English culture and promoted its research. The *editio princeps*, however, was published in 1815 by Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin, and Icelandic scholar working for the Danish government who considered that *Beowulf* was written in a Danish dialect. On this topic, see *Beowulf: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Tom A. Shippey and Andreas Haarder (London: Routledge, 1998) and Kevin Kiernan, “The Legacy of Wiglaf: Saving a Wounded *Beowulf*,” *The Beowulf Reader*, ed. Peter Baker (New York: Garland, 2000) 195-218.

<sup>4</sup> See Marijane Osborn.

<sup>5</sup> See Michael Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Random, 1971). For the study of the “archaeology of the discipline” in the field of Old English Studies, see Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1990).

English-speakers who might find the updating of the literary classic they studied in school amusing, the *Beowulfs* of the popular genres are more far-reaching in terms of audience than what the early British and American scholars envisioned when they recommended reading the poem to be inspired by the national and political virtues of the Anglo-Saxons.<sup>6</sup> The neo-*Beowulfs* of film and comic, to speak of media addressing international markets, obviate the connection with any kind of clearly defined historical heritage—a relevant element in the articulation of the original text—while emphasizing the aspects of the adventure narrative just to create a product appealing to the tastes of a global audience.

The appropriation of the poem by popular genres actually shares in the wider cultural phenomenon of the popularization of the Middle Ages, a trend whose roots lie in Romantic sensibility and that is still operative nowadays. Drawing on 19th-century medievalism, modern productions as diverse as the theme park, the role-game or epic fantasy, among others, have implemented an imaginative interpretation and glamourization of the early Celtic and Germanic traditions that has set the pattern for subsequent readings of the medieval past as the enchanted landscape of adventure, heroism and magic.<sup>7</sup> While ignoring historical evidence, original texts and academic research—that is, the core of medieval scholarship—modern audiences are attracted by the picturesque and fantastic aspects of the period. As a consequence, it becomes a *locus* for new narratives that depend mainly on a tradition articulated by the popular genres themselves. From Victorian Arthurianism to the Hollywood technicolor classics or the postmodern medieval tourist resort, the (re)invention and forgery of the Middle Ages have turned it into a marketable good, a phenomenon that, in Watson's words, "leads to pastiche as it becomes one more in a series of niches responding to lifestyle/lifestage market segments each one defined through market research and serviced throughout carefully targeted marketing" (254).<sup>8</sup> The *Beowulfs* of comic book are inscribed in the frame of this popular medievalism.

The Old English poem actually provides authors with elements susceptible of being rewritten as a superhero story, which is the basis for the media. For a start,

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<sup>6</sup> See Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981); Stanley R. Hauer, "Thomas Jefferson and the Anglo-Saxon Language," *PMLA* 98 (1983): 879-87; and María José Mora and María José Gómez Calderón, "The Study of Old English in America: National Uses of the Saxon Past (1776-1850)," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 97.3 (1998): 322-36.

<sup>7</sup> See Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality* (London: Pan, 1987), and Christopher Frayling, *Strange Landscape: A Journey through the Middle Ages* (London: BBC, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> The commodification of the Middle Ages englobes phenomena as different as "medieval" films, rolegames, medieval markets and fairs, and holiday resorts/theme parks—from the ones located at medieval sites as The Exeter Medieval Jousting Tournament (Exeter) in England, to the less historical ones as the Camelot Theme Park (Lancashire) or American products as Hotel Excalibur (Las Vegas), The High Elven Kingdom Theme Park and Resort (Elven Glen, Virginia), and the medieval attractions of Disneyland Park (Los Angeles).



there is a plot grounded on the eternal conflict between good and evil, with a muscular warrior protagonist opposing a series of monstrous, wicked antagonists with many possibilities in their artistic design. The setting is rendered as the alluring Scandinavia of the Dark Ages where the characters find strange lands, magnificent halls, gloomy submarine monsters' caves, and even a dragon's lair, elements which connect the narrative to the "sword and sorcery" genre much to the taste of the young reader. As these assets of the poem seem to be universally appealing, the new *Beowulfs* address the imagination of readers worldwide and across generations.

In order to present a comprehensive history of Beowulfian comic, the following works have been chosen as representative of the different treatments the topic has received throughout time: Enrico Basari's Italian *Beowulf: Leggenda cristiana della antica Danimarca*;<sup>9</sup> Michael Uslan and Ricardo Villamonte's *Beowulf, Dragon-Slayer*; Jerry Bingham's *Beowulf*; Gareth Hinds' *Beowulf*; Francis Lombardi and Kevin Altieri's *A Different Shade of Grey*; and Brian Augustyn's *Beowulf*—late continued by Attila Adorjany.<sup>10</sup> All these works characteristically take the exploits of Beowulf as their central plot, but there are many other comic artists who have included a *Beowulf* episode in the course of their own heroes' adventures.<sup>11</sup> Also, in other cases the comic artists just use the evocative names of some of the characters of the poem for their characters.<sup>12</sup> Quite frequently, the only connection with the Anglo-Saxon poem is the intervention of evil figures vaguely related to Grendel and his mother, or the appearance of dragons in the story.<sup>13</sup>

As a rule, the *Beowulf* of comic books share in the aesthetics of the legendary Germania as constructed by the genres of popular culture, and most often they reproduce the topics and clichés operative in junk fiction to put them to the service of a superhero inserted in this early medieval pseudo-historical background.

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<sup>9</sup> Further references in this paper to Basari's work follow its Brazilian version as *O Monstro do Caím*.

<sup>10</sup> As comic is a highly collaborative form of art, in each case I just list the names of the writer and main graphic artist.

<sup>11</sup> This can be observed, for example, in Stan Lee and Jack Kirby's *Thor* 337, and lately in Bill Holliher and Holly Gollightly's new episodes of *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* ("Just Dreamy"). In some other cases, a modern superhero assumes the name of the Geat prince—as in *Coventry* by Bill Willingham, who has also written two modern short novels on a new hero named Beowulf, *Monster Maker* and *Hyde & Seek*.

<sup>12</sup> Thus, Beowulf is an alias for superheroes as Ulysses Bloodstone, a monster-hunter created by John Warner and Len Wein for Marvel Comics series *Strange Tales* and *Marvel Presents*, and Grendel and his mother lend their names to evil figures in narratives as Matt Wagner's series *Grendel* and in the successful *Captain Marvel v*, among others. The name of Beowulf also appears in comics not dealing with superheroes, as for instance in Richard Moore's erotic detective story *Deja Vu*, which presents Kathrina the Witch's adventures; here Beowulf is the name of one the protagonist's lovers.

<sup>13</sup> As for instance in Brian Augustyn and Humberto Ramos' *Crimson* 22 ("Blood and Tears"). Likewise, there is a comic for young children entitled *Kid Beowulf* by Alexis E. Fajardo, where Beowulf and Grendel are mischievous twelve-year-old twin brothers and superheroes.

The origins of the characterization of these neo-Beowulfs as graphic heroes can in turn be traced back to 19th century historical romance, particularly to novels dealing with the archetype of the Viking as Noble Barbarian.<sup>14</sup> Works as Walter Scott's *The Pirate*, and later novels as G.W. Dasent's *Vikings of the Baltic*, G.A. Henty's *The Dragon and the Raven*, and H. Rider Haggard's *Eric Brighteyes*, among others, shaped the image of the brave Norseman for the following generations. In general, this kind of literature has tended to oversimplify the Scandinavian past and, influenced by biased reading of the sagas and the historical chronicles, has presented it as a crude age of violence and heroism.<sup>15</sup> This is indeed the narrative tradition framing one of the most famous Scandinavian comic book characters, *Prince Valiant*; created in 1937 by Harold Foster, this series presents the adventures of an exiled Viking prince from the imaginary kingdom of Scandia at King Arthur's court.<sup>16</sup>

In following this archetype, the Beowulfs of comic accomplish their quest as true muscular heroes and defend the community in danger by means of their physical strength, since their courage and loyalty, typical virtues of the Viking champion, are tested in a never-ending sequence of battles. The heroic ethos of the Old English poem is, however, simplified and the sophisticated social economy shaping the behaviour of the characters in the medieval text is displaced in order to create an adventure story suitable for the modern consumer's taste. We cannot forget that, after all, the reader of comics is fundamentally a male teenager with just a limited interest in literature or medieval history and culture.<sup>17</sup>

The first *Beowulf* in comic format is Enrico Basari's; published in 1941 by the Italian magazine *Il Vittorioso*, this work reflects the formal features common in early comic books, which followed the model established by the American leading publishers King Features and DC Comics; as Harvey indicates, the artistic design of early comics is relatively simple, resorting to a traditional strip sequence division, ordered text captions, and usually penned in just black and white ink (13-15).<sup>18</sup> Basari's work approaches the spiritual conflict between good and evil as represented

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<sup>14</sup> See F.E. Farley, *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement* (Boston: Ginn, 1903); Margaret Omberg, *Scandinavian Themes in English Poets, 1760-1800* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiks, 1976); Peter Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971); and R.I. Farrell, *The Vikings* (London: Phillimore, 1982).

<sup>15</sup> See Krístan Eldjárn, "The Viking Myth," *The Vikings*, ed. R.I. Farrell (London: Phillimore, 1982) 262-73.

<sup>16</sup> There is a film version, *Prince Valiant*. Henry Hathaway. 1954, starring Robert Wagner and Janet Leigh.

<sup>17</sup> Popular culture also offers a comic side of the Viking world represented by such an irreverent film as Terry Jones' *Erik the Viking* (1989) and a comic strip as *Hagard the Horrible*, created by Dik Browne in 1973.

<sup>18</sup> The artistic concept of the comics of the 1940s is not very different from that of the original comic strips of journals and magazines; their images are contained in the framed panels, speeches and the depicting of the action are timed, and there are large narrative captions as the visual is still secondary to the textual. On this topic, see Harvey (1-15).





by the Christian and the pagan in what Osborn defines as a “highly Catholicized” version of the Old English poem (351). His presentation of this conflict—a central preoccupation of Beowulfian scholarship in the 19th and early 20th centuries<sup>19</sup>—becomes particularly relevant in the immediate historical context of this comic, that of the destruction of the European moral values by World War II.

Interestingly, Basari transforms Beowulf into a Christian prince fighting the evil power of Satan in the figure of Grendel, ally of the heathen king, Rogar (Hrothgar). The title of the Brazilian version of the comic, *O monstro do Caím*, is much revealing, as in this story Rogar has murdered his own brother, Beowulf’s father, to seize the throne of Denmark.<sup>20</sup> The parallel with contemporary Italian history—the fascist connections with Germany and the development of the war with the occupation of the nation by the German army—could not pass undetected to the readers, who were also aware of *Il Vittorioso* being a nationalist publication often distributed through Catholic parishes.<sup>21</sup> At the end of the story, Beowulf’s reward for having overcome Grendel’s dark magic and defeated the powers of Hell is to have his soul carried to heaven by two archangels. Beowulf’s last words are in fact a declaration of his Christian faith: “A minha alma se engrandece atendendo ao chamado dos seus santos. Erguei os estandartes somente para obras de paz e de amor. Desprezai as honrarias do mundo e o ouro das traições, as intrigas e as valanias. Louvai ao senhor. Assim seja.”<sup>22</sup> Although the distortion of the original plot may seem somehow amusing for later audiences, Basari is absolutely serious about the moral message of his work (Fig. 1).

The following *Beowulfs* in comic format do not appear until the last quarter of the century, but they are coincidental with Basari’s Viking archetype, the one prevalent in popular fiction. In this line, later best-sellers novels by specialists in Viking fiction as Henry Treece—*Viking’s Dawn* (1956), *The Road to Miklagard* (1957), *Viking’s Sunset* (1958)—Poul Anderson—*Rolf Kraki’s Saga* (1973) and *The Wars of the Gods* (1997)—and Harry Harrison and John Holm—*The Hammer and the Cross* (1988) and *One King’s Way* (1995)—popularized this positive image of the heroic Norseman. Film is also a recognizable influence in the implementa-

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<sup>19</sup> The discussion of the blending of pagan and Christian elements in *Beowulf* was one of the main concerns of early Anglo-Saxon scholarship; on this debate see the Introduction to Shippey and Haarder’s *Beowulf: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1998) and F.A. Blackburn, “The Christian Coloring in the Beowulf,” *PMLA* 12 (1897): 205-25; and Larry D. Benson, “The Pagan Coloring of *Beowulf*,” *Old English Poetry: Fifteen Essays*, ed. R.P. Creed (Providence: Brown UP 1967) 193-213.

<sup>20</sup> Most readers, no matter their cultural background in English literature, probably recognize here the connection with *Hamlet* by means of this case of fratricide in the royal Danish family.

<sup>21</sup> See on-line the *Catalogo dil Fumetto Italiano* <<http://www.lfb.it/fff/fumetto/test/v/vittorioso.htm>>.

<sup>22</sup> My translation: “My soul enlarges by following his saints’ call. Rise your banners for deeds of peace and love only. Scorn the glory of the world and the gold of treason, plots and villainy. Praise the Lord. So be it.”





Fig. 1. Enrico Basari, *Beowulf: Leggenda cristiana della antica Danimarca*.  
Brazilian version as *O Monstro do Caim*.

tion of this attractive reading of “Vikingness” with products as Richard Fleischer’s film *The Vikings* (1958, starring Kirk Douglas and Tony Curtis) and Jack Cardiff’s *The Longships* (1963, with Richard Widmark) and based on Frans Gunnar Bengtsson’s Swedish novel of the same title (1941-45). However, the most important influence on these comics is, obviously, that of the comic book tradition itself, in special that of the title featuring the most remarkable ancient warrior, *Conan the Barbarian*.<sup>23</sup> Created by Robert E. Howard in the 1930s, the *Conan* stories appear in the wake of fantasy narratives connected to the circle of Lovecraft and the Cthulhu Mythos.<sup>24</sup> Howard’s peculiar codification of the “sword and sorcery” world has defined the genre for the future and, although Conan is presented as a Bronze Age Cimmerian warrior, his imaginary world has become the popular image of a loosely defined Barbarian heroic age whose peculiar chronology comprises from the pre-historical to the early medieval period.

In fact, comics in general show little concern with accuracy in time representation; other barbarian/pre-historical superheroes as Thor, Claw the Unquered or Warlord, whose settings are some loosely defined ancient times too, have many similarities with the Beowulfs of the comic book; but the same is true for comics located in later periods as the aforesaid *Prince Valiant* and *Shining Knight* (5th cen-

<sup>23</sup> There is an episode in *Conan* 17 in which the Cimmerian hero faces an evil foe named Grendel. This is not the monster of the poem but a cruel human being who plunders towns and massacres their inhabitants but who still has a heroic chord. As Harvey indicates, author Bob Kane “has structured the story to reveal that Grendel has qualities worthy of admiration too, courage and pride” (125).

<sup>24</sup> See Donald R. Burleson, *Lovecraft: Disturbing the Universe* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1990); and Daniel Harms, “Cthulhu,” *The Encyclopedia Cthulhiana* (Oakland: Chaosium, 1998).

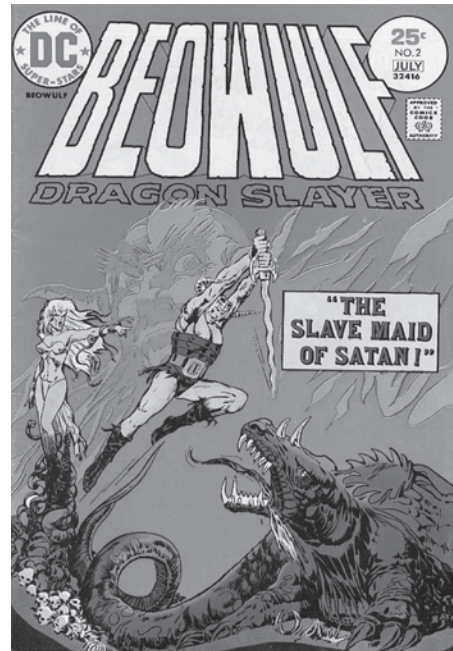
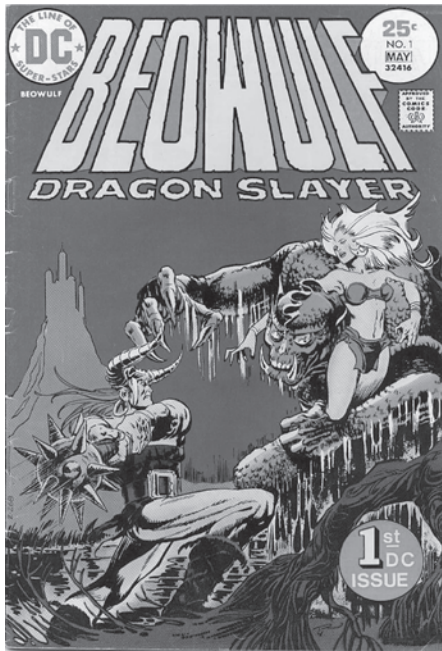


Fig. 2. Michael Uslan and Ricardo Villamonte, *Beowulf Dragon-Slayer*.

ture), and *Black Knight* (6th century), or the more Scandinavian *Thorgal* (7th century) and *The Viking Prince* (10th century).<sup>25</sup> The protagonists of these works are outstanding warriors who, accompanied by not less brave “sidekicks,” always come to rescue the victims of awesome foes, both monstrous and human. As magic and sorcery usually play a central part in the plot of these comics, the corresponding Grendel-like characters incorporate features and attitudes of the modern supervillain appearing in all comics.

All these influences are present in the second attempt at rewriting the Old English poem as comic book, Michael Uslan and Ricardo Villamonte’s *Beowulf, Dragon-Slayer*, published by DC Comics in 1974-75 (Figs. 2, 3, 4). The editors refuse from the start to take *Beowulf* seriously and claim that their intention is not to adapt a literary classic to the comic format, something that they scorn in their introduction to the series as “that thing educational” (vol. 19).<sup>26</sup> In contrast with

<sup>25</sup> It is not strange that an institution as Pace University used an image of Arnold Schwarzenegger featuring Conan the Barbarian in the film of the same title as illustration for one of its online sites for study help for the Old English poem. See <<http://csis.pace.edu/grendel/proj981d/main.html>>.

<sup>26</sup> American comics are generally distributed in an international market of English-speaking readers, who would be equally familiar with *Beowulf* as a topic.

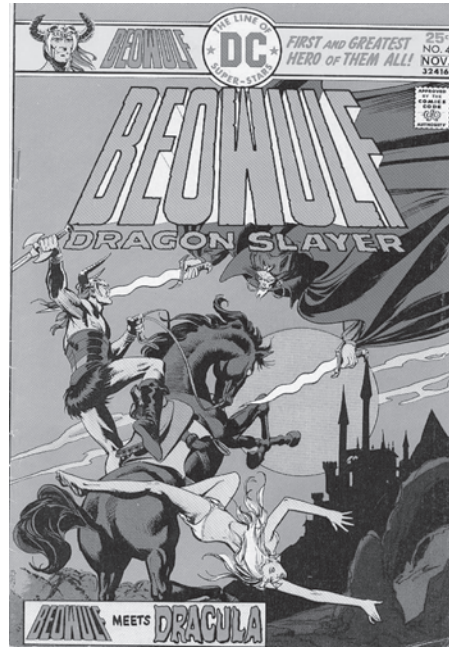
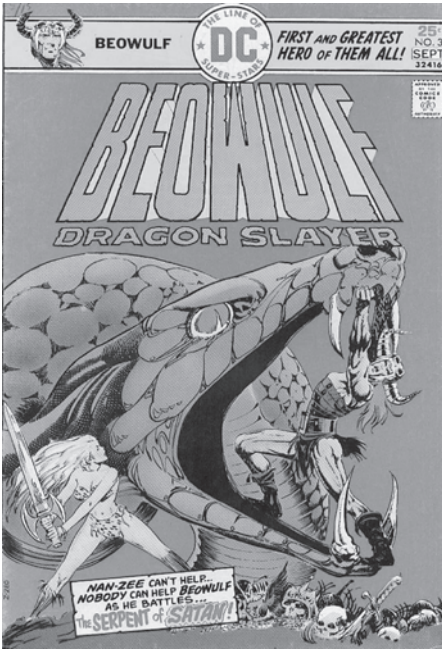


Fig. 3. Michael Uslan and Ricardo Villamonte. *Beowulf Dragon-Slayer*.

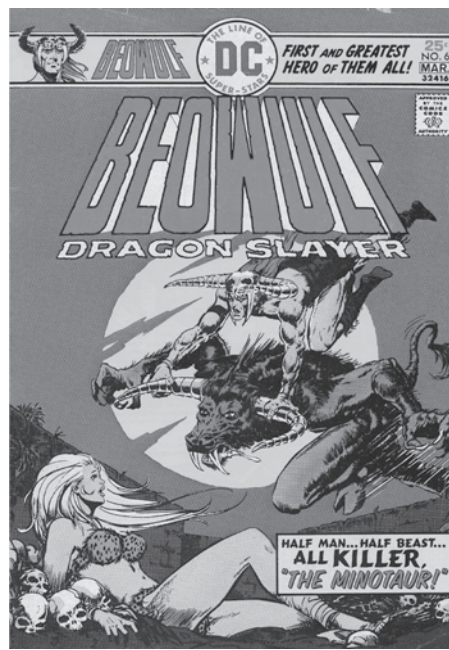
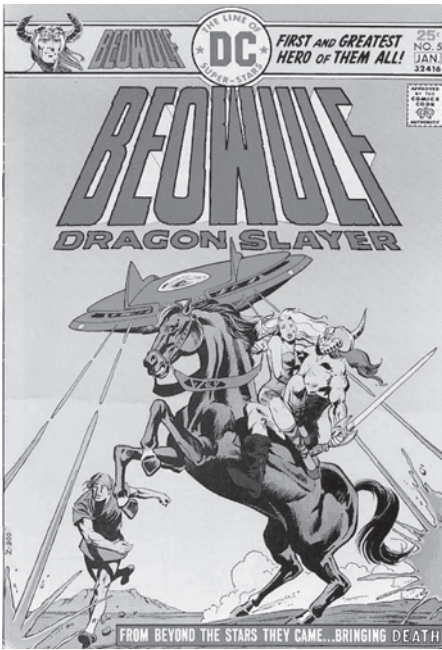


Fig. 4. Michael Uslan and Ricardo Villamonte. *Beowulf Dragon-Slayer*.

Basari's seriousness and moral concern, here the new medieval superhero is reformulated as a roisterous muscleman enjoying his "sword and sorcery" world. This comic clearly obliterates the dramatic character of the original poem and its elegiac tone, an attitude that is reinforced by the plastic design of the work; the use of bright color and graphic conventions, with sequenced panels and large amounts of descriptive texts and dialogues, result in an artistic project that connects with the aesthetics of pop art.

At several levels *Beowulf: Dragon-Slayer* establishes a dialogue with the tradition of the comic as a genre. One element that the authors seem to have had in mind when appropriating the medieval text is that it focuses on terror; Uslan and Villamonte's intention is that of recreating its suffocating atmosphere of danger, but they transfer it to a Gothic scenario familiar to the readers of comic in the 1970s. As a matter of fact, in the illustrations Hrothgar's dwellings resemble more the gloomy skyscrapers of Gotham City as depicted in the *Batman* series than any historical Germanic hall; the "medieval touch," however, is added by resorting to the commonplaces in the presentation of the setting and social milieu: "*Castle Hrothgar* [my italics] —towering tribute to a conquering king... shelter for the vicious warriors of the Spear-Dane tribe! Housed within its cold stone is the great mead-hall —settings for songs of wandering minstrels, drunken free-for-alls, fiery women, unending feasts, bawdy stories... and terror!" (vol. 4, 6, Fig. 5).

On the other hand, we cannot forget that this entertaining Beowulfian fantasy is targeted at teenage readers, much more interested in extraordinary demons, zombies and sexy girls than in saving the moral values of Western civilization. Indeed, these elements typical of the comic are included in these modern Beowulf's stories, a real parade of all kinds of comic villains. If the first volume is just entitled *Beowulf, Dragon-Slayer*, the other five illustrate the complete refashioning of the medieval matter in the universe of comic: *The Slave Maid of Satan*; *Man-Apes and Magic*; *Valley in the Shadows of Death or, Beowulf Meets Dracula*; *Chariots of the Stars*; and *The Labyrinth of the Grotto-Minotaur*. In this way, we find anything from a femme fatale to vampires, UFOs and aliens or head-hunting pygmies side by side with creatures coming from classical mythology; that is, the monsters of the Old English poem multiply and are assimilated to more modern conceptions of evil according to popular fiction.

As in epic poetry and, conventionally enough, in many superheroes' stories, the adventures of *Beowulf* according to Uslan and Villamonte start *in medias res* and without any explanation of the origin of the conflict with his evil arch-enemy Grendel—who in this case is a minor devil, Satan's own servant. This information gap is a constant in further renderings of the poem as comic book, since the different authors seem to trust the reader's familiarity with the poem's characterization of Grendel as a devilish creature.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, and in contrast with Basari's

<sup>27</sup> At different points of the poem Grendel is described as "feond on helle" (101b, hellish fiend) "Caines cynne" (107a, descendant of Cain's kin), or "godes andsaca" (786b, God's enemy).



Fig. 5. Michael Uslan and Ricardo Villamonte. *Beowulf Dragon-Slayer*.

work, in *Dragon-Slayer* this is not a moral or religious issue receiving a serious treatment; Satan here is just cast in the part of the Evil Overlord figure typical of comic. Besides, there are no clear chronological or geographical references to frame the story in a specific cultural context, which again does not seem to trouble readers used to the formulas of the genre.

Thus, Uslan and Villamonte articulate *Beowulf* as a barbarian superhero with a peculiar Scandinavian look; the protagonist wears a horned helmet made of an animal skull and a scanty loincloth, loves boasting and brawling, which gives him the look of other comics' heroes as Conan, Thor, or Warlord. Quite appropriately, *Beowulf*'s partners and companions are four "tough guys": Wiglaf, Hondscio and Klenzo, and a giant African, Sydriit.<sup>28</sup> But there is an addition to this war-band that is absolutely absent from the Old English poem; *Beowulf*'s favourite partner is an equally scantily dressed girl called Nan-zee. Ironic remarks on the part of the narrator as "Prince *Beowulf* speaks as an equal—with a woman" (vol. 1, 14) and replies by the female character as "you're pretty clever for a man" (vol. 1, 15) update the classic to an amusing version of the contemporary battle of the sexes. The sexy

<sup>28</sup> The first two names respond to characters in *Beowulf* and are presented as Viking heroes here, the other two are completely independent from the poem.



figure of Nan-zee is connected to heroines of other comics that were very famous at the time.<sup>29</sup> And after all, as one of the readers of this comic remarked in his letter to the publishers, scholarly fidelity to the medieval text might well be sacrificed for the benefit of a product more visually interesting for its target readers: “the inclusion of a female warrior, while non-existent in the epic poem, may be an advantage especially if Mr Villamonte retains his command of the female figure” (vol. 3, 19). In this sense, this *Beowulf*’s peculiar *comitatus* addresses racial and social questions as it reflects the social multiethnic reality of the US in the 1970s and echoes the rise of feminism; besides, by including a girl, *Dragon-Slayer* opens the way to the discussion of gender issues while at the same time allowing for romance, an aspect absolutely ignored by the poem and very recurrent in popular narratives. All these elements make *Beowulf; Dragon-Slayer* a light and lively product representative of the popular culture of its time. As the editors state in their introduction to the comic, “we’re not publishing a history textbook, but attempting to unite the symbolic elements that make the poem *Beowulf* the masterpiece it is” (vol. 3, 19). This approach will be prevalent in later comics.

A new *Beowulf* comic book appears in the following decade; written and designed by Jerry Bingham, his 1984 work presents an more “archaeological” rendering of the poem into plastic art. In general, the artistic concept of this comic book is quite modern; the vignettes are not always sequenced but overlap one another, perspective changes dynamically to stress certain moments in the narration, and there is a primitivistic intention in the portrait of this violent and barbarous universe. Bingham’s historicist approach eschews the licences taken by the previous comics and creates a visual *Beowulf*-world that closely follows the descriptions of characters, objects and places in the poem. Thus, the design of the weapons, garments and ornaments worn by the characters and the details in the recreations of the landscape realistically reproduce early medieval elements; only *Beowulf*’s horned helmet again seems to be a concession to the popular medieval imagery in the characterization of the Viking (Fig. 6).

Bingham claims he has adapted an “8th century epic poem” (1), and it can be deduced from his work that he documented his comic in scholarly translations of the text.<sup>30</sup> The opening lines of this comic are a summary of the first lines of the poem, “We have listened to many songs of the Spear-Danes’ fame, the mighty

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<sup>29</sup> From early instances as *Catwoman* and *Sheena*, comic book superheroines have also deserved the audience’s attention. The erotic comic of the 1970s, however, redefines the female character with successful products as *Barbarella* (Jean-Claude Forest, 1967), Roy Thomas and Barry Smith’s *Red Sonja* (1973), or Frank Thorne’s *Ghita de Alizarr* (1979), with whom Nan-zee has in common her sex appeal.

<sup>30</sup> The dating of *Beowulf* is still under debate. See *The Dating of Beowulf*, ed. Colin Chase (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1981); Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995); and Robert E. Bjork and Anita Obermeier “Date, Author, and Audience of *Beowulf*,” *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1997) 13-34.

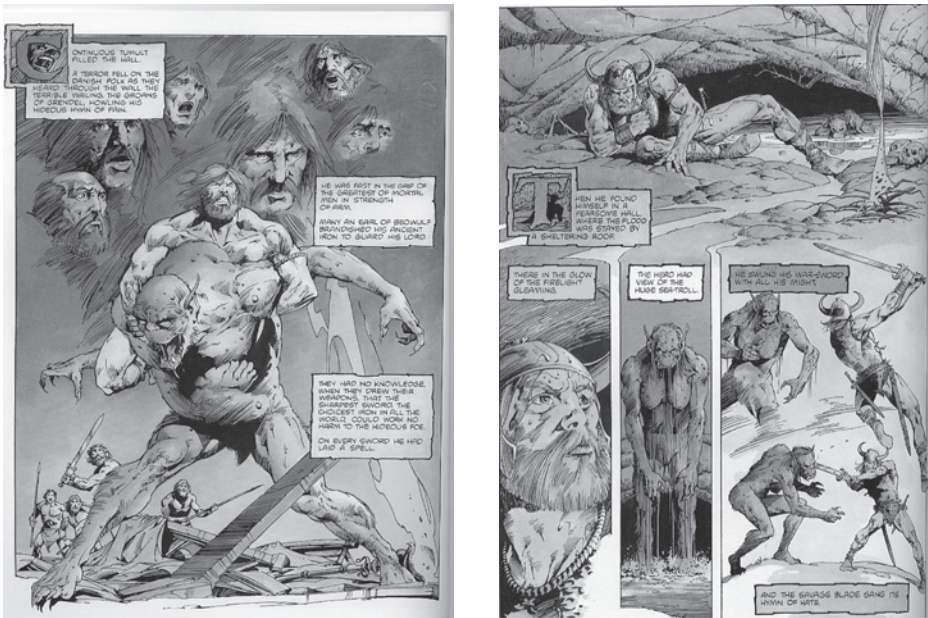


Fig. 6. Jerry Bingham, *Beowulf*.

splendour of old, their mighty princes, and deeds” (2). His introduction insists on the legendary character of the story as part of an ancient literary tradition, but Bingham resorts to the rhetorics of the comic book in the description of the superhero: “Born of a legendary time, coming from a land where legends are born, he crossed a Northern sea to make a mark in the pages of history that would long endure after the seas had turned to rivers and mountains to sand. He was of a noble breed. He was... Beowulf” (1).

We may detect an educational intention underlying this work, which styles itself in its cover page as a “graphic novel.” Most likely, Bingham seems to have in mind that the teenage reader of comics must have studied (no matter how fragmentarily) *Beowulf* as part of the literature syllabus, as by the 1980s it was part of the compulsory reading list in most schools. Thus, there are no explanations of the facts and situations as which appear in the story and the characterization and actions of the protagonists only make sense if one is beforehand acquainted with the original narrative and the Germanic legendary world.

In updating the epic matter to the comic book formulas, the story is reduced to the “hero vs. villain” conflict and many episodes of the Old English text are eliminated; besides, Bingham realistic approach leaves little space for magical powers and fantasy beyond the participation of the monsters, which are nevertheless presented more as animal-like creatures than as supernatural beings. Regarding the characterization of the protagonist, Bingham’s *Beowulf* is not depicted here as the superhero of comic but rather as one of the icons of modern masculinities, the

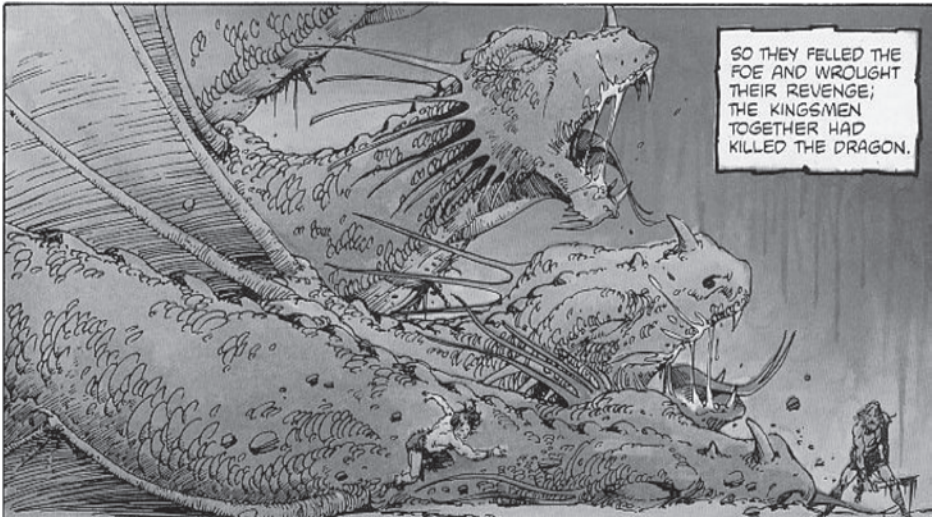


Fig. 7. Jerry Bingham. *Beowulf*.

“lone warrior” we have frequently seen in horror movies, the Western, and adventure novels, while the monsters respond to the clichés of both horror and folk narratives. On his part, Grendel is a blending of troll and the Scandinavian *draugr* or walking dead, as his looks remind one of the zombie or the vampire, while the dragon reproduces the well-established model of the zealous guardian of treasure as portrayed in epic poetry and folk-tales (Fig. 7).

One more recent *Beowulf* in comic format is Gareth Hinds' visually engaging work, which presents many similarities with Bingham's in its artistic concept. Published in 1999-2000 (later republished as compact book), it focuses on the hero's personal battle with the monster. This *Beowulf* depends greatly on Gummere's 1910 translation of the poem, who is credited by the author.<sup>31</sup> Hinds incorporates all the modern design techniques of late 20th-century comic book art, as a superb use of colour and detailed anatomical drawing, a quick narrative rhythm in the sequence of images, and the inclusion of very limited text captions in the vignettes. Actually, the aesthetics of this comic is reminiscent of the videoclip because of its use of montage, narrative ellipsis and unconventional perspectives that dramatically changes from the wide, panoramic shot to the close up. Hinds' very stylized characters are endowed with movement and strength because of a masterly use of light and darkness, which is reinforced by the changes in visual focalization as the hero's and the monster' point of view alternate. The different size and distribution

<sup>31</sup> Gummere's translation is nowadays outmoded; probably Hinds chose it because the publishing company no longer holds the copyright.





Fig. 8. Gareth Hinds, *Beowulf*.

of the narrative material in the panels stress the fight between the hero and the monster as in a postmodern *tableau*, as text is almost eliminated, and the author's elliptic presentation of the plot seems to assume that the reader already knows the story sequence; otherwise, the narrative would be incomprehensible (Figs. 8, 9).

The author also adapts the use of contrasting light and brilliant color of the "sword and sorcery" comic in the first part and resorts to black, white and gray inks in the section dealing with an ageing Beowulf's last stand. Interestingly, Hinds enhances his work with an archaizing, primitivistic style that makes his Beowulfian universe a very original and distinctive one. For example, he employs archaic fonts for the texts bits that certainly remind the readers of runes and Old English manuscript handwriting, and quite often frames the vignettes with fringes that reproduce early medieval metalwork. In this sense, this late *Beowulf* revisits the earlier comics in the wake of *Conan* and the epic fantasy genre and re-medievalizes them by inscribing the same elements in a visual world much influenced by archaeological reconstruction, also documented in Beowulfian scholarship. Because of its sophistication, this product does not seem to be oriented to teenage readers only, but its evocative character rather appeals to an audience with a deeper degree of familiarization with the Old English poem and early medieval, Germanic material culture. As most contemporary comics, this one seems to address a more mature reader than Uslan and Villamonte's or Bingham's previous adaptations.

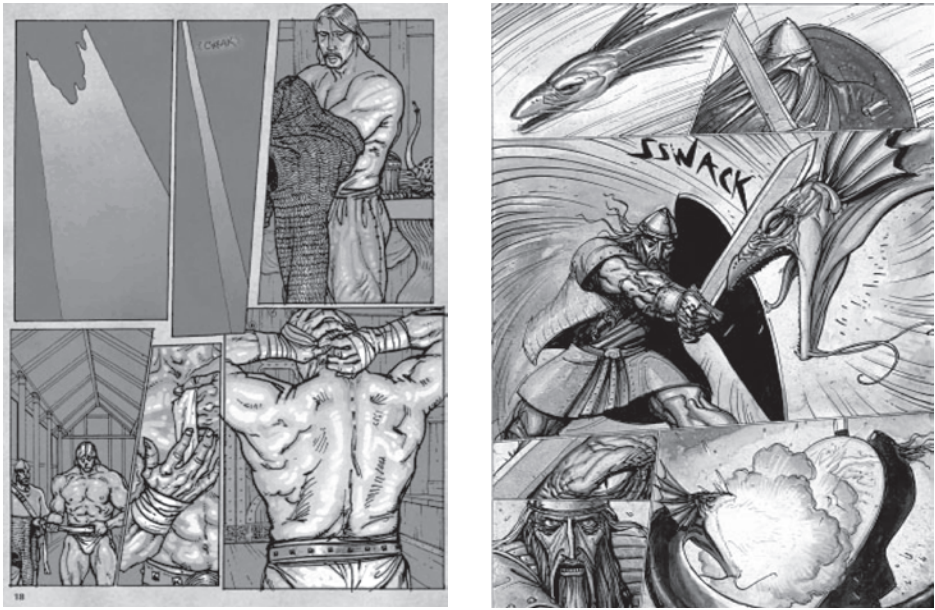


Fig. 9. Gareth Hinds, *Beowulf*.

A more recent rendering of *Beowulf* in comic is *Beowulf: A Different Shade of Gray*, by Francis Lombardi and Kevin Altieri, published in the French magazine

*Metal Hurlant* in 2003. This ten-page story contrasts to Bingham's and Hinds' more faithful approaches to the original poem and takes it again to a teenage universe by choosing as narrator a boy. This is Wiglaf, a bold youngster who anachronistically serves as page to Beowulf. Likewise, except for Beowulf the other characters do not respond to the ones in the poem as once more the hero's war-band includes an archer woman warrior; oddly enough, there is a sorcerer named Higlac who, in a clear concession to the formulas of the epic fantasy comic, tries to defeat the monster with his spells.

Lombardi and Altieri condense the plot into one single combat between the hero, accompanied by his war band, and the monster, and endow the narrative with a very pessimistic tone. The setting of the story is remarkably Scandinavian: Beowulf is a Viking prince who, on board of his "drakkar," arrives at one of his people's colonies undergoing a monster's attack. The narrative is subverted when, instead of Grendel and his mother, the only evil creature in this version is a three-eyed dragon. However, it does not spew fire nor has any supernatural power; in fact, the dragon looks rather like a dinosaur, a characterization that—as in Bingham's *Beowulf*—stresses more its animal nature than its monstrosity (Fig. 10).

As a consequence, the hero's combat against the monster loses its epic quality, particularly when in the end it is revealed that the creature was not moved to assault the humans out of hatred, like Grendel in the poem, or just in order to keep its hoard hidden, as expected in any dragon coming from the Germanic legendary stock. This pitiable foe turns out to be a female dragon, somehow a substitute for Grendel's mother, which attacked the colonists to prevent their advance into the territory where she had nestled. Wiglaf is the one to find out, but when he does it is too late to save the friendly, newly born little monster in the nest and the she-monster's other eggs.

This comic revises the Beowulfian narrative in the light of a contemporary issue, environmentalism, and addresses the question from a sort of pro-ecological ideology whose basic principle is respect for and understanding of wild life. This preoccupation turns to the ethical with the sad end of the story as Wiglaf questions the humans' reasons to kill the mother dragon. In previous comics the delimitation of good and evil was clearly unmovable in ontological terms since the human and the monstrous were presented as irreconcilable elements. Nevertheless, Lombardi and Altieri revisit *Beowulf* in the light of other modern treatments of the poem and redraw the borders of the conflict.<sup>32</sup> The tragic event of the slaughter of the dragon has moral consequences for the monster-killers in spite of Beowulf's claiming that one has no time to consider his enemy's reasons right in the middle of the combat. However, the hero's strict delimitation of good and evil seem to be no longer valid

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<sup>32</sup> This reading of monstrosity has a parallelism with the rendering of the story in some novels rewriting *Beowulf*, as for example Larry Niven, Jerry Pournell and Steve Barnes' science-fiction works, *The Legacy of Heorot* (1987) and *Beowulf's Children* (1995), and Parke Godwin's novel *The Tower of Beowulf* (1995).





Fig. 10. Frank Lomabard and Kevin Altieri, *A Deeper Shade of Grey*.

for young Wiglaf, who thinks that they made the wrong choice by slaying the she-dragon and her brood: “Après cette expérience, la noirceur des ténèbres que nous combattions devint à mes yeux un peu plus grise” (23, Fig. 10).<sup>33</sup>

The latest *Beowulf* in comic is a series created by Brian Augustyn in 2005 and still in course whose title is *Beowulf: Gods and Monsters*.<sup>34</sup> This new Beowulf is not a Viking warrior but a 20th-century hero living in Manhattan. His superpowers are his exceptional physical strength and longevity, as in spite of his young looks he is the same character of the Old English poem who has survived until present day. Likewise, his personality and ways have been adapted to his new urban environment, and even his name has been shortened to a more colloquial “Wulf.” If, on the one hand, the modern Beowulf still fights against giant troll-like monsters similar to Grendel in the darkest streets of New York, on the other his mission projects into the future, as his task—as most superheroes—is to watch for an undefined catastrophe to come. This endangered world is the post-nuclear, industrialized, apocalyptic setting we have seen in many other comics, popular novels, films and television series (Fig. 11).

Augustyn’s comic does not really add many new elements in its recreation of *Beowulf* except for his incorporation of the latest graphic techniques and trends of the art of the comic book. When interviewed about the reasons that made him choose *Beowulf* as inspiration, creator Brian Augustyn claimed that he was searching for “someone not as overexposed as Hercules, Alexander or King Arthur, but “familiar” [emphasis added]. Gilgamesh or Finn McCool might have worked too, but I’ve always loved the dragon-slayer hero—and saw his old specialty a nice metaphor for the evils and dangers of the modern world. Here there still be dragons, but now they’ve learned to blend in.”<sup>35</sup> The understatement here is that, at this point in the history of the revisiting of the medieval text by diverse popular genres, the knowledge of the poem does not matter any longer beyond the interest for the intrinsic violence of the heroic society it recreates. The comics’ reading of the Dark Ages reshapes this universe according to the economy of good and evil in popular genres, drawing on the apocalyptic vision of contemporary neomedievalism; as Fradenburg notices,

The neomedievalism of our period often takes the form of the fantasmatic relocation of “medieval” privation and risk in a future that prophesies certain aspects of the Real of the present: [...] survivalism, the fantasy of culture as survival, cult as and cult of preparedness, postplague, postapocalypse, technological bricolage,

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<sup>33</sup> My translation: “After this experience, the blackness of the shadows we fought turned a bit greyer to my eyes.”

<sup>34</sup> The series, still published by Speakeasy Comics, was devised by Augustyn up to volume 4. From volume 5 to volume 7 it was later taken on by a different artist, Attila Adorjany, but still conforms to Augustyn’s original idea.

<sup>35</sup> See this interview at the comic site Comic Book Resource, <[http:// http://comicbookresources.com/news/newsitem.cgi?id=4693](http://http://comicbookresources.com/news/newsitem.cgi?id=4693)>.





Fig. 11. Brian Augustyn, *Beowulf*.

monkish techniques of preservation of knowledge, fully militarized hypermasculine vigilance, living to fight and tell. (209-10)

As this panoramic revision of *Beowulf* in comic shows, its appropriation by popular culture is a consequence of the parallel process experienced by the poem in high culture, that is, its canonization and recognition as a central piece in the cultural heritage of English-speaking communities. But the new creators use this reputation as an eye-catcher to entice new audiences with the glamour of an old, vaguely known story with heroes and monsters. The explanation for the recurrence of *Beowulf* as comic book matter is probably that the new renderings depend directly on the continuous redefinition and construction of the parameters of the epic genre by this media. In the comic book the figures of the superhero and the monsters contextualize this cosmic fight, already present in the Old English poem, into the world to which contemporary readers belong. This “aggiornamento” chooses to ignore the literary conditions of the original to make it saleable, thus erasing the borders between high and low culture. As a form of reappropriating the classic, *Beowulf* as comic book offers the same advantages that John D. Niles notes about the “serious” translations of this ancient medieval poem into modern languages, as they convey “a powerful work of the literary imagination into terms that, far different from the original poet’s, may still be compelling for readers in our own time” (859).

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MISCELLANY



# WEAVERS, POETS AND MAGICIANS: UN/MAPPING *THE WASTE LAND*

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## ABSTRACT

This paper aims at reading T.S. Eliot's poem *The Waste Land* as a living mandala of voices and symbols. Therefore the dynamics of the mandala principle is introduced and explained in order to provide a structural and structured way of looking at the text. This dynamics is also used to relate the poetic voice that stands in the middle of the poem-mandala to its peripheral display of words. The poet, who is compared with a weaver and a magician, is identified as well with "The Hanged Man," a symbolic expression of change and transformation that can be seen as the silent axis of the whole poem.

KEY WORDS: T.S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*, mandala, poet-weaver, poet-magician.

## RESUMEN

Este ensayo se propone leer el poema *The Waste Land* de T.S. Eliot como un mándala de voces y símbolos vivientes. Por ello se presenta y explica en primer lugar la dinámica del mándala con el fin de proporcionar una forma estructural y estructurada de abordar el texto. Esta dinámica también se emplea para relacionar la voz poética que se halla en el centro del poema-mándala con su manifestación periférica de palabras. El poeta, al que se compara con un tejedor y un mago, es identificado también con "El ahorcado," expresión simbólica del cambio y la transformación, que puede ser entendido como un eje silencioso de todo el poema.

PALABRAS CLAVE: T.S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*, mándala, poeta-tejedor, poeta-mago.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The complexity and the vast myriad of references *The Waste Land* contains explain the fact that the poem has been called a "palimpsest." However intricate and even obscure *The Waste Land* might be, it seems to follow a certain pattern. In other words, its apparent chaotic flow of references might have an underlying logic, not necessarily in terms of content, but in the way that content is structured (and thus made sense of).



It is my aim in this essay to read *The Waste Land* in terms of the mandala principle, that is, to compare the structure of the poem with the dynamics of the mandala. In order to do this I will first introduce the idea of the “mandala principle” and how it is related to traditional figures like that of the bard or the magician. Then, I will undertake the task of deciphering the mandalic elements that pervade the symbolic fabric of *The Waste Land*. This is a very ambitious endeavour, if I were to take into consideration the structural complexity of the whole poem, so I will limit myself in this essay to two aspects of the first part (“The Burial of the Dead”) which can be understood as recurrent motives later in the poem.

These two aspects will be the relationship between centre and periphery in the symbols that appear in the very beginning of *The Waste Land* (and that reappear later on as well, especially in the fifth part, “What the Thunder Said”) and the importance given to the tarot card “The Hanged Man” as a central (silent) voice that keeps on participating in the poem.

## II. THE WEAVER OF VOICES

T.S. Eliot dedicates *The Waste Land* to Ezra Pound, who is acknowledged in the first page of the poem as “il miglior fabbro.” This idea of the poet as “maker” or “creator” (from the Greek word for poet “poietés”) is both relevant and revealing for understanding the way *The Waste Land* is constructed and how the “mandala principle” works as well. This “maker” is an artisan, a craftsman, who works with an already existing matter and gives it a new shape. It is not a creator *ex nihilo* but a “shaper,” somebody who can reformulate tradition and present it in a new way. Although we could apply this idea to all poets from Homer to our days, since all of them have been working with an already existing material (not only in thematical terms, but also, and most essentially, in terms of language, since all had to deal with an already shaped language and its inherent worldview), the image of the “maker” can be particularly identified with Eliot and his *Waste Land*.

In this poem (literal) chunks of other texts are inlaid in it, and the role of the poet seems to be that of making them fall together in a new reformulated whole (which is altogether constructed out of reverberations from other texts). It is Pound who is thought of as a “fabbro,” but we could certainly think of Eliot in the same way. He is actually reshaping a number of traditions that meet in his mind. In his writing flow the influences of Shakespeare, the Bible, the Upanishad and the Pali Canon, just to mention a few. But he is, after all, silent. He speaks only as the last link of a long chain, thus surrendering his “personal voice”<sup>1</sup> to the collective and

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<sup>1</sup> This “personal voicelessness” of *The Waste Land*, which —as we will see later— does not neglect a personal engagement with the act of making poetry, links into the Buddhist premises shared by Eliot. As Viorica Patea has written: “Su crítica de la apología romántica de ‘la voz interior’ como criterio de realidad está en consonancia con las premisas budistas, que postulan la insustan-

impersonal voice of tradition, that expresses itself through him as the heir of a long literary lineage.

So this is most clearly the work of a “poietés”: to repeat. But not to repeat in a mechanical fashion. There is space for creativity in repetition. And this creativity lies precisely in a particular use of space. Since the texts are being repeated, the innovation is to be found in how these texts that contribute to the poem are set out within the basic space of the poem and how they relate to each other. This way of relating to the text and to its “creation” (also known as “recreation” or “reformulation”) is very similar to that of the Bards, the holders of oral traditions who learnt the set texts and then—in their public recitation of them—introduced personal elements and reshaped the texts by making them longer or shorter, by altering the order of the elements present in them and so on and so forth. An oral (and performative) tradition is always signed with this sense of fluidity that allows the poet some freedom to improvise over a basic pattern, to reshape and to express the tradition in a “personal” way, although there is no “personal voice.” The personal transformation of the text is always implicit (real but voiceless), because it is assumed that when the bard recites the text he is making it “his” text, he is mingling himself with the text, and his voice becomes one with the voice of tradition. To use a very beautiful expression to define this process of “(re)creation” I will quote a modern bardess, the singer Sheila Chandra, whose 1992 CD was entitled *Weaving My Ancestor’s Voices*.<sup>2</sup> With that idea of the poet as a “silent” weaver of voices I will now proceed to introduce and explain the notion of the mandala.

### III. THE WEAVING OF VOICES

The Sanskrit word “mandala” literally means a circle, something rounded or completed. It is both the idea of circularity and of completion (perfection) that makes the mandala a very interesting symbol of totality; the same totality that Eliot aimed at in his poem(s).<sup>3</sup> However, we cannot forget that this circular symbol of

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cialidad del ego” (Eliot, *Tierra* 33). The absence of a heavy centre, like “the inner voice” in romantic poetry, will be key to understand the “mandala principle” and its relationship to *The Waste Land*.

<sup>2</sup> In *Weaving My Ancestor’s Voices* Sheila Chandra improvises—using her voice as an instrument—over the tunes of what she calls her “spiritual ancestors,” which range from Celtic Irish songs, Indian religious Hymns, Islamic music or Manuel de Falla’s *Nana*.

<sup>3</sup> I am not particularly interested in proving that Eliot knew the mandala, because he certainly did, but to read his poem in terms of the mandala principle. The mandala, as a diagrammatic figure and as a way of understanding the cosmos, is not an exclusively Buddhist and Hindu thing, not even an Eastern one. For example, we can find in Gnostic Christianity similar representations and principles. The mandala is not a new thing at all; it has been present in the West for centuries (many Roman temples were built following this structure as well). However, the mandalas (named in this way) became famous in the late 19th century and early 20th century thanks to Jung and others, who employed them primarily as drawing devices (not getting deeper into what they actually





perfection is ever-fluid, always dynamic and that it is precisely the movement what makes the mandala possible. It is a map of interactions, a map of the universe seen as a continuum that expands and contracts from a centre (into and back from a periphery).

As may be guessed, we could talk of two basic mandalas: the represented mandala and the real mandala. By this I mean the symbol and the thing symbolized, the map and the territory mapped (the universe itself). Nonetheless, in this essay I will deal only with the represented mandala, or the mandala as a representation, in relationship with *The Waste Land*. I will, thus, deal with *The Waste Land* as a map of *The Waste Land* and not with *The Waste Land* itself. To do the latter would be a most interesting task, because I would have to get into *The Waste Land*'s worldview and deal with its ultimate meaning as a world of itself, but also a very demanding and complex work which would surpass the expected limits of an essay like this one. So, as I said before, I will limit myself to compare the structure of the poem with the representational dynamic of the mandala, with the structure of the mandala as a symbol.

One of the aspects of the mandala that will be essential in my reading of *The Waste Land* is the relationship between the centre and the periphery of the poem as a mandala. In order to understand this relationship it is important to keep in mind two basic features of the "mandala principle" (that could be summarised in one): the constant communication between centre and periphery and their ultimate indivisibility.

Looking at Rigdzin Shikpo's way of talking about the mandala can help in understanding this constant flow<sup>4</sup>:

*Mandala* (Sanskrit) means something that has a centre and a periphery, and refers to the structure and dynamic of everything that manifests. The centre of the *mandala* affects the periphery and the periphery feeds back into the centre in a constant energy exchange. (Shikpo 89)

This interrelationship between centre and periphery seems to be pointing at the basic fact that Chögyam Trungpa states quite clearly:

The mandala of self-existing energy does not have to be maintained by anything at all; it maintains itself. Space does not have a centre or a fringe. Each corner of space is centre as well as fringe. (Trungpa 145)

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stand for) for psychological purposes (see Jung, or Eliade). Eliot was familiar with Jung's ideas and also with the original meanings of the mandala. We know through Gabriela Mistral that he was about to become a Buddhist precisely when he was writing *The Waste Land* (Spender 20).

<sup>4</sup> The reason why I am using sources that are posterior to Eliot to elucidate the meaning of the mandala principle is because, among all that I have read about the mandala so far, I have never found clearer definitions which were both rooted in tradition (both authors are authoritative voices within their Buddhist Lineages) and at the same time expressed in (very accessible) Western terms.

Thus, the roles within the mandala are interchangeable, the centre might become the periphery and the periphery the centre, and they will keep on communicating and dancing. It is essential to understand that we are not before a dualistic way of looking at the cosmos, in which there is a ruling principle and something to be ruled, a creator that rules over its creation. Au contraire, the centre of the mandala, the “ruling” axis, is rather passive and silent, allowing (providing the space for) the “ruled” periphery to display its activity. However, and as it has been previously stated, those places are endlessly exchanged. The king becomes the servant, and the servant the king, and the king the servant, and so and so forth.

This perspective can be a very useful tool to look at *The Waste Land* as a continuum where the poet, the “persona(s)” and their voices intermingle and change roles continuously. This idea links back again with the figure of the bard, in whose recitation a number of voices mingle, which are ultimately identical with his own and which flow undifferentiated within a text that is set by tradition, and yet reformulated by its reciter. The bard stands at the centre of the mandala, so to speak, and from him the whole display of his recitation manifests. His poetry is his periphery, which emerges from and dissolves back into himself. Although (or maybe because) he incarnates this generative centre he is silent, and his silence is the blank page that allows the voices of tradition to manifest. So “lilacs” are bred “out of the dead land,” the speechless becomes the space needed for speech to happen, the sterility that makes breeding possible, like the “dull roots” that are stirred “with spring rain.”

#### IV. FROM WINTER TO SUMMER (AND ALL THE WAY BACK)

It seems interesting that the first part of *The Waste Land*, named “The Burial of the Dead,” starts with a reference to “lilacs” that emerge from the dead land, the very ground where everything arises and disintegrates. Although we might think that the title is pointing to the end of life, which is true, at the same time is evoking its beginning, the arrival of spring. In a way the vast potentialities of death are shown, death as a return to the ground, which, despite waste, or precisely because it is waste, can engender infinite possibilities of new life (that will meet death again and so on). In line 5 we find a powerful image that expresses this ambivalence of the ground, which is both womb and tomb: “winter kept us warm.” Winter, the season where everything dies to come back to life, provides the “warmth” of the unmanifested, of what not only has been destroyed, and thus, set to rest, but also of open, endless possibilities of manifestation (that only the unmanifested contains).

The arrival of summer is announced by “a shower of rain” (line 9),<sup>5</sup> and it means the introduction of human voices in the poem, the breaking of a “silent,”

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<sup>5</sup> This “shower of rain” represents the power of fecundation. The one has turned into two and those two have started to dance. Whereas in wintertime there was just the land covered by “forgetful snow” (line 6), the arrival of rain means also that the land has acquired a new quality. Now



objective and impersonal account of winter. Silence provides the space for voices to happen, and these voices suddenly personalize the impersonal space described before. They become a manifestation of what was previously unmanifested, thus defining and narrowing the space of the poem. It is interesting to see how the verbal tense switches from present continuous (“breeding lilacs,” “mixing memory and desire,” “stirring dull roots,” “covering earth” and “feeding a little life,” lines 1-7) to the past (“And went on in sunlight,” “and drank coffee,” lines 10-11, and so). This change is very significant, because it is pointing at the fact that the arrival of summer has brought not only personal references, but also temporal and spatial ones.

Whereas winter is a silent, impersonal, uncoloured realm<sup>6</sup> where everything is described in terms of processes (things are merely and barely happening), summer stands for the personally defined, colourful stage in which there is time (past, present, future; thus, the switch to the past tense, which indicates memory, opposed and complementary to the “forgetful snow” formerly mentioned) and where there are also places. In the first lines we are only introduced to universal things: April, snow, winter, memory, desire, and so on. However, after the arrival of summer (line 8), the poetic discourse is transformed, personal voices appear, places are named (“Hofgarten”) and time is introduced (through verbal tenses). Furthermore, the German words in line 12 express this focus and definition that the poem has suddenly embraced. These words (*Bin gar keine Russin, stamm’ aus Litauen, echt deutsch*), roughly translated, mean “I’m not Russian at all, I come from Lithuania and I’m genuine German.” The relevance of the sentence does not lie only on the national(istic) tinge the speaker wants to confer to it, but also on the fact that the speaker makes three statements about him/herself. This shows again the turning into concrete of what was previously unmanifested and vague. We could compare this play over the poetic space with a camera moving from background to foreground (and the other way round, as I will comment on later).

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it is a wasteland, that needs the power of rain in order to turn it fertile again. A similar symbolic structure is found in the fifth part in which, after a long and detailed description of the waste land (that starts off with the beginning of that part and finishes with the powerful manifestation of the thunder, preceded by the descent of Ganga, the goddess associated with river Ganges, that cools the dry earth with her waters), the thunder speaks and appears as a revelation in midst of the dried ground. The thunder stands, in the upanishadic paradigm, for the divine voice, but it is also associated to Indra, a male god who is often compared with a bull, and whose virility and fertilizing skills are widely known among women and goddesses.

<sup>6</sup> It is relevant to mention at this point that the mandala of the five Dhyani Buddhas, which represent the basic structure of the mind and the universe in Tantric Buddhism, is generally depicted with the White Buddha in the centre, as a way of suggesting the undefined and “colourless” quality of the primordial ground of existence. Nonetheless, surrounding the White Buddha are four other “Coloured” (Blue, Yellow, Red and Green) Buddhas. This four-folded periphery is regarded as a manifestation of the colourless (and centreless) centre, that is the empty space that allows everything to happen. An analogous relationship seems to be developed here with the symbolism of winter and summer.



Nonetheless, Eliot seems to be very fond of transitions and middle grounds. The poem starts “in” April, which is neither winter nor summer, neither “centre” nor “periphery.” The “German” voice comes from Lithuania, which is in between Russia and Germany, and tries to turn back from Russia and move towards Germany. This process of transition is what in Tibetan is called “bardo,” which literally means “what comes in between”: a gap.<sup>7</sup> The idea of the “bardo” is very important within the mandala principle and is very significant to understand its dynamics. The mandala represents the continuum of energy that transforms itself unceasingly and knows neither beginning nor end. However the manifestations or appearances of that continuum (which are, anyway, not different from the continuum itself) are constantly changing, that is, rising and falling, being born and dying, and, subsequently, continuously experiencing processes of transition (“bardo”).

Everything can be seen as a “bardo,” for example, winter can be seen as the “bardo” between autumn and spring. However, Eliot seems to be more interested in pointing at the gap(s) that come(s) in between the states that we tend to perceive as more static, such as winter-summer. Nonetheless, April, the chosen “bardo,” is not presented as part of an ongoing process (like the ones described before and signaled by the present continuous) but as a static event, even a universal truth, marked by the present simple (“April is the cruellest month”). This is a very clear example of Eliot’s game with the notions of static and dynamic. He mixes and interweaves these notions to the point of blurring their boundaries, being this blurring the proclamation of their ultimate inseparability.<sup>8</sup>

To sum up, these turning points repeat themselves all through the poem, and we will see how important they are in the image that Eliot chooses to place in the centre of his mandalic poem.

## V. TURNING IT UPSIDE DOWN

It was T.S. Eliot himself who said that all the voices in the poem are indeed the same voice, and that all the personages that appear are also one (Eliot, *Waste* 50). This points at the idea of a centre that manifests in many different ways, the

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<sup>7</sup> As Trungpa has said, “‘bar’ means in between, and ‘do’ means island or mark; a sort of landmark which stands between two things. It is rather like an island in the midst of a lake. The concept of bardo is based on the period between sanity and insanity, or the period between confusion and the confusion just about to be transformed into wisdom; and of course it could be said of the experience which stands between death and birth” (Rinpoche 10-11).

<sup>8</sup> This idea does not only connect with the inseparability of space and appearances in the mandala principle, but also with Plato’s saying “Time is eternity set in motion,” which was most probably known by Eliot. What Plato seems to point at is that time (understood as lineal and progressive time, which opposes to the static and “timeless” idea of eternity) and eternity are essentially the same. This sense of non-duality is found in much of modernist and imagist poetry, as one of the main symbols of its identity.





empty mother-like space that engenders infinite potentialities and gives rise to different identities, which are essentially the same. As it has been said before, that centre is silent. However, the poet uses a symbol, an image in this case, to stand in between the wordless and the words. The chosen symbol is a tarot card, a particular symbolic kind of image, since the tarot's representations are full of symbolic connotations. They do not intend to (re)present a particular natural image; their aim is not to imitate, but to provide the image of an archetype. That means that the tarot's images are visual incarnations of qualities and principles (i.e. the magician stands for the idea of power).<sup>9</sup>

Various cards are mentioned in the first part: "the drowned Phoenician Sailor," "Belladonna, the lady of the rocks, the lady of situations," "the man with three staves," "the one-eyed merchant" who "carries on his back" something the clairvoyante is "forbidden to see" and "The Hanged Man" which is not found (lines 47-55). Of all these cards, our attention seems to be drawn to "The Hanged Man," which is precisely the absent one, but at the same time the key element that allows Madame Sosostriis to formulate her prediction: "Fear death by Water." What motivates her final statement seems to be the absence of "The Hanged Man." "The Hanged Man" seems to be somehow the centre of all the cards, the silent core that works as an axis. Its absent presence makes sense of all the other cards, which constitute its periphery and a powerful influence while remaining wordless. Mandalas are maps, and landmarks on bigger maps (by this I mean that they are part of what they represent). So is the tarot. The tarot functions as a mandala, with a centre and a periphery and expresses designs to which the tarot itself is subjected. And so is *The Waste Land*, a huge map which contains numberless maps within, a map of tradition(s) which is at the same time part of th(os)e tradition(s).

The tarot is a clue left for the reader in order to read *The Waste Land* as a tarot(ic) mandala. So is the game of chess (second part), another space ruled by the centre-periphery pattern. It is interesting to see how this second part starts with a very clear reference to a centre (a throne): "The Chair she sat in, like a burnished throne..." (line 77). And then it spreads out from that centre in a very mandalic fashion, by describing whatever surrounds that Chair, as if it were all a manifestation of the Chair itself, like the silent expression of power that sprang from the throne standing in the centre.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> An interesting overview (with references to many critical sources) of the role of tarot in *The Waste Land* is provided by Grover Smith (91-97), even though I have not followed his ideas in this essay.

<sup>10</sup> A very similar idea is found in King Arthur's "mandala." If we read any story from the Arthurian cycle we will see how the King stands silent, being the very centre of his world, and how his court works as a manifestation of his silent power. It is as if he spoke and acted through his knights. In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, for instance, Sir Gawain is the one who responds to the Green Knight's challenge, which was obviously addressed to King Arthur himself.

Coming back to “The Hanged Man,” we cannot overlook the peculiarities of this image. The fact that this is the only card in the tarot whose image is turned upside down makes it very suitable to stand as the central symbol of a poem like *The Waste Land*. All the tarot cards can appear upside up or upside down, and their meaning changes depending on their collocation. However, “The Hanged Man” is upside down when the card is upside up, and viceversa. It is a definite turning point, the very image of transformation. This links back with the idea of the “bardo,” that was introduced in the previous section, the gap that allows (and is) transition. The turning point “The Hanged Man” stands for is the flexible axis that structures a world constantly changing. The card itself is associated with shamans, seers and magicians, those who transform energy (like poets). It is also associated with death as a way of regeneration, the process of disintegrating and, therefore, becoming.

This card is also related to Tiresias, half-man half-woman, caught in between times, sexes and identities (lines 215-256). And to Phlebas the Phoenician, “a fortnight dead” (line 312), who “rose and fell” (line 316) (like the subverted hanged man) and “was once handsome and tall” (line 321). All these characters (I have only mentioned a few) have in common that they are the silent centre(s) of the poem. They are somehow beyond time and space, like silent watchers of the whole display of voices and places, and at the same time they are involved with the suffering and agitation of those voices and places (i.e. the episode of Tiresias and the typist, in which Tiresias “foresuffers” the pain of the typist (line 243), being the young woman a modern incarnation of the ever-returning oracle of Thebes).

Eliot says in his Notes on *The Waste Land* that “all the women are one woman, and the two sexes meet in Tiresias” (Eliot, *Waste* 50). Tiresias has been seen in many readings of *The Waste Land* (some of them made by the author himself) as the poem itself, the continuum of poetry that folds and unfolds in its continuous switch from background to foreground and the other way round. It would be equally right to assert the centrality of Tiresias or of the Phoenician sailor; however, it is the iconic nature of “The Hanged Man” that makes me think of it as the central symbol (in the particular context of a mandalic reading) of a poem full of symbols. Nevertheless, the identification of that “personage,” Tiresias, the magician-seer, with the author has been implicitly ascertained by Eliot as well, who signed some of his letters as Tiresias. So Tiresias, or the Hanged Man, or Phlebas the Phoenician, or Eliot himself, seem to be very suitable *fabbros*-poets-magicians-weavers-of-voices to stand at the centre of a poetic world that is continuously “burning, burning, burning, burning.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> These words, taken from the third part, “The Fire Sermon,” are precisely from the Fire Sutta, to be found in the *Suttapitaka* of the Pali Canon (*Tipitaka*). These words are said to be those the Buddha himself spoke, and were transmitted orally for generations. The oral origin of the text explains its repetitive structure, which was meant to be memorised and then recited (like the repertoire of a bard).



## VI. CONCLUSION

To sum up, the symbolic structure of *The Waste Land* seems to be ruled by the underlying principle of the mandala; a mandala in which the poet stands in the centre, as a silent presence that weaves the voices that pervade the whole periphery of his poetry. The relationship between centre and periphery is very fluid and, therefore, the poem is full of turning points, *personas* and images that allow and incarnate this process of unceasing change.

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# NEW CONSIDERATIONS PROPOUNDED IN LITTLE MAGAZINES OF AMERICAN INNOVATIVE POETRY\*

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## ASBTRACT

During the last two decades of the twentieth century little magazines played a significant role in the American avant-garde poetic scene. The new formal considerations propounded in these magazines violated narrative style centered on the self and gave rise to fragmentary inquisitive discourses on the relationship between the individual, writing and society. We see this clearly in the works of the so-called innovative poets, in which the prevalence of a new consciousness was developed mainly through the publication of little magazines emerging in the 1970s. They favored debates among poets and intellectuals and achieved an international audience.

KEY WORDS: Little magazines, American innovative poetry, poetics, politics, self.

## RESUMEN

A finales del siglo xx las pequeñas revistas americanas centradas en la publicación de poesía y poética alcanzaron una importancia inusitada. En sus páginas aparecieron nuevas proposiciones formales que se alejaban del estilo narrativo centrado en el yo y propiciaron discursos más fragmentarios tomados de diversas fuentes y que establecían una relación entre el individuo, la escritura y la sociedad. Los poetas americanos innovadores fueron los principales impulsores de esta nueva conciencia, especialmente visible a través de las pequeñas revistas que aparecieron con fuerza a partir de los años setenta del siglo xx, al tomar referencias intelectuales sólidas que le supusieron un reconocimiento internacional.

PALABRAS CLAVE: pequeñas revistas, poesía innovadora americana, poética, política, individuo.

At the turn of the 20th century most of the anti-conformist writings on poetics came out through diverse little magazines, which opposed the still prevalent modernist issues in American poetry. Though Charles Olson referred in the 1950s to projective verse as postmodernist poetry, his claim was only a way of reorienting Poundian Modernism to pay closer attention to poetic composition itself. His stress on the self and on speech did not alter the central modernist features. Indeed, Donald M. Allen's anthology published in 1960, *The New American Poetry: 1945-*



1960, layered various poetic modes ranging from the Black Mountain Poets to the New York Poets, and included those associated with the San Francisco Renaissance, the Beat Generation or others with no geographical or poetic group definitions. All these miscellaneous texts (notes, reflections, essays, or poems) shared Olson's instant after instant commitment to reality insisting on the self, though sometimes from a far distance. Other anthologies in the 1960s encouraged critical reflection on the poetic achievement restoring Modernism through heterogeneous forms like deep image, animism, religion or primitivism. This is especially visible in Jerome Rothenberg's approach to linking Modernist avant-garde (Gertrude Stein, Kurt Schwitters) with anthropological concerns like shamanism or Jewish cultural references, as formulated in *Poems from the Floating World*. Indeed, late 1960s magazines like *Caterpillar*, *Sumac*, *Curriculum of the Soul*, *Io*, *Audit*, *Stony Brook*, *Coyote's Journal*, *Wild Dog* or *Kulchur*, also focused on a reconsideration of Modernism bearing fruits from distant sources like Jung, prehistoric archeology, surrealism, or Reichian therapy. They can be considered as publications exemplary of the intellectual challenges that openly prompted the generic revolution of the word produced in the 1970s.<sup>1</sup>

However, during the last three decades of the twentieth century little magazines played a significant role in the American avant-garde poetic scene. The new formal considerations propounded in these magazines violated narrative style and gave rise to fragmentary inquisitive discourses on the relationship between the individual, writing and society. We see this clearly in the works of the so-called innovative poets, in which the prevalence of a new consciousness was developed mainly through the publication of little magazines in the 1970s like *L=a=n=g=u=a=g=e* (Bruce Andrews & Charles Bernstein, NY), *Hills* (Michael Waltuch, IA & Bob Perelman, MA) *Oculist Witnesses* (Alan Davies, MA), *Tottel's* (Ron Silliman, CA) *Roof* (Tom Savage & James Sherry, NY); *This* (Barrett Watten, IA & Robert Grenier, MA), *A Hundred Posters* (Alan Davies, MA), *La Bas* (Douglas Messerli, MD), *Miam* (Tom Mandel, CA), *Toothpick*, *Lisbon and the Orcan Islands* (Michael Wiater, WA), *United Artists* (Lewis Warsh & Bernadette Mayer, NY), *Telephone* (Maureen Owen, NY), *Big Deal* (Barbara Baracks, NY), or *Big Sky* (Bill Berkson, CA). These maga-

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<sup>1</sup> Barthesian zero *écriture* liberated literature from its ideologically objective pretension. In this sense, literature is far away from the 1950s social commitment, though it needed interpretation and knowledge to insure meaning inside form and show deficiencies and possibilities. Innovative little poetry magazines in the 1970s demanded a new reader familiarized with European intellectuals, acknowledging that both literary discourse and reality are full of ambiguities leading into scepticism. Their social preoccupations were seen in their very active small communities (related to artistic activities, like New Langton Arts, or prisoners support, as developed by Ron Silliman). Little magazines were a means to exhibit these new literary and political environments, and the European intellectuals (especially Wittgenstein and Derrida) made them reaffirm the importance of the signifier and elucidate the resonances of the signified.

zines were a dynamic means to maintain the consistency of these poets' purposes. They were rapidly distributed and had faithful subscribers, they appeared frequently throughout the years and definitely helped to establish a community in which responses were direct and immediate.

It is true that most of these magazines were ephemeral, but they embodied a new writing with intellectual discoveries about the individual in society and politics. This new consciousness opposed restricted social norms and proposed a new political role for the individual, introducing new ways of interpreting and analyzing the functions of language. Normally, the term "language poetry" is associated with the barthesian *écriture*, eminently forcing critics and readers to pursue linguistic exploration and search for new roles for language.<sup>2</sup> Language poets mixed new poetic practices with new epistemologies. In this sense, poststructuralist concepts were joined by Marxism, and other values set forth by Ludwig Wittgenstein or Jacques Derrida.<sup>3</sup> The strategies used to expose these new intellectual goals had to be effective in renewing the perception of both poetry and reality. Little magazines emerged at this level as an ideal means to publicize their new position. They first showed the complexities of language through its deconstruction and fragmentation, a reevaluation of the individual resisting domination and subverting the structures into which his society was categorized. Not in vain, issues like the Vietnam war, capitalism, economics, and language were considered as social territory in which poetry inspired the intellectual ability of individuals.

This new intellectual position was clearly based on a reevaluation of Wittgenstein's ideas on ordinary language, in which meaning is contingently individualized in both author and reader. Given the persistent attention to the writerly

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<sup>2</sup> Roland Barthes asserts that "the world enters language as a dialectical relation between activities, between human actions; it comes out of myth as a harmonious display of essences. A conjuring trick has taken place: it has turned reality inside out, it has emptied it of history and has filled it with nature." For him, poets are more conscious of the formal character of language, based upon sign which convey form and concept, but also of a transcendence able to express absences which are lodged in the mythic (Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Wang & Hill, 1972)). Characteristically enough, *L=a=n=g=u=a=g=e's* second issue published Roland Barthes's excerpts from *Writing Degree Zero*, in which modern poetry "leaves standing only its lexical basis... The poetic word is here an act without immediate past, without environment... the consumer of poetry, deprived of the guide of selective conventions, encounters the word frontally... accompanied by all its possible associations... is reduced to a sort of zero degree." Roland Barthes, "Writing Degree Zero," *L=a=n=g=u=a=g=e 2* (April 1978): n.p.

<sup>3</sup> Steve McCaffery extends the language tendency's referential sources to Russian Formalism, Roland Barthes's semioticism, the works of Jacques Lacan and Jacques Derrida ("the sign as diacritical reference... difference... the metaphysics of absence." For him, this writing should be understood in terms like Ron Silliman's "surprised by sign," or "formalist," "structuralist," "dereferralist," "minimalist," "language-centered," "counter-communicative," and "cipheral;" (cyphericity is defined by McCaffery as a "zero-methodology by which texts are constructed which are designed to say nothing. To be silent, however, is to withhold the possibility to speak." Steve McCaffery, "The Death of the Subject: The Implications of Counter-Communication in Recent Language-Centered Writing," *Open Letter 7* (Summer 1977): 64.





reader,<sup>4</sup> centered on language itself, it is not surprising these poets looked further back to the early Russian formalists who first paid primary attention to writing and its formal composition. However, the innovative poets moved beyond the formal framework and realized that words convey meanings and an implicit desire for communication, transcending the merely formal and resonating in the social world. They also felt attracted by the late Russian formalists involved in the Moscow Linguistic Circle (Roman Jakobson) and in the Opoyez, the Society for the Study of Poetic Language in Saint Petersburg, in which Viktor Shklovsky, Boris Eichenbaum and Osip Brik researched into word formation and how it became literature. In making such a choice, these American innovative poets were fascinated by how the familiar (the ordinary in Wittgensteinian terms) should turn into strange in order to accomplish the fullest aesthetic experience.<sup>5</sup> Surely, Clark Coolidge's improvisatory structures, Hannah Weiner's inside-out project, and Jackson MacLow's non-intentional method, had acknowledged this epistemological approach through their various poetic achievements before the 1970s. Nevertheless, more generalized shifts came with the advances in the 1970s through the presence of little magazines beginning with already ordinary titles like *This*, *Roof*, *Telephone*, or *L=a=n=g=u=a=g=e*, able to distort and prolong perceptions.

Thus this threading of weaving together writing and its values to make the reader aware of ordinary life is another link to Wittgenstein's philosophy. When these poets turn to language as a medium of consciousness that never mirrors the universe transparently, they make use of Wittgenstein's conception of language as an instrument that not just represents but intrinsically has meaning. In their search to redefine the relationship between self and reality, they are retaking Wittgenstein's views on how human acts and recurrent forms manifest their ontological basis.<sup>6</sup> For Wittgenstein, language clarifies that the world exists, beyond it we only have nonsense. He was not interested in the problem of language evaluation but in its functioning. This is the position mostly retaken in the American innovative little magazines in the 1970s, in which published essays and critical notes argue for how

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<sup>4</sup> This term is derived from Tom La Farge's "writerly writers." In this sense, the "writerly reader" is involved in the process of composition as an experience of writing. Tom La Farge, "Readerly Writing," *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 39 (Noviembre 1999): 93-102.

<sup>5</sup> Shklovsky's phonetic and lexical investigations led him to conclude that poetic speech should be removed from the domain of automatized perception. Defamiliarization brings the greatest long-lasting impact, "By "estranging" objects and complicating form, the device of art makes perception long and "laborious"." Viktor Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*, trans. Benjamin Sher (Elmwood Park: Dalkey Archive, 1990) 6.

<sup>6</sup> For Charles Altieri, Wittgensteinian essentialism remains within the complex coordinates of ordinary human experience. As seen later, Derrida retakes this issue and focuses on human acts as a play of signifiers, in which free play is only allowed within the linguistic system. Consequently, he destroys essentialist thought. For a further discussion on this topic, see Charles Altieri, "Wittgenstein on Consciousness and Language: A Challenge to Derridian Literary Theory," *Modern Language Notes* 91.6 (December 1976): 1409.



linguistic structures (phonology, rhythm, grammar, syntax, formal arrangement) operate at an internal level and authorship is allowed to take a kind of bold interest in the creative process of any artistic activity. Moreover, to adopt Wittgenstein's ideas on language meant being aligned with scepticism, though they tried to avoid this charge by paying attention to an identification with human acts in society, "Sceptical doubt applies a kind of pressure on familiar realities that can make us aware of how our ordinary activities are in fact anchored and of how we characteristically determine meanings and values."<sup>7</sup>

To examine the social element in the language tendency we must resort to Wittgenstein. Literature and philosophy support each other as they refer to disciplines that reflect and analyze the possibilities of human knowledge. When both disciplines are excluded for methodological reasons, it is usually to establish that philosophy adheres to consistency, while poetry should be related to language and emotion. For Charles Bernstein, both take part in "the project of investigating the possibilities (nature) and structures of phenomena,"<sup>8</sup> and he justifies this drawing on Aristotle via Wordsworth, "Poetry is the most philosophic of all writing... Poetry in the image of [humanity] and nature" (Bernstein, *Content's* 229). The differences between these disciplines might be attributed to reasons of professionalization or segmentation, but in fact both coincide in explaining phenomena (events, objects, selves, realities) and the human consciousness above them. They both also explain aesthetic and social relationships, providing an ideological and political approach to reality, a commitment observed by Linda Reinfeld as generalized in the innovative poets, when they defend the close connection between literary theory and social reality, precisely for not separating aesthetic questions from political commitment and ideological critique.<sup>9</sup> Charles Bernstein's position against the Balkanization of theory is a consequence of perceiving methods of interpretation like feminism, psychoanalysis, materialism, sociology or romanticism as worldviews that tend to defend a territory or specialization. This is why all the language modes of the twentieth century are liable to appear in his poetry, from computer language or T.V. jargon to more classical poetic diction, in a tour through the most intimate and undecipherable to the most complex philosophical imperative.

For Wittgenstein, literature was an event to be shared and thus needed a nexus for the multiplicity of individual interpretations to come into contact. Despite the apparent nihilism and instability of meaning, it is easy to find frequent references in this philosopher's work to the importance of the context and the use

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<sup>7</sup> This position conveys a humanist approach to literature opposed to the determinist side of the method. Véase Charles Altieri, "Wittgenstein on Consciousness and Language: A Challenge to Derridian Literary Theory," *Modern Language Notes* 91.6 (December 1976): 1398.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Bernstein, *Content's Dream: Essays 1975-1984* (Los Angeles: Sun & Moon, 1986) 219-220.

<sup>9</sup> Linda Reinfeld, *Language Poetry: Writing as Rescue* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1992) 53.

of meaning within language, “the meaning of a word is its use in the language”,<sup>10</sup> in order to insist on language as laden with historical meanings and uses we cannot escape from. The same history or how it is narrated must be revised, not from the rhetorical point of view but by emphasizing that its role is to represent. It would be at this point when poetry and philosophy explore and facilitate multiple possibilities in constructing not a fixed theory of the individual and the social, but one bounded by the necessary critical distance. The core connection between the language tendency and Wittgenstein is given by considering language as the motor of that consciousness for interpretation. There is no automatic correspondence between signifier and signified and it is language itself that initiates us into knowledge and experience of society. Within this context I think these poets are attracted to the Wittgenstein that explains how language is associated with the nature of knowledge and gives importance to those images of our culture and community that reaffirm us as individuals in society. These poets try to go a little further, to insinuate that our relationship with the world is not just that of knowing, but of being there and acting. From this arises his enormous interest in uniting the literary with the social.

When Wittgenstein points out that “language is itself the vehicle of thought” (*Philosophical* 329) he is but stating that writing is self-knowledge and the imprint of human presence in the world. Language is also the central point for the contributors of these magazines, it is not just knowledge but action, especially for the today’s multicultural world where it is necessary to face up to and accept the diversity that so repels mass culture. For them the medium of poetry with its atmosphere of uncompleted suggestions is suitable for quoting from Nietzsche’s *The Genealogy of Morals*, capable of converting marginality into a moral question (the rebellion of the slave), considering it as an acceptance of the Other, even recurring to the ethnic, social or gender differences in order to be prepared to accept it. Therefore, the concept of writing in Wittgenstein’s or Barthes’ sense is an individual literary action inscribed in a variable context full of contingencies. Indeed Bernstein’s books on poetics, *Content’s Dream*, *A Poetics* and *My Way*, Silliman’s *The New Sentence* or Barrett Watten’s *Total Syntax*, show a succession of ideas adhering to a language conceived as the pivotal point of human experience, living it and confronting its alternatives. This offers the reader the chance to contemplate the doubts and solutions of an individual immersed in his or her context. It is also true that part of the production published in these magazines is rather schizophrenic because of the multivalency and variety of devices used, where fragmentation is one of the most recurrent resources for offering multiple values for the signifiers that are constantly being reconstructed. However the desire to solidify this practice with concrete intellectual arguments is useful to evaluate the consistency of modern poetic dis-

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<sup>10</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G.E.M. Anscombe (New York: Macmillan, 1958) 43.



course, where truth, if it exists, lies in the phenomena arising around it and does “not approximate a displaced ‘physical reality.’ They are the product of mediation through the membrane of consciousness, which is language, and hence actualizations of such a reality” (*Content’s* 123-4).

On emphasizing the importance of the social context in order to avoid skepticism in apprehension of meanings, Wittgenstein observes that “consequences and premises give one another *mutual* support.”<sup>11</sup> We must not forget that most of the contributors to these magazines were aware of them being included in a poetic line that starts off with Pound, to whom they respond by trying to supersede Modernism, investing literature and literary language with an autonomous self-referential praxis, reducible to specific codes by individuals but constantly open to reinterpretation. Thus, the purpose of poetic language is discovery, but leaving an arduous task to the reader, who feels obliged to decide how and in what direction the elements of language can be combined with the categorizations to which we are accustomed. The response does not include a re-composition of the fragmentation as in Pound, to find the creative self, but rather that language has a long history of premises and consequences that could occupy a central position as true protagonist; establishing a scenario of optional meanings. The most obvious reward and conclusion when faced with this attitude is that it submerges the reader in an open progression of language that reflects one of the most outstanding motifs of poetic experience: to experience words as raw material to be deciphered.

Jacques Derrida completes this innovative poetic position, since he also values language as an essential axis to rationalize human contingencies. It is not surprising these poets started to recognize Derrida’s philosophy, divorced from any sense of domination, to explore the boundaries of writing itself. The above-mentioned innovative little magazines pioneered poetic forms based on non-referentiality, mixing them, altering genre limits and contents related to quotidian experience. All this submitted to a prevalent Derridian dissystemic position in order to move away from simulacrum or exact representation.<sup>12</sup> The literary games in these maga-

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<sup>11</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *On Certainty* (New York: Continuum, 1993) §142.

<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, I should mention that attention to the materiality of the signifier is complemented by a Marxist perspective in these innovative poets. For instance, Silliman explains his concept of referentiality thus: “The social origin of referentiality to be found in the organization of production in the visibly capitalist form, with its emphasis on measurement, quantifiability, ownership as an individualist (& individualizing) proposition, the division between creation & commodity, and the fetishizing of the latter. The commodity nature of language as its referentialist, with the character of it repressed. The descriptive power of referentiality. The second-order quality of narrative (as temporally organized description—or the form of description most appropriate to the gradual triumph of the structure of technical rationality and the subordination of more and more areas of human life to that structure). Referentiality as fetish.” Ron Silliman, letter to Charles Bernstein, 11.10.76, Mandeville Department of Special Collections, University of California, San Diego. And in  $L=a=n=g=u=a=g=e$  Fredric Jameson published excerpts from his essay, “Jargon,” persisting in his criticism of capitalistic society, calling for new procedures, “its [today’s poetry’s] mission is to over-





zines offer us are full of hidden forces and meta-commentaries between the different voices in his poems. The reconstitution of what is lost into the Derridian *différance* has as its objective the liberation inherent to life-experience, not just literature. In this sense we are reminded of what Julia Kristeva points out regarding Joyce's Modernism in *Finnegans Wake*. He uses language free of "didacticism, rhetoric, dogmatism of any kind".<sup>13</sup> I say "life" because the term "language" in Bernstein is not limited to the literary world but extends to visual, verbal, gestural and tactile dimensions with a clear projection into the individual's life history or biography. It is evident that this language transcends the mechanical sense of history to lodge itself in a more discursive communication. Although characterized by deliberate opaqueness, the mode of expression itself makes us more aware of its forms and structures. Kristeva applies the concept of redemption to Joycean opaqueness, in that the experimental and radical is a source of new meanings, sometimes unexpected. In the innovative poets' case, their obscure language proceeds from the everyday world and their imagination, which is capable of altering conventional reality by using a lexical organization that begs for another reading. Such organization is defined by an opposition to what is ordered from the outside, that is, to deterritorialize signifiers by altering grammar, syntax or spelling to reclaim the idiosyncratic and personal, and stimulate greater attention to language itself and to our awareness of its ideological-political role. For Bernstein, word order and its servility to convention answers to a social order that limits the potential of the human being, whether in the interests of capitalism or of totalitarian communism.

By preferring the suggestions and interpretations generated by formal resources like alliteration, asyndeton, puns, assonance and consonance, parataxis or synesthesia, these innovative poets counter-balance the repressive effect of the macrostructure of language on our experience of the word itself. This is reflected, as illustrative examples, in Clark Coolidge's short sentences of "A Page That Is Nothing but Words Written by Itself", published in *This* 8 (Spring 1977), or in Lyn Hejinian's long poem "Sending" published in *Roof* 5 (1978), where incompleteness is clearly observed, "ans/ ers/ any/ t r/ and/ rest/ us/ aga/ fect/ ase/ me/ o/ icomplete/ We depend on memory in order to read." Non-narrative de-contextualized lines multiply the associations of the many poems published in these magazines. Experimental poems which reappear recollected in books commercially published in later

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come the reification of everyday language. ... Over against their sense of the "seriality" of daily life and daily speech, that is, the feeling that the center is always elsewhere, that this language belongs not to us who use it, but to someone else, in distant centers of production of the media, publishings and the like, over against this sense of the draining away to some absent center of the very power to speak, modern poetry reasserts its production of language and reinvents a center. The very difficulty of modern poetry is in direct proportion to the degree of reification of everyday speech... both [poets & theoreticians] violently have recourse to invented speech and private languages in order to reopen a space in which to breathe." Fredric Jameson, "Jargon," *L=a=n=g=u=a=g=e* 4 (August 1978): n.p.

<sup>13</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia UP, 1980)

years, like Charles Bernstein's *Islets/Irritations* or *Controlling Interest*, Ron Silliman's *The Age of Huts*, Barrett Watten's *1-10*, Lyn Hejinian's *Writing Is an Aid to Memory*, or Alan Davies's *Active 24 Hours*, to quote just a few. This experimental writing may be defined as 'syntactic,' understood by some poets in these terms: "The pleasure in hearing syntax is like the pleasure in tasting food... It follows, that is, by *dint* of: a demonstration that we live in a world made content *a posteriori*: an age of huts (*series makes syntax*) not bits."<sup>14</sup> This type of exercise shows their interest in widening the possibilities of poetry, surprising themselves with results that show how the creation of a self contrasts with those of other writers. These poets' poetic and analytic discourse is integrative and unifying despite its often fragmentary character, and involves an interdisciplinary application of aesthetics, ethics, culture and politics, so that there can be sufficient interaction between everyday reality and whatever transcends it.

Many of these poems say something about the clear correspondence between practice and theory. Charles Bernstein's "Artifice of Absorption" would be one of the most illustrative cases of this connection where that basic concern of writing is made clear: an area of research with communicative intentions and social power. It is difficult to distinguish if "Artifice of Absorption" is a poem or an essay, formally it would be poetry as it is written in verse, but the rhythm and content are those of a prose essay with footnotes added. It has incidentally been included in his book *A Poetics* published by Harvard University Press. Defining the terms of the title, Bernstein offers us the keys to understanding this text: "'Artifice' is a measure of a poem's/ intractability to being read as the sum of its/ devices and subject matters",<sup>15</sup> "By *absorption* I mean engrossing, engulfing/ completely, engaging, arresting attention, reverie,/ attention intensification/ rhapsodic, spellbinding,/ mesmerizing,/ hypnotic,/ total, riveting,/ enthralling: belief, conviction, silence" (*Poetics* 29). He uses numerous examples and literary references throughout the poem/ essay that help to perceive the paradoxes of both language and the human condition. The names with the strongest presence are Veronica Forrest-Thomson, Steve McCaffery, Jerome McGann, Emily Dickinson, Bruce Andrews, David Antin, Samuel T. Coleridge, Ezra Pound, Helen Vendler, Donald Wesling, Robert Kelly, Velimir Khlebnikov, Gertrude Stein, Lyn Hejinian, Louis Zukofsky, Clark Coolidge, Ron Silliman, Georges Bataille, Robert Grenier, Nick Piombino, Leslie Scalapino, Samuel Beckett and Merleau-Ponty. Bernstein's quotes and explanations have concrete names and are also a sample of the poetic debate that has led him to varied critical and creative compositions. His main idea is that the anti-absorptive, less transparent techniques he uses are also capable of absorbing the reader, perhaps more powerfully than traditional methods, "non-absorptive means may get the reader/ absorbed into a more ideologized or politicized space" (*Poetics* 53). Fasci-

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<sup>14</sup> Charles Bernstein, "Whole to Part: The Ends of the Ideologies of the Long Poem," *Open Letter* [Sixth Series] 2.3 (Summer-Fall 1985): 186.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Bernstein, *A Poetics* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992) 9.

nated with form and its many shadows, Bernstein exhibits a concept of poetic language as witnessing and questioning individuality, obscuring it for us to judge it, be stimulated by it and use it as a tool in the construction of our selves. Even the form this 89-page-long poem/essay ends in has been altered, if we compare the first version in *Paper Air* with the latest included in his book *A Poetics*. In the first we read a clear exposé of his intentions: “We can try to/ bring our relationship with readers to/ fruition,/ that the site of reading become a fact of value” (65). The end that appears in the latter version differs slightly but with the same interactions in a more poetic tone “Do we cling to/ what we’ve grasped/ too well, or find tunes/ in each new/ departure” (89). In this way, Bernstein joins together poetry and essay, practice and theory, offering the reader a vision of being a carrier of values to be explored in the composition itself.

The implications of this position with regard to language, whether in his poetry or poetics, lead us to consider the role of the self and try to decipher its social articulation and values. From my point of view, this type of literature widens the horizon and leaves behind the romantic self, on not blinkering or narrowing its vision from its own exclusivity outwards, but associating and contrasting it with the Other, the author and the reader intermingle in this aesthetic new order as a privileged mode of discourse since they wander between the subjective and non-subjective (the shared and the transcendent) as the main characteristic feature of what the text itself demands. The Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor, on analyzing modern society in response to poststructuralism in *Sources of the Self*, again speaks up for the values found in literature, ardently defending the idea that language and form cannot be autotelic but rather must mediate between man and perceived reality. His main contribution is the recognition that both art and literature take part in the concept of “epiphany,” which makes them go beyond reality (though still belonging to it) so that they become authentic. His definition: “The epiphany is our achieving contact with something, where this contact either fosters and/or itself constitutes a spiritually significant fulfillment or wholeness” (425). What I mean is that these poets’s approach to language allows this identity of the modern self to debate between the realism of its social position and that which transcends it, by allowing a sense of totality, normally only attainable through art or literature.

The theoretical concerns in these innovative little magazines insisted on poetic modes and discourses promoting an unsettled course. They opened the doors for every reader. History was not seen as a systemic development of immovable facts, but involved in a discursive reconsideration of the past and the present, the self and the world. They favored debates among poets and intellectuals and achieved an international audience. Does this indefatigable privateness still prevail at the beginning of the 21st century? Contemporary American poetry has responded in these last few years by turning back to formalism (let’s say New Formalism or Elliptical poets), but the question of “signification” is still proliferating everywhere. Julia Kristeva has synthesized the contemporary poetic scene into the concept of “signifiante,” in which the symbolic and the semiotic encompass social activity, “[poetical process] falls outside the realm of both the signified and the transcenden-



tal ego and makes of that which we call “literature” other than knowledge: the very place where the social code is destroyed and renewed.”<sup>16</sup>

Indeed Douglas Messerli’s editorial statement in the first issue of *La Bas* pointed to his intentions in publishing this little magazine,<sup>17</sup> emphasizing variousness in poetic approaches and an interest in essayist work. This same spirit was revived later in the 1980s and 1990s American little magazines. More than thirty titles have been added following this poetic tendency. In this sense, *To*’s editors are interested in “work that pursues in vital and necessary ways the variousness of our knowing now the multiple languages of our engagement,” going beyond the objectivists’ claim of its title in the 1930s and including poets ranging from Bernstein to Leslie Scalapino or Chris Stroffolino.<sup>18</sup> Mark Wallace in *Situation* is interested in “publishing formally innovative work that explores how writing creates, dismantles, or restructures the possibility of identity. A poetry of situation.”<sup>19</sup> For Barrett Watten, this literary continuation of the aims of the innovative poetry is because this tendency cannot be seen as the handmaid of admiration but “a discursive formation that was made to be broken.”<sup>20</sup> Innovative poetry little magazines emerged in the 1970s with new poetic proposals using applying diverse intellectual sources. Their attention to writing has been continually reenacted since then, perhaps due to their capacity to continually reformulate human acts and texts incorporating any relevant intellectual reference.

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<sup>16</sup> Julia Kristeva, “The Speaking Subject and Poetical Language,” Interdisciplinary Seminar on Identity in Anthropology, 1975. For Kristeva, the symbolic order fits the signified paying attention to laws, discourses, or conventional judgements in the human beings. The semiotic order corresponds to more primary processes, it is pre-linguistic, intuitive and associated with the earliest learning and apprehension of language in the child.

<sup>17</sup> “Dear Fellow poets: this is the first issue of *La Bas*, a newsletter of experimental poetry and poetics. *La Bas* is sent free to poets who in their poetry have shown an interest in poetry which... is “not poured into moulds,” and whose poetry has reflected a valuing of the poetic process over artifact... *La Bas* prints not only new poetry, but revisions and reactions (responses to poetry, theory, news of interest to poets— whatever). Douglas Messerli, “Editorial Statement,” *La Bas* 1 (1976): n.p.

<sup>18</sup> Seth Frechie and Andrew Mossin, “Editors’ Note,” *To* 1.1 (Summer 1992): n.p.

<sup>19</sup> Mark Wallace, “Editor’s Note,” *Situation* 8 (no date give): n.p.

<sup>20</sup> Barrett Watten, “The Secret History of the Equal Sign:  $L=a=n=g=u=a=g=e$  between Discourse and Text,” *Poetics Today* 20.4 (Winter 1999): 588.







# “WHAT LIES BENEATH”: FORTY YEARS LATER THE FIRST CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF JAMES ASHER’S TPR EXPERIMENTS

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## ABSTRACT

The findings of the thorough analysis reported here, clearly show the importance of initiating a critical debate into James Asher’s experiments with TPR (Total Physical Response). The reason for this is that many of the aspects of TPR that have been taken for granted these last forty years do not now seem to be all that we thought they were. The experiments that Asher claimed to prove the viability of TPR may not be as reliable as we had assumed. Moreover, this article helps to explain what should now be done in order to move this research and teaching area forward. Further experiments into TPR need to be undertaken with the aim of righting the oversights committed, as well as making TPR more efficient. For certain, it will be the beginning of more dialogue on this issue.

KEY WORDS: TPR activities (Total Physical Response), experiments, original critical analysis, statistics, pre-tests, post-tests, research design.

## RESUMEN

Los hallazgos del análisis riguroso expuestos aquí demuestran de manera clara la importancia de iniciar un debate sobre los experimentos de James Asher con la TPR (Reacción Física Total). El motivo es que muchos de los aspectos de estos experimentos los hemos aceptado sin cuestionar a lo largo de estos últimos cuarenta años. Sin embargo, parece que debemos someter estos experimentos a un nuevo escrutinio, ya que los experimentos que según Asher comprobaron la viabilidad de la TPR parecen no ser tan fiables como habíamos pensado. Adicionalmente, el presente artículo intenta explicar cómo podemos avanzar en este campo de la investigación y de la enseñanza. Necesitamos más experimentos con la TPR con el fin de corregir los deslices efectuados y adecuar la TPR como método de enseñanza más efectivo. Estamos seguros de que de esta manera entraremos en un dialogo fructífero.

PALABRAS CLAVES: actividades TPR (Reacción Física Total), experimentos, análisis crítico original, estadísticas, pre-tests, post-tests, diseño de investigación.



## INTRODUCTION

Forty years have gone by since Asher wrote his first article in 1965 about the importance of TPR activities (Total Physical Response) in the learning of second or foreign language. Since then his TPR method of: “learning through actions” (Asher, *Learning Another 2*) has been incorporated into many activities for the teaching of English even if just into simple activities with movement. Many have accepted Asher’s finding unconditionally in comparison to the few who have tried to analyse, replicate experimentally, or renovate the admirable basis left by him. This means that the specialised literature abounds in descriptive studies on TPR or its incorporation into the classroom, but little else.

Until now, Beretta (1986) has been the only author to submit Asher’s work to critical scrutiny. However, the present author intends to give an original report on many of the aspects of Asher’s work that up to now have not been detected. In this way, from a totally new perspective, I hope to be able to help advance and extend the field. This will be done by going back to the source of his work, the source being his experiments and statistics, and submitting them to rigorous scrutiny in order to discover how solid the basis that underlies his famous teaching method is. Surprises are in store. Additionally, I point the way as to what should be done. More rigorous experiments still need to be carried out into TPR to right the errors made and also to make TPR even more effective. I am sure it will prove to be the start of an interesting debate.

### A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF ASHER’S ORIGINAL EXPERIMENTS INTO TPR

Over the years TPR has been used fairly widely in the teaching of languages. This, in effect, means an almost unconditional acceptance of Asher’s findings. In the specialised literature one can find many descriptions of the incorporation of TPR into the classroom, but few have stopped to look at the details of the trial experiments and therefore the basis and real efficiency of TPR.

Only one criticism of Asher has been found, the one by Beretta, which is included below. This lack of appraisal does not mean that the studies by Asher are beyond reproach. What is more, the study of any defects found supposes an improvement into the future use of TPR and also the future design of experiments into it. Additionally, this critical evaluation is encouraged in various works such as the manual of the American Psychological Association (7) or textbooks on the design of research (Brown 43).

In order to carry out any practical action which improves on another’s work, a critical evaluation of that original work, it helps to think of the original precepts before initialising it or putting it into action. Additionally, the critical reader may contribute enormously to the field of research by discovering in this way, new areas that are so far unexplored, as a result of that critical reading. All these reasons have led the present author to carry out her personal and original criticism of Asher’s experiments.



## ASHER'S FIRST EXPERIMENT

In his first article on TPR ("Strategy"), Asher describes an experiment on learning Russian as a foreign language. Other articles by Asher himself employ the term 'experiment' and an instance of this can be found in this first article under debate, on page 299 for example. We are only going to consider articles by Asher that include experiments. Logically, articles of his which are purely theoretical will not come under scrutiny, not containing empirical evidence for TPR.

The hypothesis in this first TPR article ("Strategy") was that: "listening comprehension of a foreign language can be accelerated if the student is asked to emit a response with his entire body" (299). Asher claimed that: "the results showed highly significant differences in retention (of Russian) favouring the experimental group" who had used TPR (293). Asher said that this demonstrated that TPR was more effective in helping students retain complex structures as exemplified by long utterances and novel utterances. He did this by contrasting the results with those of a control group of a similar number of participants ( $n=19$ , versus  $n=18$  in the experimental group).

However, on closer inspection, at least a third of the times in each utterance category (and sometimes more) the results of the experimental group were not significantly higher than the control. It would therefore seem that his claim for the technique of TPR: "demonstrating the most power" (299) was exaggerated by Asher in the Discussion section of the experiment. Additionally, the probability level of  $p < .10.$ , is reported as being significant (297) when it is not. Traditionally, in linguistic research  $p < .05.$ , is considered the minimum, and this figure is even lower in other fields.

Another principal problem was that no data were taken, nor pre-tests nor post-tests given in order to help explain or discount any other influence other than TPR. It seems that errors were committed at the time of designing this experiment. By research tradition a control group can only justify results obtained in the experimental group about the intervention (in this case TPR), if the two groups start with the same level on this and all other variables.

Due to this total absence of any type of pre-test, we know almost nothing about the state of both the control and experimental group at the start of the research and the consequent influence of other factors, or not, on the alleged results. Neither was any test carried out on the psychomotor development of the participants, this is important to control for when using a method based on physical responses. All we know is that the participants had no other grounding or exposure in Russian and this is only according to Asher's word.

Furthermore, an Otis Mental Ability Test was administered but "after" carrying out the experiment. Moreover, therefore this could in fact mean that the intervention used in the *control* group was what was successful in raising the level of mental ability. Neither is it possible to discover the degree of mental ability occurring in the experimental group at the start of the experiment. If the degree of mental ability in the experimental group was the highest at the beginning, this could be an alternative reason for explaining the better results of the experimental group in learning Russian.



Specifically, it seems that not all the success can be attributed to TPR and that other factors almost certainly existed and were probably mediating, without data having been collected on them.

## ASHER'S SECOND EXPERIMENT

This second study, also dated 1965, was carried out by Kunihiro (a post-graduate student) in collaboration with Asher. It focused on the learning of Japanese through TPR. Kunihiro and Asher stated that: The retention of the experimental group, who responded physically to the Japanese cue...tended to be extremely high and significantly better than that of the control group(s)" (288).

This experiment seems better designed than the previous piece of research. A larger number of students participated (88 in total, divided into one experimental group and three control groups). The larger number of students adds more reliability to the sample and thus to the results, as it is nearer to being more representative of the population at large according to the mathematical principles inherent in the science of sampling.

Moreover and in a positive way, various tests were administered, this time before the intervention began. These were the Modern Language Aptitude Test and a mental ability test called the American College Testing Program. They showed that the groups were equal on these variables. In this way, subsequent progress by either of the groups can be clearly seen and contrasted. The experiment showed that after only two weeks the experimental group learning with TPR retained more Japanese during various periods of time; after two weeks, after 24 hours and immediately. Results for listening comprehension were high for long novel utterances through TPR.

All the same, the authors deem it important to comment that in the experimental group, the correlations between: a) the Modern Language Aptitude Test and b) the test of mental ability were extremely low and near to zero. They explained this by commenting that nearly all of the participants in the experimental group were clustered around the maximum mark on each of the criterion scores. However, traditionally there has always been correlation between these two types of variable. What the authors are perhaps trying not to say is that the low correlations are due to the fact that the experimental group constantly obtained top marks in all the language tests. An alert reader would probably ask him/herself the origin of these high language marks and one conclusion may be that there was something happening with the tests. Perhaps the method of completion affected the scores. In the same way, one realises that no pre-test was given for level of Japanese. Perhaps the experimental group began with the advantage in these tests, although Kunihiro and Asher assure us that the students had no fluency in any other language.

Moreover, no copies of the tests were included in the Appendix at the end of the article, neither were the psychometric properties or figures of reliability. Maybe the authors used tests of their own creation, a combination of characteristics that again throw doubt onto the validity, not only of the tests, but also the results obtained with these.



Additionally, the authors submitted the results to an analysis using Student's  $t$ -test statistic. Apart from not specifying which of the  $t$  tests were employed, the data is not presented with its degrees of freedom ( $df$ ), which makes it very difficult for others to replicate the data.

The second control group first heard the utterances in Japanese and then the English translation. The participants were seated and did not carry out any physical actions. Nevertheless, the experimental group did not sometimes reach a significant retention of the utterances, when compared with this second control group in utterances comprised of a single word 24 hours and immediately after, for example.

Additionally, it was discovered that individual differences were reduced within the experimental group, as manifested in the retention measures. The results from members of the experimental group showed a tendency to group themselves compactly around the maximum score.

Effectively, we may see that it was not reported how the experimental group's tests were administered. It seems that all the experiment's participants did the tests altogether. Tests employing physical actions lend themselves to student copying even more so than tests with pen and paper, and thus, perhaps the higher score which may have not really been representative of the experimental group.

In conclusion, although the second experiment was better designed and carried out than the first, we may conclude that the tests and their realisation cast doubts on the validity and reliability of the results of students learning more Japanese with TPR.

### ASHER'S THIRD AND FOURTH EXPERIMENTS

In the 1974 article Asher, Kusudo and de la Torre reported on two more experiments actually carried out in 1972, the first with German and the second with Spanish, both via TPR. The first experiment found that: "the experimental group, with only 32 hours training (at night school) had significantly better listening comprehension skills via TPR than college students (in two control groups) completing either 75 hours or 150 hours of college instruction in German" (26).

The second discovery was that the ability to listen to and understand German had positive transfer onto the reading skill. The experimental group had had no preparation given to them in the latter skill but their final level was comparable to the control group that did have preparation in the reading skill. The same happened with the speaking skill although there were some pronunciation and grammar errors.

Again it is difficult to really compare the control and experimental group participants. Neither in this article nor in the book (*Learning Another*) where Asher goes back to describe the same experiment, does he mention any other participant-characteristics of any of the groups. From what we can see, they were very different and we may ask ourselves how it was possible to compare university stu-



dents with night-school students, above all, when we are not informed about their similarities.

The only thing we know about the university control subjects is that they had probably studied German literature, in which case it would be perfectly normal for the experimental group, who were constantly listening to orders in German, to gain better marks on the listening comprehension via orders than the control groups.

The second experiment described in this same article relative to the skill of understanding stories, offers results describing a higher average mark of 16.63 for the experimental group (with 45 hours of preparation) against three control groups. Control group one (with 200 hours of preparation) only had an average mark of 14.43. This difference was significant at the  $p < .01.$ , probability level with a  $t$  statistic of 2.66 and 39 *df*.

Additionally, the same experimental group obtained higher marks than the second control group (with 75 hours of preparation) for the skill of listening to stories. The  $t$  statistic of 6.75 was significant at the  $p < .001.$ , level of probability with 69 *df*. The experimental group also surpassed on reading skills:  $t$  statistic 3.22, significant at the  $p < .005.$ , level of probability with 63 *df*.

Other results are as follows, still with the same experimental group, of 45 hours practice in the reading skill. These, when compared with the third control group of university students in their second semester learning Spanish for 150 hours. Again the experimental group was statistically significant better in listening ( $t$  statistic 3.21, significant at the  $p < .005.$  level of probability with 53 *df*. However, they did not overtake the marks of the third control group in the reading tests. The  $t$  statistic of 0.60 was not significant with 47 *df*.

Additionally reported is the fact that without any direct preparation in reading or writing the experimental participants surpassed the 75th and 65th percentile of the level I and II of the Pimsleur Spanish Proficiency Tests.

However, the experimental group students do not seem to have been a reliable sample from the “normal population” as they were volunteers for the experiment especially taken from amongst university psychology students and they received credits in return for their participation in the experimental group. Again, neither in this experiment nor formerly, did they administer pre-tests to any of the three groups taking part. They did not previously determine aptitude nor ability in foreign languages, either. Additionally, all the groups contained differing amounts of participants without any statistical adjustment of the figures to balance the results in this sense. The experimental group had 27 subjects, the first control group  $n=14$ , the second  $n=44$ , and the third  $n=28$ .

The results of the Pimsleur Spanish Proficiency Tests are not given, as the control groups did not take them, a large omission in itself. The stories used in the tests were especially written for the tests and experiment and even Asher himself admits in this article, that this may have given the experimental group an advantage: “there may have been an unintentional bias in favor of the experimental training” (29). Additionally, the experimental group started out with 27 participants but finished with only 16 at the end of the first semester indicating an enormous amount of participant attrition.



The most censurable aspect that all the experiments designed by Asher have in common is that of not including any of these tests in the appendices of his articles in order to permit us to inspect them. Only a few examples of individual phrases been found. This lack of clarity means great difficulty in replicating the experiments—a principal goal of empirical research. Other aspects include the lack of a detailed teaching method description, and the results make it difficult for the modern reader to establish sound theories. The reliability figures for these experiments have not been given, nor the details of how the tests were corrected and by whom or how many (inter-rater reliability).

The only criticism found of Asher's experiments was that by Beretta (432) and it is specified that this latter author criticised this experiment. He explains in detail how one of the measurements used to compare the control and experimental groups was a story, as we have seen. Apparently, the story was exactly the same one which had been used formerly for a class to the experimental group. For Beretta, it is not surprising then that the experimental group took the lead with a drastic probability figure of  $p < .0005$ .

In his 1987 book, Krashen talks about TPR and finds support for many of his own theories. Nevertheless, he reveals that Asher demonstrated that the use of TPR is not essential for improved listening comprehension. Krashen relates that some of Asher's studies (Asher, "Strategy"; "Learning Strategy"; "Total"; Asher and Price; Kunihiro and Asher) demonstrate that students who only observed TPR got identical results to those who participated in TPR. Both groups (those who observed TPR, and those who performed TPR) obtained better results than students who only wrote their answers on tests (Krashen 141).

This suggests that Asher's principle of understanding through imperatives may not be necessary. It may be important as the means of directing students attention to the input and the keeping it there in an active way. All in all, Krashen understands TPR to be a better method than the audio-lingual or grammar-translation method.

Now that we have re-looked at the experiments, the present author feels that these experiments connected to the name of Asher, in general inspire little confidence neither in the results, the tests used nor how the experiments were carried out. This in turn, the security of the results, throws them into doubt especially with control groups that were not comparable. From what we can see there was little complimentary data collected with the aim of excluding alternative explanations for the results, as well as many aspects of the learning and background of the participants left without being controlled for. The only genuine result seems to be the equality of the TPR students on the skills of reading and writing without having practised these skills in any specific way.

#### THE EXPERIMENTS OF OTHER RESEARCHERS INTO TPR

Woodruff depicted a course in German for students of the University of Texas via TPR. The results with TPR reached figures which were higher than na-



tional norms, pre-registration rates rose, as did motivation and absenteeism fell. Bearing this in mind, it must be said that again there was no control group, the results only being compared to former academic years. Moreover, perhaps a simple IQ test could have explained the improved results.

The experiment by Wolfe and Jones was carried out with high school students receiving Spanish classes via TPR for 20 minutes a day. Meanwhile, the control group learned Spanish in a more traditional way. The results showed higher marks on the tests and more satisfaction with their teacher and method with the experimental than with the control group.

A fairly sound experiment was carried out into the effect of TPR on children who were beginner pupils of English in the fifth year of a school in Germany (Thiele and Scheibner-Herzig). The control group learned English by a conventional method while the experimental was trained in listening comprehension, the oral production being replaced with TPR.

The pupils in the experimental group started with less linguistic ability as measured by the tests administered before teaching began. The tests were: section 1 of the version in German of the Foreign Language Aptitude Test; the Hamburg KJ Neuroticism y Extraversion Scale for Children; and finally the Attention Capacity Test.

The experimental group had more success in listening comprehension and “general command” of English after a first exam in English. The experimental group showed a positive effect with respect to their attitudes and anxiety, possibly due to the delay in oral production inherent in TPR. Altogether, the English results in both groups were similar.

The problems observed in this experiment were the lack of control of the teacher variable because it was not possible to have the same teacher give classes to both groups. This may have been an important source of differences in motivation and therefore the results.

Notwithstanding, there are some very positive details in the design of this experiment, such as the individual programme designed for each group in which the vocabulary and grammatical structures were identical for both. The tests were all carried out previous to the start of the teaching intervention and these were repeated regularly after 34 and 80 hours of class.

In this same article by Thiele and Scheibner-Hertzig there is an interesting observation:

...owing to the amount of physical activity involved, this method is a great help to pupils who have difficulty in concentrating. Social interaction in the foreign language conveys the feeling that one is acting with and in the language, and at the same time this interaction satisfies the children's urge to be active, an urge which is normally an interference factor during classes. (279)

Unfortunately, this comment is not backed up by any source and may be just the authors' personal non-empirical viewpoint.

In a study by Labarca and Khanji, it was observed that the use of communication strategies with French students through either TPR or the Strategic Interaction Method. One of the findings was that students learning with the latter





method and not TPR obtained higher ability measures but used fewer communication strategies.

An article by Parish supports TPR together with other methods and defends the validity of the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic theories associated with them. However, much more relevant is the importance Parish attributes to, and the already described, highlighting of the affective component in contrast to the cognitive element of TPR.

Tomscha describes the limitations of TPR in a programme of English as a second language. It was found that TPR was only useful for the teaching of vocabulary and with pupils having a lower level of English. The language of orders and responses were not found to be useful in real interaction, plus the pupils felt frustrated at not having the opportunity to practise speaking. Despite this, some positive aspects of TPR were found, and these included the fact that action aided memory, movement added variety to the classes, a maximum number of students were able to participate at any one time, the paralinguistics were useful as cultural information and the activities were fun.

A project by Sano incorporated TPR into the teaching of English to Japanese students. Sano commented that with TPR the marks were better than former years. Nevertheless, the present author notes that again there was no control group, nor were the different tests described that could have shed light on alternative reasons for the higher results. Sano also described a more heightened motivation, as much for verbal expression, as for non verbal. In spite of this, he offers no evidence to support the claim. Additionally, Sano presents some correlations between the TPR exams and later exams when the students were following their studies with a text book. However, these correlations probably represent little. It could have been that the TPR tests, as in former years were measuring two similar aspects such as IQ and not the aid lent by TPR. None of the tests were attached to the article as neither was any description to explain with certainty what the tests were actually measuring. Other results included that the average mark in the tests grew in comparison to the IQ tests from the time TPR was introduced into the study, the number of students failing also diminished, plus there was an increase in motivation. Sano admits that his personal certainty is insufficient, as his article describes only a project not a rigorous experiment.

Other lines of research talk about the importance that physical movement has in the teaching of foreign languages to children as up to ten or eleven years old their capability for analytic study or sitting still for long periods of time is less good than in adults (Kantrowitz and Wingert).

Mangubhai studied the effects of TPR on the different types of mental heard language-processing with adults. It is not so much the results that interest us here as the fact of demonstrating the necessity of increasing systematic research into experiments on psychomotor activities in the teaching of languages.

Hewitt's experiment was an attempt to combine the aspects described as well as to control for the effects that psychomotor activities have on children's development. 42 children took part in an experiment in to her own teaching programmes called the *PEPA* (Programme of English with Psychomotor Activities).



This programme was systematically controlled in an attempt to improve the excellent basis left by Asher. It included a thorough psycho-pedagogic assessment carried out before the intervention began. Additionally, a psychomotor test was used plus the intervention included a classification of each of the sixty-two English language activities according to their motoric aims. The teacher was the same for each group, both experimental and control, thus lessening the influence of more teacher motivation in one group than the other. Each group used a different programme that however contained the same vocabulary, grammar and English language content—only the medium was different.

The principal conclusions arrived at, were that significant psychomotor development took place in the experimental group. The category having the most significant results was Segmental Control. In the field of psychology this skill is known to be important in the learning of writing as well as being related to a reduction in anxiety, a connection between emotional control and the observation of one's own body image, relaxation in general and the relaxation of body segments in particular. This understanding and dominance of the body affirms corporal behaviour and communication with others, of which the former is related directly to school learning as it is immediately related to hand-training.

Additionally in Hewitt's experiment, 100% of the experimental group preferred the psychomotor teaching method of the two used with them. With the academic achievement on the listening and writing tests, the experimental group obtained marks that were as good as, and even slightly superior to the control group even though the experimental group received less practice in writing than the control. The listening comprehension marks show a higher average for the experimental group after beginning the PEPA programme, but we must maintain a reserved outlook due to the fact that the statistics did not reach significance, but we can, however, place trust in the reliability of the experiment.

Many aspects of this experiment confirmed the results by Thiele and Scheibner-Herzig therefore strengthening reciprocally the reliability of Hewitt's results and in the same way attending to the tradition of empirical research by improving the experiments of others and in this way helping to advance the field.

## CONCLUSIONS

Within the field of TPR there seems to be a lack of rigorous empirical studies to prove the effect of movement activities or TPR itself, in a conclusive way. We have seen how even the original experiments carried out by Asher leave something to be desired. It seems that many important aspects of rigorous experiment-design were forgotten by him. Thus, this makes a systematic verification difficult, of whether TPR really was the cause of improved academic achievement in Asher's experiments. On some occasions the tests appear doubtful, on others the control group can not really be compared to the experimental. These days, the field of educational experimental design is much more rigorous and well defined and so the arguments outlined here point to the fallibility of TPR.



After having seen the original experiments into TPR, we are surprised at the degree of acceptance that Asher found in his day. Beretta observed that one of the measurements Asher used, a story, was exactly the same one which had been used formerly for an experimental-group class. This, for Beretta, is more noteworthy than the TPR method in explaining how the experimental group took the lead with an extreme probability figure of  $p < .0005$ . Krashen remarked that Asher in fact showed that the use of TPR is not essential for improved listening comprehension, as students who only observed TPR got identical results to those who participated in TPR.

All the analyses carried out in the present article indicate that we should continue to carry out research into TPR as we cannot rely on the experiments carried out by Asher. The usefulness of TPR was recognised and used (and still is today) by teachers in their classrooms — a sign of its viability and value in practice. Nevertheless, it is now necessary to discover exactly how TPR is useful. We should do this and continue blending, within a global study, the positive aspects of all the experiments mentioned and apply them in a better way. Hewitt went some way towards this with her PEPA programme, created in a more systematic and detailed manner so as to offer certain advantages over TPR. She discovered that effectively, psychomotor activities are a method preferred by children, as well as giving more positive academic results than a more traditional method, plus the significant psychomotor variable of Segmental Control being a variable related to the writing skill. Other studies found similar equal achievement in the writing tests but with TPR and also without having practised this particular skill. Perhaps the reason for this, as revealed by Hewitt with the PEPA, is that both methods give indirect hand and finger exercise that shows up in academic achievement and in the writing tests. Additionally, the link with Segmental Control and the reduction of anxiety in children to its resulting improved written and academic achievement.

Many articles exist subsequent to Asher's, but most of these however, limit themselves to simply describing the incorporation of TPR activities into the classroom. With the exception of Asher, only 6 more experiments have been found over the 40 years of TPR's existence, even when employing the word "experiment" loosely.

However, TPR has survived and many teachers know by instinct that it has a "certain something" that is still useful today, even though the research done into it mostly reveals that it is not in fact related to significantly higher marks. One may take into account that movement for children is synonymous with fun and therefore represents a greater affinity with the psychology of a child that should be made the most of before applying other methods for the acquisition and development of a second or foreign language.

Nevertheless, more rigorous experiments still need to be carried out into TPR to right the errors made by Asher and also to make TPR even more effective. Alternatively, we may verify it as a waste of time, being only as effective, or less so, than any other method of learning foreign languages. It would be useful to find out exactly what TPR does and in what manner. In this way, we would be able to apply it to specific and correct circumstances and age-groups. Finally, we may be able to turn it into a truly effective teaching method, one that withstands all experiments into it and ultimately, really teaches languages more effectively.



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# LEARNERS' USE OF DOWNGRADERS IN SUGGESTIONS UNDER FOCUS ON FORMS AND FOCUS ON FORM TREATMENT CONDITIONS\*

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## ABSTRACT

The role of instruction to develop learners' pragmatic ability in a target language has recently motivated a lot of research (Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor; Tatsuki). Nevertheless, most of this research has adopted an explicit teaching approach represented by the FonFormS instructional paradigm. Consequently, Kasper and Rose point out the need to properly operationalise different treatments in order to ascertain their effectiveness in the realm of pragmatics. With that aim in mind, the present study analyses the effectiveness of both FonFormS and FonF treatment conditions in developing learners' use of downgraders (i.e. mitigating elements that serve to soften the impositive nature of directive speech acts) when making suggestions. Findings indicated that both treatments were effective, since no significant differences were found when comparing learners' performance from each group after receiving instruction. Finally, further research that examines some of the limitations found in this study is suggested.

KEY WORDS: Pragmatic competence, types of instruction, downgraders, foreign language contexts.

## RESUMEN

El papel de la instrucción para el desarrollo de la competencia pragmática de los estudiantes ha motivado numerosos estudios (Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor; Tatsuki). Sin embargo, la mayoría de estos estudios han adoptado un tipo de instrucción explícita representada por el paradigma del enfoque a las formas. Por tanto, Kasper and Rose señalan la necesidad de operacionalizar de forma apropiada otros tipos de instrucción para corroborar su eficacia en el campo de la pragmática. Teniendo en cuenta esta necesidad, el presente estudio analiza la eficacia de dos tipos de instrucción, el enfoque a las formas y el enfoque a la forma, para desarrollar el uso de elementos de mitigación al realizar sugerencias. Los resultados muestran que los dos tipos de instrucción son eficaces, puesto que las diferencias entre los dos grupos de estudiantes después de recibir cada tipo de instrucción no son estadísticamente significativas. Finalmente, se sugieren líneas futuras de investigación que examinen algunas de las limitaciones de este estudio.

PALABRAS CLAVE: competencia pragmática, tipos de instrucción, elementos de mitigación, contextos de lenguas extranjeras.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last 20 years, studies from the second language acquisition (SLA) field have demonstrated that instruction does make a difference (Doughty, “Second; “Instructed”; Long “Focus”; “Role”). Moreover, apart from establishing the effectiveness of instruction, research has also been conducted to ascertain which type of instruction is more facilitative of SLA (Norris and Ortega). The two types of instruction, that is explicit versus implicit, have been represented by two language teaching paradigms: Focus on Forms (FonFormS) and Focus on Form (FonF). The FonFormS paradigm has been regarded as the most traditional approach, in which learning is a conscious process that takes place through the explicit discussion and assimilation of rules. Thus, the target language is acquired through decontextualised explanations and series of drills that enable learners to practice the rules they have been presented. This option is related to the synthetic syllabus, in which the language is divided into separate parts, and consequently taught in different steps. In contrast to this approach, in a FonF paradigm the prerequisite for attention to forms involves an engagement in communicative and meaningful situations. Thus, the underlying assumption implied within this paradigm (Long “Focus”; Long and Robinson) consists of focusing on the linguistic aspect only when it comes up as a problem in the process of communication. This conceptualisation has been further classified as reactive or proactive FonF (Doughty and Williams). In the case of reactive FonF, teachers are ready to notice an error and consequently intervene with an appropriate FonF technique, whereas in a proactive FonF, the teacher chooses in advance which form he/she is going to select for paying attention to.

Focusing particularly on whether foreign language (FL) settings provide learners with opportunities for pragmatic language development, the role of instruction has recently motivated a lot of research (Rose and Kasper; Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor; Martínez-Flor et al.; Tatsuki). Rose and Kasper’s volume, for instance, includes a series of interventional studies that have dealt with the effect of instruction on different pragmatic features, such as interactional norms (Liddicoat and Crozet), compliments and compliment responses (Rose and Kg Kwai-fun), request strategies (Takahashi), pragmatic routines (Tateyama) and discourse markers (Yoshimi). Results from these studies, which have all been conducted in FL classrooms, have indicated that instruction contributes to developing learners’ pragmatic competence in this educational setting. However, most of the studies that have analysed the effectiveness of implementing a pedagogical intervention on pragmatic acquisition (see also Olshtain and Cohen; Safont; among many others) have

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adopted a FonFormS treatment characterised by an explicit type of instruction. Teaching pragmatic aspects by adopting this particular paradigm involves the use of pedagogical strategies for learners' development of their pragmatic ability (Kasper). These strategies consist of two types of activities: awareness-raising tasks and activities that involve the practice of the pragmatic features. In relation to awareness-raising tasks, and similar to the type of metalinguistic explanations and rule presentation that characterises the FonFormS approach, metapragmatic discussions may help learners focus explicitly on the particular aspect under instruction. In addition, the traditional pattern of explicit intervention is also observed here, since the pragmatic feature is presented, described, explained, and then discussed in order to establish the relationship between the pragmalinguistic forms that learners can employ and the sociopragmatic factors that may intervene in the choice of a particular form.

Apart from this type of instruction, Kasper and Rose suggest the need to examine other possible instructional approaches, such as adopting the paradigm of FonF in the field of pragmatics. In this regard, Celce-Murcia et al., Ellis et al., and Alcón have also claimed that the principles and efficacy of the FonF paradigm might be applied not only to grammar, but also to the discourse and pragmatic levels. Moreover, since most of the studies comparing the effectiveness of given teaching approaches have dealt with a particular speech act as the focus of instruction (Rose and Kg Kwai-fun; Takahashi; among many others), there also seems to be a need to analyse whether different types of instruction are equally effective to foster learners' use of other pragmatic issues. To that end, the present study was designed to investigate whether both FonFormS and FonF instructional approaches are effective to develop learners' use of downgraders (i.e. mitigating devices that serve to soften the impositive nature of directive speech acts) when making suggestions in a variety of situations. The research question underlying this study thus is the following: Which type of treatment condition (i.e. FonFormS versus FonF) is more effective in fostering learners' use of downgraders when making suggestions?

## 2. METHODOLOGY

### PARTICIPANTS

The participants of the study consisted of two groups of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners who were studying Computer Science at the Universitat Jaume I in Castelló. Their ages ranged between 19 and 25 years and they did not differ with regard to their ethnicity or academic background. There were 43 males and 6 females, who had an intermediate level of English according to the Department of English Studies placement test distributed among them prior to the study. The participants constituted two intact classes which received a specific type of instruction: Group 1 [ $n=24$ ] was under a FonFormS treatment condition, and Group 2 [ $n=25$ ] was under a FonF treatment condition.



The study followed a pre-test and post-test design in order to compare the performance of the two instructional groups at two different points in time, that is, before and after receiving instruction. The pre-test consisted of two production tasks (i.e. emails and phone messages) that involved 8 different situations each (see Appendix A for an example of one situation of the oral production task). These situations varied according to the sociopragmatic factor of status (Brown and Levinson 1987) and, consequently, two levels of status were considered: equal (i.e. student to student) and higher (i.e. student to professor). In the email task, the participants were requested to read the situations at a computer lab and send an email to the four email addresses provided. Regarding the phone task, the learners were instructed to read the situations in order to make a telephone call to four people. In each situation, an answering machine was activated and then the learners heard the person they were calling saying that he/she was not at home. Therefore, they had to leave a message (i.e. make a suggestion) on the answering machine. The post-test also involved 8 different situations in each production task, but they were different from those employed in the pre-test to avoid practice effects (see Appendix B for an example of one situation of the oral production task).

#### PRAGMATIC FEATURE IN FOCUS

The study focused on the pragmatic feature of downgraders, which according to House and Kasper refer to those markers that play down the impact a speaker's utterance may have on the hearer. In particular, we addressed learners' use of these markers when performing the speech act of suggestions, since this has been regarded as a directive and face-threatening speech act which needs to be softened in order to minimise its force on the hearer (Searle; Brown and Levinson). Among the different types of downgraders proposed by House and Kasper, we selected seven which belong to the types of i) downtoner, ii) "minus" committer, and iii) forewarn. As House and Kasper point out, *downtoners* consist of sentence modifiers which are used by the speaker in order to soften the impact his/her utterance is likely to have on the hearer (e.g. *just, probably, perhaps, maybe*). By "*minus*" committer, the authors refer to a type of modifier employed by the speaker to lower the degree of his/her commitment to the state of affairs referred to in the utterance by explicitly showing his/her personal opinion. This type of modifiers is thus showing the speaker's opinion with elements such as *I think* or *personally*. The third type, that of *forewarn*, expresses a kind of anticipatory device used by the speaker to forewarn the hearer about possible negative reactions to the act he/she is about to employ. This downgrader usually consists of a preliminary metacomment about what the speaker is going to do in order to soften what could be a potential offence. For this reason, a forewarn makes use of the conjunction *but* before stating the actual speech act (e.g. *I'm not sure, but...*).

The purpose of choosing the limited number of downgraders mentioned above was made on the basis of previous research that supports the fact that specific



selected items are more effective in instruction (Doughty and Williams; Doughty, “Instructed”). Therefore, these seven downgraders accompanied particular pragmalinguistic forms for the speech act of suggestions, and constituted the instructional focus addressed in the present study.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, considering the socio-pragmatic factor of status proposed by Brown and Levinson in their politeness theory, we distributed these forms into two groups<sup>2</sup>:

1. *Equal status*: You can just...; Perhaps you should...; I think you need...
2. *Higher status*: I would probably suggest that...; Personally, I would recommend that...; Maybe you could...; I'm not sure, but I think a good idea would be...

## TREATMENT

The treatment lasted for 16 weeks and consisted of six 2-hour instructional sessions. During these sessions, the two groups of students participating in the study received two different types of instructional treatments accompanied by specific material elaborated for each treatment (see Table 1). On the one hand, Group 1 was under a FonFormS treatment condition which adopted a sequential method consisting in the presentation of videotaped situations that involved American native-speakers interacting in different computer-related situations, the video scripts from these situations, and a sequence of activities ranging from awareness-raising tasks to production tasks (see Appendix C for an example of these activities). The instruction for this group was also characterised by the teacher’s use of metapragmatic explanations regarding the importance of using downgraders when making suggestions in different situations.

TABLE 1. TREATMENT CONDITIONS IMPLEMENTED IN THE STUDY

FONFORMS	FONF
<i>Sequential method:</i>	<i>Parallel method:</i>
Video presentation	Video presentation
From awareness-raising tasks	Input enhancement
↓	+
To production tasks	Recasts

<sup>1</sup> The selection of these particular seven target forms was made considering that they were the most frequently employed forms by native speakers in the videotaped situations used as the instructional material (see the Treatment subsection for a detailed description of this material)

<sup>2</sup> The seven target downgraders are underlined for a quick identification.



On the other hand, Group 2 received a FonF type of instruction, which consisted in a parallel method with the combination of two implicit techniques, i.e. input enhancement through the video presentation and video scripts, and recasts during the role-play practice. This systematic combination of both techniques was employed following the assumption that the use of just one technique might not be enough to make the implicit condition characterised by the FonF instructional paradigm effective in enabling learners to acquire the pragmatic feature under instruction (Doughty and Williams). The same videotaped situations that were presented to Group 1 were also employed for Group 2, although this version was altered by including captions in bold-face that addressed the target forms for making suggestions, which included the seven selected downgraders. Similarly, the same target forms also appeared in bold on the video scripts prepared for Group 2. Regarding the activities, a set of listening and reading activities was elaborated that focused on the content of the videotaped situations (see Appendix D). In addition, role-play activities were implemented during all the instructional sessions in order to be able to recast learners' inappropriate use of suggestions. When this happened, the teacher used one of the target forms that included one of the seven selected downgraders.

### 3. RESULTS

The research question of the present study asked which of the two treatment conditions (i.e. FonFormS versus FonF) was more effective in developing learners' use of downgraders when making suggestions. As can be observed in Figure 1, it appears that the performance of learners from both treatments was quite similar in the pre-test, although the FonF condition seemed to be slightly higher. The opposite pattern is displayed in the post-test, where the amount of downgraders used by learners from the two conditions seems to be quite similar, although this time the FonFormS type of instruction appears to be slightly higher.

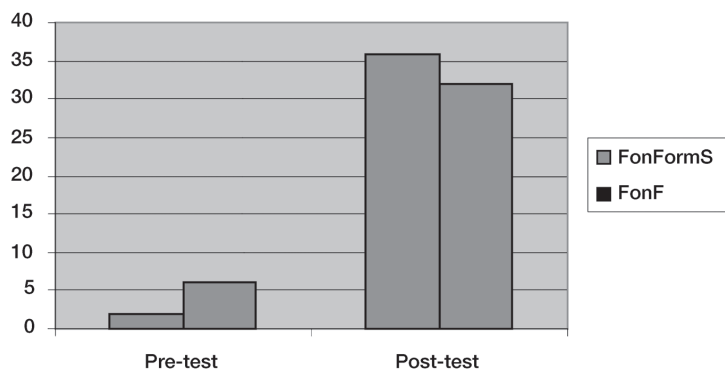


Figure 1. Overall use of downgraders used by the FonFormS and FonF treatments in the pre-test and post-test.

In order to ascertain the level of significance of the differences found between learners' use of downgraders under the two treatment conditions in the two moments, a statistical analysis was conducted. The Mann-Whitney nonparametric statistical test for independent sample data was employed, since we first applied a normality test to the data (i.e. the Kolmogorov-Smirnov  $z$ ) and found that the data were not normally distributed. The results from applying this test are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FONFORMS AND FONF TREATMENT CONDITIONS AS REGARDS THEIR USE OF DOWNGRADERS IN THE PRE-TEST AND POST-TEST

TIME	GROUP	DF	RANK	MEAN	MEDIAN	SIG.
Pre-test	FonFormS	24	22.54	0.09	0.00	.079
	FonF	25	27.36			
Post-test	FonFormS	24	25.88	1.51	1.50	.668
	FonF	25	24.16			

As reported in Table 2, the differences between the FonFormS and FonF treatment conditions regarding their use of downgraders when making suggestions are not statistically significant in either the pre-test or the post-test ( $p < 0.05$ ). A closer examination of the ranks achieved by each group indicated that learners under the FonF treatment condition performed better than those from the FonFormS condition in the pre-test, whereas the opposite pattern occurred in the post-test. However, as reported above, these differences were not statistically significant at a  $p < 0.05$  level, which appears to indicate that the two types of instruction proved to be effective in fostering learners' use of downgraders when making appropriate and mitigated suggestions in a variety of situations. Additionally, a detailed analysis of learners' utterances from both groups not only showed that they employed a higher amount of downgraders after receiving either FonFormS or FonF instruction, but that they also varied their responses by choosing the different downgraders selected as the pragmatic instructional focus. The following examples illustrate this point by showing how learners from the FonFormS (Example 1) and FonF (Example 2) treatment conditions employed a variety of downgraders when making suggestions in Situation 1 from the oral post-test (see Appendix B).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A pseudonym has been employed in the examples to protect the identity of learners. Their responses have been exactly transcribed as originally told by them when making the phone calls.

### Example 1

- eh... hello... I am Elena Puerto... about eh... the professor... eh... I think that German Fabregat is a good professor... who he knows the PowerPoint program... this professor is my friend... so maybe you could speak him and he help... help you... bye.
- hi I'm Jose Navarro... eh... I... I would like to suggest you a... a professor from Computer Science program... eh... department in order to... to help you... to organise the summer course on PowerPoint... eh... perhaps you would like to meet Gloria...eh... bye.
- eh... hello I am Teresa... I am a student from Computer science... I am talking with you because... personally I would recommend you a teacher from the computer science department... his name is Oscar Belmonte... he is a teacher of subject such as Multimedia or Graphics Computing... eh... bye.

### Example 2

- hello... I'm Manolo... I telephone you for recommended a teacher for PowerPoint... eh... I'm not sure but... I think... a good idea would be Oscar Belmonte from University Jaume I... eh... it's all... goodbye.
- hello... I'm Vicente... eh... as you told me on Monday I have been asking some people about the use of PowerPoint... some of these people said me that Gloria Martínez... who is a teacher in Science school is an expert... so I would probably suggest you going to talk to her... eh... because I'm sure she will help you... goodbye.
- hello... I am Juan... eh... I think about look for the teacher for the summer course on on PowerPoint... eh... I think I know a teacher from my course that is good... eh... his name is German Fabregat... so maybe you could talk with him and explain explain the... the... the characteristics about the course... eh... I call you again... bye.

## 4. DISCUSSION

The findings reported above seem to demonstrate the efficacy of the two treatment conditions adopted in the present study, namely FonFormS and FonF, to develop learners' use of downgraders when making suggestions. These results differ from previous research that has compared a FonFormS treatment characterised by an explicit type of instruction with a more implicit type of treatment and has found that the former outperformed the latter (House; Rose and Ng Kwai-fun; Takahashi). However, it is important to point out that the conceptualisation of the more implicit condition in these studies was based on either excluding metapragmatic explanations (House) or just providing additional examples together with practice activities, such as merely exposing learners to film segments (Rose and Ng Kwai-

fun) or making them read transcripts of role-plays between NSs and then answer some comprehension questions (Takahashi). In our opinion, having provided learners with simple exposure to pragmatic examples in the implicit groups without any additional information, such as the metapragmatic discussions given to the FonFormS treatment group receiving an explicit instruction, may have been the explanation for obtaining no significant results for this type of instruction.

Instead, learners under the FonF treatment condition in the present study were provided with the three theoretical conditions necessary for language acquisition, namely those of input, output and feedback. First, they were presented with appropriate input through the use of the videotaped situations that contained downgraders in order to mitigate suggestions in different status-relationship participant situations. Second, opportunities for output were also arranged by making them enact role-plays during all the instructional sessions and, third, these role-plays also facilitated the provision of feedback on their inappropriate and unmitigated use of suggestions when necessary. Moreover, it is important to point out that learners were taught not only the target forms that included the selected downgraders as pragmalinguistic expressions in isolation, but also the connections among such forms, situations, functions (i.e. to suggest), and the sociopragmatic variable of status affecting their use. In other words, the principles that define FonF (Doughty and Williams), namely those of meaning, function and use when using downgraders to mitigate suggestions in different situations, were implemented with the group of learners under this treatment condition. Finally, the application of the two implicit techniques (i.e. input enhancement and recasts) with this FonF group also appears to have helped them notice the target forms. This fact supports Schmidt's ("Consciousness," "Attention") noticing hypothesis, which implies that exposure to input alone is not sufficient for pragmatic learning and, consequently, learners have to be provided with opportunities to pay attention to the target features in order for learning to take place. In this sense, adopting a particular type of instruction that is properly operationalised, such as the FonF treatment condition implemented in this study, may have helped learners notice those target pragmatic features fostering their acquisition. All these reasons therefore may explain why not only the FonFormS treatment but also the FonF teaching approach implemented in our study has proved to be effective to foster learners' pragmatic ability.

## 5. CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In this study we sought to examine the effectiveness of two different teaching approaches (i.e. FonFormS and FonF) in the development of learners' use of downgraders when making suggestions. Results have demonstrated that both treatment conditions were effective, since no significant differences were found when comparing learners' performance from each group after receiving instruction. This being the case, it can be stated that a FonF teaching condition may be effective not only in developing grammatical and lexical aspects of the target language, but also pragmatic competence (Celce-Murcia et al.; Ellis et al.; Alcón).



However, our study also presents some limitations that should be considered in future research. One of the first limitations that might be considered when interpreting the findings relates to the selection of a very limited number of instructional target forms (i.e. seven types of downgraders used when making suggestions). However, our choosing a certain number of target forms was justified taking into consideration the principles underlying FonF (Doughty and Williams). By adopting two implicit techniques from this paradigm with this treatment condition, the selection of some specific forms was a requisite in order to maximise the effectiveness of this type of instruction, which should be consistent and based on those pragmalinguistic forms. Therefore, it should be interesting to analyse in future studies whether the selection of other target forms for downgraders would lead us to obtain similar results.

A second limitation of our study involves the short-term effects of the instructional treatments. We would have liked to make use of a delayed post-test in order to determine whether learners' gains in their pragmatic behaviour had been retained some time after the instructional period took place, but this was not possible due to institutional constraints. Further research should be carried out into the analysis of the long-term effects of instruction by adopting the use of a delayed post test as part of the research design features. Finally, another limitation concerns the particular population of learners involved in this study. In our research, participants belonged to two intact classes and consisted of male and female computer science university students with an intermediate level of proficiency in English. Thus, the student individual variables may have influenced our findings. In fact, we wonder whether research with either just male or female participants would provide us with different results. Similarly, age and proficiency should also have been taken into account, which means that we do not know how younger, older, beginner or advanced learners would have performed in a similar way after receiving the instruction. Consequently, there is a need for further research that examines the influence of these and other individual variables, such as motivation or social and psychological distance, on the teachability of pragmatic competence in FL contexts.

## APPENDIX A

Situation 1 from the oral production task used in the pre-test:

You are helping Professor Marzal in the organisation of the "International Conference on Internet and Language". Today, you were talking to him about arranging a formal dinner with the main "guests" (important people invited to give a talk during the conference) on Friday night. When you arrive home, it occurs to you that there are several possible restaurants where this special dinner could be organised. Call your professor and suggest a good restaurant for this formal dinner:

Telephone number: 964-729867



## APPENDIX B

Situation 1 from the oral production task used in the post-test:

One of the professors you know from the Business Administration Department asks you to help him to organise a summer course on the use of PowerPoint. As part of the course, he would like to invite a professor from your Computer Science Department for a practical presentation of this programme. When you arrive home, the names of some professors from your department who could participate in this course suddenly occur to you. Call the professor in charge of the course and suggest a good professor for this PowerPoint presentation:

Telephone number: 964-729867

## APPENDIX C

Example of the activities used with Group 1 under the FonFormS treatment condition

*Awareness-raising activities:*

- Example from an activity implemented after watching the videotaped scenes

What is the status between the participants?

- Martha has a higher status than Sarah
- Sarah has a higher status than Martha
- Both have an equal status
- One participant has a lower status

- Example from an activity implemented after reading the video scripts

What is Martha doing in lines 17-18 and 20-21?

- She wants ideas to implement and present in class.
- She asks Sarah to help her in a presentation.
- She suggests that she would like to present something using PowerPoint.
- She tells Sarah that she wants to teach more things in class.

*Production activities:*

- Example of one of the role-plays

- A. You are working with one of your professors on a new project in the Computer Science Department. Your professor would like to know your ideas about upgrading the PC from the project into a Multimedia system. The PC is very old with only 4 megabytes of RAM; the monitor is still black and white; and it doesn't have either a CD-ROM drive or stereo speakers. Moreover, the system software is not the suitable for a Multimedia system. Apart from this, your professor would also like to set up an electronic encyclopedia. Provide your professor with ideas about the necessary components to upgrade a Multimedia system and also the benefits of having an electronic encyclopedia:
- Necessity of a new PC
  - Hardware components
  - Software sources
  - Names of possible electronic encyclopedias to be set up
- B. You are the professor. You would like to know one of your student's ideas (because this student is working with you in a project) about the configuration of a Multimedia system in the PC of the project and also about electronic encyclopedias.

## APPENDIX D

Example of the activities used with Group 2 under the FonF treatment condition

*Listening and reading activities:*

- Example from an activity implemented after watching the videotaped scenes  
Which programme does Sarah tell Martha to use in class?
  - QuickTime
  - Cinemania
  - PowerPoint
  
- Example from an activity implemented after reading the video scripts  
What does Martha think about Sarah's ideas?

*Production activities:*

- Example of one of the role-plays
- A. You are working with one of your professors on a new project in the Computer Science Department. Your professor would like to know your ideas about upgrading the PC from the project into a Multimedia system. The PC is very old with only 4 megabytes of RAM; the monitor is still black and white; and it doesn't have either a CD-ROM drive or stereo speakers. Moreover, the system software is not the suitable for a Multimedia system. Apart from this, your professor would also like to set up an electronic encyclopedia. Provide your professor with ideas about the necessary components to upgrade a Multimedia system and also the benefits of having an electronic encyclopedia:
  - Necessity of a new PC
  - Hardware components
  - Software sources
  - Names of possible electronic encyclopedias to be set up
- B. You are the professor. You would like to know one of your student's ideas (because this student is working with you in a project) about the configuration of a Multimedia system in the PC of the project and also about electronic encyclopedias.

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