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# Irish Influence in the Consonantal Spellings of Old English

**Abstract**

The consonantal spellings of Old English (OE) were significantly influenced by the consonantal spellings of Old Irish (OI). 1) <th/þ> vs. (post-vocalic) <d/ð>: though OE did not have a distinction between /θ/ and /ð/, OI did, spelling this as <th> vs. (post-vocalic) <d>. 2) <h> vs. <ch>: though OE did not have a distinction between /h/ and /x/, OI did, spelling the latter as <ch>. 3) <ch> and <th>: both spellings appear to be from Irish. 4) <cg>: spellings of the "mixed voice" type, including "cg", occur in OI, where they can spell either single or geminate voiced plosives. 5) <bb> (and <cg>): almost certainly in final position <bb, cg> in OE represent singles, not geminates, as they can in OI. 6) Spelling rules referring to post-vocalic position: all cases show OE spelling having had, like OI spelling, rules referring to post-vocalic position, which appear to be additionally evidenced by "illogical doubling" in Northumbrian. 7) The meaning of <g> before front Vs: in OE spelling as in OI spelling, but not as in Roman Latin spelling, <g> before front Vs spells a palatal approximant rather than a palatal affricate. The overall conclusion is that the OE spelling system was developed by Irish missionary linguists.

## 1. Introduction

Since Old English (OE) is written in the Irish hand (Hogg 1992, 10), it has always been known that there is significant Irish influence in the *writing* system of OE, which is to say the way the letters are formed. Given that writing and spelling necessarily go hand in hand, this raises the possibility that there is also significant Irish influence in the *spelling* system of OE, or more precisely in the spelling/pronunciation system of OE. (From here on, "spelling system" will be used, in order to reduce awkward verbiage.) Yet this possibility has not, it seems, been taken very seriously. Perhaps open-minded investigation of the question was in effect precluded by the raging Germanophilia that dominated the period around 1900, when the conventional wisdom was established, largely by German Germanicists. Be that as it may, the conventional wisdom, if this may be taken as

expressed by Campbell (1959, 23) seems to be that the spelling system of OE was developed by English monks, using the spelling system of "Latin" as the model, with some sporadic and marginal intrusions from the spelling system of Irish. (It is often convenient here to use "Irish" to mean "Old Irish" and "English" to mean "Old English", when context makes this meaning clear.) On the other hand, the trend of more recent works, such as Hogg (1992, 10–52), seems to be to retreat from the idea that Irish conventions had any relevance at all to OE spelling (as opposed to OE writing). But even if we may take Campbell's relatively pro-Irish view as a starting point for treating the whole question, there are two problems.

First, due to poor communications and low educational standards there was not really any such thing as a monolithic "Latin" in those days (and places), when only what will be called Roman Latin (essentially the Latin of non-northern Italy) was pronounced in more or less the manner of later Catholic Latin. Since the English clearly learned their Latin from the Irish, it would seem reasonable then to posit, as O'Neill does (2009, 4), that the OE spelling system was based on "the pronunciation of Latin as taught (…) by Irish monks", that is to say *Irish* Latin, which was significantly different in its pronunciation from Roman Latin.

But the ways that Irish Latin was different from Roman Latin need not detain us here, because of the second problem: there is no need to refer to the spelling system of *Irish Latin*, as this contains nothing (of relevance to OE spelling) that was not also found in the spelling system of *Irish itself*. On the other hand, the spelling system of Irish contains some usages (which will be seen below) that do not occur in Irish Latin (or non-Irish Latin). As might be expected, Irish Latin in its spelling system occupies an intermediate position between Roman Latin and Irish. The OE spelling system can, it seems, be seen as a mix of the systems employed in Roman Latin and in Irish, and nothing of any importance is gained by dragging Irish Latin into the picture. The main question, one that should be answered without prejudice, is what is from Roman Latin and what is from Irish. It cannot be assumed that the system of Roman Latin, or for that matter the system of Irish, was primary, with the other being secondary, or even that either one was primary.

Obviously the first step in reaching any conclusion is to examine whether the spelling system of OE is more similar to the spelling system of Roman Latin or to the spelling system of Irish. On the one hand, OE spelling is like Irish spelling, as was pointed out long ago (to little avail) by Daunt (1939), in using short diphthongs to produce what may be called "under-moraic" spellings. For example, it is not controversial that <aib> in OI <gaib> 'take' represents two moras rather than the expected three, just as <eor> in OE <beorn> represents two moras rather than the expected three. Nothing of the sort could possibly be said to occur in the spelling of Latin (unless we manage to forget that <ae> had long since become regarded as a meaningless variant spelling for short /e/). Nor is it controversial that Irish spelling uses vowels as diacritics (without any

moraic value) to spell phonemically front and back consonants, as in OI <gaib>, where <i> indicates that the following <b> spells a front C. Since the traditional interpretation of graphic short diphthongs in Irish, accepted here, is that they do not represent phonemic short diphthongs, the implication of Daunt's observation (fully acknowledged and substantially developed in the original article) was that OE did not have short diphthongs: <eor> in OE <beorn> was originally intended, by Irish missionary linguists, to spell /erʸ/, and so on. Whether this is true or not is a vast matter in itself, largely tangential, which cannot be treated here. It will be assumed, in keeping with previous work by the present author (White 2015), that it is. For the purposes of the present article, it is enough to note that both Irish and English employ under-moraic spellings, something not easily regarded as due to either (spoken) language contact, involving phonemes of a type not demonstrable in living languages, or coincidence. The argument of Schrijver (2009) that the missing link between Irish and English, in terms of language contact, is to be found in Brittonic (also Irish and English) having had short diphthongs is not, to the present author, convincing. So it is score one for Irish.


## 2. Some background on spelling

At this point matters become complex enough that it is not possible say much that is sensible without first establishing some background on the spelling of Roman Latin and of Irish during the early medieval period. This in turn requires some prefatory statement on conventions. In a language with long affricates it seems best (at least to a linguist who does not believe in "the phoneme of length") to use the conventions of Indic, where voiced and voiceless palatal affricates are represented as "j" and "c", and the palatal approximant as "y", and "long" sounds are represented by mere repetition: "cc" rather than "c:". (These are also the conventions employed by the present author in previous published work on related matters, and it seems best to be consistent.) Though Irish had a distinction between front and back consonants, so that technically it had (for example) no phoneme /d/, only /dʲ/ and /dʸ/, practically speaking it seems best, in order to avoid very awkward presentation, to ignore the subtypes and use only "/d/", etc. In cases where it is necessary to refer to broad types of consonantal phonemes, dentals will be used as the type case "T" for voiceless plosives, etc. Also, "E" will be used for any front vowel.

As for the spelling system of early medieval Latin, only a simple account, glossing over many details not of relevance here, will be provided. The general rule is that during the this period Latin (in the west) was pronounced in accordance with whatever sound changes had occurred in the area in question. (The Byzantines were much better-informed about earlier conditions.) The area of western Latin includes the British Isles, where by about 500 Latin had apparently become a dead

or at least artificial language. In Britain, Latin was pronounced with the sound changes that had occurred in Brittonic (Jackson 1953, 70–72), which probably got into Latin by way of Brittonic names in Latin legal documents.

Only two of the sound changes that affected western Latin are of much importance here. First, in all of the west except non-northern Italy there had occurred the change that will be called "lenition": intervocalic /p, t, k/ and /b, d, g/ had become respectively /b, d, g/ and /v, ð, ɣ/, which is to say that intervocalic /T, D/ had become /D, Ð/. (Lenition of /b/ did occur in non-northern Italy (Jackson 1953, 88)). As the same changes had occurred in Brittonic, practically speaking it is as if they had occurred in a living British Latin, though other considerations make it fairly clear that no such thing existed. Second, outside of the British Isles, /k, g/ before /e, i/ had been affricated to /c, j/. Probably lenited /j/ had become /ž/, though since there was never a distinct spelling for this it is not easy to tell. Together these changes produced three zones: the British Isles, home of Celtic Latin, where lenition had occurred but affrication had not, non-northern Italy, home of Roman Latin, where lenition had not occurred but affrication had, and the rest of the West, where both lenition and affrication had occurred. This intermediate area is of little importance here, since in the British Isles there was never any reason that primacy would not be given to either Celtic Latin or Roman Latin. The two changes each produced a corresponding spelling rule: a lenition rule about how plosives between vowels were to be spelled, and an affrication rule about how affricates were to be spelled. (Each of these rules can of course be seen as a "pronunciation rule" for how the spellings in question were to be pronounced; but for simplicity it seems best to use "spelling rule" for both meanings.) As the Roman Church extended its authority into the British Isles during the 600s, the main collision would have been between Celtic Latin, which in the meantime had spread to Ireland, and Roman Latin.

As for the spelling system of Irish, this was (since the Irish were converted and "literacized" by the British) originally based on the spelling system of British Latin. Apparently Irish was first written (in Roman letters) a little before 600 (O'Croinin 1995, 189), though the earliest surviving texts are from around 700. But Irish spelling soon developed two important features not found in Celtic Latin. First, apocope caused Irish to develop phonemic front and back consonants, which were (often, though hardly always) spelled by using front or back Vs as diacritics (except in cases where this would have been redundant), as has been noted above in connection with graphic short diphthongs in cases like <gaib>. Note that this allowed Irish-style spelling conventions to capture the difference between velars and palatals in OE, regardless of whether these had yet (in certain cases) become affricates: to Irish eyes any velar next to a front V would be a front velar or "palatal". Though the system of using front and back Vs as diacritics was quite imperfectly applied in OI, all spellers of OI (many no doubt recalling their annoyance as young learners) would be able to apply it more systematically

to any foreign tongue, such as OE, that they found themselves setting out to spell. Second, apocope meant that the lenition rule that had originally referred to *inter*-vocalic position was best seen as referring to *post*-vocalic position. Thus post-vocalic <b> in <gaib> spells not /bʲ/ but /vʲ/, as <b> would  in inter-vocalic position in Celtic Latin. Irish spelling became full of spelling rules referring to post-vocalic position, a state of affairs utterly alien on the continent. Accordingly one kind of clue indicating that OE spelling was modeled on Irish spelling would be finding post-vocalic spelling rules in OE, and a fair number of such cases will be noted below.

Of course, OE spelling uses post-vocalic <T>, like other <T>, to spell /T/ (counting affricates as plosives) as in Roman Latin, rather than having a rule that post-vocalic <T> spells /D/ as in Irish. A roughly parallel version of the same assertion, more complex in irrelevant detail, could be made in the case of <D> spelling /D/. At first glance, this appears to be score one for Roman Latin.

But there is a big caveat. It is not as if the spelling system of Roman Latin would have been unknown (regardless of whether it was accepted) by Irish monks of the middle 600s, for at that point the Roman Church had been extending its authority (over Ireland) for a few decades. Though it is usual for histories of England to present the impression that in the middle 600s the Irish church was "Celtic", refusing to conform to various Roman usages, this was true only of the northern Irish: the southern Irish had conformed a generation of so earlier (Chadwick 1970, 207). Evidence first noted by Thurneysen (1933, 208) appears to indicate that during the middle 600s Irish briefly had two spelling systems, a southern/Roman one spelling post-vocalic obstruents *in the Roman manner*, and a northern/Celtic one spelling post-vocalic obstruents in the Celtic manner. Though O'Neill (2009, 17) regards the southern/Roman usage as a continuation of *ogham* usage, it seems more probable that the pro-Roman southern Irish had begun to adopt the Roman manner of spelling post-vocalic obstruents just as, for want of a better term, a friendly gesture. Of course this would raise serious problems, not solvable within the limits of the system as it existed at that time, as to how /Ð/ (i.e. voiced fricatives) were to be spelled, so it is not surprising that the idea was abandoned, so thoroughly that we are lucky to have even the tiniest hints that it ever existed. It is quite possible then, perhaps even probable, that the OE spelling system was developed (at least in part) by Irish monks of the southern/Roman persuasion, who would of course use <T, D> in the Roman manner. This is all the more true given that doing so in English, where [Ð] was not contrastive, would not raise the problems it did in Irish, where [Ð] *was* contrastive. Accordingly, the fact that OE spelling uses <T, D> in the Roman manner has little probative value.

A good question at this point is whether the spelling system of OE was not only *based on* the spelling system of Irish but also, more to the point, *developed by* the Irish. O'Neill (2009, 21), assuming for no good reason (as will be seen below, section 3) that Irish influences in Southumbrian spelling could not possibly

originate in Southumbria, attempts to explain evidence of Irish influences in Southumbrian spelling by positing that the this system was developed by English monks in Ireland. It is beyond dispute, and indeed has long been known, that there were English monks (apparently in significant numbers) in Ireland. But since the language of the monasteries (at least when the Irish were not speaking among themselves) should have been Latin, English monks in Ireland would have had little reason to learn Irish (which in its Old phase was hardly an easy language to learn in any event). Even if they did, this would not explain one case where it seems clear that English was misperceived in terms of Irish, as follows.

Under one reasonable (if at the moment unfashionable) interpretation (Quinn 1975, 5), Irish had an across the board distinction between front and back Cs (without short diphthongs). The outlines of how this distinction was spelled, using front or back Vs as diacritics, have been seen. If OE did not have phonemic short diphthongs (and no living language has yet been identified that provides a true analogue), then the parallelism between short and long graphic diphthongs, as for example in <Éoh> vs. <Éoh> (earlier <Eoch> vs. <Éoch>), must have originally been intended to spell not short diphthong /Eo/ vs. long diphthong /Eo/, but rather /Exʸ/ vs. /EExʸ/ (where "x" has been used for what might be regarded as /h/). OE /Eox/ must have struck Irish ears as /EExʸ/, a sequence that existed, *and had a spelling*, in their own language. In other words, English /Eox/ was mis-perceived by the Irish as /EExʸ/, which would be spelled as <Éoch>. (The later change of <ch> to <h> in OE is beside the point.) The phonetics are not problematic, since phonetically /xʸ/ would just as well be represented (especially when moraic) as /ʸx/. Perhaps the potential for misperception will be more readily understood if the situation is put as /Eox/ being mis-perceived as /EEʸx/. The ultimate culprit here is the peculiar lowering (and probably reduction) of original /-u/ that is characteristic of OE. This apparently caused the second element of OE diphthongs (when followed by a consonant) to strike Irish ears as a velarization cue for the following consonant. Of course this could not happen in cases where /-o/ was not followed by a consonant, which originally must have been spelled originally with <-u>. But the native English, as soon as they were not longer under Irish tutelage, would extend spellings with <-o> to such cases (White 2015, 14). Since <Eoh> (or <Eoch>) would be the expected native spelling of /Eox/, later Germanicists, too uncritically accepting the concept of short diphthongs and too casually dismissing the possibility of Irish influence, would have no reason to think that any foreign misperception was ever involved. Misperceiving OE as having front Vs followed by back Cs would give Irish missionary linguists reason to think that they were hearing a sequence that existed, and had a spelling, in Irish but not in Latin, which would give them reason to think that the OE spelling system was best based on Irish. But to return to the main point, this case appears to show that  the spelling system of OE involves at least one Irish misperception of English, which as far as it goes indicates that the OE spelling system was developed by the Irish.

Another consideration, which will be treated in more detail below (section 4.3), points to the same conclusion. Irish had some phonemes, specifically /θ, x/, and spellings for these, specifically <th, ch>, that Roman Latin did not. Campbell (1959, 23) is quite right to say that the spelling of [θ, x] as <th, ch> in early OE is from Irish. Campbell does not note that in Irish (unlike in English) [θ, x] were phonemes in contrast with their voiced equivalents, so that Irish monks, but not English monks, would be expected to seek distinct spellings for both.

On balance, it is clear why Irish monks would use the spelling system of Irish as a model for a spelling system for English: they thought, not without reason, that English had sounds that existed, and had spellings, in Irish, but that did not exist, and did not  have spellings, in Roman Latin. The evidence appears to  make sense if the spelling system of OE was developed by the Irish, with the spelling system of OI as its basis, but does not make sense if it was developed by the English, regardless of what spelling system (or mix of systems) we posit as the model.


## 3. Some background on history

As of yet we have seen little historical context for the developments that evidently occurred. Since the first person to posit that the spelling system of OE was modeled on Irish, Marjorie Daunt, saw her article (to the extent it was not simply ignored) dismissed as at best no more than interesting, the cause of posthumous justice may perhaps be served by making reference to quotations from this article. In roughly chronological order, these are as follows. "The Irish had early established a school and tradition for writing of their vernacular" (1939, 115). "[T]he main points of Old Irish orthography are definitely established at a date early enough to have preceded any surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts" (1939, 116). "We know that Northumbrians and Mercians were first taught to write Latin letters by Irishmen" (1939, 111). "[T]he Anglo-Saxons were taught their script (…) by missionaries whose pronunciation, from the Roman point of view, might well be provincial" (1939, 135). "[T]he similarity between Old Irish and Anglo-Saxon orthography in many points is too similar to be ignored" (1939, 116). "It is not taking too much for granted as a foundation [for the first spelling system of OE] a Northumbrian early school of writing of Irish-Latin tradition" (1939, 111). Only the last of these assertions can regarded as having much chance of being wrong, and reasons will be given below (section 3) to think that it too is right.

Technically speaking, the history of OE writing and spelling began not long after 600 with the laws of Aethelberht, which surely employed no writings or spellings of Irish type, there being at that point no motivation for any such thing. But this beginning was a dead end, most conveniently treated from here on as non-existent. Practically speaking, OE writing and spelling *as a continuing*

*tradition* began with the Irish mission later in the mid 600s. By the time we first see it, around 700, the OE spelling system appears to be in transition from an earlier/Northumbrian system to a later/Southumbrian system, familiar from later OE. As O'Neill (2009, 9–10) notes, "the early Northumbrian texts (…) reflect the same spelling system for the OE consonants as the early Canterbury glossaries". It seems probable that the change in spelling fashions was due to a change in prestige, since in the years around 700 Northumbrian prestige was slowly (and rather unsurely) yielding to Mercian (i.e. Southumbrian) prestige.

It is in effect traditional, due to the traditional over-reliance on Bede, to assume that Irish influences in OE spelling could have only one possible source, Aidan's mission in Northumbria, which began sometime around 635 (Mayr-Harting 1991, 94). Since the Irish maintained an influential presence in Northumbria for about 20 years, it is not possible to be very precise about when the process of developing a spelling system for OE would have begun there, though chances are it was early, there being no reason for delay. Both Daunt (as has just been seen) and O'Neill seem to assume that Irish influences in Southumbria would have been historically impossible. But a significant Irish presence in Southumbria is not to be regarded as non-existent merely because Southumbria had no Bede to tell us of it, and dimly glimpsed (or often ignored) historical notices show us that Aldhelm had an Irish teacher Maeldubh (Mayr-Harting 1991, 192, 196). The place was Malmesbury in far southern Mercia (very close to the border with Wessex), and the time was during the 660s. (Given that Aldhelm would have been around 25 in 665, a bit old for a student monk, the time was perhaps a few years earlier.) For propriety it should be noted that the possibility that Maeldubh was the source of apparent Irish influences in Southumbrian OE was first suggested (though apparently not taken very seriously) by Pfeiffer (1987, 44). As for why Aldhlem is important, he is said by William of Malmesbury ([1125] 2002, 226–227) to have been the first person to write OE. As has been seen, this is wrong: the first writer of OE must have been some lost figure much earlier in Kent. Furthermore, common sense would suggest that there must have been at least one earlier writer of OE among the monks of Northumbria, since Aidan was a generation earlier than Maeldubh in crossing over to England. But Aldhelm may well have been the first writer of OE in *Southumbria*, and so may well have been the first speller of OE to use the Southumbrian system.

Though Aidan and his followers were, famously, adherents of the so-called Celtic church, there is no reason to think that the same was true of Maeldubh. As has been seen, the southern Irish submitted to Rome sometime during the 630s, and indirect considerations (those noted by Thurneysen (1946, 208)) suggest that as part of their pro-Roman sensibilities they tried, without lasting success, to get rid of the peculiar positional spelling rules for obstruents in Irish. In what follows it is posited that Maledubh was not an adherent of the Celtic church, in part because this appears to be the best way (again as has been seen) to explain how spellings

found in Roman Latin but not in Irish would ever get into an Irish system for spelling OE, and in part because there is no reason to think otherwise. On balance it seems probable that the earlier/Northumbrian spelling system was associated with Aidan (or possibly his successors), and the later/Southumbrian system with Maelddubh. (How much of an entourage, if any, Maeldubh had, being a mere teacher rather than a bishop, is not clear.) The Southumbrian system is (roughly speaking) just as Irish as the Northumbrian system. Though a Southumbrian system not of Irish origin might be expected, for political reasons that have been seen, to use the Roman hand, both systems use the Irish hand, and both systems use Irish-style under-moraic spellings, not to mention Roman-style voiceless values for <p, t, c>. Reasons will be given below (section 4.6) to think that this was not originally true of the Northumbrian system. The systems are so similar that it seems improbable that they developed in complete isolation from each other. In this connection it is worth noting that a possible conduit for influences back and forth may have been Aldfrith of Northumbria, who reportedly spent some time at Malmesbury with Aldhelm (Stenton [1971] 1989, 89). In one striking way, the Southumbrian system shows a greater degree of resemblance to Irish (as will be seen in more detail below, section 4.5) than does the Northumbrian system: using <cg> instead of <gg> to spell palatal reflexes of /gg/ (Campbell 1959, 27). It seems probable (White 2015, 18, 14, 12) that the Southumbrian system originally had "velar umlaut" as a spelling rule, but that this won only local acceptance until Northumbrian hegemony was replaced by Mercian hegemony around 700.

## 4. The individual cases

### 4.1. The distribution of <th> and later <þ> vs. <d> and <ð>

OE spelling shows, broadly speaking, two usages with regard to the spelling of /θ/ (including [ð]): an early/Northumbrian usage with <d> in post-vocalic position and <th> elsewhere, and a later/Southumbrian usage with <ð> in post-vocalic position and < þ> elsewhere (Campbell 1959, 24–5; Hogg 1992, 33). Frequent deviations in the overall pattern (which could hardly remain unaffected by various analogical currents) do not mean that it does not exist. The second usage is, obviously, merely a substitution of newer symbols, themselves of no relevance here, into the older usage. It appears that <th> fell out of favor (along with its associated digraph <ch>), and the resulting orthographic gap was filled by bringing in < þ> from Runic. Using <ð> (obscure in origin) would solve the problem of post-vocalic <d> being ambiguous between /d/ and /θ/. But none of these essentially graphic matters is of great importance here. It is most convenient to refer to either the earlier or the later pattern, not both, and referring to the earlier pattern will be preferred. What *is* of great importance is that if the spelling system of OE was

developed by natives to represent native perception, the distributional pattern is neither phonemically nor phonetically appropriate. If the spelling was phonemic, then since there was only one phoneme involved, there should have been only one symbol involved. If the spelling was phonetic (which is itself improbable just on general principles), final cases should have been spelled with <th> like initial cases, not like intervocalic cases with <d>.

A first conclusion is that the spelling system of OE was not (at least in this one case) developed by natives to represent native perception. Other reasons to think that this is true have been seen above, and more will be seen below (section 4.2). Matters fall into place if we consider how the situation would have seemed to Irish missionary linguists. Irish had a distinction between /θ/ and /ð/ (Stifter 2006, 16), and employed <th> to spell /θ/ and <d> to spell /ð/ (Thurneysen 1946, 22), which due to accidents of origin could only (not counting mutations) occur in post-vocalic position. Since post-vocalic /d/ was spelled as <t>, there was no (significant) problem with ambiguity. It makes sense then to think that Irish missionary linguists would spell OE [θ], which they heard as /θ/, as <th>, and OE [ð], which they heard as /ð/, as <d>. By mere fortunate accident, [ð] in OE typically occurred in intervocalic position, and since intervocalic position was always also post-vocalic position, in this case the spelling conventions of Irish could be applied with only one problem: inter-vocalic <d> would also be the spelling of /d/. But it is possible, for reasons that will be seen below (section 4.6), that in early/Northumbrian intervocalic /d/ was originally spelled in the Irish manner as <t>, before a later reform replaced <t> with <d>.

An important question is why we do not find <th> (later "thorn") in final position. Indeed if the conventional wisdom that final /θ/ in OE was always voiceless [θ] is correct, a satisfactory explanation for final <d> (later "edh") is difficult. One possibility, somewhat strained, is that an original pattern that may be represented as <th> - <d> - <th> was replaced by <th> - <d> - <d> just to produce a spelling rule of the Irish kind referring to post-vocalic position. If so, that is evidence of Irish influence of one kind. Another possibility is that, since Irish had a change of /θ/ to /ð/ after unstressed Vs (Thurneysen 1946, 82–83), final <th> and <d> were regarded by the Irish as equivalent in English, as they were in Irish, and that <d> was eventually preferred just because of its post-vocalic position. A third possibility, rather more interesting and radical, is that in OE itself some cases of final /θ/, originally pronounced as [θ], had become pronounced [ð], which would of course strike Irish ears as /ð/, to be spelled as <d>. If so, it is not hard to see which cases those must have been: cases after unstressed Vs, most notably in the 3rd person endings of verbs. It is well known that at some point in English fricatives after unstressed Vs became voiced, most notably in the case of /s/ > /z/. The change was never recognized in spelling, essentially because Latin had no voiced fricatives and therefore no spellings for voiced fricatives, and so its chronology is not clear. Final <d> after unstressed vowels could then be generalized after

all vowels, again due to a tendency to think in terms of post-vocalic position. Whatever the truth of the matter is, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that post-vocalic position was regarded as significant, one way or another.

## 4.2 <h> vs. <ch>

If it is true, as the conventional wisdom would have us think, 1) that the spelling system of OE was developed by the English and represented native perception, and 2) that [h] and [x] in OE belonged to the same phoneme, which seems best referred to as /h-x/, it is far from clear why early/Northumbrian OE spelling could use <h> for [h] and <ch> (or even <c>, before <t>) for [x] (Campbell 1959, 23–24). The problem of where the idea that <ch> could mean /x/ came from will be treated below (section 4.3). For the moment, it must be stressed that phonetic spelling, however strong its appeal to traditionalist, is no more probable in this case than in any other.

Again, matters fall into place once we realize that the spelling system of OE might well have been developed by the Irish and represented Irish perception: since Irish had a distinction between /h/ and /x/ (Thurneysen 1946, 20–21), and usually spelled /x/ as <ch> (or even as <c> before <t>) (Thurneysen 1946, 21), it is entirely to be expected that OE [x] would be perceived as /x/ and spelled as <ch>.

One remaining mystery, something of a tangent here but seemingly worthy of a paragraph, would be where the idea that <h> could be used to spell /h/ came from. Since /h/ had been lost in Latin, knowledge that <h> meant /h/ was inevitably (given the nature of the times) lost too, throughout the western world. One consequence of this is that in Irish <h> had no (normal) linguistic value at all (Thurneysen 1946, 19), despite the fact that Irish had /h/. The knowledge that <h> originally meant /h/ could have come from Greeks in either Italy (those parts under Byzantine rule) or Ireland. Greeks in Ireland may seem somewhat improbable, but the fact that it is not is indicated by the tale of Columbanus learning the *computus* from "a certain learned Greek" in Bangor sometime before 600 (O'Croinin 1995, 177). For better or worse, another possibility is that the English, once exposed to the Roman alphabet, realized from the obvious similarity between Roman and Runic versions of <H> that Roman <h> had originally been intended to spell /h/, which would make a lot more sense than the prevailing view (of the time and area in question) that (simplifying a bit) <h> was just randomly prefixed to some V-initial words. In any event, since neither Roman Latin nor Irish would provide a model for <h> spelling /h/ in OE, and there is another possible explanation involving neither, the matter is not worth pursuing here.

To English eyes, once the Irish faded away into irrelevance, the distribution of <h> vs. <ch> could be seen as resulting from a spelling rule referring to

post-vocalic position: /h-x/ was to be spelled as <ch> in post-vocalic position, otherwise as <h>. As <ch> began to fall out of favor, replacing it with <h> (and so destroying evidence of Irish influence) would be trivial.

## 4.3 <ch> and <th> spelling /x/ and /θ/

The preceding two cases have something in common that is worth treating: the idea that voiceless fricatives could be spelled with following <h>, abstractly <Th>. It is a fair question where this idea came from. The question is often glossed over, as if the idea was derived from the pronunciation of Greek loan words in Roman Latin. This need not long detain us: it has long been known (e.g. Jackson 1953, 53, 412, 401; Campbell 1959, 23 fn. 2) that neither the aspirates of Classical Greek nor the voiceless fricatives that these later (during the early centuries A.D.) became were ever nativized in Latin, which merely substituted /k, t/. During the Dark Ages, the occasional appearance of <ch, th> in written Latin as apparently random variants for <c, t>, mostly in certain religious words, was utterly mysterious to all but a privileged few acquainted with Greek (most of them being Greeks).

As has been noted, knowledge of how Greeks pronounced Latin, including Greek loan words in Latin, could have been brought to Ireland before 600, at least a generation before it was brought to England. This appears to be the simplest scenario for how Irish spellers got the idea that /x, θ/ could be spelled as <ch, th>. At least among the Irish, knowledge that <ch, th> were supposed to mean /x, θ/, however acquired, would have stuck, since /x, θ/ at least existed in Irish. Though the knowledge in question could in theory have been brought to England by Theodore and his entourage, who arrived in 669 (Stenton [1971] 1989, 132), this makes a poor match with historical considerations suggesting that Theodore's arrival in England post-dates the development of both the Northumbrian and Southumbrian systems. Furthermore, positing that Theodore was the source of the idea that <th> could spell /θ/ would not explain why the English would not use <th> for all /θ/, when in fact, as has been noted, post-vocalic cases were generally *not* spelled with <th>. Overall, it seems to make more sense to think that the idea that <ch, th> could be used to spell /x, θ/ in OE came from the Irish, who had earlier gotten it from a wandering Greek or two (such as the one who brought the *computes*, referred to above). Whether or not the proposition that the use of <ch, th> in the spelling of OE is derived from its analogue in the spelling of OI is part of the conventional wisdom is less than clear. Though Campbell (1959, 23) makes the connection (without supporting argument), Hogg (1992, 33–34) does not. But it should be clear from what has been said above that Campbell was right.

## 4.4 <cg> spelling palatal /gg/

The view taken here will be that <cg> meant /j(j)/, which is to say either /jj/ or /j/: /jj/ in intervocalic position (e.g. <hycgan> 'to think') and /j/ in final post-vocalic position (e.g. <ecg> 'edge'). It is worth noting that both positions were of course post-vocalic. If there had been no distinction between <cg> and <gg>, as argued by Campbell (1959, 27), the distribution of <cg> and <gg> would be random, heavily favoring <cg> in all cases, when in fact <gg> is disproportionately common in cases from original /gg/. Probably what happened was that cases of /gg/ were so rare that an original spelling rule calling for them to be spelled as <gg>, having little application, was in effect forgotten. Be that as it may, Campbell's assertion (1959, 27 fn. 1) that <cg> is a case of "Celtic" (apparently intended to mean "Irish") influence must be correct. Campbell is clearly referring to the fact that Irish spelling uses post-vocalic <c> to mean /g/. But this observation misses a much more important point: spellings of the mixed voice or <TD> type, including <cg>, both 1) occur in the spelling of OI (Thurneysen 1946, 23) and 2) actually make sense. As for how they make sense, we may consider <nepbuisti> 'not being', where <pb> means /b/, <ne> means 'not', and <buisti> means 'being'. Though <pb> is quite eye-popping, the alternatives are arguably worse: <nebuisti> would imply medial /v/, and <nepuisti> would not include the morpheme <buisti>. Parallel considerations apply anywhere morpheme boundaries are involved, for example with <cg> in <ecguisti> 'wishes', which is a prepositional verb of the familiar IE type. Since Irish spelling had no sure way to distinguish between singles and geminates in such cases, it is possible that in some cases spellings of the <TD> type may mean /DD/. But that is a detail: the larger point is that Irish spelling did employ spellings of the "mixed voice" or <TD> type, *across morpheme boundaries*, with (as would be expected) a non-literal meaning, whereas Roman Latin did nothing of the kind. Accordingly when we see <cg> in OE spelling, it is a strong point for Irish and against Roman Latin as the original model for the OE spelling system.

It makes some sense that Irish missionary linguists, presented with two kinds of geminate /gg/ (back/velar and front/palatal) and two possible spellings for these, <gg> and <cg>, might hit upon the idea of using one for one and one for the other. The usual non-distinction employed in spelling the singles was, as the need to employ diacritic dots in modern works shows, less than perfect. But it was only in the case of (original) geminates that the existence of digraphs created an additional option. The main remaining question is why Irish missionary linguists would use <cg> for the palatal and <gg> for the velar rather than the other way around. The answer must come from a combination of two things: 1) that in Irish spelling the <TD> type was, as has been seen, associated with morpheme boundaries, and 2) that in OE /jj/ was often (particularly in verbs, e.g. <hycgan> 'to think') associated with morpheme boundaries. Therefore it

would be better (all things being equal) to use <cg> for /j(j)/ and <gg> for /g(g)/. Since, as Campbell (1959, 27) notes, <cg> appears to be specifically Southumbrian, and does not seem likely to be the kind of thing that two Irish monks would independently hit on, we can take a less than wild guess about who invented it: Maeldubh.

In Irish, geminate spellings did not necessarily represent geminate phonemes. Since post-vocalic <T> and <D> ordinarily meant /D/ and /Đ/, postvocalic /T/ could only be spelled distinctly as <TT> (Stifter 2006, 19), which was also the only way that /TT/ could have been spelled. And though post-vocalic /D/ was usually spelled as <T>, it could also be spelled as <DD> (Thurneysen 1946, 23), which was also the only way that /DD/ could have been spelled. Thus the only spellings that Irish had for /DD/, the <DD> type and the <TD> type, were potentially ambiguous. For Irish monks developing an Irish based spelling system for OE, this would have been convenient: <cg> could be used to mean either /jj/ (as in <hycgan>) or /j/ (as in <ecg>) without the principles of the Irish spelling system being violated.

Finally it may be noted that <cg> in OE was originally restricted to post-vocalic position (Hogg 1992, 37), notwithstanding that /j/ in OE was not restricted to post-vocalic position: it could occur after /n/. But even though for most of the OE period <cg> would seem to be a possible spelling for /j/ after /n/, <cg> is not generally employed to spell /j/ in positions that are not post-vocalic till later OE: most OE uses <hringe> spelling /hrinje/ 'ring', when "hrincg" would have been more straightforward. Evidence is consistent then with the proposition that OE spellers originally followed a rule that /j(j)/ was to be spelled <cg> *in post-vocalic position*, which is, as has been seen, is a rule of a type that existed in Irish but not in Latin.

## 4.5 <cg> and <bb> spelling single consonants

With both <bb> and <cg> there is a problem: though they are traditionally supposed to have meant /bb/ and /jj/ (at least in the beginning) in all positions, with later reduction in final position, /bb/ and /jj/ are not in contrast (in any position) with single /b/ or /j/. There would have been pressure (quite literally) to reduce /bb/ and /jj/ to /b/ and /j/, in both intervocalic position and final position. If this happened in intervocalic position, the argument is too complex and indirect to be made here. But at least in final position it seems clear that reduction did occur. It would make no sense to think that /nn/ in /mann/ 'man' was reduced, but /bb/ in /sib/ 'relative' was not: surely final /nn/ 1) would have been more easily implemented than final /bb/, and 2) was in contrast with a corresponding single, which would have given some motivation for non-reduction, while /bb/ was not. Though it is obvious that graphic reduction of <cg>, turning <ecg> 'edge' into <ec> or <eg>,

would not be expected, graphic recognition of reduction of final <bb>, turning. <sib> 'relative' into <sib> *would* (all things being equal) be expected. But /sib/ was generally spelled not as <sib>, but rather as <sibb>.

So the question is why graphic reduction of final <bb> did not (as a rule) occur. There appears to be only one good possibility: that OE spellers were originally trained in a rule that /b/ in post-vocalic position was to spelled as <bb>. This in turn does not make sense unless there was also a rule that <b> post-vocalic position meant /v/, which persisted long enough for <bb> to become entrenched as the spelling of post-vocalic /b/. For reasons that have been seen, rules of this type could come only from Irish, not from Roman Latin. Though by Irish standards post-vocalic <d> meant /ð/ and post-vocalic <dd> meant /d/, in this case English had a contrastive geminate to be represented by <dd>, and in any event post-vocalic <d> would cease to spell /ð/ once this began to be spelled as <ð>. The conclusion is that use of final post-vocalic <bb> in OE to spell either /bb/ or //b/ is a relic of Irish influence.


## 4.6 A forest in the trees: sensitivity to post-vocalic position

All four of the cases treated above that by their nature *could* provide evidence for the proposition that the spelling system of OE was originally sensitive to post-vocalic position (the cases of <cg>, <bb>, <h> vs. <ch>, and <þ> vs. <ð>), *do* provide such evidence. Though the spelling system of OE had no native reason to develop any such sensitivity, the spelling system of OI both had a native reason to do so, and did. Reasons to think that the Southumbrian system never employed positional rules of the Celtic type (<T> spelling /D/, <D> spelling /Đ/) to spell single obstruents have been given above. The Northumbrian system too shows no direct evidence of ever having employed such rules. But it may show some indirect evidence, as follows.

According to Campbell (1959, 27) "illogical doubling" of consonants is a feature of Northumbrian. But the examples given show "illogical doubling" only of *obstruents*. Granted that the spelling system of OI also engages "illogical" doubling of obstruents (which is not really illogical in Irish, as has been seen), the apparent coincidence must arouse suspicion. If Northumbrian originally had no way to spell post-vocalic /T/ except as <TT>, because <T> spelled /D/, then as it moved away from this system it might well begin to spell post-vocalic /D/ as <DD> in order to avoid the ambiguity of <T>, which during the transition between the old and new systems might be taken as spelling either /D/ or /T/. If that is not why "illogical doubling" appears in Northumbrian, it is less than clear (at least to the present author) what else could be.

**4.7 The spelling of /y/ and the meaning of <g> followed by <e, i>**

On this subject, more research is needed, and the "conclusions" offered are little more than suggestions. In Roman Latin spelling, <g> followed by a front vowel meant /j/. What syllable-initial <i> before a vowel meant is not entirely clear, but since by the time Italian emerges it has become /j/, and the roughly parallel strengthening of /w/ happened in ancient times (Jackson 1953, 88), it had probably ceased to mean /y/. A seemingly reasonable guess is that it meant /ž/, which may also have been, in intervocalic cases, the meaning of <g> followed by a front V. Since neither Latin nor Italian ever developed a spelling for /ž/, and Latin was somewhat late in yielding to Italian as a written language, it is difficult to tell. In Irish spelling, <g> followed by a front vowel meant either /y/ in post-vocalic position or /gʲ/ elsewhere (Stifter 2006, 19), and nothing meant /j/, since Irish did not have /j/.

     So in attempting to determine whether the spelling system of OE was modeled more on Irish or on Roman Latin, we can look at 1) how /y/ is spelled, and 2) what <g> followed by a front vowel means. Of course /y/ in OE is typically spelled as <g> followed by a front vowel, not <i>, and <g> followed by a front vowel in OE typically means /y/, not /j/. Clearly the OE spellings are more similar to Irish spellings than to Roman Latin spellings. Irish had no distinct way to spell /y/ in initial position, since apart from cases of lenition, which in most cases (including the present one) was not marked in Irish spelling (Stifter 2006, 30), /y/ did not occur in initial position (Stifter 2006, 16). To Irish missionary linguists it would have been clear that post-vocalic /y/ was to be spelled as <g> followed by a front V. This may well explain why medial /y/ that was not post-vocalic, as in /neryan/ 'to save', was not spelled as <g>, so that instead of <nergean> we (for most part) find <nerian>. To Irish eyes, all /y/ that was not post-vocalic would have to be spelled as something else, no doubt <i> from Latin, which was the only remaining possibility, and there are hints that in early times <i> was also used in initial cases like <Iaruman> (Campbell 1959, 25). It is clear that at some (fairly early) point the spelling of /y/ in post-vocalic position as <g> followed by a front vowel was extended to initial position, and since we have seen other reasons to think that early/late differences are also Northumbrian/Southumbrian differences, we may well suspect that this difference was too. It may be noted that this is one case where OE does not in the long run *retain* a post-vocalic spelling rule from Irish, though it apparently did *adopt* such a rule (at least partially) in the beginning.

**5. Conclusion**

There are tests we can employ to see whether OE spelling was modeled more on Irish spelling or on Roman Latin spelling, by asking the following questions. 1) Does OE spelling seem to be designed, like OI spelling, for a language with

a distinction between /θ/ and /ð/? 2) Does (early) OE spelling seem to be designed, like OI spelling, for a language with a distinction between /h/ and /x/? 3) Does (early) OE spelling, like OI spelling, use <ch, th> for voiceless non-sibilant fricatives? 4) Does OE spelling, like OI spelling, use <TD> spellings? 4) Can OE spelling, like OI spelling, use <bb> and <cg> to spell non-geminates? 5) Does OE spelling show signs of having had, like OI spelling, spelling rules for post-vocalic position? 6) Does OE spelling, like OI spelling, use <g> followed by a front V to spell /y/? 7) Finally (not related to consonantal spellings), does OE spelling, like OI spelling, use graphic short diphthongs? The answer to all of these questions is yes, and in each case what it means is that OE patterns with OI and not with Roman Latin. Unless some countervailing evidence pointing the other way can be adduced, the conclusion favoring Irish must stand. But it appears that the only question of this sort that would give a conclusion favoring Roman Latin is whether OE spells post-vocalic plosives in the manner of Irish, and this phenomenon is explicable as resulting from the strong Romanizing movement of the later 600s, which temporarily brought Roman-style usages into Irish spelling. Furthermore, "illogical doubling" in Northumbrian seems to point back to a time when OE spelling (in Northumbria) did indeed spell post-vocalic plosives in the manner of Irish. By contrast, none of the evidence against Roman Latin as the model for OE spelling appears to have any good explanation.

Two of the cases treated above involve OE appearing to spell a phonemic distinction that it did not have: /x/ vs. /h/ and /θ/ vs. /ð/. Under ordinary circumstances phonetic spelling is hardly expected, since in practical terms the very essence of the distinction between what is phonemic and what is merely phonetic is lack of awareness (and control). The explanation must be that in each case the phonemic distinction in question existed in a foreign model that was the model for OE spelling. Irish had such distinctions, but Roman Latin did not. Nor is there any historical evidence to suggest that Roman missionaries, able to act as linguists, had any presence in England at the time in question.

Lurking behind these two cases is a much larger and more important example of what appears to be the same syndrome. If OE developed phonemic short diphthongs, this could only be by "phonemic split" from earlier short front vowels. It is not controversial (within the traditional mentality) that phonemic split requires a second sound change to come along and render allophones created by a first change no longer predictable. For example, if /uCi/ becomes pronounced as [üCi], there is still no /ü/ until /i/ becomes /e/ (or something else not predicting [ü]), motivating reanalysis of [ü] as /ü/. If, as appears to be the conventional wisdom, early OE spelling as used by Aldhelm employed short diphthongs (ea, eo, io>) that were not in contrast with the short front Vs that they derived from (/æ, e, i/), as no second sound change (loss of umlaut conditioners, metathesis, reduction of final geminates) had yet come along to create contrast, then early OE spelling marked "glides" that were predictable and therefore not phonemic, which is hardly

expected. But this too would be a case of OE for some strange reason spelling distinctions that were phonemic in Irish but not in English: in OI, as in modern languages, "glides" must have been instrumental in implementing the distinction between front and back consonants (Laver 1994, 323–325). So we can add another question to our list: why do all cases of apparent phonetic spelling in OE involve phonetic differences that were phonemic in Irish? Daunt (1939, 115) provides the beginnings of an answer: "Irish teachers, listening as foreigners to a strange tongue and trying to write it down (…) would hear shades of pronunciation which the English speakers would not have heard". But "Irish teachers" would not really be expected to hear all "shades of pronunciation", only those that were involved in phonemic distinctions in Irish. Unless the apparently phonetic spellings of OE represent a truly extraordinary coincidence, the spelling system of OE must have been developed by Irish missionary linguists who "over-heard" English as having the phonemic distinctions of Irish.

The conclusion, however unexpected, is clear: the spelling system of OE was not developed by *English* monks with Roman (or non-Roman) *Latin* as it model, but rather by *Irish* monks with *Irish* as its model. This should, upon reflection, be no cause for surprise: it is quite common for first spelling systems to be developed by foreigners, especially (as seen in recent times) by missionary linguists. More specifically, it appears that the earlier Northumbrian system had northern Irish (with Celtic spellings of obstruents) as its model, while the later Southumbrian system had southern Irish (with Roman spellings of obstruents) as its model. In later days, the Celtic-style system won out in Ireland and the Roman-style system won out in England, in each case erasing almost all evidence of the earlier state of affairs. The Irish origin of the OE system is, as Daunt pointed out long ago, the explanation for why both systems employ "under-moraic" spellings in the form of short diphthongs. Though Campbell and O'Neill are both right to point out evidence of Irish influences in the spelling system of OE, each makes, in the view of the present author, a critical error. Campbell seems to assume that Irish influences in OE spelling could only be marginal, and O'Neill assumes that Irish influences in the Southumbrian system could not originate in Southumbria. Closer examination reveals that neither assumption is warranted. Each is connected with perhaps the main error here: ignoring the existence and probable significance of Maeldubh, through his very influential student Aldhelm. Once this error is rectified, much about OE spelling that in the past has not made sense finally does.

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# Diversity between Panels of the Franks Casket – Spelling and Runic Paleography

**Abstract**

The Franks Casket, a small whalebone box from about 700 AD, contains 59 Old English words inscribed in runes. Systematic differences between its panels have never called into question the standard procedure of explaining one panel basing on the others. The present paper aims at a re-examination of the validity of this approach. The panels show a large enough differentiation of spelling and paleographical features to exclude the possibility of a single author for the whole Casket.

## 1. Introduction

The Franks Casket (henceforth, FC; also known as the Auzon Casket, after the place where it was discovered) is a whalebone box measuring 23 x 19 x 13 cm, dated to about 700 AD by the majority view. The panels of FC display images of scenes from the Judeo-Christian tradition (the Adoration of the Magi, the capture of Jerusalem by Titus), Germanic mythology (Weland's revenge) and Roman legend (Romulus and Remus). The images are surrounded by mainly runic inscriptions amounting to about 59 words, predominantly in Early Old English. The inscriptions involve a diversity of techniques, directions, orientations, functions, and even a variety of alphabets and languages. Comprehensive accounts of the history, iconography and inscriptions of FC have been published in Napier (1901), Viëtor (1901), Elliott (1963, 96–109), Page (1973, 174–182), and Webster (2012).

Scholarly work on the Franks Casket appears to have always regarded it as a coherent whole with a single author, who could have been copying from some exemplar, possibly in Latin (thus, for instance, Page 1973, 179; Ball 1991). The present paper is intended to question the validity of this approach and to show the conclusions which follow when the systematic differences between panels are taken into consideration. To do so, the paper first discusses the unique system of cryptic runes on the right panel, together with its anomalies and previous attempts at its interpretation. Next, the focus moves to selected issues in runic paleography pertaining to FC: the occurrence of runes representing the front rounded vowels

/y œ/ on the left panel, and the distribution of the two basic types of the 'r' and 'b' runes on FC. Finally, attention is given to the diversity of spellings of the Old English word for 'and' on the panels.

Since transliterations from runic inscriptions play a prominent role, a comment is due as to the conventions adopted. These agree with the widely used system devised by Dickins (1932) and improved by Page (1984 [1995]). To simplify matters, each rune receives a single-letter equivalent, the letters are in lower-case, no bold face or italics are used, and the whole text is put between a set of single inverted commas. For example, the runic word <ᚠᛁᛋᚳ> receives the transliteration 'fisc' (i.e. Present Day English *fish*). Bind-runes, i.e. ligatures specific to runic writing, are marked with a superscript curve connecting the two characters, e.g. 'f͡a'. Still, transliteration does not produce a very legible text, hence it is used only when both feasible and necessary. Otherwise, the wording of the inscriptions is presented according to philological conventions, i.e. with normalised word divisions, modern punctuation and capitalised proper names. All transliterations, editions and translations of inscriptions on the Franks Casket are the present author', unless indicated otherwise.

## 2. The right panel – cryptic runes
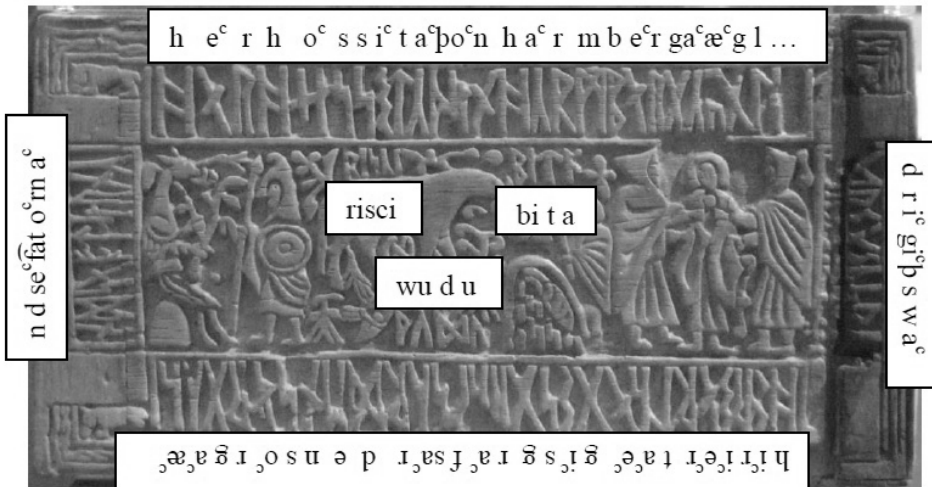


Fig. 1. Cast of the right panel of the Franks Casket, British Museum.
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(Main inscription:)
Her Hos sitaþ      on harmberga,
ægl (…) drigiþ      swa hiri Ertæ gisgræf

sarden sorga    ænd sefa torna.
(Minor inscriptions:)
risci
bita
wudu

['Here Hos (?) sit on a hill of sorrow, suffers (…) (?), as her/them Ertæ (?) dug (?) a wretched den of sorrows (?) and griefs of the mind.
rush (?)
biter (?) bitter (?)
wood']
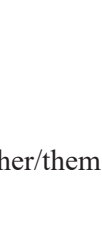
To start with the most enigmatic part of FC, the right panel (Figure 1) is the only one to feature cryptic vowel runes alongside "regular", consonant runes. Their purport, as also that of the images on the panel, has so far evaded scholarly attempts at interpretation (recent, insightful studies include Osborn 1991; Peeters 1996; Karkov 2011, 145–153; and Webster 2012).

Ball (1974) offers an attractive and widely accepted (see, for instance, Eichner 1991, 608–610; Bredehoft 2011; Simms 2014) explanation for this unique system of cryptic runes, shown in Figure 2 below. Namely, each vowel rune was supposedly replaced by an archaic or stylised form of the rune standing for the final consonant in its name. Thus, the rune ᛁ 'i', called *is* 'ice', was replaced by three archaic versions of the 's' rune, while ᚫ 'æ' (*æsc* 'ash') and ᚪ 'a' (*ac* 'oak') – by two different forms of 'c', the second one of them archaic. Unfortunately, the stylised forms of runes are more controversial: the rune replacing ᚩ 'o' (*os* 'god? mouth?'), could be taken to represent a deformed 's' ᚻ, but the character used for 'e' (*eoh* 'horse') does not resemble 'h' ᚺ at all.

| cryptic rune | resembles | stands for | vowel rune |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | archaic 's' | i | ᛁ *is* 'ice' |
|  | archaic Anglo-Saxon 'c' ᛉ | a | ᚪ *ac* 'oak' |
|  | Anglo-Saxon 'c' ᚻ | æ | ᚫ *æsc* 'ash-tree' |

|  | stylised 's'  ᚻ | o | ᚩ *os* 'god? mouth?' |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | 'g'  ᚷ | e | ᛖ *eoh* 'horse' |
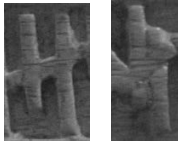
Fig. 2. Ball's (1974) solution to the problem of cryptic runes on the right panel (the photographs of runes are taken from Figure 1)

Having acknowledged this, Ball (1974) claims that the character intended was ᚷ 'g', with the downward stroke much shortened (cf. Figure 3). ᚷ 'g' was supposedly chosen because forms spelled with 'g' in the syllable coda were seen to be correct, appearing also on other panels (as in ᚠᛖᚷᛏᚪᚦ <fegtaþ> 'are fighting', back panel). Hence, the name of the ᛗ 'e' rune could have been regularly spelt *eg* (before the Old English diphthongisation known as breaking). Yet, the choice of 'g' seems illogical when 'h' could offer an archaic variant ᚺ, and especially so if the presumably distorted form of 'g' bears close resemblance to the ᚾ 'n' rune (see Delorez 1981; and Figure 3).



'eᶜ':                    'g': ᚷ                              'n': ᚾ
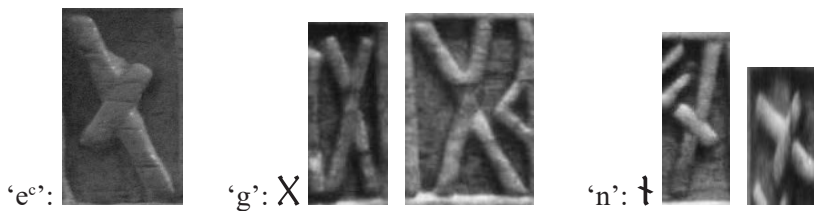
Fig. 3. The cryptic rune 'eᶜ' (magnified picture copied from Figure 1) and two regular runes for comparison, 'g' and 'n'. The latter two runes are illustrated with fragments of the front panel © John W. Schulze / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-2.0

Another difficulty with Ball's (1974) solution pertains to the reading of the cryptic runes. An earlier view, Napier (1901), opts for a reverse interpretation of 'aᶜ' and 'æᶜ', because of the superior readings thus obtained: the regular OE form *sitaþ* 'sit, 3ʳᵈ p. pl. pres. ind.' instead of the enigmatic *\*sitæþ* and the regular OE form *sar* 'pain, suffering' instead of the meaningless *\*sær*. The relevant part of Napier's interpretation is shown in Figure 4:

| cryptic rune | resembles | stands for | vowel rune |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | archaic Anglo-Saxon 'c' | æ | ᚠ *æsc* 'ash-tree' |
|  | Anglo-Saxon 'c' | a | ᚪ *ac* 'oak' |

Fig. 4. Part of Napier's (1901) interpretation of the cryptic runes on the right panel (the photographs of runes are taken from Figure 1)

Since this reading seems more plausible, it has been implemented into the edition of the text under Figure 1. The foregoing discussion has questioned the correctness of Ball's (1974) hypothesis that the cryptic runes were so chosen as to correspond to the final consonant in the traditional names of the vowel runes. The hypothesis can explain only part of the whole system ('i$^c$', 'æ$^c$', 'a$^c$') beyond reasonable doubt, while the remainder ('o$^c$', 'e$^c$') remains shrouded in mystery.

## 3. The left panel – 'y' and 'œ'
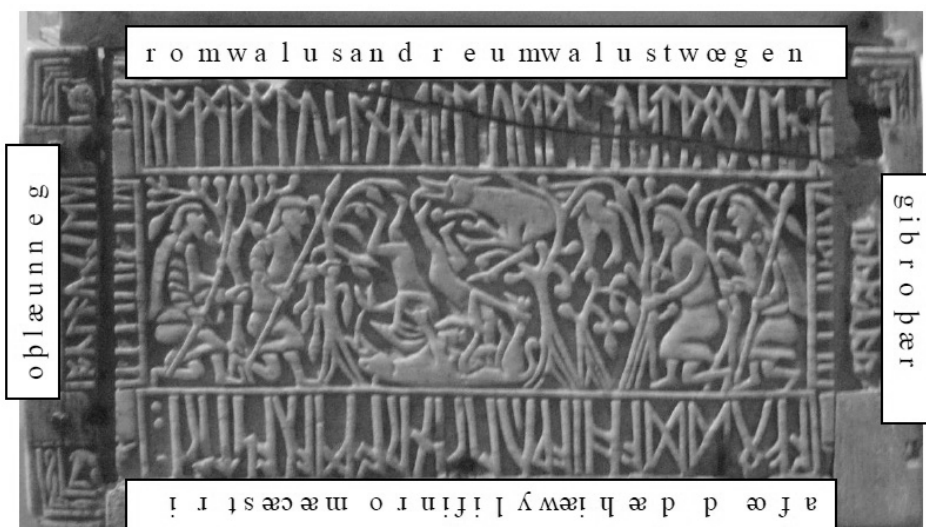


Fig. 5. The left panel of the Franks Casket, British Museum
© John W. Schulze / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-2.0

Romwalus and Reumwalus, twœgen gibroþær. Afœddæ hiæ wylif in Romæcæstri, oþlæ unneg.

['Romulus and Remus, two brothers. A female wolf fed them in the City of Rome, far from (their) native land.']

The left panel diverges paleographically from the other panels in its unique usage of the runes standing for the Old English front rounded vowels, ᛦ 'y' and ᛟ 'œ'. The ᛦ 'y' rune developed from ᚢ 'u', into which a stroke was inserted (Figure 6a). A common belief holds that the stroke originally represented a small ᛁ 'i' rune (for instance, Page 1973, 45; Delorez 1990, 412–413; and Parsons 1996). However, there exist early instances of the 'y' rune with other, more complex marks inside than just a simple vertical stroke (as admitted by Delorez 1990, 413 fn.; see also Parsons 1999, 83), composed of a set of lines, intersecting at various angles. After all, a stroke is the very simplest graphical element one could attach to a rune, for any purpose.

The other rune, ᛟ 'œ', derives from the Common Germanic 'o' rune of the same shape, which was presumably called *oþila (Figure 6b). The character switched its phonetic value to /œ/ after i-umlaut, whence a new 'o' rune ᚩ had to be created (Figure 6c). The rune's name must have undergone the same changes and became œþil, later eþel 'native land, home'.

6. Front rounded vowels and the respective Anglo-Saxon runes:

a. 'u' ᚢ      *uruz > ur 'bison?'  →  'y' ᛦ     yr '?'

b. 'œ' ᛟ      *oþila > œþil > OE eþel 'home, native country'

c. 'a' ᚫ      *ansuz  →  'o' ᚩ      os 'god? mouth?'

The Anglo-Saxons who produced runic inscriptions are assumed to have known the traditional, acrophonic names of their indigenous letters. In this context, it is a curious coincidence that the very word eþel occurs on the same left panel in the form oþlæ (dat.), beginning with the new Anglo-Frisian rune ᚩ 'o' (see Figure 5). Thus, the spelling takes the form ᚩᚦᛚᚫ instead of the expected

ᚩᚦᛚᚪ, which begins with the *eþel* rune, ᛟ 'œ'. At the time when FC was presumably created, the initial vowel could only have been /œ/, hence the ᚩ 'o' spelling does not bear any phonetic implications.

Nonetheless, the spelling <oþlæ> suggests that the early Anglo-Saxons might not have known the names of runic characters as accurately as it might be inferred from later sources (comprehensively examined in Delorez 1954). In Late Old English manuscripts, single runes are occasionally used as shorthand for words which happen to be their names. For instance, *Exeter Book* fol. 124 recto l. 17 reads <· ᛗ · dreama> *monndreama* 'human joy, gen. pl.', where the rune ᛗ 'm' was written in place of its name, *monn* 'man' (see Muir's 2006 facsimile). Another way in which the manuscripts suggest a relatively widespread knowledge of the names of the runes among Anglo-Saxons derives from books preserving Hrabanus Maurus's tract *De inventione linguarum*. The tract is usually supplemented by lists of exotic and cryptic alphabets, including the Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc*, together with the names of the characters.

However, no such evidence has been reported for the earlier period, before runes became an antiquarian curiosity, on a par with the Hebrew alphabet, or a sign of a scribe's erudition. On the contrary, the spelling <oþlæ> on FC suggests that the runemasters may not have known the traditional names for the runes, only their phonetic values. If the conclusion is correct, then it constitutes another problem for Ball's (1974) solution for the cryptic runes on the right panel of FC, described in the previous section. This is because the solution assumes an extensive knowledge of the runes' names for the purposes of cryptography.

## 4. The right panel – paleography

The right panel differs paleographically from all the others to such an extent that even a different engraver could be posited for it. In Anglo-Saxon inscriptions, the 'r' rune could occur in two distinct types, either resembling the Latin capital <R> (shown in Figure 7a) or the rune ᚢ 'u' (Figure 7b). Both types occur on the Franks Casket, but the first type is only to be found on the right panel, where it co-occurs with the other type.



a.                    b.
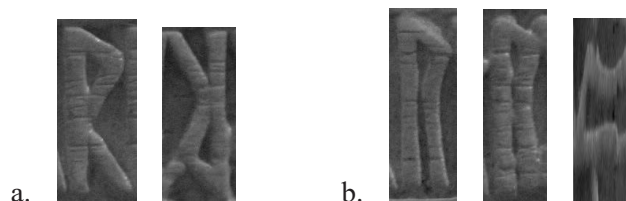
Fig. 7. Two types of the 'r' rune on the right panel of FC

Also the 'b' rune has two main types, one of which resembles the Latin <B>
(see Figure 8b), while the other has its two loops meeting the vertical stave at
some distance from each other (Figure 8a). This rune occurs just three times on
the whole FC, but in this context it is noteworthy that the latter type (Figure 8a)
occurs only on the right panel, while the former type (Figure 8b) is used twice
on the front panel.

a. right panel:           b. front panel: 
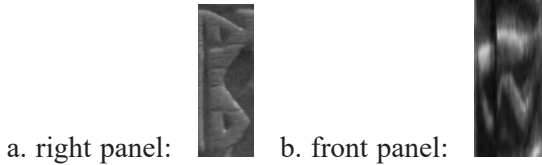
Fig. 8. Two types of the 'b' rune on FC

The appearance of other runes on the right panel also seems different from
that on the other panels, but only examination of the Casket itself could clarify this
issue. Nevertheless, the typological distinctness of the right panel seems indubitable.

## 5. Spelling of the conjunction 'and'

Independent evidence supporting the theory that different panels of FC were
produced by different engravers or workshops can be obtained from the analysis
of spellings on the Casket. Although those have been discussed by most gram-
mars of Old English, as well as countless other studies, one spelling peculiarity
appears to have escaped scholarly notice. Namely, the word for the conjunction
'and' appears three times on FC: on the left, back, and right panel. In each case
it is spelled with a different vowel character: the left panel has *and* (Figure 9a),
the back – *end* (Figure 9b), while the right – *ænd* (Figure 9c):

9. Spelling of the conjunction 'and' on FC

a. left panel: 'and'  ᚠᛏᚾ  

b. back panel: 'end'  ᛖᛏᚾ  

c. right panel: 'æᶜnd'  ᚻᚢᚾ  
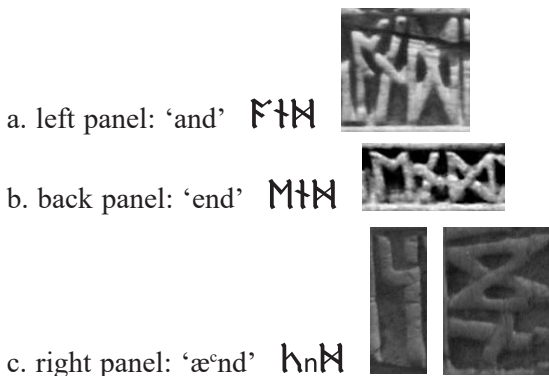
Since this word would not receive stress in any of the three contexts, the diversity of spellings might point to vowel reduction. However, against such an explanation speaks the lack of any reduction in the unstressed syllables of other words, cf. the endings of *hronæs* 'a whale's' (front panel), *afæddæ* 'fed, ind. sg.' (left panel), *hiæ* 'they, acc.' (left panel), or the initial syllable in *giswom* 'swam, ind. sg.' (front panel). This is also confirmed in Campbell (1959, §369), who dates the onset of vowel reduction no earlier than the 2nd half of the 8th c. Therefore, such a diversification of spelling most probably does not arise from phonological processes, but from a diversity of sources and/or engravers. Admittedly, a single runemaster could use diverse spelling and paleographical variants on a single monument. Still, the weight of the evidence presented appears to point against such an interpretation in this case.

## 6. Conclusions

The foregoing discussion has presented the degree to which the panels of the Franks Casket differ systematically. Part of this diversity must have been fully intentional – especially the choice of topics for the miniatures and inscriptions. Yet some degree of systematic diversity between the panels might not have been intended. Pertaining to this category are the three different spellings of the conjunction 'and' on three panels, as well as the sole presence of the runes standing for the front rounded vowels /y œ/ on the left panel. Presumably unintentional might also be the exceptional variety of rune types on the right panel, both the non-cryptic consonants and the cryptic vowels. This is also the only panel whose images and inscriptions have not yet been interpreted persuasively.

As if to increase the mystery, the right panel was detached from the rest for unknown reasons and at an unknown time, only to be discovered in Bargello, Florence, in 1890, nearly forty years after the beginning of FC's recorded history (for complementary accounts of FC's history cf. Napier 1901, 362–364; Viëtor 1901, 1–2). All of the above suggests that research into the matter of the right panel's authenticity would not be unreasonable. If it is authentic, at least a different author or engraver must be considered. In fact, the paleographical and spelling diversity between all panels argues for a reassessment of each panel in view of possible proof for different authors or sources.

## Notes

1    I would like to thank the two anonymous *Anglica* reviewers for all their helpful comments and suggestions for improving the paper. Still, I take the sole responsibility for all the imperfections that still remain in the present text.

2    A persuasive dissenting opinion has been expressed by Vandersall (1972), who argues for 10th/11[th]c. basing solely on art-historical considerations. These cannot be met with informed criticism from the present author because of her lack of expertise in the field. Nevertheless, no linguistic form preserved on FC suggests a date later than the 8[th]c. Such linguistic uniformity seems unattainable otherwise than through current usage. In contrast, stylistic parallels referred to by Vandersall appear far less definite. Therefore the traditional dating is here preferred.

3    More specifically, five words are in Latin, three of those are engraved in Roman letters, while the remaining two – in Anglo-Saxon runes.

4    In later Anglo-Saxon tradition, the name of the rune o 'o' was reinterpreted to mean 'mouth', most probably basing on Latin *os* 'mouth', after the original Germanic meaning of the word *os*, standing for a pagan god, was presumably forgotten.

5    The Old English breaking diphthongised the front vowels /i e æ/ into [io eo æɑ] before /r l w x/; examples: Pre-OE *sæh* > OE *seah* 'he saw', Pre-OE *næh* > OE *nēah* 'near', Pre-OE *fehtan* > OE *feohtan* 'fight', OE *wiht ~ wioht* 'creature' (Kentish), OE *līht ~ līoht* 'light, n.' (Kentish). For detailed descriptions see Luick (1921, §§133–153), Campbell (1959, §§139–163), Lass and Anderson (1975, 74–112), and Hogg (1992, §§5.12, 5.23, 5.25).

6    An anonymous reviewer rightly points out the analogy between the Anglo-Saxon ᛦ 'y' rune and the Scandinavian dotted rune 'y', which closely resembles the former, except that it features a dot in place of the inserted stroke. The Scandinavian 'y' belongs to a wider set known as the dotted runes, which began to develop in the late 10th c. The characters used dots diacritically in order to encode the speech sounds of Old Norse more accurately than it was possible with the 16 characters of the younger futhark. For a comprehensive summary, see Barnes (2012, 92–93).

7    Campbell (1959, §369) does note a few spellings suggesting very early confusion of unstressed /e/ and /æ/, among them <gibroþær> 'brethren' from the left panel of the Franks Casket, where 'æ' occurs for /e/. The change could have been incipient at that time already, but the consistency of the other spellings on the Casket speaks against anything more extensive.

8    An anonymous reviewer suggests mentioning the methodology for differentiating between runemasters on a single monument, developed by Kitzler Åhfeldt (see for instance 2000; 2001; 2002). The method involves statistical analysis of measurements collected from laser scans. However, such tests would be mute on FC because here the runes are in relief rather than incised, as assumed by Kitzler Åhfeldt's method.

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# Noun Phrase Modification in Early Modern English Recipes*

**Abstract**

The study of complex noun phrases and their evolution in early English writings has attracted attention of many scholars (e.g. Norri 1989; Raumolin-Brunberg 1991; Moskowich 2009; 2010; Biber et al. 2011; Tyrkkö 2014). These studies have revealed that the trends in the use of pre- and postmodification in noun phrases have been subject to various changes over the centuries.

The present paper offers an examination of the preferred patterns of noun phrase modification in Early Modern English medical recipes. The study will investigate whether there was a link between the level of the text (learned and non-learned) and the choice of noun modifiers.

## 1. Introduction

Noun phrase modification and its historical development in English writings has been the subject of many scholarly discussions. Most studies on the subject show that the patterns of pre- and postmodification have been steadily changing throughout the centuries.

A number of studies deal with adjective modifiers in nominal phrases. For instance, Fischer (2000; 2001; 2004; 2006) documented the changes in the position of adjective noun modifiers in Old and Middle English texts. In the earliest writings, adjectives occurred before and after the head noun but with time postposed adjectives were gradually lost (cf. also Raumolin-Brunberg 1994). Other historical accounts of the use of adjectives as modifiers concentrated on Middle English (Moskowich 2002; 2009; Moskowich and Crespo 2002; Sylwanowicz 2016), and Early and Late Modern English (Atkinson 1999; Tyrkkö 2014) scientific writings. According to these studies, the use of adjectives in noun phrases might have been conditioned, among other things, by extra-linguistic reasons, e.g. the

etymology of adjectives, target audience of the writings, and/or the technicality of phrases.

Another group of studies focused on the frequency of pre- and postmodification and on the preferences concerning their structural variants, i.e. the use of adjectives and/or nouns as pre-modifiers and prepositional phrases or clauses as post-modifiers. Norri (1989, 159), in his examination of complex noun phrases in Middle English medical recipe collections, observed that there was "no clear-cut distinction between the pre- and postmodification position" and the modern reliance on "premodification in word-formation had not yet developed". Raumolin-Brunberg (1991) compared the use of noun modification patterns in early sixteenth century writings of Sir Thomas More, and concluded that among pre-modifiers adjectives were the most common variant, whereas among post-modifiers, prepositional phrases prevailed. Biber and Clark (2002) tracked the development of modification patterns in four registers (drama, fiction, newspaper reportage and medical prose) over the period of four centuries (from mid 17th to the end of 20th century). Their findings revealed, among other things, the increase in the use of adjectives and nouns as pre-modifiers. Another diachronic study concentrated solely on prepositional phrases, in particular on the development of the prepositions *in* and *on* as noun modifiers in Middle and Early Modern English medical writings (Biber et al. 2011).

The aim of the proposed paper is to examine and compare the use and distribution of noun pre- and post-modifiers in Early Modern English medical recipes aimed at lay and learned audience.[1] In doing so, I shall concentrate on the following two questions: (i) what modification pattern prevailed in the examined material?; (ii) was there a link between the level of the source text (learned and non-learned) and the choice of pre- and post-modifiers?

## 2. Corpus material

The material examined for the present paper consists of recipes found in the *Early Modern English Medical Texts* (*EMEMT*) corpus which is a collection of works that were published between 1500 and 1700. The corpus includes texts representing various medical genres, e.g. theoretical treatises, surgical texts, regimens of health, medical journals or recipe collections and *materia medica*. The proposed study concentrates on the last collection, i.e. recipes and *materia medica* whose texts can be divided into three categories: (i) descriptions of plants/herbs, stones and other examples of *materia medica*, (ii) recipes aimed at learned readers (e.g. medical practitioners, apothecaries), and (iii) recipes aimed at lay readers. Due to the fact that the first category does not include recipes, only the last two groups of texts are included in this study. Altogether the material consists of 1,733 Early Modern English medical recipes, with a total of about 187,640 words.

In order to identify the examples of the noun modifiers recorded in the recipes, it was necessary to read the material thoroughly as there are no automatic methods that would distinguish between, for instance, prepositional noun modifiers and prepositional phrases functioning as adverbials (cf. also Biber et al. 2009). Since the objective of the study is to examine the modification patterns in the noun phrases denoting names of medicaments and ailments, we have concentrated on the headings[2] (title and/or statement of purpose), i.e. the part of the recipe that informs about its content. Usually, they include the name of the preparation or the health problem to be cured, e.g.: *Doctor Stephens soveraign water*, *An excellent cordiall*, *An oyntment to soften all hard lumps*, etc. In addition, noun phrases are the prevailing structures in the headings of Early Modern English medical recipes.[3]

## 3. Analysis of data

The noun phrases examined for the present study have been divided into three groups: (i) examples with pre-modifiers, (ii) examples with post-modifiers, and (iii) examples with pre- and post-modifiers. The analysis will start with a brief discussion of the findings concerning the general tendencies of the use of noun modification in the recipes. Next, specific structural variants of each type of modification and their frequencies will be presented. Special attention will be paid to whether the choice of a modification pattern depends on the level of the source text (learned and non-learned).

Figure 1, which shows the total number of occurrences of the collected noun phrases, reveals that premodification and postmodification of nouns was not equally common in Early Modern English medical recipes. There seems to have been a preference for the use of post-modifiers (almost half of all the records). The question to be answered is whether this tendency was characteristic of all medical recipes (for lay and learned readers).
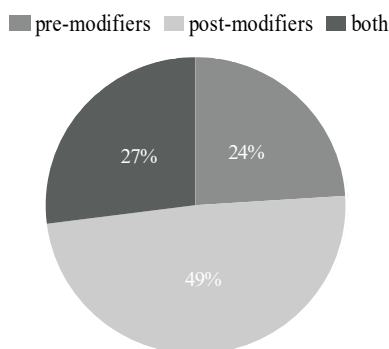


Fig. 1. The distribution of pre- and post-modifiers in Early Modern English recipes

The comparison of the distribution of pre- and post-modifiers in the recipes directed at lay and learned readers (cf. Figure 2) shows that postmodificaton is common in all recipes, disregarding their level. Pre-modifiers, on the other hand, are more frequent in the recipes for learned readers (36% in the recipes for learned readers vs. 22% for lay readers). As regards the examples with both pre- and post-modifiers, these prevail in the recipes for lay audience (29% in the recipes for lay readers vs. 16% for learned readers).
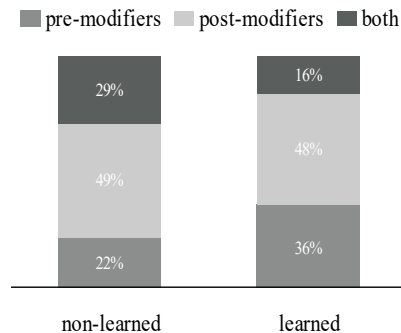


Fig. 2. The distribution of noun modification in the recipes directed at lay and learned readers

The findings suggest that the choice between pre- and postmodification might have been, at least partly, conditioned by the communicative goal that the author of a given text intended to achieve. The Early Modern English recipes written by and for professionals are generally characterised by technical instructional passages and the use of specialised terminology (cf. also Marttila 2010, 104). The authors of these texts usually assumed that the reader would be an experienced practitioner with the same, shared medical knowledge, and there should be no need to repeat or explain what is already known. As a result, we can observe a tendency to introduce more compact noun phrases, especially with reference to the names of medicaments and/or ailments (e.g. *a cordial decoction*, *Dr. Stephens water*, *alumed water*). Hence, the prevailing number of pre-modified noun phrases, which even in Present-day English are often preferred in scientific texts due to their more permanent character, cf. "Premodification is a functional means of creating compact packages of information. It is space-saving and non-redundant; it captures a static, crystallised image of an extralinguistic object, event or process shared by a set of readers." (Varantola 1993, 75).

The fact that there was no significant difference in the use of postmodification in the collections representing learned and non-learned level might be explained by the lack of uniform medical nomenclature.[4] It was necessary to make sure that the potential user (learned or non-learned) of the manual with recipes would easily recognize what ailments should be cured with what remedy. Hence, the

use of post-modifiers that are semantically more explicit than pre-modifiers, they describe rather than classify and are less context dependent. These constructions usually lack ambiguity and there is hardly any danger of misunderstanding (cf. Biber and Clark 2002; Quirk et al. 1985; Varantola 1993), e.g. *a plaster for the temples to stay the humour that falles on the gummes*, *a defensive for greene wounds*, *a cordial for wind in the stomack or any part.*

The use of the noun phrases with both pre- and post-modifiers (e.g. *an excellent comforter of the stomach*, *an admirable remedy against the yellow jaundies*) was also conditioned by the level of the source text. As observed earlier, these constructions prevail in the recipes aimed at lay learners. A characteristic feature of these complex noun phrases is that, as the discussion of structural patterns of modifiers will reveal (cf. also Figure 5), the pre-modifiers are mostly represented by adjectives (in 86% of examples with pre-and post-modification), of which the majority constitute attributive-evaluative adjectives (70%). Moreover, these adjectives are far more frequent in the recipes for lay readers than specialists (66% vs. 4% respectively). Thus, accuracy in naming medical mixtures or identifying a medical disorder was not the only requirement. It was also necessary to convince potential lay readers that the described remedies were actually effective (Marttila 2011; Sylwanowicz 2013; Tyrkkö 2014; Wear 2000).

Another aspect to consider is to see what patterns of noun phrase modification prevailed in the Early Modern English recipes. The noun phrases recorded in the examined material exhibit the following structural variants of modifiers:

**Pre-modifiers:**
(i)  attributive adjective(s) + N, e.g. *a good remedy*, *an excellent cordiall*
(ii)  participial adjective + N, e.g. *a restoring broath*, *a strengthening meat*
(iii) genitive + N, e.g. *Dr. Butlers cordial water, Dr. Stevens his famous water*
(iv)  noun + N, e.g. *A mouth water*, *cinamon water*

**Post-modifiers:**
(i)  N + PP, e.g. *A medicine for the mother*, *syrup of turnips, canker in the breast*
(ii)  N+ Inf, e.g. *a plaster to stop the reume*
(iii) N+ relative clause, e.g. *an oyle that cureth all aches in man, or beast*

**Both (pre- and post-modifiers)**
(i)  attrib adj.+ N + PP/Inf, e.g. *a precyous water for eyes*, *a special medicine to preserve the sight*
(ii)  participial adj. + N + PP/Inf, e.g. *an approued remedy for the toothache*, *an approued medicine to driue away lyce*
(iii) genitive + N + PP/Inf, e.g. *Dr. Bassa's remedy for a bloody vrine*, *Dr. May's juyce to stay rheum and preserve the lungs*

The head noun (N) either refers to the medicinal substance (*remedy*, *medicine*, *oynement*, *plaister*, *syrup*) or the ailment (*ache*, *feuer*, *flux*). The attributive adjectives are mostly of evaluative character (*good*, *excellent*, *precious*, *pleasant*), whereas participial adjectives indicate the curative quality of the medicament (*breaking*, *restoring*, *strengthening*). The noun, as a pre-modifier, provides information on the main ingredient a given medicament is composed of or indicates the body part to be cured with a given medicine, whilst genitive modifiers refer to some authority (usually a contemporary physician). As regards the post-modifiers, prepositional phrases and clauses (relative clause and *to*-clause) are the common variant. Prepositional phrases as modifiers usually indicate an affected part of the body (*ache in bones*, *payne of the guttes*, *a precyous water for eyes*) or the medical problem (*a medycyne for mygrayme*, *A precious oyntment for all maner of Aches*, *a medicine against coughes*), whereas clause modifiers (especially *to*-clauses) provide also information on the curative actions of the remedies (a *sirrup to strengthen the stomack*, *remedies to ease the gout*).

The overall distribution of pre-modifiers, as seen in Figure 3, shows that adjectives are the most frequent variant (about 61%), which is in line with other studies on noun premodification patterns in Early Modern English writings (cf. Raumolin-Brunberg 1991; Tyrkkö 2014). Nouns as pre-modifiers are also fairly common (about 30%), whereas *s*-genitives are marginally represented (9%).
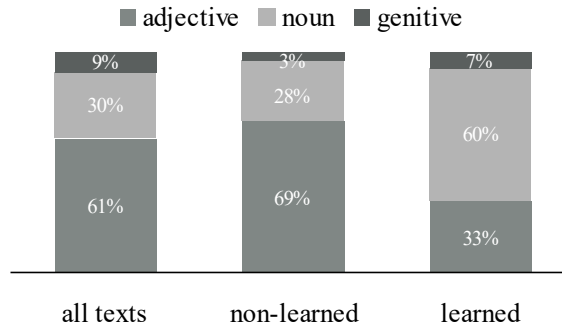


Fig. 3. Pre-modifiers in medical recipes

However, if we consider the level of the source text, the frequency of the pre-modifiers, in particular adjectives and nouns, varies depending on whether they are used in the recipes aimed at lay or learned readers (cf. Figure 3). Adjectives dominate in the first group of texts and constitute about 69% of all pre-modifiers, whereas in the latter texts noun pre-modifiers prevail (about 60%).

The majority of adjectives used as pre-modifiers in the recipes for lay readers are of attributive-evaluative type (about 51% of all adjective pre-modifiers) and their role was to persuade the readers that the prescribed remedy would work. The texts aimed at professionals, in contrast, relied on more classifying/restrictive

modifiers, such as nouns that combine with their heads to form units with a specific reference, mostly to denote the main ingredient (in case of medicaments) or the affected part of the body (in case of references to disorders) e.g. *wormwood water*, *diaquilon playster*, *breast sore.*

■ prepositional phrase ■ that-clause ■ to-clause
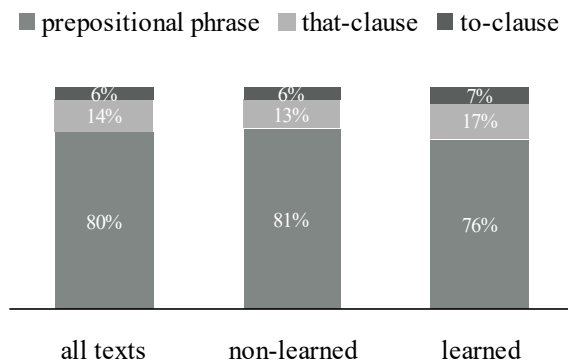


Fig. 4. Post-modifiers in medical recipes

As regards postnominal modification, the prepositional phrases are a prevalent structure, and their distribution in the recipes, both learned and non-learned, is fairly comparable (76% and 81% respectively, cf. Figure 4). This type of post-modifiers includes: (i) *of*-phrases (*payne of the guttes*), (ii) phrases with *for/against* (*a defensive for greene wounds*, *a preservation against the plague*), and (iii) phrases with *in* preposition (*the mygrayme in the heed*). In the recipes for lay readers these phrases are equally represented (28% vs. 26% vs. 27%, respectively), whereas in the learned writings the *of*-phrases are more often used (39% vs. 23% vs. 14%).[5]

Clauses as post-modifiers, especially *to*-clauses, are marginally represented (cf. Figure 4). In general, there is a tendency to avoid reliance on clausal types of modification.

Figure 5 below shows the most common modification patterns of the nouns with both pre- and post-modifiers. As noted earlier, the introduction of such complex noun phrases in medical writings is partly conditioned by the fact that in the Early Modern English period such works were more often accessed by less-learned readers. Hence, most examples of such noun phrases have been found in the recipes aimed at lay readers.

The most frequent pattern is the use of adjectives as pre-modifiers and prepositional phrases in the postnominal position. This distribution is in line with general tendencies concerning variant structures in pre- and postmodification. In these constructions the role of prepositional phrases is to specify the purpose (*a precious oyntment for all maner of aches*) or the concrete location (*the great hete in the mouthe*) of the head noun referent, whereas adjectives put emphasis on the quality of the remedy or describe the features of the head noun referents.
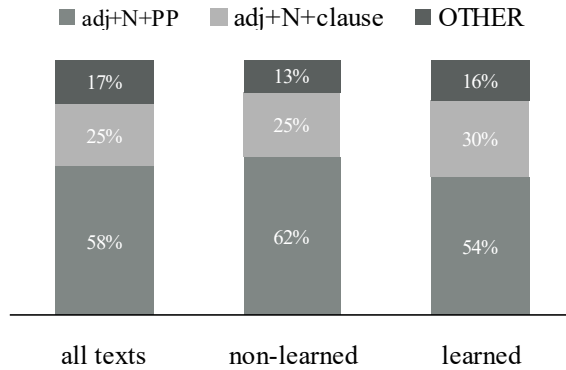
Fig. 5. Noun phrases with pre- and post- modifiers

In the second fairly common pattern (adj + N + clause) the premodifying position is also occupied by adjectives, whereas postmodification takes the form of clauses (mostly *to*-clauses), cf. *a comfortable cordial to cheer the heart*, *a very good medicine to stay the vomiting*, *a soft playster* that *clenseth all foule woundes*. The category OTHER consists of a few examples with *s*-genitives and nouns as pre-modifiers, and prepositional phrases or clauses after the head noun, e.g. *Dr. Giffords amber pills for a consumption*, *Mythridates medicine against corrupt aires*, *the eye-water for all the infirmities*, *and diseases of the eye*, *A dyet drinke to cure the French Pox.*

## 4. Conclusions

The examination of the noun phrase modification in Early Modern English medical recipes shows that a number of extralinguistic factors might have conditioned the choice of pre- and postmodification.

The overall distribution of modifiers in the examined material suggests that postmodification was a prevalent pattern (cf. Figure 1). This tendency, as observed earlier in the analysis, might have been due to the lack of uniform medical nomenclature. Hence, the use of post-modifiers which, being more explicit than pre-modifiers, assure a better understanding of a phrase (here a medical term).

The comparison of the use of modifiers in the recipes aimed at lay and learned readers reveals that the use of pre- and post-modifiers depended, to some extent, on the level of the source text. Although postmodification was equally common in both groups of recipes, in the learned recipes there is an increasing reliance on pre-modifiers (cf. Figure 2). Thus, we can observe modest beginnings towards a more compact structure of nominal structures, which is characteristic of Present-day English academic prose.[6]

As regards the structural variants of noun modifiers, adjectives are the most common pre-modifiers and prepositional phrases are the most frequent post-modifiers. The analysis has revealed, however, that the choice of structural types of modification, especially in case of premodification, seems to have been conditioned by the text level. Adjectives (especially attributive evaluative adjectives) prevail in the recipes directed at lay readers, whereas nouns dominate in a more learned context (cf. also Figure 3). Post-modifiers, on the other hand, are equally common in all text types.

The study has also revealed that pre-and post-modifiers exhibit some semantic groups. Attributive adjectives are mostly of evaluative character (attributive adjectives, e.g. precious, excellent); participle adjectives denote the properties of the head noun; nouns usually refer to the main ingredient of the medicament referred to by the head; *s*-genitives identify the author of the medicament expressed by the head noun. As regards post-modifiers, prepositional phrases indicate the medical problem or the affected body part, whereas clauses provide information on the patient or the curative actions to be conducted.

## Notes

1    Although there have been several historical studies focusing on the use of complex noun phrases in early English medical writings, there is no contribution that would address the use of pre- and postmodification in one genre of Early Modern English medical writing (here recipes).

2    In various publications this part of the recipe is given different labels, e.g. purpose (Stannard 1982; Mäkinen 2004), rubric and indication (Hunt 1990), title (Görlach 1992; Taavitsainen 2001; Alonso-Almeida 2013). The recipes examined for the present study vary in the presentation of the information included in the stage preceding the ingredient part. Some include a clear statement of purpose (*For the Jaundis*, *A remedie for the fallyng sickenesse*), whereas other include only the name of the medicament (*Our Cordial or Plague Water*). Therefore, in the present study, the introductory passage of a recipe – placed before the ingredient part – is referred to as a heading (cf. also Grund 2003).

3    For more on the internal structures of the headings in Early Modern English recipes see Sylwanowicz (forthc.) and Bator and Sylwanowicz (forthc.).

4    There were attempts to systematise and clarify medical terminology. For instance, the College of Physicians (founded in 1518) proposed a publication of pharmacopoeia, i.e. "a collection of formulae for medicinal preparations issued under the authority of some publicly recognised body. It embodied a list of approved drugs and described the various methods of preparing them for administration or use, together with the proper weights and measures to be

employed for accurate compounding." (Thompson 1929, 136). This would "regulate the variety of practices in the production of medicines and standardise medical compositions" (Marttila 2011, 137). However, the Early Modern English period witnessed so many socio-cultural changes that it was difficult to systematically update the latest changes in medical thinking and writing. For instance, the discoveries of the New World resulted in the proliferation of new diseases; a fast development of print culture multiplied the number of medical books, including manuals about healing and nurturing practices written by and for housewives; a growth of literacy and easier access to education brought about more physicians or "self-made" healers who introduced their own "wonderful" medical mixtures (cf. the variety of names for medicaments including references to their authors: *Dr. Butlers cordial water*, *Docthor Price and Mr. Fenton the Chirurgions*, *their excellent medicine for the plague after infection*, *Doctor Hatchers powder against the stone*, etc.).

5    Biber and Clark (2002) in their analysis of the development of postmodification pattern in the medical writings across centuries (17th–20th) show that phrases with *of* were more frequent than those with other prepositions. Similar findings contains Raumolin-Brunberg's (1991) examination of post-modifying prepositional phrases in the 16th century prose of Sir Thomas More.

6    The development of the increasing reliance on "compressed" and more efficient noun phrase structures over the centuries is well documented, for instance, in Biber and Clark (2002).

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# A Survey on the Semantic Field of 'Vagabond'

**Abstract**

How we perceive a certain concept is grounded in the 'language game': the values, prejudices, dispositions, and cultural baggage among its interpretive communities. In other words, there is no 'true meaning' inherent in a word per se; rather the meaning is derived out of what Derrida (1993) calls the 'chain' of signification: the context, history, contingency, and often semantic contradictions that render a word polysemic. Taking off from here, this paper seeks to unpack the social 'constructivism' immanent in the *a priori* assumptions that cloak the idea of the 'vagabond'. While invoking the contingency in the genesis and semantic history of 'vagabond' as a case study, this paper illustrates how meanings of certain heuristic concepts – in this case, 'vagabond', without a fixed referent – are often (re)configured, not because of reasons entirely linguistic, but rather due to changes in the prevailing epistemic paradigms.

## 1. Introduction

"The skeptics, a kind of nomads despising all settled culture of the land", writes Kant ([1781] 1929, 8), "broke up from time to time all civil society". How Kant sees nomadicity – as oppositional to civility and threatening to settledness – characterizes how vagabonds are ordinarily perceived. The 'skeptics' Kant refers to are advocates of (Humian) skepticism – skepticism as a branch of knowledge in analytic philosophy – and, therefore, his chief adversary. On the other hand, Kant's life was 'wholly uneventful', and legend goes that he himself "was a man of such regular habit that people used to set their watches by him" (Russell 1999, 677–678). Given Kant's routinophilic habits, one can understand his sympathy for settledness. The analogy between the 'skeptic' and the 'nomad', therefore, renders the 'nomad' as the complete Other. The imagination of nomadicity, as a voice of dissent always to be refuted, and the tendency to counterpose the 'nomad' against the 'social', however, is not trans-historical.

It would have sounded cogent if the historicist idea of 'progress' embedded in the transition from the nomadic to the agrarian mode of society, notionally speaking, had placed vagabonds in diametrical opposition to civility. But, it is not until the 14th century that we find evidence of the word being used pejoratively. For that matter, the birth of the 'vagabond' only dates back to the 14th century.

What this paper does is a brief survey on the semantic history of the term *vagabond* in the English context. The paper studies the genesis and emergence of the category 'vagabond' and demonstrates how it accrues the negative connotation that the articulation of vagrancy – both its lexical component and conceptual apparatus – is generally associated with.

How we perceive a certain concept, according to Wittgenstein (2009), is grounded in systems of the 'language game': the values, prejudices, dispositions and cultural baggage among its interpretive communities[1]. In other words, there is no 'true meaning' inherent in a word per se; rather the meaning is derived out of what Derrida (1993) calls the 'chain of signification': the context, history, contingency, and often semantic contradictions that render a word polysemic. Taking off from here, this paper seeks to unpack the social 'constructivism' of the *a priori* assumptions that cloak the idea of the vagabond. Dictionary entries tend to 'purify' a concept, delimit its meaning. On the contrary, this paper genealogizes the contingency in the semantic history of 'vagabond', while invoking the "different immediate values or different kinds of valuation, or that we are aware, often intangibly, of different formations and distributions of energy and interest" (Williams 1983, 11) that inform its meaning(s). The concerns here "are not only about meaning; … [but also] inevitably, they are about meanings" (Williams 1983, 16), and more importantly, the "extension, variation and transfer" (Williams 1983, 21) that undercut the process of signification.

## 2. The semantic trajectory

The tendency to criminalize and marginalize the vagabond started in 14ᵗʰ century England, with the passage of the *First Statute of Labourers*[2], which restricted the movement of persons who did not own any land, or were unemployed. Apparently, this was done to prevent the collapse of the feudal structure, in other words, to ensure an adequate supply of cheap labor in the aftermath of the Black Plague. Going back to Kant's observation where he points to an implicit association between skepticism and nomadicity, it seems that the construction of the category 'vagabond' as a functional, but nebulous umbrella started *only* when itinerancy was perceived as 'skeptical', more precisely, resistant to the prevailing relations of power and orderliness in the society.

The chaos and pandemonium that followed the Black Plague, one of the greatest human disasters in Europe's history, left millions crippled and homeless on the streets. As Boccaccio (trans. Hooker 1996) records in the introduction to his *The Decameron* composed during 1350–1353, this is when

> there was no better or more effective medicine against the disease than to run away
> from it; convinced by this argument, and caring for no-one but themselves, huge

numbers of men and women abandoned their rightful city, their rightful homes, their relatives and their parents and their things.

The massive unforeseen and forced migration, back and forth between the city and the countryside, predictably led to lawlessness and these figures were readily looked down upon as rogues and social outcasts. The birth of the 'vagabond', both as a lexical phrase and a new category of itinerant figure, dates back to here. The word *vagabond* owes its origin to Old French *vagabond* with first recorded usage, to be noted, also in the 14th century. Its Latin counterpart *vagābundus* comes from *vagārī*, which means 'to wander'. It is hard not to take sight of the amazing parallel between the historical source of 'vagabond' being traceable to Old French and France being one among the first-hit provinces by the Black Plague immediately after it struck Mediterranean Europe – Turkey, Greece, Italy – before making its way further north and south[3]. It is not at all a coincidence that both the reception of the word *vagabond* and infection by the epidemic in Northern Europe had come from France, but the former is actually a corollary of the latter. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth *OED*) records the first use of *vagabond* in Middle English in 1426, which establishes that the 'trace' of the word apparently chased the trail of the plague barely by a margin of three quarters of a century.

The aforesaid dictionary defines the 'vagabond' as "[r]oaming or wandering from place to place *without* settled habitation or home; leading a wandering life; nomadic". So right from the onset the vagabond is conceptualized on the basis of 'lack'. It is a reductive definition right from the beginning. According to the *Middle English Dictionary* (henceforth *MED*), the noun was used with two (slightly overlapping) senses: (a) "[a] person without a fixed home or occupation, wanderer, vagabond", (which is difficult to distinguish from) (b) "an idle or a shiftless person, a good-for-nothing; also, a criminal". However, the *MED* also mentions that sometimes an itinerant knight would also be referred to as 'vagabond'. At this point, a detour into the semantic history of the word 'vagabond' across centuries would bring out how it went about accumulating an irremovable stigma. In 1426, John Lydgate translates Guillaume's *De Guileville's* into (Middle) English. The *OED* records that the word *vagabond* first appears here: "O thow blyssed Lady, hyde hem that flen vnto the for helpe, and they that be vagabonde, dyscoure hem nat". Here, *vagabond* stands only for a wandering person, still pretty much neutral. The word reappears in Lydgate's *Minor Poems* (ed. [1430] 1841, 256) still without any value-judgement, but simply to convey vagueness: "My poort, my pas, my foot alwey unstable, / My look, myn eyen, unswre and vagabounde". In 1489, *vagabond* is uttered in the same breath with *wanton* and meant to invoke similitude of what in Middle English has been called a *bor*, i.e. a boar: "Man... is hardy as a lyon... profytabyl as a bee, wantoun and vagabunde [L. vagabundus] as a bor, ontame as a bole"[4] (cited in the *MED*). Abraham Fleming,

in 1576, translates Erasmus's *Panoplie Epist.* as *A Panoplie of Epistles*, where the vagabond possibly for the first time has been criminalized and imagined as an entity worth being suspicious about: "The dogge... defend[s] our houses from theeues, vagaboundes, lewde fellows" (cited in *OED*). Milton, in 1644, in the preface to *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* writes:

> What through the brood of Belial, the draffe of men, to whom no liberty is pleasing, but unbridl'd and *vagabond lust* without pale or partition, will laugh broad perhaps, to see so great a strength of Scripture mustering up in favour, as they suppose, of their debaucheries (ed. 1851, 6; italics mine).

It is interesting to note that there is little reference to the figure of a wandering person as such, but the word *vagabond* has been used as an attributive referent to *lust* that is *vagabond-ly* in nature. In order for a word to qualify as a qualitative attribute it must have a fixed set of referents among its 'interpretive community'; and, by 1644, it is not inconceivable for Milton to have known that the grid had already been laid in order for 'vagabond' to act as a metaphor of unrestraint, to be precise, unrestrained lust. In 1726, Defoe invokes the vagabond as the embodiment of Satan: "Satan, being thus confined to a vagabond, wandering, unsettled condition, is without any certain abode; (...) this is certainly part of his punishment, (...) without any fixed place, or space, allowed him to rest the sole of his foot upon"[5] (ed. 1843, 22). The pejorative slant accentuates in a 1785 poem by William Cowper (ed. 1825, 24): "A vagabond and useless tribe there eat / Their miserable meal (…)". The vagabond is not only "useless" but purportedly a "tribe", another ambiguous, discriminatory 'social construct' to crystallize again in the 19th century in contrast to the ostensibly arcadian Romantic ideals. By the late 19th century, medical pedagogy had institutionally acknowledged vagabondage to be a (curable) *dis-ease* still with some feuds in the medical front over its taxonomy[6].

## 3. The legal subject(ion)

The notion of the vagabond in the Western context is intrinsically tied to the idea of a run-away serf, not only feared as a potential criminal but also a 'masterless man' who symbolically heralded the beginning of the end to feudalism. With the authority of the feudal lords collapsing, the Tudor legislation by the Statute of 1351 – the earliest known government intervention – attempted to monitor wages, labor contracts and capture fleeing serfs. After the Peasants' Revolt of 1381[7], legal personnel authorized to apprehend vagabonds were appointed by an Act of 1383 and yet another Act of 1388 insisted that anyone leaving his abode or service must carry letters patent explaining the purpose of his journey. The *Vagabonds and Beggars Act of 1494* stated: "Vagabonds, idle and suspected persons shall be set

in the stocks for three days and three nights and have none other sustenance but bread and water, and then shall be put out of the town" (*The Oriental Herald 4*, 25). In 1535, *The Poor Law* announced that "every sturdy Vagabond should be kept in continual labor", and a part of his right ear be chopped off on a second offence, and on a third be hanged. In 1547, branding and slavery as a punishment for persistent vagrancy was officially legalized. In 1553, influenced by Bishop Nicolas Ridley, the Tudor monarch Edward VI set the example – soon to be followed elsewhere – of founding 'correctional parishes' to 'discipline' the vagrants. The "theatre of the spectacle", to borrow an oft-quoted Foucauldian phrase, involving corporal punishment (such as chopping off a part of the offender's body or hanging him) henceforth would give way, even hastened by the severe flood of 1586, to a new and more effective form of socially engineered disciplinary mechanism, that Foucault (1995; 2013) calls the 'Great Confinement': to imprison the unreasonable, the 'unproductive', and, needless to say, eventually in the context of the English statutes of 1576, 1597, 1610, all with forced labor.

## 4. Intervention of the medical gaze

In 1689, Dr. Hugh Chamberlen takes it upon himself to submit a *Proposal for the Better Securing of Health* recommending facilitation of medical treatment for "all sick, poor or rich (...) for a small yearly certain sum assessed upon each house"; by "house" he means the 'correctional parishes', and

> that the laws already in being may be revised, which provide against the sale of unwholesome food; that bread may be well baked; beer well brewed, and houses and streets well cleaned from dirt and filth; all these being common causes of diseases and death' (Chamberlen, cited by Warren 2000).

At a time when the sick and the poor were increasingly being considered 'unproductive', the predicament of poverty becomes a concern for Dr. Chamberlen. It is indeed anomalous for this salutary act of philanthropy to have come from the court physician that Dr. Chamberlen was at that point of time. However, in bringing the 'unproductive' under what Foucault (2012) calls the "medical gaze", Dr. Chamberlen heralds a structural change in perceiving those that are 'unproductive': integrated into an 'enumerable space' they render themselves to optimized surveillance and demographic mapping. Societies reinforce 'regimes of truth' as historically validated discourses within particular times and places based on the power-knowledge nexus and the one in question here was in transit from a system based on notions of ethico-legal conformity to the law to one based on psycho-pathological conformity to medical institutions (Foucault 1972). As a result, the 'gaze' towards the vagabond changes: vagabondage from now onward would be seen more as a pathological *dis-ease* to be medically cured

than as a legal deviance to be punished. Vagabonds would now be seen as docile agents of demographic control: if and when 'cured', a potentially mobilizable work-force, a significantly important dividend in the light of the germinating Industrial Revolution. The underpinnings of the state-endorsed welfare programs for the vagabonds – as Chamberlen's initiative illustrates – point to the implementation of optimized techniques of disciplinary control envisaged as remedial to the vagabond's abstinence from productive labor.

In one of her passages from *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1833), Martineau recounts reportage of a criminal trial, possibly from some contemporary daily[8], and then goes on to share what seems like her extemporaneous reactions to it. This piece shall provide a number of important reference points for our discussion:

> Yesterday morning, Andrew Wilson underwent the sentence of the law, (...) Though only twenty years of age, he was old in guilt, having been committed for his first offence, – throwing stones at the police, – when he was in his thirteenth year. he is supposed to have been for some time connected with a gang of desperate offenders; but nothing could be extracted from his relative to his former associates, though the reverend chaplain of the jail devoted the most unremitting attention to the spiritual concerns of the unhappy man.
>
> So this is the way we tend the sick children of the great social family, because, forsooth, with all our palaces, we cannot afford a proper *infirmary*! As soon as *symptoms of sickness* appear, we thrust all our *patients* together, to make one another as much worse as possible, (...) [H]onest poor are taxed to pay for the transportation of the guilty, and for the idleness of all: while the incessant regeneration of crime through our prison methods affords but a *melancholy* prospect of augmented burdens on their children's children for similar purposes. In this view alone, how dearly has the public paid for the destruction of this Andrew Wilson, and for the offences of the gang he belongs to! Committed in his childhood for the childish fault of throwing stones, *kept in the state of expensive idleness for want of an apparatus of labour*, thrown into an atmosphere of corruption for the want of room to insulate him, issuing forth as a *vagabond* to spread the *infection of idleness and vice*, and being brought back to be tried and hanged at the nation's expense, after he had successfully qualified others for claiming from the public the expense of transportation, – would not the injured wretch have been more profitably maintained through a long life at the public expense? (...) Every complainant who commits a young offender to certain of our jails knows, or may know, that he thereby burdens the public with a malefactor for life, and with all who will become criminals by his means (Martineau 1833, 93–95; italics mine).

The 'criminal' in question threw stones at the police when he was thirteen years old. This was his first offence, following which he had been rehabilitated, then released, only to end up committing more 'crimes'. And, finally this career 'criminal' was sentenced to death in his twentieth year. The rehabilitation, possibly over numerous times for Martineau presents us with the chronicle of him going

'astray' during the course of these seven years, and the judiciary process involved in the trial was carried out with tax-payers' money. Apprehending that this might have antagonized the public and turned their sentiment against the 'criminal', Martineau herself engages in a polemical inquiry to determine whether impunity or lack thereof leads to escalation of criminal activities. I am not as much interested in the righteousness of her argumentation as I am with her rhetoric. In the first instance, it appears striking that not only 'the spiritual concerns of the unhappy man" eventually to be hanged had been paid attention to, but this was also deemed reportable in the media, the premise being those at the receiving end of the media would likely to have some amount of curiosity towards his "spiritual concerns".

Second, the plethora of medical terminologies in Martineau's response can actually be read as a metaphor of the 'gaze' perceiving crimino-legal deviance as (mental) dis-ease. There are five of those in total: infirmary, symptoms of sickness, patients, melancholy, and infection – all directly provocative of pathogenic references. Martineau's narrative medicalizes crime, wherein the 'criminal' is thought of as a 'patient'. She diagnoses the dis-ease as "the state of expensive idleness", its cause to be "want of an apparatus of labour", and its nature 'infectious'. What is revealed in this exposition is that Martineau's is the tip of an iceberg: the prevailing tendency to medicalize criminality. Foucault (1982) digs up the archival documents – medical, legal, police records – concerning an 1835-incident of some Pierre Rivière excruciatingly chopping his mother, teenage sister, and a seven-year-old brother to death; and reveals "the interaction of those discourses as weapons of attack and defense in the relations of power and knowledge" (ed. 1982, xi). Using Rivière's memoirs as "the zero benchmark to gauge the distance between the other discourses and the relations arising among them" (ed. 1982, xiii), Foucault reveals how the medico-psychiatric discourses of knowledge contended to outpower the crimino-legal discourses in questions of authority and credibility. The 19th century interventionist anatomo-clinical gaze thus pathologized all 'deviances': Rivière's in terms of symptomatizing 'monomania' – a 'disease' no wonder to appear in the medical field around the 1810 only to disappear in the 1850s – while the vagabond's in terms of symptomatizing idleness.

Third, as an analyst of Political Economy, Martineau envisions taxation as a function of idleness. Idleness is as though a vice, the direct impact of which is upon public taxation; and which when 'cured' will bring an end to all social crimes, albeit there is no known empirical correlation between idleness and throwing stones at the cops. Fourth, and the most important of all, Martineau accuses the 'criminal' to have spread the 'infection' of 'vicious idleness' as a vagabond. This pathologization of crime comes as a conduit for criminalizing the 'vagabond'. In other words, the 'clinical gaze' renders the 'vagabond' *diseased:* a clinical subject that functions as the common point of reference from which all aspects of 'infection of idleness and vice', all sorts of 'social unproductivity' must be

spoken of. Speaking of which, in the context of 19th century France, Hacking (1998, 68–69) reminds

> After 1870 vagrancy – vagabondage – became important, and by 1885 tramps were deemed to be a critical social problem… [T]he vagrant signified racial degeneracy, no reproduction, or reproduction of those very features that the French race ought to get rid of.

This clinical gaze is reflective of an 'epistemic shift' away from the legal to the medical discourse on the 'vagabond' in the late 19th century. Immanent in the medical rhetoric is a fervent obsession to 'cure' the vagabond lest she infects the rest of the docile citizen-subjects.

## 5. Conclusion

The narratorial tropes – in the juridico-legal and the medico-scientific discourse – concerning the 'vagabond' over the time point to one central problematic: the concept of the 'vagabond' has no fixed referent, and hence functions as a 'floating signifier'. This is why the paper has avoided probing into a purely semantic history of the 'vagabond'. Likewise, the analysis in the paper is not based on any semantic-linguistic model either. At the best, models may explain how a word means what it means. Words, however, do not exist discretely, they form semantic *fields*, they are interrelated. Therefore, this paper, far from what the modularity of any diachronic semantic study could ever achieve, has worked on an interstitial field, where discourses of semantics, law and medicine concurrently meet. The transience in the semantics and its subjection to the discourses of law and medicine reflect how meanings of heuristic concepts – in this case, the 'vagabond' – have to be (re)configured, not because of reasons entirely linguistic, but rather due to changes in the prevailing epistemic paradigms.

## Notes

1    Wittgenstein formulated this in the first half of the twentieth century. I am using a 2009-edition of his writing.
2    This comes as a precedent to Vagrancy Acts and interestingly enough, the nomenclature alludes to 'labourers', bearing a Benthamite hint toward the friction between vagabondage and productive labor, which I shall take up in detail later.
3    For a quick understanding of the spatio-temporal trajectory of the Black Plague in terms of the European continent, see the animated map available with Wikipedia:

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Blackdeath2.gif>. Website last visited on 3 March 2017.

4    It is interesting to note how animals or animality becomes a cultural trope acting as the core of distillation of the human(e) from non-human, or at least a bad human. There is an enormous body of literary and iconic representations – think of the seven deadly sins in context to the Catholic values – where viciousness is essentially portrayed as 'animal instincts'. Boar here stands for slothfulness; and surprisingly we still say *boring as a pig* in the common parlance.

5    The *Bible* makes quite a few references to the vagabond (*Proverbs* 6:11; *Genesis* 4:12; *Psalm* 109:10; *Acts* 19:13). It would be a productive exercise to inquire how vagabondage has been invoked in these passages, though not any in positive light, and delve into the semantic variations translations. There are also some parallel in Indian myths where vagabondage symbolizes being accursed. This is a vast topic and needs separate attention.

6    Detailed discussion on the aspect of medicalization of vagrancy follows a few paragraphs later.

7    The significance of the Revolt lay in the fact that it came to be seen in retrospect as bringing an official end to serfdom in medieval Europe.

8    Martineau does not mention the source she cites from. The citation appears within parenthesis and in italics in the original, while the italics within her response is mine.

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# War Metaphors in Business:
# A Metaphostructional Analysis

**Abstract**

This paper adopts the notion of *metaphostruction* (Wiliński 2015), the conceptual theory of metaphor (Kövecses 2002) and the corpus-based method geared specifically for investigating the interaction between target domains and the source domain lexemes that occur in them. The method, referred to as *metaphostructional analysis* (Wiliński 2015), is used to determine the degree of association between the target domain of business and the source domain lexemes derived from military terminology. The results of the metaphostructional analysis reveal that there are indeed war terms that demonstrate strong or loose associations with the target domain of business, and that these instantiate different metaphorical mappings.

## 1. Introduction

Over the past fifteen years, corpus-based methods have established themselves as the main empirical paradigm in metaphor research. Originally, cognitive semantic investigations into metaphor were based on either introspective data or examples taken from dictionaries (e.g. Lakoff 1987; Gibbs 1994). Today, the emphasis has shifted towards authentic data and the empirical verification of the previous hypotheses concerning the nature of particular metaphorical mappings (Deignan 2005; Stefanowitsch 2006). This has brought analytical methods, based on observed data, to the focus (e.g. Stefanowitsch and Gries 2006; Steen et al. 2010). In the light of these advances, a number of research studies have been carried out across the field of cognitive linguistics in recent years, with particular emphasis on the investigation of the nature of particular metaphors (Semino 2006), the importance and systematicity of some frequently discussed mappings (Deignan 1999b; Koivisto-Alanko and Tissari 2006), structural properties of linguistic units instantiating particular metaphors (Deignan 1999a; Hanks 2004), textual and contextual properties of metaphors (Koller 2006; Partington 1997) and their cross-linguistic and diachronic differences (Stefanowitsch 2004; Tissari 2003).

The widespread availability of specialized corpora has also created perfect possibilities for the investigation of metaphors in business discourse, such as the discourse of finance (Charteris-Black 2004; Charteris-Black and Ennis 2001; Charteris-Black and Mussolff 2003), marketing (Koller 2008), organization (Oswick, Keenoy and Grant 2002), executives (Koller 2004a), mergers and acquisitions (Koller 2004b, 2005), or related to both general business discourse and more specialized samples (Skorczynska and Deignan 2006; Skorczynska 2012). In applying the framework of the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor and Critical Discourse Analysis to a large corpus of texts from business magazines, Koller (2004b), for example, demonstrated how metaphors of war, sports and evolutionary struggle are used to conceptualize business as a masculinized social domain. Skorczynska (2012), by contrast, compared how metaphors related to building, journey and nautical activities are used in general business discourse and its more specialized sample, project management discourse.

To date, however, little attention has been paid to the application of quantitative techniques and statistical methods to the exploration of business discourse and the verification of previous hypotheses about the nature of particular metaphorical mappings. In addition, no research has been found that focuses on a quantitative analysis of war terms occurring in business and on the identification of the most strongly entrenched military terms in this context. The primary aim of this paper, therefore, is to find out which source domain lexemes coming from the domain of war are strongly attracted to or repelled by the target domain of business (i.e. occur more frequently or less frequently than expected in business). On the basis of the study dealing with war metaphors, the paper seeks to show that there are source domain lexemes that are strongly associated with or repelled by the target domain of business, and that these instantiate different metaphors.

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 presents the theory and the methods; section 3 discusses the corpus, the data, and the tools applied in the analysis; the procedure is outlined in section 4; an overview of the function of war metaphors in business is provided in section 5; section 6 reports the results of the metaphostructional analysis, which are then interpreted linguistically and cognitively; section 7 evaluates the results and provides concluding remarks.

## 2. Theoretical and methodological background

The theoretical background of the paper is based on the notion of conceptual metaphor and the concept of metaphostruction. The conceptual metaphor theory, developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and also associated with Kövecses (2002), holds that metaphor is a cross-domain mapping in conceptual structure: that is, a set of fixed correspondences between the structure of the domain to be understood (e.g. business) and the structure of the domain in terms of which we

understand it (e.g. war). Metaphorical linguistic expressions used in business, by contrast, are lexical units or other linguistic expressions that come from the domain of war: that is, "the language or terminology of the more concrete domain" (Kövecses 2002, 4). The term *domain*, in turn, is usually defined as a relatively complex knowledge structure which relates to coherent aspects of experience (Evans 2007, 61).

The notion of metaphostruction, as proposed by Wiliński (2015), is used to denote a metaphorical construction, a conventional pairing of meaning/function and form, where both meaning and form are interpreted very broadly. The former encompasses cognitive factors, discourse-functional properties, and social and cultural parameters of use. In other words, it should be best examined from a semiotic, psychological and socio-cultural perspective (cf. Gonzálvez-García, Peña-Cervel and Pérez Hernández 2013). The latter is subject to no constraints upon the number, types, distance, and flexibility of the constituents on the condition that the form constitutes one linguistic unit and includes at least one lexical item from the source domain. As for the frequency of occurrence, it may be argued that the greater the frequency of a particular metaphorical expression in a business context, the more entrenched this expression is likely to become in business and thus the faster it acquires the status of metaphostruction (a conventionalized metaphorical linguistic unit). This view is associated with Langacker's (1987) notion of entrenchment (cf. Divjak and Caldwell-Harris 2015).

The methodological background is provided by an extension of *collostructional analysis* (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003; 2005; Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004ab) specifically designed to capture in quantitative terms the mutual attraction between source domain lexemes and a particular target domain. The method, referred to as *metaphostructional analysis* (Wiliński 2015), begins with a particular metaphor (e.g. BUSINESS IS WAR) and investigates which source domain lexemes are strongly attracted to or repelled by a particular target domain (i.e. occur more frequently or less frequently than expected). Although several association measures are possible to gauge the degree of attraction in two-by-two contingency tables, the p-value of a statistical test known as Fisher exact can be chosen as a default. Two reasons are usually given for its application: first, this technique retains precision even with small frequencies; second, it fits the distributional reality of linguistic data (cf. Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003).

Appealing and interesting though the technique may seem, it is fraught with potential pitfalls. While discussing these drawbacks is beyond the scope of the present paper (see Kilgarriff 2005; Schmid and Küchenhoff 2013 for a more detailed critique), some problems for its unbiased applications must be mentioned here. According to Schmid and Küchenhoff (2013, 547), the p-value of the Fisher exact test may cause problems for interpretability. High total frequencies of lexemes outside the pattern influence p-values. Larger frequencies reduce p-values in the comparison with smaller frequencies with the same internal distribution. Despite

these shortcomings, the Fisher exact test seems to be the most appropriate significance test for two-by-two tables, since this makes no distributional assumptions, is not a linear function of the observed frequencies, and can successfully compute low and skewed frequencies better than MI or chi-squared (see Gries 2015, 519 for more arguments in favour of its application).

The corpus-based method applied in the current study entails the following steps: a) to retrieve all occurrences of metaphors under investigation from a corpus by means of a software tool (AntConc); b) to manually extract and calculate all instances of metaphors under study; c) to generate frequency lists of particular metaphorical expressions occurring in a business context; d) to determine the frequency of each military term in business and to create co-occurrence tables; e) to calculate the rest of the 2-by-2 table and expected frequencies by means of Microsoft Excel spreadsheets; f) to evaluate the table by means of statistical techniques; g) to calculate association strengths by means of an on-line Fisher's exact test calculator for two-by-two contingency tables; h) to arrange the results manually according to the direction of association and the strength of association; i) to interpret the results qualitatively and subjectively by grouping metaphors into different types on the basis of introspective judgments. The first five of these steps are concerned with data retrieval, and will be dealt with in section 4. The last step is concerned with how the results can be interpreted meaningfully; it will be covered in section 6.


## 3. Corpora, data and tools

The data to be examined in this study were retrieved from the magazine sub-corpus of the well-balanced *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA*), covering the years between 1990 and 2012. This sub-corpus is composed of approximately 86 million words from nearly 100 different popular magazines, coming from a range of domains such as health, news, home and gardening, religion, women's, financial, business and sports.

Since metaphorical expressions always contain lexical items from their source domains, the first step was to search for whole sets of lexical items from the WAR domain. The choice of lexical items was based on both *a priori* decisions and existing lists of military terminology. Source domain lexemes were retrieved from the corpus by means of a concordance software, AntConc. This concordance was used to search through the corpus for all the occurrences of the lexical items coming from the WAR domain and the immediate context in which each individual lexical item occurred. Each concordance line was then manually inspected to identify the target domain in which these items occurred and, thus, the metaphorical mappings in which they participate. The software allowed for the possibility of the advanced search of the corpus, which relied on the application

of context words (common business terms) and horizons adjusted for size. This alternative query was employed to extract the most frequent lexical items.

The concordance lines were then read one by one and all false hits were excluded from a further analysis. The observed frequencies of the remaining instances of the source domain lexemes in the business context were calculated manually. The rest of the frequencies and expected values were computed by means of Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. The resulting frequency lists then provided the input to the metaphostructional analysis.

All the frequencies necessary for the computation of the association strengths between the target domain of business and source domain lexemes were entered in the 2-by-2 table and submitted to the Fisher exact test. The measure chosen to quantify the degree of attraction was the p-value resulting from this test. In technical terms, given a particular set of observed frequencies of lexical items in the corpus, the p-value measures the likelihood that the distribution actually observed, or a more extreme one, occurs if there is no attraction between the source domain lexeme and the target domain of business. In other words, the smaller the p-value, the higher the probability that the observed distribution is not due to chance and the higher the strength of the association between a military term and the domain of business. This statistical test was performed by means of an on-line Fisher's exact test calculator for two-by-two contingency tables.

In addition to the Fisher exact test, the Odds Ratio measure (OR) was employed to gauge the reciprocal interaction between source domain lexemes and the target domain of business. The notion of Odds Ratio relates the probability which rests on the observed frequencies to the probability based on what "could also have happened given the full set of possibilities" (Schmid and Küchenhoff 2013, 553). As a measure of effect size, the OR calculates the ratio of the odds of the co-occurrence of lexemes and constructions (Küchenhoff and Schmid 2015). In the case of this analysis, it will be used to measure the ratio of the odds of the occurrence of source domain lexemes and target domains. On the basis of Table 1 above, it can be computed as $(^a/_c)/(^b/_d)$ or $(^a/_c)*(^d/_b)$. According to Schmid and Küchenhoff (2013, 555), there is a correlation between Odds Ratio scores and p-values provided by the Fisher exact test: in both cases, an Odds Ratio of 1 is consistent with the null hypothesis that there is no attraction. Thus, small p-values of the Fisher exact test correspond to high Odds Ratio scores, as exemplified in Table 3 below, while low Odds Ratio scores are in line with high p-values, as shown in Table 4.

## 4. Procedure

The procedure adopted to retrieve and calculate the data from the corpus can be illustrated by means of the military term *strategy* from the WAR domain. The

actual frequencies essential for the metaphostructional analysis of this lexeme in the business context are displayed in Table 1 below. The values in italics are drawn from the corpus while the other figures result from addition and subtraction.

**Table 1.** Cooccurrence table for a metaphostructional analysis

|  | *Strategy* | All other military terms | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Military term in business | a: *Frequency of term (strategy) in business* | b: Frequency of all other military terms in business | x: *Total frequency of military terms in business* |
| Military term in other domains | c: Frequency of term (*strategy*) in all other domains | d: Frequency of all other military terms in all other domains | y: Total frequency of military terms in all other domains |
| Total | e: *Total frequency of military term (strategy)* | f: Total frequency of all other military terms | z: *Total frequency of all military terms* |

The initial step entailed searching for lexical items from the source domain of war and extracting all their occurrences in the corpus. In each set of concordance lines, the business context in which the terms occur was then identified, and all the frequencies were calculated manually. The observed frequencies were computed in the following order. First, all the occurrences of the term (*strategy*) in business were extracted from the corpus: 1501. Second, the total frequency of the military term (*strategy*) was determined: 9691. Third, after calculating the frequency of each military term in business, the total frequency of all military terms in business was identified: 19759. Finally, the total frequency of all military terms was estimated: 492243. These four values were obtained from the corpus directly while the remaining ones (that is, the frequency of all other military terms in business: 18258; the frequency of the expression (*strategy*) in all other domains: 8190; the frequency of all other military terms in all other domains: 464294; the total frequency of military terms in all other domains: 472484; the total frequency of all other sports terms: 492243) were the outcome of addition and subtraction. All these frequencies required to compute the direction of association (attracted or repelled) and the strength of association between the military term *strategy* and the domain of business are shown in Table 2. For illustrative purposes, the expected frequency for this item is also given in parentheses.

The next step was to compute the expected frequency of the term *strategy* in the domain of business. This arithmetical calculation was performed in a straightforward fashion. For this lexical unit, its column total was multiplied by its row total, and the result was divided by the overall table total. For example, for the top left cell in Table 2 − the one containing the figure 1501, the column total (9691)

**Table 2.** The distribution of *strategy* in the ʙᴜsɪɴᴇss domain

|  | *Strategy* | **All other military terms** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Military term in business | *1501* (389) a | 18258 b | *19759* |
| Military term in other domains | 8190 c | 464294 d | 472484 |
| Total | *9691* | 482552 | *492243* |

was multiplied by the row total (19759), providing a rather large figure (191484469). This result was then divided by the table total (492243), giving the result (389). In the case of this analysis, these computations were carried out in Microsoft Excel. If the observed frequency of the term *strategy* in the domain of business is significantly higher or lower than expected, the relation between the term and the target domain is one of attraction or repulsion (the lexical item is then considered to be significantly attracted or repelled *metaphostruction* of the domain of business).

The third step required the calculation of the association strength of the term *strategy* and the domain of business. In order to do this, the following four frequencies were used: a) the frequency of the term (*strategy*) in business; b) the frequency of all other military terms in business; c) the frequency of the expression (*strategy*) in all other domains; d) the frequency of all other military terms in all other domains. These were entered in a two-by-two table and examined by means of the Fisher exact test. The p-value resulting from the computation of the Fisher exact test for this distribution is exceptionally small: 0 (i.e. infinite likelihood). This shows that the term *strategy* is highly significantly attracted to the domain of business, but it can only be determined by comparing the observed frequency of the term *strategy* with its expected frequency. As this comparison indicates, *strategy* occurs more frequently than expected in the domain of business. In other words, *strategy* is a highly significant, very strongly attracted metaphostruction of this target domain. The outcomes of this test are relevant and valid on the condition that the procedure is applied to every single military term in the business context. In the next step, the terms were sorted in Microsoft Excel according to their association strength. In the final step, the data were interpreted qualitatively and subjectively. In particular, the military terms that are strongly attracted to the target domain can be grouped into various types of metaphors on the basis of introspective judgments.

## 5. Business is war

The use of metaphors related to the source domain of war when writing about business is a well-established and long-standing convention. Business English textbooks, commentators, newspapers and business magazines utilize military

metaphors as an effective means for enhancing the readers' understanding of the business world. Our understanding of companies and markets is largely structured by the metaphor BUSINESS IS WAR. The cognitive function of this metaphor is to allow readers to understand business by means of a relatively rich knowledge structure pertaining to war. This understanding is achieved by observing a set of systematic correspondences or mappings between elements of the two domains: business competition is a fight or a battle, events and actions in business competition are events and actions during a military campaign, a market is a battlefield, companies are armies, business leaders are war leaders, business strategies are military strategies, the outcome of business is the outcome of war. The following examples, extracted from the corpus, can be provided to illustrate this phenomenon:

(1)  In 1988 he lost a takeover *battle* for Britain's Rowntree to Nestle, but the wily Jacobs came out $300 million ahead.
(2)  Finally, after a marketing *campaign*, it would test for customer perceptions that the company provided superior service.
(3)  Then the company was threatened as competitors *attacked on numerous fronts*.
(4)  (…) the new medicine's entrepreneurs have turned health care into a corporate *battlefield* increasingly governed by the promise of stock market wealth, (…)
(5)  Some construction companies *recruit* workers from Central and South America.
(6)  But by Tuesday morning, it was fair to question what industry *standard-bearers* would find them desirable employers.
(7)  Rarely are they thinking about building an entire marketing *strategy* around educating customers.
(8)  (...) lead some to foresee a correction that will bring fiber-optic firms' valuations back down to earth as companies succumb to technological *defeat* (...)

Business and war have many elements in common and share many attributes, as shown by a number of studies (cf. Liendo 2001; Herrera and White 2000; Prelipceanu 2008; Grygiel 2015, to mention a few). Both are forms of competitive activities involving two or more opponents endeavouring to gain an advantage or clinch a victory. In order to achieve success, companies implement long-term or short-term strategies that can determine the outcome of the competition. In war, armies fight battles in territories, while in business, companies compete for market share. Companies that capture or lose market are like armies that win or lose a war. Armies strive to control occupied territories, whereas companies are interested in controlling multiple market segments. Both business and war deal with important logistic issues that require the management of people and resources. In war, military leaders attempt to predict their opponents' next move; in business, managers seek to estimate their competitors' move.

Since the idea of business as war is reflected in a large number of linguistic expressions, the corpus-based investigation of military terms in the business context may confirm pre-set explanations and assumptions concerning metaphorical mappings and support our intuitive knowledge of the metaphor BUSINESS IS WAR. Given the widespread use of military metaphors in business language, we can expect that there are some military terms that occur more frequently than expected in business as opposed to other domains, and that these linguistic expressions instantiate specific metaphorical correspondences. It can be expected that military terms frequently used in the context of an armed conflict, such as *war, battle, battlefield, attack, kill, combat, defeat, enemy* and many others, will be also strongly associated with the domain of business. The metaphostructional analysis allows us to test and verify such pre-set assumptions and expectations. This may be done by means of identifying military terms that are highly significantly attracted to the domain of business.

## 6. Results and discussion

The data turned out to contain 190 types of metaphorical expressions derived from military terminology. This section, however, will report the results for the most strongly attracted and repelled metaphostructions of the target domain, as it is impossible to present and evaluate the findings for all these military terms in the space here allotted. Table 3 displays the frequencies essential for the computation of the direction of association (attracted or repelled) and the strength of association between source domain lexemes and the target domain of business. It also gives the expected frequencies: (a), the Odds Ratio scores, as well as the outcomes of the metaphostructional analysis ($P_{Fisher\ exact}$) for the 20 most strongly attracted metaphostructions of the target domain. The figures (a, e, x, z) were extracted from the corpus directly, while the other figures (b, c, d, f, y) result from addition and subtraction.

The findings are consistent with the assumption that there are lexical items or expressions strongly associated with, or repelled by, the target domain of business (that is, military terms that are more entrenched in business than others), and that some metaphorical correspondences play a more important role in understanding business than others. For this domain, we find that the ten most strongly associated lexemes are *strategy, campaign, operation, threat, chief, launch, target, lose, officer* and *strategic*, which instantiate different metaphorical mappings. The p-values resulting from the calculation of Fisher exact for these lexemes are exceptionally small (0, 3.89E-263, 1.66E-208, 1.96E-205, 3.09E-185, and so on), while the Odds Ratio scores are high (4.66, 3.17, 3.13, 13.20, 2.85, etc.). In addition, a comparison of the observed and the expected frequencies of lexical items indicates that these expressions occur more frequently than expected in the domain

**Table 3.** The results of the metaphostructional analysis for the twenty most strongly attracted metaphostructions

| | a | x | e | z | b | c | y | f | d | (a) | P_Fisher exact | Odds Ratio |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| strategy | 1501 | 19759 | 9691 | 492243 | 18258 | 8190 | 472484 | 482552 | 464294 | 389.00 | 0 | 4.66 |
| campaign | 1413 | 19759 | 12623 | 492243 | 18346 | 11210 | 472484 | 479620 | 461274 | 506.70 | 3.89E-263 | 3.17 |
| operation | 1128 | 19759 | 10088 | 492243 | 18631 | 8960 | 472484 | 482155 | 463524 | 404.94 | 1.66E-208 | 3.13 |
| threat | 299 | 19759 | 1946 | 492243 | 6654 | 1647 | 485290 | 490297 | 483643 | 27.49 | 1.96E-205 | 13.20 |
| chief | 1160 | 19759 | 11286 | 492243 | 18599 | 10126 | 472484 | 480957 | 462358 | 453.03 | 3.09E-185 | 2.85 |
| launch | 963 | 19759 | 9603 | 492243 | 18796 | 8640 | 472484 | 482640 | 463844 | 385.47 | 1.88E-146 | 2.75 |
| target | 1031 | 19759 | 11023 | 492243 | 18728 | 9992 | 472484 | 481220 | 462492 | 442.47 | 6.84E-137 | 2.55 |
| lose | 2206 | 19759 | 33793 | 492243 | 17553 | 31587 | 472484 | 458450 | 440897 | 1356.48 | 3.21E-113 | 1.75 |
| officer | 835 | 19759 | 8935 | 492243 | 18924 | 8100 | 472484 | 483308 | 464384 | 358.66 | 1.95E-110 | 2.53 |
| strategic | 378 | 19759 | 2624 | 492243 | 19381 | 2246 | 472484 | 489619 | 470238 | 105.33 | 4.06E-101 | 4.08 |
| headquarter | 375 | 19759 | 2725 | 492243 | 19384 | 2350 | 472484 | 489518 | 470134 | 109.38 | 1.99E-94 | 3.87 |
| recruit | 313 | 19759 | 3091 | 492243 | 19446 | 2778 | 472484 | 489152 | 469706 | 124.08 | 5.78E-49 | 2.72 |
| recruitment | 82 | 19759 | 329 | 492243 | 19677 | 247 | 472484 | 491914 | 472237 | 13.21 | 1.09E-40 | 7.97 |
| position | 1120 | 19759 | 19701 | 492243 | 18639 | 18581 | 472484 | 472542 | 453903 | 790.81 | 5.33E-31 | 1.47 |
| retrench | 25 | 19759 | 33 | 492243 | 19734 | 8 | 472484 | 492210 | 472476 | 1.32 | 1.23E-28 | 74.82 |
| wipe out | 117 | 19759 | 997 | 492243 | 19642 | 880 | 472484 | 491246 | 471604 | 40.02 | 1.68E-24 | 3.19 |
| alliance | 227 | 19759 | 2804 | 492243 | 19532 | 2577 | 472484 | 489439 | 469907 | 112.55 | 1.09E-22 | 2.12 |
| war chest | 26 | 19759 | 72 | 492243 | 19733 | 46 | 472484 | 492171 | 472438 | 2.89 | 2.20E-18 | 13.53 |
| recruiter | 55 | 19759 | 370 | 492243 | 19704 | 315 | 472484 | 491873 | 472169 | 14.85 | 1.00E-16 | 4.18 |
| struggle | 513 | 19759 | 9396 | 492243 | 19246 | 8883 | 472484 | 482847 | 463601 | 377.16 | 4.05E-12 | 1.39 |

**a** = Observed frequency of term (*strategy*) in business; **b** = Frequency of all other military terms in business; **c** =Frequency of expression (*strategy*) in all other domains; **d** = Frequency of all other military terms in all other domains; **e** = Total frequency of military term (*strategy*); **f** = Total frequency of all other military terms; **x** = Total frequency of military terms in business; **y** = Total frequency of military terms in all other domains; **z** = Total frequency of all military terms; **P**_Fisher exact = index of the strength of association; **Odds Ratio** = the results of Odds Ratio measures

of business. In other words, they are highly significant, very strongly attracted to this domain. Note also that *strategy* is the most strongly associated lexeme of this domain, since its p-value is exceptionally small: 0 (i.e. an infinitely small p-value). The comparison of the observed frequency and the expected frequency indicates that this metaphostruction occurs more frequently than expected in the domain of business.

*Strategy* and *strategic* instantiate the metaphorical correspondence BUSINESS STRATEGIES ARE WAR STRATEGIES, while the second-ranked *campaign,* the third-ranked *operation* and the sixth-ranked *launch* reflect the mapping THE EVENTS AND ACTIONS IN THE BUSINESS COMPETITION ARE THE EVENTS AND ACTIONS DURING THE MILITARY CAMPAIGN. More specifically, the term *campaign* denotes a series of actions in business that resemble a planned group of military activities. *Operation* is an activity in which business is involved, and this activity is analogous to a piece of organized activity involving members of the armed forces. *Launch* is used to refer to an occasion when a company begins selling new products or services to the public, i.e. an event that is compared to the start of a major military attack. The nouns *chief* and *officer*, which are manifestations of the correspondence THE BUSINESS LEADERS ARE THE WAR LEADERS, are also among the strongly attracted terms, occupying ranks 5 and 9, respectively. The former denotes the person with the highest rank in an organization, while the latter means a holder of a post in a company. The verb *lose,* which appears at rank 8, instantiates the analogy THE OUTCOME OF BUSINESS IS THE OUTCOME OF WAR. In the case of the fourth-ranked *threat,* the possibility of trouble or ruin in business corresponds to the possibility of danger or defeat in war. As regards *target*, close parallels can be drawn between an object of attention in business and the aim of an attack.

*Headquarter* occupies the highest position among the next ten strongly attracted terms, since its p-value is exceptionally small (1.99E-94) and the odds ratio measure is high (3.87). This lexical item denotes the place from which business or military action is controlled. The next group in the ranking is constituted by a range of specific terms referring to recruitment: that is, to the process of finding people to join the armed forces or a company. Its leading lexeme, *recruit* in rank 12, is accompanied by *recruitment* and *recruiter* in ranks 13 and 19. Their indices of metaphostructional strength are 5.78E-49, 1.09E-40, and 1.00E-16, respectively. *Recruit* is someone who is enrolled as a worker in an organization or somebody who is enlisted in the armed forces. *Recruiter*, in turn, is somebody who enrolls people as employees or a person who enlists people as soldiers in the armed forces.

The group associated with *recruitment* is preceded by *position* and *retrench* in ranks 14 and 15. *Position* denotes a job in a company or a place where part of a military force is posted. *Retrench* describes a situation in which a company withdraws from certain markets and cuts expenses. This sense seems to be a metaphorical extension of the basic meaning of the word *retrench* that originally meant 'to retreat to an interior work that cuts off a part of a fortification from the rest'.

Another lexeme in the ranking list is *wipe out.* This term denotes 'to destroy profits, market gains, business, etc.' or 'to completely destroy people or buildings during the war'. Further two strongly attracted lexemes are *alliance* and *war chest.* The former is used to refer to a union between companies or to a union between two countries. The latter, derived from the sense 'an amount of money used to pay for a war', relates to a sum of money used in business. The last position in the ranking list is held by the lexeme *struggle*. This term, coming from the military sense 'to engage in conflict', carries the sense 'to strive to achieve something in business'. If we take all the significant terms into consideration, it turns out that this term is, in fact, a notable exception among the most strongly attracted lexemes, since the top of the list comprises lexical items that are rather loosely related to combat and war.

In the context of investigating the relationship between source domain words and the target domain of business, it may also be worth considering expressions that are not significantly attracted to this domain. The results of the metaphostructional analysis for the 20 most strongly repelled terms in the domain of business are rendered in Table 4. Interestingly, despite their great frequency in the domain of business and other domains, these terms are strongly repelled, since their p-values resulting from the calculation of Fisher exact are very high. Furthermore, the Odds Ratio scores are extremely low as compared to the scores achieved by the most strongly attracted lexemes. A direct comparison of the observed and the expected frequencies for each term also confirms that they occur less frequently than expected in business. Hence, they are strongly repelled lexemes of this domain.

As Table 4 shows, the terms *victory, defeat, war, enemy, attack, fight, invasion, combat, kill, force* and *army* are among the most strongly repelled lexemes in business. *Victory* and *defeat* instantiate the metaphorical correspondence THE OUTCOME OF BUSINESS IS THE OUTCOME OF WAR, whereas *fight* and *combat* evoke the mapping THE BUSINESS COMPETITION IS THE FIGHT OR THE BATTLE. *Invasion* and *kill* are manifestations of the general correspondence THE EVENTS AND ACTIONS IN THE BUSINESS COMPETITION ARE THE EVENTS AND ACTIONS DURING THE MILITARY CAMPAIGN. With regard to *enemy* and *army,* both lexemes activate the mapping THE COMPANIES ARE THE ARMIES OR ENEMY FORCES. These findings are not in line with the hypothesis that predicts the military terms closely associated with war and combat in the majority of the top ranks of the list. One possible reason for this is that a vast majority of these lexemes occur less frequently in business than in other target domains. For example, the term *war,* which directly instantiates the metaphor BUSINESS IS WAR, only occurs 129 times in business as compared to 36649 occurrences in other domains. By contrast, the most strongly attracted term, *strategy,* occurs 1501 times in business in the comparison with 8190 occurrences in other domains. It may suggest that *strategy* is more deeply rooted and more firmly entrenched in business than the term *war,* or at least that it occurs more frequently in the magazine subcorpus of the *COCA*.

**Table 4.** The results of the metaphostructional analysis for the twenty most strongly repelled terms

| | a | x | e | z | b | c | y | f | d | (a) | $P_{Fisher\ exact}$ | Odds Ratio |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| capture | 171 | 19759 | 7312 | 492243 | 19588 | 7141 | 472484 | 484931 | 465343 | 293.51 | 1 | 0.568879 |
| victory | 27 | 19759 | 5381 | 492243 | 19732 | 5354 | 472484 | 486862 | 467130 | 216.00 | 1 | 0.119386 |
| defeat | 41 | 19759 | 3554 | 492243 | 19718 | 3513 | 472484 | 488689 | 468971 | 142.66 | 1 | 0.27758 |
| offensive | 21 | 19759 | 2256 | 492243 | 19738 | 2235 | 472484 | 489987 | 470249 | 90.56 | 1 | 0.223855 |
| war | 129 | 19759 | 36778 | 492243 | 19630 | 36649 | 472484 | 455465 | 435835 | 1476.30 | 1 | 0.07815 |
| enemy | 68 | 19759 | 4503 | 492243 | 19691 | 4435 | 472484 | 487740 | 468049 | 180.75 | 1 | 0.364451 |
| peace | 47 | 19759 | 7597 | 492243 | 19712 | 7550 | 472484 | 484646 | 464934 | 304.95 | 1 | 0.146829 |
| attack | 175 | 19759 | 16219 | 492243 | 19584 | 16044 | 472484 | 476024 | 456440 | 651.04 | 1 | 0.254219 |
| fight | 459 | 19759 | 19584 | 492243 | 19300 | 19125 | 472484 | 472659 | 453359 | 786.12 | 1 | 0.563762 |
| invasion | 7 | 19759 | 2012 | 492243 | 19752 | 2005 | 472484 | 490231 | 470479 | 80.76 | 1 | 0.08316 |
| bomb | 4 | 19759 | 5646 | 492243 | 19755 | 5642 | 472484 | 486597 | 466842 | 226.63 | 1 | 0.016754 |
| flank | 6 | 19759 | 1781 | 492243 | 19753 | 1775 | 472484 | 490462 | 470709 | 71.49 | 1 | 0.080551 |
| spy | 20 | 19759 | 2067 | 492243 | 19739 | 2047 | 472484 | 490176 | 470437 | 82.97 | 1 | 0.232857 |
| combat | 42 | 19759 | 3397 | 492243 | 19717 | 3355 | 472484 | 488846 | 469129 | 136.36 | 1 | 0.297857 |
| win | 979 | 19759 | 33793 | 492243 | 18780 | 32814 | 472484 | 458450 | 439670 | 1356.48 | 1 | 0.698481 |
| kill | 118 | 19759 | 17568 | 492243 | 19641 | 17450 | 472484 | 474675 | 455034 | 705.19 | 1 | 0.156663 |
| army | 32 | 19759 | 12681 | 492243 | 19727 | 12649 | 472484 | 479562 | 459835 | 509.02 | 1 | 0.05897 |
| scout | 42 | 19759 | 6010 | 492243 | 19717 | 5968 | 472484 | 486233 | 466516 | 241.25 | 1 | 0.166512 |
| march | 44 | 19759 | 3528 | 492243 | 19715 | 3484 | 472484 | 488715 | 469000 | 141.62 | 1 | 0.300435 |
| force (n.) | 518 | 19759 | 18613 | 492243 | 19241 | 18095 | 472484 | 473630 | 454389 | 747.14 | 1 | 0.676038 |

## 7. Concluding remarks

The results of this investigation reveal that there are indeed source domain lexemes significantly attracted to or repelled by the target domain of business, and that these instantiate a wide variety of conceptual mappings. It was found that the military terms that are not closely associated with combat, such as *strategy, strategic, campaign, operation, recruitment* and *headquarter,* constitute the majority of the most strongly attracted lexemes in the ranking list. By contrast, it is surprising that the military terms directly related to war and fighting, e.g. *kill, defeat, attack* and *combat,* are strongly repelled source domain lexemes.

As mentioned above, one possible explanation for this lies in their high raw frequencies in the corpus. The lexemes such as *combat* or *fight* occur less frequently than expected in business discourse as compared to their common use in the remaining contexts. *Fight,* for example, occurs 459 times in business and 19125 times in other domains, which may mean that this term is less entrenched in business than in other contexts. By comparison, the terms *strategy, campaign* or *recruitment* appear to be more deeply rooted in the context of business, thus playing a more pivotal role in understanding business issues than *combat* and *fight*. These strongly attracted terms can also be treated as dead metaphors, words and phrases that lost their force and imaginative effectiveness due to extensive, repetitive, and popular usage in business.

Another explanation may be that business is competition, not combat or fighting. Business is a highly competitive activity that involves competing for the market place. It is a competition between companies to find out which one is more profitable and better at selling, promoting, developing and launching new products into the market.

Although business shares many attributes with war and the two have many elements in common, business is not war in the conventional sense of combat, weapons, and killing. Business is not destructive or barbaric. Business is usually fair and adheres to rules. It focuses more on opportunities and less on hazards. Companies create value for customers and contribute to the community. They concentrate on an effective collaboration with customers, suppliers and even competitors to build and popularize the company's vision. Business competition results in success or failure but both companies operate to compete again. Wars lead to defeat or victory, triumph and domination as well as destruction and casualties.

Though business is not war, there is no escaping the fact that business competition is conceptualized in terms of war. Business is the greatest competition in the world. Not only does it require planning and strategy, but it uses military metaphors to motivate employees, to lift their spirits or "rally the troops" towards success and victory. Military metaphors are used to excite and arouse interest in competition, to inspire a collective labour force, to issue a challenge, to praise

good performance, to impose discipline, to reinforce hierarchy, and to hold and keep power.

Business is also construed as military conflict by the press, where everything should be appealing, extraordinary, shocking and sensational. Thus, the primary function of military metaphors in magazines might be to interpret facts in a way that attracts the readers' attention. Journalists aim to stimulate interest and generate excitement among readers, without creating difficulties in understanding. In order to do so, they evoke the simplicity and straightforwardness of military actions and events. This way of enriching understanding is used to make business easily comprehensible to the average reader and to enhance its attractiveness by giving examples of metaphors that build action and suspense as well as provide power and aggressiveness to the commentary.

Another reason why military metaphors are so pervasive in the business context may be that their use provides a more coherent description of activities and events in business by establishing metaphorical correspondences between business and war. As discussed earlier, metaphors are employed to order, structure and understand abstract concepts. Figurative expressions, therefore, appear to be indispensable tools used to establish connections between actions that would otherwise be difficult to link.

The method adopted in this study may be applied to other target domains. Further research might explore the productivity of particular metaphorical correspondences, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic similarities and differences in the metaphorical conceptualization of abstract concepts, and the importance of particular metaphorical mappings for given target domains. It would be also interesting to compare and contrast the military metaphors found in English and their counterparts in Polish or German or to compare the use of military metaphors in two different target domains, e.g. in politics and business. Given that the current study was restricted to the magazine sub-corpus of *COCA*, it is recommended that a comparative study of metaphors in the magazine sub-corpus and the spoken sub-corpus be undertaken, in view of the possible existence of linguistic variation in these corpora.

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# Lying and Misleading
# within the Philosophy of Language:
# A Relevance-Theoretic Perspective

**Abstract**

The aim of the paper is to examine the lying/misleading distinction from a relevance-the-oretic perspective (cf. Sperber and Wilson [1986] 1995; 2004; Wilson and Sperber 2002; 2012). On standard accounts, the distinction is drawn parallel to the saying/implicating distinction. 'What is said', rooted in Grice (1975), has been subject to extensive discussion and numerous reanalyses under a variety of terms (see, for example, Recanati 1993; Bach 1994; Carston 2002), but no agreement has been reached as to the content of 'what is said' and the borderline between 'what is said' and 'what is implicated'. Accordingly, within the philosophy of language the attempts to capture the lying/misleading distinction (Meibauer 2005; 2011; 2014ab; Saul 2012ab; Stokke 2013; 2016) rely on different notions of 'what is said'. The paper is an attempt to take a stance in the debate on the distinction under discussion from the perspective of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson [1986] 1995; 2004; Wilson and Sperber 2012), which is a cognitive extension and modification of Gricean model of communication and has been seriously concerned with the elaborated concept of what is said, known as 'explicature'. One of our goals is to see how the rele-vance-theoretic understanding of "what is said" (Carston 2002; 2009; 2010; Carston and Hall 2012) affects the lying/misleading distinction, and the other way round. In an attempt to provide ground for the relevance-theoretic account, a critical overview and comparison of the existing approaches to lying and misleading is also presented.

## 1. Introduction

Following the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED* 1989) definition of lying, *to lie* is to make a false statement with the intention to deceive. Within philosophy the most common definition of lying views it as saying something one believes to be false with the intent to deceive one's listener, i.e. to get the listener to believe the statement to be true (cf. Augustine c395, ed. Deferrari 1952; Bok 1978; Kupfer 1982; Primoratz 1984; Davidson 1985; Williams 2002; Fallis 2009, Carson 2010). It has been noted, however, that lying is not the only way of deceiving. The speaker may deceive the hearer while avoiding outright lying, by merely misleading (Green

2001). Recently, the lying/misleading distinction has been discussed within the philosophy of language (cf. Meibauer 2005; 2011; 2014ab; Saul 2012ab; Stokke 2013; 2016), where **lying** is classically equated with deceiving by saying/asserting what one believes to be false, while **misleading** with deceiving by saying/asserting what one believes to be true and conversationally implicating what one believes to be false.

Let us illustrate this distinction with the examples from Saul (2012a) and Stokke (2016). In (1) we are faced with President Bill Clinton's famous present-tense denial of a past relationship with Monica Lewinsky that nearly led to his removal from office.

(1)  Bill Clinton: There is no improper relationship. (Saul 2012a, 2)

The choice of the present-tense denial rather than *There has never been a sexual relationship* is an instance of a phrasing strategy aimed to avoid lying by merely misleading. Although Clinton did not lie in uttering (1) as his relationship with Monica was in the past, he initially misled the audience into thinking that he had never had an improper relationship with her. Had he said it explicitly, it would have counted as a lie and perjury.

Similarly, the classic contrast between lying and merely misleading can be illustrated by the contrast between the dialogues in (2) and (3).

Context: Dennis is going to Paul's party tonight. He has a long day of work ahead of him before that, but he is very excited and can't wait to get there. Dennis's annoying friend, Rebecca, comes up to him and starts talking to him about the party. Dennis is fairly sure that Rebecca won't go unless she thinks he's going, too.

(2)  Rebecca: Are you going to Paul's party?
     Dennis: No, I'm not going to Paul's party.
(3)  Rebecca: Are you going to Paul's party?
     Dennis: I have to work. (Stokke 2016, 85)

Whereas in both cases Dennis conveys the false information that he is not going to Paul's party, only in (2) Dennis's utterance is a case of lying; this is because only in (2) the false information is said/asserted. His utterance in (3) is a case of misleading since the false information that he is not going to Paul's party is not said or asserted but is conversationally implicated on the basis of a truly asserted proposition that Dennis has to work.

Whereas traditional accounts of lying adopted Kant's (1797) position that lying is never morally justified and, consequently, that lying is always morally worse than merely misleading, the recent research has led philosophers to a conclusion that there is no significant moral difference between lying and misleading. Although

sometimes there may be no moral difference between lying and misleading, obviously there is a linguistic difference. Since the paradigm cases of lying involve the speaker **saying** something false and the paradigm cases of misleading while not lying are cases where the speaker **says** something true in order to conversationally **implicate** something false, it seems indispensable to define the notion of 'saying' as opposed to 'implicating' in order to define the lying/misleading distinction. Philosophical and pragmatic literature abounds in the accounts of 'what is said', which has been discussed under a variety of terms, but naturally there is no agreement as to the content of 'what is said' and the borderline between 'what is said' and 'what is implicated'. Consequently, the distinction between lying and misleading is understood differently depending on the notion of "what is said" adopted in the theoretical framework.

Our concern in the present paper will be with the understanding of 'lying' as opposed to 'misleading' within the philosophy of language and pragmatics, with the focus on the relevance-based understanding of the distinction. Since both classic and most recent accounts of the lying/misleading distinction have been rooted in Grice (1975), in section 2 we present selected aspects of Paul Grice's inferential model of communication. In our attempt to provide ground for the relevance-theoretic account of the lying/misleading distinction (section 4), we also offer a critical overview and comparison of recent approaches to lying and misleading (section 3).


## 2. Grice (1975; 1978): saying and implicating

As the notions of 'saying' and 'implicating' are crucial for the lying/misleading distinction within the current philosophy of language, let us have a closer look at how they have been defined in the Gricean model of communication (1975; 1978), which was a kind of breakthrough due to its assumption that communication is inferential in nature and what speakers mean by their utterances usually goes far beyond a code. According to Grice, the total signification of an utterance may be divided into what is said and what is implicated. 'What is said' is the output of decoding of the conventional meaning of the words, disambiguation and reference assignment, which can be grasped by entailments (truth-conditions). 'What is implicated' is the other part of the total signification of an utterance, within which one can distinguish, for example, 'what is conversationally implicated': the speaker's meaning, which goes beyond the conventional force of the utterance (i.e. linguistically encoded meaning) and may be described in terms of the Cooperative Principle (the CP) and its four maxims (Quantity, Quality, Relation, Manner), cf. Grice ([1975] 1989, 26). This type of meaning may be grasped by generalized and particularized conversational implicatures, which are beliefs that the hearer attributes to the speaker in order to preserve the assumption that the speaker was obeying at least the CP in saying what he said.

The maxim which makes direct reference to the notions of truth, falsity and saying is **the Maxim of Quality**, which requires that the speaker should make his contribution one that is true. i.e. should not say what he believes to be false (maxim of truthfulness) or that for which he lacks adequate evidence. Consequently, on Grice's account lies are interpreted as covert violations of the Maxim of Quality and the Co-operative Principle, where the hearer is meant to assume that the maxim of truthfulness is still in force and that the speaker believes what he has said. The Gricean norm of quality of communication – "Do not say what you believe to be false" (Grice [1975] 1989, 27) – has been adopted in one of the alternative definitions of lying by Fallis (2009), which reads as follows: **to lie** is to make a believed-false statement to another person while believing that the context is one in which the norm 'Do not say what you believe to be false' is in effect. Thus, we deal with a lie when the speaker makes the untruthful statement believing that she is in a context in which the Gricean maxim of truthfulness is in place, as illustrated by (4) below[1]:

Context: John's surname is Brown and B knows this.
(4)   A: What's John's surname?
      B: Smith.

In the following section we offer an overview of selected approaches to the lying/misleading distinction, with the aim of developing a relevance-theoretic stance on the matter.

## 3. Lying and misleading distinction: a critical overview

### 3.1. Meibauer (2005; 2011; 2014ab)

One of the approaches deeply rooted in Grice's account of communication and theory of implicature is Jörg Meibauer's account, which views lying in the context of Searle's speech act theory (1969) as a speech act of insincere assertion aiming at influencing the hearer's belief (2011, 277, 280, 289). Meibauer (2014a, 106) derives sincerity from felicity conditions for speech acts or from the operation of the Gricean Co-operative Principle and the Maxim of Quality. He maintains that truth and sincerity constitute a pragmatic relation: "what the speaker truthfully utters", as opposed to truth and truthfulness, which constitute an epistemic relation: "what the speaker believes and knows" (Meibauer 2014a, 71).

The crucial claim made by Meibauer is that "it is possible to lie while saying the truth" (2014a, 113) by intentionally using false implicatures as illustrated in (5) and (6). Accordingly, Meibauer obliterates the lying/misleading distinction drawn parallel to the saying/implicating distinction. On his account both deceiving

by assertion and deceiving by implicature count as cases of lying: "deliberately implicating what is false is a part of the complete act of lying" (2014b, 97).

Context: John is Mary's boyfriend. Valentino is her ex-boyfriend. Valentino has been sick with mononucleosis for the past two weeks. Mary saw Valentino yesterday.
(5)  John: Mary, have you seen Valentino lately?
     Mary: Valentino has been sick with mononucleosis for the past two weeks.
     (adapted from Meibauer 2014b, 98, after Coleman and Kay 1981)

Context: Ken knows for sure that the person to be met is X's wife.
(6)  Ken: X is meeting a woman this evening (Grice [1975] 1989, 37)
     Conversational implicature: The person to be met is someone other than X's wife.

Meibauer postulates two levels of interpretation of Mary's utterance in (5): (a) The asserted proposition that Valentino has been sick for two weeks is true, (b) The implicated proposition that Mary hasn't seen Valentino lately is false, i.e. is an instance of **lying**. Similarly, he claims that if Ken utters *X is meeting a woman this evening*, knowing that the person is X's wife, then Ken is **lying** because he conversationally implicates that the person to be met was someone other than X's wife. Although what Ken asserts is true (if it is true that he is meeting his wife, it must be true that he is meeting a woman), he is still **lying**, according to Meibauer, as he leads his addressee into the false belief that the person to be met was someone other than X's wife via conversational implicature. As the interpretation of the examples shows, on Meibauer's account "cases of "misleading" are not separated from "proper" lying, they are "part of the overall act of lying" (Meibauer 2014a, 154), so the lying/misleading distinction made parallel to the saying/implicating distinction is not acknowledged. We get an extended understanding of lying that includes untruthful assertions as well as intentionally untruthful implicatures, which is reflected in Meibauer's extended definition of lying (with S = Speaker, p = propositional content, q = conversational implicature):

*Lying: extended definition*
A speaker S lies iff
a.  s/he asserts that p while not believing that p, or
b.  s/he conversationally implicates on the basis of her/his assertion that q while not believing that q (2014b, 98)

To sum up, according to Meibauer, first, lying requires an intention to deceive (2014b, 106). Second, the speaker is committed to the (false) assertion in the same way as to the (false) implicature (2014b, 107): "lies, be they realized

by untruthful assertion or by untruthful conversational implicature (…) can never be cancelled and never be clarified; all the speaker can do is deny that s/he lied or to confess that s/he lied" (2014b, 110). Finally, deliberately false implicatures are not a case of misleading. Accordingly, a question arises how Meibauer understands misleading. He seems to give an answer claiming that "misleading has to do with utterances that invite for misunderstandings. Untruthful implicatures are a different case, because they are intended" (2014b, 114). To illustrate this claim, Meibauer discusses the example in (7a) adopted from Saul (2012a, 33).

BILLY AND THE EMPIRE STATE BUILDING
Context: Imagine that I watch Billy go to the top of the Empire State Building and jump up and down three times. Reporting on what I saw, I utter *Billy went to the top of the Empire State Building and jumped*, not realizing  how my audience will interpret me. My audience interprets me as claiming that Billy jumped off the edge of the building.

(7a)  Billy went to the top of the Empire State Building and jumped.
(7b)  Billy went to the top of the Empire State Building and jumped [off the edge of the building]

Meibauer (2014b, 114) claims that either (7a) is a case of misunderstanding, that is, the hearer infers something which was not intended by the speaker or the speaker has the intention to lead the hearer into the false belief that Billy committed suicide. In this case, the speaker falsely implicates (7b). When it is a case of misunderstanding that could have been avoided by an alternative wording, for example *Billy went to the top of the Empire State Building and jumped up and down three* times, (7a) is regarded as an instance of misleading. When it, however, communicates an intended untruthful implicature, it counts as lying. There are at least two kinds of problems with Meibauer's account, which will be discussed in detail in the Conclusions of the paper.

## 3.2.  Saul (2012ab)

Another account of the lying/misleading distinction is put forward by Jennifer Saul (2012ab). The notion of *saying* plays a crucial role in this distinction. Whereas lying requires *saying,* understood in a certain way, misleading involves conveying information one believes to be false while avoiding *saying* it. Saul (2012a, 71) additionally gives two main characteristics of misleading, which differentiate it from lying. First, 'misleading', unlike 'lying', is a success term. For A to mislead B, B has to believe A, whereas A can lie to B even if B does not believe A. Second,

lying, unlike misleading, must be deliberate, i.e. A cannot accidentally lie to B, but A can accidentally mislead B.[2]

According to Saul, without the notion of what is said, the lying/misleading distinction would be obliterated, with the result that every intentional deception would be regarded as a lie. Consequently, the definition of lying that Saul adopts crucially involves what is said and acts like a constraint on a satisfactory conception of saying for the lying/misleading distinction:

> Lying (Complete):
> If the speaker is not the victim of error/malapropism or using metaphor, hyperbole, or irony, then they lie iff (A) or (B) holds:
> (A) (1) They say that P; (2) They believe P to be false; (3) They take themselves to be in a warranting context.
> (B) (1) They say something indeterminate across a range of acceptable propositions in the range CP1...CPn; (2) for each complete proposition in the range CP1...CPn, they believe that proposition to be false; (3) They take themselves to be in a warranting context (Saul 2012: 65)[3].

The question arises which of the existing notions of what is said has been adopted by Saul in her definition of lying. Saul admits that none of the existing conceptions of what is said and related notions is adequate to the lying/misleading distinction: "Despite the vast literature on saying, we don't yet have a notion suitable for doing the work needed by the lying/misleading distinction" (Saul 2012a, 3). She does not aim, however, to show that any theory of saying is the right theory (or the wrong theory) of saying. She merely wants to discover which is the right theory of saying for a particular purpose – drawing an intuitive distinction between lying and misleading. Eventually, Saul (2012a, 55) comes to the conclusion that the notion of saying that she needs for the lying-misleading distinction should allow for completion and disallow expansion (for the definition of these two processes, see Bach 1994)[4]. In order to capture this sort of notion of saying, she adopts the broader concept of what is said and rules out cases of expansion by introducing a necessary condition for when a contextual contribution counts as a part of what is said, i.e. Needed for Truth Evaluability:

> (NTE) A putative contextual contribution to what is said is a part of what is said only if without this contextually supplied material, S would not have a truth-evaluable semantic content in C. (Saul 2012a, 57)[5]

The examples below illustrate Saul's understanding of the lying/misleading distinction as determined by the conception of what is said that has been presented above and that she eventually adopted for her analysis.

Context: Imagine a hospital room. Dave is lying in bed, and two nurses, Fred and Gertrude, are discussing the treatment he needs. Ed holds up a bottle of heart medicine, points at it, and utters (8a) Fred, who hates Dave, wants him to die, and plans to bring this about by denying him his much-needed heart medicine, replies with (8b):

(8a)   Ed: Has Dave had enough?
(8b)   Fred: Dave's had enough.
(8c)   Completion: Dave's had enough heart medicine. (Saul 2012a, 62)

As Saul notes, Fred's reply is intuitively a clear case of lying. And it is clear that, together with the claim that lying requires *saying*, (NTE) captures this. For Fred's utterance to express a truth-evaluable proposition, the semantic content of (8b) requires completion (contextual supplementation). In this context the salient completion is the one illustrated in (8c), which is meant by the speaker and grasped by the audience. Therefore, according to (NTE), Fred counts as having *said* (8c), which explains why his utterance is a lie.

BILLY AND THE EMPIRE STATE BUILDING (Saul 2012a, 33)
Context: Imagine that I watch Billy go to the top of the Empire State Building and jump up and down three times. Reporting on what I saw, I utter (7a), not realizing how my audience will interpret me. My audience interprets me as claiming (7b).

(7a)   Billy went to the top of the Empire State Building and jumped.
(7b)   Expansion: Billy went to the top of the Empire State Building and jumped [off the edge of the building].

An utterance of (7a), repeated here for the sake of convenience, is a clear case of misleading on Saul's interpretation. A typical utterance of (7a) is taken to mean what would be typically said by an utterance of (7b). According to Saul, the contextual enrichment about a sort of jumping is not, however, necessary for the utterance to express a truth-evaluable proposition; it is a matter of expansion and as such it does not contribute to what is said. Consequently, although the claim in (7b) is false, the speaker of (7a) did not lie: he did not deliberately or accidentally say anything false, he merely implicated something false. Intuitively, his utterance is true but misleading because what is said does not include anything about what sort of jumping took place.

        The lying/misleading distinction is nicely illustrated in (9) and (10) below, which are also designed to prove that lying is not always morally worse than misleading.

Context: George makes dinner for Frieda. He knows that Frieda has a peanut allergy and even a small amount of peanut oil could kill her. He wants to kill

Frieda, so he has cooked with peanut oil. Frieda, being rightly cautious, asks whether George has put any peanuts in the
meal. George utters the true but misleading (9) rather than the false (10).
(9)    George: No, I didn't put any peanuts in the meal.
(10)   George: No, it's perfectly safe for you to eat. (Saul 2012a, 73)

Saul claims that it is doubtful that this choice of George's makes his act even slightly better due to his avoidance of lying. "In this case, misleading is in no way morally preferable to lying" (Saul 2012a, 72).


## 3.3. Stokke (2013; 2016)

Still another person who has examined the linguistic distinction between lying and misleading from the perspective of the philosophy of language is Andreas Stokke (2013; 2016), who acknowledges that "lying requires assertion and assertion requires saying something, as opposed to conveying information in indirect ways, e.g., by conversational implicature" (2016, 85). Although he admits that the central part of an account of the distinction should be the notion of what is said, he claims that "it is likely that the notion of saying that is required for a proper analysis of the lying-misleading distinction is not a notion of truth-conditional content, but rather a notion that tracks information that speakers count as committed to (…), given the context and the prior discourse" (Stokke 2013, 354). To paraphrase, Stokke (2016) argues that the distinction between lying and misleading while not lying is sensitive to discourse structure and, in order to capture it, we need discourse-sensitive notions of saying and asserting. Namely, what is said by an utterance in a particular context depends directly on the *question under discussion* (QUD) that is addressed in that context and, more precisely, is the answer an utterance provides to the QUD it is addressing. Although Stokke agrees with Saul (2012a) that what is said may go beyond linguistically encoded meaning, he maintains that it should be strictly constrained by a minimal kind of compositional meaning. Accordingly, in his view, what is said by a sentence in a context is determined systematically by the linguistic meaning of the sentence and the configuration of QUDs in the context, and can be defined as "the weakest answer to a QUD that entails a minimal proposition expressed by the utterance in question, given the context" (Stokke 2016, 108).

The adopted definition of what is said has a direct influence on the drawing of the lying/misleading distinction within Stokke's framework. Since lying requires saying something as opposed to implicating, the distinction is sensitive to the information structure of the discourse. Whether an utterance is a lie or is merely misleading depends on the topic of conversation, represented by questions under discussion. Deception is like "disrupt(ing) the pursuit of the goal of inquiry"

(Stokke 2016, 104), i.e. the pursuit of truth. Whether this disruption is judged to be a case of lying or merely misleading is determined by how one's utterance relates to the QUD one is addressing.

Let us consider the examples in (11) and (12) to substantiate the claim above.

Context: At an office Christmas party, William's ex-wife, Doris, insulted her boss, Sean. Nevertheless, Sean took the incident lightly, and their friendly relationship continued. More recently, Doris lost her job in a round of general cut backs, but, despite this, Doris and Sean have remained friends. Sometime later, William is talking to Elizabeth, who is interested in hiring Doris. However, William does not want Elizabeth to give her a job.

(11)  Elizabeth: Why did Doris lose her job?
      William: She insulted Sean at a party.
(12)  Elizabeth: How is Doris's relationship with Sean?
      William: She insulted him at a party. (Stokke 2016, 90)

Stokke claims that Williams's utterance, in each case, is deceptive and expresses the minimal proposition that Doris insulted Sean at a party, but the same utterance in (11) is a lie, while in (12) it is merely misleading. The difference between the dialogues in (11) and (12) and, respectively, between lying and misleading can be attributed to previous discourse structure, i.e. a question being addressed. Whereas in the case of lying the answer is provided directly, or explicitly, in the case of misleading the answer is supplied indirectly, or implicitly. The content that is taken to be communicated by William's utterance in (11) – the disbelieved proposition that Doris lost her job because she insulted Sean at a party – entails the minimal proposition expressed by the utterance, and therefore, this proposition is said, and asserted, by William's utterance. This explains why William is claimed to be lying in (11). By contrast, the content that is taken to be communicated by William's utterance in (12) – disbelieved information that the relationship is not good – does not entail this minimal proposition, and therefore, it is not asserted but implicated by the utterance, which explains why William is merely misleading in (12). According to Stokke, this difference cannot be explained by discourse-insensitive accounts like Saul's (2012a)[6].

Stokke (2016, 91) makes an interesting observation that the use of the contrast between assertion and conversational implicature to exemplify the difference between lying and merely misleading follows from the fact that it represents a contrast between a committing and a less committing way of communicating. Whereas lying involves commitment to the misleading information one conveys, utterances that are misleading but not lies avoid this type of commitment, as exemplified below:

(11')  Elizabeth: Why did Doris lose her job?
       William: She insulted Sean at a party.

> Elizabeth: Oh, so he fired her because of that?
> William: #No, that wasn't the reason.

(12') Elizabeth: How is Doris's relationship with Sean?
> William: She insulted him at a party.
> Elizabeth: Oh, so they're not on good terms?
> William: No, they're still friends.

In (11'), where Williams deceives by lying, he is committed to the untrue information and there is no possibility for him to claim that he did not intend to convey the false proposition that Doris lost her job because she insulted Sean at a party. In (12'), on the contrary, William is merely misleading without lying, so he is not committed to the false information and can subsequently retreat from the misleading implicature he conveys.

Another difference between lying and misleading pointed out by Stokke (2016) is that a lie can be explicitly denied, while a merely misleading utterance does not permit such denials, but typically requires questioning the speaker's intentions. This is illustrated by (11") and (12"):

(11") Elizabeth: Why did Doris lose her job?
> William: She insulted Sean at a party.
> Garry: No, that wasn't the reason!

(12") Elizabeth: How is Doris's relationship with Sean?
> William: She insulted him at a party.
> Garry: #No, their relationship is fine!/Wait, are you trying to make her believe they're not on good terms?

Stokke's view deserves a thorough critical evaluation and empirical verification, which is, however, beyond the scope of this paper. His approach is valuable to us as far as it provides arguments in favour of the relevance-theoretic distinction between lying and misleading, which will be shown in section 4 of the paper.

## 4. Lying and misleading: a relevance-theoretic perspective

Although the saying/implicating distinction has been widely discussed within literature, it has been scarcely examined with reference to the notion of lying, with the exception of a few cases selectively described in the paper. A theory which is rooted in Grice and is seriously concerned with redefining his notion of what is said as opposed to what is implicated is Relevance Theory, a highly influential cognitive theory of human communication developed by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson (cf. Sperber and Wilson [1986] 1995; Wilson and Sperber 2002; 2012). Surprisingly, despite the vast theoretical and empirical research within

the theory, there is no decent account of the lying/misleading distinction. Our goal is, therefore, to make an attempt at defining and examining the distinction from a relevance-theoretic perspective. Hopefully, the relevance-based approach will shed new light on the nature of lying and misleading and contribute to the discussion on the relevance-theoretic conception of what is said understood as the truth-evaluable content of an utterance.

If we follow the assumption that the lying/misleading distinction is determined by the saying/implicating distinction, where 'what is said' must be truth-evaluable, within Relevance Theory it can be accounted for in terms of the distinction between explicit and implicit communication (Carston 2002; 2009; 2010; Wilson and Sperber 2012; Kisielewska-Krysiuk 2016). This is because it is the explicit content of an utterance that is taken to be that content which ordinary speaker-hearer intuitions would identify as having been said or asserted by the speaker, i.e. the content on which the truth or falsity of an utterance would be judged (Carston and Hall 2012). The explicit content of an utterance corresponds to the notion of **explicature**, defined as a communicated assumption which is "a development of (a) a linguistically encoded logical form of the utterance, or of (b) a sentential subpart of a logical form" (Carston 2002, 124, elaboration on Sperber and Wilson [1986] 1995, 182). Any other communicated proposition is an implicature, a contextual assumption or implication which is wholly inferred, i.e. is not a development of a logical form of an utterance. Whereas implicatures are derived by global inference from fully propositional premises, explicatures are developed by a local process which applies to subpropositional constituents and modifies subparts of the linguistic logical form (Carston and Hall 2012). The schematic logical form, an output of the decoding process, is a non-propositional and non-truth-evaluable semantic representation of the sentence employed in the utterance, which is merely the starting point for the derivation of the explicit content of an utterance and needs to be pragmatically enriched in order to become a truth-evaluable explicature (Carston 2002).

The development of a logical form, i.e. the recovery of explicature, a unique truth-evaluable propositional form, involves:

(a)   disambiguation ('I can't see you now. I've got to go to the *bank* now');
(b)   saturation /including reference assignment/, which involves finding the intended content (or value) for a linguistically indicated variable or slot; triggered by an element of linguistic form, such as an indexical ('*He* is *too young* [for what?]');
(c)   free enrichment
    i.   supplying unarticulated constituents in the absence of any indication (overt or covert) within the linguistic form that this is necessary, entirely pragmatically motivated ('*Something* [bad] has happened [today]');
    ii.  ad hoc concept construction, i.e. pragmatic adjustment or 'modulation' of linguistically encoded conceptual constituents, so that the concept

understood as communicated by the use of a word differs from the concept encoded ('Holland is *flat*', 'Boris is *a man*'). (Carston 2009)

What may be surprising in the context of discussing the lying/misleading distinction is that Relevance Theory rejects the Maxim of Quality. Wilson and Sperber (2002, 583) argue "that language use is not governed by any convention or maxim of truthfulness in what is said". Instead, it is relevance that governs language use, and therefore, "expectations of truthfulness – to the extent that they exist – are a by-product of expectations of relevance"[7] (Wilson and Sperber 2002, 584). This standpoint may tie up with Sperber's (2001) observation that the epistemic norms implicit in the process of communication (a norm of truthfulness in testimony and of rationality in argumentation, cf. Goldman 1999) are to some extent at odds with the very function of communication: "(…) part of the function of communication (…) is optimally fulfilled by the production of messages likely to have certain effects on the audience, irrespective of their truth" (Sperber 2001, 405). Although Relevance Theory does not acknowledge the maxim of truthfulness, it, of course, does not deny that people are untruthful. It is lies, among other phenomena, that constitute, according to Wilson and Sperber (2002), evidence against the claim that speakers try to tell the truth. The risk of deception is explicitly mentioned by Wilson (2011) as one of the problems raised by communication: a speaker may be mistaken about the facts or deliberately deceptive, but there is little point in understanding an utterance if you cannot believe what it conveys. Similarly, Sperber (et al. 2010; 2013) points out that communication carries a major risk for the audience of being accidentally or intentionally misinformed and it is because of the risk of deception that we need epistemic vigilance, that is, an ability aimed at filtering out misinformation from communicated contents. Alongside the pragmatic mechanisms that help us understand utterances, there may be a set of 'epistemic vigilance' mechanisms that help us decide whether to believe them.

Having presented the relevance-based approach to the notion of truthfulness and the saying/implicating distinction, which is crucial for differentiating lying from misleading, we want to reanalyse some of the examples discussed in this paper from a relevance-theoretic perspective. Let us repeat that the relevance-theoretic perspective (Kisielewska-Krysiuk 2016) is that lying takes place at the level of explicit communication, whereas misleading takes place at the level of implicit communication.

I will start with the example that should be interpreted along the same lines in all of the presented accounts:

(5) John: Mary, have you seen Valentino lately?
Mary: Valentino has been sick with mononucleosis for the past two weeks.
(adapted from Meibauer 2014b, 98, after Coleman and Kay 1981)

Irrespective of the adopted conception of what is said, the truth-evaluable proposition in (5) is that Valentino has been sick for two weeks. It has already been judged to be true by Meibauer (2014b) and would definitely be judged to be true by Saul, Stokke and relevance theorists. All of them would also agree that deceiving in (5) takes place at the level of what is implicated, i.e. what is false is the implicated proposition that Mary hasn't seen Valentino lately. The only difference will be in categorizing this kind of deception. Only on Meibauer's interpretation will deceiving by falsely implicating while saying the truth be classified as a case of lying rather than misleading due to the definition of lying that he endorsed. His proposal, however, is not convincing enough. If Mary responds to John with *Valentino has been sick with mononucleosis for the past two weeks*, the fact that she saw Valentino yesterday does not make her utterance false. The proposition that Mary hasn't seen Valentino lately wasn't part of what is said and should not influence the truth value of Mary's utterance. On the RT (Relevance-theoretic) interpretation, Mary's utterance is undoubtedly an instance of misleading: the explicitly communicated truth-evaluable proposition is believed to be true by both the speaker and the hearer and thus the utterance is not a lie. The explicature does not satisfy the H's expectations of relevance on its own; therefore, it achieves relevance only as a premise in the inference process leading to the false implicated conclusion that Mary hasn't seen Valentino lately. The false conclusion, not being a development of a decoded logical form, is an implicature of the utterance in (5), which serves as a tool of misleading. Although the indirect answer involves more processing effort on the part of the hearer, it is designed to give more credibility to the speaker by providing an explanation why it was impossible for Mary to meet Valentino.

Another example already examined in the paper is (6) below:

Context: Ken knows for sure that the person to be met is X's wife.
(6)   Ken: X is meeting a woman this evening (Grice [1975] 1989, 37)

On Meibauer's interpretation, the utterance conversationally implicates that a woman to be met is not X's wife, which is false, but deliberately false implicatures are a case of lying rather than misleading according to his definition. On RT interpretation, by contrast, the utterance is pragmatically enriched to the explicitly communicated meaning: (6a) X IS MEETING A WOMAN OTHER THAN X'S WIFE, which is obviously false in the context. Falsity at the level of explicit content is a case of lying within the relevance-theoretic framework.

Still another example worth reconsidering is (7a):

(7a) Billy went to the top of the Empire State Building and jumped.

To repeat, according to Meibauer's interpretation, the communicated meaning "jumped off the edge of the building", if intended by the speaker, is an untruthful implicature and thus a case of lying (bear in mind that Meibauer extended his definition of lying so that intentionally untruthful implicatures are part of the act of lying). If not intended by the speaker, the communicated meaning is an instance of misunderstanding and thus a case of misleading. On Saul's interpretation (2012a, 34), "the utterance is true but misleading: the speaker neither lied nor accidentally said something false", because what is said does not include anything about what sort of jumping took place. The contextual enrichment about a sort of jumping is a matter of expansion and as such it contributes to what is implicated rather than to what is said. Comparing the two approaches, both Meibauer and Saul believe that the false information about jumping off the Empire State Building is implicated, but whereas Saul equates falsely implicating with misleading, Meibauer treats falsely implicating as a case of lying. Let us turn to the RT interpretation for a further comparison. The conventional meaning of the utterance in (7a) is subpropositional as the encoded meaning of 'jumped' is underspecified and has to be pragmatically enriched in order for the communicated proposition to be truth-evaluable. "Jumped" can be enriched to [JUMPED UP AND DOWN THREE TIMES] or [JUMPED OFF THE EDGE OF THE BUILDING]. Establishing the truth-conditions and, consequently, the truth-value of an utterance becomes possible only when one particular explicature, among the many, is understood as carrying the greatest relevance (Carston 2002, 124). Given the Principle of Relevance, the hearer is more likely to arrive at the latter interpretation as the scenario about jumping off the high building to commit suicide is more accessible, and retrieving it from memory requires less processing effort. Surprisingly, the most relevant enrichment leads to a false explicature. In my opinion, it is either because the speaker is not competent, which leads to an accidental lie, or the speaker is not benevolent, which results in an intentional lie. To conclude, as on the relevance-theoretic approach the enrichment of 'jumped' is necessary for the utterance to express a truth-evaluable proposition and becomes part of the explicit content, the utterance of (7a) will be treated as a case of lying. Interestingly, the RT view differs here from Saul's standpoint in that Saul excludes cases of Bach's expansion like the one above from contributing to what is said and treats them as instances of misleading.

An example which even better illustrates the difference between Saul's account of the lying/misleading distinction and the relevance-theoretic approach is (9):

Frieda: Did you put any peanuts in the meal?
(9)   George: No, I didn't put any peanuts in the meal. (Saul 2012a, 33)

To repeat, according to Saul, George's utterance is a true but misleading one on the assumption that George **says** that he did not put any peanuts in the meal he

prepared for Frieda and **conversationally implicates** that the meal is safe for Frieda. The analysis of the same data, however, would lead to different conclusions on the relevance-theoretic account. Relevance theorists take the view that "some degree of modulation of word meaning in context occurs across virtually all utterances and is essential in deriving the intended truth-conditional content (i.e. the explicit content of an utterance)" (Carston 2009). This is the case with *peanuts* in (9). Although 'peanuts' *could* be taken literally, on the optimally relevant interpretation the word will be understood as a loose use of the concept, given the context that both George and Frieda know that even a small amount of peanut oil could be fatal to Frieda, who has a peanut allergy. The interpretation that satisfies Frieda's expectations of relevance, i.e. serves as an implicated premise in the inference leading to an implicated conclusion that the meal is safe for her, is the explicature which contains the interpretation of *peanuts* in the loose sense of 'peanuts or anything else made from or containing peanuts'. In cases like this, the pragmatic enrichment involves broadening of the encoded concept 'peanuts', i.e. the denotation of the concept communicated is broader than (and includes) the denotation of the encoded concept. Since Relevance Theory views ad hoc concept construction as the pragmatic process contributing to the level of explicature, the proposition that is assessed for truth or falsity in (9) contains the broadened concept of peanuts. The explicitly communicated meaning corresponds to "George didn't put peanuts or anything else made from or containing peanuts to the meal he prepared for Frieda" and is judged to be false because the peanut oil has been added to the meal. Accordingly, George's utterance is a case of lying in the first place, but also a case of misleading Frieda into believing that the meal is safe for her. This interpretation may not agree with intuitions that many people have about the truth of the utterance in (9) and may turn out to be troublesome for the relevance-theoretic notion of what is said, but the testing of this hypothesis would require a study of its own.

Last but not least, I would like to show how Stokke's observations about the lying/misleading distinction in relation to a denial can support the type of distinction within Relevance Theory.

(11")   Elizabeth: Why did Doris lose her job?
       William: She insulted Sean at a party.
       Garry: No, that wasn't the reason!
(12")   Elizabeth: How is Doris's relationship with Sean?
       William: She insulted him at a party.
       Garry: #No, their relationship is fine!/Wait, are you trying to make her believe they're not on good terms?

On Stokke's interpretation, the cases of merely misleading, as exemplified above, do not allow explicit denials, while lies can be explicitly denied. On the RT

interpretation (Carston and Hall 2012), it does seem to be pragmatically infelicitous to immediately and directly contradict the implicature of someone's utterance. Whereas a direct denial of implicatures seems odd (not fully coherent), this is not at all the case with explicatures. A comparison of the two approaches undoubtedly points to the correlation between lying and the explicit content, on the one hand, and between misleading and the implicit content, on the other hand.

## 5. Conclusions

The main goal of this paper has been to explore the lying/misleading distinction within the philosophy of language from a relevance-theoretic perspective. Relevance Theory seems to be well-suited to conduct such an analysis as one of its main interests is the notion of what is said, which has been claimed to be crucial for the distinction under discussion. An overview and comparison of the existing approaches to the lying/misleading distinction and an attempt to contribute to the present state of research with the relevance-theoretic account has led to the following observations and conclusions.

It has been shown that each of the accounts discussed in the paper views 'what is said' differently, which naturally influences their perception of the lying/ misleading distinction. Saul (2012ab) claims that no existing account of what is said adequately captures lying as opposed to merely misleading. Since "no views of saying (or related notions) in the current philosophy of language literature can do the work that we need done for the lying-misleading distinction" (Saul 2012a, 51), she wants to discover the concept of saying that is proper just for her particular purpose of the analysis. A good candidate for such a concept seems to be the output of Bach's completion, but not expansion, of a semantically incomplete propositional radical. Stokke (2016), for a change, maintains that 'what is said', and hence the distinction between lying and misleading, is sensitive to discourse structure, i.e. whether an utterance is a lie or is merely misleading sometimes depends on the topic of conversation, represented by so-called questions under discussion. Meibauer (2014ab), in turn, sticks to the Gricean distinction between 'what is said' and 'what is implicated', but postulates that it is not crucial for the lying/misleading distinction because both types of meaning, even deliberately false implicatures, are a part of an act of lying. Finally, the relevance-theoretic account sketched in the paper acknowledges the notion of 'explicature' as corresponding to what is said, and therefore, defines lying as deception that takes place at the level of what is explicated, as opposed to misleading, which takes place at the level of what is implicated. The explicitly communicated content may go well beyond Grice's what is said, e.g. it can include constituents which are not articulated in the linguistic form of the utterance content (Carston and Hall 2012), which has its consequences for reanalysing the lying/misleading distinction.

When we compare the relevance-theoretic account with Saul's account of the distinction, it turns out that the relevance-theoretic notion of explicature is broader than Saul's conception of saying chosen for the sake of defining lying. Relevance Theory reinterprets cases of expansion, ruled out by Saul from the definition of lying, as free pragmatic enrichment contributing to explicature. Consequently, contrary to Saul's prediction, it classifies them as 'lying'. Although Saul does not say it explicitly, it follows from her analysis of the data that she would not include the meaning of unarticulated constituents and ad hoc concepts in the truth-evaluable content of an utterance. On the contrary, their meaning would be implicated and their falsity would result in misleading. If her intuitions are right, the notion of explicature needs rethinking, especially when faced with the cases of lying by contextually broadened concepts. Obviously, such a strong claim needs to be substantiated with empirical evidence and requires further research beyond the scope of this paper.

Last but not least, I would like to draw your attention to the flaws in Meibauer's account of lying, which treats both deceiving by assertion and deceiving by implicature as cases of lying. The first counterargument to Meibauer's obliteration of the lying/misleading distinction comes from legal practices concerning perjury, which confirm that there is a fundamental difference between lying and merely misleading. Namely, perjury law is often formulated in terms of a willful statement of a falsehood, which can be rephrased as 'saying something false' (cf. Mahon 2008; Saul 2012a).

Second, Meibauer's rejection of the distinction under discussion boils down to the claim that there is no difference between false assertions and false implicatures as far as they are both tools of lying. This claim, in turn, relies on the intuitive, 'layman', understanding of lying. An average person surveyed is not sensitive to the source of false information and the mechanism of obtaining it, so his/her truth-evaluability judgements will be simplified in the sense that they will probably overuse the notion of lying to label a variety of cases whose categorization will be a challenge from the point of view of a linguist. If you want to find out whether a particular utterance is an instance of lying, either you have to impose the definition of lying on respondents in a survey before carrying it out or you risk the term being overused in the case of every utterance that departs from the truth, irrespective of whether this departure takes place at the level of what is said or what is implicated. This is because these two levels of meaning may be equally available to respondents who may not be able to differentiate between them, contrary to what the Availability Principle predicts: "In deciding whether a pragmatically determined aspect of utterance meaning is part of what is said, that is, in making a decision concerning what is said, we should always try to preserve our pre-theoretic intuitions on the matter" (Recanati [1989] 1991, 106). The Availability Principle leaves too much responsibility to our intuitions, which often lead the participants in a conversation to contradictory conclusions about

whether a given portion of meaning is part of what is said or what is implicated. Since intuitions about what is said/lying differ from speaker to speaker, often due to our different intuitive understanding of the phrase "what is said" and the word "say"/ "lie", they are neither reliable nor conclusive.

Finally, the fact that Meibauer incorporates cases of deceiving by conversational implicature into his definition of lying and thus reinterprets what others consider to be 'misleading' as 'lying' may suggest that the Gricean notion of 'what is said' that he adopted for his analysis is too narrow. Meibauer's intuition that the speaker lies rather than misleads by a conversational implicature may be an argument for a supposition that what he calls "implicature" is not an implicature at all but part of explicit content, which is predicted by the relevance-theoretic framework. There is no need to adapt the definition of 'lying'. It is sufficient to view "what is said" differently.

## Notes

1    The Co-operative Principle
     Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (Grice [1975] 1989, 26).
     Apart from being observed and covertly violated, the maxim of Quality can also be overtly violated, i.e. exploited/flouted with the result that it is obvious to the hearer at the time of the utterance that the speaker has deliberately and quite openly failed to observe the maxim and, therefore, the hearer attributes beliefs/implicatures to the speaker in order to preserve the assumption that the S was obeying at least the Cooperative Principle in saying what he said. This is the case with non-literal meaning, such as metaphor, irony, hyperbole or metonymy.
2    These claims, obviously, need empirical verifying, but this falls outside the scope of this paper.
3    A warranting context is a context in which one warrants the truth of what one says. The exception will be, for example, the context of joke-telling, where the warranty is suspended. Saul admits that her definition of lying resembles Fallis's (2009) definition, with a difference that a warranting context replaces a context in which Grice's Maxim of Quality is in effect. Clause B in Saul's definition of lying is designed to deal with cases when what is said is indeterminate across a range of possible completions (the Indeterminate Completion view).
4    The enrichment of what is said results in implicature, which corresponds to the relevance-theoretic explicature and "(...) can be a matter of either filling in or fleshing out what is said. Completion is the filling in of a propositional radical, and expansion is the fleshing out of the minimal proposition expressible

by an utterance" (Bach 1994, 144). In other words, a process of completion is involved in deriving a complete truth-evaluable proposition from a non-complete proposition which may already include the result of disambiguation and reference fixing, cf. *Jack and Jill are ready [to get married]* or *Kurt finished [drawing] the painting*. Expansion, by contrast, is a process which takes a complete proposition, the result of completion, and yields the proposition communicated by the speaker, which is the enriched or elaborated version of the one explicitly expressed by the utterance itself, cf. *Jill got married and [then] became pregnant*, *I haven't taken a bath [today]* or *Nobody [important] goes there anymore because it is too crowded* (Bach 1994, 125–126).

5    The principle has been discussed by Recanati (1993, 242) under the name of the Minimal Truth-Evaluability Principle.

6    Although Stokke claims that Saul's discourse-insensitive account cannot explain the difference between his examples in (11) and (12) , we believe that Relevance Theory will nicely deal with cases like these. Since the search for the intended proposition is relevance-guided, utterances in (11) and (12) will achieve relevance only as answers to the preceding questions. Accordingly, in (11) an utterance achieves relevance as a direct/explicit answer to the question. Therefore, an incomplete proposition expressed by an utterance has to be enriched with the meaning contained in the question. In (12), by contrast, an utterance achieves relevance as an indirect/implicit answer to the question, so the proposition it expresses is not linguistically related to the question and does not call for enrichment at the level of explicitly communicated meaning. In order for the hearer's expectations of relevance to be satisfied in (12), he has to make inferences which will not be developments of the linguistically encoded meaning and will take the hearer from the proposition expressed to the level of implicated meaning, thus providing an answer to the question.

7    **Presumption of optimal relevance**
     An ostensive stimulus is optimally relevant to an audience iff:
     a.  It is relevant enough to be worth the audience's processing effort;
     b.  It is the most relevant one compatible with communicator's abilities and preferences. (Sperber and Wilson 1986 [1995, 270]; Sperber and Wilson 2004, 612)


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# Predicting Definite Article Usages in New Englishes: Variety Outweighs Genre and Syntactic Function in Nigerian English

**Abstract**

Variability in the use of the definite article in New Englishes, and in particular, Nigerian English has received the least attention from a quantitative, probabilistic and predictive perspective. The present study narrows this gap by not only assessing the extent to which article use in Nigerian English varies, but by also simultaneously testing out previous claims found in similar varieties, using similar corpus data from the Nigerian component of the *International Corpus of English* (*ICE*). Following theoretic framework for article use by Hawkins (1978) and Prince (1981), Wahid (2013) found that variability in definite article usage in New Englishes is more predictable on the basis of genre than on the basis of variety. Revising Wahid's method and reconceptualising same theoretic frameworks of Hawkins and Prince, together with a comparable corpus sample of 8674 definite article *the* from ICE-Nigeria, the extent of article usage variability in the Nigerian variety is not only shown but also that variety outweighs genre and syntactic function predicting article usage in New Englishes.

## 1. Introduction

According to Görlach (1998), structural/meaning variation permeates New Englishes, and the extent of such variation should be investigated in depth. One of such structural/semantic evidence of variation is the article system (Master 1987; Ionin 2003; Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2005; Kortmann 2006; Wahid 2013; Akinlotan 2016; Akinlotan and Housen 2017), which has received some attentions in different varieties, where issues of overuse, underuse, or/and unused have been identified (Platt, Weber, and Ho 1984). However, the extent (by quantification) of such issues of overuse/underuse/unused and whether different article usages can be predicted in specific situations have received the least attention, more especially in newer varieties such as Nigerian English (Sand 2004; Ionin 2003; Wahid 2013). Wahid's attempts at quantifying the extent of variation in definite article use across new and established varieties of English is therefore a valuable contribution in the right direction, with findings that inform the present study. For

example, Wahid found that genre outweighs variety in predicting article usage in different varieties. Also, Wahid reported that no clear preferential pattern is found across the eight (four-aside) Inner and Outer Circle varieties, such that choices of article usage are better predicted by genre than by variety.

Given idiosyncrasies of New Englishes and different conditions that tilt the extent of variation, the present study thus expects to show the extent to which choices in definite article usage in Nigerian English converge and diverge with the findings reported in Wahid. Specifically, in Nigerian variety, we expect genre to outweigh variety predicting article use outcomes. By extension, our result would also in/validate the claim by Biber et al. (1999, 20) that variability is more pronounced by genre than by variety (that is varieties of language under investigation). Also, we expect the overall preference of article usage in Nigerian English to be more similar to, at least, its progenitor or norm-providing British English than it is to other varieties studied. Since the syntactic function of the noun phrase has been shown to contribute to the structural simplification hypothesis in New Englishes, and, in particular, Nigerian English, which usually omits the pre and/ or post modification (see for examples, Schilk and Schaub 2016; Akinlotan 2016; Akinlotan and Housen 2017), it is important to determine the extent of influence of such variable on the choices of definite article in the Nigerian variety.

Furthermore, given that certain article use choices (e.g. structural use) are expected to correlate with a certain syntactic position (e.g. noun phrase at subject position is expected to associate with structural use), then grammatical function can as well be a good predictor with which variability in article usage is accounted for. In fact, having seen grammatical function outweigh genre in noun phrase complexity in Nigerian English (Akinlotan and Housen 2017), the present paper could then show how these two variables of genre and grammatical function compete for influence in different but similar contexts. In meeting another objective of the study, the present investigation will also contribute to the dearth of quantitative and, corpus-based/empirical studies of Nigerian English in relation to other varieties. For instance, Lamidi's (2007) suggestive findings that contextual use is predominantly found in Nigerian English lacks quantitative evidence, which the present study provides.

## 2. Conceptualising the definite article *the*

In this section, exemplary categories of definite article usage from Hawkins (1978) and Wahid (2013) are presented. It must be mentioned that several studies in New Englishes, such as Quirk et al. (1985), as well as more recent Huddleston and Pullum (2002), have made valuable efforts at conceptualising definite article usages as well as accounting for variability in their different usages. Hawkins's (1978) conceptualisation of the definite article uses attracted much attention

not only because he attempted to systematise popular Christophersen's (1939) familiarity theory but also because the topic, definiteness, is fuzzy and remains a semantic/pragmatic concept that is almost always interpreted according to the ever changing context. Poesio and Vieira (1998), Liu and Gleason (2002), and Wahid (2013) have applied Hawkins's categorisations (1978) to the analysis of definite NPs. As Wahid (2013) and many other studies have shown, the understanding of the conceptualisation and usages of the definite article have become much more important in the description of New Englishes, a field of study premised on exhibiting how differing peculiar contexts/variables impact on form and function in these different varieties. Hawkins's (1978, 86–149) categories of definite article usages are presented below. All examples are as given by Hawkins and as cited by Wahid (2013).

*Anaphoric use*: This type of article use refers to the definite article functioning as anaphor, referring to a known referent in the noun phrase. In this case the referent is already known as this is a second mention. For example, the noun phrase *the book* refers to *an interesting book* in *Fred was discussing an interesting book in his class. I went to discuss the book with him afterwards*. Similarly, *the machine* refers to the referent *a lathe* in *Bill was working at a lathe the other day. All of a sudden, the machine stopped turning*. The second category of usage is *the associative anaphoric use*. According to Hawkins, this usage is very similar to the anaphoric use. While anaphoric use is somewhat equational and grammatical (for example, indefinite article equates definite article in almost all situation, *a = the* in *a lathe = the machine, a book = the book*), associative anaphoric use is basically pragmatic, requiring the hearer to infer what the referent is from the semantic/pragmatic features of the head noun. For example, *fumes*, which can be associated with many objects, is associated anaphorically with the head noun *car* in *Bill drove past our house in a car. The exhaust fumes were terrible.* The third category is *Immediate situation use*, which, according to Hawkins, consists of *visible situation use*. In this case, visible situation use is a subset of immediate situation use. The difference between the two usages is the visibility of the referent as the name suggests. The visible situation refers to situation of use in which the referent is visible to both the speaker and the hearer in order for the usage to be operational (e.g. *Pass me the bucket, please*. This implies that the referent being identified, *the bucket*, is visible to both the speaker and the hearer). On the other hand, the referent is not visible in the immediate situation use (e.g. *Beware of the dog*. In this use it is not necessary that the referent *the dog* is visible for the hearer to comprehend/react to the warning/message). There is still some fuzziness, so Prince (1981), attempting at resolving the ambiguity in this category, reconceptualised the visible situation use as inferrable use, which is discussed in more detail later in this section.

The fourth category is *Larger situation use*, which is similar to immediate situation use except that the hearer requires larger knowledge to locate the referent

which is situated in a larger context than that of the immediate context in imme-
diate situation use. According to Hawkins (1978, 115), referent in this category
is referred to on the basis of the hearer's "knowledge of entities... [in] a larger
situation of utterance". Furthermore, this category is sub-divided into (a) specific
knowledge in larger situation and (b) general knowledge in the larger situation.
In the specific knowledge in the larger situation, the speaker and the hearer share
the same knowledge of the referent, just as the speaker and the hearer share the
knowledge of a town that has a gibbet at the top of a street, such that *the Gibbet*
in *The Gibbet no longer stands* is easily and accurately identified. In other words,
the specific knowledge of 'the Gibbet' is crucial to accurately processing the
expression, so this is termed specific knowledge in larger situation. According
to Hawkins (1978, 119), unlike the specific knowledge in the larger situation
use in which specific knowledge of the referent being identified is required, the
general knowledge in the larger situation use concerns "a general knowledge
of the existence of certain types of objects in certain types of situation". In the
example, *Have you seen the bridesmaids?* which is said at a wedding ceremony,
the hearer and the speaker would exhibit some general knowledge in the larger
situation which implies that they knew some particular bridesmaids and refer to
them as *the bridesmaids*.

The fifth category is *Unfamiliar uses in NPs with explanatory modifiers*. As
the name suggests, this usage type  is grammatically identifiable. In this cate-
gory, the explanatory modifier aids the identification of the referent in the NP,
providing the background and the context. Hawkins (1978) itemised four types
of explanatory modifiers: (1) establishing relative clause, (2) associative clause,
(3) NP complements, and (4) nominal modifiers. Establishing clauses, according
to Hawkins (1978, 137), are clauses that establish the context of the referent and
"relate the new, unknown object either to other objects in the previous discourse
set, or to participants in the speech act, or else they identify entities in the imme-
diate situation of utterance". This is exemplified by the following exchange:

A:    What's wrong with Bill?
B:    Oh, the woman he went out with last night was nasty to him.

*The woman he* (Bill) *went out with last night was nasty to him* is a clause which
establishes the 'what' and 'Bill' in the preceding question. Next to this type of
explanatory modifier is  associative clauses. Just like the associative anaphora
earlier discussed, this kind of clauses link the referent to that part of meaning
required for its accurate identification. This is exemplified by *I remember the
beginning of the war very well. Of the war* complements the NP *the beginning*,
which points to the beginning of what is being remembered, 'the war'. The third
explanatory modifier is NP complements, which refer to cases where the NP is
complemented by a clause that relates the referent in the NP to the specific context

intended, such that ambiguity is cleared or avoided. This is exemplified in this example, *Bill is amazed by the fact that there is so much life on Earth*, where *the fact that there is so much life on earth* complements Bill's amazement. The last explanatory modifier is nominal modifiers, which transform a noun phrase into a semantically definite noun phrase, such that meaning is easily processed. In the example, *I don't like the colour red*, *red* functions as a postmodifier, transforming the syntactically definite NP *the colour* into a semantically definite NP by specifying exactly what colour the speaker did not like.

The last category of the use of the definite article is *Unfamiliar uses with unexplanatory modifiers*, which basically contrasts with the earlier category of unfamiliar uses with explanatory modifiers. As the name of the category reads, the definite NPs (i.e the definite *the*) are attached to modifiers which do not aid the identification of the referent in them. An example is *My wife and I share the same secret* in which *the same secret* has a premodifier (*same*) that is unexplanatory or not contributing to the task of accurately identifying the referent (*secret*). In fact, it makes the identification process of the referent more complex.

As can be observed from Hawkins' categorisation, the conceptualisation of the definite uses is split between semantic/pragmatic (2, 3, and 4) and grammatical (1,5, and 6) criteria. This shows that variability in the uses of the definite article is likely to be influenced by both grammatical and semantic variables. This suggests that understanding the relationship between the grammatical function that the whole NPs (i.e. the noun phrase that bears the definite article) perform and the type of the use of the definite article may indeed provide more insight into understanding not only the pattern of use of the definite article uses in Nigerian English viz-a-viz New Englishes, but also the constraints underlying certain usages in certain situations.

Given numerous overlappings in Hawkins' categorisation, Prince (1981) provided an alternative categorisation, an essentially semantic, pragmatic, and discourse framework conceptualising the uses of the definite article. This framework relates to Hawkins's categorisations, especially those that are based on semantic and pragmatic criteria. More importantly, referent is seen in the light of whether it is already known (i.e. given) or not already known (i.e. new). When given or already known, it thus becomes old at the next mention, such that the hearer can correctly identify the referent without a further or new mention. According to Prince (1981), newness, which, in the older frameworks of Christophersen (1939) and Hawkins (1978), is primarily defined from the hearer's perspective, may be understood in both the hearer and speaker's perspective.

Therefore, according to Prince, a new/first time mention of a referent in a discourse is categorized as discourse-new, irrespective of whether the hearer is new or not. Meanwhile, when the hearer is new (hearer-new) to a discourse, the discourse is also new (discourse-new), and this is also a concept which extends its meanings to the related/extended concepts of hearer-old and discourse-old. It

is within this precept that Prince (1992) provided a discourse framework for the uses of the definite article, which are presented below. All examples are from Prince (1992) as cited by Wahid (2013).

The first category of the definite article usage is *Brand-new* (or hearer-new or discourse-new), which refers to the referent introduced by indefinite noun phrase, e.g. *I'm waiting for it to be noon so that I can call someone in California. Someone in California*, an indefinite noun phrase, is a brand-new referent as it is a first mention in the discourse. This can also be described as discourse-new or hearer-new. The second category is *Brand new anchored*. According to Prince, a brand-new entity is anchored when there is a relationship between a new referent and another referent already present in the discourse. The 'anchored' is the relationship, or the linkage with which the hearer's newness (i.e. ignorance) is bridged, e.g. *A guy I work with says he knows your sister*. *A guy* is a brand-new referent that is anchored by the clause *I work with*, showing a linkage and relationship between the speaker and the identified entity/referent. If there is no anchor clause defining the referent, the identification of such by the hearer become difficult or impossible.

The third category is *Evoked*. According to Prince, evoked referent implies that the referent is already foregrounded in the discourse structure, such that both the hearer and the speaker can easily identify it. Evoked use of the definite article is sub categorised into (1) 'textually evoked' and (2) 'situationally evoked'. Evoked implies recall, which can be achieved either textually, e.g. *A guy I work with says he knows your sister* or situationally, e.g. *Pardon, would you have change of a quarter?*. What Prince termed textually evoked can as well be described as grammatically evoked.

If the presence of the clause *I work with* aided the correct recall of the entity 'a guy', then, this category might well be termed 'grammatically evoked', which shares some link with Hawkins's unfamiliar uses with explanatory modifiers. Furthermore, situationally evoked equates Hawkins's visible immediate situation use, e.g. *Pass me the bucket, please* in that the 'the bucket' being referred relates to the present situation/context of discourse. The fourth category of the definite article usage is *Unused* in which the evoked referent is hearer-old but discourse-new. Such a referent is given to the speaker/hearer just at the immediate beginning of the discourse. For example, the referent 'Sandy Thompson' in *I'm waiting for it to be noon so that I can call Sandy Thompson* must have been known (or assumed to be known) by the hearer, although it is being mentioned for the first time in the discourse.

The fifth category is *Inferrables* which refer to the uses where the referents in the discourse can be inferred in terms of their relationship with other evoked referents. Given that the meaning of the referents in inferrables uses can be inferred from their relationship with other inferrables, then this category can be equated with Hawkins's associative anaphoric use. In the example *I got on a bus today*

*and the driver was drunk*, the noun phrase *the driver* is inferred from *a bus*, since the bus is driven by a (bus) driver. The last category in Prince's categorisation is *Containing Inferrable*, which closely overlaps with Inferrables. According to Prince, Containing Inferrable refers to the uses where a larger NP contains its inferrable part. In the example, *The door of the Bastille was painted purple*, *the door* is an inferrable part of *the Bastille*. Prince's framework has been applied to several studies on definiteness such as Sharma (2005), Poesio and Vieira (1998), and Wahid (2013), who reconceptualised the categories in Hawkins and Prince, and added six more categories; (1) 'Non-referential', (2) 'generic', (3) 'idiomatic', (4) 'repeat', (5) 'repair', and (6) 'unknown'. Table 3 (section 5.2. below) offers a summary of this redefinition and reconceptualisation, as well as equivalents proposed in the present study.


## 3. Variables predicting article uses

The uses of the definite article have been extensively studied in the literature of New Englishes, but such studies have almost always focused on where the article is underused, overused, or/and unused (see White 2003 for unused article cases, Master 1987; Ionin 2003; and Lamidi 2007 for overused cases, see Akinlotan 2016 for avoidance in combining the definite article with other determiners). Some arguments put forward in these studies stem from qualitative analyses, which failed to quantify the extent of the manifestation of the phenomenon under investigation (e.g. Platt, Weber and Ho 1984; Lamidi 2007). On the other hand, Ionin (2003), Sand (2004), Wahid (2013), and Akinlotan (2016) have shown several gains of quantitative approach to discussion and identification of issues in New Englishes. Therefore, quantifying the phenomenon at hand provides more insights into the definite article usage and their constrains on Nigerian English, and in New Englishes. Also, many of these previous studies did not state/predict which specific context and the extent to which different internal (e.g. syntactic function) and external (e.g. genre) variables influence these different choices of article uses/ unused. This is another task covered in this paper. The assumption underlying the studies of New Englishes is that every variety is unique and demonstrates enough strong peculiarities. Therefore, in the literature, one predictor strongly emphasised is variety. One can then say that certain variety (e.g. Outer variety such as Nigerian English) is likely to use the definite article where another variety (e.g. Inner variety such as British English) is likely not to use it (e.g. *I am going to the mosque* when no specific mosque is meant or referred to (Lamidi 2007).

Another predictor which has been found to be a strong determinant in every sphere of language use including every variety of any language is genre/text type. This therefore reasonably includes the use of the definite article (Biber et al 1999; Wahid 2013; Akinlotan and Housen 2017). Wahid (2013) found that genre

outweighs variety in predicting article usage. On the basis of Wahid's finding, we expect to identify article use choices influenced more by genre than by variety, though at varying degree. Secondly, on the basis of findings in Görlach (1998), Schilk and Schaub (2016), and Akinlotan and Housen (2017), it can be observed that the syntactic position shows significant influences on the structural configuration of the noun phrase in New Englishes, as well as Nigerian English. In fact, the strong influence of syntactic function on noun phrase structural choices in Nigerian variety is well shown in Akinlotan and Housen (2017). Therefore, we expect a correlation between the syntactic position of the encompassing noun phrase and the choices of article uses. More specifically, since the noun phrase at the subject position in Nigerian English is more likely to be less complex than non-subject NPs due to regular absence of pre- and post-modfication which adds to complexity of NP, then one can predict that many subject NPs will be realized or associated with structural choice of definite article usage. In other words, we expect non-subject NPs to attract far much more structural article use than subject NPs. Also, we expect subject NPs to be associated more often with anaphoric and contextual uses, given that (a new) referent(s), which form the basis of discourse, is usually positioned at this syntactic position. As can be seen in Table 1, this syntactic position is also crucial to Prince's distinction of first and second mention on one hand, and hearer-new and discourse-new on the other side. In other words, independent behaviour of variables representing genre, variety, and syntactic function of the NP in relation to choices of article use in Nigerian variety can be compared to those findings from other varieties in Wahid (2013), while simultaneously showing how Nigerian English stands in relation to other Outer and Inner Circle varieties of English in article system.

## 4. Method: annotation procedure and textual classification

Using AntConc linguistic tools (Anthony 2014), instances of the definite NPs starting with the definite article *the* were extracted from different genres like academic technical, academic social science, editorial, reportage, social letters, and skill hobbies of the written section of Nigerian component of the *International Corpus of English* (*ICE*). All the texts in the written section were accessed for the NPs extraction, except for reportage where only the first 26 of 69 texts were used. In order to ensure a balanced and representational sample, NPs were extracted from additional texts outside the *ICE*. For example, the 25 texts in the skill & hobbies did not produce a sufficient number of NPs, hence additional definite noun phrases were extracted from other texts matching the *ICE* criteria.

Additional tokens were also extracted from texts corresponding to the *ICE* themes and included in private messages of a Nigerian online forum *Nairaland* (Osewa 2005). After extraction, the datasets were cleaned (i.e. irrelevances such

as wrong POS tagging were removed from the datasets), which resulted into the following frequencies: academic technical (1,711), academic social science (1,413), editorial (1,671), reportage (1,120), social letters (1,310), and skill hobbies (1,449), all of which sum up to 8,674 NPs. These NPs were further coded for six definite article usage types (see Table 1 for the six categories used in the present study) which emerge from the reconceptualisation of usage types in Hawkins (1978), Prince (1981), and Wahid (2013). Following Poesio and Vieira's (1998) minimal semantic coding, we revised Wahid's (2013) long list of ten coding categories into 6 categories, simultaneously closing in on the considerate overlap between Hawkins's and Prince's categories.

For instance, Hawkins's two situational uses and Prince's two Inferrable uses are collapsed into Contextual and Inferential uses. The resultant reclassification takes into account the possible interference from the article systems in local Nigerian languages (Akinlotan 2016). Lamidi (2007) has also shown that in Nigerian English, instances of article use in idiomatic, non-referential, and generic (as classified by Wahid) appear to manifest an underlying influence from the local Nigerian Yoruba languages. On the basis of this interference reported by Lamidi (2007) and Akinlotan (2016), non-referential and idiomatic uses are thus collapsed into generic use. Therefore, given different article systems in the numerous local Nigerian languages which compete for production in Nigerian noun phrase, together with Lamidi's findings, one can therefore presume that the width of context (including contextual interference) required in identifying referent in Nigerian noun phrase is perhaps much wider or complex than those required in British or American English, more especially as construed by Hawkins and Prince.

On the basis of proximity, distribution in contextual use in our data is taken to equate distribution in situation use in Wahid. Similarly, distribution in generic use in Wahid is approximated on the average[1] (we divided by 3 the sum of scores in non-referential, idiomatic, and generic). For instance in Table 2, generic scores for British English is the average of 10.1 + 7.1 + 9.2 = 26.4, which is then divided by 3, and returns 8.8. This adjustment method is repeated for all the cases under consideration.

Furthermore, on the basis of the relationship between the grammatical position and the uses of the definite article, the grammatical functions (e.g. subject or non-subject) that the NPs perform are also annotated for.

Following the cues from Schilk and Schaub (2016) as well as Akinlotan and Housen (2017), the results from two grammatical functions, i.e. subject and non-subject, were presented in the present study, even though eight grammatical functions were accounted for (see Akinlotan and Housen 2017). For instance, the definite NP *the newly elected President* in the clause *the newly President has vowed to fight the widespread corruption killing this country* functions as the subject, whereas *the widespread corruption killing this country* functions as the direct object. In other words, all the non-subject grammatical functions such as

**Table 1.** Conceptualisation of definite uses among Hawkins's, Prince's, Wahid's, and the present study's categories

| HAWKINS | PRINCE | WAHID | PRESENT STUDY |
|---|---|---|---|
| Anaphoric use | Textually evoked use | Textual | Anaphoric |
| Immediate situation<br>i.   Visible situation use<br>ii.  Immediate situation use | Situationally evoked use | Situational | Contextual |
| i.   Visible situation use | Inferrable use | | Contextual |
| Larger situation use<br>i.   specific knowledge in the larger situation<br>ii.  general knowledge in the larger situation | | | Contextual |
| Associative anaphoric use | Inferrable use | Associative anaphoric use | Inferential |
| 'Unfamiliar' uses in NPs with explanatory modifiers<br>i.   Establishing relative clauses<br>ii.  Associative clausses<br>iii. NP complement<br>iv. Iv. Nominal modifiers<br>v.  'unexplanatory' modifiers | Containing Inferrable use/ Textually evoked use | Structural | Structural |
| | | Non-referential e.g. *He is the leader* | Generic |
| | | Generic e.g. *The computer is a wonderful thing* | Generic |
| | | Idiomatic e.g. *Grab the bull by its horns* | Generic |
| | | Repair e.g. *The, er, the project is useless* | Contextual |
| | | Repeat e.g. *The, the man came early today* | Contextual |
| | | Unknown e.g. *the guy* (with insufficient context for identification) | Assumptive |
| | Unused | | |
| **5 categories** | **6 categories** | **10 categories** | **6 categories** |

direct object, preposition phrase, apposition, subject complement, and indirect object were merged into one category as a non-subject function. Using SPSS statistical package, the data were analysed using frequency distribution techniques that include chi square, adjusted average/means, and cross tabulation. The results are presented and discussed below.

## 5. Results

In this section, the results emerging from the independent behaviour of the variables representing variety, genre, and grammatical function are presented.

### 5.1 Variety

As Table 2 shows, the definite article in Nigerian English is used most frequently in the contextual category (42%), followed by anaphoric (23%), and then structural (19%). This pattern is similar to findings in Wahid (2013), though structural category is well ahead of anaphoric. Fraurud's (1990) argument that the definite article is not frequently used for anaphoric contexts appear to be well illustrated in our sample. Given that a variety can be taken as a variable with which structural and meaning variations can be accounted for, then, as can be seen in Table 2, Nigerian English appears to differ from other similar varieties in preference for certain choices. For instance, unlike other varieties, contextual use (42%) in Nigerian English is more likely to occur than any other article uses. Nigerian variety's most preferred choice (contextual use), which stands at 42%, is well ahead of other varieties' most preferred choice at 23%, 19%, 11%, 3%, and 1%. This suggest a clear preferential pattern in our variety, as against sparse variation in other varieties. The nearest to 42% preferential patterns for contextual use in

**Table 2.** A comparison of overall definite article usages across Inner and Outer English Varieties[2]

| Article Use Types | | Inner Varieties of English | | | | Outer Varieties of English | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NigE | AusE | BrE | NZE | AmE | SgE | PhilE | IndE | KenE |
| Anaphoric | 23 | 9.4 | 8.4 | 11 | 14.2 | 16.9 | 15.1 | 11.3 | 13.7 |
| Structural | 19 | 9.9 | 14 | 16.6 | 12 | 9.7 | 14.1 | 12.3 | 11.3 |
| Contextual | 42 | 14.7 | 11.1 | 14.5 | 13.1 | 10.5 | 15.8 | 9.6 | 10.7 |
| Generic | 3 | 9.4 | 8.8 | 12.7 | 14 | 10 | 15 | 7 | 23 |
| Inferential | 11 | 9 | 9.6 | 9.6 | 18.8 | 16.2 | 14.3 | 14.3 | 8.3 |
| Assumptive | 1 | --- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ----- | ----- | ----- |

Nigerian variety are found in varieties such as Australian (14.7%) and New Zealand (14.5%), which could be said to be significantly different. Also, a similar pattern is found in anaphoric use which is much more likely to be present in Nigerian English than in any other variety (23% in Nigerian vs. 16.9% in Singaporean English). However, sparse variation is found in Inferential uses (11%), despite the fact that American and Singaporean Englishes differ to a reasonable degree at 18.8% and 16.2% respectively.

As Table 2 shows, the inclusion of Nigerian English gives much more credence and insights into the predicting strength and capabilities of variety in manifesting features associated to different varieties. Wahid attributed the lack of clear patterns in the varieties studied to the dissimilarity in his data, but it might also mean that there is no really significant difference between article systems of the selected varieties or little or no influence from article systems in the local/competing languages is attested on the article systems of the varieties understudied. In other words, the significant difference between Nigerian English and other varieties suggests the possibility of strong influences on article system in Nigerian English from local Nigerian languages which operate definite article systems that largely hinge on wide range context processing. For instance, Wahid did attribute the sparse variation found in Outer varieties to variation in difference in texts used for the study (e.g. generic use in Kenyan English stands at 23%), rather than the possibility of interference from different article systems operating local languages that co-exist with Kenyan English. Table 2 appears not to sufficiently capture the depth of variation shows by the distribution, hence Figure 1, which aptly illustrates these underlying variations across the varieties. The extent to which Nigerian English varies from other Inner and Outer varieties becomes clearer in Figure 1.
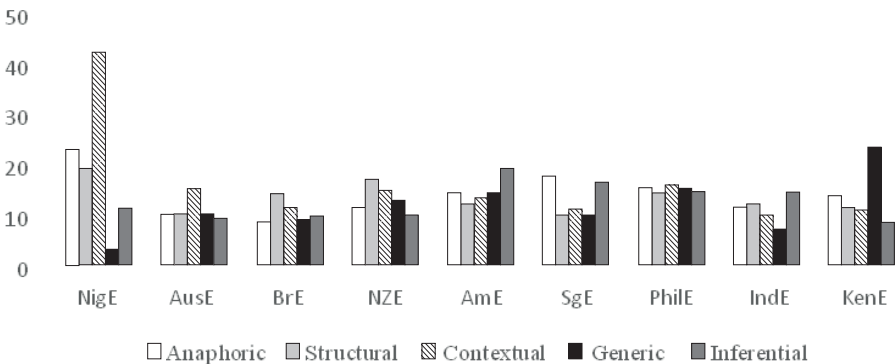


Fig. 1. Overall article uses in Nigerian and other varieties of English

Given that variety as a factor is outweighed by genre in Wahid, then it is important to see how genre turns out in our data.

## 5.2 Genre

Genre has been shown to influence choices relating to structure and meaning. This important variable has also been shown competing strongly with other variables in influencing constructional outcomes. Following Wahid's (2013, 31) findings in which genre outweighs variety in predicting definite article usage, a finding which correlates with Biber et al. (1999, 20), we conducted a chi square test of independence on the distributions in our study to find out whether this is the case in our corpus data. The chi square results show that there is very little relationship between genre and definite article use type in our data $\{\chi^2 (10) =398\ p<0.000\}$; contextual uses are more likely to be used in private (55%) than in academic (36%) and/or media (36%). Our results contrast with Wahid's (2013) where anaphoric, structural, and contextual are most likely to be used in reportage/media than in any other texts. As can be seen in Table 3, there is very little relationship found between anaphoric and structural uses and genre in our data.

However, the result where Inferential uses are more likely to occur in academic (15%) and media (12%) than in interactional (5%) writing is in accordance with Wahid's (2013) finding. In Wahid's findings, inferential as well as generic uses are more likely to occur in academic and media texts than in interactional text. For example, in Indian English there is preference for inferential at 6% in academic and reportage, while preference stands at 2% in interactional/private writing. Also, in Wahid's findings, more variability is shown in the academic writing than in any other texts. As can be seen in Table 3, we do not find clear preferential pattern in the influence on genre on article use choices. This is contrary to clear preferential pattern found in the influence of variety on the choices of definite article in Table 2. The likelihood of choices in anaphoric, structural, generic, and assumptive is about the same chances across the academic, media, and interactional (28% versus 24% versus 17% for anaphoric use; 19%, versus 23%, versus 17% for structural use; 3% versus 4% for generic use).

**Table 3.** A distribution of article use type by genre

| | Anaphoric | | Contextual | | Inferential | | Structural | | Generic | | Assumptive | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Academic | 863 | 28 | 1117 | 36 | 461 | 15 | 579 | 19 | 80 | 3 | 24 | 1 | 3124 | 100 |
| Media | 676 | 24 | 1013 | 36 | 333 | 12 | 632 | 23 | 107 | 4 | 30 | 1 | 2791 | 100 |
| Interactional | 482 | 17 | 1529 | 55 | 147 | 5 | 467 | 17 | 114 | 4 | 20 | 1 | 2759 | 100 |
| Total | 2021 | 23 | 3659 | 42 | 941 | 11 | 1678 | 19 | 301 | 3 | 74 | 1 | 8674 | 100 |

In order to meet the objective of this study, we compare genre results in our corpus data to genre results in other varieties as reported in Wahid (2013). Figure 2 shows how genres in Nigerian English compare with genres in British (BrE), American (AmE), New Zealand (NZE), Australian (AusE), and Indian English (IndE). Our expectation that Nigerian English would behave more similar to British English, at least for historical reasons, is dismissed. The most similar behaviour is found in Australian English, where text types and contextual uses behave exactly the same way as in Nigerian English. In other words, irrespective of text types, contextual uses are most predominant in both varieties. However, while structural use is the second preferred choice after contextual use in Australian English, again irrespective of text type, anaphoric use is the second preferred choice in Nigerian English. Meanwhile the media text/genre in Australian English behaves similarly to media text in Nigerian English, where contextual use is the most preferred choice. On the other hand, structural use is predominant in the academic and interactional texts in the British English. Next to Australian English in terms of proximity to Nigerian English are New Zealand and American Englishes, where contextual uses are also predominant in interactional and media texts.

However, this is not clearly the case in Indian English, where there is strong competition between structural and contextual uses in interactional text type. In another light, there is convergence of preference in the varieties. For instance, in all the varieties under comparison, media text appears to favour contextual use, though there is very little preference for this choice in British and Nigerian Englishes. Similarly, in all the varieties except British English, interactional text appears to favour contextual use. Relatedly, choices in academic text in Indian, American, British, and New Zealand varieties pattern similarly in that structural type is highly preferred to other choices, whereas the opposite is the case in Nigerian and Australian Englishes, where contextual use is the top category. Unlike Wahid's (2013) findings which did not reveal patterns emanating from the varieties, the above preferential patterns identified in our corpus data show that variety can indeed be a good predictor. Of course the results here might reflect differences in method/design or in reconceptualisation of Wahid's categories, yet variety, especially as it embodies peculiarities distinguishing varieties from one another, remains a topmost variable of itself in the studies of New Englishes.

However, given that text type in the varieties under consideration lend themselves to the emerging patterns found in the present study, then the contributory role of genre as a determinant cannot be discounted. Of course the strong influence of genre on language use has been established and founded, though there are chances of being outweigh by another variable. Also, Wahid attributed his failure to find variety as a stronger predictor to the lack of a large sample size, which, on the basis of our sample size, may not be essentially necessary for the influence of variety to emerge as a better predictor of article use. One possible answer could be conceptualising the meaning/use of the definite article in such
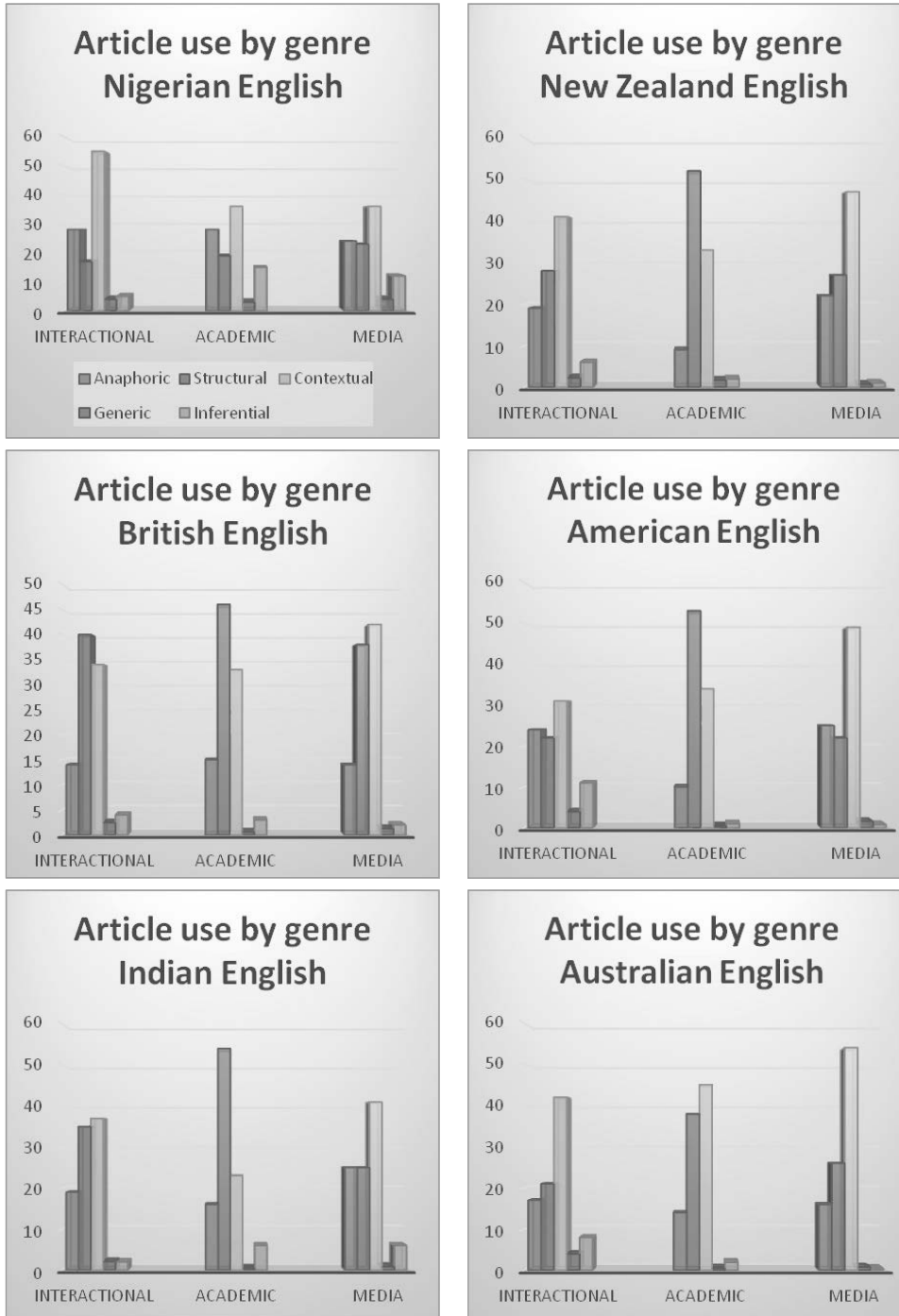
Fig. 2: Nigerian English compared to other Inner and Outer varieties in terms of the genres of interactional, academic and media.[3]

a way that accounts for interferences from article system in local languages that co-exist with the varieties at hand (e.g. Nigerian, and Indian English co-exist with many local languages that operate somewhat different article system from that of English).

## 5.3 Syntactic function

Given that syntactic function/position of structural element within the larger definite NP influences article use type (Hawkins 1978; Prince 1981), then it is important to find out whether such syntactic function of the whole definite NP within which the article appears is influential on choices of usage type. A chi square test of independence on the distribution shows that there is some relationship between the syntactic function of the NP and the article usage type $\{\chi^2 (5)=90.574\ p<0.0000\}$; anaphoric use is more likely to appear in subject NPs (30%) than in non-subject NPs (21%). Meanwhile, structural use is more likely to appear in non-subject NPs (21%) than in subject NPs (14%). On the basis of our expectation that, in some New Englishes such as Nigerian English, the subject NP which is far simpler than the non-subject NP will attract far less structural uses because the structural element (modification) required is rarely used in subject NP (Schilk and Schuab 2016), it is surprising that the variability between structural use in subject and non-subject NPs is very small (14% versus 21%). One would expect a much wider variation since modifications are more likely to appear with subject NP than non-subject NPs. One possible answer to this scenario is that modification is less likely to occur even with non-subject NPs in Nigerian English, such that Nigerian NPs are generally simple (Akinlotan and Housen 2017). The absence of modification thus means that many of the NPs are processed using contextual, immediate or distant mappings that are innate to the native speakers of Nigerian English or co-existing local Nigerian languages. In other words, choices of definite article in Nigerian are negotiated by the systems in the native language and the target system in Nigerian English (or the norm-providing variety, which is usually the British or American variety of English). The importance of context processing therefore validates the preference for contextual use in our corpus data, against other varieties where modification is more likely to occur in the non-subject NPs. Similarly, since non-subject NPs are more likely to co-occur with modification which contextualises the identification of the referent, then one would expect frequency that shows preferences for more contextual non-subject NPs than contextual subject NPs.

Figure 3 shows concisely the relative strength of variation occurring in relation to the syntactic position of the noun phrase with which the definite article is configured.

**Table 4.** A distribution of article use by grammatical functions of the NP

| | Anaphoric | | Contextual | | Inferential | | Structural | | Generic | | Assumptive | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Subject | 631 | 30 | 872 | 41 | 237 | 11 | 307 | 14 | 57 | 3 | 16 | 1 | 2120 | 100 |
| Non-subject | 1390 | 21 | 2787 | 43 | 704 | 11 | 1371 | 21 | 244 | 4 | 58 | 1 | 6554 | 100 |
| Total | 2021 | 23 | 3659 | 42 | 941 | 11 | 1678 | 19 | 301 | 3 | 74 | 1 | 8674 | 100 |
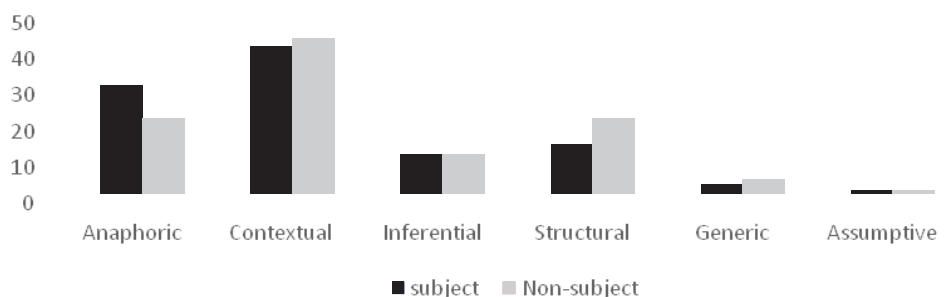


Fig. 3. Distribution of article use by the grammatical function of the NPs

As can be seen in Table 4 and Figure 3, grammatical function is not a very good predictor of article usage in this variety, although it reflects simplification idiosyncrasies inherent in Nigerian NP.

However, evidence from anaphoric and structural uses suggest that usages can still be linked and explained in terms of syntactic positions of the noun phrase in which the definite article appears.

## 6. Conclusion

The present paper has discussed the extent of variability in definite article usages in Nigerian English, simultaneously showing how this variety compares with similar varieties. The study also shows that there is emphatic variability in definite article usages in varieties that are similar to Nigerian English. It can be argued that variability in Nigerian English is significantly influenced by different article systems operating different local Nigerian languages. Such strong influence therefore outweighs the influence of genre, which has been noted in previous studies as a strong determinant explaining semantic and structural variation. On the basis of different text types studied, together with different variables, the study further shows that definite article usages in New Englishes can be well predicted. The

present study, which revises Wahid's (2013) method, shows that predictors might not only explain the variation underlying the phenomenon understudy, but also provide insights into peculiarities associated with the variety.

On the basis of clearer preferential pattern that emerges from variety (see Table 2 and Figure 1), which relegates genre and syntactic function, it can thus be said that variety as a variable in our case outweighs genre or syntactic function as a predictor of definite article usage. The inclusion of Nigerian English gives much more credence to the predicting strength of variety in article usage. In contrast to Wahid's finding, where structural use competes with situational/ contextual use, there is a clear preference for contextual (42%) use in Nigerian English, relegating structural use (19%) to the third position. The predictive strength of grammatical function, which is not so distant from genre, shows that uses/choices in (in)definite article (perhaps as well as other determiners) can, to some great extent, be explained in terms of the syntactic position of the phrase that bears them, even though our expectations are not clearly borne out. We had expected large variation between structural use in subject and non-subject NPs, but this turned out to be a sparse one at 14% versus 21%. However, the extent of such influence is subject to debate, and one possible speculation maybe that article system in Nigerian English manifests much more interference from the local Nigerian languages (Lamidi 2007). Also, the revision of definite article theoretic frameworks, together with associated issues of coding semantic categories, has shown that predicting linguistic choices is very sensitive to changes in context, no matter how small such changes could appear.

On the other hand, there is a convergence in the behaviour of academic text in which inferential uses are more likely to occur in academic text than in any other text, a scenario that is also present in Wahid's study. Irrespective of genre, contextual uses are predominant in Australian and Nigerian English. Accounting for inability to explain choices of definite article usage on the basis of differences in varieties, Wahid attributed this to the dissimilarity of data in the American variety to the other varieties. The fact that data in the present study is somewhat dissimilar to other varieties, and yet shows the relationship between variety and choices in definite article usage, shows that the lack of visibility in the preferential pattern in Wahid's study resulted from another underlying factor. Perhaps the nature of text type included in the varieties under study plays a very important role in the emergence of variety as a better predictor. In other words, genre and variety as variables predicting language choices are intertwined, which is evident in some convergence recorded among the varieties considered. For instance, in all the varieties studied, media and interaction texts appear to associate more with contextual use than with any other article usage. Also, the behaviour of genres in Nigerian English correlates with the behavior of genres in Australian English.

Missing out on one of our expectations, British English is found to have different preferential pattern to Nigerian English. In other words, New Zealand and

American Englishes are more similar to Nigerian English in the scale of definite article usage choices. Given findings in the present study, a further study undertaking the analysis of the interaction of syntactic function, genre and variety in relation to the choices of definite article use would advance our present knowledge. For instance, a multivariate analysis using logistic regression in which variables are analysed simultaneously may turn the slide. This would resound Görlach's (1998) assertion that the task of measuring the extent of variation, be it structural or semantic, in New Englishes should be a continuous endeavour.

## Notes

1    The scores in non-referential, idiomatic, and generic are added together, then divided by 3. For instance in Table 2, generic scores for British English is the average of 10.1 + 7.1 + 9.2 = 26.4 which is then divided by 3, resulting into 8.8. This adjustment method is repeated for all these cases.
2    Percentages are compared to Wahid's data (2013) of which generic percentages used here are derived from the average resulting from Non-referential, Idiomatic, and Generic because these categories are merged in the present study as one category of Generic.
3    Assumptive is not included as this category is not studied in Wahid.

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# The Use of Anglicisms in Various Thematic Fields: An Analysis Based on the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*\*

**Abstract**

This piece of research presents an analysis of the use of anglicisms in the Spanish press at the beginning of the 21st century. Specifically, it concentrates on their distribution in texts belonging to different thematic domains. Thus, the purpose of this study is to establish a ranking of specialised fields in terms of the frequency with which anglicisms are employed in them. In order to do so, the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (*CREA*), compiled by the Real Academia Española, is used as the source for texts, which supports the reliability and representativeness of the present work.

## 1. Introduction

The presence of anglicisms in the Spanish language constitutes a recurrent object of linguistic study nowadays. Many scholars have focused on the use of English loanwords in certain specific thematic areas, and even comparative pieces of research on various domains have been published (see section 2). However, in relation to specialised fields, an in-depth analysis of the situation of Spanish anglicisms at the beginning of the 21st century in a dynamic source such as the press, using large numbers of texts provided by an online corpus, was still to be done.

As a matter of fact, the use of existing language databases to study linguistic phenomena such as the one that will be dealt with in this article is a major advance in terms of reliability and representativeness. In this case, the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (*CREA*), compiled by the Real Academia Española and containing a large sample of texts classified in 93 different thematic areas, has been considered to be an appropriate source to carry out a study of anglicisms in the Spanish press (Oncins-Martínez 2012).[1]

Within this framework, the present study aims to classify the fields contained in the CREA in terms of the frequency with which anglicisms are employed in them. Moreover, the following hypothesis is tested: *Sports*, *computing*, *economics*, *advertising*, *and tourism are the topics in which anglicisms are more frequently employed.* This selection of thematic areas has been made in accordance with the existing amount of literature devoted to the study of anglicisms in different specialised fields (see section 2).

## 2. Research to date

The main thematic area concerning anglicisms in the 22nd edition of the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (*DRAE*), i.e. sports, as Domínguez Mejías (2002) reveals, is dealt with in Fernández García (1971). Specifically, he focuses on the word *sport* and its compounds and derivatives, as well as on other words belonging to this field (such as *golf*, *tennis*, *hockey*, *basket-ball*, *lawn-tennis*, and *fútbol* [original spelling]).

Other authors also delve into the use of anglicisms in the field of sports. Rodríguez Medina (2014) explores the influence of the English language in the vocabulary related to the sport activities that are practiced in Spanish gyms. Rodríguez González (2012) reports on several types of linguistic as well as socio-linguistic variation that are present in anglicisms belonging to the area of sports: (i) dialectal, (ii) lexical and morphological, (iii) stylistic and semantic – the last one including: lexical, graphematic, orthographic, phonological, and morpho-phonological. Balteiro Fernández (2011) carries out a contrastive analysis of the appearance of English forms in the *DRAE*, the *Nuevo diccionario de anglicismos* (Rodríguez and Lillo 1997) and the *CREA*. Finally, Mayoral Asensio (1997) considers stylistic variation as a reason why anglicisms survive in the vocabulary of sports (since there is a need to use a number of synonyms; for instance, *corner / saque de esquina*).

As far as English loanwords employed in the domain of economics are concerned, there is a great amount of literature that concentrates on this topic. Some treatments are PhD theses, such as Cece (2016), Vélez Barreiro (2003), Diéguez Morales (2003), and Alejo González ([1993] 2002).

In addition to these dissertations, numerous articles focus on the use of anglicisms in this field. Orts Llopis and Almela Sánchez-Lafuente (2009) offer an analysis as well as a description of the many English loanwords that have entered Spanish economic discourse during the Global Systemic Crisis. Later, in Orts Llopis and Almela Sánchez-Lafuente (2012, 89), the authors delve into the topic of their previous paper, but go further to develop "a system of lexical selection that reunites, analyzes and explains a representative group of real data".

With regard to the origin of neological terms in the area of economics,[2] Russo (2002) highlights that most of them are created in English, and Spanish specialists take them as loanwords or calque them. Six years later, the same author, Russo (2008), presents a very interesting analysis of the words *resilience* in English and *resiliencia* in Spanish within texts belonging to the domain of economics.

Considering the legal discursive field, Orts Llopis (2005, 49) highlights that "in the areas of finance and mercantile law most of the coinages are actually in English". According to Sánchez-Reyes Peñamaría and Durán Martínez (2002, 252), there are three particular areas in which anglicisms are more commonly employed: "el Derecho Mercantil, el Derecho Internacional y el Derecho Económico". Orts Llopis (2006) goes in depth into the first of these three branches, focusing on the import-export lexicon.

Moving on to the field of advertising, van Hooft Comajuncosas (2006) deals with the anglicisms found in the advertisements included in the Spanish edition of *Elle*, a magazine addressed to young and educated women. Using the same magazine but considering this time the editions from four other Western European countries too (Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands), Gerritsen et al. (2010) aim to check whether the same advertisement in English, on the one hand, and in the local language, on the other hand, performs a different effect on the target audience. Finally, a third related article (Gerritsen et al. 2007) answers a series of detailed research questions on the use of anglicisms in the adverts included in *Elle* magazine, carrying out a comparison of the editions published in several countries.

With respect to anglicisms in TV advertisements, González Cruz (2015, 339) presents a study of "a corpus of commercials recorded from four Spanish TV channels with high audience shares between 2013 and 2015". These adverts are related to three leisure fields: *technology*, *entertainment*, and *food and drink*. In the light of her findings, González Cruz (2015, 350) confirms "the noticeable presence of English in this influential mass media", highlighting "the prestige and sense of modernity[3] associated to English and the important role this language seems to play for linguistic creativity and lexical innovation". Most recently, García Morales et al. (2016) examine anglicisms in Spanish TV advertisements as recorded between 2013 and 2015.

The area of computing has also been dealt with in terms of the use of English loanwords. Cerdá Redondo et al. (2005) undertake a preliminary study of anglicisms related to the field of computer science (establishing a series of methodological bases that will be utilized throughout the development of their planned research project), which is later complemented by a more in-depth analysis presented in Díez Prados et al. (2007), where the authors discuss the process of integration that English loanwords undergo after entering the Spanish computing lexicon. To this end, and following Alejo (1998), they group anglicisms into three

different categories depending on their degree of assimilation: integrated loans, non-integrated loans, and code-switches. This same typology is proposed by Gallench and Posteguillo Gómez (2001, 243), whose work aims "to identify and describe the series of English borrowings and Spanish-into-English code-switches which take place in Spanish specialized discourse in the specific field of computer technology". To achieve this purpose, the authors carry out an analysis of 17 articles extracted from *Web*, *la revista de los usuarios de Internet*, an example of "Spanish computer specialised publications for professional and computer users in non-academic format and register" (Gallench and Posteguillo Gómez 2001, 243), and conclude that "the systematic use of these English borrowings and code-switches is (…) a representative linguistic device of these non-academic written texts" (Gallench and Posteguillo Gómez 2001, 251). Posteguillo (2002), who provides some data on the technological level of the Internet field, offers an account of the terminological layer, and quotes Shortis (2001) to explain the two main terminological creation processes that operate in the English language – namely, morphological ones and semantic ones.

A contrastive study of the impact of English on computing texts from the European and Mexican varieties of Spanish is laid out by Smessaert (2012) in her Master's dissertation. This author reports on the terminological influence of the English language on the written press in Spain and Mexico, focusing on the field of computing, specifically on webmail and social networks. She compares the data obtained from two corpora,[4] each from a different geographical area.

In her study on computing anglicisms in the Spanish press (1990–2004), Andersson (2008) demonstrates, on the grounds of her results, that there is not a decrease in the use of pure anglicisms in favour of their Spanish translations or of hybrid forms throughout the time span she analyses.

Another area that has been approached in relation to the use of anglicisms is fashion. With respect to this topic, Balteiro Fernández (2014) draws on the influence of English on the Spanish language of fashion, specifically on the relevant role played by -*ing* forms. Diez-Arroyo (2016) approaches the euphemistic value of anglicisms in Spanish fashion magazines, which "regard stylistic choices as a persuasive strategy to reach and appeal to their wide readership. Journalists have found in Anglicisms the perfect elements to perform this rhetorical function" (2016, 38).

Other areas that have been explored in relation to the presence of English loanwords are music (Vigara Tauste 2007; Olivares Baños 2009), health sciences (Gutiérrez Rodilla 1997; Alcaraz Ariza 1998; Navarro 2002; 2008), and the cinematographic language (Guzmán González 1986; Rodríguez Segura 1998; García Morales 2009).

Lastly here, a couple of studies that examine anglicisms in more than one specialised field will be adverted to. Tejedor Martínez et al. (2006) concentrate on the areas of economics, computing, and tourism.[5] Taking from their findings,

the authors claim that "se observan ciertas similitudes entre los tres ámbitos del español para fines específicos examinados" (Tejedor Martínez et al. 2006, 373). Also, it is worth mentioning an interesting work on anglicisms in the fields of computer science, medicine, tourism, and science and technology. Basing their analysis on a body of authentic texts, de la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez (2012) build a textual corpus covering several technical domains and including documents from different registers. Their "textual corpus of specialised disciplines stands at around 867,000 words" (de la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez 2012, 97). In addition, they design a database called ANGLICOR, where they store the following "data about every recorded item extracted from the corpus" (de la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez 2012, 98): definition, gender, number, etymology, presence or absence in Spanish dictionaries, source, graphic marks, semantic field, socio-pragmatic details, genre, and topic. "The total number of items included in the database is 4,607" (de la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez 2012, 98). The results of this research lead the authors to conclude that "the influence of English word-stock is pervasive, inasmuch as it extends into almost every field of Spanish vocabulary[6]… . Anglicisms are everywhere. Spanish is not immune to the growing phenomenon of English as a global language. It is, indeed, a tendency that will certainly continue in the future" (de la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez 2012, 112).

## 3. Methodology

The present article displays a study based on the anglicisms collected by Delia Rodríguez Segura (1998) in her PhD thesis. This work has been chosen because its author provides us with the most comprehensive list of anglicisms in Spanish from recent times. First, a selection from the words she compiles is made, in accordance with the series of criteria listed below. Then, the searches for these anglicisms are performed in the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (*CREA*). Finally, a compilation of data on the thematic fields in relation to the anglicisms that are found in each of them is carried out. The possibility of establishing certain filters offered by the *CREA* makes it feasible to refine the search according to the following parameters:
– Chronology: 2001 – 2004
– Medium: Newspapers
– Geography: Spain

With respect to the chronological period established, it must be remembered that Rodríguez Segura (1998) compiled her database of anglicisms in the 1990s. Thus, the years 2001–2004, which came immediately afterwards, constitute a reasonable period within which to check the actual contexts of use of the English loanwords she collected. Furthermore, this temporal selection is relevant because it

refers to the first four years of the 21st century. They are the only years belonging to the current century that are included in the *CREA*. The possibility of using the *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (*CORPES XXI*) was considered, since it covers more recent texts – the time span of this corpus now includes the period from 2001 to 2012. However, this option was finally rejected because, in relation to the thematic classification, it considers only general fields, whereas the *CREA* divides these broader categories into subfields as well. Due to the fact that this study intended to focus on areas such as *sports* or *computing* (that appeared in the lower level of the taxonomy), the latter corpus was chosen, the priority here being to investigate the thematic domains in greater depth.

As far as the medium is concerned, the press was selected as the source for texts because journalese characterizes fairly closely the state of the language a speech community possesses at a given moment and, at the same time, it fosters the spread of neologisms that have been coined recently (Luján García 1999; Furiassi 2008; Medina López 2004; del Pino Romero 2013; Oncins-Martínez 2012; Casado Velarde 2015).

On the matter of the geographical area, Spain was selected due to its location. Since the present piece of research intended to cover the press published in a non-English-Spanish-bilingual country, the US and the Philippines could not have been chosen. Latin America was an option, of course, but rather than randomly selecting from the various countries that make it up, the single country of Spain was settled on.

Therefore, taking Rodríguez Segura's (1998) list as a starting point, it was determined to search for instances of the anglicisms she collected in order to analyse real cases in which they have been employed relatively recently in the Spanish contemporary press. It should be noted here that a selection of the anglicisms provided by Rodríguez Segura (1998) in Appendix I of her thesis was made, leaving aside the following ones:

– Lexical anglicisms that she collected only from oral mass media. (She gives their phonetic transcription and their English spelling form or the standard Spanish one. Thus, since the focus of the present study is on written Spanish, these cases are irrelevant to its purposes.)
– What Rodríguez Segura (1998) calls "calco fraseológico" (phraseological calques): exclamations, interjections, adverbial and prepositional expressions and locutions, conversational formulae, idiomatic expressions, fixed phrases, etc. Pragmatic elements are outside the scope of this study.
– Paronymic semantic anglicisms (those cases in which the meaning of a Spanish word is influenced by that of an English one, and thus it acquires a new sense, a sense its English paronym bears) and semantic calques (those instances in which the English model is translated, and there is no direct etymological relationship between the English word and its Spanish rendering, although the two can have the same "étimo último"[7], for example, *to channel/ canalizar*).

– Abbreviations with no specification as to what they stand for.

After performing the searches for all the anglicisms (a total amount of 2,198), the concordances obtained were classified in terms of thematic field. It is necessary to clarify that it does not refer to the domain in which the anglicism would itself be located, but to the one where the text in which it appears has been placed in the *CREA* (see Appendix).

## 4. Results and discussion

The present study focuses on the 93 subfields of the classification provided in the *CREA* (i.e. those registered on the right-hand column of Table 1). Out of them, 86 show the presence of English loanwords. Due to space constraints, only the first 30 topic areas in the ranking (i.e. those with a higher number of tokens) are included in Table 2. In relation to the types (i.e. the different anglicisms that are employed in the texts belonging to each thematic field), the list of those appearing in the aforementioned 30 topic areas are displayed in Appendix.

The five fields located in the upper part of Table 2 are *sports*, *music*, *politics*, *computing*, and *cinema and video*. The following paragraphs offer some possible reasons for these results.

In relation to the domain which seems to be most inclined to feature anglicisms, the fact that most modern sports games are of Anglo-North American origin (cf. Rodríguez González 2012, 318) can be considered as the main motivating factor for its position in the classification. Those activities entered the recipient society accompanied by their original names. Since these games were unknown in Spanish-speaking countries before, no equivalents for the words that denominated them existed there. Consequently, when these activities were introduced, the two possible options were either to adopt their foreign names or to calque them into the receptor language. The findings obtained in this research (on texts dated from 2001 to 2004), which indicate that the sports domain is in top position, coincide with the results got by Domínguez Mejías (2002), who in fact establishes a classification according to the thematic areas where anglicisms are present in the 22nd ed. (2001) of the *DRAE* and concludes that the dominant field is sports. Accordingly, it may be posited that there is a correlation between the number of entries devoted to anglicisms related to sports in the *DRAE* (at least, in its 22nd ed.) and the number of texts dealing with sports that contain anglicisms in contemporary usage (2001–2004): the domain where they are actually most numerous is the most represented in the Academic Dictionary (*DRAE* 2001).

Moreover, the place of *sports* as the area taking in most anglicisms in the European Spanish press is also shared by another geographical variety of the same language. Indeed, Sánchez Fajardo's (2016) study of Cuban Spanish reveals that *sports* is also the field in which anglicisms appear most frequently.[8] What

is more, other languages are known to exhibit this characteristic too. In Seidel's (2010) systematic analysis, from a corpus-based perspective, of "the quantitative as well as the qualitative usage of English loanwords in the language of the German press" (Seidel 2010, 3), *sports* turns out to be the most common thematic category. In Andersen's (2011) distribution by domain of anglicisms appearing in the *Norwegian Newspaper Corpus*, the top position of the classification is also held by *sports* (42%).

The second place is occupied by *music*. As Luján García (2012) underlines, this sphere is very susceptible to English influence. This author points out that, nowadays, there are Spanish singers who compose and sing in English rather than in their mother tongue. These bands, that have English instead of Spanish names as well, have mainly two reasons for singing in English: first, since English is perceived as trendy, they employ it to look 'cool' and fashionable; second, this language allows them to address a major audience. In addition, most radio stations in Spain broadcast music in English and, moreover, others include different types of programmes exclusively in this foreign tongue. As concerns the spread of music-domain English to other languages, there is some evidence from Norwegian. Andersen (2011) claims that *music* is in the third out of eight classificatory positions as regards the distribution of the most frequent anglicisms appearing in the *Norwegian Newspaper Corpus*. (However, it should be noted that there is a significant difference between the first (42%) and second (33%) positions, on the one hand, and the third (8%), on the other hand.)

Surprisingly, *politics* outranks *computing* in the standings delineated in the present analysis. To my knowledge, only Seidel (2010), when studying the use of anglicisms in the German press, has reported on the field of *politics* as a thematic area susceptive to the introduction of English loanwords: this author maintains that the most frequent domain is *sports*, followed by *culture and education*, *economics and finance*, *sciences and technology*, and *politics and society*.

In the fourth position is *computing*. This field is constantly developing and launching innovations, which are carried out mainly in the US; hence, the new programmes, devices, etc. are given English names, and these are adopted into the Spanish vocabulary which is associated with the objects and concepts they refer to. Since the number of new technological items related to computer science is great, and unendingly appearing, many scholars have dealt with the influence of English on the Spanish language in this field, analysing it from various perspectives. Thus, the following works concentrate on this issue: Gallench and Posteguillo (2001), Posteguillo (2002), Cerdá Redondo et al. (2005), Munday (2005), Morin (2006), Tejedor Martínez et al. (2006), Díez Prados et al. (2007), Andersson (2008), Bolaños-Medina and Luján-García (2010), de la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez (2012), and Alcalde and Gregorio Cano (2013).

*Cinema and video*, as a pair, fall into the fifth place. The fact that films can deal with a wide range of subjects makes it possible for the texts focusing

on cinema and video to contain quite a large number of anglicisms relating to a variety of issues (see Appendix).[9] Nevertheless, some of the loanwords appearing in these texts belong, specifically, to the cinematographic area. In fact, as García Morales (2009, 12) asserts, "la estrecha relación entre la influencia del cine norteamericano en España y el empleo de voces procedentes del inglés en español es innegable".

The kind of analysis carried out in the present study offers the possibility of establishing which thematic areas more frequently accept anglicisms. Until recently, much research in this area has been guesswork, but today electronic corpora make it possible to confirm intuitions by examining hundreds or thousands of real cases (Oncins-Martínez 2012).

**Table 1.** Thematic classification in *CREA*: fields and subfields

| ARTS | Antiques; Architecture; Arts and culture in general; Craftmanship; Cinema and video; Dance; Design; Theatre; Sculpture; Different shows; Photography; Mass media; Music; Painting; Advertising |
|---|---|
| SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY | Astronomy, Biology; Biochemistry; Botany; Sciences and technology; Ecology; Electronics; Energy; Statistics; Physics; Geology; Different industries; Computing; Engineering; Mathematics; Meteorology; Chemistry; Technology; Veterinary science; Zoology and paleontology |
| SOCIAL SCIENCES, BELIEFS AND THOUGHTS | Anthropology; Archeology; Astrology and occultism; Civilization, Ethnology; Education; Eroticism, Sexology; Ethics; Philosophy; Folklore; Geography; History; Linguistics and language; Literature; Mythology; Women; Psychology; Religion; Sociology; Different documents; Town planning |
| LEISURE TIME, DAILY LIFE | Current affairs; Hobbies; Household issues; Customs; Sports; Gastronomy, cookery; Gardening; Games; Fashion; Tauromachy; Tourism; Housing |
| POLITICS, ECONOMICS, COMMERCE AND FINANCE | Commerce; Law; Development; Economics and public purse; Army, Military science; Employment, jobs; Companies; Government; Church; Industry; Justice, Legislation; Marketing; Business; Politics; Civil defence; Social security; Traffic; European Union |
| HEALTH | Biomedicine; Pharmacology; Medicine; Homeopathic medicine; Nutrition; Psychiatry; Health; Public health |

**Table 2.** The 30 highest-ranking topics and the number of tokens for each

|    | Topic | Tokens of anglicisms |
|----|-------|----------------------|
| 1  | Sports | 3902 |
| 2  | Music | 1372 |
| 3  | Politics | 1196 |
| 4  | Computing | 880 |
| 5  | Cinema and video | 831 |
| 6  | Justice, legislation | 568 |
| 7  | Army, military science | 464 |
| 8  | Sciences and technology | 436 |
| 9  | Current affairs | 392 |
| 10 | Mass media | 388 |
| 11 | Economics and public purse | 303 |
| 12 | Tourism | 291 |
| 13 | Medicine | 289 |
| 14 | Town planning | 230 |
| 15 | Health | 220 |
| 16 | Arts and culture in general | 217 |
| 17 | Different industries | 207 |
| 18 | Civil defence | 200 |
| 19 | Literature | 190 |
| 20 | Theatre | 190 |
| 21 | Technology | 162 |
| 22 | Education | 157 |
| 23 | Different documents | 155 |
| 24 | Companies | 131 |
| 25 | Business | 119 |
| 26 | Gastronomy, cookery | 114 |
| 27 | History | 111 |
| 28 | Games | 102 |
| 29 | Astronomy | 99 |
| 30 | Fashion | 91 |

With respect to the hypothesis stated at the beginning of this discussion, that *Sports*, *computing*, *economics, advertising and tourism are the topics in which anglicisms are more frequently employed*, it is seen that only two out of these five areas have been proved to be included among the top five fields in the ranking.

Indeed, the thematic domain in which anglicisms are employed most frequently in Spanish is *sports*. *Computing* occupies the fourth place in the scale, *music* and *politics* ranking in the second and third places, respectively. The fifth one is for *cinema and video*. *Economics* (*and public purse*) is located in the 11th position, whereas *tourism* appears in the 12th place of the classification. Surprisingly, *advertising* is not even among the top 30 thematic areas in terms of tokens of anglicisms employed (see Table 2).

## 5. Conclusions

As Medina López ([1996] 2004, 27) states, the use of anglicisms is not a homogeneous issue; it can only be understood if viewed in terms of a variety of lexical fields. By using corpus analysis in an approach to the employment of English loanwords in journalese, it has been possible to demonstrate, on evidence from a large number of texts, which lexical fields, or topic areas, take in most anglicisms. Needless to say, the results obtained in this study represent tendencies and cannot confidently be generalized, since they are based on a limited collection of texts. Still, because the corpus analysed is a representative and balanced sample of the Spanish contemporary press (including 55 different sources), the findings may be considered a reliable reflection of Spanish journalese during the span under consideration (2001–2004). The section of the *CREA* employed (2001–2004, Spain, newspapers, all topics) consists of as many as 5,836,589 words.

Furthermore, although the anglicisms examined have been limited to those collected by Rodríguez Segura (1998), and others surely occur in the journalistic texts stored in the *CREA* (2001–2004, Spain, all topics), the sum of individual anglicisms searched for numbers to 2,198,[10] a figure which constitutes a significant set of English loanwords.

As regards the 93 thematic areas into which texts are classified in the *CREA*, 86 of them feature one or more anglicisms in at least one of their documents. In descending order, *sports*, *music*, *politics*, *computing*, and *cinema and video* are the fields boasting the higher concentrations of relevant evidence.

Thus, *music* and *politics* occupy the second and third places, respectively, according to the data culled and adduced here. However, these topic areas have scarcely been treated in the existing literature on anglicisms in Spanish. In contrast, *fashion*, a widely studied topic, appears here well down the list in the 30th place. It is also surprising that *business*, a field supposedly rife with anglicisms, ranks 25th. Admittedly, this alternate ranking may be due to a difference in the parameters considered for the inclusion of words: whereas most previous studies have included in their compilations only those loanwords which themselves belong to a certain thematic domain (irrespective of the thematic area of the texts within which the loans occur), the present piece of research takes into account the

thematic area of the texts where the anglicisms registered by Rodríguez Segura (1998) appear.

The findings obtained in the present study warns us about the necessity of carrying out further analyses of the use of English loanwords in the areas of *music*, *politics*, and *cinema and video* (for instance, in various newspapers as well as in the supplements that some of them publish) in order to go more deeply into the presence of anglicisms in these socio-cultural thematic domains.

Finally, the use of the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*, an electronic resource developed by the Real Academia Española, has provided this study of anglicisms in the Spanish press at the beginning of the 21st century with high reliability. Thanks to this corpus, it has been possible to obtain results in terms of frequency of use which have long been elusive.

## Notes

1   The *CREA* is a representative and balanced corpus of the Spanish language, which is freely available at www.rae.es and stores one hundred and sixty million forms approximately. It consists of a vast number of texts extracted from different sources and held electronically. It covers a temporal span that goes from 1975 until 2004 and an array of oral (10%) as well as written (90%) texts produced in all the Spanish-speaking countries. The written part has been selected from books, newspapers, journals, magazines, and miscellaneous sources. Considering the sample extracted from the press, it includes a great variety of copies (of national as well as local newspapers, generalist and specialized ones, etc.).

2   On neologisms in this specialised field, Ainciburu (2003, 186) states that "[e]l problema más obvio de la producción neológica es el de la invasión por préstamo de los anglicismos, problema que se puede observar en todos los sectores del idioma, pero que es fundamental en el lenguaje económico".

3   See above, Gerritsen et al. (2007). However, an unwonted case can be highlighted in the area of cleaning: the American product "Mr. Clean" (which belongs to Procter & Gamble; https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Don_Limpio), appeared in Spain as "Mr. Proper" (Rodríguez Segura 1998, ch.4.4.2.4.; this PhD thesis is not paginated), and it was its name for years. However, at a certain point in time, this English name was substituted by a Spanish one: the product has been called "Don Limpio" since that moment.

4   "Utilizaremos ahora los corpus de ambos trabajos (Coryn 2011 and Smessaert 2011), los cuales constituirán el corpus español utilizado para el presente trabajo. Ese corpus español lo contrastaremos con el mexicano, elaborado ese último para los fines específicos de la presente investigación" (Smessaert 2012, 12).

5   The use of anglicisms in Spanish touristic texts has also been dealt with in

works such as de la Cruz Cabanillas, Mancho Barés, and Tejedor Martínez (2009) and Rocamora Abellán (1999).

6    The authors point out that, although their corpus comprises documents belonging to specialised fields, "these texts very often contain articles dealing with other topics and thus we have recorded terms from general language, as well" (98).

7    For Pratt (1980), a landmark in the study of English borrowings adopted by Spanish, anglicisms are only those words whose "étimo inmediato" (i.e. the tongue from which they have been taken directly, no matter the languages in which they have been employed in their previous history; cf. "étimo último", the first and most remote language in which the word was coined, normally Latin or Greek) is the English language. On the contrary, Lorenzo Criado (1996) collects words that come from English, directly or through other languages.

8    In this case, it is not just the press that has served as the source for obtaining the anglicisms; the author has consulted dictionaries, glossaries, web pages, newspapers, etc.

9    It must be kept in mind that, in the present piece of research, the classification in terms of fields corresponds to that included in the *CREA*: it is the texts that are disposed according to the subject they deal with; therefore, the allocation of a loanword within a certain thematic area does not depend on the field this word itself belongs to, but to the one the text (where it appears) fits in. Sometimes, the concept that a given anglicism points to in a given case is connected to the topic within which the text is classified (for example, when *club* refers to a football team, the text belongs to "sports", while when this word appears in the term *club de alterne* it is found in a document referring to "justice, law"). Nevertheless, this connection is not always present. As a matter of fact, the *CREA* contains texts dealing with sports clubs involved in judicial issues, being the document included, thus, within the topic "justice, law" (see Appendix).

10   Out of them, there are 1,404 Anglicisms for which no concordances have been obtained in the *CREA* (2001 – 2004, Spain, press, all topics).

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# Appendix

Topics and types in *CREA*

| Topic | N. of types | List of Types |
|-------|-------------|---------------|
| Sports | 201 | aeróbic, aire acondicionado, antidopaje, approach, ATP, autocar, autocares, bar, barbacoa, basket, béisbol, bicicleta de montaña, birdie, birdies, bogey, bogeys, boxeador, boxes, break, bus, cambiar el chip, cámping, campus, CD, challenge, chárter, chut, chutar, club, clubes, clubs, cocktail, cóctel, córner, córners, crack, cross, dandy, derby, dopado, dopaje, dopante, doparse, doping, dream team, drive, drop, DV, DVD, eagle, e-mail, eslogan, esquí, esquiador, estándar, estrellato, estrés, fan, fans, fax, FBI, feeling, filmar, fitness, folclore, fútbol, futbolista, gadgets, gay, gays, glamour, gol, goleada, goleador, goles, golf, golfista, green, guru, hándicap, hobby, hockey, hooligans, iceberg (ser algo la punta del iceberg), indoor, internet, inusual, jersey, judo, junior, juniors, kart, kick boxing, killer, láser, líder, liderar, liderato, liderazgo, líderes, light, manager, managers, marketing, márketing, match, mediático, minimalista, misil, misiles, mister, mountain bike, NASA, off, OTAN, outdoor, parking, pedigrí, penalti, penalty, play, playboy, play-off, play-offs, póker, pole, pole position, pop, prensa amarilla, pub, pubs, putter, putts, rally, rallye, rallyes, rallys, ranking, rap, reality show, récord, relax, rifle, ring, robot, robotizar, rol, round, rugby, scooter, senior, seniors, set, sets, show, sida, sir, skate, ski, slalom, snow, snowboard, spots, sprint, squash, standard, step, street, stretching, surf, suspense, swing, tee, teléfono, televisión, tenis, tenista, test, tie break, tobogán, top ten, transfer, tránsfer, trial, túnel, turismo, turista, turística, turístico, USA, versus, videojuego, village, vip, VIP, warm-up, waterpolo, web, whisky, yanqui, yanquis |
| Music | 230 | acid, afro, aire acondicionado, alta fidelidad, ambient, amplificador, arty, background, bar, base de datos, beat, bermudas, big band, blues, bluesman, bluesy, boom, break, breakdance, brit, british, brothers, cambiar el chip, cámpings, cannabis, cásting, CD, CD's, chat, climax, club, clubes, clubs, CNN, cóctel, cool, correo electrónico, country, crack, dance, dandy, disc-jockey, disco compacto, disco duro, dólar, drogadicción, DVD, elepé, elepés, e-mail, en vivo, esnobista, establishment, estándar, estándares, estrellato, fan, fans, fashion, feeling, filme, flash, FM, folclor, folclórica, folclórico, folk, folklore, folklórica, folklórico, funk, funky, fútbol, futbolista, gay, gays, GB, |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | gentleman, gin-tonic, glam, glamour, glamouroso, goles, golf, gospel, grammy, grunge, gueto, hall, happy hour, hard, hard rock, hardware, heavy, heavy metal, hip hop, hippies, hippy, hobbie, hooligans, house, iceberg (ser algo la punta del iceberg), indie, interactivo, internet, inusual, jazz, jazzístico, jazzman, jazz-rock, jet, kitsch, láser, líder, liderar, líderes, lounge, LP, LPs, made in, management, manager, managers, marketing, márketing, MB, mediático, merchandising, mini-CD, minidisc, minimal, minimalismo, minimalista, misiles, mixtura, multimedia, music hall, noise, on, on line, out, pack, parking, party, PC, pedigrí, performance, performances, play back, playback, playboy, plug-ins, póker, pop, pop-rock, póster, power, pub, punk, punk-rock, rap, rapero, récord, reggae, remix, reverb, revival, riffs, ring, rock, rock and roll, rockabilly, rockero, rol, saloon, sampler, samplers, saxofón, set, sexy, show, show business, showman, sida, single, singles, sir, ska, snowboard, software, soul, spot, standard, star, step, stoniano, surf, swing, techno, tecno, teléfono, televisión, test, tex-mex, thrash, tiempo parcial, a, tocadiscos, trailers, trash, trip, trip-hop, tripi, túnel, turismo, turística, turístico, underground, UNESCO, unisex, videoclip, vinilo, vip, walkman, web, West End, whisky, yanqui, yanquis, yonkis, yuppies |
| Politics | 153 | aislacionista, alta fidelidad, apartheid, bar, base de datos, béisbol, bingo, blue jeans, body (el body), boicot, boicoteo, bulldozers, búnker, búnkeres, cámping, campus, chequear, CIA, ciberpunk, clan, club, clubes, CNN, cocktail, cóctel, consultoría, correo electrónico, cowboy, crooner, dandy, dólar, downtown, DVD, en vivo, eslogan, esquí, esquiar, establishment, estándares, fair play, fax, FBI, flash, folclore, folclórica, folclórico, fútbol, futbolista, gasóleo, gay, gays, gente guapa, gol, goleada, goles, golf, gong, hacker, hall, hockey, homeless, iceberg (ser algo la punta del iceberg), implementar, internet, inusual, IRA, jeans, jet, láser, líder, liderar, liderazgo, líderes, light, lobby, lores, marine, marines, marketing, márketing, master, mediático, mercadeo, misil, misiles, mitin, mítin, number one, off the record, on line, OTAN, parking, piercing, play, pop, póquer, póster, power, premier, prime time, privacidad, pubs, puzzle, radar, realidad virtual, récord, robot, rock, rockero, rol, round, rugby, sandwich, sauna, senior, seniors, SIDA, sir, skin, slogan, software, spot, spots, sprint, squash, stablishment, status, suspense, tabloide, tabú, teléfono, televisión, test, tetra-brik, tories, tormenta de ideas, trailer, túnel, turismo, turista, turística, turístico, USA, video, VIH, vs, walkie (talkie), water, web, whisky, WWF, yanqui, yogur |

| Computing | 108 | aerolínea, banners, bar, base de datos, bits, bloc, boom, browser, buffer, bus, bytes, caché, cannabis, CD, CD-ROM, chat, chequeo, chip, clubes, CNN, comida basura, computador, computadora, consultoría, cookies, copyright, correo electrónico, CPU, disco compacto, disco duro, disquete, disquetes, dólar, drive, driver, DVD, e-mail, escáner, estándar, estándares, fans, fax, FBI, filme, flash, formatear, freeware, fútbol, GB, golf, gong, hardware, hobby, hockey, http, implementar, indexar, interfaz, internet, láser, líder, liderar, líderes, marketing, MB, megabytes, microsoft, módem, multimedia, NASA, on, on line, party, PC, plug and play, plug-in, plug-ins, póker, pop, privacidad, punk-rock, radar, RAM, ranking, récord, removible, RISC, robot, robótica, rock, shareware, sida, software, stand, teléfono, televisión, test, touch, turismo, turística, turístico, UNESCO, versus, video, videoclip, videojuego, web, zoom |
|---|---|---|
| Cinema and video | 188 | (en) off, aislacionismo, arty, asesino en serie, bar, barbacoa, base de datos, basket, béisbol, bikini, bits, body (el body), boom, boxeador, casting, CD, CD-ROM, CIA, cinemascope, clan, click, clip, club, CNN, cóctel, comic, cool, correo electrónico, country, crack, crooner, dandi, dólar, drogadicto, DV, DVD, electroshock, e-mail, en el aire, escáner, eslogan, esnifar, estrellato, estrés, fan, fans, fashion victim, FBI, feeling, film, filmación, filmar, filme, filmes, films, flash, flashes, folk, folklore, friqui, full contact, full time, fútbol, futbolista, gag, gags, gay, gays, glamour, gol, golf, gore, hacker, hip hop, hippy, hockey, hooligans, indie, internet, inusual, IRA, jazz, jeep, jetlag, karts, kit, kitsch, líder, líderes, loft, look, made in, magazine, marca de fábrica, mediático, minimalismo, miss, mister, mitin, off, on, on line, oscars, out, outsider, PC, performances, póker, polaroid, pop, póquer, prime time, privacidad, pub, punch, punk, rafting, rapero, récord, remake, remakes, rifle, ring, road movie, robótica, rock, rol, rugby, sampleado, sex-symbol, share, sheriff, show, showman, sida, skate, skateboard, sketch, sketches, sketchs, slang, smoking, snowboard, software, soul, sport, spot, spots, star system, starlettes, status, street, strip-tease, surf, surfista, suspense, tabú, tandem, teenager, telefilme, teléfono, televisión, tenis, test, thriller, top model, trailer, trailers, trash, trekkie, túnel, turismo, underground, UNESCO, USA, versus, video, videoclub, vinilo, web, West Village, western, westerns, whisky, yanqui, yanquis, zapping, zombies |
| Justice, legislation | 128 | adicción (a las drogas), antidopaje, approach, asesino en serie, bar, base de datos, beatle, béisbol, boicot, boom, cabezas |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | rapadas, caché, campus, cannabis, casting, CD, CD's, chárter, chat, chequeo, chip, CIA, clan, club, clubes, clubs, CNN, cóctel, comida rápida, copyright, correo electrónico, country, data-mining, disc-jockey, disco duro, disquetes, dólar, dopado, dopaje, drogadicción, DVD, e-mail, escáner, eslogan, esquí, estándar, estándares, estrés, fax, FBI, ferry, film, filmar, folk, fútbol, futbolista, gasóleo, gay, gays, heavy metal, hobby, holding, hooligans, iceberg (ser algo la punta del iceberg), interactivo, internet, inusual, IRA, lady, láser, líder, liderar, liderazgo, líderes, lifting, marines, mediático, misil, misiles, mitin, on, on line, OTAN, out, overbooking, parking, PC, piercing, playboy, pop, premier, privacidad, pub, puzzles, rallye, ranking, rap, reality, reality show, récord, revólver, rifle, robot, rock, rockero, scanner, sex-shop, skin, software, spray, status, tabloide, teléfono, televisión, télex, tenis, test, trailer, trailers, túnel, turismo, turista, turística, turístico, web, whisky, yanqui, yanquis |
| Army, military science | 56 | aire acondicionado, autocar, bar, base de datos, briefing, búnker, campus, cascos azules, CIA, CNN, cóctel, cowboy, dólar, eslogan, estrés, FBI, filmación, filmar, finger, flash, fútbol, gángster, internet, intranet, inusual, IRA, jeep , jersey, líder, liderar, liderazgo, líderes, lobby, marine, marines, misil, misiles, OTAN, póker, premier, privacidad, puzzle, radar, radares, rafting, rifle, robot, rol, teléfono, televisión, test, túnel, turística, video, web, yanqui |
| Science and technology | 105 | aire acondicionado, base de datos, bicicleta de montaña, bits, búnker, caché, campus, CD, CD-ROM, chat, chip, CIA, CNN, consultoría, correo electrónico, CPU, discman, disco compacto, disco duro, DV, DVD, e-mail, en vivo, escanear, escáner, eslogan, estándar, estándares, estrés, fans, fax, faxes, FBI, filmar, filme, freelance, fútbol, GB, gol, goles, hardware, hit parade, http, interactivo, interfaz, internet, intranet, junior, killer, kit, know-how, láser, líder, líderes, lord, made in, marketing, MB, mecadotecnia, minimalista, misiles, módem, multimedia, NASA, off, on, on line, party, PC, pecé, PIN, power, privacidad, radar, radares, rally, RAM, rap, realidad virtual, récord, rifle, robot, robótica, rock, script, sets, sida, single, software, spin, teléfono, televisión, tenis, test, trailer, transistor, turismo, turista, turística, versus, videojuego, walkie (talkie), walkman, web, zoom |
| Current affaires | 126 | aeróbic, aeroclub, aerolínea, aire acondicionado, autocar, baby boom, badminton, bar, base de datos, bicicleta de montaña, blues, boxeador, bus, campus, cannabis, CD, chip, clan, club, clubes, cool, correo electrónico, dandy, |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | disc-jockey, disco duro, DVD, esquí, esquiador, esquiar, estándar, estrellato, estrés, fan, fans, fashion, feeling, filme, filmes, fitness, folclórico, footing, funk, fútbol, futbolista, gay, gays, glamour, godspell, goleada, goles, golf, hall, hip hop, hit, house, internet, inusual, IRA, jazz, jersey, jet, líder, liderazgo, líderes, lobby, look, magazines, managers, marketing, master, microchip, misil, miss, multimedia, NASA, OTAN, out, parking, pedigrí, penalti, performance, performances, play, playboy, pop, power, premier, privacidad, pub, pubs, puenting, rally, rallyes, rapero, rasta, récord, road movie, robot, rock, round, show, showman, soul, speaker, spot,  stand, stop, surfing, tabloide, teléfono, televisión, tenis, tenista, top-less, túnel, turismo, turista, turística, turístico, USA,  video, web, weekend, wonderbra, yogur, zapping |
| Mass media | 62 | CNN, (en) off, boicot, casting, cásting, club, clubes, clúster, comedia de situación, comunicacional, DVD, electroshock, eslogan, fans, fanzine, filmes, flash, FM, fútbol, gags, gays, glamour, goles, internet, jersey, líder, liderazgo, líderes, magazine, magazines, marketing, mediático, NASA, PC, penalti, póquer, prime time, priones, ranking, reality, reality show, récord, round, share, show, showman, sketches, sketchs, suspense, talk show, teléfono, televisión, tenis, terminator, terminators, test, top ten, underground, USA, web, whisky, zapping |
| Economics and public purse | 44 | baby boom, boom, cash flow, CD, club, clubes, denim, dólar, eslogan, estándar, estándares, fax, fútbol, futbolista, gasóleo, glamour, hockey, holding, internet, líder, liderazgo, líderes, light, marketing, márketing, mister, PC, pop, ranking, récord, rol, senior, stocks, tandem, teléfono, televisión, test, tiempo completo, a, túnel, turismo, turística, turístico, USA, web |
| Tourism | 44 | aire acondicionado, apartheid, autocar, autocares, bar, batir un récord, bus, cámping, cátering, CD, club, clubes, correo electrónico, dólar, driblar, e-mail, folclor, folclórica, fútbol, gay, golf, hooligans, interactivo, jazz, kitsch, líder, liderar, líderes, récord, rock, stand, stop, surf, teléfono, televisión, turismo, turista, turística, turístico, video, videojuego, VIP, web, WWF |
| Medicine | 48 | base de datos, boom, chip, cociente intelectual, correo electrónico, dólar, dopante, en vivo, escáner, estándar, estándares, estandarización, estrés, estresante, fútbol, gays, hiper, inputs, interactivo, inusual, láser, líder, liderar, liderazgo, líderes, mix, on line, out, output, outputs, récord, rock, rol, scanner, sida, SIDA, software, standard, teléfono, televisión, test, trial, versus, VIH, vs, web, whisky, yogur |

| Town planning | 42 | autocares, baby boom, badminton, bar, bingo, boom, bungalows, bus, cámping, camping gas, campus, CD-ROM, club, clubes, comida rápida, correo electrónico, dúplex, fax, folclore, folklórico, footing, fútbol, gol, golf, hándicap, jacuzzi, líder, liderazgo, lord, pádel, parking, sauna, skate, stock, teléfono, televisión, tenis, test, túnel, turismo, turística, turístico |
|---|---|---|
| Health | 66 | adicción (a las drogas), aerobic, aire acondicionado, antidopaje, antiestrés, bar, bypass, by-pass, cannabis, chequeo, club, cóctel, comida rápida, computador, correo electrónico, crack, drogadicción, drogadicto, drogas de diseño, e-mail, escáner, estándar, estándares, estandarizar, estrés, estresante, finger, flash, FSH, fútbol, gasóleo, hippy, hockey, iceberg (ser algo la punta del iceberg), internet, inusual, láser, láseres, lavavajillas, lentes de contacto, líder, liderazgo, líderes, light, OTAN, PC, peeling, piercing, pub, ranking, rol, sandwichera, SIDA, sida, software, teléfono, televisión, tenis, test, turismo, turista, turística, VIH, web, whisky, yonquis |
| Arts and culture in general | 99 | aeróbic, bar, base de datos, blues, body art, boom, campus, clown, club, clubes, cocktail, compact disc, correo electrónico, cyborg, dealers, drogadicto, DV, DVD, e-mail, en vivo, eslogan, estándar, fashion, fast food, FBI, film, filme, filmes, FM, folclore, folk, funky, fútbol, gay, gays, goles, gueto, hall, hamburguesa, happening, hardware, hip hop, hiper, interactivo, interfaz, internet, inusual, jazz, kitsch, líder, líderes, magazines, marketing, mass media, master, mediático, minimal, minimalismo, minimalista, multimedia, off, offset, on, on line, PC, performance, performances, pop, pop-rock, privacidad, pub, punk, puzzle, récord, revival, revólver, robótica, rock, rol, sexy, soft, software, stablishment, stand, superstar, tabú, teléfono, televisión, tenista, turismo, underground, UNESCO, USA, video, videoclip, videojuego, web, whisky, yogur |
| Different industries | 76 | ABS, acre, aerolínea, airbag, aire acondicionado, bar, base de datos, boom, bus, campus, cátering, CD, CD-ROM, charter, chip, club, cóctel, compost, correo electrónico, cross, disco compacto, dólar, DVD, en vivo, escúter, escúteres, estándar, estandarización, estrés, ferry, fútbol, gasóleo, holding, implementar, input, intercooler, internet, joint venture, kit, líder, liderar, liderazgo, líderes, lifting, light, lobby, marketing, multimedia, NASA, off, overbooking, parking, pick up, radar, rallys, récord, scooter, spoiler, stand, stocks, teléfono, telemárketing, televisión, toffee, toffees, top ten, trust, túnel, turismo, turista, turístico, USA, váteres, web, whisky, WWF |

| Civil defence | 55 | CNN, adicción (a las drogas), aerolínea, autocar, bar, béisbol, bikini, camping gas, chequeo, CIA, club, compact, crack, disquetes, drogas de diseño, esquí, esquiador, estándares, FBI, ferry, filmación, folclórica, fútbol, futbolista, gasoil, gasóleo, hiper, internet, jersey, ketchup, líder, liderar, líderes, marines, marketing, NASA, parking, privacidad, pub, pubs, radar, revólver, robot, speed, surf, teléfono, televisión, trailer, túnel, turismo, turista, turístico, video, web, whisky |
|---|---|---|
| Literature | 98 | aire acondicionado, aislacionista, approach, asesino en serie, autocares, bar, beat, bermudas, best-seller, boom, boxeador, boy, búnker, bus, campus, chip, CIA, click, club, cool, correo electrónico, crack, dandi, derby, disc-jockey, disquete, dólar, eslogan, esnob, esnobismo, estrés, fair play, fan, fans, fanzine, FBI, filmación, filmar, filme, filmes, flash, flashes, flirtear, folclore, free, fútbol, futbolista, gay, gays, gentleman, goleada, gueto, happy-, hard, hippies, hippy, internet, inusual, jazzístico, jeep, jogging, kitsch, líder, liderar, light, lord, mediático, mercadeo, mixtura, multimedia, PC, play, pop, póster, puzzle, realidad virtual, récord, rock, round, sketch, software, superstar, suspense, tabú, teléfono, televisión, tenis, thriller, tique, túnel, turf, turismo, turístico, USA, video, web, western, whisky |
| Theatre | 86 | afro, bar, body art, boxeador, break, campus, casting, clan, clown, clownesco, club, cluster, cóctel, comida rápida, computador, en vivo, fan, feeling, film, filmación, filme, filmes, flash, folclor, folclore, folclórica, folk, folklore, freaks, funk, funky, fútbol, gags, hall, hamburguesa, hip hop, hippie, hippy, interactivo, interfaz, internet, inusual, jazz, kart, líder, mediático, minimal, minimalista, misiles, multimedia, off, on, performance, performances, ping pong, play, pop, póquer, puzzle, ragtime, ranking, realidad virtual, revival, ring, robot, rock, rol, show, showman, sida, sketches, slalom, software, spots, standard, teléfono, televisión, thriller, transformers, túnel, UNESCO, USA, VIPs, vs, web, working |
| Technology | 62 | ABS, alta fidelidad, alto standing, amplificador, arcade, banners, bits, boom, caché, campus, CD, chip, computador, consultoría, correo electrónico, disco duro, disquetes, DVD, escáner, escáners, filmación, filmes, flash, FM, fútbol, GB, gigabytes, goles, hardware, high tech, iceberg (ser algo la punta del iceberg), interactivo, interfaz, internet, intranet, liderazgo, light, lobby, MB, módem, multimedia, NASA, on line, PC, pin, rail, RAM, récord, réflex, robot, software, standing, teléfono, televisión, terabyte, transistor, túnel, turismo, turística, videojuego, web, zoom |

| Education | 56 | aerobic, a tiempo parcial, autocares, bermudas, campus, CD, chat, cociente intelectual, correo electrónico, crack, discapacitado, disco compacto, DNA, e-mail, eslogan, estándar, estrés, estresante, feedback, fútbol, GMAT, interactivo, internet, intranet, inusual, jazz, judo, liderazgo, líderes, light, marketing, mass media, master, masters, MBA, mediático, multimedia, on line, PC, play back, priones, récord, robótica, rock, rol, sida, software, soul, suspense, teléfono, televisión, turismo, turístico, UNESCO, versus, web |
|---|---|---|
| Different documents | 64 | aire acondicionado, bar, bermudas, bulldozer, bus, cámping, CD, clan, club, cóctel, electroshock, e-mail, esnob, esnobismo, estrés, fashion, footing, fútbol, futbolista, gay, gays, gol, goles, golf, hippie, hit, hobby, indi, internet, líder, líderes, lobby, made in, márketing, mediático, misil, misiles, off the record, panties, pop, póster, pub, pubs, punk, punkis, radar, récord, reggae, robótica, rock, show, sida, star, teléfono, televisión, tenis, top-less, tormenta de ideas, túnel, turismo, turística, video, walkie (talkie), yanquis |
| Companies | 49 | aerolínea, bonus, boom, cash, clan, club, consultoría, correo electrónico, dólar, e-business, esquí, estándares, fashion, fútbol, gasoil, gasóleo, glamour, goleada, golf, holding, inputs, internet, jeans, just-in-time, líder, liderar, liderazgo, lobby, made in, manager, marketing, MBA, multimedia, PC, ranking, récord, slip, software, status, stock, stocks, tandem, teléfono, televisión, tops, turismo, turística, turístico, web |
| Business | 45 | aerolínea, a tiempo parcial, beatle, búnker, business to business, campus, cash, cátering, clan, clubes, computadora, consultoría, core, correo electrónico, dólar, eslogan, estándares, estrés, free float, fútbol, gasóleo, holding, hub, internet, joint venture, know-how, leasing, líder, liderar, liderazgo, líderes, marketing, master, mediático, on line, out, pop, privacidad, récord, stocks, teléfono, televisión, turismo, turístico, web |
| Gastronomy, cookery | 55 | bacon, bar, barman, base de datos, bol, boom, CD, club, clubes, cocktail, cóctel, comida rápida, correo electrónico, curry, dólar, donuts, en vivo, esquí, fútbol, ginger ale, hamburguesa, holding, interfaz, jazz, jet, lumpen, manager, marketing, mediático, minimalista, mixtura, PC, planning, pop, póquer, récord, sida, slip, sprint, stand, status, surf, teléfono, televisión, tetrabrick, tex-mex, the end, túnel, turismo, turístico, twist, village, web, whisky, yogur |
| History | 57 | acre, a tiempo parcial, baby boom, bar, barbacoa, base de datos, boicot, búnkeres, CD, cheerleader, CIA, clan, |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | club, copyright, DVD, estrés, estresante, FBI, ferry, filme, folclore, folclórico, folklore, folklórico, fútbol, iceberg (ser algo la punta del iceberg), inusual, jersey, líder, liderazgo, líderes, light, lobby, lumpen, marines, mediático, misiles, mitin, mixtura, on, OTAN, privacidad, pubs, ranking, récord, rol, sida, status, tabú, teléfono, televisión, tenis, turismo, turística, turístico, web, zoom |
| Games | 37 | arcade, bar, barbacoa, béisbol, boom, byte, CD, clan, club, computadora, drogas de diseño, DVD, estrés, fans, filme, golf, hacker, hardware, hip hop, interactivo, interfaz, marine, misiles, multimedia, on line, PC, puzzles, reality, rol, senior, software, suspense, tabloide, televisión, videojuego, web, zoom |
| Astronomy | 25 | airbag, chip, correo electrónico, dólar, e-mail, esquí, estándar, fans, filmar, filme, láser, multimedia, NASA, permafrost, pixel, pop, récord, robot, robótica, software, teléfono, turista, versus, video, web |
| Fashion | 63 | béisbol, bermudas, bits, boom, boxeador, cárdigan, cásting, cóctel, copyright, country, denim, disc-jockey, eslogan, esmoquin, estándar, eye-liner, fans, fashion, folclore, forever, fútbol, futbolista, gadgets, gay, glamour, hip hop, hippy, internet, jet, líder, look, master, new look, number one, off, patch, patchwork, piercing, play, pop, puzzle, rally, récord, rock, sexy, short, sir, skinheads, slip, sport, spots, stand, stretch, supermodelo, superwoman, teléfono, televisión, tenis, thriller, top-less, tops, turismo, web |

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# Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Several Polish Translations of G.K. Chesterton

**Abstract**

The paper is concerned with shifts of cohesion and coherence in several Polish translations of G. K. Chesterton from the point of view of the procedural approach, in which the choice of particular linguistic/textual devices is indicative of the text producer's intended meaning. As regards cohesion, the paper touches upon lexical cohesion and conjunction. It discusses the effects of replacing repetition with variation, and of disambiguating and explicating conjunctions. As for coherence, an analysis is carried out which shows how the translator's failure to render a polysemous word adequately detracted from the TT's coherence. Also, an example is given of coherence being affected by polysemy in the TT. The aim of the paper is to find out what kind of issues and regularities connected with cohesion and coherence emerge in the translation process and how these affect target texts.

## 1. Introduction

Cohesion and coherence are one of the seven standards of textuality put forward by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981). As pointed out by Bell, cohesion and coherence "both have the function of binding the text together by creating sequences of meaning" (1991, 164). Where they differ is that the former operates on surface text and involves lexico-syntactic means, while the latter has to do with conceptual relations within the textual world. Thus, cohesion can be defined as the "lexico-grammatical connectedness of a text" while coherence as the "conceptual connectedness of a text" (Fawcett 2003, 146). Coherence is harder to define as it "involves not only such matters as the conceptual logic of how a text is structured, which will often be reflected in cohesive devices, but also knowledge of such things as subject matter and how the world works" (2003, 98).

Halliday and Hasan (1976, 29, 278) enumerate five kinds of cohesive ties: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. Lexical cohesion comprises reiteration (including repetition, synonyms, superordinates or general words) and collocation. A different taxonomy was put forward by Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, 49), who discuss recurrence, partial recurrence, parallelism and paraphrase, as well as pro-forms and ellipsis. The two classifications

are complementary in that Halliday and Hasan's is better geared to single words, while Beaugrande and Dressler's to phrases. As for the correlation between them, recurrence seems to correspond to repetition since the former is defined as "the straightforward repetition of elements or patterns" (Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, 49). The present paper will use terms taken from both taxonomies.

Cohesion and coherence cannot be separated since "[c]ohesion implies coherence, and it is motivations behind the use of a particular cohesive device, rather than the device itself, that ought to be taken into consideration in the act of reworking a text." Thus, it is the "various added meanings that the use of such a cohesive device takes on in context" (Hatim 2004, 265) that should be of particular interest to translators and translation scholars. This paper examines several passages from Polish translations of Gilbert Keith Chesterton to find out what kind of issues and regularities occasioned by cohesion and coherence emerge in the translation process and how they affect the target texts.

The choice of this particular author is motivated, on the one hand, by the prominent role played in his works by cohesion and coherence; on the other, it is hoped that the present study might be a contribution to researching Polish translations of Chesterton, which has long been overdue despite the fact that a large body of his writings have been published in Polish. The texts chosen for discussion are taken from collections of essays, a short story and an autobiography. They are meant to illustrate problems of cohesion and coherence in translation. As for cohesion, the paper discusses lexical cohesion, conjunction and collocation. As regards coherence, it will be shown how it can be affected by polysemy in both the source and target text. Underlying this analysis is the procedural approach set forth in Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) as well as Hatim and Mason (1990).


## 2. Cohesion

Chesterton's writings make ample use of recurrence. If we agree with Hatim and Mason that "the links between text producer, text expression and meaning have to be considered not as random but as motivated" (1990, 193), then we must assume that the use of recurrence is the author's meaningful choice. Indeed, the scholars claim that recurrence "is usually a symptom of intentionality (whether conscious or not) and as such is significant" (Hatim and Mason 1990, 199). Analyzing texts featuring recurrence rather than variation, the authors find that "the cohesive devices at play are not random; they are motivated by overall rhetorical purpose" and that if we assume that "recurrence is a universal rhetorical device, any attempt by a translator to vary TT expression at these points in the text is sure to detract from equivalence of text focus" (Hatim and Mason 1990, 199) (Hatim and Mason define text-type focus as "that aspect of context which is seen to be the primary function of a text and which determines the text type" (1990, 244)).

In English, the use of recurrence rather than co-reference/variation seems to be a marked choice. Speaking of Arabic-English translation, Hatim and Mason observe that "while recurrence is an option available to users of both Arabic and English, the latter generally see it as a heavily marked form which, to be sustainable, must have some special motivation" (1997, 32). Thus, the abundance of recurrence in the following passage from Chesterton's *Heretics* merits attention as indicative of the author's special rhetorical purpose (for the sake of clarity some of the repetitions are highlighted in bold type and some are underlined):

(1)  There are innumerable persons with eye-glasses and green garments who pray for the return of the maypole or the Olympian games. But there is about these people a haunting and alarming something which suggests that it is just **possible** that they do not keep Christmas. It is painful to regard human nature in such a light, but it seems somehow **possible** that Mr. George Moore does not wave his spoon and shout when the pudding is set alight. It is even **possible** that Mr. W. B. Yeats never pulls crackers. If so, where is the sense of all their dreams of **festive traditions**? Here is a solid and ancient **festive tradition** still plying a roaring trade in the streets, and they **think** it **vulgar**. If this is so, let them be very certain of this, that they are the kind of people **who in the time of** the <u>maypole</u> **would have thought** the <u>maypole</u> **vulgar**; **who in the time of** the <u>Canterbury pilgrimage</u> **would have thought** the <u>Canterbury pilgrimage</u> **vulgar**; **who in the time of** the <u>Olympian games</u> **would have thought** the <u>Olympian games</u> **vulgar**. (Chesterton 1986, 89)

Thus, there are three occurrences of *possible*, two of *festive traditions*, four of *vulgar*, three of the phrase *who in the time of*, three of the clause *would have thought* (...) *vulgar* (which itself is a partial repetition of *think it vulgar*), two of *maypole*, *Canterbury pilgrimage* and *Olympian games* (I do not take into account *maypole* and *Olympian games* in the first sentence as these are far from their subsequent repetitions). An English text so heavy on recurrence, to the point of being tedious, invites the question of what purpose it is used for. This insistent repetition may serve to drive the message home more forcefully and to reveal something of the author's emotional attitude towards the people he describes, an attitude which appears ironic but friendly. This is how the text has been translated by Jaga Rydzewska:

(2)  Niezliczone rzesze okularników w zielonych szatach zanoszą modły, by powróciły majowe święta Beltany lub igrzyska olimpijskie. A przecież otacza tych panów jakaś przykra, niepokojąca aura, która budzi w nas mroczne przeczucie, że **chyba** ['perhaps'] nie obchodzą oni świąt Bożego Narodzenia. Nader to bolesne, spoglądać w tak strasznym świetle na naturę ludzką, lecz **nie da się wykluczyć** ['it cannot be ruled out'], że pan George Moore nie wymachuje

łyżeczką i nie krzyczy z radości, gdy bucha ogniem spirytus na świątecznym puddingu. Ba, **możliwe** ['it is possible'] nawet, że pan W. B. Yeats nigdy nie rozrywa tulei z ogniem bengalskim. A skoro tak, po co u licha zawracają nam głowę gadaniem o radosnych **pogańskich świętach** ['pagan festivals']? Mają przed nosem prawdziwą, starożytną **tradycję** ['tradition'], która wciąż świetnie prosperuje – a oni **uważają** ['they consider'] to za **gminne i typowe dla prostego ludu** ['coarse and typical of common folk']. Skoro tak, możemy być pewni, że ludzie tacy jak oni **w czasach** ['in the time of'] pogańskich ['pagan'] **uważaliby** ['they would have considered'], że święto Beltany ['Beltane day'] jest **w złym guście** ['in bad taste'], **w czasach** ['in the time of'] pielgrzymek do Canterbury ['pilgrimages [gen.] to Canterbury'] **uznaliby** ['they would have regarded'], że pielgrzymki ['pilgrimages'] są **dobre dla kmiotków** ['good for bumpkins'], a **w czasach** ['in the time of'] igrzysk olimpijskich ['the Olympian games [gen.]'] **krzywiliby się** ['they would have looked askance'] na igrzyska ['games'] jako na **rozrywkę motłochu** ['pastime of the rabble']. (Rydzewska 2004, 91–92)

The Polish translation eliminates most of the repetitions. The only ones that have been preserved are the partial repetition *uważają* ['they consider'] – *uważaliby* ['they would have considered'], a triple repetition of *w czasach* ['in the time of'], and the partial repetitions *pielgrzymek do Canterbury* ['pilgrimages [gen.] to Canterbury'] – *pielgrzymki* ['pilgrimages'] as well as *igrzysk olimpijskich* ['the Olympian games [gen.]'] – *igrzyska* ['games']. The word *vulgar*, so central to the source text, has been rendered by four different phrases: *gminne i typowe dla prostego ludu* ['coarse and typical of common folk'], *w złym guście* ['in bad taste'], *dobre dla kmiotków* ['good for bumpkins'] and *rozrywkę motłochu* ['pastime of the rabble'].

Although translating *vulgar* in that way upsets the TT's texture, it may be justified in view of the fact that the word does not have a good equivalent in Polish, covering as it does a wider semantic field. Thus its meaning is diluted into the three phrases which may be said to bring out the word's different senses. As such, it is a trade-off between fidelity to cohesive patterns and the meaning of particular lexical items. But even though the three phrases convey more information than the word itself, the latter is more informative in the sense of carrying a greater degree of unexpectedness (cf. Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, 8–9) on account of its ostensibly superfluous recurrence. Thus, by drawing attention to itself it acquires additional rhetorical meaning. As for the other repetitions, however, there is no reason why they should not have been preserved in translation. This move seems to be part of the translator's tendency to create a fluent, smooth and elegant TT, which she does very successfully. But there is a danger in this strategy in that it makes Chesterton sound more eloquent and polished in Polish. Moreover, without recurrence, the processing effort required of the reader is likely to be greater, especially given the complex subjects broached by the author.

It should be pointed out, however, that the use or otherwise of recurrence is subject to various, sometimes conflicting, considerations so that the "degree to which an instance of recurrence or co-reference is motivated by text-type focus, as well as sanctioned by the conventions of the genre, will be a matter for the judgement of the translator or reviser concerned" (Hatim and Mason 1990, 200). Hence, translators may find themselves in conflict between, "on the one hand, the desire to improve the cohesion of the target text in conformity with TL norms and, on the other, the duty to reflect the 'style' of the source text" (Hatim and Mason 1990, 208).

This brings us to another kind of cohesive device, namely conjunction. Van Leuven-Zwart points out that "[i]n many cases, the addition, deletion or replacement of function words may cause a shift with respect to the degree of explicitness through which cohesion is achieved" (1990, 81). She quotes the example of a Dutch translation of *Don Quixote*, which features more explicit cohesive signals, e.g. the additive *y* ['and'] is rendered as the adversative *maar* ['but']. By the same token, Hatim and Mason contend that "the item *and* in English is versatile in its relational potential" (1990, 208), which is confirmed by these passages from Chesterton's short story "The Arrow of Heaven":

(3)  Its [the Coptic Cup's] origin was obscure, but its use was conjectured to be religious; **and** some attributed the fate that followed its possessors to the fanaticism of some Oriental Christian horrified at its passing through such materialistic hands (Chesterton 1981, 333).

(4)  But America has a genius for the encouragement of fame; **and** his appearance in one or two curious criminal problems, (...) had consolidated a reputation in America out of what was little more than a rumour in England. (Chesterton 1981, 333)

(5)  Otherwise the man was exquisitely dressed; **and** to Brown, in his innocence, the spectacles seemed the queerest disfigurement for a dandy. (Chesterton 1981, 333)

These fragments read thus in the Polish translation ("Strzała z niebios") by Tadeusz Jan Dehnel:

(6)  Ów skarb – nie ustalonego [sic] zresztą pochodzenia – musiał niegdyś służyć celom liturgicznym, **toteż** ['so/therefore'] tragiczny los jego właścicieli przypisywano fanatyzmowi jakiegoś wschodniego chrześcijanina, zgorszonego, że świętość dostała się w ręce profanów. (Dehnel 2008, 232)

(7)  Ale Ameryka ma talent do robienia rozgłosu, **a więc** ['so'] udział skromnego kapłana w rozwikłaniu kilku ciekawych zagadek kryminalnych (…) ukuły sławę z czegoś, co w Anglii uchodziło jedynie za ciekawostki. (Dehnel 2008, 233)

(8)  W zasadzie nieznajomy był ubrany bez zarzutu, **a więc** ['so'] Brown w swej
     naiwności uznał okulary za szczegół dziwnie rażący przy wytwornym stroju.
     (Dehnel 2008, 233–234)

These additive conjunctions become causal ones in the Polish version: *toteż*
['so; therefore; hence'] in (6), and *a więc* ['so; therefore'] in (7) and (8). Thus,
while the ST leaves the possibility of more interpretations (*and* being additive or
resultative), the TT goes for just one. Given that the above passages appear all
on one page in the ST, there does seem to be a marked tendency on the part of
the translator to disambiguate cohesive links for the reader and make them more
explicit. Needless to say, this tendency confirms the explicitation hypothesis put
forward by Blum-Kulka, which "postulates an observed cohesive explicitness
from SL to TL texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between
two linguistic and textual systems involved" (Blum-Kulka 2000, 292). Indeed,
there is no linguistic or textual motivation in the short story for not translating
*and* with its Polish equivalent. Additionally, providing logical connections for
readers rather than letting them infer them for themselves might also contribute
to making a literary TT text sound more archaic. This is so because modern prose
tends to use conjunction sparingly and to use inference instead, as claimed by
Leech and Short (quoted in Van Leuven-Zwart 1990, 81).

The texture of Chesterton's writings may not be dense on account of conjunc-
tion, but it is so due to lexical cohesion, namely collocation coupled with reitera-
tion. Collocation is the regular co-occurrence of lexical items whose cohesive
force stems from the fact that they "stand to each other in some recognizable
lexicosemantic (word meaning) relation" (Halliday and Hasan 1976, 285). Collo-
cational cohesion does not normally pose a problem in translation since collo-
cational chains are not difficult to translate. Not so in Chesterton's works, in
which they are built not only out of words occurring in the same semantic field,
but also out of puns, idioms, sayings, etc. Chesterton weaves them into his
texts as vehicles for his arguments and connectors of disparate images, as in the
following passage:

(9)  But the concrete examples were not only a comedy; he [W. B. Yeats] used one
     argument which was sound, and I have never forgotten it. It is the fact that it
     is not **abnormal** men like artists, but **normal** men like **peasants**, who have
     borne witness a thousand times to such things; it is the **farmers** who see the
     fairies. It is the **agricultural labourer** who **calls a spade a spade** who also
     **calls a spirit a spirit**; it is the **woodcutter with no axe to grind**, except for
     **woodcutting**, who will say he saw **a man hang on** a gallows and afterwards
     **hang round** it as a **ghost**. It is all very well to say we ought not to believe in
     the **ghost** on an ignorant man's **evidence**. But we should hang **the man** on
     the **gallows** on the same man's **evidence**. (Chesterton 1936, 147)

The passage features the following chains of collocational cohesion and reiteration: *abnormal – normal*; *peasants – farmers – agricultural labourer – calls a spade a spade – woodcutter – with no axe to grind*; *spirit – ghost – ghost*; *gallows – gallows*; *man – man*; *hang on – hang round – hang on*; *evidence – evidence*. The first difficulty for the translator is the idiomatic expression *call a spade a spade*. It conceptually relates to *agricultural labourer* and sets the stage for a parallel clause, *calls a spirit a spirit*. At the same time, it suggests that the labourer is a no-nonsense kind of person, which is in line with the thrust of the argument. Thus, it is not just a question of cohesion but also coherence, as the latter has to do with underlying conceptual relations in the textual world. Replacing the spade idiom with a non-idiomatic expression which does not refer to agriculture and plain-speaking will obviously detract not only from cohesion (not least because any idiom is by its nature very cohesive) but also coherence. Similarly, *woodcutter* neatly relates to the preceding *normal men* and the following *have an axe to grind*, which is also in line with the main argument as it suggests the witness's impartiality. Next comes the pun on *hang* which provides a link between the hanged man and the ghost. Another problematic word in translation could be *evidence* because Polish does not have a one-to-one equivalent for *testimony* incorporating both the legal and non-legal sense. Last but not least, coherence is also established by articles: in *a man – the man* and *a ghost – the ghost* the latter item in each pair is retrievable. And this is how the text has been translated by the present author:

(10)   Yeats podawał jednak konkretne przykłady, które nie były jedynie dowcipami. Wciąż pamiętam jeden sensowny argument. Chodzi o fakt, że to nie ludzie **nienormalni** ['abnormal'], jak artyści, ale ludzie **normalni** ['normal'], jak **chłopi** ['peasants'], tysiące razy świadczyli o takich rzeczach; to **chłopi** ['peasants'] widzą chochliki. To **rolnik** ['farmer'], który **nazywa** ['he calls'] rzeczy po imieniu, **nazywa** ['he calls'] też **ducha duchem [**'a spirit [acc.] a spirit [instr.]']; to drwal, który nie ma powodu, by **kręcić** ['to fib'], powie, że widział, jak duch wisielca **kręcił się** ['(he saw the ghost of a hanged man) hang around'] koło **szubienicy** ['gallows [gen. sing.]']. Można oczywiście powiedzieć, że nasza wiara w **ducha** ['spirit [acc.]'] nie powinna opierać się na **relacji** ['testimony [loc.]'] tak niedouczonego świadka. Jednak na podstawie **relacji** ['testimony [gen.]'] tego samego świadka wieszamy człowieka na **szubienicy** ['gallows [loc.]']. (Reda 2012, 178)

Thus, *calls a spade a spade* becomes *nazywa rzeczy po imieniu* ['calls things by their name'], a set phrase which is similar to the following clause, *nazywa też ducha duchem* ['also calls a spirit a spirit']. The second idiomatic expression is rendered as *nie ma powodu, by kręcić* ['he has no reason to fib'], which is a form of compensation for the loss of the original pun as another pun is created in *jak duch wisielca kręcił się koło szubienicy* ['(he saw) the ghost of a hanged man

hang around the gallows']. *Evidence* has been translated as *relacja*, a word which is not used in legal contexts but when collocated with *świadek* ['witness'] seems to serve its purpose. The lack of articles in Polish obliterates the ST distinction between the retrievability and irretrievability of *man* and *ghost.* All in all, the translator could not but try to make up for the inevitable loss of cohesion and wittiness, which was to some extent possible by using the strategy of compensation.[1] Passage (9) is peculiar in that one cannot translate it without (at least approximately) rendering its cohesive network. Any failure to do so will also affect coherence, the subject of the next part of this paper.

## 3. Coherence

In her paper "Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation" Shoshana Blum-Kulka makes a distinction between reader-focused and text-focused shifts of coherence, the former resulting from a switch to a different audience and the latter from the translation process itself. She argues that text-focused shifts "often occur as a result of particular choices made by a specific translator, choices that indicate a lack of awareness on the translator's part of the SL text's meaning potential" (2000, 301). As will be demonstrated below, such shifts may be occasioned by the translator's failure to deal with polysemy in the ST. A case in point is a Polish rendering of G. K. Chesterton's *Orthodoxy*, in which the translator fails to choose correct TL equivalents of the polysemous word *romance*, which is important for the understanding and interpretation of the original. However, coherence may also be affected by polysemy in the target text, as was the case with a translation of the essay "Why I am a Catholic".

 Before going on to discuss the first text, it is worth analyzing the meaning of *romance* and its possible Polish equivalents. This is how the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (2001) defines it:

1) [mass noun] a feeling of excitement and mystery associated with love;
   a) [mass noun] love, especially when sentimental or idealized;
   b) [count noun] an exciting, enjoyable love affair, especially one that is not very serious or long-lasting;
   c) [count noun] a book or film dealing with love in a sentimental or idealized way;
   d) [mass noun] a genre of fiction dealing with love in such a way;
2) [mass noun] a quality or feeling of mystery, excitement, and remoteness from everyday life;
   a) [count noun] a work of fiction dealing with events remote from real life;
3) [count noun] a medieval tale dealing with a hero of chivalry, of the kind common in the Romance languages;
   b) [mass noun] the literary genre of such works;

We may also add sense 2b, analogical to 3b, namely that of 2a used as a mass noun. The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides some examples: "The military classes in those old times, whose buff-belts [and] complicated chains (...) have been bepainted in modern Romance" or "The expose of the situation of the interior [of the French empire] exceeds the style of modern romance." Entries in the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* are organized around the idea of core senses (introduced by numbers) which represent the most literal and central meanings of the word. These, in turn, are logically connected with subsenses (here marked with letters). This layout is meant to help make sense of the word's different strands of meaning. It will also be helpful in figuring out which meanings are activated by Chesterton's use of the word *romance* and which are linked with the translator's choices.

The sense of *romance* in *Orthodoxy* is that of 2 and sometimes of 2a. We could further specify sense 2 by conflating it with this definition from the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "romantic or imaginative character or quality; redolence or suggestion of, association with, the adventurous and chivalrous." The *Oxford Thesaurus of English* (2004), in its turn, gives these synonyms for *romance* in sense 2: *mystery*, *glamour*, *excitement*, *colourfulness*, *colour*, *exoticism*, *mystique*; *appeal*, *allure*, *fascination*, *charm*. The first two are core synonyms, i.e. ones that are closest in meaning to the headword. Thus, *romance* is synonymous not just with *the adventurous* and *chivalrous*, but also with *mystery* or *glamour*. This "combined" meaning is especially significant in *Orthodoxy* and other works of Chesterton as a capacious aesthetic formula which he applies to life and religion. It denotes what is adventurous, active, imaginative, picturesque and poetic.

Hence, *romance* in sense 2 would translate into Polish as *romantyka* (rather than *romantyczność*) or simply as *przygoda* ['adventure'], as is confirmed by *Słownik języka polskiego* [A Dictionary of the Polish Language] edited by Witold Doroszewski (1965). It defines *romantyka* as "niezwykłość, fantastyczność, tajemniczy urok, poetyczność, malowniczość" ['unusualness, fantasticality, mysterious charm, poetic quality, picturesqueness'] and gives the following quotations: "Chwalili romantykę walk partyzanckich" ['They praised the romance of guerilla fighting']; "W każdej wielkiej literaturze istnieje pewna romatyka wydarzeń, losów ludzkich, problemów stawianych przez autora" ['In every great literature there is a certain romance of events, human fate and problems posed by the author.']; "Czy pociąga was romantyka prawdziwych przygód – walka z żywiołem przyrody?" ['Do you feel drawn by the romance of true adventure – the struggle with the elements of nature?']. *Romantyczność* is a synonym of *romantyka* (the same dictionary defines it as a noun derived from the adjective *romantyczny* ['romantic'] in the sense of "pobudzający do marzeń, tajemniczy, niezwykły, fantastyczny, poetyczny; malowniczy" ['evocative, mysterious, unusual, fantastic, poetic; picturesque']). Unlike *romantyka*, however, *romantyczność* does not seem to include the adventurous, denoting merely the atmospheric or mysterious quality of a literary work, landscape or moment.

Sense 2a of *romance* usually translates as *romans*, a word which may refer to an adventurous narrative (the forerunner of the novel), to a chivalric narrative (sense 3) (in which case the phrase *romans rycerski* is typically used), or to a (modern) story about love (sense 1c). However, in *Orthodoxy*, *romance* in sense 2a usually refers to a novel and can be translated accordingly as *powieść*. Apart from *romans* or *romans rycerski*, sense 3 can be rendered as *romanca*, a word that unambiguously refers to a chivalric tale in verse. As can be seen, *romance* covers a wider semantic field than any of its Polish equivalents. Needless to say, in cases of non-correspondence of semantic fields, translation "requires disambiguation using co-text and context (the situation)" (Hatim and Munday 2004, 36).

*Orthodoxy* features 18 occurrences of the word *romance*, a sort of leitmotif which gives the book an overarching idea and thus contributes to its coherence. Thus, in the second paragraph of the opening chapter Chesterton says that he has

(11)   often had a fancy for writing a **romance** about an English yachtsman who slightly miscalculated his course and discovered England under the impression that it was a new island in the South Seas. (Chesterton 1986, 211)

The romance about the sailor's inadvertent discovery of England is meant to elucidate the purpose of *Orthodoxy*, which is about how Chesterton arrived at Christian doctrine while thinking that he was inventing his own heresy (here the translator, Magda Sobolewska, renders *romance* as *opowieść* ['tale'; 'story']). *Romance* is clearly used in sense 2a, sense 3 being precluded as the tale in question is not about a knight but a yachtsman, and is not medieval either (later on we are told that what the protagonist saw upon his arrival was the Pavilion in Brighton (constructed in 1784)). The next occurrence of *romance* one page later is in sense 2. Following on from the sailor story, Chesterton goes on to say:

(12)   I wish to set forth my faith as particularly answering this double spiritual need, the need for that mixture of the familiar and the unfamiliar which Christendom has rightly named **romance**. For the very word "**romance**" has in it the mystery and ancient meaning of Rome. (1986, 212)

That *romance* in the quotation above is used in sense 2 (rather than 2a or 3) is clear from the fact that it is a mass noun. Had the author intended the latter two senses, he would have used the definite article (cf. quotation (19) below). It might be argued, however, that he is using the word in sense 2b or 3b. Nevertheless, this interpretation seems unlikely in the light of a passage that follows one page later, in which Chesterton rephrases the same point and clearly uses *romance* in sense 2:

(13)   But nearly all people I have ever met in this western society in which I live would agree to the general proposition that we need this life of practical

**romance**; the combination of something that is strange with something that is secure. We need so to view the world as to combine an idea of wonder and an idea of welcome. We need to be happy in this wonderland without once being merely comfortable. (1986, 213)

The translator renders *romance* with two words as *romanca*, *romans* in (12) (sense 3), and as *romantyczność* ['romantic quality; romanticism'] in (13). Thus, despite the clear similarity and continuity between the two passages, different equivalents are chosen, which detracts from the ST's coherence. Moreover, as has already been pointed out, *romantyczność* does not include the meaning of the adventurous which informs these passages and which harks back to the sailor story.

Interestingly, drawing on the word *romanca*, the translator adds to the book the subtitle *Romanca o wierze* ['a romance about the faith'], apparently suggested by the title of Chapter 8, "The Romance of Orthodoxy."[2] At first glance, the decision seems to compensate for the loss of coherence occasioned by the lack of full symmetry between *romance* and its Polish equivalents, reinforcing as it does the link between this concept and Christian orthodoxy. The translator's choice might seem to be confirmed by the information given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* to the effect that sense 2a (and by extension possibly also 2b) may be used in a transferred and figurative sense, perhaps partly derived from sense 3, as in "The last romance of Science (...) is the Story of the Ascent of Man." Now Chesterton might use the word in this sense, but *romanca* does not have it. Moreover, even if it could be used figuratively, it would not be *romanca o wierze* ['a romance *about* the faith'], but *romanca wiary* ['a romance of the faith'/'the faith's romance'], just like the dictionary example above does not mean "the last romance *about* Science" but rather "Science's last romance." In fact, the translator's subtitle sends readers, so to speak, on a wild-goose chase, as they will not find any actual mention of a romance *about* the faith, orthodoxy or some other quality. As a result, they will need extra processing effort to establish coherence. Here is another example:

(14)   I may express this other feeling of cosmic cosiness by allusion to another book always read in boyhood, "Robinson Crusoe," which I read about this time, and which owes its eternal vivacity to the fact that it celebrates the poetry of limits, nay, even the wild **romance of prudence**. (Chesterton 1986, 267)

The passage has been translated thus:

(15)   Aby wyrazić drugie z nich, to o przytulności wszechświata, posłużę się lekturą lat szkolnych – *Robinsonem Crusoe*, który zawdzięcza swoją wieczną młodość temu, że stanowi jeden wielki poetycki hymn na cześć ograniczeń;

więcej nawet, jest dziką **romancą o roztropności** ['a romance [instr.] about prudence']. (Sobolewska 2012, 108)

It is clear that in (14) *romance* is used in sense 2. It cannot refer to a literary piece/genre since Chesterton says that Defoe's novel *celebrates* the romance of prudence, not that it *is* one. Instead, the translation should read: "[*Robinson Crusoe*] sławi poetykę ograniczeń, ba, nawet szaloną romantykę roztropności" ['celebrates the poetics of limits, nay, even the wild romance of prudence']. As we can see, the translator goes to some lengths to be able to use *romanca* in (15) even at the cost of manipulating the ST, and as a result the reader is left wondering what possible connection there might be between a medieval tale in verse and *Robinson Crusoe*. The same goes for the translation of Chapter 8 ("The Romance of Orthodoxy") as "Romanca o ortodoksji" ['a romance about orthodoxy'] since nowhere in the chapter is any *romanca* mentioned. Nevertheless, the translator's use of *romanca* might suggest that Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis, which concerns cohesion, could be extended to cover coherence as well. Thus, paradoxically, the translator detracts from coherence as she tries to bolster it.

In Chapter 6, Chesterton speaks about Christian doctrine as a fascinating spiritual and intellectual adventure which is anything but boring or stagnant, and to drive his message home he uses the word *romance* in sense 2. Having argued that fine doctrinal distinctions are necessary to maintain the delicate balance of dynamic and possibly dangerous Christian teachings, he has this to say:

(16)   This is the thrilling **romance** of Orthodoxy. People have fallen into a foolish habit of speaking of orthodoxy as something heavy, humdrum, and safe. There never was anything so perilous or so exciting as orthodoxy. (Chesterton 1986, 305)

The first sentence has been translated thus:

(17)   Oto wzbudzająca drżenie **romanca** o ortodoksji ['this is a/the thrilling romance about orthodoxy']. (Sobolewska 2012, 176)

It is rather puzzling that the translator is referring to Chesterton's brief outline of Church history as a medieval romance in verse about orthodoxy. In what follows Chesterton likens the Church to a chariot which "flies thundering through the ages" (Chesterton 1986, 306) avoiding obstacles, i.e. heresies. The chief idea of the passage is that of "one whirling adventure" (Chesterton 1986, 306) and it might have been conveyed in the translation had the translator opted for *romantyka* ['romance' (sense 2)] or *przygoda ortodoksji* ['the adventure of orthodoxy'].

The translator's insistence on rendering *romance* as *romanca* seems all the more strange given that even when Chesterton is using the word in the sense of

a literary work, the co-text makes it clear that he is referring to a novel rather than a medieval tale in verse:

(18)  Europe ought rather to emphasize possible perdition; and Europe always has emphasized it. Here its highest religion is at one with all its cheapest **romances**. To the Buddhist or the eastern fatalist existence is a science or a plan, which must end up in a certain way. But to a Christian existence is a *story*, which may end up in any way. In a thrilling novel (that purely Christian product) the hero is not eaten by cannibals; but it is essential to the existence of the thrill that he *might* be eaten by cannibals. (Chesterton 1986, 341)

As observed by Hatim and Munday, the "correct sense for the translator is determined by the 'semotactic environment' or co-text (the other words around it)" (Chesterton 2004, 35). Accordingly, the textual environment of *romance* sheds light on how to interpret it in this passage and elsewhere in the book. *Cheapest* points to the genre of cheap sensational novels, so called penny dreadfuls (especially as Chesterton was fond of them himself and wrote an essay in their defence). Then, three sentences below, a synonym for *cheapest romances* is used – *a thrilling novel* – which unambiguously identifies them as romances in sense 2a. Moreover, the mention of cannibals leaves no doubts that sense 3 is out of the question. The following two paragraphs bring even more co-textual clues. Chesterton goes on to talk about the similarity between Christianity and popular fiction to the effect that both emphasize danger and the significance of the instant; he compares Christian life to a serial story in a magazine and reflects that

(19)  Christendom has excelled in the narrative **romance** exactly because it has insisted on the theological free-will. (Chesterton 1986, 342)

Despite these clues, however, the translator adheres to *romanca*, translating *cheapest romances* in (18) as *najpospolitsza romanca* ['the most common romance'], even though *cheapest (medieval) romances* would be an unusual collocation (which is why she actually changes *cheapest* to *the most common*). In (19), she translates *the narrative romance* as *narracyjna romanca* ['the narrative romance']. By doing so she renders the text incoherent; the reader must expend extra effort to make a connection between penny dreadfuls and medieval romances, especially as the latter do not seem to be the fast-moving action-packed tales that Chesterton links up with theology.

The loss of coherence in the TT is also due to the fact that the translator undoes the conceptual connections between senses 2a and 2 of *romance*. While *a romance* and *romance* are polysemous words, *romanca* and *romantyczność* do not have much in common as the former brings to mind the middle ages, and the

latter romanticism. Had the translator opted for good equivalents of sense 2a (e.g. *powieść (przygodowa)* ['(adventure) novel']) and 2 (e.g. *przygoda* ['adventure'] or *romantyka* ['romance' (sense 2)]) the connection between them would have been preserved in the translation, at least to some degree, for instance in this fragment where Chesterton juxtaposes the two senses:

(20)   And its [the modern philosophy's] despair is this, that it does not really believe that there is any meaning in the universe; therefore it cannot hope to find any **romance**; its **romances** will have no plots. A man cannot expect any adventures in the land of anarchy. But a man can expect any number of adventures if he goes travelling in the land of authority. (Chesterton 1986, 362)

The co-text makes it unambiguously clear that the first occurrence of the word is sense 2 on account of its being collocated with *find*, and the second is sense 2a on account of its being followed by *plots*. Moreover, in the next two sentences we come across *adventure*, a synonym of *romance* in sense 2, which further corroborates the analysis of the word's meaning carried out so far. In view of this, it is rather odd that the translator should have rendered both occurrences as *romanca*, twisting the ST to fit her interpretation:

(21)   Rozpacz ta bierze się stąd, że współczesna filozofia nie wierzy w istnienie sensu wszechświata i dlatego nie może mieć nadziei na ułożenie choćby jednej **romancy**; jej **romance** nie miałyby treści. (Sobolewska 2012, 278) ['This despair stems from the fact that modern philosophy does not believe in the existence of any meaning in the universe and that is why it cannot hope to compose even one **romance**; its **romances** would have no content.']

Thus, *finding romance* has been changed to *composing a romance*. The result is a stylistically awkward clause about modern philosophy writing romances, which is also a far cry from the original.

If we go back to (16), we will find that if Chesterton had meant a medieval tale in this passage, he would have had to choose between *a* or *the* "thrilling romance." Since Polish does not have articles, an ambiguity is created in the TT such that *Oto wzbudzająca drżenie romanca o ortodoksji* could mean either (i) "This is **the** thrilling romance about orthodoxy"; or (ii) "This is **a** thrilling romance about orthodoxy." The first reading reveals what is implicitly there, while the second signals the arrival on the scene of a new element. In other words, *romance* is context-dependent in (i), and context-independent in (ii). (i) is glossable as: "this is the thrilling romance about orthodoxy that I promised you in this book," especially on account of the subtitle in the Polish version. If this is so, however, it is not much of a romance, as has been pointed out above. If we follow

interpretation (ii), then *romance* is not related to the previous discourse, i.e. what Chesterton has been saying so far about the relationship between Christianity and adventurous life. Be that as it may, both readings detract from the text's coherence, which has to do with the pattern of collocations established in the ST and TT.

As Hatim and Mason point out, collocations lead the reader "to construct a text-world model which is presumed to reflect the world-view of the text producer" (1990, 205). They may be "pointers to an intended meaning which is not made explicit by other means. The collocational network built up over an extended length of text can, in itself, provide a model of speaker meaning at a level deeper than that of the surface text" (Hatim and Mason 1990, 204). The passages quoted above make it possible to establish such a network even though it would span several chapters. Thus, they might yield the following collocations:

> *romance* (sense 2a) – *English yachtsman – discover – England – island – South Seas – mixture of the familiar and the unfamiliar – Christendom – Rome – romance* (sense 2) – *wonder – welcome – strange – secure – cosmic cosiness – Robinson Crusoe –thrilling romance of orthodoxy – perilous – exciting – cheapest romances – existence –story – thrilling novel – narrative romance – free will – romance* (sense 2) – *romances* (sense 2a) – *plots – adventures*

What intended meaning, then, which is not expressed by other means, is expressed by these collocations? Obviously, these are a mere sample taken out of a 155-page book, but they are sufficient to establish a certain relationship or association in the mind of the reader between (i) the Christian faith, (ii) a romance (tale) and (iii) romance (adventure). As it is, this association is not so easily established in the TT where the second element does not harmonize with some other lexical items (*yachtsman*, *Robinson Crusoe*, etc.), and the third often disappears being conflated with the second. Moreover, given that "in translation, the collocations should in general be neither less unexpected (i.e. more banal) nor more unexpected (i.e. demanding greater processing effort) than in the ST" (Hatim and Mason 1990, 205), translating *the romance of orthodoxy* as "a/the romance about orthodoxy" certainly makes it more difficult for readers to "perceive intended meaning and underlying coherence on the basis of the textual evidence" (Hatim and Mason 1990, 197). The oddity of the collocation is certainly not conducive to establishing coherence.

Another text by Chesterton which illustrates the issue of coherence in translation is the essay "Why I am a Catholic" from *The Thing: Why I am a Catholic*, translated by Jaga Rydzewska as "Czemu jestem katolikiem." To bring home to his readers the universality of the Catholic Church, Chesterton uses a telling and culture-specific image, arguing as he does that becoming a Catholic is like reaching the centre of Hampton Court Maze. The author portrays the Church as the locus of truth, a thing beyond mere opinion. To be a Catholic means to stand

on a higher plane than that offered by any purely natural viewpoint, and is the
only way to make sense of the labyrinthine complexity of life. Earlier in the essay
Chesterton speaks about the realism of the saying that all roads lead to Rome
(meaning that proponents of various ideologies must in the end unwillingly admit
that Catholicism was in the right after all), and in the last paragraph he links it
up with the maze metaphor. Thus, the central idea is that of convergence in the
physical and metaphysical sense. These are the final lines in which he brings
together the two images:

(22)  At the place where the roads meet there is no doubt of the convergence.
      A man may think all sorts of things, most of them honest and many of them
      true, about the right way to turn in the maze at Hampton Court. But he does
      not think he is in the centre; he knows. (Chesterton 1990, 190)

In the translation the passage runs thus:

(23)  W miejscu, gdzie zbiegają się wszystkie drogi, nie sposób wątpić, że drogi
      prowadzą w jedną stronę. Człowiek może żywić najróżniejsze poglądy,
      zazwyczaj uczciwe i nieraz słuszne, co do kwestii, gdzie należy skręcić
      w labiryncie ścieżek. Ale nie żywi poglądu, że znalazł się w środku; wie
      o tym. (Rydzewska 2000, 96)
      ['At the place where all roads meet one cannot doubt that they are leading
      in the same direction. A man may hold all sorts of views, usually honest and
      sometimes true, about where to turn in a maze of paths. But he does not hold
      a view that he has reached the centre / has found himself inside; he knows
      about it.']

As the back-translation shows, an ambiguity is created in the TT due to the
polysemy of the Polish phrase *w środku*, which can mean either *in the centre*
or *inside*. Needless to say, if readers were to follow the latter interpretation, the
original punchline would be entirely lost on them. What is more, it might not
even be clear what *inside* refers to since there is no actual reference to a maze;
*labirynt ścieżek* ['a maze of paths'] might as well refer to a garden, park or forest,
and in the case of the last one there will be no centre. Thus, the latter is the more
likely reading, the more so as the omission of the maze in Hampton Court leaves
the reader clueless as to what kind of maze is being referred to, while the English
reader will know that in Hampton Court the visitor's aim is to make it to the
centre of the labyrinth.

      Interestingly, the translator seems to have compensated for the loss of the refer-
ence to Hampton Court Maze. At the beginning of the final paragraph Chesterton
says this: "When a hammer has hit the right nail on the head a hundred times,
there comes a time when we think it was not altogether by accident" (1990, 190).

Rydzewska comes up with an altogether different metaphor which neatly links up with that of a maze eleven lines below: "Kiedy ktoś sto razy z rzędu odnajduje właściwą drogę, musi się za tym kryć coś więcej niż przypadek" ['When someone has found the right way a hundred times in a row, there must be more to it than coincidence'] (2000, 95). Again, this move might be indicative of a strategy to raise the TT's level of coherence by means of elements absent in the ST.

Another aspect of the translation which has an effect on its coherence and saliency is thematic organisation. In the final clause of the analyzed passage, the lexical item carrying the greatest degree of communicative dynamism is the finite verb *knows*. This is so because it has no successful competitor. Additionally, the fact that as a result of ellipsis (another cohesive device) it is put in sentence-final position further increases its communicative dynamism.[3] In the TT, there is no ellipsis and the verb is not in sentence-final position (*wie o tym* ['he knows about it']). Since *it* is context-dependent, it is not a successful competitor of the verb, so the verb still carries the greatest communicative dynamism. It seems, however, that putting it last would make it sound more emphatic and would better express the contrast between thinking and knowing, which is the gist of the final sentence. As it stands, the setting *o tym* which follows the verb *wie*, prevents the sentence from ending on the most communicatively dynamic element and thus from strengthening the latter in its consummative communicative function (cf. Firbas 1992, 62). Thus, the punchline would be more coherent if the verb was in sentence-final position, especially as in Polish it is the functional sentence perspective principle that governs word order. This means that Polish word order is flexible and tends to arrange lexical items in accordance with their communicative dynamism (from the least to the most communicatively dynamic). English, by contrast, whose word order is governed by the grammatical principle and is therefore less flexible, "is less ready to observe the Th–Tr–Rh [Theme–Transition–Rheme] sequence" (Firbas 1992, 119). Thus, if the English ST puts the verb last, we might argue that the Polish TT should do the same and come up, for instance, with *po prostu wie* ['he just knows']. The addition of *po prostu* or a similar phrase would be necessary for prosodic reasons as the monosyllabic *wie* could hardly constitute a sentence (which may be why the translator actually decided to add the setting *o tym* in the first place).

## 4. Conclusion

This analysis of a sample of Polish translations of Chesterton confirms that cohesion is "all too easily overlooked in the translation situation" (Fawcett 2003, 91) or that other considerations take precedence, such as creating a smooth, fluent and elegant TT, as was the case in the translation of *Heretics*. Changes to the ST cohesive pattern are also likely to alter the original's informativity and thus

affect additional rhetorical meaning. Moreover, the lack of recurrence may put additional burden on the reader by making the text harder to follow. As regards conjunction, a tendency was noticed in the translation of *The Arrow of Heaven* to disambiguate cohesive links and make them more explicit, a tendency which is likely to make a literary TT text sound more archaic. Needless to say this strategy corroborates Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis. The third text – strongly cohesive on account of collocation coupled with reiteration – demonstrated a strong interplay of cohesion and coherence. The author's use of idioms and puns, and, most importantly, the fact that these are woven into the argument, made it necessary and difficult to render the cohesive ties in the TT, which was not altogether impossible thanks to the strategy of compensation.

As for coherence, the analysis of several translated passages from *Orthodoxy* revealed shifts of coherence caused by disregarding co-textual clues and choosing wrong equivalents for the polysemous word *romance.* By doing so the translator upset some conceptual relations in the textual world and thus made it more difficult for the reader to make sense of it. The collocational pattern of the ST was disrupted and replaced with a more unexpected one, which affected the TT's informativity. As a result, different associations are likely to be established in the minds of readers, and the original's intended meaning may to some extent be lost on them.

Paradoxically, the translator's insistent (and conscious?) mistranslating of *romance* could be considered an attempt to raise the TT's coherence by giving it an overarching idea of *romance* in the sense of a medieval tale. Oddly enough, this function is fulfilled in the ST by *romance* in the sense of adventure, coupled with the that of an adventurous tale or novel. However, the fact that *Orthodoxy* draws on the polysemous relation between the two senses means that disrupting it is bound to detract from coherence. An opposite phenomenon was observed in the translation of "Why I am a Catholic," where polysemy created in the target text affects coherence in the punchline. Interestingly, the translation of this essay also exhibits what may be considered an attempt at increasing coherence, which suggests that a case could be made out for expanding Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis to include not just cohesion but also coherence.

Another factor which was found to have slightly affected coherence in translation was thematic structure. It appears that translators should pay more attention to it, especially when translating into languages like Polish which have flexible word order and where linear arrangement normally conforms to the principles of functional sentence perspective.

It was obviously beyond the scope of this paper to systematically analyze Polish translations of Chesterton, especially in view of their abundance. The passages chosen for discussion were but a sample; however, they illustrate the complexity and importance of cohesion and coherence in translation, an issue which may be an important factor in the Polish reception of this of all authors.

## Notes

1    The ST's cohesion is also subtly enhanced by the use of alliteration which has partly been rendered in the TT.
2    Interestingly, the chapter in question was translated much earlier by another translator, Elżbieta Muskat-Tabakowska, who uses the word *romantyka* in the title (Muskat-Tabakowska 1974, 102–121).
3    On the notion of competitor and communicative dynamism see Firbas (1992, 7).

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# The Marriage of Heaven and Hell:
# On the Functional Approach to Translating Libretti for Modernised Opera Productions

**Abstract**

The present paper focuses on the issue of translating operatic libretti in the form of surtitles. This is a very specific type of translation, and it becomes even more challenging when operatic productions for which surtitles are created are modernised. In such cases the application of *skopos* theory proves to be the most useful and effective, even though some of its premises may be regarded as controversial. The data for the present study come from the most reputable opera houses, for example the Metropolitan Opera House or Royal Opera House, as they are known for providing their audiences with high-quality libretti translations.

## 1. Introduction

Opera is undoubtedly one of the highest forms of art, but it is simultaneously regarded as extremely traditional and conventionalized. Very often, particularly in the second part of the 20th century, entering opera houses could be compared to entering museums – places where visitors are not supposed to touch anything but look around and admire everything they see in utter awe. Understanding opera was often of secondary importance. As Mariusz Treliński, one of the most recognized Polish operatic directors, pointedly noticed, operas used to provide the viewers with "naïve productions showing silly little stories set literally in the 19th-century aesthetics. People were blackmailed by the pomposity of opera, and its fossilized form was served as an obligatory canon" (in Janowska 2002; translation mine). Fortunately, operatic directors finally realized that if opera is to survive in the digital 21st century, it needs to change its image radically. It is probably safe to say that nowadays opera is experiencing its renaissance, which can be confirmed not only by its unswerving popularity among classical music connoisseurs, but also by the growing interest in this genre among younger generations (Barone 2015).

However, combining such a traditional form of art with modern ideas and the latest technological developments is a real challenge, and the audience, first

of all, should understand the operatic performance very well. That is why surtitles which help people understand the meaning of libretti, are of such an importance, even if they are still too often considered to be just a minor element of the whole operatic production. Creating successful surtitles that would follow a modernised production is not an easy task, but this goal can be achieved by adopting one of the functionalist translation approaches, namely *skopos* theory focusing on the aim of the translation. In this paper I would like to discuss today's modern operatic productions and, with a few examples of surtitles from the best opera houses, show how *skopos* theory can marry the two opposites: opera and modernity.

## 2. Rendering opera more audience-friendly

One of the most significant steps towards redefining the contemporary image of opera involved the introduction of surtitles (Desblache 2007, 167). Up to the late 20th century operas were performed either in the original languages of the libretti in big opera houses or in translations in smaller theatres. Connoisseurs used to prefer the former solution, but they could not always afford it; the adapted performances were considerably cheaper, but their quality was often much worse. It became obvious that some change was both expected and needed. It paradoxically turned out to be a happy coincidence that some opera houses developed severe financial problems because many of them for a long time had been given subsidies, which near the end of the 20th century started to be shared out among other artistic institutions. Lucile Desblache describes the problems of the Royal Opera House, which had almost been closed down due to its financial difficulties, but eventually obtained support from the Arts Council. However, in order to be supported, the Royal Opera House had to become available for larger and more versatile audiences, and one of the ways of doing so was to introduce surtitles (2007, 163–164).

The very term *surtitles* describes the translated or transcribed text, which, contrary to the subtitles shown at the bottom of the television or cinema screen, is displayed on an electronic screen, usually located above the stage. Surtitles were invented by John Leberg, Lotfi Mansouri and Gunta Dreifelds. Although the first opera performance with surtitles – *Elektra* by Richard Strauss – took place on October 21, 1983 in Toronto, live translation had already been known earlier in China, as at the beginning of the 1980s some of the local opera houses used to show the Chinese translation vertically next to the stage (Dubiski 2012, 208–209). Surtitles are computer-operated and they are displayed above the stage on a screen. Some opera houses, though, particularly the ones with the biggest halls in which a relatively small screen is not clearly visible from each seat, introduce *seatback* screens. They are placed at the back of the seats and are controlled by individual users who can choose the language of the translation or turn it off completely. Moreover, some opera houses regularly broadcast their operatic performances

into cinemas or philharmonic halls; some of the broadcasts may be seen on the Internet as well. In such cases, the operas are accompanied by subtitles shown at the cinema or computer screen[1].

However, before surtitles became popular and widely used, a great number of stage directors had been strongly against them, claiming that they spoiled the special atmosphere of opera houses. James Levine, the artistic director of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, said that they would be introduced there only "over his dead body" (Tommasini 1995). Nonetheless, he finally changed his mind, and the Metropolitan Opera's seatback titles – *Met Titles* – were first used in 1995 for a rehearsal of *Madama Butterfly* by Giacomo Puccini (Kozinn 1995). *Met Titles* are also the first seatback titles in the world. It is true that surtitles have a number of disadvantages, namely they are often too small, unclear or chaotic, but they are in fact liked very much by the majority of opera audiences (Desblache 2007, 167–168), who want to know exactly what is being sung, especially at long operas with intricate plots.

Opera producers are, however, very well aware that in order to maintain the popularity of this genre and of particular opera houses, productions should be above all interesting and innovative. Directors often aim at rendering operas in an exceptionally attractive fashion, as their stories have usually over-simplified or over-complicated plots. Stories are also based on repetitive structures in which, as Lucile Desblache humorously described, "jealous baritones generally scheme the murder of amorous tenors while (not always seemingly) feeble sopranos die of unrequited love singing top Cs" (2009, 72). Moreover, most operas are already known to audiences coming to opera houses. Thus, in order to attract the attention of a wider audience opera directors try to be exceedingly extraordinary, and nowadays one of the most popular ways of achieving this aim is by modernising opera productions, i.e. transferring their plot from, for example, the 16th century to the here and now. It is, in fact, a part of a specific view of an operatic text, which emerged in the late 20th century. According to this view,

> how the text came to be there [on the stage], what the librettist and composer meant by it, what theatrical and social conventions it drew on, how it was originally designed and performed: these things may well be of some curiosity value and may perhaps be alluded to in a staging; but they have no controlling power over that staging. They are not privileged; they cannot compel; they are part of a dead past. (Savage 1994, 416–417)

The modernising trend, which perfectly agrees with the above ideas, meets with a strong opposition of numerous traditionalists who do not hesitate to express their dissatisfaction with the set designs or the director by booing them during curtain calls. This phenomenon stems from the fact that, as has been mentioned above, opera is still considered a high genre of art and its style may clash with modern sets, which are often ill-considered (Ożarowska 2016, 67). Modernising

has gained its ill-fame because of numerous unsuccessful productions, "but done right, an updated production can be a revelation" (Tommasini 2011a). However, in order to achieve a revelation, one needs not only a good idea, but also great financial outlays. In addition, in cases of modernised operas, following the premises of the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* is particularly significant.

The value of applying the holistic approach while directing a modernised opera production cannot be undermined because deviating from the traditional stage design and, very often, interpretation is usually confusing enough. That is why the stage design, acting and translation should all be in perfect agreement. Therefore, it is possible to pose the question: Does, for example, an 18th-century libretto suit a story set in modern times? It has to be emphasised that singers usually sing the original version of the libretto, but translations seen by viewers may vary from each other, and it is justified to claim that depending on whether a particular opera is staged traditionally or in a modernised way, it should have different translations.

There are, naturally, different levels of adapting surtitles to the production: usually certain concepts absent in the productions are omitted, some are generalised, some are added, but there are cases in which what is sung and what is read by the audience does not have much in common. Extreme cases take place when the entire libretto is adjusted to a particular production: adjusted mostly in terms of form, but also in terms of meaning.

The primary function of surtitles is informing the audience what singers are singing about, and what is happening on stage. But what if these two do not agree with each other? Singers sing the original libretto with no changes, but the stage design and their acting can imply a considerably different interpretation. Surtitles may be considered as a minor part of an opera performance but, in fact, they are the element that may bind these differences. I would like to claim that if this goal is to be achieved, the process of translating libretti should be strongly influenced by the premises of *skopos* theory.

## 3. *Skopos* theory and operatic libretti

*Skopos* theory, formulated by Hans Vermeer, belongs to the functionalist translation approach, which also includes Katharina Reiss and Vermeer's general theory of translation and Justa Holz-Mänttäri's theory of translational action. They were all developed in the second half of the 20th century, but the origin of functional approaches to translation can in fact be traced back to antiquity. Even Cicero postulated that word-for-word translation was not a good solution, "If I render word for word, the result will sound uncouth, and if compelled by necessity I alter anything in the order of wording, I shall seem to have departed from the function of a translator" (in Nord 1997, 4).

Hans Vermeer, who was a student of Reiss, evidently rejects the idea of a word-for-word translation; in formulating *skopos* theory, he regards translation as a communicative transfer, and, first of all, as an action:

> Any form of translational action, including therefore translation itself, may be conceived as an action, as the name implies. Any action has an aim, a purpose. (…) Further: an action leads to a result, a new situation or event, and possibly to a 'new' object. (in Nord 1997, 12)

For Vermeer it is not the source text, whose status in this theory is very low, but the translation's purpose and, subsequently, the addressee that are the most important for the final version of the target text. *Skopos* theory, whose name comes from the Greek word *skopos* (Eng. 'purpose'), assumes that "the prime principle determining any translation process is the purpose (*Skopos*) of the overall translation action" (Nord 1997, 27). In *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* this theory is classified as one of functional approaches which "define translation as a purposeful transcultural activity and argue that the linguistic form of the target text is determined by the purpose it is meant to fulfil" (Schäffner 2008, 115). It is therefore one of the most essential theories of translation, as it highlights the fact that there is always some intention and reason for translating a particular text. Hans Vermeer describes it in the following way:

> Each text is produced for a given purpose and should serve this purpose. The Skopos rule thus reads as follows: translate/interpret/speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function. (in Nord 1997, 29)

According to Christiane Nord, the specific purpose of translation is also defined by the communicational situation for which the translation is made; she claims that the text has not a top-down function, but it receives it in a specific situation when it is interpreted ([1993] 2009, 176). This concept stems from the translation turn of the 1980s. Vermeer treats language not as "an autonomous 'system' but part of a culture" (Snell-Hornby 2006, 52) and he views translation as "a cultural transfer rather than a linguistic one" (Snell-Hornby 2006, 54); subsequently, there is not just one correct and ideal translation. The text is not isolated, but is set in the extra-linguistic context, which can be, for example, an operatic production.

As I have already stated, the basic *skopos* for each operatic translation in the form of surtitles consists in informing the audience what singers are singing about: the text shown on the screen above the stage needs to be fairly concise, as the viewers should focus their attention on the stage and not on the surtitles. Of course, sometimes such simplifications may lead to either minor or major losses (Burton 2009, 62–64).

   As most operatic libretti have very florid and complicated form, both syntac-
tically and lexically (Desblache 2009, 71–72), the translators often decide to
sacrifice it for the sake of clarity; preserving the basic meaning becomes the
major aim of such translations. An interesting example may be an excerpt from
*Die Zauberflöte*, which has a specific form – there are many words beginning
with the same letters and the last words of each line rhyme. In the production by
David McVicar, which was staged in the Royal Opera House (2003), the surtitles
provided are brief, clear and very accurate, but the above-mentioned form is lost.

**Table 1**

| Original libretto | Translation provided by the opera house |
|---|---|
| Du, du, du, wirst sie zu befreien gehen, | You will go and rescue her |
| Du wirst der Tochter Retter sein. | You are the man to save my daughter |
| Und werd' ich dich als Sieger sehen, | If I see you triumph |
| So sei sie dann auf ewig dein. | Then she will be yours forever |

   In this example it is the pure content that was given the priority, and the
function of the surtitles was to provide the audience with the basic meaning of
what is sung. The general poetics of the libretto is, unfortunately, not reflected
in the translation, as translators do not always decide to preserve the rhymes in
surtitles; such translations are often just informative (Snell-Hornby 2007, 114).

## 4. Translating libretti for modernised opera productions

Creating surtitles becomes even more complicated in the case of modernised
opera productions, wherein what happens on stage does not always accord with
the libretti sung by singers. The aim of translation still consists in providing the
audience with information, but what should the audience be specifically informed
about? About what the singers are singing or about what is taking place on
stage? On the one hand, the discrepancy between what happens on stage and
what surtitles show is not desirable, as it would be confusing for the audience.
If they suddenly read something considerably different in the translation, they
will certainly be confused. On the other hand, if the translation shows something
different than the original, it is doubtful whether it is still a translation. Usually it
is the faithfulness to the original that is sacrificed. The production and its general
effect become the priority. Peter Gelb, the general manager of the Metropolitan
Opera House, claimed that, particularly in modernised productions, coherence is
of the utmost importance, and adjustments are actually desirable: "You're obliged
to have titles go along. Otherwise you pull the rug out from under the change of
setting" (in Tommasini 2011b).

An example of moderate adjustments to a modernised production was provided by the Bavarian State Opera in Munich, which stage a great number of modernised opera productions. One of its latest productions has been *Lucia di Lammermoor* by Gaetano Donizetti, directed by Barbara Wysocka (2015). *Lucia di Lammermoor* is based on Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and this opera is originally set in the 18th century in Scotland. This work is very rarely modernised: most productions set it, as in the original, in the 18th century, and viewers are usually presented with a conventional set comprising of a castle, cemetery, moors and woods. However, in the production of the Bavarian State Opera, the plot takes place in the middle of the 20th century in the United States. Enrico, a Scottish nobleman and Lucia's brother, is a politician, Lucia is modelled on Jackie Kennedy and Edgardo, Lucia's fiancé, appears as a rebel modelled on James Dean. Such an update was done "on the one hand, to show the balance of powers behind *Lucia* in modern times, and, on the other, to present traditional patriarchal structures" (Hettinger 2015; translation mine).

The libretto of *Lucia di Lammermoor* is inextricably connected with the reality of the 18th century in Scotland and it contains numerous references to Scottish history or to the places (e.g. castle or cemetery) in which the story is set. Therefore, it is undoubtedly difficult to translate the libretto so that it is adjusted to a modernised production. One of the parts of the libretto in which the translation is adjusted to the production is the scene when Enrico tries to persuade Lucia to marry the man he has chosen for her. He mentions historical figures, namely British monarchs Mary II and William III, but the titles provided by the opera house generalize this utterance, so that it can relate to 20th-century realities.

**Table 2**

| Original libretto | My literal translation of the libretto | Translation provided by the opera house |
|---|---|---|
| M'odi, Spento è Guglielmo – ascendere vedremo in trono Maria. | Listen, William is dead – we will see Mary ascend the throne | A change of government takes place. |

The aim of those titles is to inform the audience what Enrico generally tries to communicate to his sister: he wants to tell her that the government is changing. With the technique of generalisation, the translation by the Bavarian State Opera does convey this message.

In some productions the deviation from the original form consists not only in modernising the stage design, but also in changing the interpretation of the opera, and in such cases adjusted surtitles may render the alteration clear to the audience. I will illustrate this particular issue with an example from one of the

most famous and controversial productions of *La Traviata* by Giuseppe Verdi, directed by Willy Decker and staged in the Metropolitan Opera House in 2011. Apart from transferring the plot from the 18th-century Paris to the surreal modern reality, the production presents its characters in a considerably different light than originally intended.

Originally, in Act I Scene I, when Alfredo, the lover of the title character Violetta Valéry, hears about Violetta selling her possessions, the stage directions state that he is alone, and in his cabaletta following the opening-act aria, he sings about his honour that he intends to avenge. In Decker's production, when singing this aria, Alfredo is together with Violetta: the tenor clearly addresses the soprano, and the titles imply that it is her and her honour that he wants to avenge.

**Table 3**

| Original libretto | My literal translation of the libretto | Translation provided by the opera house |
|---|---|---|
| Oh mio rimorso! Oh infamia! Io vissi in tale errore! Ma il turpe sogno a frangere Il ver mi balen! Per poco in seno acquetati, O grido o grido dell'onore; M'avrai securo vindice; Quest'onta laver. | Oh, my remorse! Oh, disgrace! I lived so mistaken! But the truth, just like a flash, Has shattered my dream! For while be calm in my breast Oh, cry of honour; I will become your avenger, I will wash away this infamy. | I've disgraced myself! How could I have been so blind! The ugly truth has shattered This dream of mine. But I know what must be done. I must right this wrong. I will be your avenger. I'll wash away this shame. |

It is just a small change but the effect differs considerably from the original. However, the *skopos* of this translation is to follow the action on stage, and, subsequently, it is the translation that alters the general picture of the character whom the production intends to present in a more favourable light.

There are also a number of examples of surtitles that are quite radically adjusted to productions. As a result, the difference between the original libretto and the surtitles is considerable. Such a case may be illustrated with the Metropolitan Opera's production of *Faust* by Charles Gounod. Based on Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust, Part 1*, it is originally set in the 16th century, and it tells the story of a scholar who, being disappointed with his life, enters into a pact with the devil. In the production staged by the Metropolitan Opera House and directed by Des McAnuff (2011), the story is updated and it takes place in the 20th century. Faust himself, "usually presented as an old philosopher who feels he has wasted his life with fruitless scholarship, is here a middle-aged scientist" and he "works

in a big laboratory where the atomic bomb is under development" (Tommasini 2011a). Due to the fact that there are a few moments in which the production – using the acting and stage design – diverges from the original French libretto, the translation seen by the audience has been considerably adjusted.

The most striking adjustment was introduced for a scene when Méphistophélès visits Faust for the first time in his laboratory. In Metropolitan Opera's production Méphistophélès is dressed according to contemporary fashion, as he wears a white suit; however, in the original libretto (sung onstage by the bass singing the role of the devil) he describes to Faust his traditional outfit: a cloak, a hat with a feather and a sword. If viewers were presented with a literal translation of the libretto, the discrepancy between the stage and the titles would be too great and, subsequently, confusing and unacceptable. Therefore, the translator decided to adjust it to what the audience could actually see. Let us look at the following two versions:

**Table 4**

| Original libretto | My literal translation of the libretto | Translation provided by the opera house |
|---|---|---|
| Me voici! – D'où vient ta surprise? Ne suis-je pas mis à ta guise? L'épée au côté, la plume au chapeau, L'escarcelle pleine, un riche manteau Sur l'épaule; – en somme Un vrai gentilhomme! | Here I am! Are you surprised? You dislike my dress? My sword, a feather in my hat, Money in my pouch and my rich cloak. All in all, a true gentleman | Here I am! Why are you so surprised? I'm not what you expected? With the cane and panama hat, Dressed to the nines… Altogether: a real gentleman |

As a result, what the audience is reading and what the bass playing the role of the devil is singing varies to a great extent: Méphistophélès is singing about his sword, cloak and a feather in his hat, but the audience is presented with a cane, Panama hat and suit. The *skopos* of this translation consists in informing the audience of what the character is saying in this production and, also, in rendering the production consistent.

In the above-mentioned *Faust*, the translation was adjusted to the modernised production in terms of specific elements, but there are also productions where surtitles are adjusted to the modernised stage design generally in terms of style. An example may be *Rigoletto* directed by Michael Meyer and staged by the Metropolitan Opera House (2013). Focusing on the typically operatic subjects, namely love and revenge, this opera is originally set in 16th-century Italy and it is a story of a court jester (the title character Rigoletto) being at the service of

the immoral Duke of Mantua. Meyer decided to move the opera plot to the 1960s Las Vegas, whose licentious and lawless atmosphere corresponds to the unethical character of the Mantua court of the opera. Instead of a court, however, the setting of much of the action is a casino owned by the Duke.

The titles provided for this production extend the extraordinary stage design and they reflect the stereotypical atmosphere of the 1960s Las Vegas. One of the most interesting aspects of this translation is its adjustment to individual characters: the titles presenting the words of Sparafucile (Table 5), a contract killer hired by Rigoletto to kill the Duke, depict him as a person of a truly dubious reputation even more than the original.

**Table 5**

| Original libretto | My literal translation of the libretto | Translation provided by the opera house |
|---|---|---|
| SPARAFUCILE<br>Signor?<br>RIGOLETTO<br>Va, non ho niente.<br>SPARAFUCILE<br>Né il chiesi: a voi presente un uom di spada sta.<br>….<br>M'aiuta mia sorella.<br>Per le vie danza...è bella... | SPARAFUCILE<br>Sir?<br>RIGOLETTO<br>Go, I have nothing.<br>SPARAFUCILE<br>I didn't ask for anything. I am a swordsman.<br>…<br>My sister helps me. She dances in the streets… she's beautiful… | SPARAFUCILE<br>Hey, pal.<br>RIGOLETTO<br>Beat it, no handouts.<br>SPARAFUCILE<br>I don't want any. I make my living with a knife.<br>…<br>I use my sister as a bait. She stands out front. You should see her, she's a knockout. |

Translating *spada* (Eng. 'sword') as *knife* seems justified in this context, but translating *signor* (Eng. 'sir') as *hey pal* and *bella* (Eng. 'beautiful') as *a knockout* is surprising. The meaning of these words is similar, but their register and style vary. In this case the *skopos* of the titles seems more complex than in the above examples; the titles inform the audience what the singers sing about, they aim at preserving the coherence of the whole production, and they are one of the elements of modernising. In fact, going beyond the original libretto, they become an inseparable element of the performance complementing the general audio-visual effect.

The differences between original libretti and surtitles discussed in the examples above are certainly puzzling, particularly because the original is very much heard even if the majority of the audience does not understand the language of the libretto when it is sung in a foreign language. The point is that entering the opera house, viewers need to assume that they are about to take part in a highly conventionalised and symbolic event. They usually need to accept that elements

like surtitles adjusted to modernised productions are a part of the entire production, which cannot be regarded as concise and complete if its elements do not fit each other. Therefore, the communicational situation specified by Nord is the specific production together with the director's ideas and this situation determines the shape of the communicated message, i.e. the translated libretto.

## 5. Concluding remarks

As has been emphasised at the beginning of this paper, the issue of opera surtitling is often overlooked in the staging of an opera production. The interpretation and significance of particular productions are created not only by the use of spoken (or sung) and written words, but also by various visual elements, namely the stage design and acting. However, as the above examples depicted, surtitles can, in fact, be looked upon as *éminence grise*. Opera is a highly specific genre, indeed: if modernising is nowadays acceptable in the theatre, in opera it is still fairly controversial and it "is a staple of opera directors, especially in Europe, and it sparks feuds between traditionalists and updaters as regularly as the sun rises" (Tommasini 2011b). Despite the criticism this trend is most probably here to stay, as it has shown itself to be a way of reviving the art form and bringing it closer to younger generations (Ożarowska 2016, 73–74). But it can only defend itself if it leads to the production of complete and coherent performances; and surtitles serve as an element that binds opera and modernity, and makes this marriage of heaven and hell (i.e. opera and modernity, or modernity and opera) possible and viable. This bold goal can be achieved only with a proper translation of operatic libretti. The first step towards this aim is recognising the function of surtitles and then drafting them so that they can fully play their part. *Skopos* theory is therefore indispensable.

It is, of course, very easy to flatten the problem and accuse *skopos* theory of being a mere feeble excuse for taking liberties with the original; in fact, this theory has received much criticism for, among others, dethroning the source text (Nord 1997, 109). However, libretti are translated for a specific reason and for specific viewers watching an operatic production. Hans Vermeer states that texts should be translated in such a way that they may function in a given situation, and in a modernised production surtitles can function properly – i.e. convey the message to addressees – only if they are a part of a coherent whole. Obviously the level of adjusting translations to the production should be different in every case. As Vemeer claims,

> what the *skopos* states is that one must translate, consciously and consistently, in accordance with some principle respecting the target text. The theory does not state what the principle is: this must be decided separately in each specific case. (in Nord 1997, 29–30)

The target text must be respected, indeed, and in order to translate operatic libretti one needs "not only a wide range of linguistic and musical skills but also (…) in-depth knowledge of operatic cultural background and an artistic sensitivity" (Desblache 2007, 169). The coexistence and cooperation of translational skills and classical music expertise are therefore indispensable elements of achieving the goal of successful surtitles, especially if they are to play a special part in an extraordinary production. And it is essential to marry not only tradition with innovation, but also technical skills with artistic abilities because "the titling of opera is not only a craft, but also an art" (Burton 2009, 69).

## Notes

1    In this paper I use libretti translations that were provided by opera houses not only in the form of surtitles, but also seatback titles or subtitles. For the sake of clarity I use the word *surtitles* for describing theoretical matters; for discussing individual libretti translations I use the general word *titles* if the libretto translation in question was not shown specifically as surtitles by the opera house.

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# Caricature Images for Religious Profiling: A Multimodal Analysis of Islamophobia in Selected Press Images

**Abstract**

The problem of religious profiling and the increase of animosity, exclusion and maltreatment of Muslim minorities in the West have reached an unprecedented level in a community where racism and segregation are usually denounced. The paper investigates the concept of Islamophobia as presented in 25 selected caricature images, along with their accompanying texts, chosen from magazines and specialized cartoon websites. Multimodality and its related analytic tools are utilized for making explicit the interactive messages encoded within these caricature images. The theoretical framework upon which this study is conducted incorporates Halliday's (1978) three metafunctions, and Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) adaptation of them for the analysis of images and their captions.

## 1. Introduction

Due to the rapid technological and social changes, language is no longer viewed as the sole mode of communication. Moreover, in order to arrive at a more accurate analysis, the integration of various modes in a particular genre for meaning-making should be taken into consideration. The concept of multimodality and the rising trend to multimodal analysis emerged in the early 1970s with the works of Roland Barthes and Christian Metz. Understanding cartoons as a genre and having the ability to read its visual grammar is not as easy as it might appear. El Refaie and Hörschelmann (2010, 195) believe that "there is a growing evidence that reading cartoons is, in fact, a highly complex process that requires people to draw on a whole range of different literacies". The tendency to eradicate multimodality illiteracy was initiated by several linguists. Jewitt and Kress (2003) promoted multimodal literacy education. Similarly, Kleeman (2006, 144), who examines the utilization of cartoons as an instructional tool, asserts that cartoons enable students to "identify bias and formulate opinions". Moreover, El Refaie and Hörschelmann (2010) study the degree of multimodal literacy that young adults possess when they come to interpret political cartoons. They found out that young people are

able to provide a correct interpretation of cartoons, first, if they have the ability to identify the real-life referent to which the fictitious cartoon alludes, second, if they can follow the narrative embodied in the cartoon image and finally, if they understand the intertextual referents. On the other hand, Bazalgette and Buckingham (2013, 95) criticise both the theory of multimodality and its application for the development of children's curriculum.

Within the multimodal approach, communication modes include images, gaze, sounds, symbols, space, hand-arm movements along with language. Any communication mode is affected by cultural, historical, ideological and social background. Baldry and Thibault refer to the combination of these modes or resources as "resource integration". In their comprehensive work *Multimodal Transcription and Text Analysis*, they investigate the organizational patterns adopted in various fields, such as TV advertisements, sequential cartoons and leaflets, and they come to the conclusion that "different semiotic modalities adopt different organizational principles for creating meaning" (2006, 4)

Caricatures or cartoon drawings encapsulate several messages within one single image, and as such, they are considered as a semiotic mode for meaning-making. Caricature producers attempt to present the objects in terms of their minimal defining characteristics. The terms *cartoon* and *caricature* are used interchangeably in this paper since the majority of the images analysed are a sarcastic representation of male and female Muslims and their prophet. Being a form of communication, caricature drawings are viewed as a genre, which conveys a relation between the general public, on the one hand, and the knowledgeable, resourceful, professional producer, on the other. Caricatures can even be viewed as a form of discourse. Kress (2014, 36) asserts that "In MMDA the textual 'threads' are many and they are materially diverse: *gesture, speech, image* (still or moving), *writing, music* (on a website or in a film). These, as well as three-dimensional entities, can be drawn into one textual/semiotic whole". As a means of foregrounding specific social or religious values and political views, caricatures mostly rely on verbal and visual ways to communicate messages. Verbal messages are in the form of bubble talks and/or captions. Such linguistic and visual features are combined to present "one single multimodal communicative act, in which image and text blend like instruments in an orchestra" (Van Leeuwen 2005, 121).

Similar to texts, caricature drawings are proven to be instances of social meaning that have their own situational context. They cannot be recognized as meaningful if examined in isolation, but, as Halliday asserts, "always in relation to a scenario, some background of persons and actions and events from which the things which are said (or expressed through drawings) derive their meaning" (1978, 28). Caricature images represent what Van Leeuwen termed "semiotic resource", used as a means of visual communication to construct representation of what is going on in the world, and the meanings communicated by these caricatures is what is termed as "semiotic potential", used to stereotype, persuade, provoke or

prejudice an idea or a belief (2005, 3). Kress and Van Leeuwen assert that "Just as grammars of language describe how words combine in clauses, sentences and texts, so our visual 'grammar' will describe the way in which depicted elements – people, places and things – combine in visual 'statements' of greater or lesser complexity and extension" (1996, 1).

Political cartooning has come into existence since American cartoonist Benjamin Franklin published his famous cartoon "Join or die" in 1754 (West, 2014). Political cartoons have been studied by several scholars, such as Conners (2007), who states that cartoons or caricatures utilize certain tools for their production, such as character traits, situational themes, literary or cultural allusions. In their analysis of elements of graphic persuasion as embodied in political cartoons, Medhurst and Desousa (1981, 199) adopt a psychoanalytical, sociological and communicative approach. They argue that "The cartoonist must discover or invent content, arrange that content for specific effect, and stylize the presentation by conscious application of the artistic principles inherent in the medium". They add that contrast, contradictory and commentary are techniques adopted by cartoonists for their creation. Through contrast, the cartoonist provides the viewers with two choices and they make their own decision based on their predisposition. With contradiction, viewers are directed to distinguish the contradictions presented through the image. As for commentary, the cartoonist offers the viewer with a perspective as an unquestionable truth; "The claim is offered without the means to evaluate its validity" (1981, 207).

## 2. Western Islamophobia and religious profiling of Muslims

The study of Islamophobia was initiated by Runnymed Trust Report in 1996 and was later followed by other studies on the topic both in Europe and the USA. In "The West's Modern Encounter with Islam: From Discourse to Reality," Monshipouri (1998) attempts to convince policy makers to have a more practical rather than ideological approach when dealing with issues concerning Muslims. Green (2015) adopts the definition of Islamophobia provided by Runnymed Trust Report (1997) as "The dread or hatred of Islam". The report works its way to distinguish legitimate criticism of Islam, which they termed "open" views and which contrasts with "closed" views as the trigger of Islamophobia. According to Green, the word "Islamophobia" has become "an integral part of political and public discourse" (2015, 9).

Along with cartoons, Ridouani (2011) asserts that other media representations, whether in the movies, paintings or even Disney productions for kids, feed into the conclusions and generalizations drawn about Islam and Muslims. In addition, Mantyla defines religious profiling by stating that "assuming that individuals of a specific race or religion are more likely to be criminals or

terrorists is – by definition – both racial and religious profiling" (2006). In their article "Religious Profiling: an Unwelcome Guest", Goitein and Patel (2012), describe how The New York City Police Department monitors Muslims' everyday lives, infiltrates mosques, and tracks Muslim student groups in universities around the USA as "the most egregious example". Similarly, a report submitted by Amnesty International (2012) confirms that "Discrimination against Muslims in Europe is fuelled by stereotypes and negative views". It urges European politicians to be more rational by abandoning stereotyping Islam as a violent religion that calls for gender inequality. Moreover, Green (2015, 31) interprets the hate directed towards Islam and Muslims as an attempt to preserve national and European identity.

## 3. The data

The data selected for the study comprises 25 caricature drawings which were selected from online newspapers such as *Jyllands-Posten*, *El Watan* and *Chicago Sun-Times*, in addition to specialized cartoons websites such as *Cartoon Movement* and *Cartoon Stock* and several prominent cartoonists' websites. Apart from three cartoons which rely on image alone, all the caricatures analysed utilize the visual along with the textual for meaning-making. The target audience of these caricatures is divergent. The producer is the one in power deciding what is to be said by the images, how it is represented and how it should be interpreted. The caricatures under study focus on the broad theme of religious profiling, but are sub classified according to three major themes. The first group tackles cartoons attacking Islam, its beliefs, and its practitioners. The second group handles satirical cartoons about Muslim women's attire. The third group criticizes the Western press with its double standards. As such, the third group can be viewed as a response or a reaction to the first and second groups.

## 4. The purpose of the study

Media representation generally and caricature drawings as one form of this representation focusing on racial or religious profiling, are found to aggravate tension and widen the cultural gap between Muslims and the West. Hence, by relying on a multimodal approach for analysing images, the paper attempts to make explicit the interactive messages encoded within caricature images and the response to these caricatures by other caricatures that attempt to present a different point of view or clarify a misrepresentation. The present study aims to investigate how Halliday's (1978) textual, ideational and interpersonal metafunctions are realized in drawings to communicate a more elaborate message than can be communicated by a text. It attempts to reveal which types of processes, as

identified by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), are more prevalent for this type of multimodal representation. It will finally attempt to reveal some of the organizational patterns adopted by caricature producers for meaning-making. The study adopts a qualitative descriptive method based on observation and analysis of the selected data in an attempt to reduce the cultural gap between non-Muslim Western views about Islam and the reality. Halliday's and Kress and Van Leeuwen's approaches to text and image analysis provide a set of well-suited analytic tools for that purpose.


## 5. The framework of the study

The framework adopted in the paper integrates Kress and Van Leeuwen's framework for analysing images under a social semiotic theory, with Halliday's framework for viewing language as social semiotics. A multimodal text is defined by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 177) as "any text whose meanings are realized through more than one semiotic code". According to Halliday, any social action tends to be encoded "linguistically in the form of ideational meaning, the role relationships in the form of interpersonal meanings and the symbolic mode in the form of textual meaning" (1978, 123).

The ideational function as presented by Halliday encompasses both the experiential and the logical meaning. The experiential meaning refers to "the speaker's meaning potential as an observer" (1978, 12) and it embodies the speaker's cultural experience, his/her personal experience of the external world, his/ her thoughts, feelings and reactions to the processes taking place in this external world. The meaning potential is expressed, on the one hand, by caricature producers who rely on their observations of what is happening in the outside world and, on the other hand, by representatives or participants in the caricature. The logical meaning is concerned with recursive structures that are utilized to build up complex chain structure, among which are the causal and temporal relations.

In Halliday's framework, the interpersonal metafunction is concerned with language as a mode for communicating attitudes and evaluations. He argues that the interpersonal metafunction "is the component, through which the speaker intrudes himself into the context of the situation, both expressing his own attitudes and judgments, and seeking to influence the attitudes, and behaviour of others" (1978, 112). In other words, the interpersonal function is realized in caricature drawings that are published in widely distributed newspapers or editorial cartoons websites through producers who attempt to communicate their viewpoints of the world and present them from their own perspective, aiming at influencing a vast majority of the public and persuade them with these views. Halliday's third metafunction, the textual metafunction, is realized by the way language is organized into a coherent text, how text and context are related and the way

information is distributed within the text. As such, textual meaning is concerned with creating relationships between different parts of the whole.

In *Introducing Social Semiotics*, Van Leeuwen states that images have always been studied as "representations" rather than "interactions". However, he asserts that images are utilized "to do things to, or for or with people: to persuade, instruct, explain, and warn and so on" (2005, 58). He concludes that, as such, images can perform the same function as speech acts through different relationships between participants either within the image or between the producer and the intended viewers of the images. In addition, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen,

> Images [and other kinds of visuals] involve two kinds of participants, represented participants (the people, the places and things depicted in images) and interactive participants (the people who communicate with each other through images, the producers and viewers of images), and three kinds of relations: (1) relations between represented participants; (2) relations between interactive and represented participants (the interactive participants' attitudes towards the represented participants); and (3) relations between interactive participants (the things interactive participants do to or for each other through images). (1996, 120)

The first relation between represented participants involves analysing the images, and elaborating the interactional messages communicated through these images. This is done away from elaborating any intentions on the part of the producer or any assumptions made by the viewer. As for the second relation between interactive and represented participants, it investigates the relation between the caricature producer and his attitude towards whatever he/ she presents on the one hand, and the participants in a caricature and the viewers as interactive participants, on the other.

Caricature producers from varied cultural and ideological backgrounds, when addressing the audience, will entice different attitudinal reactions towards whatever is presented by the represented participants in the caricatures. This leads to the third type of relation, which involves the effect or reaction on the viewer. The images presented suffice in communicating the producers' attitude towards the issue presented. The viewers' attitude can either be that of supporters or opponents to the producer. In the first case, viewers are on the same ground, sharing the same ideology and cultural background. Hence, the cartoon will be interpreted as sarcastic or funny. In the second case, viewers will be offended by the presented images, as they infringe or misrepresent adopted concepts and beliefs. Hence, the real life effect on the former is that of establishing a wide base of supporters against a particular belief, which in turn increases hostility and animosity. The effect on the latter is either a feeling of oppression, infringement and unjust representation or a counter-reaction by cartoonists from the oppressed culture.

Kress and Van Leeuwen focus on the realization of Halliday's three metafunctions, originally applied to language analysis, to the analysis of visual modes.

Their approach in *Reading Images* focuses on understanding the visual as "representation and communication". They analyse a wide variety of images including photographs of real humans, creatures and statues, advertisements, illustrations in children's books and textbooks, magazine cover pages, mind maps, and charts.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 59), images in general are subjected to four processes that describe how participants are related to each other within the image. Narrative processes are usually about events or actions between participants. They are connected by vectors that are symbolized by diagonal lines from one participant to the other(s). These vectorial patterns represent narrative in images. Classificational processes refer to how things are ordered within the image, and in what way this order affects the relation between participants. With analytical processes, the relationship is that of part-to-whole, where the whole is referred to as the "carrier" and the parts as the "possessive attributive". "The analytical process is the usual, the 'unmarked' and therefore also the most elementary option in the visual system of representation" (1996, 91). Finally, "symbolic processes are about what a participant means or is". Kress and Van Leeuwen differentiate between "Symbolic Attributive" and "Symbolic Suggestive" processes. In the former there are two participants: one is the "carrier" whose identity is established in the relation and the other is the participant who represents the identity itself. It is realized by certain characteristics, such as being foregrounded or well-lit, distinguished from the whole by fine details, pointed at by means of gestures and "conventionally associated with symbolic values." (1996, 105). "Symbolic Suggestive", on the other hand, refers to a single participant as "carrier". Contrary to the former type, images exhibiting Symbolic Suggestive processes magnify mood and environment over details. Participants are "silhouettes", colours are hazy and unidentified. As such, they do not depict "a specific moment but a generalized essence"(1996, 106).

Van Leeuwen and Kress identify several factors that determine the amount of interactivity achieved by the image. They state that image production involves the choice between "demand" and "offer". With the first, the image demands an action or an attitude from the viewer. This is usually achieved through direct gaze at the viewer. As for "offer", the image offers something to the viewer and this is characterized by the lack of immediate eye contact with the viewer.

## 6. Analysis

The division of the analysis section is primarily based on the three metafunctions and their sub-sections focus on the types of caricatures under scrutiny, on whether they offer or demand, and on how salience, information value and framing are utilized.

## 6.1. The ideational function of images

Within the ideational metafunction, the paper examines how the producers' cultural and worldly experience with regards to Islam, its beliefs and practitioners, Muslim women's attire and the West's double standards are realized through images. Among these are, to mention but a few: Muhammad is an evil character whose evil ideas, executed by his followers "the extremists", are the reason behind discomfort, restlessness and Islamophobic state in the West. Another dominant idea in several caricature drawings is that of equating Islam as a religion to terrorism. The majority of anti-Islam caricatures exaggerate the actions of radicals, extremists and fanatics, who are a minority, as representatives of Islam and the Muslim people. The ideational realization behind this theme is that Islamists are so indifferent, relaxed, and do not move a wink when they hear or read about atrocities committed in the West. However, when it comes to infamous cartoons about Muhammad, they boil in rage and react violently.

### Demand caricature

The common attribute among the group of caricatures dealing with this theme is the foregrounding and full figure portrayal of the radical Islamist emphasising their rage and terrifying looks. The predominant process in these cartoons is the narrative process. This process is characterized by what Kress and Van Leeuwen termed as "an explicit indicator of directionality" (1996). In some instances, a vector is shown to be directed from the represented participant, "actor", towards another represented participant, "goal", or towards the viewer, "goal", as an interactive participant. In Figures 1 and 2, the eye contact between the actor and the goal totally diminishes and is replaced by glottal contact. What the goal observes upon looking at this group of caricature drawings is the widely open mouth showing the glottis of the actor as an indication of rage, anger and fury directed towards the goal. The open mouth in these instances plays the role of the vector instead of the outstretched arms or lines, identified by Van Leeuwen and Kress.



Fig. 1
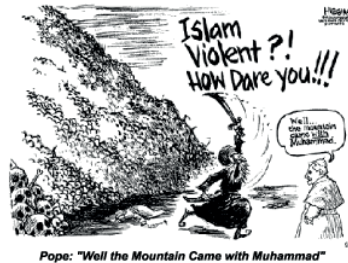


Fig. 2

In Figure 1, the actor is emitting bidirectional vectors. Primarily, his gaze is directed to the represented participant, i.e. the newspaper, whereas the glottal contact is directed to the interactive participant, i.e. the viewer. The text in the dialogue balloon with the word *OUTRAGED* presented in bold font and all caps and the fumes emitted from his head are all intended to communicate the message of "beware the coming revenge". Similarly in Figure 2, the gaze, the open mouth, the violent action of sword-wielding in addition to the wide rushing steps, all function as vectors directed towards the goal, the Pope. Norris (2004, 24) defines posture as "The ways that participants position their bodies in a given interaction. People may display open or closed postures, and they display directionality through posture". The postural direction that the extremist takes up towards the Pope indicates animosity. The Pope's indifferent calm and peaceful reactions along with his closed arms contrast with the separated limbs and knees and open-arm movement of the extremist. However, the cartoon as a whole with the hazy background of the mountain of sculls and skeletons are intended to transfer the threat to the interactive participant, the viewer. The mountain of skulls represents what Kress and Van Leeuwen termed "symbolic suggestive". Along with the accompanying caption, the mountain signifies that the remnants of Muhammad's preaching are a huge number of deaths. The text accompanying the image is intended to portray the believers of this faith as hypocrites whose actions do not match their words. It first expresses denial in the exclamatory statement and at the same time interrogates the previously heard statement "Islam violent?!" immediately followed by a contradictory text which sustains the action portrayed in the caricature "How dare you!!!".

Unlike Figure 1 and Figure 2, where the vectors are directed towards the represented participant, Figure 3 is found to be the most threatening as both the scary stare and the widely opened mouth are directed towards the viewer, accompanied by the detailed background of armed rebellious people with similar open mouths, denoting their affiliation to the same ideology. The text accompanying the cartoon further intensifies the threat verbally by using the words, *die*, *death*, and *kill*, but again preceded by a contradictory yet assertive statement "ours is a peaceful religion".



Fig. 3

Another common feature among this group is the prevalence of the black and white colours in the representation of this idea; what Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 199) termed as "black and white realism". Figures 1 and 3, published in *Jyllands-Posten* in the years 2010 and 2012 and republished later on several websites, are satirical representations of the eccentric actions carried out by extremists as a reaction to the careless desecration, in 2005-2006, of the prophet of Islam by the same newspaper. Figure 2, published in *Chicago Sun-Times* in September 2006, focuses on the same theme.

In an attempt to refute the claim that moderates, who are hundreds of millions worldwide, are totally different, other caricatures stress the fact that moderates are by no means different from extremists or radicals, and that the distance between them is a slight one. Figures 4–7 highlight the slight space between moderates and extremists. The space between radicals and moderates, as portrayed in the four images, is an essential resource in the meaning-making process. Baldry and Thibault (2006, 6) assert that "Space is not a 'neutral' entity but is instead ideologically loaded. It is part of the culturally-determined way in which we perceive the world, the result of our collective cultural experience". Islam and terrorism are symbolized in Figure 7 as being door-to-door, but given different identity through different numbers. The representative of the Chicago press can see no difference between the two and knocks with fury on the door labelled "Islam" to bestow it the same identity as that of its neighbour "terrorism". In order to highlight this misapprehension by the West, Ahmed Rehab – executive director in *Chicago Sun-Times* – drew this caricature as a response to Higging's Figure 2, who directed his anger to Islam and Muslims instead of directing it to the radicals (cf. Rehab 2006).

The commonality portrayed by different cartoonists in their portrayal of extremists and moderates can be interpreted as structured. Norris (2004, 38) confirms that "Interactions differ greatly and, with them, gaze distribution differs. Usually, the more structured the interaction, the more structured the gaze will be". Figures 4–6, focus on the violent raging feature of the radicals accompanied by their boastful exhibition of weapons and explosives and their threatening gaze directed towards the viewer. This is sharply contrasted with the peaceful looks (not necessarily directed to the viewer) and actions by the moderates, which are mainly confined to gesturing from a distance. However, the bubble talks and captions accompanying the images indicate that they both share similar perspectives and ways of thinking, but one is more daring than the other in carrying out the terrorist acts or showing fury. Figure 4, for instance, was drawn on the situation when a teenage Somali was harshly tortured and killed by his parents because he converted to Christianity. Based on the image and the accompanying shared bubble talk, the caricature producer highlights the fact that the same conclusion was reached by both, the moderate and the radical. Accordingly, through the integration of the different communicative modes (gaze, gesture, intertextuality

and language) the message transmitted by these caricatures is that they demand viewers not to be deceived by the moderates as they can even be given the same identity as that of the radicals, which is later asserted in Figure 7.
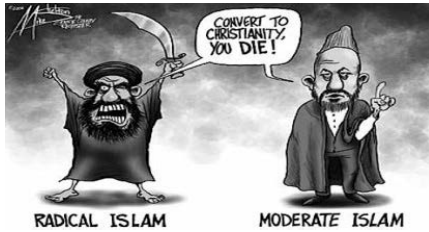


Fig. 5



Fig. 4



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

Classification processes are evident in Figure 9, which presents an instance of Kress and Van Leeuwen's "covert taxonomy". In a collection of twelve frames of equal size, the producer presents a verbal realization of different terrorist acts
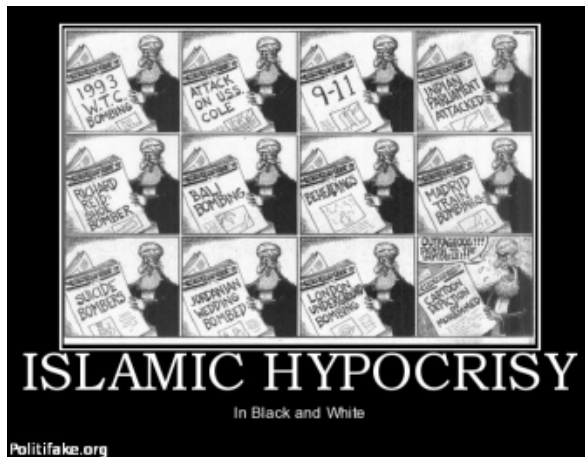


Fig. 9

in various locations worldwide accompanied by a repeated visual representation focusing on the indifferent reactions of the represented participant in eleven frames and contrasts them with his shocked and overwhelmed reaction to the notorious cartoon publications in the last frame.

The subordinate participants are evenly distributed next to each other both vertically and horizontally, and occupy the same frame size and together are given a frontal angle. The commentary text is separated from the image and placed below it covering the same length as the collection of images to provide a holistic evaluative phrase. "Islamic Hypocrisy" is the superordinate or the "carrier", to which the believers are the "possessive attributes". The "carrier" refers to the whole abstract Islamic concept and belief, and the attributes are the followers presented in the frames, pretending to have first-hand knowledge of the terrorist act from the newspaper coverage similar to the rest of the public. Lacking on the direct gaze between represented and interactive participants reduces, as Kress and Van Leeuwen assert, the degree of interaction and "invites impersonal, detached scrutiny".

The ideational realization in the caricatures involving women's Islamic attire is that there is uniformity and monotony in the way Muslim women are dressed. This is communicated in one of the sarcastic caricatures (Figure 22) portraying a paper doll who is supposedly provided with a variety of dresses to choose from, but ends up to be surrounded by the same repeated apparel, which results in the miserable look on the doll's face. The process involved in this caricature is the symbolic process of the type "Symbolic Attributive", where the producer bestows the participants with specific meaning and identity. The doll itself is the symbol of submissiveness, passivity and non-resistance. The Muslim woman, who is being symbolized by the doll, is similarly bestowed with these same qualities. This same cartoon was republished in *Bob from Brockley* blog spot accompanying the article "Satire or Smear? Islam-Themed Cartoons". In this article, though the writer rejects bigotry underlying satirical cartoons, she still views the paper doll cartoon as a "legitimate satire on theocratic dress codes" (Sarah, 2013). This attire is equated to a dark prison in Figure 21, from which a direct call for help is emitted. Both caricatures are again demanding an action from the viewer,
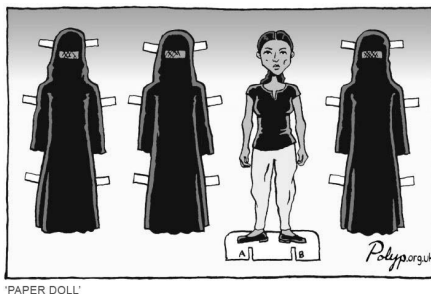


'PAPER DOLL'

Fig. 22                                                        Fig. 21

which could be as simple as sympathizing with the act of oppression inflicted upon female Muslims.


## 6.2. The interpersonal metafunction of images

The second group of caricature drawings criticizes the double standards of the West when it comes to cartoons dealing with Islamophobia, and distinguishes it from other forms of discrimination. As such, this group of caricatures provides a partial counterview to the first group of caricatures that are sarcastic about Islam and its practitioners. The ideational realization behind this group of caricature drawings is that Islamophobia is nothing more than a political production and fabrication. There are political aims behind the promotion and exaggeration of the extremists' ideas and actions. The interpersonal metafunction focuses on interaction taking place between presented participants. Unlike the first group, the viewer in this group is distanced. S/he is offered a presentation through which s/he can infer the producers' intended meaning.


### *Offering caricature*

Counter-reactions are communicated through the group of caricature drawings presenting an opposing view or commenting on the status quo from a different perspective. Figure 16, for instance, was published in the Egyptian newspaper *El Watan*, where thirteen cartoons were published with the banner "Fighting Cartoons with Cartoons," and was republished in *Business Insider* on 26 September, 2012. This collection of caricatures, mostly presented by non-Western cartoonists, is perceived as an indirect response to the first group of caricature drawings. An instance from this group is Figure 16 by the Ethiopian artist Nayer Talal, presenting Geert Wilders, leader of the PVV (Party of Freedom) known for his severe opposition and unconcealed hatred to Islam, who has consistently campaigned



Fig. 16

against the "Islamisation" of the West, as the one behind this fear of Islam. Being the ones in power, politicians' opinions and views are often trusted and cherished by the public and as such, they spread their views through the media; the channel available to the majority of the public. The Dutch populist politician is presented in two adjacent frames.

In the left hand frame, he is joyfully holding a red deflated balloon showing it to the interactive viewers, like a magician who is about to perform a magical trick, and giving them a sceptical look and a wide smile. In the adjacent frame, he is observed blowing the balloon with the word *Islamophobia*, written in bold white caps. The choice of the red colour is indicative of the danger he is emitting through his promotion of anti-Islam. His looks in this image are focused on the balloon and on how big it gets, as he blows his hatred into it. The looks in this caricature drawing are indicative and expressive. They establish what Kress and Van Leeuwen termed "vectors" that connect interactive participants in the first frame and representative participants in the second (1996, 114). In the left frame, the looks addressing the interactive viewers are calling for full attention and concentration on what is to come. The looks in the second frame shift from the interactive participant to the represented participant (the balloon with the word *ISLAMOPHOBIA*). The producer as an interactive participant aims to communicate the message that it is this person and others holding similar views who are the real, though not the sole, agents behind this fear of Islam.

Other caricatures, as represented in Figure 15, by Carlos Latuff, an Arab Brazilian political cartoonist, portray how Western Islamophobia threatens world peace and harmony. It illustrates the power discrepancy between the promoters of Islamophobia and Muslims worldwide.
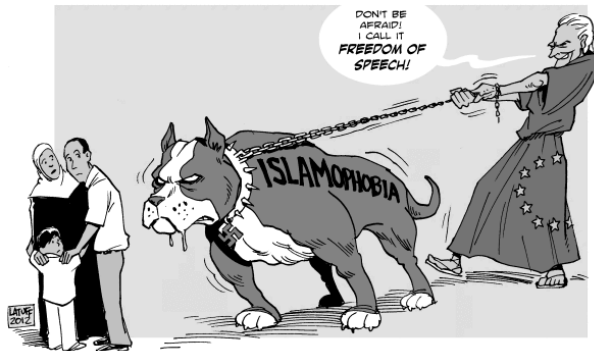


Fig. 15

The latter is exemplified by a small helpless family holding on to each other in fear of the Western attack on Islam. The Western fear of Islam is illustrated by the fierce red Rottweiler, with a Nazi pendant, centred in the picture frame and occupying more than its half. The artificial red colour of the dog is meant

to indicate danger and ferocity. The vector is directed from the dog and the representative of the European Union, both narrowing their eyes in an act of forewarning, towards the bewildered family who also direct a vector towards the dog and the representative. Unlike the figures analysed above where the represented participants direct their vectors to the viewers, this group of caricatures, have no contact with the viewers. To the right of the frame, is the embodiment of the European Union, metaphorically represented as an ancient Roman man keeping hold of his wild beast and ready to unleash it on whoever offends this entity. The European Union is shown in full power and control over the outcome of the fear of Islam, that is "Islamophobia". 90% of the image frame is occupied by the embodiment of the West and its fear, and only 10% by the representatives of the Muslims, who are endangered by this fear, squeezed in the left corner of the image frame, and even getting out of it. Moreover, the noticeable difference in the size of the people within the image stresses the idea of power dominance and inequality, where the size of the person embodying the European Union doubles that of the three family members combined. The text contained in the dialogue balloon, contradicts what the image illustrates. It is ironically giving a "caring command", as a way of reassuring the terrified family. The changed typography and the bold font accompanied by the sarcastic laughter communicate the message. The power dominance is evident in the focused use of the pronoun *I*, which is the only thing that matters regardless of how the others see it. While the others see it as Islamophobia, the Western world sees it as "Freedom of speech".

## 6.3. The textual metafunction of images

The textual metafunction is realized by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 117) as image composition. It embodies the interpersonal and the ideational function through the connection of three major elements: "information value," "salience" and "framing" into a coherent whole. It is mainly concerned with how elements within an image are organized, and how this organization provides value to some elements over others. While Halliday refers to the textual function as "the text forming potential" by the speaker, it is viewed in this paper as the potential of the caricature drawing to integrate different modes of presentation and organize a vast amount of information in a pre-planned way to communicate messages through the drawings, without which the previous two functions will not be actualized.

## 6.3.1. Framing

The dominant presentation of the Western press as having double standards (Figures 12–14) relies mainly on framing in order to show contradiction which

leads the viewer to reach a common agreement, condemnation or resentment of
the presented act. Baldry and Thibault (2006, 10) state that "the frame provides
some implicit indication as to how the picture is to be viewed (…) [it] functions
as an implicit meta comment" and is utilized to distinguish between the world
inside the frame from that which is outside. Framing in the analysed data is also
utilized to indicate a sequential structure similar to that of a narrative. Figures
12–14 clearly exemplify Kress and Van Leeuwen's four processes: the analytic
and narrative processes through content presentation, the classification process
through framing and the symbolic process through icons. In addition to the above
mentioned resources of space positioning, organization of represented partici-
pants, arm-movements, posture, gaze, written language, typography and colour,
the analysis of the approaching data makes use of another multimodal resource,
namely "intertextuality". As "texts of all kinds are always related to other texts"
(Baldry and Thibault 2006, 55), so are caricatures. The majority of the caricatures
examined build upon or are connected to previous caricatures, shared beliefs or
real life incidents.

Figure 13 by Daryl Cagle, an American editorial cartoonist, portrays the
editor in chief of the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in three separate frames.
It is intended to instruct the viewer that they should treat incidents separately. The
arrangement of the frames is sequential. The viewer starts from the two frames
above and can read them either way, right to left or vice versa, but will end with
the lower frame. The editor in chief adopts the role of an instructor educating
the interactive participants on what to view as racism and what not. The lower
frame occupies the space taken by the two frames together. This is intended to
intensify the message offered to the viewer that it is very acceptable, correct and
legal to criticize Muhammad and his followers. The gaze in the upper two frames
is directed to the represented participant, the paper on which he explains his
views to the interactive participant and makes a big cross in red indicating the
unacceptability of discriminating against blacks and equating Israeli practices to
those of the Nazis. The seriousness, in the two frames above portrayed by the
invisible eyes behind the glasses and the twisted lips accompanied by the viral
lines above the head, contrasts with the cheerfulness and clear eyes in the frame
below. The way he is presented holding the papers with the concepts of racism
and anti-Semitism with one hand, and crossing out with the other indicates close
concern, and irritation with the fact that the public could not distinguish between
different forms of discrimination. This contrasts with the way he distances himself
from Muhammad's photos in the lower frame as a gesture to the viewers that
this should be discriminated against. The vector, his gaze and his outstretched
pointing arms, in the lower frame, direct the goal to what s/he should concen-
trate on. The numerous photos of Muhammad with the red "correct" mark are
sharply contrasted with the above two separate instances of unacceptable forms
of discrimination.

To reach an interpretation for this image, the viewer does not only rely on the integration of the visual and verbal, but also on intertextuality as a resource for meaning-making. Intertextuality is conveyed by means of an image within an image. The two frames above anticipate the viewers' acquaintance with the content of the image. In an attempt to intensify the message communicated by the image, the third frame provides an identification caption of what the inclusive image is about.
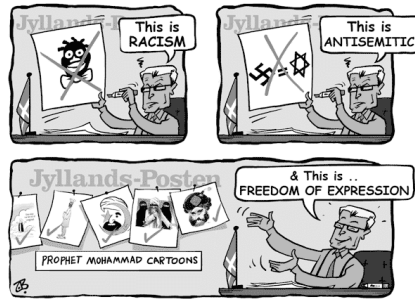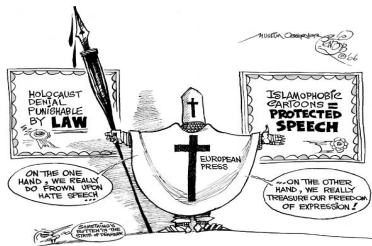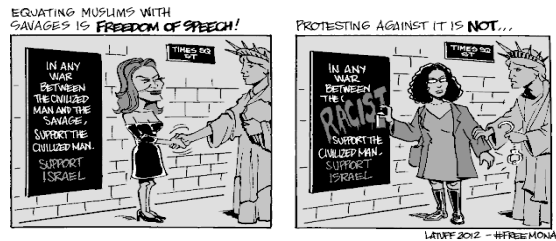


Fig. 13



Fig. 14          Fig. 12

Figure 12 by Carlos Latuff was released as a response to the arrest of the prominent Egyptian American writer and activist Mona El Tahawy in New York after she sprayed paint on a controversial poster in the subway which equates Muslims to "savages". According to *The Guardian* of 26th October 2012, the billboard was officially placed by Anti-Muslim American Freedom Defense initiative and was approved by the court as free speech that is protected under the first amendment. The billboard originally states "In any war between the civilized man and the savage, support the civilized man". Between two stars of David, it adds "Support Israel. Defeat Jihad". The Statue of Liberty, iconic of America's freedom of speech and belief, is presented as having a double standard. In the left frame, it endorses the statement on the billboard with a handshake and peaceful smile. In the right frame, it condemns and criminalizes the act of equating the Israeli nation with the term *racist*. Green (2015, 17) stresses this double standard in dealing with situations by stating that "racial discrimination and racist

exclusionary practices are typically deemed unconstitutional today in the United States, but (…) when Muslims are involved, racist practices and prejudices get a pass". It is even regarded by many anti-Muslims as "normal and necessary". He further adds that "The billboard is dangerous because it has the potential to entice violence against Muslims by branding them as enemies who are complicit in the killing of innocent people" (2015, 22).

Figure 14, by Khalil Bendib, a Muslim American Berkeley-based editorial cartoonist, exhibits this duality of standards by foregrounding a uniformed soldier from the crusade, symbolizing Europeans and as a representative of the European press, directing the viewers' attention to two posters in the background. The eyes are totally hidden in this cartoon and replaced by a cross on the face and a bigger one on the cloak. The vector is directed from the cross to the viewer. At the same time, the cross serves as a boundary separating the two perspectives instead of framing. The deliberate use of the crusade to symbolize Western press is to make the analogy that similarly to the soldiers who took up the cause of the Crusade, which was real enough to die for, the Western press will defend the principle of free speech at any cost, even if the price is another Crusade. Outstretched arms direct viewers' attention to the important message they are imparting. The use of bold font and caps to stress the words *law* and *protected speech* is intended to show that the crusade is justified. In an editorial accompanying the cartoon, Bendib (2006) asserts that "Publishing deliberately inflammatory caricatures aimed at all that is most tender and precious to the hearts of Muslims worldwide (…) unfortunately helps neither Europe's lofty democratic ideals nor Islam's nagging feelings of victimization and humiliation at the hands of Western Media".

### 6.3.2. Information value in caricature presentations

Given and new information, which are part of the structure of texts, are found to apply in caricature composition as well. Figures 12–14 provide a clear example of what is to be viewed as old information and what is new. Kress and Van Leeuwen assert that the given information "is presented as the commonsensical, self-evident", usually communicated in images by being placed on the left, whereas objects placed on the right of the image exemplify the new information. This structure, as they claim, "is ideological in the sense that it may not correspond to what is the case either for the producer or for the consumer of the image" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996, 23). This can also be exemplified by Figure 10, where no clear framing is evident.

The old information communicated by the image and placed on the left is that the Taliban are extremists and terrorists, who resort to violence: they are portrayed in the prototypical manner with their typical wide-open mouths, outstretched arms, wielding weapons and angry looks. The new information is communicated on

Fig. 10

the right, where a Western man is portrayed as imparting a secret and correcting a piece of information to his pal, and consequently to the viewers by stating in the dialogue balloon, that moderates are no different from radicals. Hence, there is a clear correspondence between the horizontal structure in the visual composition and the sequential structure of the written texts.

A caricature exhibiting two of the most inflammatory Danish cartoons about "Muhammad" (Figure 11), originally published in *Jyllands-Posten* 2005-2006 as two separate images, presents a clear embodiment of the three metafunctions in images and communicates more than can be expressed by words.



*This is what all the fuss is about!*
This is the most inflammatory Danish cartoon of Muhammad -- and the funniest.
Freedom of speech is worth dying for -- and the cartoonists knew it when they drew these.
So far one protestor has died (in a burning Danish embassy) and many injured.    Over *THIS?!*

Fig. 11

The cartoon is investigated on three levels. The first is that of the image, the second is the text within the image, and the third, the caption accompanying the two images. At the image level, "Muhammad" is portrayed as a vicious bomb-headed Tatar- looking person. The sharp looks of the eyes, the dense eyebrows and the smoke coming from the nose transforming to a moustache attached to a beard and then ascending to surround the bomb above the head are ways of portraying to the viewers and persuading them with the evilness of "Muhammad's" character.

Stamped on the forehead of the bomb is the phrase which constitutes the first pillar of Islam: "There's no God except Allah and Muhammad is his messenger". Placing the phrase in this specific position is an indication of the inherent desire to blast the main pillar of this religion.

The adjacent frame in Fig 11, carries several implications, portraying "Muhammad" in Heaven receiving the supposed "Martyrs", "suicide bombers", ascending to Heaven in ragged apparel, and surrounded by fumes, as an indication that the suicide act has been carried out recently. Upon reaching Heaven, they are met by "Muhammad", who turns them down by implying that their efforts were in vain as they ran out of the promised reward "VIRGINS".

The text accompanying the drawing using caps lock for the words *STOP* and *VIRGINS* communicates several messages not only between the represented participants but also between the producer and the viewer of the image. At the first level, the message is that "Muhammad" is issuing a command to his followers to terminate their attacks as the promised reward they were longing for, no longer exists. This image is based on the background knowledge that "Martyrs go directly to heaven and that among the many rewards they will receive there is the "Hour El Ein" translated as *virgins*.

At the second level, the message is that the producer intends to inflict a comic effect upon the viewer through the shared implication that the followers were fooled by the fake promises and that their lives were sacrificed in vain. The producer additionally implies, through the use of the repeated word *stop* in upper case that the amount of atrocities carried out by "Muhammad's" followers exceeded the expected limit.

The caption accompanying the drawing is written by someone different from the producer and at a different time frame; it is explanatory, evaluative and persuasive. By using the phrase *all the fuss*, the writer directly addresses the viewers, resorting to ethos, as a way of persuading them with his viewpoint. Additionally, the writer is establishing common grounds and friendly relationship with the viewers by attempting to clarify the trivial reason behind "the fuss". Through the choice of this specific word, the writer assumes the viewers' awareness of the background knowledge of the rage taking place in the Muslim world, the boycotting of the Danish products by Muslim consumers, and the burning of the Danish embassies by Muslim extremists.

Though the caption looks brief, yet it encompasses a variety of writing techniques. The first is evaluative: "most inflammatory" "the funniest" "worth dying for", praising the heroic action carried out by the cartoonists, sacrificing their lives for the sake of "freedom". In addition, stressing the fact that "the cartoonists knew it" implies that though they anticipated the outcome of the free expression of speech, yet they chose to follow the path. The caption writer then appeals to "logos" and "pathos" as persuasive techniques. He stated factual information accompanied by emotive vocabulary: "protestor" implying peaceful opposition, "died", "injured", and he ended his caption with "over THIS". Again the use of

all caps for the demonstrative deictic *this* carries several implications – trivial, not worth it – from a particular perspective, not considering others.

## 6.4 Contradiction and contrast in caricature

The discrepancy between how different cultures view a particular concept is demonstrated in another caricature drawing, by the editorial cartoonist Malcolm Evans. In this cartoon, he portrays two opposing perspectives on how a "male-dominated culture" is interpreted (Figure 23). Whenever a caricature portrays two representative participants from different cultures, the vector is usually interchangeable between the two participants and excludes the interactive participant (viewer). The image offers the information through the contemplations of the two perspectives. The distance between the two women, the way they are portrayed turning their backs to each other and the condescending looks they exchange are meant to show the gap and miscommunication that exist between them. Norris (2004, 25) states that when participants turn their bodies away from each other, it is a way of "displaying disengagement through posture". However, communication can still be achieved through other modes. The space separating them functions as an invisible frame. The directionality of the participants, going different ways, symbolizes the continuous increase in the space between the two cultures. The producer imparts the message that the gap will persist and expand as long as they are kept apart and no attempts are made to reduce it. How each participant estimates the other is kept in the understanding of each culture and does not go beyond a bubble thought.



Fig. 23

Through the collection of caricature drawings criticizing Muslim women's attire, the producers, as interactive participants, intend to warn Western women, as the other interactive participant, of the approaching danger which will transform their lifestyle drastically. This is communicated through several images rotating around this theme (Figures 17–25).

One of the most illustrative drawings stressing this meaning is that by the Russian cartoonist Igor Kolgarev, published on the 27th of May 2013, showing

a nun, surrounded by the stars symbolizing the European Union, who, while taking off her apparel with the cross in her private room, was taken by surprise by an Arab holding a black Muslim women's attire to wrap her up. Other interpretation could be that the Arab forced her to replace her attire by the Islamic attire as symbolic of forced conversion. The vicious look, the grudge hidden behind the smile on the man's face and the dagger on his side indicate that it will not be a peaceful conversion and the intended meaning is that of a threat; that if she does not abide, she will be forced. The composition of the caricature imparts the meaning that the nun placed on the left is the given information and the Arab with the garment on the right is the new information. It is given information that the European Union adopts the Christian faith. The new information presented by the caricature is that the Arabs will attempt to change this identity by imposing their own. The relationship between the represented participants is that of power dominance on the part of the Arab and fear and anticipation on the part of the West.



Fig. 24

Using a "Symbolic Suggestive" way of presentation, a collection of caricatures is presented holistically comparing the two cultures with disregard to details. As such, vectors are not shared between represented participants, but between represented and interactive ones. Figure 19 portrays a Western woman totally naked and a Muslim woman covered in black from head to toe. Dressed as such, the Muslim female is portrayed as a symbol of extremism and as a threat to the West. She is compared by some caricature drawings to the ghost of the new era (Figure 17), the premonition that will dominate the whole of Europe. This caricature drawing in Figure 19 is accompanied by the caption "cultural differences", which also carries the implication that there is a complete contradiction between the two cultures. To highlight the difference between the stagnant and active cultures, another sarcastic caricature contemplates what Britney Spears, a famous singer, would look like and how she would behave if she converted to Islam (Figure 18).
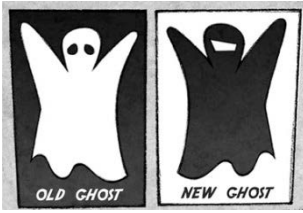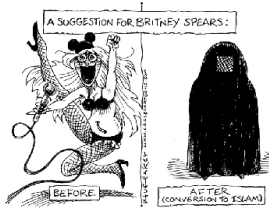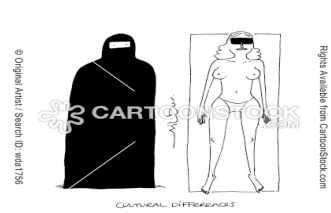
Fig. 17                    Fig. 18                    Fig. 19

The above caricatures are in accordance with Medhurst and Desousa's (1981, 207) contradiction technique, "Contradiction depends on a clash of forms, both visual and textual, within a frame. Unlike contrast, however, contradiction invites not attention but condemnation". They state that "Editorial caricature is, both literally and figuratively a black and white enterprise. To convey successfully the intended meaning to the reader, the artist must build into the frame one or more basic contrasts or tension" (1981, 205). Relying on the black and white colour in Figures 17–19, to distinguish between the two ideologies, and placing each woman in an isolated frame, is an instance of what Van Leeuwen termed "segregation", so as to communicate the message that "they belong to different orders" (2005, 13). He asserts that "the semiotic potential of framing is inflected on the basis of the interests and needs of a historical period, a given type of social institution, or a specific kind of participant in the social institution" (2005, 23). Hence, the interest of the producer, and the institution, to which s/he belongs, can be viewed as one encouraging and promoting this separation between cultures, instead of reconciliation through understanding and communicating.

As a response to the figures analysed above, the Egyptian cartoonist Ahmed Samir, on his webpage, presents a caricature (Figure 20) with four images of the same woman starting from her dressed in a bikini and going into three stages of covering her body till she reaches the final stage where she is in the supposedly full Islamic attire.



Fig. 20

No relationship between the represented participants is observed. However, a strong relation is directly established between the represented participants and

the interactive ones (the viewers). The word *Islam* is presented in all caps and broken up without regard to syllable boundary. The sluggish manner with which the word is meant to be pronounced reflects the slow and gradual transformation that takes place on women's Islamic attire, and the gradual diminishing of the pink body colour to be replaced by black. However, through their gaze and vector, the represented participants indicate to the viewers that Islam is not loading them in any way, contrary to the sarcastic statement accompanying the caricature, and that the more the woman is covered, the happier and more satisfied she becomes. This is portrayed in the gradual change of her facial expressions from a miserable one in the bikini image to full happiness in the pre-final stage. Inconsistently, other religious communities, such as Catholic nuns, do not face similar constrictions or scrutiny of what they can or cannot wear.



Fig. 25

## 7. Conclusion

Caricatures influence viewers differently, provided that they have certain interpretive skills along with orientation and background knowledge about the situation around which the caricature revolves. Linguists can play an important role in reducing tension and elaborating the socio-political positions through their skill in language and image analysis, thus, affecting the development of the social world. For the elucidation of the messages communicated by the selected caricatures, the paper adopted a multimodal approach. The analytical tool utilized in this paper is that of Halliday's (1978) three metafunctions and their realization through several processes by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) for image analysis. The ideational function accounts for how producers communicate their experience of real life events and states. The relationship that develops between representatives within the caricature drawing or between these representatives and their viewers designates the realization of the interpersonal metafunction. Finally, the compositional

arrangements of objects in the semiotic mode, through the utilization of information value, salience and their different framing, convey the textual metafunction.

Through their utilization of various modes, caricatures prove to have their own grammar, and are able to fulfil the three metafunctions as carried out by language. Multimodal tools provided a fine-grained analysis of the verbal-visual patterns which aided to uncover the inherent meaning. Caricatures as a genre are found to share a lot of characteristics with written texts. They exist as a coherent whole through which every part, mode and specific organizational patterns are utilized for the communication of meaning. They make use of intertextuality as a semiotic resource. Following a left-right horizontal sequence in their composition, caricatures are similar to texts in distinguishing between old and new information. Through the integration of various semiotic modes such as the frontal detailed portrayal of the represented participants with fully open eyes and mouth and with vector and gaze directed to the viewers, the intensity of the approaching threat anticipated from the extremists is communicated. The prevalence of the black and white colour is also indicative of how close to reality the threat is. Space, as another semiotic resource, is utilized to impart and stress the message that both the radicals and moderates share the same mentality and ideological beliefs. Accordingly, viewers should be equally cautious in dealing with moderates. Frames are utilized in caricatures either to show a causal sequence of events or to exaggerate contradictions so that the viewer would arrive at a condemnation or resentment of the status quo. Disengagement between cultures is communicated through detached postures or a broadened space or sharp framing. It is hoped that future research would explore how the Islamophobic caricatures are actually read by specific audiences. Another investigation can utilise multimodal CDA to investigate how the power of caricature producers aid in the (re)production of social realities.

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# Appendix

## Group 1
## Caricature drawings attacking Islam and its practitioners



Fig. 1



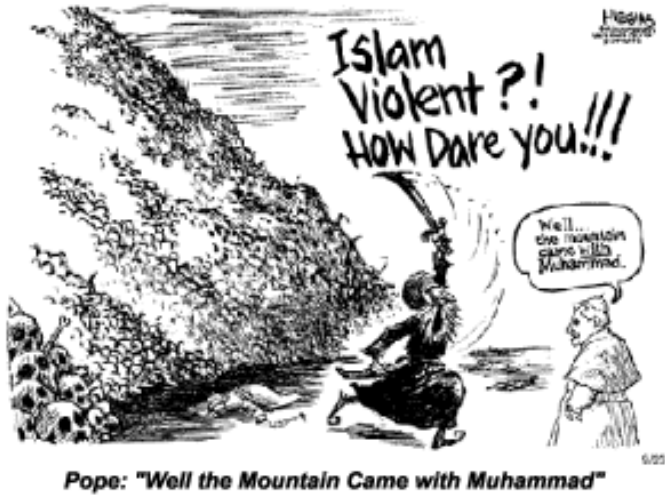Pope: "Well the Mountain Came with Muhammad"

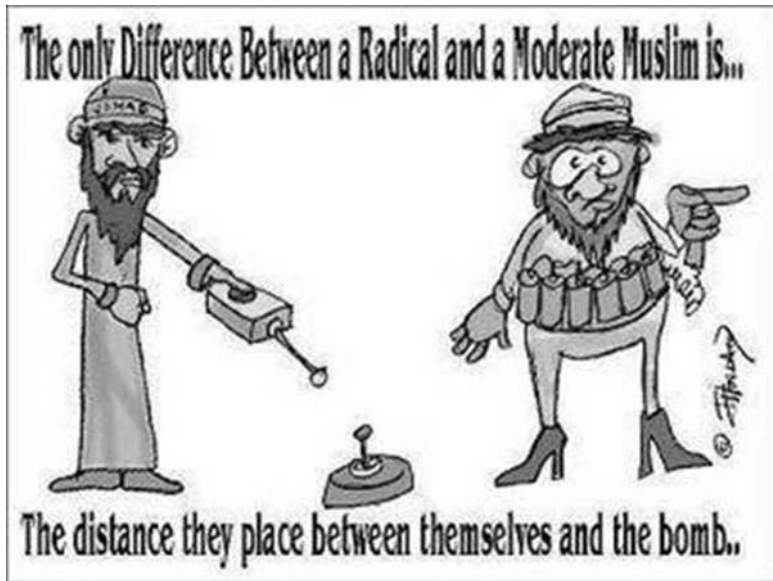Fig. 2

Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Fig. 5
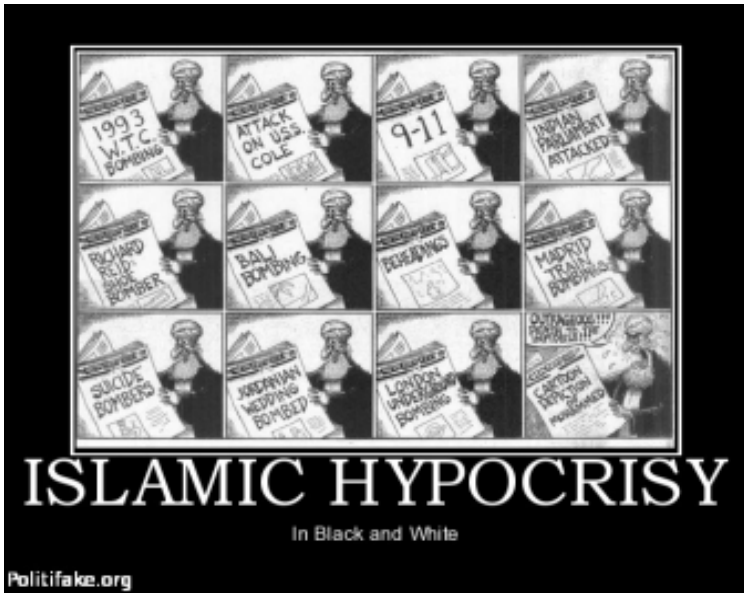


Fig. 6

Fig. 7



Fig. 8

Fig. 9



Fig. 10

*This is what all the fuss is about!*
This is the most inflammatory Danish cartoon of Muhammad -- and the funniest.
Freedom of speech is worth dying for -- and the cartoonists knew it when they drew these.
So far one protestor has died (in a burning Danish embassy) and many injured.    Over *THIS?!*

Fig. 11

## Group 2
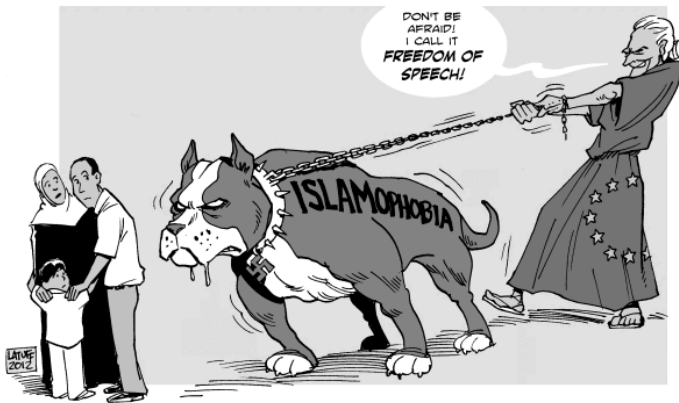## Caricature drawings against the Western press
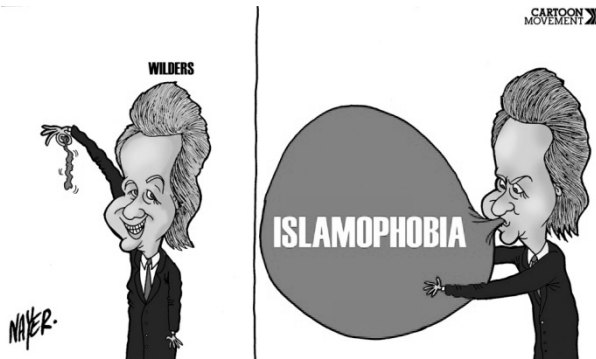


Fig. 12
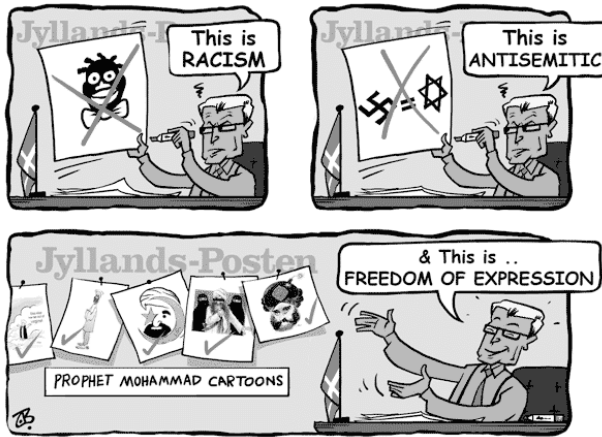


Fig. 13
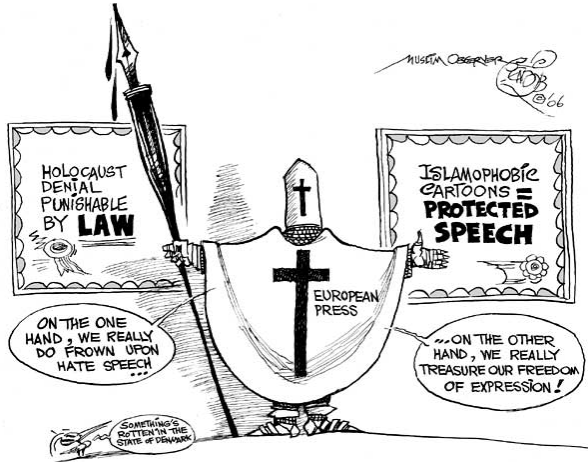
Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16
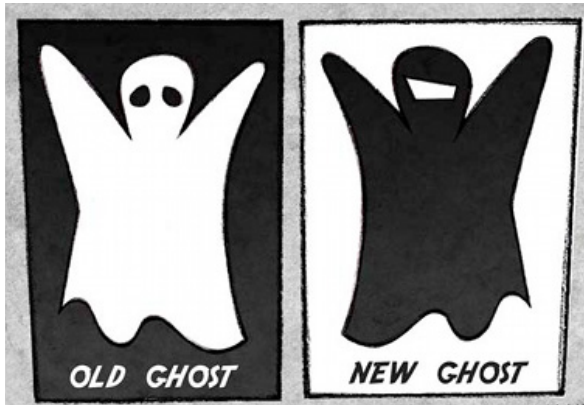
**Group 3**
**Caricature drawings limiting Islam to restricted women's attire**
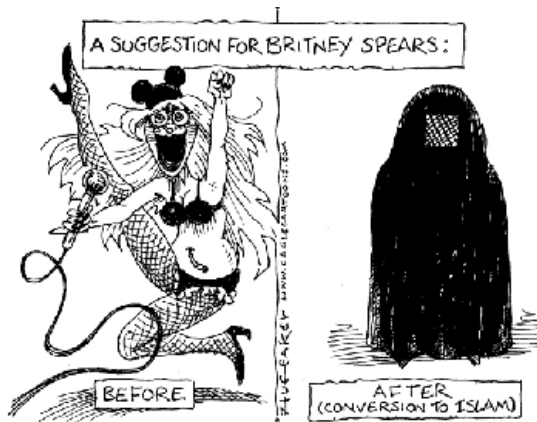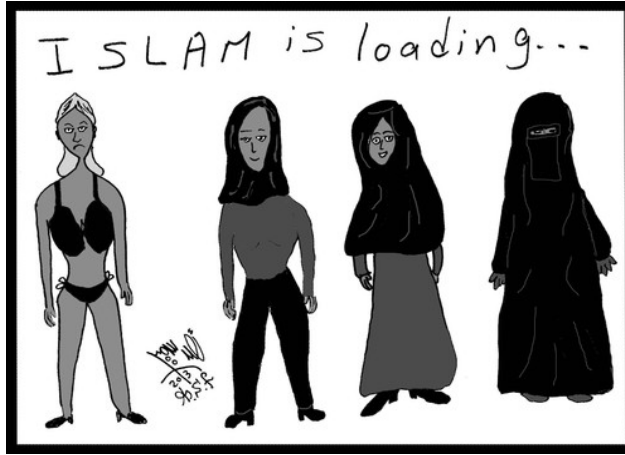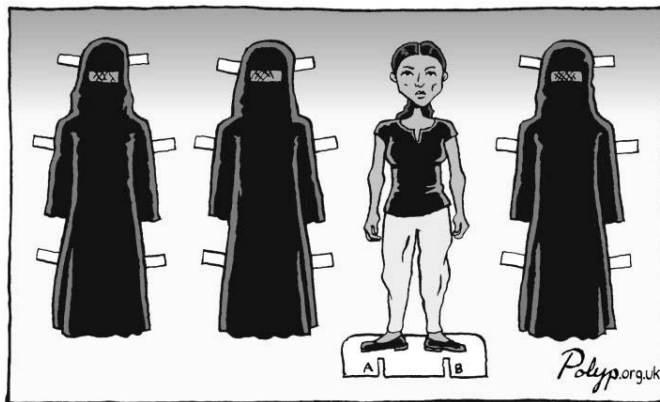


Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

## Sources of drawings

### Group 1
### Caricature drawings attacking Islam and its practitioners

Fig. 1.   Jyllands-Posten 12-5-2010
          http://www.angelfire.com/wi3/tomahpalace/images/Islamic_Cartoon9.gif
Fig. 2.   Jack Higgings *Chicago Sun-Times* 20-9-2006
          http://www.cairchicago.org/images/temp/higgins.gif
Fig. 3.   Jyllands-Posten 11-3-2012
          http://www.google.com.eg/search?q=jyllands-posten+muhammad
          +cartoons
          http://www.somalinet.com/forums/viewtopic.php?t=300870
Fig. 4.   Cartoon Movement
          http://www.commonsenseevaluation.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/
          The-Difference-Between-A-Radical-And-Moderate-Muslim.jpg
Fig. 5.   Skeptic Money 14-5-2014
          http://www.skepticmoney.com/moderate-muslims-defend-islam/
          http://i58.servimg.com/u/f58/15/84/95/15/cartoo10.jpg
Fig. 6.   Soda Head 30-12-2010
          http://www.commonsenseevaluation.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/
          The-Difference-Between-A-Radical-And-Moderate-Muslim.jpg
Fig. 7.   Ahmed Rehab *Chicago Sun-Times* 2-10-2006.
          http://www.cairchicago.org/images/temp/feature113.jpg
Fig. 8.   Business Insider 26-10-2012
          http://images.alarabiya.net/ff/fd/640x392_21595_240299.jpg
Fig. 9.   Anunyapete's Politifakes
          http://www.politifake.org/islamic-hypocrisy-islamic-hypocrisy-poli-
          tics-8424.html
          http://hereticdhammasangha.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/islamic-hypoc-
          risy-islamic-hypocrisy-politics-1313345218.jpg
Fig. 10.  Nick Anderson 3-11-2009
          http://www.rawa.org/temp/runews/data/upimages/cartoon_moderate_tali-
          ban.jpg
Fig. 11.  Jyllands-Posten 30-10-2005
          http://www.ultragod.com/danish_muslim_cartoon.jpg

## Group 2
## Caricature drawings against the Western press

Fig. 12. Carlos Latuff. Latuff Cartoons 9-2012
        https://latuffcartoons.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/
        https://latuffcartoons.wordpress.com/tag/new-york
Fig. 13. Daryl Cagle's Professional Cartoonists Index 2-2006
        http://www.cagle.com/news/muhammad
        http://quietkid.files.wordpress.com/2006/02/cartoon.png
Fig. 14. Khalil Bendib "Peace Earth and Justice news" 2-2006
        http://www.bendib.com/newones/2006/february/small/2-5-Denmark-
        cartoons.jpg
Fig. 15. Lattuf Cartoons
        https://latuffcartoons.files.wordpress.com
        https://hshidayat.wordpress.com
Fig. 16. Nayer Talal. Cartoon Movement 27-12- 2010
        http://www.cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/880
        http://blog.vjmovement.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/0271-
        101115-Wilders-Nayer_small.jpg

## Group 3
## Caricature drawings limiting Islam to restricted women's attire

Fig. 17. Giacomo Cardelli. Cartoon Movement 11-6-2013
        http://www.cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/870
        http://sites.rnw.nl/flash/new-slideshows/wilders-cartoons/images/05.jpg
Fig. 18. Iran Politics Club
        http://iranpoliticsclub.net/cartoons/chador/pages/Britney%20Spears_gif.
        htm
Fig. 19. Cartoon Stock
        http://lowres.cartoonstock.com/religion-culture-cultural_differences-
        culture_clashes-muslim-muslim_women-wda1756_low.jpg
Fig. 20. Ahmed Samir. Toon Pool 18-5-2013
        http://www.toonpool.com/user/11882/files/islam_is_loading_1956855.
        jpg
Fig. 21. Cartoon Stock
        http://lowres.cartoonstock.com/politics-islam-islamic-muslim-moslems-
        oppression-knin82_low.jpg
Fig. 22. Polyp political cartoons
        http://www.polyp.org.uk/cartoons/misc/polyp_cartoon_women_religion_
        islam.jpg

Fig. 23.  Malcolm Evans. Evans 6-1-2011
            http://www.evanscartoons.com/index.php
            http://www.asafeworldforwomen.org/images/stories/blogs/Talat/cartoon.
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Fig. 24.  Igor Kolgarev. Cartoon Movement 27-5- 2013
            http://www.cartoonmovement.com/p/7377/cartoons?p=6
            http://www.toonpool.com/user/8045/files/europa_and_islam_2010365.
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Fig. 25.  Jean Gouders. Cartoon Movement 14-04-2011
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            sion_tradition__jean_gouders.jpeg