THE SEMANTICS OF THE WORD "FAIRY" IN ENGLISH BETWEEN 1320 AND 1829

by Noel Williams B.A., M.A.

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The Department of English Language,
University of Sheffield.

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CHAPTER 6: ASSOCIATIVE MEANING OF 'FAIRY'

6.1 Introduction

In section 2.2.1 it was suggested that discussion of formal aspects of lexical semantics could not be adequate without reference to Associative aspects of meaning. Chapter 5 has demonstrated this to be true of Sense relations for *fairy* at least, although that argument suggests that the need for an examination of Stylistic meaning is probably greater than for Emotive meaning. Chapter 6 thus explores the range of Associative meaning that has accrued around *fairy* , the emphasis being upon Stylistic rather than Emotive aspects, with the intent of elaborating some of the general processes incorporated in Diagram 5.4.1 to provide a fuller model. In doing so the five questions asked in Chapter 1 are addressed in the following ways:

Question (a); the relations between the meaning of *fairy* and the real world are examined from two points of view, namely that of describing the physical determinants of the Stylistic meaning of *fairy* and of characterising the prevalent emotional orientations and situations which establish the word's Emotive meaning.

Question (b): the relations between the meaning of *fairy* and the culture or subculture which uses it are explored insofar as these relations provide non-physical constraints on Style, and control Emotive expression such that, for example, in certain cultures at certain times particular varieties of communication are used as the most appropriate forms for particular Emotive meaning. There is thus a relation between the lyric genre in 16th century England and expression of sexual love; between satire and political indignation; between comedy and scatalogical expression; between tragedy and

violent passion. Indeed one could argue that some genres acquire their raison d'être by virtue of the emotions they particularly express.

Question (c): the problem of distinguishing fairy from other supernatural names is discussed as primarily a question of the Affective meaning the name has, for it is clear from the arguments in Chapters 5 and 7 that the Sense relations and the Applicability that fairy holds do not discriminate it from a number of other such names. The problem of how and why witch or goblin is used rather than fairy is seen primarily as determined by the Emotive meaning involved in a particular situation and the appropriateness of particular Styles to expression of that meaning for a particular cultural group. That is to say, it is very much a question of individual communicative situations rather than some overarching system of rules. It will be shown therefore that aims (A) and (B) tend to obscure this fact.

Questions (d) and (e): the question of whether fairy has a number of distinct meanings or a continuum of meaning is examined primarily from the diachronic point of view, but also the question of the distinction of the semantic complexes associated with different Styles is considered. It is shown however that if Emotive meaning is taken into account fairy must be considered as indicating a semantic continuum.

Throughout this chapter, however, must be borne in mind the fact that for individual users and particularly for those who believe in the supernatural or believe they have had supernatural experiences, the Emotive associations of a supernatural name may be much greater than any other determiners of use. Thus idiosyncratic aspects of effects of or attitudes to experience may completely override any

socially learned rules governing use of the word. For example, it is not hard to imagine a situation in which an individual is so frightened by an experience which he would previously have referred to as fairy that subsequently he can only use the word of an equivalent experience, or use/understand it as in all cases primarily signifying the particular kind of terror he felt or totally avoid use of the word even in situations which could only be described (according to the social rules of langue) by use of fairy.

That this is not far-fetched can be seen by the prominence in oral tradition of euphemisms for supernatural beings, where one name is replaced by another solely on the grounds of the Emotive associations of the replaced name. Thus, though in terms of the total approach offered here, Emotive meaning may be slightly treated, this may be seen more as a function of the present study's concern with formal, social and extensive aspects of meaning rather than with the actual psychological nature of any individual's knowledge.(1) The reader must consequently bear in mind, therefore, the possibility that Emotive meaning may in some cases override or determine any or all of the aspects of meaning here regarded as important. It may well be, for example, that part of the reason for the lack of clear distinction between those aspects of meaning which can be given formal definition (at the most general level, between Sense, Reference, Denotation and Style) is that Emotive association is so strong for individual users that collectively it distorts what could otherwise be regarded as the optimum pattern of the meaning of fairy, i.e. the most comprehensive

(1) In Chapter 7 however there is some discussion of psychological universals in use of supernatural names which can be regarded as discussion of the nature of individual minds.

description of the total social meaning. Certainly it would appear that language change, insofar as it prevents the formal descriptions of synchronic linguistics from being absolute, does so partly by virtue of the continual shifts of association that words acquire for individual speaker/hearers in the manifold concrete situations of their occurrence.

6.2.1: Stylistic Meaning of 'Fairy'

As discussed in section 2.2.3, Stylistic meaning is information conveyed by a text by virtue of the type of text that it is. Type is used in preference to the more usual register , as the latter takes no account of some of the textual/situational features considered here, is used differently by different authors, and is rather too specific for the present purpose. Textual types exist by virtue of two related phenomena: (i) the situation of production of a text usually (and perhaps invariably) affects the nature of the text produced; (ii) a speaker/writer in producing a text must make paradigmatic selections from Denotatively equivalent items which differ in connotation. In the former case the text tends to be of a form typical to texts produced in that situation, i.e. it is consistent with repect to other texts; in the latter the choices made which constitute the text tend to be made consistently, i.e. the text is consistent with repect to itself. The two are related in that situation tends to constrain choice, so that intra-textual consistencies tend also to reflect the inter-textual consistency of texts produced in that kind of situation.

The specification of situational variables has never adequately been achieved by linguists, although several preliminary models have been proposed.(1) The tendency in stylistic and sociolinguistic work has been to examine the correlations betweem limited textual variables and limited situational variables. It is beyond the scope of this study to provide or even to propose a total framework. Consequently the discussion of Stylistic meaning has been confined to situational variables which can easily be identified, classified and coded for

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(1) E.g. Halliday (1978); Hymes (1972); Crystal and Davy (1976); Coulthard (1977).

a computer; and textual variables which are frequent, prominent, show obvious correlation with identified situational variables, or cannot adequately be explained as encoding Sense, Emotive meaning or Applicability.

The primary situational variables discussed here are those coded in the process of the computer analysis which form the main Analysis. As recounted in Chapter 4 these headings were Date, Author, Title, Field and Mode. Computer selection made possible the selection of any one or any combination of these headings so that in theory at least two hundred categories of analysis are possible depending on the number and order of selection of those headings. This possible total is substantially reduced by the fact that Date, Author and Title correlate to a high degree, i.e. few authors wrote many texts for the same date or with the same title, few dates record identical titles etc. However given that the potential numbers of variables under each heading were approximately as follows: Date: 500; Author: 300; Title: 300; Field: 20; Mode: 4, a quick calculation reveals that over 3,000,000,000 correlations could be possible in the corpus, and that over two thousand separate analyses would have to be made to reveal all such actual correlations. Such a project is certainly possible, but hardly practical. More important it is difficult to know a priori which of the many possible analyses would be most revealing. Thus decisions as to determining areas worthy of interest very much depended on recognition of possible patterns in reading the texts, on knowledge of other commentators' opinions, and on discovering areas which were problematic from the viewpoint of Sense or Applicability. It was at this point in the main analysis that the observations produced by the preliminary analysis were used as indicators of likely

areas of significance.

In consequence distinctions by title (i.e. from work to work) are generally ignored in what follows. There is some discussion of authorial differences, but the main observations centre on date (and thus on development of and periods of prominent features), on narrative structure as a determiner of meaning, on Mode, on Field and, as it emerged as an important distinction in Diagram 5.4.1 and also figures prominently in the literature, on possible differences between oral and literary culture. Detailed discussion of any of these aspects would be both redundant and a deflection from the central purpose of the study, yet it is necessary to include as many specific observations on particular texts or aspects of fairy as are compatible with coherence in order to meet aim (A) with respect to question (ii). Consequently the procedure adopted in the previous chapter is adhered to, whereby the general observations of semantic importance, valid at levels (1) and (2), are illustrated by examples which are particularly prominent or problematic as specific aspects of the meaning of fairy , at level (3).

6.2.2 Diachronic differences in the meaning of fairy

Some of the general aspects of the development of fairy have already been discussed,(1) as its etymology and supposed etymologies have affected its development, and that development has shown oscillations even at the most basic level of the sentential role the word fills. Three further aspects of meaning can be focussed on as indexes of period styles. The first of these is the earliest dates at which a certain semantic feature collocates with fairy ; the second is the relative frequency of features in different periods subsequent to their first appearance; and the third is those periods in which certain features appear exclusively.

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(1) See Chapter 4.

6.2.2.1 Earliest recorded occurrence of semantic groups

Diagram 6.2.2.1.a records the earliest occurrence of the hundred and twenty most prominent Groups (those of over seventeen occurrences). Diagram 6.2.2.1.b summarises the number of Groups introduced in each fifty year period. The latter clearly confirms a suggestion already made, that there are two major periods of development of fairy , namely the early period of usage, the period primarily of the romance, (approximately the first century of use) and the period of the early Renaissance, in which the notion of fairy as primarily decorative and 'lyrical' was developed. By 1620 it would appear that the majority of the most important semantic Groups had become associated with fairy , and thus that after the Renaissance development of the word is much more a matter of the narrowing or expansion of established concepts, rather than the introduction of new ones. Thus development after the Renaissance is very much a matter of focussing, selecting subsets of features from the available macroset, concentrating on particular aspects of the meaning or, in individual texts, specific manifestations of "fairy" possibly unique to that text but nevertheless deriving its essential from tradition.

Significantly none of the features recorded before 1650 is absent from the later texts. In some instances this seems to indicate a continuity of meaning, such that the notion of "the fairy monarch" occurs both in the earliest text and with regular frequency throughout the period (and is also a constant feature in literature after 1830).

Diagram 6.2.2.1.a: Initial Occurrence of Semantic Groups

1330	BE; MONARCH; PLACE; BODY; TIME; COME; MAN; TAKE; KNIGHT; VEGETATION; SHINE; RIGHT; WOOD
1361	MARVEL
1362	BEAUTY
1363	CHILD
1390	Supernatural NAME; HAVE; SEE; Proper NOUN; WOMAN; IMAGINE; SING; WILL; CAN; FILL; CHANGE
1400	MOVE; ROOM; TOWN; COUNTRY; DANCE; MAKE; OLD; PEOPLE; PLAY; WATER; GREAT; KNOW; NAME
1410	HOLD; RISE
1420	APPEAR
1439	LIVE
1440	DRESS
1450	WORD
1490	GOOD
1491	SAY
1500	CALL; FATE; PART; LONG; PASS; SHOW; TRUE
1508	PARENT
1520	NUMBER
1530	DO; COLOUR; GO; ENCHANT; LOVE; JOY; POWER; SOUND; DESCEND; REALM; STONE; DOWN; SET; WAY; DEATH; STRANGE; FAR
1548	NIGHT; HILL; BAND
1550	RING; BEING; LIGHT
1563	FIELD
1566	USE; KIND
1567	SMALL; NEAR
1568	LEAVE; CARRY; BRING
1570	GIVE
1572	EARTH; HEAR; SHAPE; MUSIC
1579	GRACE
1591	PINCH; SWEET
1594	LEAD; WORK
1596	FIND; BELIEVE; AIR; HIDE; SKIP; PRINCE; EVIL; SOFT; STEP
1597	FEAR; COMMON; DECEIVE; DRINK
1600	MOON; GET
1605	OVER
1606	MONEY; STAND; DISAPPEAR
1611	MEET
1621	TALE

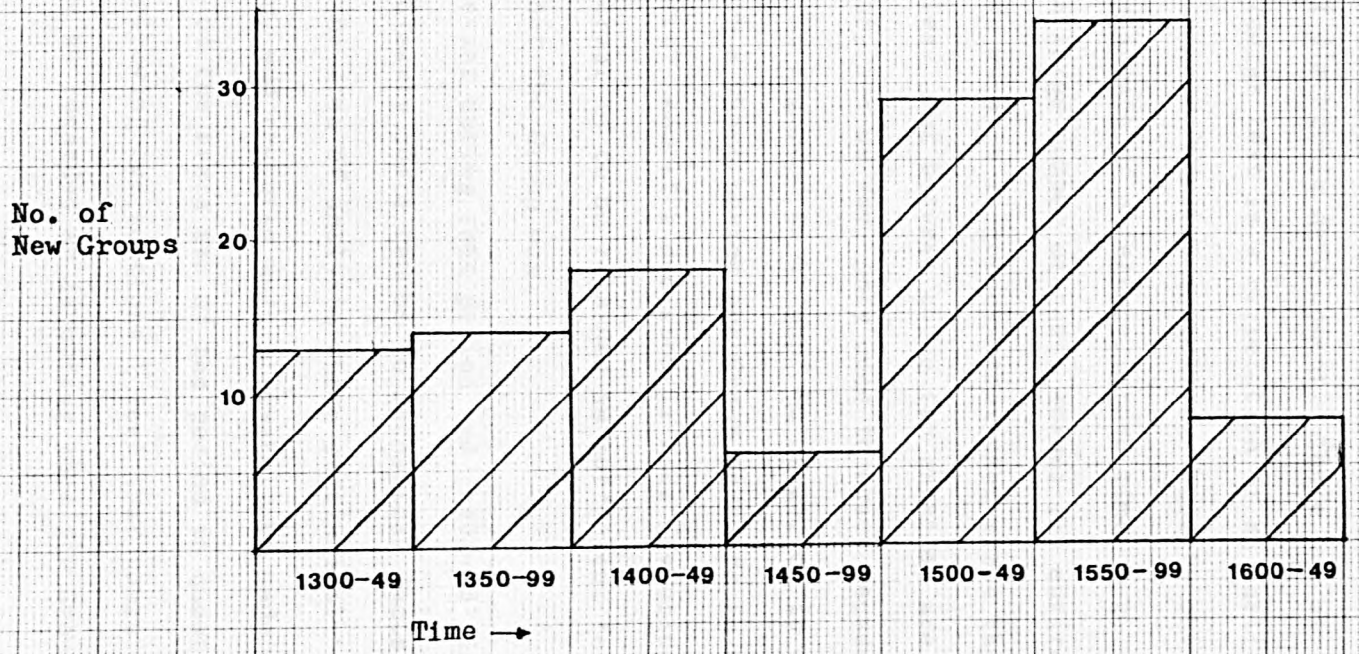


Diagram 6.2.2.1.b: No. of Groups Introduced per Fifty Years

In others it indicates a feature which is differentially distributed, suggesting a notion which has been taken from past usage to be revived on one or more occasions, or has lain as a latent association, unstated as a part of the hidden Associative meaning of users, which is only occasionally made explicit. Whether one regards a specific feature as constant over a given period or as appearing in a series of reiterations between 'gaps' when that feature is irrelevant or unused depends very much on the analysts' conception of the nature of the language and the nature of diachronic development. There are obvious instances in which a particular text is a reiteration of an earlier use, as in the case of direct or indirect quotation. Equally obvious are some instances of persistence of a feature across time, e.g. the Group MONARCH appears in a large number of texts across the entire period and does not seem to vary in frequency other than where the total number of texts varies. But between these two extremes are many cases of Groups which occur, let us say, only once in every decade. Is a ten year interval to be regarded as a 'gap' in usage, or is one to presume that across such a short period the Group persists in oral use or in the minds of users? And if a decision is made favouring the latter argument, what interval is to be regarded as sufficient for legitimately concluding that the Group was neglected/forgotten/irrelevant during that period and 'revived' in subsequent occurrences? Clearly there can be no mechanical decision in such a case. Here is one area of analysis where statistical presentation is of no help, and recourse must ultimately be made to the analyst's own reading of the texts and of the period in question. As will be shown in the following two sections I feel that there are definite periods which can be regarded as favouring specific Groups or

features, but it is perhaps best to regard these as relatively rather than absolutely distinct from the continuum of development. Even in features which are arguably exclusively literary, lack of evidence of occurrence is not evidence of non-occurrence.

One obvious diachronic grouping that might be expected is a correlation between frequency of occurrence and date of first occurrence such that Groups which occurred first (and thus persisted longest) were the most frequent. This one might regard as a natural tendency of usage. Diagram 6.2.2.1.c is a scattergram of frequency of occurrence against date of first occurrence for the 120 most frequent Groups. Whilst it shows that the correlation is to some extent as predicted, for the seven most frequent Groups are first recorded by 1390, for Groups of 190 occurrences or less the pattern does not obtain. One could conclude that all Groups above 80 occurrences are first recorded before 1560, i.e. before the Renaissance, but this is a two hundred and thirty year period, rather too large to be regarded as a single period of development except in very general terms. Nevertheless three broad areas can be outlined within the total three hundred years which can be regarded as the period of development and consolidation of the meaning of fairy. Up to 1390 one finds the most frequent Groups first occurring (those over 190), up to 1560 one finds Groups of frequency less than 80. If one correlates this observation with the fact that more new groups of low frequency are recorded later rather than earlier, one could regard this three hundred year period as developing the following broad pattern.

Firstly (up to 1390) certain meanings are given to <u>fairy</u> some of which are subsequently regarded as fundamental and therefore constantly reiterated throughout the period.

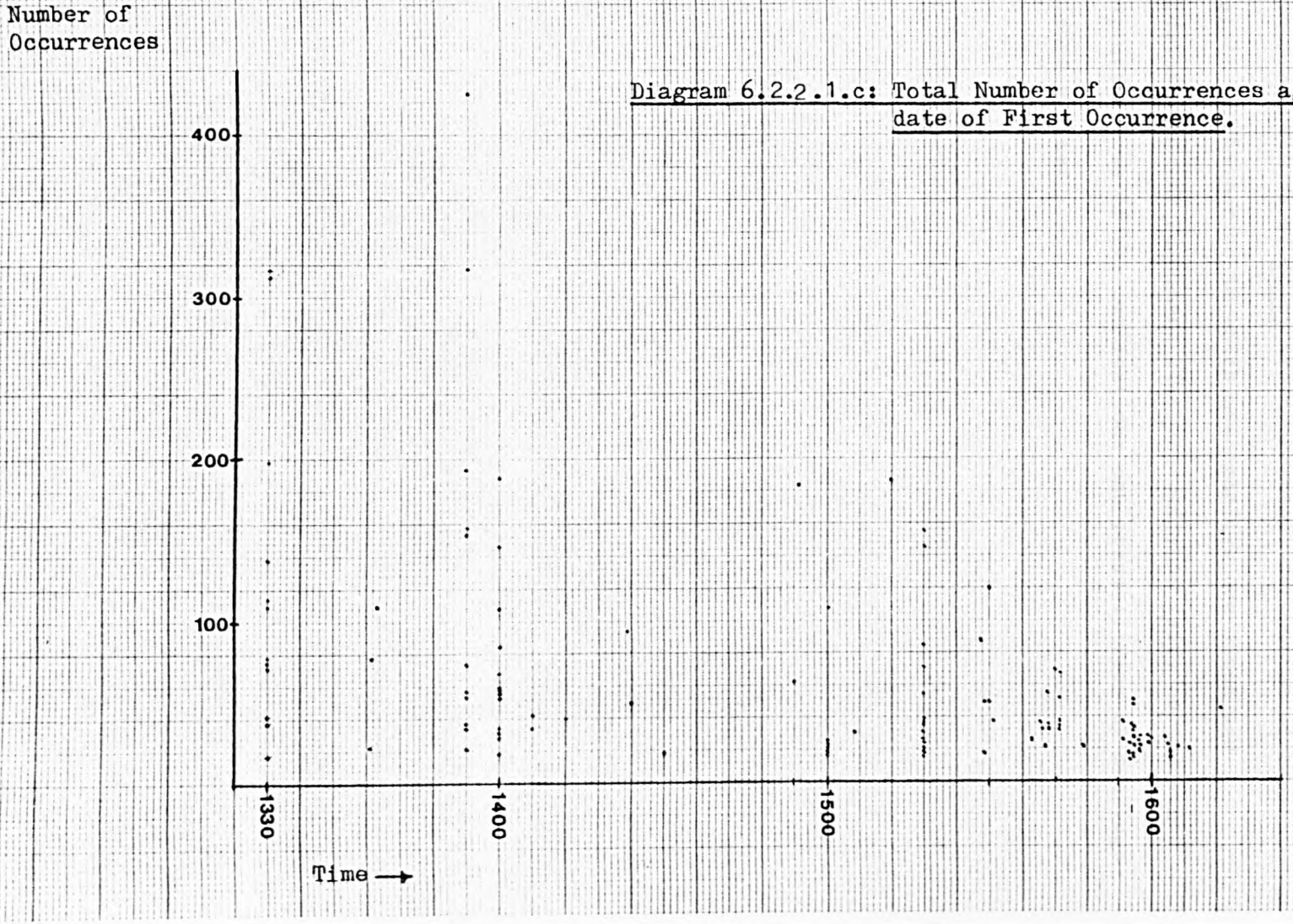


Diagram 6.2.2.1.c: Total Number of Occurrences against date of First Occurrence.

By 1560 all the major meanings had been suggested and established, and by 1630 many specific ramifications of and developments upon these fundamental meanings had been established in the language. After 1630, with one or two exceptions, no major modification of the semantics of fairy was made other than in selection and collocation of meanings already established. One can generalise this a little further to say that the period of the romance is the period in which the semantic outlines of fairy are demarcated, the period of the Renaissance is the period in which new meanings are added and consolidated, and the remainder of the history of fairy is concerned with exploring some of the implications and possibilities of meanings established earlier.

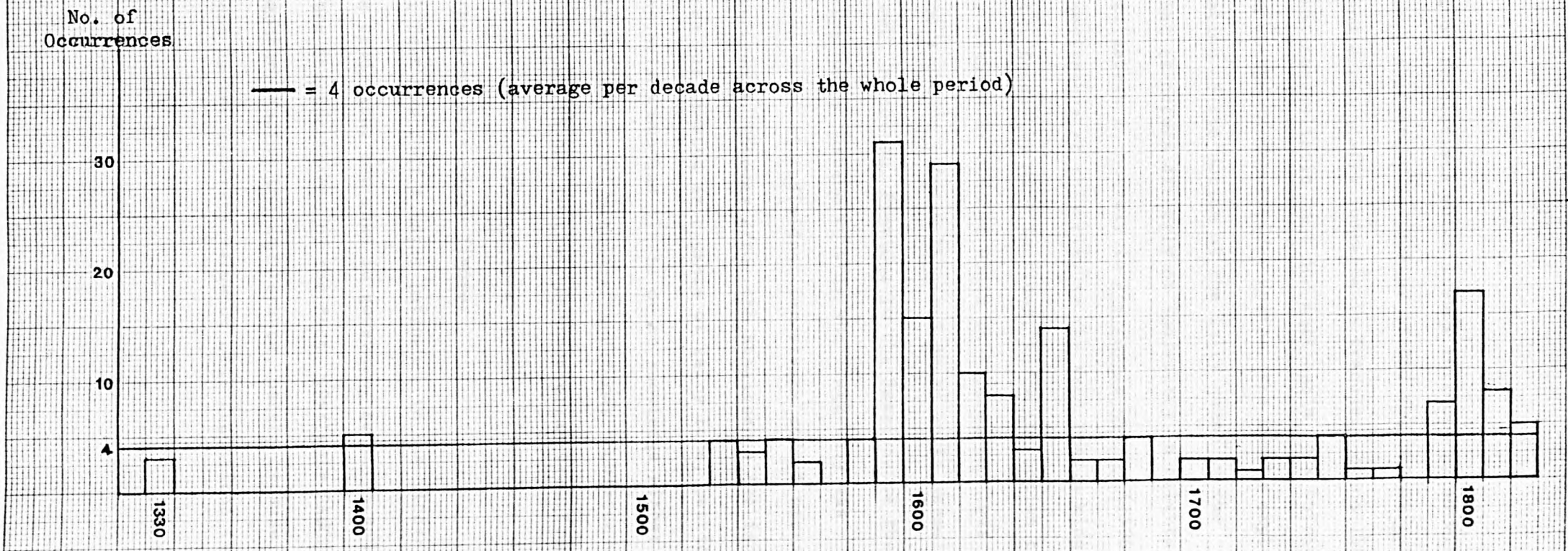
6.2.2.2 Differential Distribution of Semantic Groups

Despite the problems involved in attempting to define the boundaries of periods of particularly frequent or infrequent occurrences of certain Groups, one can nevertheless identify peaks of concentration within the pattern of distribution across the whole period. To obtain a working indication of anomalous periods one can look for those periods of use of a particular Group in which frequency of occurrence is greater or less than the average frequency across the whole corpus. Thus for QUEEN the average distribution per decade is 197/51 occurrences, i.e. roughly four occurrences per decade. As can be seen from diagram 6.2.2.2.a, QUEEN is distributed above and below this average, such that we wish to say the periods 1320 - 1580 and 1660 - 1780 are periods in which the Group is particularly scarce and the periods 1590 - 1650 and 1790 - 1820 are periods in which the Group is noticeably more frequent, with the period 1590 - 1610 being particularly noticeable. Having isolated the peak one can then attempt to explain it.

Firstly one must note that queen is the third most frequent lexeme occurring in the corpus, after be and have, i.e. it is the single most significant noun. If one presumes either that fairy is ultimately derivable from a lexeme Denoting goddess[1] or had by the thirteenth century acquired a strong connection with Celtic romances concerning goddesses and/or queens the simplest explanation for the earliest occurrence and the subsequent frequency of queen is that it represents a 'rationalisation' or 'degeneration' of those Classical or Celtic goddesses, though it is difficult to say how this could be substantiated[2]. Such an explanation may be regarded as typical

(1) As is the case in several of the etymologies discussed in Chapter 4.
(2) Evidence includes the tendency of Middle English romance to 'translate' pagan goddesses into queens, e.g. 1330/05 and 1400/01/005.

Diagram 6.2.2.2.a: Diachronic Distribution of Lexeme Queen



within the school of folklorists which treats folklore as survivals, and as such it takes absolutely no account of why the lexeme queen should suddenly and dramatically increase in frequency circa 1580. To explain this semantico-stylistic fact one must again look outside the linguistic system to the sociopolitical system. The simple explanation for the amplification of the notion of the fairy queen in the Renaissance is that it occurs directly or indirectly in celebration of the real queen, Elizabeth I, notably in The Faerie Queene (1596/01).

Of equal significance at this time is the fact that a king was seen as a political threat by many factions, hence the notion that the fairy queen had a husband or consort would be suppressed. Thus in those contexts where choice between king and queen would normally be free, queen may well be chosen. Previous to the Renaissance the fairy queen almost always had a husband to whom she frequently was subordinate both in terms of individual importance and of narrative or descriptive significance. However after the Renaissance the isolation of the fairy queen was treated as a piece of fairy lore, particularly by those neo-Spenserians who had little or no knowledge either of current oral folk beliefs or of previous traditions. Subsequently therefore those writing in the lyrical neo-Spenserian tradition of diminutive flower fairies invariably speak either of a queen without a king, or treat the king as a minor figure.

A political fact was thus a major influence in the alteration and development of a tradition, and thus in governing semantic and lexemic choices long after the pertinence of the fact. Similarly DANCE greatly increases in frequency during the Renaissance, partly because of increased interest in the literary value of oral traditions (where

supernatural beings are often said to dance[1]) and partly because of the development of the popular drama. The two factors are interrelated for an increase in folk traditions was only one aspect of a more extensive literary exploration and expansion which characterisd the Renaissance, and the drama was in the forefront of this process. Furthermore elements of the drama facilitated and fostered the use of dance on stage (such as the influence of masque, pageant and formal dances of court) so that the oral notion of fairy dances was tailor-made for that art form. Queen and DANCE thus become linked, both being present in oral tradition, and both being developed simultaneously in literature, though for different reasons. It is not surprising therefore to find the fairy queen herself dancing[2] and this again becomes one of the key features of later literary fairies.

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(1) A pre-Renaissance example is the Otia Imperialia of Gervase of Tilbury (c. 1212) where there are several tales of supernatural dancing creatures.
(2) As in 1621/04/002; 1638/02/015.

6.2.2.3 Restriction of Groups to Periods

Although most Groups are recorded throughout the period their distribution either being relatively uniform or gathered into peaks of frequency, a few of the less frequent Groups are totally restricted in period and would thus seem to encode semantic choices unique to particular diachronic styles. In some cases this is difficult to describe, even at times difficult for a modern commentator to appreciate since what may be involved is a complex series of changes involving the changing of meanings of existing lexemes, the introduction of new lexemes and the introduction of 'new' meanings.

A simple but significant example is given in the Groups PINCH (36 occurrences) and MISCHIEF (11 occurrences). The earliest occurrence of the former is 1591/03 and of the latter 1594/01. In both cases only two isolated occurrences are recorded after 1677 - for PINCH 1740/03/003 and 1826/01/003, for MISCHIEF 1793/01/001 and 1818/01/001. There is thus a ninety year period, 1590 to 1680, which contains virtually all the occurrences of these Groups. Both would appear to be modifications of Groups which occur earlier and are more widely distributed, namely HURT and EVIL. Both thus represent a gradual weakening of the notion of the POWER of the supernatural, beginning at a particular date and continuing for a relatively clearly defined period, indicative again of the strength of the Renaissance in modifying extant traditions. One can interpret this in a wider context by saying that for a large number of users fairy and possibly some other supernatural names had diminished in potency as a consequence of increasing rationalisation and scientific control of the environment (a process which has now gone a long way towards eliminating belief in the supernatural for many users).

In saying this however one must be aware of several complexities. The first, already noted, is that there are isolated occurrences of these Groups much later in the period. Thus we must conclude that although we can speak of a period in which the association of POWER is considerably weakened, we must add that it is never thoroughly removed from fairy for all users. Secondly there are accounts of other supernatural creatures which pinch, cause weals and other bodily marks which occur prior to these accounts of fairy , and which are sometimes regarded as as thoroughly harmful or evil as any other form of supernatural action. The Old English aelf is supposedly one such guilty being(1); pooke may have an early association with blisters, wens etc; the idea of the devil's mark on witches and/or the teat for nourishing a witch's familiar are roughly contemporaneous with fairy pinches(2). Rather than being further evidence of a 'confusion' or 'identification' of different beings this is probably representative of the tendency to account for disease in supernatural terms, skin marks often appearing overnight and inexplicably. Thirdly the lexeme mischief early in its development is much closer in meaning to evil than in modern usage(3), and it is difficult if not impossible to determine how serious the mischief is meant to be in particular cases.

Finally not only is PINCH restricted in period but also is confined largely to literary texts which implies that the Group is as much a function of literary portrayal as anything else. It is for example an action which presumably would appear to be in accord with

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(1) Aelfadl being a skin disease. See Cockayne (1864-6).
(2) According to Robbins (1970) p.190 the notion developed between 1563 and 1604.
(3) A meaning retained in contemporary legal English.

the small, delicate fairies of the Queen Mab tradition who may have appeared either clumsy or out of character if performing any acts of grosser injury; and would also seem to be fitted to gestural portrayal on stage. Furthermore since (in drama at least) fairy tends to be used increasingly in comedy (itself a fact whichs seems to indicate a decline in the strength of belief) PINCH and MISCHIEF are presumably more appropriate to the genre than their more serious equivalents.

Naturally not all restricted Groups are confined to the Renaissance, though the fact that a number are indicates a certain uniqueness of the conception or use of fairy in that period. The lexemic Group SCENE for example is entirely confined to a literary habit of the eighteenth century, its thirteen occurrences being contained within the period 1743 to 1813. Probably this use of scene is a function of growing romantic interest in natural scenery, for most of the occurrences are descriptive of natural panoramas seeking to convey their romantic BEAUTY by evoking the supernatural. Thus the most common collocation is fairy scene, which occurs in six cases,[1] as a description of a particular view. Scene thus is used to link the VISUAL nature of fairy to BEAUTY and NATURE, but in a somewhat abstract manner, seeing the link not, as in earlier texts, as a narrative progress allowing the fairy quality to manifest itself in action, but as a static scene like a painted canvas, in which fairy is a static, effect-less element evoked rather than participating. Such usage represents part of the weakening of the functional meaning of fairy discussed elsewhere.

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(1) Namely 1762/04/001; 1788/03/001; 1791/01/009; 1794/01/002.

6.2.2.4 Diachronic Differences: Conclusion

Identification of unique correlations between occurrence of Groups and date thus seems to yield largely three types of information. Firstly it enables the identification of period differences in collocation which can, roughly speaking, be regarded as period Styles. Thus one can characterise Renaissance usage to a large extent as focussing on Groups which are felt to be less important in other periods, particularly QUEEN, DANCE, MISCHIEF and PINCH. Period style can thus be described in relative terms, by indicating those Groups which occur more often than elsewhere (as well as identifying those Groups neglected in a particular period, although this is more difficult) and to some extent one can make absolute statements, such as describing the period 1750 to 1815 as the period in which fairy is specifically seen as a feature of the visual beauty of nature.

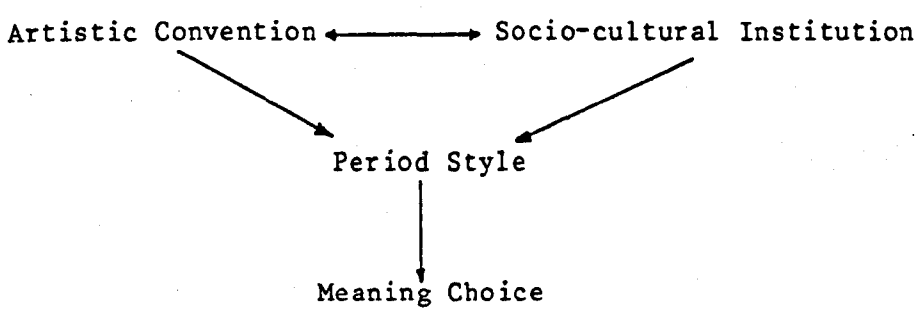
Secondly it shows the manner in which beliefs and cultural phenomena may structure the development of meaning, by indicating correlations between usage of certain lexemes and the prevalence of certain systems or institutions. Thus the political institution of queen and, specifically, artistic need to celebrate the idealised nature and political success of an unmarried queen, had a definite effect on lexemic selection and consequent semantic development. Similarly the style of certain eighteenth century writers is constrained by their attitudes to their topics, such that the lexemes collocating with supernatural names frequently involve explicit statements of attitude and belief.

Thirdly, related to the period effect of belief system is the influence of literary convention. The constraints of the art form have an important effect on the meanings that form can convey. Thus it was important in the decorum of masque presentations of fairies for them to appear and behave decoratively. Consequently more reference is made

to the costume and appearance of such fairies, and they are more frequently spoken of as dancing. singing etc. Obviously if a thing is not possible within the parameters of a particular cultural form, then the meaning must be adapted in a suitable way. Conversely artistic innovation may affect possible meanings, e.g. the introduction of children to the Shakespearean stage may profoundly have affected the conception of the fairies presented in Midsummer Night's Dream.

Thus the following model of semantic constraint must be incorporated into the total model of meaning patterns:

Diagram 6.2.2.4.a



Clearly therefore much of what has here been called period Style is dependent on the Field of the text in which fairy occurs. Accordingly the next section examines some of the semantic effects of different Fields on the use of fairy .

6.2.3.1 Field

Field is here in the Hallidayan sense to mean the entire institutional background relevant to the production and comprehension of a discourse. However as the majority of the texts under discussion are 'literary', the term Field is almost synonymous with genre . There is obviously a certain degree of overlap with Mode (the manner, channel and conventions of the act of communication) in that a genre such as "lyric" is partly recognised by virtue of its typical subject matter, attitude, communicative situation etc. and partly by virtue of its form, the literary conventions which give it substance. However as there is as yet no clear typology of Fields of discourse conventional genre labels will be used here, as they were in labelling the computer file, with the proviso that any considerations specific to Mode will be reserved for a subsequent section.

Two broad categories of semantic relation between fairy and Field can be identified, one the nature of the difference, if any, between literary and folk use of the lexeme, a subject which has been the source of much debate, and the other the more specific nature of the effects of individual Fields on the meaning of fairy .

6.2.3.2 Literary Use and Folk Use

The differences between literary and oral use of fairy do not seem to be as great within the period 1300 to 1830 as folklorists might lead one to expect. Nevertheless there are differences. Discussion of the relationship between folk and literary usage is made all the more difficult as a result of the lack of clear definition of what constitutes a 'folk' and what a 'literary' tradition, though paradigm examples are not difficult to find(1). Consequently discussion of the differences is clouded to some extent by the fact that the two traditions are not separate but intertwined. As has already been shown, literature is happy to make use of a feature encapsulated in oral tradition if the feature can be made to serve a specific literary purpose as in the examples of QUEEN and DANCE(2). A collocation characteristic of folk traditions in one culture or period may be confined to literary tradition in another culture or period.

An example is the name Oberon . According to Grimm, Alberich (= elf king) is the name of the teutonic folk fairy king. Transliterated into French this becomes Auberon or Oberon. In English oral tradition there is little evidence for a named fairy king(3) but Oberon appears in several literary texts, the three main ones in the corpus being Huon of Bourdeux (1530/01), Midsummer Night's Dream (1596/02) and Oberon (1798/02) of which the first is a translation from French and the third from German. Midsummer Night's Dream has no clear source for the name, though it is also used by Spenser(4), Middleton, Greene and

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(1) Easily recognisable paradigms which are useless from the comparative point of view would be Paradise Lost and the ethnic joke.
(2) See above 6.2.1.1.
(3) The only possible evidence in the corpus being 1613/02 and 1630/01, a report on a confidence trick and a ballad respectively.
(4) 1596/01/030.

Jonson[1] amongst Shakespeare's contemporaries. Lacking the possibility of a certain chronology of these works one cannot offer firm suggestions as to the influences between them, but it seems likely that whichever was the earliest probably drew the name from Huon of Bourdeux and subsequent works either from that or also from Huon. Thus it seems to be exclusively a literary name in English tradition, drawn at second or third hand from teutonic folk tradition.

Nevertheless its currency in literary tradition may well have been derived in part at least from the teutonic tradition, though dispensing with personal names, as there seems strong evidence for the acquisition of some teutonic features by fairy early in its use in English.[2] Similarly fairy is used much later than the thirteenth century in literary tradition as other names are in oral tradition - partly as the result of its displacing the Old English supernatural names in the period when literature was largely 'French' (Anglo-Norman), partly as a result of its developed generic sense, so that the sense of leading or misleading that occurs in dialect in such compounds as puck-led, pixy-led and many others is often conveyed by fairy in literature, a usage seldom found in folk tradition, e.g. some fairy thing or other has lead me dancing(1616/01/002) (dancing is here used metaphorically for "wandering") [3].

In the case of these names there is little difference between the two traditions other than in the choice of particular names, though the literary choice seems to prefer generic rather than culturally

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(1) Respectively 1597/01/001; 1598/04/001, 002; 1611/03/001,007,008.
(2) See Chapter 4.
(3)Also 1594/01/001; 1681/01/001; 1707/01/024; 1803/03/007; 1808/02/006.

specific names. There are however clear attitudinal differences, as one would expect. Folk tradition generally involves a greater potentiality for belief, literary tradition often explicitly states disbelief. Interestingly a corollary of this seems to be that folk fairies are more likely to be evil than literary fairies. Even allowing that there are no euphemistic uses of GOOD in the corpus, which is doubtful, the balance is twenty-five occurrences of EVIL to forty-three of GOOD, which is almost certainly a function of the predominant literariness of the corpus, as the balance is invariably weighted in the other direction in collections of folk narratives. Probably no more than a third of the corpus could be said to be accounts of or versions of oral traditions[1] and most have received some form of literary embellishment. Whether 'good' is the dominant association in literary texts is difficult to determine (there being forty-three occurrences of GOOD in a corpus of two thousand texts) but it certainly seems to be the case that the notion of "evil" fairies is not prominent in literature. As already noted, literature of the Renaissance is happier transforming EVIL into MISCHIEF and throughout the corpus it is difficult to find examples of the malice that can be found for example in the Old English Leechdoms [2]. Literature, it would appear, primarily employs fairy to entertain, and not for serious moral or ethical discussion (there are few uses of fairy in tragedies for example). Folk tradition seems happier with a supernatural which can be regarded as ethically polarised, and in particular with supernatural beings which are hostile to man (hence

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(1) Texts which in this study have been regarded as close to oral traditions are witch trials, collectanea, chapbooks and ballads.
(2) See Cockayne (1864-6).

evil) as accounts of the apparently arbitrary problems that interfere with human contentment(1).

It is possible to argue however that the statements of the evil nature of fairy are more widespread within the corpus than a mere frequency count of EVIL would suggest. Here again is exposed one of the weaknesses of a strictly formal analysis. Such an argument would note that, as with euphemisms, folk tradition is quite capable of concealing its attitudes. Indeed one of the measures of the cultural integration of a newcomer into a particular tradition is his ability to extract such concealed judgements and comprehend them, rather than relying on overt statement. Many oral traditions rely for their wit, effect, concision, pertinence and preservation precisely on devices of inference, implication intuition and metaphor(2) and by such devices both amuse and test their audience and users, and define and exclude others as alien to the culture. Thus one could argue that a stronger statement of the extent of evil of fairy in this corpus should be made on the grounds that TAKE (2452) occurs over twice as many times as BRING (2451), that HINDER (231) outnumbers HELP (232) and changelings are frequently mentioned(3). However even taking all these additional pieces of evidence into account it still seems likely that 'evil' does not outweigh 'good' in the corpus. Both are about equal with the balance shifting towards EVIL in those texts which are based on or representative of folk traditions or current beliefs and towards GOOD

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(1) Compare Kittredge's discussion of maleficium as a key concept in the folklore of witchcraft. Kittredge (1929).
(2) All of which, it must be noted, are likely to have been ignored by the analytical procedure employed here.
(3) There are nine instances of changeling in the corpus.

in those which are primarily literary, entertaining or amusing in intent.

Thus one might wish to point to two diverging meanings of fairy, linking Stylistic choice to Denotations such that the meaning of fairy in one class of texts is more likely to contain (or place more emphasis upon) one evaluative association rather than the other, and consequently readers who are aware of such a distinction will, if they have picked up the signals defining a particular text as one of that class, be more likely to interpret fairy as meaning 'good' rather than 'evil' or vice versa. Thus the Field, or that which a reader/hearer recognises as the relevant Field, (whether he regards a given text as primarily "folk" or "literary") may cause different predispositions of interpretation to be brought into play accordingly, and affect the Denotation of fairy and possibly other lexemes within the text.

The difference between GOOD and EVIL one can regard as antonymy, a primary semantic distinction encoded in different Fields, hence Styles. There are however distinctions within rather than between Groups which mark the two Fields. These cannot be regarded as primary in the sense of being basic in human cognition, nor are they always strictly semantic differences. Rather they are secondary elaborations of a primary meaning (or, in this case, a Group) in different directions by descriptive and/or narrative means, producing for a single concept or a single lexeme a different complex of associations according to the Field which determines the Style.

One such example which pervades the corpus and marks the distinction between folk and literary fields as a development of the group DANCE. Whilst one could hardly argue that DANCE is a primary semantic element in the same way that GOOD/EVIL are, for it does not

appear to have the same seriousness, depth or fundamental relevance to human concerns, in terms of its virtual universality and its simplicity it could be regarded as a basic concept. The human dance has many functions although in Western culture those several functions can be conveniently grouped into two sets which might be roughly characterised, following Nietzsche(1), as the Dionysiac and the Apollonian. The former would be the Bacchic frenzy of emotional expression, typically accompanied by drunkenness, sexual licence, and irreverence, as typified in medieval iconography by the bagpipe. This pole of entertainment may well represent the kind of licence accompanying certain medieval festivals, such as those of the Lord of Misrule. The Apollonian dance would be typified as regal, formal, elegant and restrained. It would be more likely to be performed and enjoyed by the higher classes of western society and is more likely to be complex, consciously learned and subject to fashion. As a generalisation one could thus regard the Apollonian dance as symbolic of nobility and the Dionysiac as symbolic of the peasantry, although such a generalisation is perhaps best regarded as a distinction people imagine to exist rather than as an account of an actual state of affairs.

Whilst it is obviously the case that a simple mention of dance cannot be interpreted as either kind, those occurrences which can be regarded as either Dionysiac or Apollonian seem to correspond to oral and literary tradition respectively. With regard to fairy the Apollonian may be regarded as a dance of fairy entertainment, i.e. it is on a par with feasting, hunting, hawking etc. which are the pursuits of the fairies regarded as ROYAL, characteristic of fairies

(1) Nietzsche (1964).

in the romance and Spenserian traditions. It is thus a motif of social behaviour, indicating the rank, power and status of the creatures. At this level it is used primarily with a descriptive purpose as a decorative or illustrative motif employed to establish the nature of the creatures reported. As will become clear below it has an additional function at a different level.

The Dionysiac dance, on the other hand, is not generally used as a device illustrating the peasant nature of fairy . Rather it is a narrative device of an oral tale which may well be its central pivot. Obviously such dances will be regarded by the subculture which possesses the tale as similar, if not identical, to the group's own and therefore the content of the tale may be regarded as analogously bearing on the group's own behaviour(1). Usually the dance is envisaged as a trick or trap of some kind. One clear example frequently ecnountered is of the dancers in the churchyard who because of their profanity are condemned to dance for a certain period.(2) Sometimes an attempt is made to pull one dancer free and he/she loses an arm. This is a good example of possible attitudes to the Dionysiac dance - that it is profane (and indeed if it is derived from pagan ritual, it may well have been profane) though the profanity may only have existed in the minds of the clergy or the moral watchdogs of the community.

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(1) Addy for example reports a belief that Morris dancing means "fairy dancing" and the two activities are regarded as identical. Addy (1973) p.136

(2) E.g. the dancers of Colbek. Sisam (1).

The two typical traps of fairy dances are that involving supernatural lapse of time in which a dancer loses consciousness of time whilst dancing (which may reflect a real feeling) and that in which a man is induced to enter a dance which causes his death either by compulsive dancing which he is unable to prevent, or in some other way(1). It would be possible to regard the Dionysiac dance in these descriptions as a metaphor for or image of 'worldly pleasure'(2), sexuality or perhaps simply love of dancing, embodying warnings that over-indulgence is harmful and thus, whether true or not, may be socially useful in regulating behaviour. The equation of dancing and excessive pleasure is frequently made in literature, so such an interpretation does not seem far-fetched. Dancing is furthermore often a central means of courtship, and the excitement it generates may well be sexual either overtly or in sublimated form.

Both types of dance may also function aetiologically in accounting for objects or places of circular form(3), but it is of course unnecessary from an explanatory point of view to indicate what form of dance would be involved, unless of course this is related to the shape (or nature) of the Object explained. As the typical dance seems to be circular in motion and all the aetiological uses of DANCE are of circular Objects no particular dance is ever specified. Insofar as there may be a connection between mushroom rings and hallucinogenic mushrooms used to induce ecstatic states, hence 'magical', dances, there may be a folk memory involved in this aetiology, but such a connection can be no more than speculative.

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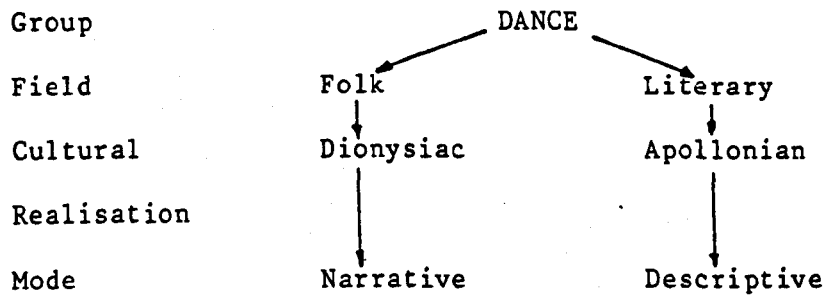
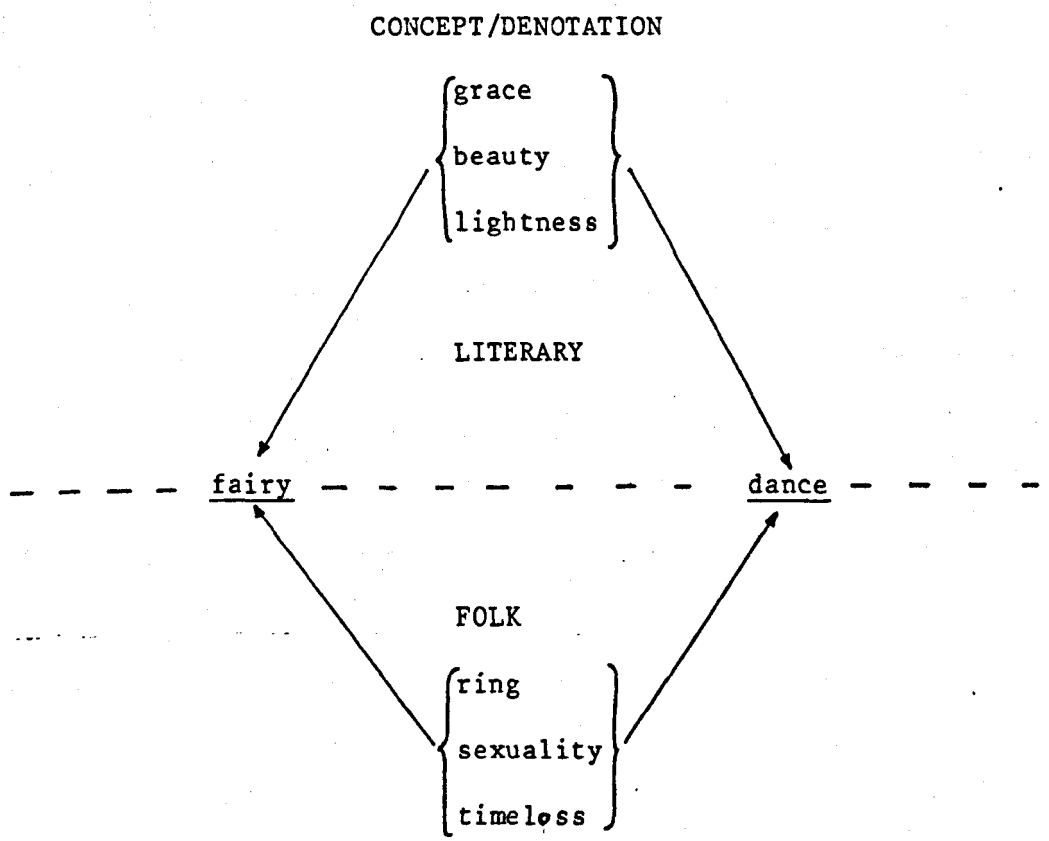
(1) As for example the vampyric attack of the dancers in Gervase of Tilbury's tale.
(2) And thus to the mediaeval mind a reason why dancing should be fairy (= evil and deceitful).
(3) RING and DANCE collocate 17 times.

Thus one can describe the development of DANCE in the following terms, specified according to the Field in which that Group is used:



The Apollonian dance also serves in literature to consolidate the connotation of 'graceful' which fairy seems to have acquired at least since circa 1700, and is actualised in the corpus by lexemes such as beauty , delicacy , lightness , nimbleness , grace . Thus one could also regard the difference between folk and literary use of DANCE as a difference between phenomenological or Referential and conceptual or Denotational thus:



Clearly however there is no firm distinction between the 'concept' of beauty and the 'phenomenon' of sexuality. Here again one must conclude that though meanings can be polarised as they are analysed, catalogued, described and though we can distinguish Fields, actual texts vitiate the description. Nevertheless it is the case that the distinction of Styles is also a difference of meanings, the difference being obscured by the overall semantic pattern for the corpus.

As would be expected there are several lexical choices specific to the literary fairy tradition. Some of these appear to be governed by phonological affinity and are accordingly discussed below(1). Several others such as scene discussed above (2) are associated with Neoclassic notions of decorum, in particular a set of lexemes encoding VEGETATION, including grove, arbour and myrtle. Lexemes such as these are never found in folk narrative in the corpus, being used almost exclusively in eighteenth century verse as suitably 'poetic' words.

One can thus identify three levels at which differences between oral and literary traditions can be demonstrated, and thus three levels where Field has differential semantic effects. The deepest level is that of primary semantics where differences of meaning are fundamental to human conceptions of the world, as in GOOD versus EVIL. Next in depth are differences of semantic development of a common simple semantic unit, as in differential lexical realisation of DANCE;

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(1) See section 6.2.4.1.
(2) See p.281.

thirdly there is simple lexical difference in which lexemes are regarded as inherently characteristic of a particular Field independent of their meaning, as with myrtle grove.

6.2.2.3

All three of the levels of difference demonstrated for fairy in literary and oral traditions can be established within other Fields. What is more characteristic of genres however is that they set up distinctive patterns of meaning whch are contributing to the definition of the genre itself. Such is the case, for example, with SHEPHERD. Though not confined to texts in the genre "literary pastoral", its use represents a partial conflation of the pastoral and literary fairy traditions. It thus straddles the boundary previously discussed between literary and folk or rural traditions as the pastoral in English is largely a genre encapsulating literary and artificial accounts of rural, folk life, often uninformed by the reality of contemporary rural life.

Although fairy is often used in a rural setting prior to 1600[1], the association of fairy with a specifically pastoral environment does not seem to have occurred much before this date. The earliest occurrence of SHEPHERD in the corpus is shepheardesse in Christopher Middleton's Chinon of England (1597/01/005) which is, loosely speaking, a romance, combining elements of the late prose romances, such as Huon of Bourdeux (1530/01), with the peculiarly Elizabethan pastoral romance, the archetype of which is Sydney's Arcadia. In fact the use of shepherd in the Cotext of fairy seems to be a feature of the modified pastoral tradition as the genre had become unfashionable by the first decade of the seventeenth century. Those writers who regarded themselves as adhering to the Virgilian formula would probably have regarded the inclusion of English country lore as an

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(1) E.g. the garden of Chaucer's Merchant's Tale (1400/01).

intrusion. This is despite the fact that the developing genre of pastoral assimilated more and more features of English rural life and became less and less an expression of a classical idyll. Such writers would thus almost certainly choose the lexeme nymph in preference to fairy in a pastoral context. However as the popularity of unmodified pastoral waned, as pastoral increasingly became just one element in a larger canvas, and as in the late Renaissance drama the genre became mocked as the typification of the rustic boor, adherence to a strictly classical model weakened, and inclusion of superstitions, such as beliefs in fairies, as further examples of the rustic's simplemindedness were no longer indecorous.

In addition the anglicisation of pastoral involved a move toward translating unfamiliar classical descriptions into more recognisable English equivalents. Fairy had long been associated with nymph (since at least 1500, see 1500/01/007) and had on occasion been used to translate Latin nympha, as in Golding's Metamorphoses (1567/01), and hence would seem the most natural English replacement for these classical beings in the pastoral. Furthermore the shepherd, whether considered as a superstitious simpleton, or as an uncorrupted semi-prophet, being the protagonist of a literary rural tradition might appear to be the logical beholder of such creatures. The tradition of the rustic as visionary is well established in England, going back at least as far as Piers Plowman (Will, it will be remembered, experienced a ferly a feyrie me þoughte [1], although in this case feyrie cannot be identified with a being).

Thus by 1620 the shepherd and the fairy are associated as the

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(1) 1362/01/001

romance and pastoral traditions merge, so much so that one may be used as the image of the other:

> Sometimes we dance a fairy round
> Hand in hand, upon the ground
> Shepherds piping, garlands crowning
>
> 1625/01/001

To some extent Spenser is responsible for this conflation, not only because The Faerie Queene combined elements of both traditions but also because his oeuvre, distinguished as it is by a major romance and a major pastoral, was regarded by later authors as a single kind of literature, uniquely Spenserian, so that any element derived from or modelled on the Spenserian work whether pastoral or romance was thereafter regarded as belonging to one not one of two traditions. This is indicative of the fact that this Spenserian tradition, which had such a pervasive influence on eighteenth century poetry is a purely literary, aesthetic phenomenon, unrelated to any real investigation either of the historical functions of romance (such as its predominantly oral nature) or the actual beliefs or behaviour of real shepherds. So influential was the Spenserian aesthetic that even when the urge of Romanticism prompted an investigation of the actual superstitions of rural folk at the beginning of the nineteenth century, writers found it difficult to rid themselves of the traditional modes of expression even when recounting actual observations:

> Wineburgh....is a green hill, of considerable height, regarded by the peasants as a result of the fairies, the sound of whose revels is said to be often heard by the shepherd, while he is unable to see them.
>
> 1803/03/017

SHEPHERD therefore ia a stylistic counter, indicative of the influence of literary pastoral in one or more of its manifestations on the mind of an author using fairy . Semantically it indicates that fairy has a rural aspect, and perhaps that this is a predominant feature, and is thus connected to the situational Group NATURAL (31111). Whether this rural aspect is purely literary (e.g. if fairy in its collocation with shepherd is simply a cultural translation of nympha and no more) or derived from actual rural phenomena is not indicated by the use of SHEPHERD, although since use of that Group involves connotation of the entire pastoral artifice it must be taken to suggest unreality rather than actual phenomena. SHEPHERD as used here is as much a literary fiction as fairy , even to the extent of both being regarded as behaving in the same way (singing, feasting, dancing, loving nature) the major difference lying in the fact that the authors using the Group are aware that putative Referents certainly exist for shepherd, though they may not for fairy.

Also shepherd is used as indicator of the supension of disbelief. The strong connotations of a highly stylised literary genre which it brings to a text, reinforced by other linguistic features in the Cotext (such as the use of archaic forms) suggest to a reader that questions of belief are not being proposed here. Such a text suggests within its own context that it is unnecessary for judgement to be made regarding belief for its adequate understanding or appreciation and, indeed, that the making of such judgements involves an essential misunderstanding of the text, a failure to pick up the genre signals that this use of shepherd entails. Use of shepherd thus tends to reinforce the functional ambiguity of fairy to promote a particular

audience attitude of partial, puzzled or pretended belief.

SHEPHERD thus provides a nexus for the genre, effectively encoding "protagonist + pastoral". Without a shepherd pastoral would not exist as a genre, and without shepherd as protagonist there could be no context for incorporation of fairy into the pastoral as the protagonist is generally in narratives of the supernatural the focus for supernatural events or activities either as observer or sufferer.

In a similar way fairy itself is used late in the period and in the Renaissance to characterise a sub-genre which is sometimes referrred to as 'the fairy lyric'. Some of these lyrics take fairies as their topic, the entire lyric being devoted to the elaboration of a fairy environment, generally a miniature. Herrick and Drayton are the masters of this genre(1) More extreme versions of the genre simply use fairy in the title.

As there are instances of dramas or pageants where fairies are portrayed as dancing and as they dance they sing about dancing so in these lyrics they often sing about songs, so that the title is often no more than A Fairy Song(2). In such cases the lyric may well not use either lexeme again, thus only implicitly speaking in the voice of the fairies and describing their behaviour(3). This is a device particularly favoured by Keats as a means of bringing the associations of fairy to bear in the entire lyric, but in an imprecise way, the status of fairy being ambiguous and potentially attached to any or all of the lexemes in the body of the poem. These songs thus form a genre

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(1) E.g. Nymphidia (1627/01), Hesperides (1648/02).
(2) Examples are 1591/02/006; 1591/03/003; 1611/03/009; 1800/01/002; 1814/04/001; 1815/03/008; 1818/09/001; 1819/02/002; 1819/03/001.
(3) As no direct linguistic connection can be demonstrated between a title and its lyric, the lyrics have not been analysed in the corpus. Much of this lyrical material would however merely emphasise many of the points already made as the lexis within such poems parallels that counted in the corpus.

or subgenre which owes its existence and identity to the richness of the collocations of fairy . The Field which determines the style of these lyrics thus incorporates some specification of 'lyrics to do with fairies' as a marker of potential meaning.

Fairy is usually employed in this manner as an appropriate lexeme and/or an appropriate meaning for a particular Field or genre. However it is occasionally used to bring the associations of the typical genre of its occurrence into conflict with the dominant Field of the text, generally for humorous effect as in the political treatise Hobbes' Leviathan. Hobbes equates the superstitious belief in fairies with the superstitions (as he believes) of the Catholic church, doing so by both literal and analogical identification of the elements of both belief systems. The effect is satire on Catholicism because in the context of a political treatise discussion of, and the associations of, fairy are inappropriate.

Thus the Field determines or constrains meaning in terms of the collocations which are likely to occur, in terms of the interpretations which reader/hearers are likely to regard as relevant, in terms of the overall manner in which a reader/hearer is likely to appreciate a text including fairy , and the likelihood of a non-typical semantic interpretation.

6.2.4.1 Mode

Differences of meaning which correlate with differences of Mode are less evident and less widespread than those for Field. Only three Modes were identified, being prose, blank verse and rhyming verse. It was clearly the case that there was an increase in collocation by formal correspondence in order prose, blank verse, rhyming verse, and equally clearly these formal correspondences entail semantic differences in individual texts and possibly have influenced the semantic development of *fairy*. Requirements of alliteration for example, seem to have strongly influenced eighteenth century use of *fairy*, sometimes at the expense of precision in meaning. The lexemes *fairy*, *flight* and *fancy* several times co-occur, e.g. 1769/01/002 *for fairy flights the fancy toils in vain*. *Fancy* is here the poetic faculty, the imagination, but it is not clear what *fairy flights* are. Presumably the phrase means something like "attractive creations", "imaginative acts", "poems" or any of a dozen other possible phrases. No attempt is made in the remainder of the poem to indicate why *fancy* should act or produce *flights*, whatever they are, nor why such *flights* should be *fairy*. The collocation is apparently trading on associations of grace and lightness, supernatural mystery, the production of unexplained objects, magic as an attractive quality and on the rapid movement sometimes attributed to the supernatural or to supernatural acts. Similar eighteenth century texts trading on the same network of imprecise associations are 1762/01/001 *Her visions fade/ Their parent banish'd, hence her children fly,/ Their fairy race that fill'd her festive train*; 1770/05/001 *Th'ecstatic vision flies - / flies like the fairy paintings of a dream* Here *fancy* is replaced by *vision*, a partial alliteration as the two phonemes /f/ and /v/ differ only by the presence/absence of voicing, *fly* is retained though the meaning in these latter two examples is "flee"

rather than "move aerially".

The fact that these differences of meaning occur in the same lexemic collocation indicates that the alliteration is probably more important in the writer's selection of items than their meaning, i.e. one could regard the construction process of these eighteenth century lyrics as the following: (a) select a pattern of alliteration, (b) select lexemes conforming to that pattern, (c) arrange those lexemes in a syntactically unremarkable pattern. Fancy collocates with fairy twenty-nine times, twenty-six of these occurring in the period 1726 to 1819, and the majority of them in the rhyming Mode. Fly and flight collocate eighteen times, thirteen of these occurring in the same period and the same Mode. Thus the collocation is typical of a particular Mode in a particular period. It does not seem to be genre-determined as it occurs in elegies, complaints, odes and short lyrics, but could all be seen as included in a specification of Field which permitted an indication of subject such as "concerned with the magical nature of poetic inspiration and especially with the absence of the inspiration". This would thus seem to be a very specific meaning, though one frequently used in this period in a particular Mode.

Less specific collocations are also found, though these also seem largely characteristic of rhyming texts as would be expected. Soft is used primarily in the rhyming lyric, generally metaphorically rather than literally and usually for connotations similar to those just discussed, that is 'light', 'graceful'; sweet is similarly used; aery also belongs to the same restricted Mode, again with the same connotations, but often chosen for the sake of the rhyme. The earliest occurrence of aery is 1611/03/013 in Here be formes so bright, and aery/ And their motions so they vary/ As they will enchant

the faery. From this time onwards the three factors of choice - rhyme, connotation of "light, graceful", and the semantic implication of motion - influences selection of this lexeme and it seems likely that it is from this complex that the later notion of physical flight, which culminates c.1790 in the ascription of wings to fairies, develops. The Renaissance lyric begins the tradition of the light graceful fairy, perpetuated in rhyming verse by use of lexemes such as soft, sweet etc. Aery becomes one of these, and is retained and reused largely for the sake of its rhyme. This reiteration has the effect of emphasising 'aerial motion' which becomes flight, and flight is concretised by the late attribution of physical wings(1).

As mentioned previously(2) rhyme seems to have been a major influence in Middle English use of fairy, but in Modern English, i.e. from c.1500, fewer words have the rhyme. Consequently it is less frequently used in line endings. However there is a large corpus of potentially alliterative lexemes, so that in 195 cases the word previous to or subsequent to fairy (discounting function words) alliterates with it, the tendency increasing later in the period. This is a significant number of cases. Certainly therefore fairy influences the position of other lexemes and it probably influences choice in a number of cases. For example, folk is chosen almost as often as people, fair is chosen twice as often as beauty, and four

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(1) One should note that in oral tradition supernatural creatures are often credited with flight, and examples can be found in English tradition as early as the Old English Leechdoms. Furthermore folk narratives of fairies include this notion, but it is virtually unmentioned in the corpus. The tradition of butterfly-winged fairies seems to begin with with Stothard's illustrations to Pope's Rape of the Lock c. 1780. Examples of flying fairies can be found in: MacDougall (1978) pp.78-9; Simpson (1976a) pp.91-101; MacCulloch (1921) p.229.

(2) Chapter 3.

times more than pretty, fancy is chosen twice as often as imagine or dream, form is chosen twice as often as shape. If we are to regard these sets as lexemes of similar meaning, which they clearly are, then we must say either that within the rhyming Mode and to a lesser extent in blank verse where a set of synonyms exist choice is generally made of a lexeme alliterating on /f/ or that the most specific meanings are generally selected on grounds of form rather than those meanings.

In some cases this has resulted in formulaic phrases which exist largely for their form, such as fantoum and feiri[1], airy-fairy, fairy folk, fairy favours, fairy feet. In these cases either fairy appears to contribute little specific to the meaning of the compound (e.g. fantoum and airy almost as meaningful in the contexts of the first two compounds), or the non-fairy element of the compound is contributing little, as in fairy folk (where fairies could substitute).

Probably the most profound semantic influence on fairy by a lexeme similar in form is that of fair. In one suggested etymology it is argued that as brownies are so-called because of their brown skins, so fairies are named after the fairness of their appearance [2]. Whilst this seems unlikely to be correct [3] it would seem

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(1) Examples of these phrases are: 1390/03/001;1400/02/001; 1423/01/001; 1596/02/003; 1712/03/001; 1794/01/014; 1828/01/004; 1550/01/001; 1700/05/002; 1769/01/003; 1793/04/001; 1793/05/001; 1815/02/001; 1548/02/003; 1554/01/001; 1597/05/001; 1615/01/001; 1623/01/001; 1817/05/001,002; 1827/01/001.
(2) Edwards (1974) p. 105.
(3) See Chapter 4.

that the phonological similarity of the two lexemes reinforced the notion of fairies as physically (if not ethically) attractive beings. Thus a common euphemism for fairies is the fair folk[1]. The lexeme fair occurs in the corpus forty-five times, usually of a female supernatural being, less often of a natural scene credited with supernatural quality. BEAUTY is furthermore a quality which seems almost exclusively to be attributed to fairies amongst supernatural beings, predominantly again in literature where, as already mentioned, the attractive nature of the supernatural is more heavily emphasised than in folk tradition. It seems almost certain that the insistence upon the attractiveness of fairies in literature which places an emphasis on form is due to the phonological similarity existing between fair and fairy, so much so that it has at least consolidated and probably conditioned the preference for attractive and, by implication, good fairies in literature. Formal correspondence has thus had a semantic effect.

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(1) E.g. 1808/02/001,002.

6.2.4.2: Narration and Description

There remains one distinction to be made which can most adequately be done under the heading of Mode, the distinction already referred to between narration and description. It is a distinction fundamental to language and to this corpus, for the meaning of several groups differs according to textual realisation as description or narration. Narrative can here be regarded as a succession of sentences whose topics are causally linked in temporal progression whereas description is an elaboration in one or more sentences of aspects of a topic without reference to causality or time. A given Group can thus function predominantly in narrative, e.g. TAKE, or predominantly in description, e.g. BEAUTY, or may function in both. The former tend to be Groups listed under ACTION, the latter under SITUATION. The Style of a text can to some extent be identified as predominantly descriptive - in which cases indexes of that Style may be largely paradigmatic, selections from lexical or semantic sets - or predominantly narrative - in which case indexes are likely to be predominantly syntagmatic, selections which are sequentially structured. One must thus be aware in talking of elements such as folk motifs that a motif may be of at least two kinds, either supplementary to an existing element in which case it will be descriptive and thus form a structural point of view non-essential because dependent on other elements or structurally bound to such elements in which case it will be an essential constitutive element. It may also be possible to argue that essential structural elements are essential by virtue of their correspondence to general cognitive structures.

For example the reciprocal Groups HINDER and HELP seem to entail

all these different levels. Many accounts of the supernatural seem to be descriptions intended to ascribe agency and motivation to particular phenomena. The most common motivations so ascribed are related to the major ethical opposition into which supernatural phenomena are polarised, namely GOOD and EVIL. It seems to be the case that this polarization is largely founded on the typical kinds of effect such phenomena are presumed to have on man, namely to hinder man or help him in some way. Such hindrance or help may be direct, specific to a particular human need, such as rescue from a difficult situation or the provision of money for a poor man, in which case the text will generally be a narrative or reportage of how such an event comes about; or it may be more vague, reported as no more than a possible disposition of the supernatural, in which case the text is typically descriptive, such as a list of attributes. It would seem that some of the occurrences of FRIEND (12213) could be included in this latter category.

HINDRANCE seems to be of two kinds, HELP essentially of only one. HINDRANCE may consist of direct physical harm, such as causing bodily injury, disease, mutilation or death, or it may be deprivation of some kind, the removal of wealth, good fortune or a particular object. One could perhaps consider physical injury as constituting deprivation of a kind, in, for example, the removal of health, or of life, or a limiting of the sufferer's capacities, which would give a more elegant generalisation as HELP essentially consists in reversing deprivation, by filling a need or supplying a required item.

These two sides of supernatural action clearly related to the positive and negative branches of the situational Group ETHICAL (321) and also correspond closely to the major motifemic folktale structure decribed by Dundes, namely lack, and lack liquidated, and to the

similar patterns of folk narrative described by Propp[1]. One could suggest that this opposition is not limited to accounts of the supernatural, nor merely to folktales, but to two more general cognitive structures - on the one hand the human tendency to an egocentric dichotomous view of events in the universe, and on the other to the typical narrative (not merely folk narrative) expression of that dichotomy, as a basis for providing interest in a large proportion of anecdotes, memorates, Marchen, legends, literary fictions, biographies and histories, narratives which are not simply concerned with how a thing came to be, but how certain protagonists suffered and others benefitted. Clearly the concept of luck, a central aspect of the vaguer notion of "fatedness" which has been postulated above as the semantic core of fairy , is closely related to this habitual dichotomy and its typical narrative expression. In an unmotivated world things simply happen, but in a world which is seen as motivated, in which the happenings are regarded as deprivational or beneficial by those experiencing them, luck is one of the simplest interpretations of that motivation. There is no easy way to describe what luck is, but one can understand what the lexeme luck expresses in terms of the differential effects life has on individual men. The more animistic, anthropomorphic, personificatory that expression of luck becomes, the closer it comes to a description of the supernatural. Although the lexeme luck occurs only twice in this corpus, there are several accounts collected from oral tradition outside the corpus which equate fairy and luck [2].

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(1) Dundes (1975) pp.206-214. Propp (1971).
(2) Courtney (1887) p.177; Duncan (1896) pp.176-7; Nutt (1897) p.43; Brown (1952-64) p.154.

A somewhat more sophisticated conceptualisation of fairy help or hindrance goes one stage beyond regarding accidental phenomena as motivated, in seeing that motivation as causally linked to human action, usually under the logic of human justice, i.e. regarding hindrance as punishement and help as reward. In such cases the human actions which are punished or rewarded are very often deprivational or donational. For example, if someone steals from the fairies they are blinded,(1) if he helps the fairy, he becomes rich.

However there is no strict pattern of logic between these acts. Human deprivation may result in human benefitting as in such tales as The Luck of Eden Hall (2). The other class of human acts which may result in supernatural punishment or reward are ordinary human duties, largely menial tasks, which are generally unpleasant in one way or another. If the human completes the task, particularly if he/she habitually completes it well, he/she may receive supernatural reward. Conversely if the task remains incomplete or is done in an inefficient, haphazard manner, he/she may be punished. This motif would appear to be some form of social control, reinforcing the virtue of hard work and discouraging laziness, whether the reports are actually believed by the workers or not, for if a servant believes she will be rewarded for working well, she will presumably work well; if she does not wholly believe, she may nevertheless work well "just in case"; if she does not believe, she may work well because she is likely to be rewarded by her employer in the guise of the supernatural; even if no obvious reward is forthcoming an unbeliever may interpret the tales analogically, equating supernatural being and

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(1) E.g. Bett(1952) p.22.
(2) Keightley (1900) p.292.

employer in terms of attitude and behaviour; and if no such analogy is available, nevertheless the presence of such motifs encourages the belief in the rightness of hard work and the wrongness of laziness. The attitude is entrenched in much of the overt lore of the working class and lower middle class, although it would often seem to be contradicted by actual behaviour.

Surprisingly, however, the lexemes reward and punish , and their synonyms do not occur frequently in the corpus.[1] In general this is because those accounts of help and hindrance which relate them to "reward" or "punishment" do so implicitly through the course of the narrative rather than explicitly. This, it would seem, is a further validation of the ethos, for the belief must first be held (or at least understood) for the implication of such a narrative to be understood, and to be enjoyed. In which case control is achieved not by recitation of an obvious moral, but by reminding an audience of an attitude they already possess or are aware of. Implicational morals cannot serve to induce radically new behaviour or attitudes, but they can serve to modify by reinforcement those an individual already possesses. Narratives of supernatural punishment may also be directed towards moral or ethical control besides behavioural control. There are accounts of fairies killing for swearing[2], punishing ingratitude[3] and punishing selfishness and rudeness[4]. The rewarding of good and punishing of evil is a stock threat in folk narrative, and the reward/punishment is often achieved by magical or supernatural means.

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(1) Three occurrences of reward and six of punish.
(2) Duncan (1896) p.174.
(3) Simpson (1976a) p.100.
(4) 1729/02.

Thus HINDER/HELP have both descriptive and narrative function, primarily the latter. That function may be dependent on a general cognitive structure or, in its relation to rewards and punishment, to social mechanisms which may themselves be realisations of this structure. Thus narrative, social and conceptual structures can be interdependent and a complete understanding of Style in narrative must thus depend on an account also of the Denotative function of those Groups in the language as a whole. It is necessary therefore to consider some of the wider conceptual background of fairy not only to comprehend the Sense relations of lexemes but also their stylistic use. Chapter 7 takes up these points.

6.2.5: Field and Mode - Conclusion

Although the labels used in the computer analysis of this corpus do not admit of accurate definition as descriptions of Fields or Modes, it is clear that the genre which gives a text being, the system of meaning or communication which defines its parameters, and the channel of communication or the method of presentation can have an effect on the meaning of fairy both from the point of view of its diachronic development, such that certain reiterated relations which may well be non-semantic in themselves, have created a preference for certain semantic relations, or from the point of view of individual texts, such that networks of meaning are used in a particular text which can only be understood with any precision by reference to the type of text it is.

Diagram 6.2.4.1 is a simplified summary of the processes discussed above. It describes a series of choices which determine the Stylistic meaning of fairy in a given situation. As previously stated there is no claim that this is a cognitive model, merely that it describes a minimum series of processes necessary to account for the stylistic aspects of meaning encountered in this corpus. However the easiest way to read the model is to imagine it as a series of instructions for a speaker or writer who wishes to produce a text using fairy but does not know how to go about it.

Diagram 6.2.4.1

1. CHOOSE A FIELD.

2. CALL THE CHOSEN FIELD f.

3. CHOOSE A MODE.

4. CALL THE CHOSEN MODE m.

5. CHOOSE A GENRE WHICH FITS WITH f AND m.

6. CALL THE GENRE g.

7. THE SET OF MEANINGS (s) AVAILABLE IS ALL SEMANTIC GROUPS LISTED IN APPENDIX 2 WHICH CAN BE USED IN f AND IN m AND IN g.

8. LET p = THE PERIOD SUBSET OF s.

9. IF p = 0 THEN THE CHOICE IS INAPPROPRIATE. GO TO NUMBER 1.

10. CHOOSE EITHER A FOLK OR A LITERARY IDIOM.

11. IF THE CHOICE IS FOLK THEN LET b = THE FOLK SUBSET OF p OTHERWISE LET b = THE LITERARY SUBSET OF p.

12. IF b = 0 THEN THE CHOICE IS INAPPROPRIATE. GO TO NUMBER 1.

13. CHOOSE EITHER A NARRATIVE OR A DESCRIPTIVE MODE.

14. IF THE CHOICE IS NARRATIVE THEN c = THE NARRATIVE SUBSET OF b OTHERWISE c = THE DESCRIPTIVE SUBSET OF b.

15. IF c = 0 THEN THE CHOICE IS INAPPROPRIATE. GO TO NUMBER 1.

16. IF m, f OR g FOREGROUND FORMAL SIMILARITY THEN PREFER ALL LEXEMES ENCODING GROUPS IN b WHICH BEGIN WITH /ʃ/ OR /v/ OR END IN /ɛərɪ/.

17. ENCODE THE DESIRED TEXT USING ONLY LEXEMES REALISING GROUPS IN SUBSET c.

6.3 Emotive Meaning

Emotive meaning has largely been neglected in this study as it is generally regarded as idiosyncratic, not amenable to systemic study or objective analysis. The grounds for this point of view are that no observer can know with certainty what another feels (or even what "feeling" is to another) nor can the observer obtain access to meanings which are unique to individuals. Logically and psychologically this seems incontestable. Thus discussion of particular aspects of Emotive meaning must remain speculative. However given these provisos, most people would accept that realistically rather than in the ideal world of logic, generalisations can be made about emotion based on intuitive correlation of observed human behaviour, and statements about that behaviour, with subjective states.

Thus "fear", for example, may be one connotation of fairy . It would however have two aspects, an intellectual or abstract aspect, in which fear was understood to be encoded in the word (which might, for example, be learned from a speaker using fairy in the context of his own fear) and a more emotional and immediate aspect which, if felt, would result from personal fearful experiences of which one would wish to use the word fairy . Thus a fairy hill may intellectually be thought of as no more than a possible site of fear. However to the extent that the site was unexplained, the extent that differences were felt to exist there, and acts or experiences were thought of as occurring which differed from normality, to that extent would the potential for fear increase and consequently the strength of the connotation "fear" for fairy . This would remain however an abstract connotation, insofar as it was the result of no direct experience for

the subject.

Yet if an individual subsequently visits the place (a) he will feel a potential for fear commensurate with the characterised degree of difference, consequently (b) he is likely to that extent to regard an experience as abnormal so that (c) any experience may be thought to be confirmatory of that abstract connotation and thus (d) induce a spontaneous emotional experience of fear which thereafter (e) remains a more immediate and fully experienced connotation in the Emotive meaning of fairy. Thus the concept of difference may induce a predisposition to certain emotions, which the experience of difference may subsequently and more fully confirm. It is in such terms as this that one might seek to explain the fearful, puzzling, unusual experiences which people report of reputed or named supernatural places such as hill tops or dark woods. The name itself may possess sufficient connotation for otherwise normal experience to be reinterpreted as confirmatory, but such reinterpretation is itself made possible by the inherent marked differences of such places. One can correlate observed responses to environmental differences with emotional and physical states, and statements about those states, to arrive at a probable indication as to the emotive effect of felt difference, and the predispositions induced by pre-existing associations of particular lexemes, based on such deductions.

As has already been stated(1) it may well be that Emotive meaning is the primary raison d'être of supernatural names even for users who (ostensibly at least) do not believe in the supernatural. Inexplicable feelings of phenomenal difference or unusualness which are possible for any individual, may be one reason for this. Others

(1) See above pp.261-3.

may be the element of wish fulfilment in certain texts such as tales of supernatural rewards, brides, luxury or revelry; unusual subjective states which may be experienced as in the motif of fairy time which may be used of any experience which does not accord with the familiar experience of time which is roughly regular and linear, as in dream time, hypnosis, drugged states or fever - all of which may distort temporal experience either by making a simple event seem subjectively to last much longer than any familiar previous experience of it, or by the reverse process, apparently collapsing a large number of events into a short subjective time; uncertainty or sensory deprivation, as many aural phenomena felt to be strange are simple sounds heard at night when the hearer lacks explanation or visual perception, inducing fear which may be sufficient to colour the aural perception even to the extent that the maker/source of the noise is regarded as the direct inducer of fear and any associated misadventure(1) - uncertainty often leads to fear and deprivation of any form often causes uncertainty (one could characterise "deprivation" as "removal or concealment of information"). There is perhaps an instinctive system of defence which automatically links uncertainty or ignorance to fear on the assumption that if one fears the unknown one will avoid it and therefore whatever its nature it can do no harm. Conversely the basic antidote for such fear is reassurance by explanation, the provision of information where information is lacking, whether that information is correct or not. Any explanation at all if accepted makes the unknown known and familiar, and gives the impression that some form of control of the situation is possible. Thus even to call

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(1) Hence motifs such as fairy music, misleading of people and mislaying of objects.

something fairy may sufficiently characterise it to permit reassurance because some form of appropriate action may be taken. Probably the superstitions attached to names and euphemisms result from a related impulse, by which it is supposed that naming a phenomenon is equivalent to explaining it, i.e. fitting it into a comprehended system, and hence to obtaining a measure of control over it. Such a reaction would seem to be not entirely without logic for being able to name a phenomenon implies being able to relate it to some earlier experience and to that extent being able to react to the new situation in ways parallel to those in the earlier experience(s).

Some types of event may be regarded as inherently emotional and thus invariably producing emotive experience in individuals, and thus may entail Emotive meaning for lexemes used of or during that event. Three such typical human events are birth, love and death all of which figure quite prominently in the corpus and even more so in folk narrative on the supernatural outside this corpus. It would probably be no exaggeration to claim that for a majority of individuals these three types of event are the most significant in their lives, nor that in most if not all communities these are amongst the central independently motivated human events which have social significance and are recognised in a multitude of social customs, ceremonies and behavioural attitudes(1).

There is however a marked difference between the significance of these phenomena for an individual who experiences them and for a society in which they occur. In the first place they occur to and for individuals, or are dependent largely on individual natures and acts,

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(1) For example most rites of passage are associated with social manifestations of birth, love and death.

and are only very tenuously connected to social conditions. A birth may happen in a particular society, but that society does not commit the act leading to the birth, nor is society the mother of the child. Furthermore the attitudes of individuals to these events is largely involuntary, whereas society may voluntarily adopt a number of different standpoints because of its indirect involvement. What this means in human terms is that whereas a mother has little control over her motherhood, a child none over its birth, death is unrestrained and lovers generally lack self restraint, other people not directly affected by the event will be able to control their attitudes and direct them in accord with some system of rules rather than in accord with the emotional pressure of the phenomenon. So that to an individual experiencing the phenomena birth, love and death and their manifestations are mysteries but to an individual as a member of a society, who can consider the birth, love and death of others and, indeed, those phenomena 'in the abstract', they are fully determined in one way or another and definite options are available by which such an individual can obtain a measure of control over and understanding of the events.

In fact one can see similar features in several other types of phenomena which manifest themselves for individuals as mysteries. Drug-taking - including alcohol - puberty, illness, natural disaster and serious accidents may all have unpredictable and uncontrollable effects on any individual, but by making these phenomena social, by giving them social form and meaning, and by codifying the types of permissible individual reaction to and participation in those kinds of events by social rules and conventions a great measure of control, or at least the reassuring illusion of control, is reached. Hence the individual is able to comprehend his experience and regulate it within

that social context.

If therefore we look at the meanings of lexemes such as birth (fourteen occurrences), love (fifty-five occurrences) and death (nineteen occurrences) we must expect not only a Denotational or Referential meaning which may or may not have precise legal or clinical definition but also an extensive range of Emotive meaning which exists in tension with various conventional social meanings. This tension will be lesser or greater depending on the emotional attitude of the individual, but if social rules exist which enable him/her to control that attitude then there will be, to a certain extent at least, a conflict between the individual experience and the social account of that experience. One might even say that such social rules exist in order to create such a conflict, for without conflict no resolution can be attained and the prime purpose of a social group is to provide resolution, and thereby the harmonious interaction of individuals.

Given this kind of framework it is not difficult to see how the supernatural fits within it. As one would expect, if these three phenomena are the most important in human life (or at least in narratives of human life) supernatural names occur frequently in such contexts, not always as nouns (i.e. beings) but generally so. One may be inclined to say that a story must be about birth, death or love in order to be interesting to most people and this explains why so many stories of the supernatural are about these phenomena, but this can only be a partial explanation.

It does not explain why, if we are to regard supernatural narrative as isometric with other narratives, and those narratives on a par with television serials like Crossroads the supernatural should be

included at all. For if the essence of such tales is "human interest" it seems peculiar to introduce non-human characters. Furthermore it does not explain why the supernatural should occur in such accounts which function as part of a belief system (as distinct from mere entertainment) for in these cases, even if the supernatural is not literally believed in, it must nevertheless be fulfilling a function as part of a system which is believed in.

It must be said, however, that many uses of supernatural names in the context of birth, love and death seem to make little distinction between the supernatural and the natural, particularly in some literary accounts(1) and the actions and behaviour of the supernatural Referents in these cases could not be distinguished from the patterns of human behaviour in the same account, save by the name. Such uses can generally be regarded as rationalisation or sophistication of the supernatural, often by a process of euhemerisation. That is to say, such accounts can be regarded either as versions of earlier stories which were about a fully believed supernatural, which have become more literary and/or realistic, or as expressions of social or literary form which regards the supernatural only as literary artifice and therefore bound by human rule and reason. It is also possible in the latter case for the reverse effect to occur, and the supernatural Referent may be conceived as behaving in a most arbitrary and haphazard manner for it is regarded only as subject to the limits of the imagination.

In accounting for the collocation of LOVE, BIRTH and DEATH with fairy extreme arguments can be offered in each case. The fairy may be

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(1) E.g. Huon of Bourdeaux (1530/01), The Faerie Queene (1596/01).

regarded as fundamentally the guardian or instrument of fate, or as one of the Fates, and thus in control of the key events of an individual's life. This may be one factor underlying the notion of the guardian, or the controller of a man's nature, as in Milton's:

> at thy birth
> The fairy ladies danced upon the hearth;
> The drowsy nurse hath sworn she did them spy
> Come tripping to the room where thou didst lie,
> And sweetly singing round about thy bed
> Strew all their blessings on thy sleeping head.
> She heard them give thee this, that thou should'st still
> From eyes of mortals walk invisible.
>
> (1627/02/001)

Alternatively fairies may be seen as fundamentally the dead, against whom living man is in essential opposition and of whom he is fearful, and in several folk traditions this is the case (or something like it), fairies being regarded as the dead, the souls of the dead, a special class of the dead or keepers of the dead(1).

Or fairies may be regarded as harbingers of sexuality, representing man's repressed urges or sexual fantasies(2). Here one can point to the fairy mistress theme, and the frequent liasons of fairies and humans as supportive evidence.

Fairies may be any or all of these, but it does not seem that fairy primarily encodes one aspect, or collocates with one Group significantly more than the others. For every instance of fairy being used in one such situation there are five when it is not. Despite the importance of these Groups and the ease with which they can be interpreted as conveyors of "fatedness", they do not outweigh the

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(1) See Bray (1879) p.163; Courtney (1887) pp. 179, 182; Duncan (1896a) p.164; MacCulloch (1921) p.235; Westropp (1921) pp.101, 102, 195, 106; Spence (1946) chapters 4 and 5.
(2) An argument taken to the extreme in Duffy (1972).

other components of the meaning of fairy ; nor do any of the three events occur substantially more frequently than the others. It seems likely that they owe their prominence not to individual interpretations of fairies as guardians or as the dead or as lovers, but to one common feature recognisable as the fairy quality.

If such a quality is to be isolated it is probably the overwhelming sense of mystery, fear and personal inadequacy experienced by an individual encountering each of these events as described above. One can find in literature many instances in which two of these three events are compared or identified in terms of some common (implied) experiential quality, a common feature of Emotive association: birth and sex are connected by physical consequence, and identified in terms of the self-less love they generate; birth and death are identified as the two polar defining experiences of life, the beginning and the end, over which an individual has absolutely no control; death and love are identified in terms of the overcoming of individual will (as for example in the French phrase for orgasm, le petit mort). The common feature of these identifications would seem to be the lack of personal control, the sense of passing out of oneself, of selflessness, of being mastered by a force other than that of individual will, involuntarily obeyed. It is not primarily a feeling of losing one's own will (as perhaps in madness) but of surrendering to a greater will which must, by questionable logic, belong to a greater being. That being must thus possess power greater than human power, and must have a purpose beyond human comprehension ('will' implying purpose), must be personally involved with the individual experiencing the event and must have an element of

strangeness and extremity, judging by the subjective quality of the experience.

Fairy may thus adjectivally characterise this feeling, without the fuller reification of 'being', and if so both the experience and its representation may remain ambiguous, retaining a high degree of subjective meaning as such experience must essentially be personal. Alternatively the crystallisation of the experience may be made more complete by its expression, in which case the 'force' would probably be anthropomorphised into a being and the progress of the force (its development, movement, change) represented by (or perhaps interpreted as) the behaviour of such a being.

Both the importance of the events as events in human lives and also their affective qualities for those experiencing them produce a high degree of Emotive association, which may well be one reason why there is a large increase in the frequency of occurrence of fairy towards the end of the eighteenth, the period of the rise of Romanticism. Any writer who is concerned with emotion or profound personal experience as a topic, or with inducing an emotive response in a reader is thus likely to find a ready supply of Associative meaning in using the images of and the lexemes birth , love , death and consequently fairy . Thus the lyric, the literary vehicle of personal expression, is frequently concerned with the latter two at least, and the epic or romance (the impersonal literary 'opposite' of the lyric) may not merely use such elements to determine narrative structure, but may dwell upon the events in a manner disproportionate to the remainder of the text.

For example Lord Raglan's discussion of the life of the typical mythical or epic hero includes a twenty-two point summary of the

typical hero's life[1]. In it points (1) to (8) are concerned with birth, points (4) and (12) are concerned with love or sex, and points (6), (11) and (18) to (22) are concerned with death, leaving only seven points concerned with other details.

Predictably DEATH plays a more varied and significant role in the corpus than BIRTH, the latter occurring largely in the context of fairy protectors or guardians, the former most frequently forming part of a control mechanism, e.g. he that speaks to them (the fairies) shall die (1601/02/013) or other statement indicating that fairies have the power of death over men. On at least one occasion the two are combined, in the well known tale of Sleeping Beauty (1729/01) in which a fairy arriving at the princess' christening predicts her death : the princess should have her hand pierced with a spindle and die of the wound (1729/01/010). A tale such as this is easy to relate to a modified notion of the fairy as Fate, for she appears at the beginning of the child's life and pronounces[2] the fate which will be her death. The close connections betwen fate and death have already been discussed[3], the notion of fate being one means whereby men attempt to motivate the apparently arbitrary facts of death, to remove uncertainty and to prevent morbid speculation.

The discussion of Emotive aspects of meaning which is based on a notion of significant emotional events is thus necessarily more complex than that for any other aspect of meaning, as the existence of semantic markers which correspond to specific emotions would simply be

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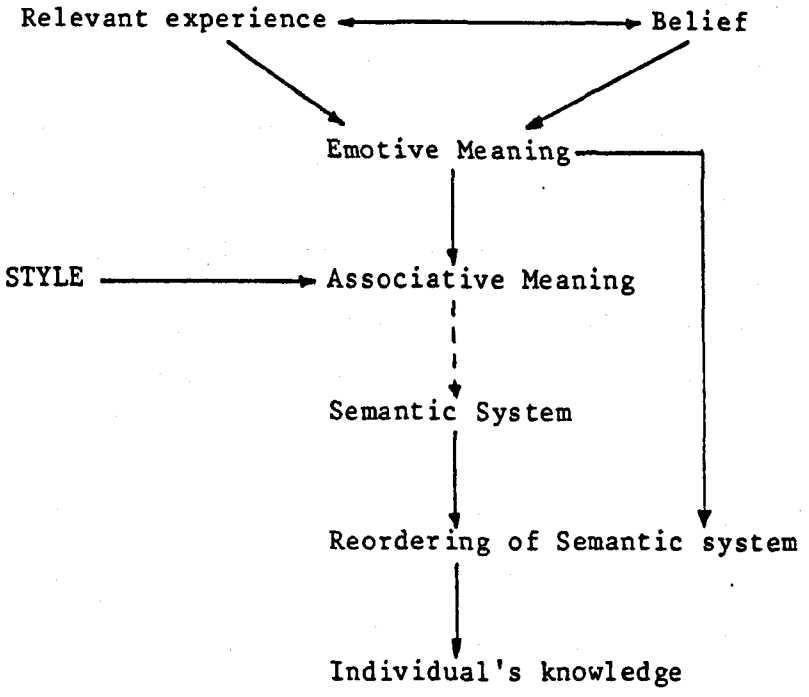
(1) Raglan (1949) pp.178-9.
(2) Fate itself being derived from the Latin fatum = "thing said".
(3) See Chapter 3. Compare also the functions of OE faege = "fated to die" and Modern English fatal with the classical notion of the Fates who spun, measured and cut the thread of a person's life.

inadequate. Emotive meaning is not like any of the aspects of meaning hitherto discussed, nor Denotation nor Reference, in that it does not constitute a structured semantic system, and discussion of it necessarily becomes a discussion of the social and personal significance of events Referred to or Denoted. As is clear from the above, the switch from the level which has here been regarded as the most general, i.e. the semantic base of "fatedness", to the most specific, such as personal phobias, may be abrupt, immediate and unmotivated for individual users. From an individual's point of view therefore the semantic structures which it is the purpose of this study to describe are not distinct and perhaps not separable, even in principle. The point is thus restated that formal analysis may reveal aspects of and relationships between meanings, but it by no means describes states of affairs which exist for actual users in terms which they would find pertinent. This is a feature of the impossibility of an objective metalanguage - at some point recourse must be made to intuition, to an object-language as metalanguage, and at this point Emotive meaning(s) may arise which vitiate carefully structured semantic patterns.

For example, it has been one major purpose of this study to establish some form of semantic hierarchy such that some Groups can be regarded as more basic to the meaning of fairy than others. Frequency of occurrence was taken as a reasonable index of such basic Groups. However, no matter how probable the conclusions arrived at, it remains true that such a hierarchy is only probably valid within a limited period for a limited corpus of written texts using a particular analytical approach which ignores many infrequently occurring lexemes. All these limits are artificial and may thus misrepresent the

knowledge or understanding of an individual if this has any emotive content which, because of the primacy of the irrational, may constitute a complete restructuring of that hierarchy according to the nature of his/her experience or belief. The model for Emotive meaning must therefore include a strong statement of indeterminacy which may override all other systems of choice, as in Diagram 6.3.1

Diagram 6.3.1



6.4 Associative Meaning: Conclusion

Clearly Stylistic and Emotive meaning are not as systematic or as easily defined as the various apects of purely linguistic relationship discussed in Chapter 5. Equally clearly both may be an important input into the total meaning of a lexeme such as fairy , an input which as has been shown, can affect not only linguistic interrelations but also more profoundly the constitutive nature of the relationship between lexemes and the world. Associative meaning thus both affects and is affected by Applicability, an interactive process which must therefore be open-ended, and thus which cannot be fully or finally described. In describing Stylistic and Emotive meaning and their large semantic implications one is tapping a cycle of interactions which lack beginning or end. Hence the need for feedback loops in the model for the input of Associative meaning into the semantics of fairy from Associative meaning back to the determinants of that meaning, namely situational constraints and cognition in the case of Stylistic meaning, and experience and belief in the case of Emotive meaning. Obviously "situational constraints" and "relevant experience" are united in the particular nature of the situation of creation of an individual text, and belief is an aspect of cognition. Diagrams 6.2.4.1 and 6.3.1 thus conflate into the following model for Associative meaning, to be combined with the models for linguistic relations and Applicability, to give an overall model for the meaning of fairy in this corpus.

Diagram 6.4.1 is to be thought of as representing the major processes and relationships discussed in the previous pages, summarising both those semantic choices which differentiate texts in the corpus and, regarding these choices as made by an individual writer in production and recognised by an individual reader in

decoding, also the processes which may affect or induce particular meanings for individul users in particular unique situations. The feedback loops represent respectively: from STYLE to Situational Constraint, the fact that a choice of style may subsequently narrow the communicative situation; from ASSOCIATIVE MEANING to cognition, the fact that intellectual processes may be affected by emotive or stylistic pressures; from ASSOCIATIVE MEANING to Particular Communicative Situation the fact that associations may affect an individual's interpretation of the nature of the situation in which he speaks/writes, and that having chosen to communicate a particular situation in a particular way may effectively structure the situation itself.

This latter loop perhaps needs further explication. If, for example, an individual experiences a Rem of a particular kind (that is, he has the subjective experience of perception which may or may not be externally motivated) he may regard it as, let us say, different from some previous experiences, but not abnormal. Subsequently he wishes to narrate that experience. His choice of the narrative mode may well involve him in nominalising and perhaps therefore anthropomorphising an experience which he had not thought of as a creature; furthermore those experiences he has had of a similar nature are such that he can only choose the lexeme ghost to fulfil that narrative function (if, for example, his only relevant experience is derived from reading horror stories). These choices will (a) tend to impose situational constraints such that his narrative tends to become like a "ghost story"; (b) may affect his thoughts on the subject so that no matter what he thought in the first place, he now believes he might have seen a ghost; (c) alter the whole communicative

situation in that what began as a reasonably objective attempt to clarify a slightly unusual experience becomes an emotional tale of how that individual encountered and survived a ghost. Having once made these choices, certain emotive associations of ghost will have accrued to the experience so that his relevant experience includes, as it now seems to him, 'actually' having seen a ghost, and this may be consolidated by subsequent tellings where the same loops continually stratify his experience.

It will be seen that several of the items in Diagram 6.4.1 overlap with those in 5.4.1 though they summarise different discussions. These relationships will be clarified in the final chapter. In addition the key box "Particular Communicative Situation" has received little explanation in this chapter, for this is the province of Denotation and Reference, to be discussed in Chapter 7.

Diagram 6.4.1

1. IF THERE IS ANY PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE FELT TO BE RELEVANT TO THIS PARTICULAR SITUATION AND IT IS EMOTIVELY MARKED LET EV = THE EMOTIVE VALUE.
2. IF EV=0 THEN MAKE SENSE OF THE SITUATION USING AVAILABLE COGNITIVE STRUCTURES OF HUMAN LOGIC.
   2a. IF THIS PROCESS OF MAKING SENSE INVOLVES THE NEED FOR EXPLANATION CHOOSE NARRATIVE STYLE OTHERWISE CHOOSE DESCRIPTIVE.
3. IF PROCESS 2 INVOLVES USING A BELIEF SYSTEM THEN B=1.
4. IF B=1 THEN IF THE AVAILABLE RELEVANT EXPERIENCE ALTERS GO TO PROCESS 1.
5. IF B=1 THEN IF THE BELIEF SYSTEM IS EMOTIVELY MARKED LET EV = THE EMOTIVE VALUE.
6. IF EV IS SO GREAT THAT THE SEMANTIC SYSTEM OF THE LANGUAGE IS OVERRIDEN THEN ALTER THE USER'S KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGE ACCORDINGLY AND SELECT AN ESOTERIC SUBSET OF AVAILABLE SEMANTC GROUPS. CALL THIS SUBSET J AND GO TO PROCESS 8.
7. CHOOSE A SUBSET OF THE AVAILABLE SEMANTIC GROUPS WITH VALUE EV. CALL THIS SUBSET J. CARRY OUT STYLISTIC CHOICES.
8. LET THE ASSOCIATIVE SUBSET AA BE THE INTERSECTION OF THE SUBSET RESULTING FROM THE STYLISTIC CHOICES AND J.
9. IF AA ALTERS THE ORIGINAL PERCEPTION OF THE SITUATION THEN GO TO 1.

Chapter 7: Applicability

7.1 Introduction

Chapters 5 and 6 outline the extent to which Sense relations and Associative meaning contribute to and structure the total meaning of *fairy* in the corpus. Whilst it is clear that both are, in certain texts, crucial determiners of the choice of *fairy* and/or its Cotext, it is also clear that in many cases they are insufficient to count as a full description of the meaning or use of the word. The conclusions to both the preceding two chapters make explicit the interdependence of Sense, Associative meaning and Applicability, particularly the fact that in certain cases the former two are constrained by the latter. This chapter therefore addresses itself to the Applicability of *fairy*. It aims to describe the different forms of Applicability which seem to obtain for the object word and therefore by explicit extension to level (2), for all supernatural names. These are detailed as subcategories of the notions Denotation(1) and Reference(2). As with the previous chapters this is done primarily by detailed examination of significant subsets of the corpus, in order to give some particular answers to question (ii), what does *fairy* mean?

Throughout the period 1300 to 1830 *fairy*, like many other supernatural names, is used characteristically either as if it designated a real Object, i.e. it is given putative Applicability, or it is used by writers who believe it Denotes a real Object, i.e. for a certain set of users it has actual Applicability. There would seem to be no variations in the semantics of *fairy* which correlate with these differing attitudes to the lexeme's Applicability. For example *fairy*

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(1) Discussed above, section 2.3.3.
(2) Section 2.3.2.

is used as if it Denotes an animate being both by those who believe in such beings and by those who do not. In other words one of the premisses built into the English language structure is that the relationship between this lexeme and the real world can be regarded by users as generally constant, independent of human attitudes to it.

This constancy, the naive belief that "words name things" has two important aspects which suggest that Applicability should in many cases be regarded as prior to and determiner of Sense relations and Associative meaning. In the first place, as Szalay and Deese have shown(1), it is impossible to separate attitudes from meanings. In any particular Referring situation selection of Referents and the manner of Reference depends on attitudes. Such attitudes may be encoded in suprasegmental features of utterance, or by devices of topicalisation, but are also encoded in actual choice of tokens of lexemes with appropriate Denotation. No-one chooses to use a word whose meaning is inappropriate, and appropriateness is obviously a function of user attitudes. In other words, how you feel about a situation determines not only what you say about it (including Reference) but also which words you choose to do that saying (i.e. which Denotation you look for). It may be therefore that the Denotation of a particular word is not simply a class of Entities, but also contains attitudinal markers of appropriateness.

In the second place, many lexical relations which can be described as Sense relations can be better regarded as ontological relations, given a certain view of the world (such as the world view proposed by the physical sciences). For example, the

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(1) Szalay and Deese (1978).

relationship of small to large can be regarded as a simple Sense relation, coded as +/- SIZE. However it is clear that the world is made up of small things and large things, and that +/- SIZE is not an abstract semantic or psychological category, but a fundamental truth about the real world and how it constrains our perception.

The implication of this is profound. If we want a full description of the semantics of fairy we need to describe the structures of human knowledge or the structures of the real world, or both. The implicit purpose of a study such as this is to discover something about these structures. However such description would be beyond the bounds of any single study, and must remain implicit. This chapter thus attempts to characterise the features of knowledge and the world most pertinent to understanding the meaning of fairy and to do so primarily by describing the relations of word to world rather than the world itself. It is concerned therefore with question (a) and is treating this question as fundamental to the whole topic, from level (1) through to level (4).

Six major categories of Applicability can be identified, three subcategories each of the two relations Denotation and Reference. Under Denotation we can identify:

> D1.(1) The social creation of putative Objects by intensional definition (i.e. listing of features) which are called fairy. Such putative Objects are thus Items or Sets of Items regarded as Objects but with no real independent

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(1) The forms <D1> etc. are used to refer to the six types of Applicability throughout this chapter.

existence. This facility of language which allows the creation of putative Objects is one of the mechanisms for the generation of social difference, for different social groups will accept or reject such socially created meanings as Objects and thus establish different belief systems. In fact belief in a particular Entity, such as a ghost, the generation of such an Object (i.e. identification of an Item regarded as independently real) and the linguistic mechanisms associated with such belief and generation are not independent but simultaneous social processes.

D2. Certain Objects may be identified as possessing supernatural connotations for a particular social group. Thus a stone may normally be Denoted by the lexeme stone , but the same Object may be regarded by some people as containing the additional Item "supernatural" and may therefore be Denoted by the appellation fairy . This seems to be the case for many of the Objects listed in Table 7.1.b.

D3. Denoted Entities are related to one another in a systematic manner, as if manifesting Sense relations, where those relations are objective rather than linguistic or are conceptual relations belonging to a particular semiotic, a particular knowledge structure (which can be called in this case the semiotic of the supernatural) rather than the full semantic code of the langue .

The three key types of Reference are:

R1. Reference to idiosyncratic Entities, i.e. Entities which

are Referred to only by one user or only on one occasion. These can thus be regarded as Objects which only exist from the viewpoint of a particular person. For example an acquaintance of mine maintains that every human being has his/her own "messenger" and his/her own "gatekeeper", in a mystical or spiritual sense. Each messenger and gatekeeper will only be known and recognised by the particular human being concerned and thus exist only for that individual.

Such idiosyncratic Reference will largely have been excluded from the present study by virtue of the analytical method employed. As with Emotive meaning by definition it would be impossible for an idiosyncratic Object to be manifest to another person. However in the discussion of Reference which follows the reader must bear in mind the fact that Objects of a similar kind may be manifested idiosyncratically in unique situations. Thus, to extend the above example, a particular messenger or gatekeeper cannot be talked about but "messengers" and "gatekeepers" in general (insofar as they share similar Items) can be.

The language used to describe such a spiritual Entity will thus depend very much on point of view. The phrase idosyncratic Object allows the possibility that there may be Entities which are only perceived by a particular individual. His/her spiritual messenger is an Object for a particular person and may therefore be real in some non-physical interpretation of the universe (and consequently not one that Ayer would accept). Under a more sceptical or physical description of the universe the

possibility of an Object existing only for one perceiver would be nonsense; the perception would be regarded either as mistaken or else subjective, hence a Rem. From the point of view of others hearing someone's description of his/her spiritual gatekeeper, it will be an Item or Set of Items, a construct of semantic features (Sense relations and Associations) which do exist but which has no substantial existence of its own. Thus discussion of situations in which Reference is made to a supernatural phenomenon will predominantly be discussion of Items, being generalisation about constructs which are more or less dependent on unique situations. Even if we regard the possibility of someone seeing a fairy as nil, we must allow that someone who says I saw a fairy must have had a particular experience unless he/she is lying. Here is one of the problems with Ayer's argument(1). The sensory data relevant to determining the truth or falsehood of a particular statement are not available for scrutiny in such a case. Only interpretations are available.

R2. The second kind of Reference is within the corpus indistinguishable from Denotation, as it occurs in a situation in which Reference is made to a particular Object which is a member of a group Denoted by the lexeme fairy . Thus the nominal group the fairy ring Denotes within the corpus a certain class of identifiable phenomena with certain identifiable features. However on some occasions of

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(1) See above pp.6-8.

use a phenomenon is Referred to which is not within that Class and does not possess those features, as for example Blake's Reference to the marriage ring'[1], which though possessing features associated with the Denotatum of fairy ring does not possess the exclusve distinguishing features of that Denotatum. In other words this is Reference to a particular Object similar to but not identical with that Denoted by the name.

R3 . The third kind of Reference is Reference to Objects which occur in situations which have emotive connotations for the Referring user. In these cases it is not the Referent which is supernatural per se, rather it is regarded as supernatural by virtue of the situation in which it is found. Such Objects will tend not to be Denoted by the supernatural name but, if found frequently, to be regarded as characteristic of special situations. Those situations are either themselves Denoted by a supernatural name or are emotionally coloured in a way which leads to supernatural appellation. Description of a situation or event as supernatural often involves attribution of that situation/event to a supernatural cause or Object and/or identifying an Entity present in the situation or normally associated with the event as also supernatural, and is this attribution or identification which makes the situation special, i.e it is the human act rather than the inherent reality which is the producer of the 'specialness'.

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(1) 1793/07.

These six aspects of Applicability are summarised in Diagram 7.1.a and each is explored at length in the remainder of the chapter. As in the previous two chapters no attempt is made at a comprehensive description of all the particular Denotations or References which are found in the corpus but rather each significant aspect is illustrated by an example which is either typical of the corpus or important in the context of general discussion of the semantics of supernatural names, at levels (1) and (2). However in order that an overview of the Objects typically called fairy can be obtained, Table 7.1.b lists the lexemes and Groups identified in the corpus which most frequently appear to be regarded in the texts as real Objects.

Table 7.1.a: Applicability

Tokens of the lexeme fairy may be used of the world where any of the following possible relations hold:

D1. The lexeme Denotes a socially created Object.

D2. The lexeme Denotes a class of real physical Objects.

D3. The lexeme Denotes a relation between two real Objects.

R1. The token Refers to an Object real to an individual, an Idiosyncratic Object.

R2. The token Refers to an Object listed in the extension of the Denotation of the lexeme.

R3. The token Refers to an Object having an emotive effect on the speaker/writer.

Table 7.1.b: Objects for which Fairy is Frequently Used

Parent
Child
Ring, Circle
Wand, Staff
Dance
Creature, Being, Man, Woman
Place, Country, Realm
Building, Castle
Hill, Mountain
Stone
Water, Lake, Spring, Well
Vegetation, Wood, Flower, Meadow, Field
Bed, Cradle

7.2 D1: Fairy as a putative object

As Denotation is a social process the Objects created by it are presumably intended to have a social function. Thus many supernatural names are used to Denote fictional Objects for use in situations where social relations need clarifying or are the subject of discourse for some other reason. Several kinds of social relation are constituted by virtue of ultimate supernatural action. Thus supernatural names figure frequently in social control(1). For example a child may be told that if it does not behave the fairies will take it or punish or pinch it(2). Similarly aetiological explanation of socially significant phenomena may often be made with reference to the supernatural, particularly if those phenomena would otherwise appear inexplicable or unmotivated(3).

For example one semantic Group Denoting a social relationship which is prominent in the corpus is PARENT (12214). The idea of a supernatural parent is a prevalent one in Western Europe. Legendary heroes and real families, such as Arthur, Christ and the Lusignan family, have often been ascribed supernatural ancestry(4). Such ascription appears to have two main functions. It explains or accounts for what are seen as the extraordinary or unnatural qualities of specific human beings, and it gives otherworld sanction to the rights and behaviour of individual families in a manner parallel to that by which supernatural sanction is credited to certain social groups such as the priesthood or the court. Thus a case such as the

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(1) See Widdowson (1973), (1977).
(2) See above pp.307-12.
(3) An excellent account of the aetiology of the supernatural is Kirk (1971).
(4) Raglan's analysis of hero legends includes as feature five supernatural birth. Raglan (1949) p.178.

divine fatherhood of Christ or, somewhat differently, Athene's ratification of the Areopagus[1], within the relevant culture allows a literal interpretation of the powers of specified human beings as manifestations of 'true' or 'real' cosmic order. Every action of Christ can be interpreted by Christians as the will of God working on earth. The human members of the Areopagus are representative of cosmic justice for Athenians. Whereas from the point of view of a sceptical observer external to the culture the supernatural ratification appears as a metaphor for the absolute nature of the power allowed to specific human agents of culture. Such ratification can be seen both as aetiological, accounting for a particular contemporary human institution or individual's behaviour, and as placing that institution on an unassailable foundation, the acts of supernatural agents being (presumably) beyond human comprehension. Many cultures in attempting to give themselves a firm institutional basis trace their origins to supernatural fiat. One can instance the attempts of the Tudors to establish an unbroken line of descent from Arthur and Brutus, as an example of real politics depending on legendary/supernatural precedent.

Thus Christ's supernatural father, Athene as arbiter of the Areopagus, and Arthur as ancestor of Henry VII are putative Objects, created and given a supernatural name to ratify a particular social structure. The items which are essential to the composition of such objects are (a) those compatible with the social purpose (Athene must be just, Arthur a legitimate and effective king); (b) those dependent

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(1) In Aeschylus' Oresteia. Aeschylus (1973) The Eumenides

on (a), such as powerful or attractive physical presence, features which may be ontologically, semantically or culturally dependent on (a); (c) additional features which place (a) and (b) in a fuller or more credible context, thus complete cycles of legends may arise or be modified to account for, explain and rationalise the existence of the created Object. Alternatively, but achieving the same social purpose, if a fictional Object possessing suitable features in (b) and (c) is already available this may be adopted for the specific purpose, and the features necessary under (a) attributed to it. This was the case with Henry Tudor's political use of the pre-existing myth of Arthur.

However in some cases the supernatural origin is not suggested within the context of legitimising a cultural world view, as, for example, in the founding of the house of Lusignan by the semi-supernatural Melusine(1). In those cases in which we may be inclined to regard the story as a degenerate version of an earlier supernatural ratification within an earlier culture but now no more than a story. The tale is thus likely to be criticised by the prevalent cultural world view as mistaken or even harmful, to the degree that the present culture is intolerant of alien cultures. Thus from the viewpoint of Medieval Christianity any supernatural honour conferred on a human being which is not explicitly orientated toward God, will tend to be called evil . Thus the Christian version of the tale of supernatural parenthood is Robert the Devil, and Robert is explicitly and implicitly criticised for the powers and actions resulting from his supernatural parent.

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(1) 1500/01. For accounts of the Melusine tale see Hartland (1913); Briggs (1976) s.v.

In one version of the birth of Merlin[1] his conception is described as originating in a plot by devils to create an evil version of Christ, which expresses the hostility felt by Christianity toward the notion of supernatural parenthood, as it is taken as mockery of the Christ as Son of God. Subsequently however Merlin's character as hero and good man, needs to be accounted for, together with his support of the good Christian king Arthur, and this is achieved within a Christian context by regarding his Christian mother as so virtuous that she overcame the evil of the devilish parent[2]. Thus a Christian author is very cleverly able to transform a tale whose ethos is pagan into one which actually demonstrates the power of Christian virtue. Here therefore a supernatural Item (the fairy or divine or devilish parent) has been created to ratify or support a particular cultural world view but that world view has been criticised by a subsequent culture and thus the conception, the description and the nature of the Item have been altered accordingly.

The fictions of supernatural parenthood generally are used to account for or justify differences. As has already been noted, differences are noticed, and extreme differences tend to be regarded as supernatural. In many cases lexemes such as unusual or strange are used to mean "very different from anything previously known". Thus if a human being is reported as having a supernatural parent (and, it should be noted, that for the child to be regarded as human only one parent may be

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(1) For a summary see Ellis (1848) p.77.
(2) This is a further example of the tendency for narratives to create heroes by pitting them against supernatural (extreme) opponents.

supernatural[1]) it is almost always the case that the child will be identified with the supernatural parent rather than the human one as a means of accounting for difference between the child and a normal, ordinary child. In many cases it would appear that the human parent is merely a vehicle by which the supernatural may propagate itself.[2]

Degare, for example, spends his life searching for his father; Melusine takes her children with her when she disappears. Certainly there is little point, from a narrative point of view, in introducing the fact of supernatural parenthood merely to neglect it. It must have some purpose either explanatory, such as accounting for some abnormality[3], or narrative, creating a motivation for the semi-supernatural offspring, or perhaps simply characterising the protagonist as a hero or man of a particular sort, as in 1628/01/008: For the childe must needes be fortunate that had so noble a father as a fayry was, and should worke many strange wonders .

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(1) Although such a rule could be stretched e.g. Dunbar's Of Sir Thomas Norray (1508/01).

Now lythis off ane getill knycht,
Schir Thomas Norny, wys and wycht,
And full off chevelry;
Quhais father was ane giand keyne,
His mother was ane Farie Queyne,
Gottin be sossery.

The process of comprehension here must be quite complex. The knight is a real man, thus we may understand giand, farie and sossery as images, not literal; but he may be credited with real supernatural power and/or real supernatural origin, hence one or both of giand and farie would be literal; but if both are literal he cannot be human, thus giand may simultaneously mean "a real, very tall man" as well as "a supernatural creature". The various tensions can be reconciled in that the normal laws of procreation do not apply anyway, for he was gottin be sossery. Presumably magic can produce human offspring from supernatural parents.

(2) This is confirmed to some extent by the occasional report that fairies steal humans to improve their stock.

(3) Melusine's children were all peculiar in some fashion. One could interpret this motif as a version of the superatural origin of disease.

A somewhat peculiar example, illustrating the tendency for real heroes and the supernatural to be linked by ancestry, but an inverted form of the usual relationship, occurs in 1530/01/035, Iulius Cesar, father to the noble Kyng Oberon , in which the hero is made the ancestor of the fairy king. Here the created Item is the descendant not the ancestor and the real hero is being used to lend credibility and substance to this fiction rather than the other way around. However it is probably not the case that the audience would in this instance know much of the real history of Julius Caesar. The name is being used as that of a legendary hero rather than a real man, as with Arthur in the romance cycles or Alexander in similar romances. Julius Caesar probably thus appears as a semi-supernatural parent, his name possessing the exoticism characteristic of 1530/01, Huon of Bourdeaux.

Thus Iulius Cesar also denotes a created Item in this context, but as this is perhaps a unique case it may be better to regard it not as Denotation but a unique act of Reference (i.e. R1) in which the expression is used to Refer not to a historical individual but a semi-legendary semi-supernatural version of that individual.

In addition to supernatural parents other forms of socially created Items Denoted by fairy include certain actions, such as appearance and disappearance and the moving of physical Entities; complete supernatural agents inferred from metonymic expressions; entities which manifest human preoccupations or psychological universals, such as concern with love, birth and death, the notion of fate, the sexual and social nature of dancing; and various agents or causers figuring in mechanisms of social control or of explanation, as in 1677/03/004:

> Ther is Mab, the mistress fairy
> That doth nightly rob the dairy;
> And can hurt or help the churning
> As she please without discerning,
> She that pinches country wenches
> If they rub not clean their benches;
> And with sharper nails remembers
> When they rake not up their embers.

Such mechanisms play a substantial part in the concept of the supernatural parent, as discussed above. However much use of supernatural names, particularly with reference to nature, seems to derive not from individual mechanisms of control or explanation but from wider formulae of perception, conception and expression which suggest that attribution of causes, inference of reality and creation of Objects are inherent in normal modes of expression. The remainder of section 7.2 explores these three aspects of socially created Objects, namely the concern with actions/events, the bias of the human psyche and the forms of conception inherent in normal modes of expression.

These are three determinants of Denotation which do not operate independently. Thus one characteristic supernatural action is that of abrupt appearance or disappearance, but that action is inseparable from the wider notion of physical, sensory appearance. This notion is thus a crucial one in the Denotation of fairy. It forms part of a complex of associations between CHANGE (22), DECEIT (223) and

LOSE (2312) which relates to both its aspects, that of quality (Item) and that of change of quality. The first aspect is appearance in the sense of "visible quality, aspect" etc.; the second is appearance as opposed to disappearance .

Clearly the two senses imply each other insofar as anything which appears in the second sense must necessarily have some form of appearance in the first sense and anything which has an appearance in that first sense must initially have appeared (i.e. be susceptible to sensory perception). Visual aspect (sensory feature) has been associated with impermanence, falseness, deception and delusion since the Middle Ages. The physical world discernible by the senses was held to be illusory, in that it was unreal; delusory, in that it persuaded men to believe that it was real; and deceitful, in that it concealed the true underlying reality and caused men to adopt worthless values. For this medieval notion the most commonly used word was vanyte, the concept derviving from the biblical vanitatis vanitatem , but a word occasionally used with the same meaning was fairy. In 1390/02/003 this worldes faierie, 1390/03/001 þis world, al wei i-wis/ hit nis but fantum and feiri and 1450/01/001 this word [sic] lordynges, is but a farye it seems to be used in a similar way to vanite and thus is felt to be equivalent in meaning; in 1330/01/001 þat þou herdest is fairie and more clearly in 1426/01/001 wher yt be trouth or fayrye the Denotation appears to be "lie"; and in some or all of 1362/01/001 me bifel a ferly a feyrie me þoughte, 1420/01/002 like a fairy a merueillous ymage, 1460/01/001 þys ys a fayry, or ellys a vanyte , 1460/03/001 wyth fantasme and fayrye þus sche blerede hys yze and in perhaps other cases (including those in which its meaning is equivalent to vanyte) it seems to mean "illusion".

The reasoning behind this early use of fairy may be intuitively clear, but it is not easily demonstrated to be logical. One can demonstrate firstly that the notion of worldly vanity was a pervasive biblical notion which found particular acceptance in the Middle Ages; secondly that, as worldly show and its associated pleasures were illusory and distracted from the worship of God, they were attributed to the anti-god figure of the Devil; thirdly since all supernatural beings in pagan belief systems were identified with the Devil by Christian theology they also were responsible for the deceits of the world; fourthly, that in the romances supernatural beings, particularly females, were associated with feats of magic, therefore devilish, with pleasure and sex, therefore worldy deceit, and with lands resplendent in sensory richness(1); fifthly, some of the magical performances of such beings were illusions or were believed to be so; lastly if the typical supernatural woman of romance is 'a fay', there appears to be a direct identification of supernatural beauty, unchristian pleasure and the word fairy, as in the beaute faye upon her face (1390/02/007). Thus a complex of associations was early woven together based on the premisses: the sensory is illusory and is evil; the supernatural is responsible for the sensory world. This could be summarised by using one word or phrase which Referred to the supernatural to characterise illusion, many of such phrases still being familiar cliches such as the snares of the devil, the lies of Satan. Fairy seems to have been used in this role.

(1) Although descriptions of fairyland can hardly be said to differ in detail from descriptions of Eden and Paradise, the same sensory effloresence in the latter two environments was allowed as expressive of a certain reality, harmony and underlying goodness, rather than simply pleasure itself. Probably to many minds the distinction would not be clear. See Patch (1950).

One can see, furthermore, a form of psychological aptness in the identification of the two senses of appearance with the supernatural. Not only is physical appearance responsible for the human sensations and impulses which were deplored in the Middle Ages(1), but those impulses often 'appeared' abruptly, 'out of nowhere' without apparent reason or prompting. Part of the reason for regarding sensory desire as wicked is its irrational nature - the fact that it often seems to occur arbitrarily and, when it does, the impulse may be so strong as to occlude all reason and overcome rational restraint. In other words the strength and abruptness of sensory desire can occur without warning and it entails a sudden awareness of particular physical features. Lust, of whatever nature, is directed towards a particular physical Object, and the apparent power of that Object is a function of the strength of the desire. Thus Objects, physical appearance, can be seen as inculcating arbitrary, irrational violent urges which, because of the suddenness of the impulse and the rapid explosion of awareness, is very much like the sudden appearance of a previously unknown Object before the eyes of the observer. What is objectively a rapid change in a man may subjectively appear to him to be a rapid change in his environment.

Thus one can regard supernatural beings of this type not merely as expressions of a consciously worked theological attitude to the physical world and the desires it promulgates, but perhaps also to a more permanent psychological rationale. The physical Objects which stimulate such dispositions may thus be regarded as created rather than objective to that extent. For if it is true that some human impulses at least occur spontaneously and unexpectedly they may appear

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(1) For example not only are some of the seven deadly sins sins of sensual appetite but also they are frequently portrayed in gross sensual detail.

mysterious to the individual concerned and may feel like an 'unknown power' impelling him to an action he would not otherwise commit.

Such an argument certainly fits with the account of the Groups LOVE (25211), BIRTH (31222) and DEATH (31223) given in the previous chapter. It may also have a degree of validity in accounting for the connection between the supernatural and the possible delusory phenomena of abnormal psychological states (whether psychotic or diseased)(1) and such temporary states as being drunk or drugged. Indeed one feature of the hallucinations associated with some of these states is that they do not occur ex nihilo, but are dependent on a transformation of the environment, a modification of the appearance which actually exists.

Thus the Group APPEARANCE can be treated either as expressive of mediaeval Christian doctrine or of subjective psychological experience (i.e. although the Entity is permanent its Rem is abruptly manifest), but it may of course be no more than a Stylistic device, a simple expression of descriptive focussing, by which a description may make explicit the fact that it is an account of a physical detail by using the lexeme appearance . This rather obvious use does not occur in the corpus.

Besides the relations noted above, appearance and disappearance by virtue of their abruptness have close relations with the notion of rapidity of movement which is frequently noted of fairy, several texts emphasising the suddenness of the appearance(2). This can be regarded as a semi-rational explanation for the abrupt

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(1) See for example Ward (1977).
(2) 1597/01/004 suddainely ; 1807/01/001 at that instant. See also Nutt (1897) p.33; Brown (1952-64); MacNeil (1977) p.101.

appearances, implying that fairies are not invisible, nor able to appear in places at will out of nowhere, but that they do in fact move like human beings[1], they simply move too fast for us to see them. An extension of this is that just as incomplete perceptions lead us to use the ambiguous/vague/generic lexeme thing with a special sense meaning "supernatural phenomenon" so our inability fully to perceive, or to comprehend, the nature of or cause behind a rapidly moving or abruptly appearing/disappearing phenomenon leads us to use appear with a special supernatural sense, in the derived form apparition , which occurs six times in the corpus with the meaning "supernatural phenomenon". Just as thing means "a special kind of object, a phenomenon emotively marked" so apparition means "a special kind of appearance"; the difference between the two, if there is such a difference, does not seem to be large. Both in implying incomplete perception and comprehension suggest uncertainty, puzzlement, bewilderment and also unusualness (a premiss of common sense being that ordinary things are comprehensible, this being captured in the dual meaning of familiar), hence awe, fright, fear. These could be regarded as fundamental elements of supernatural experience, that if an experience cannot be fully comprehended (by which is meant 'satisfactorily comprehended; as completely understood as the observer desires' rather than 'totally understood in all its aspects') then it appears (n.b.) unusual. To the extent that such unusualness provokes an emotional response in the observer, that experience will be thought of as supernatural.

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(1) One can see here once more the tendency to regard rational as meaning "what human beings do".

The actions of appearing and disappearing can thus be seen as creations (putative actions) derived from psychological orientation. Other actions regarded as fairy can be similarly described. The lexemes come, go, take and bring which all figure prominently in the corpus are closely related to appear/disappear. In some uses, come seems to be used synonymously with appear, e.g. 1721/01/033 the desart-fairy comes and takes you away , 1815/03/010 the fairies will come at midnight. Similarly Objects which are not usually regarded as animate may be spoken of as brought or taken (i.e. motivated by some external cause) rather than appearing or disappearing, (i. e. self-motivating). In some cases however the Object does not disappear, but only moves, or movement is inferred by virtue of apparent change in the Object, as with changelings, where a human child is thought of as having been exchanged for a different, unusual child called fairy because the original human child has become different. In general fairy is held responsible for taking Objects more often than for bringing them, though either or both may be involved in accounts of a changed Object. For example the tooth-fairy may primarily be regarded as taking the tooth, or as leaving money, or as substituting one for the other(1). Here the change, creating a new Object (a supernatural one) in terms of a changed ordinary Object, may be explained aetiologically or sociologically rather than psychologically, being regarded either as an explanation of the mislaying and recovery of lost items, or as a form of social control directed against behaviour likely to cause such loss.

In all such cases supernatural action is regarded as purposive. Special Objects are regarded as the product of supernatural action

(1) See Brown (1952-1964) VI no 387; Widdowson (1977) p.125.

directed towards such production. The key concepts are thus those of CHANGE (change of state, position or nature) and CAUSE or PURPOSE. These are most frequently manifest in the notion of supernatural LABOUR and USE of Objects. Supernatural interaction with Objects is seldom described as accidental. Since the supernatural as a concept exists to give purpose to apparently inexplicable or causeless Entities (or experiences) it would be self-defeating to describe the activities of a supernatural being as purposeless. Thus any postulated interaction between a supernatural being and an Object must operate within the thesis of a purposive interaction, a use of the Object by the agent or, in some cases the narrower interaction of making the Object (by which the Object is interpreted not as the instrument of use but the end of use, the product of fairy action).

Thus an unusual stone is every night made use on by the fairies(1726/01/016) as a steed because it is shaped like a saddle. Also, insofar as the actions of such uses were beneficial to man, the beings could be said to be useful, as in 1826/01/005 a sort of domestic fairies...were extremely useful, performing all sorts of domestic drudgery. Thus the notion also extends to that of fairy labour, usually encoding HELP (232), by which the supernatural use of Objects has the direct or indirect end of helping a human. Work is often employed synonymously with use , besides also meaning the product of such use, the work resulting from working at it. Here though the distinction between using and making becomes clouded as one may well be working with a tool (= using an Object) to make something. A formal definition such as "making is use whose end is a product" is of little help (1).

(1) Words are the 'Objects' used in 1696/01/004, 1729/02/003.

When an Object is said to be used by the supernatural it may be either employed in its normal human use, or it may be used in a peculiar manner which men would not normally employ. In the latter case the unusual use itself may be sufficient to differentiate the Object, to mark it as "associated with the supernatural"(1), in the former the use will either have some noticeable physical effect on the Object (e.g. an aetiology will point to observed features as analogical with the effects of the equivalent human activity) or will have been extreme in one way or another, such as use which is rapid or elaborate, and in many cases both of these. For example horses which are found lathered and exhausted in the morning may be said to have been borrowed and ridden into a sweat by the fairies - such riding being extreme by human standards and producing noticeable and unusual effects(2).

Here then supernatural Objects are created from ordinary Objects in special circumstances, although one may equally regard it as an ordinary Object with a special connotation. That is to say, the difference between specially created Objects called supernatural and ordinary Objects with an additional feature "supernatural" is in some cases impossible to make. However in the majority of cases where a given event or Item is felt to require explanation the imputed cause is a fictional Object. This is particularly true of natural phenomena, where the most satisfactory account would appear to be a weakened version of the notion of animism.

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(1) In which case such Objects properly belong to the category D.2 discussed in section 7.3.
(2) E.g. Harland and Wilkinson (1973) p.53.

7.2.2 Objects and Animism

Such a weak version of the notion maintains that animism is not necessarily a primitive mode of thought as such, but is basic to all thinking and underlies much of language structure and expressive form. One could interpret the basic sentence structures NP + VP, or actor + action, as essentially animistic insofar as they separate a motivator from its motion, a thing from what it does, an actor from its actions. In actuality the apprehension of any act is simultaneous with the apprehension of the actor. It is impossible to define a verb without ultimate reference to an Object undergoing a process, in a state of change. Yet sequential thought necessarily must analyse experience, for signs cannot encode all experience simultaneously. It is normal in English for the analysis to consist of a primary division into actor and action, or subject and predicate, or NP + VP, i.e. an Entity and the process it undergoes or instigates. In other words the essence of animism, that an effect has not only a cause but a causer, is fundamental to language structure. The wind blew the house down or the charged particle attracted an electron are as animistic as the Nile brings life or Jenny Greenteeth will get you . In cutting up the continuum of experience into meaningful units (i.e. in assigning meaning to experience) men necessarily write in the notion "causer + consequence".

Given this basic formula, CAUSER + CONSEQUENCE, one can characterise the difference between scientific or objective expression and superstitious or subjective expression as essentially identical but differing to the extent that the attachment of a specific CAUSER to any particular CONSEQUENCE is validated by experience. The more experience seems to reinforce a particular attachment, the more scientific it is. The more experience contradicts a particular attachment, the more superstitious it is. In linguistic terms this

means that if a lexemic subject A is used to Refer to a phenomenon 'a', and a lexemic predicate B is used to Refer to phenomenon 'b' then the collocation A + B is an objective statement to the extent that phenomenon 'a' and phenomenon 'b' invariably co-occur. Thus the statements witches cause disease and germs cause disease are both animistic statements. Disease is conceived of as the action or expression of a particular agent. But germs do not cause diseases. They have no intent to injur. They have no concept of ease or dis-ease. Disease is a lexeme used to describe a certain phenomenon. Germ is another. The invariable association of these phenomena means that the statement germs cause disease is objective within the conception of reality that English encodes. Witches cause disease is subjective or unscientific not because witches do not cause diseases but because there have been few occasions when the phenomenon Referred to by witch and that Referred to by disease have co-occurred, and those occurrences have been much fewer than the co-occurrence of the phenomena referred to by germ and disease. According to observation every occurrence of the Denotation for disease is associated with the Denotation for germ, but every occurrence of the Denotation for disease is not associated wih the Denotation for witch. The explanatory powers of both expressions are equal. Their actual usefulness in concrete situations differs according to the relative frequency of the association of the phenomena they are used to Refer to.

In principle therefore any lexeme may encode CAUSER and any other lexeme may encode CONSEQUENCE and the conjunction of these two lexemes may be regarded as an abstract hypothesis if its truth is regarded as indeterminate or a belief if it is regarded as true. In practice the

lexeme or definite description encoding CONSEQUENCE is almost invariably used to Refer to a Rem, and the lexeme encoding CAUSER is usd to Refer to a Rem associated on some occasions with the first Rem in experience. Thus bees make honey is a hypothesis or belief about a Rem Referred to by honey in terms of a further Rem frequently associated with it. Thus the process of hypothesising is essentially one of causal association. Given an effect one looks for something associated with that effect which can be Referred to by a lexeme which legitimately (i.e. within the language system) encodes CAUSER.

Animism at this rather basic level thus offers a means of forming hypotheses about the world which can be tested by further experience, a means of conceptualising relations which may or may not exist in reality, under which any phenomenon which as a Rem may be Referred to by a lexeme which can encode CAUSER may be regarded as agentive. The fact that such connections were made linguistically neither entails that they are believed nor acted upon. However in general the difference between a hypothesis and a belief is that the former is not acted upon until tested, i.e. until some corroboratory information is available, whereas the latter will be acted upon without testing and, if accepted as true, may be held so strongly that any disconfirming evidence may be ignored, contradicted or distorted in order to maintain the belief. This is particularly true of beliefs well established in tradition where all members of a social group and all previous action consequent upon that belief (precedent) will tend to reinforce the belief in the mind if any member of that group.

Such untested hypotheses will thus tend to be held of Rem for which no testable hypothesis is available, i.e. inexplicable phenomena, particularly if they have a frequent or extensive effect

upon the believer. Birth, sexual attraction and death have been discussed from this point of view(1), but other natural phenomena may equally be sources or objects of such belief. Any naturally occurring Rem may be regarded as a CONSEQUENCE requiring a CAUSE, and most will attract an hypothesis or set of hypotheses. Two factors will serve to multiply or initially require such hypotheses, namely unusualness and importance. The more unusual a phenomenon is, the more likely is it that some form of explanation will be felt to be required. The more important a phenomenon is in the lives of a group (and importance must here take into account cultural and psychological as well as physical features) the more likely such explanation will be felt to be necessary. "Importance" may also imply a certain frequency of occurrence, and a certain familiarity with the phenomenon. Consequently one finds that a large amount of oral tradition is heuristic in function. Giving information is one of the prime purposes of language, and it is one of the most important in tradition, particularly with reference to the supernatural. Dites concerning natural phenomena, particularly the weather, which explain the observed Rem in terms of an untestable hypothesis of the form CAUSER + (observed) CONSEQUENCE are common, such as Rain is the angels weeping (2).

Many folk narratives, particularly legends, are either primarily concerned with aetiology or have an aetiological tag or a number of aetiological asides within them(3). The basic structure of magic

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(1) See above, section 6.3.
(2) Note here that the structure CAUSER + CONSEQUENCE may be reordered linguistically, i.e. it is capable of transformation.
(3) See Kirk (1971).

whether from the point of view of an observed effect ascribed to a supernatural cause, or from the point of view of a sorcerer wishing to have unperceivable effect, is based upon the CAUSER + CONSEQUENCE structure, reinforced by occasional association of some feature in the Rem of CAUSER and CONSEQUENCE (i.e. sympathetic magic). It is hardly surprising therefore that fairy should be used in this formula.

The usual type of phenomena which seems to require a linguistic hypothesis is that of change, particularly change of state or situation. In terms of the theory discussed above such a change exists when two Rem (observational experiences) diachronically connected possess some common features but also some features of difference such that the new features replace the old, i.e. what has stayed the same in one respect has not done so in another. Where this has occurred amd the observer does not regard himself as responsible for the change then an agentive hypothesis is normally suggested and if the hypothesis is of a form commonly accepted by the cultural group to which the observer belongs, i.e. if it can be mapped onto a particular belief system, the hypothesis may be regarded as true (i.e. be believed) immediately it is made because beliefs (untested but accepted hypotheses) are regarded as evidence equally with Rem. Thus phenomena as different as floods, the giving of presents at Christmas, the exchanging of a tooth for sixpence, the death of a loved one and the disappearance of a tool insofar as they all involve a change of state will require an explanatory hypothesis, particularly if an observer is witness not to the whole process but only to the initial and final states.

In some cases it becomes possible for an observer to be aware of the continuous process between two apparently dissimilar states, in

which case the hypothesis will be tested against the events observed. Thus children will learn that the tooth-fairy and Father Christmas are not agents of the specific changes they believed them to be, by understanding the correct process and the true agent.

But in many cases, particularly cases concerning natural phenomena changes occur the interim stages of which are unobservable, such as the falling of rain upon a catchment area, followed by its collection and redistribution as a flood, or the electrical phenomena manifested as thunder and lightning, and in these cases in the absence of relevant data no hypothesis could be adequately tested consequently all are equivalent initially, but those will be accepted as better which best conform to the type of hypothesis 'proved' (i.e. accepted) to be correct for other phenomena.

Thus, to return to animism, statements concerning the will or behaviour of tree spirits, water spirits, mountain gods etc. are not truly dualistic. Animism no more implies dualism than does the belief in mind. Statements of the form A is in B or X is of Y do not necessarily imply that A can be outside B nor that X is separable from Y. They are ways of conceptualising those aspects of a particular phenomenon (a tree, stream or mountain) which can be regarded as agentive but they are aspects of the phenomenon not separable from it. The statement If you go to the pond Jenny Greenteeth will get you does not necessarily imply that there is a creature called Jenny Greenteeth who will rise out of the pond, catch hold of the child and drag him or her in, but it does imply that there is an aspect to the pond by which such a consequence could come about; it can 'get' people; it is dangerous. The statement The fairies of the woods led him home does not necessarily mean that actual creatures living in

trees took the wanderer home, but that he was able to find his way in an unrestricted manner.

Such statements are linguistic devices which turn a passive statement into a descriptive process. To say "The pond is dangerous" may be a statement of fact, but it suggests that it is static, that danger is merely a quality inherent in an Object. A more effective statement would be one that points out that danger does not inhere in Objects, but in the way people employ or act regarding Objects. The quality of danger does not inhere in the pond, but danger is a quality involved in the actions of someone near a pond. Danger involves an active human relationship between a man (or child) and an Object, and one way to conceptualise the active, behaviour dependent nature of danger is to 'animate' the pond. If a child drowns the true 'causer' of his death is he himself, for instigating events which culminate in the death. It is sometimes difficult and usually time consuming to offer a child a full explanation of the potential consequences of his behaviour and often a young child may not understand. The animistic explanation is brief, conveys all the necessary information and, furthermore, is more immediate to the child's experience, for the child seems to be happier with animistic, agentive accounts of events than more impersonal, cause and effect continual explanations.

From a certain point of view it seems intuitively more satisfying to regard phenomena as purposeful, by analogy with an individual's own purposes, than purposeless, as implied by scientific rationalism, and this appears to be the main rationale underlying the creation of fictional Denotata. Such putative Objects are thus primarily created for explanation of some kind, though the reasons for and nature of such explanation may range from social control to the preservation of

individual sanity.

Even in the primarily literary texts of this corpus agentive or animistic structures predominate as 'natural', narrative accounts of impossible, incredible or unusual changes. The underlying use of fairy where it has essentially a fictional Denotation, can be represented as:

CAUSER OF (observed, inexplicable) CHANGE

and encoded most frequently in normal, unmarked sentences as:

CAUSER	+	CHANGE	+	CHANGED ITEM
↓		↓		↓
ACTOR		ACTION		GOAL
↓		↓		↓
NOMINAL GROUP		VERBAL GROUP		NOMINAL GROUP

In such structures the putative Object will be the CHANGED ITEM, in which case CAUSER is a supernatural agent, or more frequently CAUSER will be a fictional Object created to explain observed change. In this latter case the CHANGED Item will generally have supernatural connotation. Generally such changes are not regarded as Item changes, but Object changes. Hence the kinds of Object discussed in this section are frequently associated with real Objects that acquire supernatural connotation, as described in section 7.3.

7.3 D2. Fairy as a real Object with supernatural connotation

Although as described in section 7.2 a large number of folk aetiologies involve fairy the lexeme is associated with surprisingly few Objects which are not also manifest in wider semantic or social patterns, i.e. there are few, if any, Objects which can be regarded as original, essential or real experiences from which the notion of fairy is derived. This distinguishes fairy from some other supernatural names which appear primarily to be derived from a small class of real phenomena, such as barghest (associated with nocturnal noises), will o' the wisp (associated with ignis fatuus) or padfoot (associated with the sound of soft footsteps or black dogs). Thus one can list many Objects Denoted commonly by a name incorporating fairy , such as those listed in Table 7.3.a, but most of these will also be incorporated in narratives or dites, and most form part of semantic networks which involve Associative or linguistic relations additional to their ontological relations.

This is not to say that the Objects are fictions. The names listed in Table 7.3.a all Denote phenomena which the majority of people would accept as having real, independent, objective existence and as identifiable and distinguishable. One of the main reasons why language works is that the majority of users in the majority of situations possess a high degree of consensus about the ontological status of Denotata. Users agree that there are such things as mushrooms, flint arrowheads, hills, flowers and stones. Therefore it is probably the case that incorporation of such Objects into the semantics of a supernatural name depends firstly on recognising such Objects as requiring such incorporation.

Table 7.3.a: Names for common Objects employing 'fairy'

Name	Source
f. arrow	O.E.D
f. bath	O.E.D.; Wright(1898-1905)
f. beads	O.E.D
f. bell	O.E.D.; Wright; 1810/02/001
f. bird	O.E.D.; Wright
f. butter	O.E.D.; Wright; 1830/01/001
f. cap	Wright; 1825/01/001
f. cheeses	O.E.D.; Wright
f. cucumber	O.E.D; 1708/01/003
f. cup(s)	O.E.D.; Wright; 1696/01/006
f. dart	O.E.D.; Wright
f. eggs	O.E.D
f. fern	Wright
f. fingers	Wright; 1812/02/001; 1813/04/002
f. fingernails	O.E.D
f. flax	O.E.D.; Wright
f. glove	Wright
f. grass	O.E.D.; Wright
f. green	O.E.D.; Wright; 1819/08/006; 1819/08/010
f. groat	O.E.D; 1577/01/001
f. hair	O.E.D.; Wright
f. hammer	Wright
f. heads	Wright
f's. heart	Wright
f. hillock	O.E.D.; Wright; 1808/02/002
f. horse	O.E.D.; Wright
f. lanthorn	Wright
f. lint	O.E.D.; Wright
f. loaf	O.E.D.; Wright
f. martin	O.E.D
f. money	O.E.D.; Wright; 1613/01/001; 1695/01/001
f. mushroom	O.E.D; 1830/01/005
f. nips	O.E.D; 1656/01/001
f. paths	Wright
f. pavements	O.E.D; 1787/02/001
f. petticoats	Wright
f. pipe	O.E.D.; Wright
f. purse	O.E.D.; Wright
f. shrimp	O.E.D
f. sparks	O.E.D.; Wright
f. stirrup	Wright
f. stone	O.E.D; 1646/01/001; 1646/01/002
f. table	O.E.D.; Wright
f. thimble	Wright
f. weed	Wright

Thus one could regard the process governing creation of an aetiology as having the following stages:

(1) Recognise an Object

(2) Identify that Object as 'different'

(3) Feel the need for an explanation of that difference

(4) Explain the difference by giving the Object a name which relates it to other Objects or Items

(5) Expand the explanation by describing and narrating the precise relations between the newly named Object and other Objects/Items with similar names.

Thus aetiologies of, for example, fairy arrows presumably began with discovery of flint stones in the shape of arrowheads. They were named (and thus to that extent explained) as fairy arrow(head)s[1], and the existence of such is accounted for in terms of the behaviour of fairies, e.g. the fact that they hunt with small bows, or they strike animals with inexplicable diseases. Thus certain observable phenomena are explained with reference to other phenomena which already possess acceptable explanation. This is not simply the mechanism of superstitious analogy, but also that of scientific method - hypotheses are made and accepted concerning novel observations on the basis of previously accepted hypotheses about previous observations[2], as discussed above in section 7.2.

It can be seen, therefore, that the primary difference between the process described here and that outlined in the previous section is that in the latter a real Object is observed to have changed, whereas in the former no change has occurred but an unusual Object is

(1) But also by other names with similar features, such as elf arrows, elf-shots, e.g. 1771/04/002.
(2) Levi-Strauss argues that scientific and pre-scientific processes of understanding the world are not merely similar but identical. Levi-Strauss (1968a).

nevertheless observed. Therefore it is the unusual process which requires explanation in the one instance whereas in the second it is the Object itself which requires explanation. As both explanations concern absent Denotata (i.e. the fairies who caused the change or produced the Object) with respect to the Objects listed in Table 7.3.a it is frequently the case that no precise creator/user is described, nor in many cases even suggested, and the relationship between the Object, such as fairy butter, and the supernatural originator is generally unstated. In these cases therefore it is often left to the reader/hearer to infer the nature of the connection, usually because the fairy Object has been named with respect to a known and familiar Object. Fairy butter, arrows, loaves and money are all understood as Objects like their human equivalents. Therefore the uses of those Objects are also inferred to be similar to uses of human Objects. Calling an Object a fairy x is thus little different from calling it a strange x , where x is a recognisable human Object. Such descriptions therefore simultaneously identify classes of Objects as both like and unlike a particular class of human Objects. Use of fairy here does not involve creation or use of fictional Denotata, but rather the placing of a class of Objects with respect to known human Objects. Thus the typical expression which Denotes a real Object with supernatural connotations is:

modifier + headword

supernatural name + noun

e.g. fairy + loaf

Consequently explanation of such expressions must primarily be concerned with examining why such Objects may be regarded as strange, which to some extent is discussion of types of Object which may be

regarded as strange.

Thus one of the most frequent kinds of utterance involving the supernatural is one which involves PLACE (3112). Indeed some supernatural names incorporate place names as, for example, the Cauld Lad of Hilton(1). Whilst the majority of utterances concerning the supernatural involve creatures of some kind, the second most frequent is that involving supernatural place, such as the typical tale of the haunted house.

It would seem that PLACE is one of the most constant notions in the human mind. Whilst we are accustomed to the idea that places change it is difficult to accept the possibility of a place disappearing entirely. In some sense a particular place always remains constant, it is always there, and our feeling of this constancy may override very dramatic changes in its appearance or characteristics. This feeling may well be a function of predominantly visual memory and imagination and a general tendency in man to orient himself spatially. In Jungian symbolism one of the central archetypes is the tendency to portray human states in terms of space and place, and the attainment or movement from those statements in terms of journeys. The frequent dreams of flying, falling, running, or journeying by train may well be indications of the human tendency to provide spatial metaphor for psychological events.

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(1) See Henderson (1973) p.229.

Not only do men tend to interpret inner processes in terms of place, but also to reverse the equation, and give places human psychological and emotional qualities. Certainly this is true since romanticism, and the more recent utilitarian developments of ecology and environmental studies, but it is difficult to find a period in man's existence when his nature and development have not only been physically determined by the place(s) he lives in, but also psychologically, with the complementary fact that man invests in the place that has produced a certain effect on him (or in which he has undergone a certain experience) the ability to reproduce and contain that effect.

One can say, therefore, that although events are associated with places because they occur in places, qualities are associated with places because of the effect such events have on men. Thus if a particular phenomenon possesses a feature associated with the supernatural, such as darkness, circular structure, phosphorescence etc. that association may well be sufficient to label the place in which they occur. Thus one finds inumerable fields known as fairy haunts solely on the strength of mushroom rings found within them(1). Here one unusual object, a ring of mushrooms, which because of its strangeness is called fairy is also sufficient to characterise the place in which it occurs as strange and thus the whole place as fairy.

The boundaries of the strangeness of such a place are however indeterminate.

But a stronger motive than simple association of located feature and supernatural beliefs is again aetiology, the need to explain why a particular place possesses that feature, why it is the way it is. Many myths and folktales, together with their literary descendants(2)

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(1) See Nailby (1760/01)
(2) Such as Kipling's Just-So stories.

use as a focus a particular aetiological explanation, often concerned with the behaviour of supernatural beings[1]. The notion of aetiology has been used several times in previous sections to account for certain fairy associations, and it is particularly evident as a need in accounting for and explaining the great variety of geographical phenomena that may be encountered. Naturally in cases where complete certainty cannot be obtained, such as in accounting for the making and function of megalithic sites, different explanations may arise and compete and will be accepted and rejected according to preferences, prejudices, predilections and beliefs of the communities in which they are current.

Furthermore not all aetiological explanations are offered with the same seriousness or, necessarily, with the same purpose. For some phenomena many varied explanations are offered to children which may be truthful, partial truths, pure fictions, or even nonsensical put-offs. Such explanations may be altered or replaced as a child grows older, and may be believed in differing degrees by the child at different stages in his/her life, and perhaps also by the parents. Such fictions as the tooth fairy, Santa Claus, the bogeyman[2], which are used for various purposes of social control, both encouraging and discouraging, exist on the edge of supernatural belief and the attitudes of both child and adult to them may vary greatly, depending on many factors. Similarly the kinds of explanation accepted by adults as adequate depend on many factors - prevailing systems of

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(1) Examples can be found in Brand (1853); Palmer (1973); Grinsell (1976); MacDougall (1978) and many similar texts.
(2) See Widdowson (1973), (1977) for other examples.

belief, the adults's position in that system, the adult's experience, his interest in/concern for the explained phenomenon, the abilities of the explainer, the relative statuses of tutor and pupil, etc.(1). It must be remembered furthermore that no explanation is final, but only made in terms of some other accepted premisses.

Consequently the existence of varied geographical features, the possibilities of different explanations, and the diachronic shifts of appropriateness of different explanations for different phenomena and to different groups, gives rise to a large number of folk explanations the supernatural quality of which is largely dependent upon the acceptance with which it is held.

The interest thus lies in determining precisely those kinds of geographical feature which seem to have required explanation, and the types of explanation offered in each case. In general, one can say that features which were not common (i.e. which occur in only a minority of cases) or features felt to be excessive in some way, or features which had profound physical or emotional effects on people would identify places which required explanation. Indeed these three criteria could be taken as three of the prime promoters of use of supernatural names. One finds places which are particularly high, or dark, or cold, or black; places which have distinctive shape or colour; places where people have been lost, frightened, attacked or have died - all tend to acquire supernatural names in certain styles of discourse. Furthermore once such a place has been noticed in this way, there is a tendency for other features which might not normally

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(1) Accounts of the interactions between social groups and individuals which control belief (and behaviour) can be found in Berger and Luckmann (1971), Berger (1973) and Ford (1975).

be thought extraordinary to be recognised as symptomatic of the supernatural.

One important feature which marks a place as distinctive is a human act, particularly one regarded as evil, such as murder or suicide; but also human constructions which lose their original function and therefore become odd acquire such characteristics, particularly as human constructions usually possess distinctive regular shape. One could instance megalithic monuments(1) as one class of such objects which define places as supernatural, but also churches(2), Roman pavements(3) and burial mounds(4) are human constructions which, as places, have acquired supernatural names.

In addition one should note the fact that superstitions in general tend to attach themselves to any place which can be identified as a place and can be precisely located and recognised. For example a road hardly qualifies as a place, but a crossroads is distinctive; a mountain range may not qualify, but an isolated peak may. Thus one could say that for PLACE, and perhaps for many other phenomena that acquire supernatural appellation or superstitious encumbrance, distinctiveness is a key feature.

PLACE seems to be one feature involved in the central meaning of fairy . From the earliest it meant 'enchanted place'(5) although the restrictions of later usage seems to have caused this meaning to be made more explicit in land of fairy, fairy land etc. In its

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(1) See Grinsell (1976).
(2) Brand (1853) p.494; Palmer (1973) pp.146-7; 1647/01/009; 1648/02/002.
(3) 1787/02/001.
(4) Grinsell (1976).
(5) E.g. 1400/01/001 That Gawayn, with his olde curteisye/Though he were comen ayeyn out of fairye.

aetiological use it refers to an unusual form of real place, but it may also Refer to a fictional or imagined place for which a real place may be the image or the entrance, or a skeleton for analogical elaboration, or may be mentioned only vaguely or implicitly (as for example, when the direction of fairyland is indicated, or its nature is vaguely sketched). Here the notion of a real place with strange associations has become extended so that the place itself is fictional, created by analogy with real places.

Similar concepts are found in many cultures, concepts generally referred to by folklorists as 'the otherworld'. Such otherworlds are generally representative of a particular imagined state(1), usually a state envisaged as possible for man, or a combination of several states. The archetypal tendency to represent psychological, emotional or spiritual states by spatial metaphors has already been mentioned. Once such a metaphor is suggested it can rapidly be elaborated in a manner which transforms all the (mentioned) elements of the equivalent real place in terms of the particular state or states envisaged. In simplified form one could describe the process as follows. A real place (or kind of place) is typified by features [a,b,c]. A particular state is typified by feature [x]. Then the otherworld is imagined as [ax, bx, cx]. Thus if the state of spiritual bliss is typified as beautiful, and a garden is typified as [trees, birds, flowers, stream] then Paradise (= place of spiritual bliss) is [beautiful trees, beautiful birds, beautiful flowers, beautiful stream]. Naturally the semantic transformation may be verbally

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(1) Notice in this context that the lexeme state is used both of places (as in political state) and psychological dispositions (as in state of bliss).

encoded in different ways; in particular specific lexemes will be selected which connote x but are individually associated with a, b, c or d. Thus, if x = BEAUTY then trees will be green or golden, flowers will be bright, sweet, perfumed, birds will be melodious, brightly plumaged, streams will be clear, fresh, clean, silver. This kind of typification leads to the type of lexemes grouped in SENSATION.

Such types of simple transformation are repeatedly found in folk accounts of the otherworld and in, for example, medieval allegory. Similarly fairyland is often conceived in terms of such transformations and as such is one of many places - paradise, heaven, the forbidden isles. In general descriptions of these places are indistinguishable except in terms of the underlying real place which forms the basis of the description. That is not to say that because the transformation, or the feature x, is the same in all cases that all use x as typifying the same state. Some descriptions are of spiritual bliss, some of love or sexual ecstasy, some of dream places, some of allegorical fictions such as the Palace of Wisdom or Truth, or the palaces of kings and queens in folktales.

Similarly one may find that a feature noted in a real place if it suggests the supernatural may be extended to other aspects of that place. For example if an object was lost in a kitchen its loss might be attributed to the fairies by processes described in 7.2. If so, then any other loss or incident may also be given the same explanation because it occurred in the same place, and the more incidents there are the more likely it is that others will be noticed and ascribed to the fairies including events encountered at that place previous to the incident first ascribed to the fairies, by what may be called a

process of mutual confirmation.

There would seem to be a clear tendency in folk psychology to group events in one place under one heading, just as elements of belief or tale motifs from different sources may all be combined if they possess a common feature(1). Consequently not only may a place be regarded as strange, unusual, distinctive hence "fairy" but also any other Object encountered in that place may acquire the same connotation. Thus a coin found near a ruin may be called fairy money, a fungus in a dark wood fairy butter etc. Thus a major factor in determining supernatural appellation of a particular Object is the nature of the environment in which that Object occurs. There is thus a reciprocal exchange of connotation between Objects and places - either may share its supernatural association with the other.

However real Objects may also be regarded as "fairy" if manifesting features common to other fairy Objects. Fairy stones, for example, come into this category. In the first place stones may be sufficiently unusual to warrant supernatural appellation - they may be particularly large, or small, or regular in shape or pattern, or possess a hole. As with HILL (3112112) fairy stones are often prehistoric monuments (as with fairies located at the Rollright Stones(2)) since such monuments have both unusual natural features and are Objects of apparent human manufacture. In some cases HILL is reinforced by the hostility of the natural environment, indicating EVIL (3212) as many such mounds are barren exposed areas and HILL

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(1) One may wish to extrapolate this tendency to account for all kinds of change in human behaviour or systems which can be grouped roughly as "analogical", i.e. the modification of one unit to conform to the system evident in another unit with which it has a common feature, such as much semantic, and perhaps much linguistic, change.
(2) Briggs (1974) p.14.

also includes mountain. STONE may also have such associations due to exposure to the elements. Thus STONE has inherent qualities and similariites with other Objects which suggest "fairy". The prime reinforcing association however would seem to be that of RING (131) for many large stones called fairy are in stone circles, whilst many small ones have a hole in the centre, thus being rings. RING is the single object most frequently called fairy in the corpus, usually as a ring of mushrooms or as the ring of a dance. Fairies do not however seem to be held aetiologically responsible for stone circles, though they may be for isolated stones, presumably because the normal concept of the physical nature of the fairy as human in size or slightly smaller precludes the possibility of the manoevre of large stones, giants being considered as physically more appropriate movers and users of such stones(1). One would suppose that the movement of large stones, or construction with them would not be beyond their magical power, but this seldom seems to be reported. More frequently megalithic sites or isolated stones are simply spoken of as haunts of fairies(2).

STONE provides a link between PLACE (3112) and USE (242), probably in association with the underlying concept of fairies as elemental spirits of or beings in nature, particularly of EARTH, for stones are also spoken of as used by and against fairies. As stones are often thought to have magical, curative or symbolic virtues(3) the fact that they are used as charms against fairies(4) amongst

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(1) See e.g. Briggs (1978) pp.272-3; Palmer (1973) pp.106-7.
(2) E.g. 1646/01/002; 1726/01/15; 1813/02/001; Westropp (1921) p.103; Bett (1952) p.13; Briggs (1978) p.272.
(3) See McNeil (1977) p.125.
(4) See Brand (1853) p.503; Briggs (1978) p.276.

other beings need not be taken as of significance with respect to fairy. However elf-shots, the stone arrow heads, seem almost exclusively to be associated with fairies (though occasionally with witches) as instruments of their malice, and they are most frequently held responsible (or the name fairy is used of) other naturally occurring stones which are taken to have special properties(1), which properties may include many of the magical virtues elsewhere ascribed to non-fairy stones. Stones therefore are regarded as some amongst the many phenomena employed by fairy beings, such stones being given a double significance if discovered in a PLACE which is also marked as supernatural/unusual, but the network of associations which causes "stone" to be a Denotatum of fairy is not simply the immediate physical features of appearance.

One can therefore distinguish two classes of real Object which are called fairy, namely those which are unusual and possess some features similar to a familiar human Object but differ in other respects (fairy butter is soft and yellow but grows on trees) and those which though not similar to any particular human Object are also unusual, and relate closely to other supernatural Objects, either through environment or through a shared Item of some kind.

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(1) E.g. 1600/03/007; 1610/01/005; 1646/01/001,002; 1771/04/002; 1787/02/001.

7.4 D3. Denotational relations

As demonstrated in 7.3 whilst some Objects are called fairy by virtue of innate qualities others acquire that name by virtue of relations which hold between Objects. In some cases ontological relations are indistinguishable from Sense relations discussed in Chapter 5, and in others Denotations are related in an unclear manner which is neither simply ontological nor linguistic. This is one reason why hierarchical relations established between the semantic Groups in this dissertation are not amenable to full formal description. For example one can schematise the relationships between the Groups HIDE (2311), SEEK (2321), LOSE (2312) and FIND (2322) as follows:

	conceal entity	reveal entity
intentional	HIDE	SEEK
accidental	LOSE	FIND

One could regard such a structural relationship either as a purely lexemic structure, a formal set of Sense relations encoded in the langue, or as a set of ontological relations which are necessarily entailed by involvement in the world. More accurately one can regard them as a Set of Sense relations encoding Denotational relations which have been encoded in the language by virtue of human preoccupation with certain aspects of reality rather than others (e.g. with the "intention/accident" dichotomy rather than, say, "behind/under" or "using curtains/not using curtains"). As has already been established Sense relations ('pure' semantic relations between lexemes), ontological relations (relations between Entities), Denotational relations (relations between socially constructed 'Objects'),

individual psychological relations (relations between meanings which are meaningful for an individual user) and collective psychological relations (the relations which the majority of individuals find meaningful) are not distinct categories except in terms of operational criteria. That is to say these categories only exist as categories when an observer wishes to create such a category for a particular local purpose. One of the incidental purposes of this study has been to test the usefulness of such categories and to show how they necessarily break down if one is to obtain anything like a full description of lexemic semantics.

Those relations which are primarily Denotational rather than relations of Sense in the semantics of fairy seem largely to result from attempts to unite different aspects of fairy-lore or, from a different point of view, different expressions using fairy, into a comprehensive system. It was the approximation of William Blake's use of supernatural names to a fixed semantic system which first prompted this study(1), but there have been other attempts to reduce the use of supernatural names to a fixed system. Medieval theology was one such attempt, its most attractive literary consequence being Dante's Inferno ; Spenser's Faerie Queene was another such attempt. In both cases the texts were aimed primarily at exhibiting human social order by the metaphor of existing supernatural fictions rather than attempting to 'discover' the rationale of the supernatural that then existed. Scot's Discoverie of Witchcraft (2)is a better example of the latter, and recent folkloristics, anthropology and linguistics abound with more-or-less scientific attempts at such discovery,

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(1) See Chapter 1.
(2) Scot (1973).

the present study being one such. All founder on the problems of the flexibility of belief systems and the fluidity of language. However it would appear that within both oral and literary traditions themselves there has been a tendency towards incorporation and eclecticism involving the discovery or creation of relations between (the Denotations of) different supernatural names and descriptive catalogues or narrative adventures which group many such names together.

The reasons such attempts are made are threefold. Firstly there is such a variety and quantity of expressions using supernatural names that they seem to require explanation, as any frequent phenomena of human significance invite speculation. Secondly the nature of these expressions is such that attitudes of users have themselves varied greatly, particularly with respect to the Denotation and ontological status of supernatural names - men have attempted to justify, refute, prove, deny, ridicule, clarify and propagate such attitudes. Thirdly, as has been demonstrated throughout this study, there are many relations between different supernatural names, between different expressions using the same supernatural name, and between expressions using supernatural names and other expressions, consequently there has been a tendency to believe that because some relations are evident and describable, all can be discovered and laid bare. There have thus been continual attempts to relate the Denotations of different supernatural names and different expressions employing supernatural names to each other. This has particularly resulted from the commonly aetiological function of many such expressions for, if two aetiologies are correct and both employ the same supernatural name it would seem logical that the Objects to which

those aetiologies are attached are also related, by virtue of their common relationship with a single supernatural name.

Sometimes establishing a set of relationships between Denotations is equivalent to precision of expression. Thus the notion of being fairy struck or of being blasted by the fairy, whilst of little prominence in the corpus is not infrequent in popular lore. The precise nature of this hostile action is seldom made clear, although the lack of precision is countered to some extent by the expressiveness of the phrases. Expressions such as he was blasted with the fairyes (1662/01/003), they [the fairies] strike with blindness such as, having the gift of seeing, take notice of them (1765/01/005) in the suggestion of their abruptness and violence are so thoroughly expressive of supernatural malice that any more explicit account of what the act consists in may actually detract from the Emotive meaning of the notion. Instead the details are supplied by association with other fairy acts or phenomena. In the corpus there is only one description of what such fairy attacks consist, namely 1662/01/005: Blasting is a whirlwinde that the fairies raise about that persone quich they intend to wrong . This fairy whirlwind is met elsewhere in tradition(1), though only once more in the corpus when it is again part of a description of violence which induces fear in a friend of the writer(2). Such uses of whirlwind are probably partly the result of the need for an aetiology for such naturally occurring phenomena, so that blast = "a blast of wind", and partly an encoding of the notion of "airy being" and "violence". Air is one association,

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(1) E.g Simpson (1976a) p.101
(2) 1681/02/002

and perhaps Denotation of fairy [1]. "Violence", is encoded in the Groups HURT, PINCH and perhaps MISCHIEF, a common Denotation of supernatural names, and probably a major component in the Emotive meaning of strike or blast .

There are many instances in folk tradition of assocation of the Denotations "aerial travel" and "hurt". Witches are said to fly and harm those they pass over, elf-shooting is also said to occur as the beings pass over the target[2]. Elf-shot is mentioned once in the corpus as the weapon of the fairies.

One can thus trace a series of connections which illustrate the manner in which such beliefs grow and are structured. Firstly one has a number of apparently unrelated phenomena each of which exists as a real Object felt to require aetiological explanation as described in 7.3, including peculiar violent whirlwinds, small flint arrowheads found in fields, diseases which occur suddenly and painfully for no apparent reason (such as epilepsy) in which the sufferer is "struck down", and unusual skin discolorations which may result from insects, diseases, malnutrition or accident. Secondly one has a complex of beliefs about supernatural beings which may depend on Denotation, either fictional or actual[3], or may be primarily Associative, including the following: they may be small, they are aerial (perhaps winged), they punish, they move quickly, they are like men in many ways, they hunt, they may be evil. Finally the separate observed phenomena are related to each other by means of the logic of the beliefs to provide a description which is coherent for a particular

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(1) Air occurs in the corpus 29 times.
(2) See Stuart (1970) pp.134-5; Hackwood (1974) p.150.
(3) See sections 7.2 and 7.3.

case (a particular text, a particular situation, a particular user). If the fairies hunt (a belief, encoded in traditional narratives) they must have bows (an inference from the belief based on analogy with human activity) hence they must also have arrows (the same analogy). As fairies are small beings (a traditional belief, justified by the nature of their environment and their facility for travelling unseen) their arrows would be small (humans use tools suited to their needs - there seems no reason why magical beings must also do so), hence the occasional discovery of small arrow heads (actual objects) which are flint because fairies are involved with the magic of stones (belief - see pp.376-7). If they are evil (belief) they will be hostile to men (a pragmatic definition of evil) and as they punish men (a belief, fostered by dites of social control and proved by observable marks) they may well do so by hunting them with these arrows. Wounds caused by these arrows being both small and magical might not be perceived or might be strange (hence strange skin marks) and because fairies are powerful such arrows will be effective (thus penetrating further than many human arrows, to the vital organs) and the injury will be manifested in an unusual way, such as disease (observed Denotations) particularly abrupt ones (as the effect of an arrow is immediate). As they must be able to see their target (human analogy) they must travel to or past it, therefore they require a mode of travel. As they are violent and harmful (belief, justified by hostility of nature) they must travel violently; as they are aerial (belief) that violence must be of the air; and as they are unseen (observed fact) they must be invisisble (belief) or hidden. Hence a gust of air or a dusty whirlwind is a prime mode of travel (observed Denotation) particularly as such winds may themselves be physically

harmful.

Thus three disparate and puzzling phenomena are accounted for and related to each other by what appears to be a single logical and coherent theory, which has the added virtue of also according with other accounts. It follows also from such a theory that one should not anger such beings, lest they punish you, so the theory has a social function as a mechanism of control and ordered behaviour; that one must avoid whirlwinds as they are harmful (as is in any case self-evident) and that treatment of the disease should involve either treatment of the 'wounds' (observed skin blemishes) or the cause, i.e. the fairy beings. The fact that the fairy blow frequently causes blindness is also significant(1) in that sight is the most usual faculty through which fairies are manifest, it is also figuratively the organ by which fairy deceits and illusions are "seen through", by use of "second sight", and blindness or at least partial sight is a common malady.

Similar mechansims operate in both folk and literary traditions whereby a number of disparate observable or known phenomena are linked by virtue of the logic of a system of belief, but in the majority of literary cases the system of belief is only intended to be acquiesced in temporarily whereas in much oral lore the belief system may be sacrosanct, a permanent social structure. In both cases the process of fictionalising is the same. There is no difference between the manifold minute foods and fairy gear of Drayton's Nymphidia (1627/01) which are created on the premise that fairies are very small, graceful, slightly comic mini-humans, and the more seriously held

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(1) As in 1740/03/003; 1765/01/005.

constructions outlined on the previous three pages. Real objects, fictional objects and beliefs are related together by a logic encoded in the Sense relations of the language and presented as a consistent reality. As previously stated it would be impossible to distinguish between these creative mechanisms and those of, say, subatomic physics. A folk narrative, a seventeenth century lyrical poem, and a twentieth century physics text book establish structures in the same way in an attempt at consistency and coherence with respect to a set of known phenomena. They work from Denotations whether observable objects or social constructions, towards theory, linking as many Denotations as possible by means of as few beliefs (or hypotheses) as possible.

7.5 Reference

Most of the generalisations which can be made about Reference in the corpus have already been made for Reference is usually made by employing the Denotational resources of the language, thus most Objects typically Referred to will be subsumed in the collective meaning discussed as Denotation. Those acts of Reference not so collected will be idiosyncratic and thus excluded by the method(1). There are however some aspects of individual use of fairy which can be identified. Discussion of Reference is obviously closely bound to the individual situations in which a supernatural name is used and typification of Reference will therefore tend to involve typification of situation. To a certain extent therefore discussion of Stylistic meaning has also covered some aspects of Reference, but some aspects of situation were not discussed there, being essentially psychological, and it is these which form the subject of this section.

One aspect of situation which is of importance in 'real' encounters with the supernatural (i.e. where accounts are not intended as fictions) is that of restricted perception. The notion of supernatural hindrance is one which treats human perceptual or conceptual misapprehension as caused by a supernatural intention to deceive. As perceptual accuracy and efficiency is the normal human estate, the marked state (that requiring explanation) is misperception, and the explanation offered is often that a supernatural being has cast a glamour or performed a deception which has altered the normal state of affairs and thus hindered the human perceiver. Similarly the Groups SEEK, FIND, HIDE and LOSE depend on

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(1) As detailed in Chapter 3, particularly section 3.4.

situations in which an Object has been lost or mislaid, whilst the Group LEAD (2323) depends on situations in which an individual is lost or misled, and the loser can discover no rational explanation for the loss, nor discover a method for recovery of the Object. If unable to accept that the difficulty is due to his failure of memory or lack of intelligence the loser will often ascribe the loss to a real agent (e.g. presuming that someone who has previously used the lost Object has again used it and failed to mention the fact) but if no known agent is available the loser may feel that it can only have been the deliberate act of some unknown agent on the assumption that his intelligence would be sufficient to comprehend any logical reason.

In such situations where information is insufficient the agent Referred to will be unknown, hence the Referent will be a hypothetical Referent. In a statement such as My child was stolen by x, the Referent of x may or may not exist, and thus the user is likely to use a name which either has vague, unspecific Denotation, or a name which the user thinks could correctly Refer. If fairy is chosen in such a situation then the Referent may not merely differ from the supposed Referent but may be assumed by the user to differ. In such a case fairy is being used to Refer to a fiction in the sense that there is no real Object being Referred to but it is necessary to suppose such an object in order to facilitate meaningfulness in the remainder of the expression.

Thus there may well be cases in the corpus where fairy is used in such a way. The archetypal case of men becoming lost and attributing that problem to a supernatural cause is that of the will-o-the-wisp for which folk culture has many related names(1). Fairy would seem

(1) See Allies (1846); Scott (1895); Kittredge (1900); Hand (1977).

to be one of these as in 1616/01/002 some fairy thing or other has led me dancing (dancing is here used metaphorically for "wandering"), or the robbingoodfellowes, elfes, fairies, hobgoblins of our latter age ... led poore trauellers out of their way notoriously (1594/01/001). Certainly fairy shares many features with other names which are also used to name such phenomena as puck or pixy in puck-led and pixy-led.

The rationale behind Referring to such phenomena by supernatural names does not seem to depend on incomplete comprehension of an Entity though it is based on sensory delusion(1), for that is not how the observer describes the Rem. Rather the observer acts in the belief that the Rem is complete. He acts on insufficient or misunderstood information and thus turns his perceptual error into a physical one. Thus where an individual is misled the supernatural is not merely held accountable for a deceitful appearance (an incomplete Rem) but also for the consequences resulting from the observer's incorrect interpretation of that experience. If the physical consequences of the error are detrimental to the observer he will blame the supernatural and attribute malicious intent to the supposed agent; if however the consequences are of benefit to him, he will characterise the supernatural agent not as deceitful but as revelatory, not as malicious but as benevolent.

An additional point to notice is that as one of the strongest collocations in the corpus is dance, there is also a tendency to regard the leading or misleading actions of fairy also as dancelike. Indeed "dance" seems to be a common metaphor for being led or misled.

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(1) Vernon (1962).

In support of this one can point to the common phrase he led me a merry dance which can be taken to mean either physical or mental convolutions, and the common image of the will o' the wisp as dancing lights . One may therefore be inclined to see, in part at least, DANCE (242) as an image of the misleading qualities of the fairy supernatural. This is one example of how traditional connotations may modify perception, or interpretation of that perception, in a particular Referring situation.

Other characteristic uses of fairy also seem dependent on partial information in the Referring situation. The prominence of the Groups INVISIBLE (33136) and SOUND (3314) is in part a reflection of this. Although invisible must simply mean "unseen" one cannot know that something is invisible unless it is manifest in some other way such as through aural or tangible data or if other visual phenomena are interpreted as the effects or results of a hidden cause(1). Thus some phenomena taken to be disembodied may be interpreted as evidence of an invisible cause. Similarly APPEAR/DISAPPEAR (2211/2212) represents on some occasions of use the temporary invisibility of a previously or subsequently manifest phenomenon. Thus there are several texts in the corpus in which ACTION (2) or MOTION (24) which is apparently causeless rather than being encoded in lexemes such as appear , disappear , vanish etc. is given the syntactic equivalent of MOTION + INVISIBLE, as in 1584/01/008 this is the waie to go invisible, 1600/03/007 you shall goe invisible , 1627/02/001 thou should'st still/From eyes of mortals walk invisible and 1727/01/002 invisible the fairy came . That this is not specifically a feature of fairy but

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(1) See for example the discussion of fairy attacks on pp.381-4.

rather general in the psychology of the supernatural is evident from the above texts and from other texts which use different supernatural names in similar expressions(1).

The use of fairy to indicate partial or aberrant information is particularly marked in situations where Reference is intended not to some overt or obvious phenomenon but to something "underlying" that phenomenon. Often conceptually there is an equation between "invisible" and "underlying", which one can take as part of the Denotation of fairy, such that true or real states of affairs are "deeper", "within", "hidden" beneath the apparent surface. A pervasive religious metaphor, this is also the central metaphor of modern psychology. It is also the notion which underlies the early meaning of fairy as "illusion"(2) and thus also the notion of fairyland or fairy beings as "really" (i.e. underneath, essentially) ugly or beautiful in which case their surface form is the inverse. There may be cases therefore where a text contains an implicit evaluation of the Referent if fairy forms part of the Referring expression and in principle one would not be able to detect this, though in practice stylistic cues signal to the reader the appropriate attitude and interpretation (using mechanisms similar to those used in irony and parody). Thus a Reference to fairy beauty may in some cases be a Reference to "evil" because fairy is being used to indicate that the underlying aspect of the beauty is that it is really ugly(3).

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(1) See Brand (1853) p.477; Atkinson (1891) pp.54, 86; Bett (1952) p.18; Simpson (1976a) p.93; McNeil (1977) pp.102, 113; Briggs (1977) p.278; Briggs (1978) pp.59, 89, 122; MacDougal (1978) p.103.
(2) See pp.348-351.
(3) Fairy money is often really leaves, beautiful fairies have hollow backs or no souls or are vampires. Fairy gifts backfire on the recipients. Bray (1879) p.176; Sternberg (1971) p.135; Wood (1975) p.147; MacDougal (1918) pp.23-5.

One might expect a genre such as that of Christian homily to employ fairy in such a way. In such cases that which is invisible is taken to be real, and the inferential invisible world given more authority than the perceptual.

Fairy is thus used in Referring situations where visual information is limited or is contradicted by the beliefs of the user. To a lesser extent aural information may be regarded in the same way. Untrained ears may misinterpet sounds as easily as untrained eyes misinterpret sights; the origin, cause or motivation of particular sounds may be unavailable to immediate observation due to distance or obstruction; or visual deprivation due to mist or darkness may throw aural perceptions into unusual, compensatory prominence. A noise may thus be thought supernatural for one of two broad reasons, both of which have been outlined previously in different contexts - either the sound is a familiar noise in an unfamiliar environment, or there is some aspect of the sound itself which is unfamiliar. Noises referred to as fairy do not differ from other sounds given other supernatural names in this respect. Voices, crying, wails, underground noises, footsteps or any noise heard at night or in isolation may be attributed to generic supernaturalism, to fairy , or to other supernatural causes(1).

There is, however, one kind of sound which is generally referred to by fairy rather than any other supernatural name. This is MUSIC and SONG (33141/1). Although there are a few instances of other

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(1) For examples see Latham (1878) p.21; Bray (1879) pp.166, 172; Sternberg (1971) p.132; Palmer (1973) pp.123-7, 130, 133, 137, 140; Harland and Wilkinson (1973) pp.52-54; Simpson (1976a) p.208; McNeil (1977) pp.116-8; MacDougal (1978) pp. 34, 45, 48, 59, 65-6, 73, 90-1.

supernatural names collocating with music or song [1], and a few others where unusual music is Referred to which is inferentially but not explicitly supernatural and thus associated with no particular supernatural name[2], the majority of texts use fairy in such cases. This is so much the case that readers/hearers of such texts and folklorists tend to regard other names collocating with music as, in those texts at least, 'species' of fairy being, or fairies by another name (which is frequently the case with pixy , for example), and to make narrow interpretations of generic supernatural music, inferring fairy although no name is used.

MUSIC is most commonly called fairy when associated with DANCE. When it is not so associated then it is often indicative of unusual sensations, such as reports of sounds underground or a song distantly heard, and in such cases other supernatural names are almost as likely to be used as fairy . Thus although MUSIC is predominantly associated with fairy rather than any other supernatural name this is probably not a function of the prominence of certain sensory data in Referring situations, but rather a function of the traditional, generally literary, associations of fairy as JOYFUL (3227) and SWEET (3311) as characteristic of the Renaissance literary tradition[3]. As there are instances of dramas or pageants where fairies are portrayed as dancing and, as they dance, singing about dancing, so there are lyrics where fairies sing about songs. Indeed SONG (331411) occurs more frequently than MUSIC in the corpus and would seem to collocate with

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(1) E.g. Bray (1879) p.164 pixies; Courtney (1887) p.185 knockers; Palmer (1973) p.107 devil; Winberry (1976) p.66 cluricaun.(2) E.g. Bray (1879) pp.172,180; MacNeil (1977) pp.103-4, 113, 128; MacDougal (1978) pp.8-12, 35-7.
(3) See p. 304.

fairy almost exclusively among supernatural names. Frequently the lexeme song is used in conjunction with fairy by an author as a title or description of his lyric, such as A Fairy Song [1], the lyric often not using either lexeme again but implicitly speaking in the voice of the fairies and describing their behaviour[2]. This is a device particularly favoured by Keats as a means of bringing the associations (generally pleasant ones) of fairy to bear in his entire lyric. Whilst such literary artifice is certainly originally derived from oral associations of fairy and MUSIC/SONG, and such oral traditions probably in part depend on Referring situations where fairy was used because of sensory prominence or deprivation, within the corpus the collocation is primarily a stylistic one rather than Referential.

Similarly SPEECH (33142) largely occurs because of dramatic presentation of fairies, although disembodied voices are sometimes reported and consequently interpeted as fairy in nature, although many of the cries, groans or screams so called are probably attributable to natural phenomena such as wind, bird calls or the movement of trees or old houses. This indicates one Referring function of supernatural names however which is to indicate that the user either failed or refused to recognise the sound as natural in origin and therefore was over-reacting, or fearful, or mistaken, or deceived, or allowing belief to modify perception. Fear in particular may strongly

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(1) Examples are 1591/02/006; 1591/03/003; 1611/03/009; 1800/01/002; 1814/04/001; 1815/03/008; 1818/08/001; 1818/09/001; 1819/02/002; 1819/03/001.

(2) As no direct linguistic connection can be demonstrated between a title and its lyric, the lyrics have not been analysed in the corpus. Much of this lyrical material would however merely provide additional support for many of the points already made.

distort perceptions particularly in situations where an individual is isolated or in an unusual or unfamiliar environment.

Because Reference, unlike Denotation, is a linguistic act almost entirely in the control of a user it is one area where emotive usage and belief systems are likely to be most evident. Thus one of the simplest expressions of supernatural experience is (1) I saw a(n) x, where x is a supernatural name, examples from the corpus being: 1530/01/034 he saw nere thereto x fayre; 1696/02/002 my mother saw the fairies once; 1600/06/002 he goes to see the fayries; 1721/02/001 the shepherds oft see little ghosts glide by. Statement (1) would be, according to the logical positivists, metaphysical hence meaningless as being untestable. If one assumes that supernatural beings do not exist this cannot be a statement of fact and must therefore be interpreted as meaning (2): I believe I saw a(n) x (questions of belief also being untestable). In fact if one supposes that sensory impressions may be false, misunderstood or misinterpreted one must understand every statement of the form 1(a) I saw ... as 'really' one of the form of: 2(a) I believe I saw .... (2) can thus be reinterpreted either as (3) I saw an Item p which I wrongly interpreted as x or (4) I had an experience which caused me to see a Rem which I interpreted as an Item called x, i.e. either as a misinterpreted sensation, or a projection of internal experience; either an incorrect interpretation of objective reality, or an imposition upon reality of an internal state. Such expressions would therefore not be truly Referring expressions at all but examples of fictional Reference, in which Referents have been constructed by the individual using the expression[1].

(1) See Williams (1981).

Aspects of both types of interpretation have already been discussed. The notion of "deceit" would seem to be reinforced by actual misapprehensions, such that if an individual believes he has seen an Item p which he later discovers to be a different Item q he may regard that difference or mistake not as his own error but a consequence of deliberate action on the part of the Item, in which case this could be regarded as a further instance of attributing motivation to unmotivated phenomena and/or a case of externalising internal states. Thus one could say "(1) or (2), having been discovered to be (3) is in fact regarded as (4)", i.e. a belief discovered to be a mistake is regarded as a consequence of the Object of the belief rather than the believer. This would especially seem to be the kind of alteration of attitude maintained by those who, believing in the supernatural discover that a particular experience they took to be an example of that belief is not in fact so. By such reinterpretation they may preserve their belief in the very act of denying that a particular event was confirmatory of that belief. For example if a man saw a wandering light he took to be a fairy, because he believed in fairies, but later found that the light was in fact a lantern being carried by a friend, he may well conclude that the 'real reason' he originally believed it to be a fairy was became the fairies had placed a glamour over his eyes and deluded him, and may subsequently go on to elaborate that interpretation by the rationalisation of motivation, e.g. he may conclude that he was wandering near the fairy haunt and so they wished to distract him in a different direction. By providing such an account the man has (a) reinterpreted his original experience in a way which (b) satisfies his need for explanation and (c) accords with the nature of his subjective

experience in terms of (d) a particular belief system he holds, whilst simultaneously (e) confirming and elaborating that belief and (f) creating the germ of an anecdote which may eventually be developed into a fully fledged folktale.

Lexemes encoding VISUAL may thus predominantly represent not Entities but Rem; whilst ostensibly Denoting physical sensation, they are more likely to reveal aspects of belief, of imaginative structures, or affective states. Such reasons probably underly the number of lexemes which, though grouped here as SENSE SPECIFIC (331) are largely used generically or synaesthetically, rather than with their literal descriptive senses.

Thus even with apparently straightforward Referring expressions such as I saw a fairy , Reference may be more complicated than supposed. Whilst ultimately dependent on sensory data of some kind the very fact that a supernatural name was employed in the expression indicates such complexity, in particular indicating that the statement may be based on incomplete sensory information. It is clear however that the relationship between a supernatural name and "sense data relevant to the determination of its truth or falsehood" is by no means as simple as Ayer supposed. Such data may be irrelevant, relevant but incomplete, modified by non-sensory data (beliefs, emotions), or meaningful only by virtue of social conventions or stylistic structures.

7.6 Conclusion

The preceding sections show that Applicability is crucial in determining choice and significance of fairy. In many situations, particularly those in which a user intends his utterance to be believed, the Entity which forms his topic is the essential key to the meaning of the chosen supernatural name, whether that Entity is a fiction (constructed socially or psychologically), an absent Object or an encountered Object. However as Chapters 5 and 6 have shown even in cases where the Denotation or Reference determine that a supernatural name is used, it may be Sense relations, Emotive associations or Stylistic associations which necessitate choice of fairy . Furthermore in some instances where one might suppose that Applicability does determine choice such considerations, particularly belief systems, may be affecting that choice. As with the other aspects of lexical semantics there appear to be very few instances where Objects are the sole determiners of lexical choice and thus where the meaning of a supernatural name solely resides in the "sense data relevant to the determination of its truth or falsehood".

Since a supernatural name is generally used in an explanatory way, it follows that there must be Items which users wish to explain. These may be Rem, essentially subjective, in which case Reference will be idiosyncratic, R1, and the meaning of the name will be primarily Emotive. They may be Items brought together to create a fictional Object for social purpose. Or they may be real Objects which users feel require explanation. Consequently it is likely that the Denotation(s) of the name will be constrained by Sense relations and by Associative meaning to the extent that the Denotatum is not an

actual Object, or that uncertainty is experienced by the user.

Diagram 7.6.a summarises this interdependence and the relationships noted in this chapter. The key point is that the Entity Denoted by or Referred to by a supernatural name may well not exist as an Object and certainly there are no objective features such Entities can have which invariably determine use of fairy. The Clusters (Sets of Items and associations) which do determine such use nevertheless do depend to a great extent on observable reality. In particular unusualness, importance, social significance and personal significance are features which have powerful effects. However none of these are physical properties of Objects. They are attributes, properties given to Objects by cultural groups. If we wish to identify physical properties which determine use of fairy we must resort to lists of properties which may acquire such cultural significance, hence encoding in the language, lists like those produced in Chapter 3.

Diagram 7.6.a

1. ASSESS THE PARTICULAR SITUATION, CONSISTING OF REAL ITEMS, REAL OBJECTS, THE USER'S PERCEPTION OF THESE, THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERCEIVED PHENOMENA AND THE USER'S PURPOSE.

2. IF SUBSET J HAS BEEN CREATED BY EMOTIVE MARKING IN DIAGRAM 6.4.1 THEN LET T=J (idiosyncratic Reference, R1) AND GO TO DIAGRAM 5.4.1.

3. ACCORDING TO THE ASSOCIATIVE SUBSET SET IN DIAGRAM 6.4.1. IF EV IS HIGH LET T = THE ASSOCIATIVE SUBSET (Emotive Reference, R3) AND GO TO DIAGRAM 5.4.1.

4. FICTIONAL REFERENCE HAS BEEN CHOSEN. IF THE REFERENT IS TO BE CREATED BY SENSE RELATIONS THEN GO TO DIAGRAM 5.4.1.

5. R2 (Referent created by Denotation) HAS BEEN CHOSEN.

6. IF SOCIAL REALITY IS A MAJOR DETERMINER OF THE MOTIVATING SITUATION THEN CHOOSE D1.

7. IF THE SOCIAL PURPOSE OF THE TEXT IS GREAT THEN CHOOSE D1.

8. IF AN OBJECT IN THE PHYSICAL SITUATION IS PROMINENT THEN CHOOSE D2.

9. IF NEITHER D1 NOR D2 IS CHOSEN THEN CHOOSE D3.

10. ACCORDING TO D1, D2 OR D3 CHOOSE A GROUP TO BE T AND GO TO 5.4.1.

This diagram is combined with Diagram 5.4.1 and Diagram 6.4.1 in Chapter 8, where their overall structure is discussed together with the nature of the semantic Clusters such diagrams reveal. Chapter 8 finally evaluates the success of the study in respect of each of the problems, questions and difficulties outlined in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

8.1 Preamble

This chapter does three things. Section 8.1 takes each of the problems and questions raised in Chapter 1, summarises the study's response to them and evaluates the adequacy of that response. Section 8.2 combines the models provided by the hierarchical tree in 3.6.b and the four models of the meaning of fairy given as Diagrams 5.4.1, 6.2.4.1, 6.4.1 and 7.6.a and shows how these can be read as a total model. Finally section 8.3 briefly suggests further developments from and applications of this study in the hope that others will take up the most pertinent aspects of this work.

8.1.1 Aims A and B

Aims A and B, it will be remembered, were exhaustiveness in description and maximum rigour in method[1]. Within the physical limits of time and available resources that all such work encounters, this study has come as close as seems possible to exhaustiveness in the examination of the semantics of the one word, fairy. The size of the corpus shows this (487 texts giving 2019 occurrences), as does the study's bibliography, which does not include several hundred other texts searched for instances of the object-word or studied for their use of other supernatural names.

However merely having a large data base does not ensure a comprehensive study. Consequently the notion of meaningfulness was approached from several different points of view, as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, and it became clear in that discussion that no single definition of semantic was likely to yield satisfying results in terms of aim A. Thus three broad types of meaning were outlined, namely Sense relations (together with other linguistic relations), Associative meaning (including Stylistic and Emotive meaning) and Applicability (including several types of Denotation and Reference). Each of these was examined in detail, using as examples key semantic Groups identified by the analysis. Since all the Cotext in the corpus was, in principle, included in this analysis and all major forms of meaningfulness examined, the resultant characterisation of the meaning of fairy would appear to be comprehensive. However, as was outlined in Chapter 4, understanding of other aspects of the language, or indeed other languages, can be required for a full understanding of

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(1) See Chapter 1, particularly pp.12-15.

the semantic development of a word. Consequently a brief study was made of the possible origin of fairy, both in terms of its etymology and the associations it may be supposed to have from its earliest use and this was supplemented by examination of diachronic aspects of the semantics of fairy throughout the study.

If aim A has not been met therefore it can only be because some crucial evidence, approach or background has been missed and it is to be hoped that no such accident has occurred. Certainly the amount and detail of research and analysis should have prevented any such happening. But within the study aim A has not been realised insofar as only some of the semantic Groups have been discussd in detail(1). Whilst it would have been possible to extend the particularities of discussion (and there are many other interesting sidelines in the history of fairy) most would have been repetitious, many are minor, and none would enhance the description of the other levels of meaning which this study of one word was meant to illustrate. (See below, section 8.1.3). This reiterates the point mentioned several times earlier, that its aims are to some extent in conflict. Most notable of those conflicts is that between aims A and B.

Rigour was achieved through the use of several overlapping analyses, through the use of a computer to carry out the major analysis, and by the attempt to define and make explicit all the stages in the procedures and all the parameters of study. In particular the theory was explicitly stated, together with its terminology (summarised in Appendix 3), the form of the object-word was clearly specified (in Chapter 4) and the studied corpus was

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(1) These are listed in Appendix 4.

clearly defined (in Appendix 1). The use of statistical and diagrammatic representations where possible and the refusal to regard any semantic Group with fewer than ten occurrences as significant should all have ensured rigour.

However it is clearly the case that aim A demanded discussion or inclusion of material for which aim B could not be maintained, such as references to other similar texts outside the corpus, use of historical antecedents and discussion of social and psychological processes. Similarly aim B has resulted in a corpus which excluded much material which seems intuitively relevant to the topic, such as poems with the title Fairy Song, Groups with fewer than ten occurrences, relationships between Groups which are intuitively obvious but difficult to specify formally and instances of texts with supernatural names other than fairy yet similar to those in the corpus.

This contradiction has had two major consequences. Firstly it has become clear that one cannot describe the meaning of fairy (and by implication any other supernatural name) without recourse to information outside a given corpus, particularly cultural knowledge of varius kinds. So the study used tight formal procedures to produce categories of information which were then explained by reference both to information inside and outside that corpus. It would appear that it is impossible to conduct a study of this kind without using such a strategy because, to put the argument on a general basis, the process of 'making sense of' involves processing one set of information in terms of another. This is illustrated both by the corpus and by the study itself. Therefore aim A has been modified within the study to become 'to create a model which describes as much as possible of

the meaning of one word'. This model is described in Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. Aim B produces the summary model given in Section 8.2.

The second consequence has been that in several places for explanation to be adequate to the facts it has been necessary to outline alternative reasons or approaches without being able to specify exactly how those alternatives might interrelate. To give one additional example, the prominence of the Group RING, occurring in the corpus 120 times, could be explained experientially, being a mushroom ring or a stone ring or a ring of dancers; or it could be explained psychologically, as an archetypal image of some kind; or the explanation could be social, as a reflection of social events and attitudes, for example a general suspicion of natural phenomena with apparently regular form; or it could be explained as a basic narrative motif, something likely to make a story interesting. But the most convincing explanation is that it is some combination of all these, conjoined in a manner it would probably be impossible to describe, and that its frequency was due not to any particular cause but to the mutual reinforcement of these four influences.

8.1.2 The Problem of Fictional Reference

The philosophical question at the heart of this study is "how can a word mean x if x does not exist?" Chapter 2 provided a set of theoretical approaches which together provide an answer to that question, the primary argument being that the Cotext of a word used with fictional Reference is the major determiner of that meaning. The remainder of the study therefore sought to illustrate this by the detailed examination of the Cotext of one such word, suggesting wherever possible how that Cotext acquired its meaning and what the speaker/writer and hearer/reader would be doing in order to produce and appropriate that meaning.

Thus one could argue that the Cotext of a token with fictional Reference has a meaning which is a Cluster or set of Clusters of semantic elements (those elements being either real Entities or Rem in the minds of speakers). A real Referent consists of a Cluster of features which co-ocur in reality(1). A fictional Referent is a Cluster of features which do not co-occur in reality, but which could do so. As semantic elements are extremely varied one can see such meaning as obtaining in Sets of Sense relations between tokens in a Cotext, or between tokens in different Cotexts of the same lexeme; or in Sets of Denotational relations established in the language and perhaps in reality which allow a user to conceive a fictional entity; or that the Cluster consists primarily of Associative elements, communicated through Stylistic signals and Emotive expression, such that writers' or speakers' and readers' or hearers' understanding of the meaning of a particular use will differ at some level of

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(1) For a fuller account of this approach to fictional Reference see Williams (1981).

specificity; even that intended meaning and received meaning may be totally disjunct, through use of an idiosyncratic Cluster, but that the systematic ambiguity of such words nevertheless allows such disjunction to be perceived as communication.

The study consequently amounts to a practical exploration of one such set of Clusters, looking at typical co-occurrences, at the rationale behind the choice of elements or subsets from the main Cluster and at the elements necessary to successful fictional Reference. It might be tentatively suggested therefore that the following Groups are semantic universals which will be represented or encoded in any substantial corpus, and must be encoded if a text is to use fictional Reference successfully: ACTOR/GOAL, ACTION, SITUATION, LOCATION, QUALITY, AMOUNT, SPACE, TIME, POSITIVE/NEGATIVE EVALUATION, SENSATION and possibly MENTAL EVENT. These are the main Groups at the highest nodes of the derived semantic hierarchy.

In addition Diagram 8.2.a can be read as a summary of the process of fictional Reference providing those aspects of that diagram which are specific to supernatural names are ignored (such as the restriction of Stylistic choices to folk and literary) and it is understood that other processes may need to be included for fictional Reference using a different set of lexemes. For example it is clear that the model would need major alteration if the lexemes used for fictional Reference were names of characters in novels rather than supernatural names.

8.1.4 The Problem of Supernatural Names

Supernatural names are an example of words used with fictional Reference. As such, according to the theory propounded in Chapter 2, we would expect to find a different Cluster of semantic features attached to each such name defining it. A name such as a unicorn can be seen as fitting this model, having a Cluster made up of the features [white, horse, horn]. However for the majority of supernatural names there is not a single unique Cluster but a Set of Clusters which vary enormously and in apparently unsystematic ways. The aim of the study was to describe that variation for one such name in the hope that insight would be provided into this Set and a method for differentiation between supernatural names discovered.

For the purposes of formal comparison between names, i.e. to fill the folklorist's need for a means of comparing and classifying supernatural names and the texts they occur in, it is only necessary to outline the method used for the main analysis and to list the most frequently occurring Groups and/or lexemes for each of the supernatural names to be compared in percentage terms. A description of the names can then be given in terms of (a) the most significant (most frequent) lexemes/Groups and (b) the comparative size and distribution of those lexemes/Groups. A full statistical classification can be made using some coefficient of similarity such as the techniques of cluster analysis[1].

If fairy is a typical supernatural name then the simplest general description of a phenomenon regarded as supernatural is that it is a

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1. Everitt (1974).

normal phenomenon which has been marked in some way. That is to say the minimum element in a Cluster defining a supernatural name will be some form of Emotive marking. Users must regard a supernatural experience as 'special' in some way. However, any phenomenon which is perceived, understood or described as supernatural will be understood in terms of other experiences and will thus be fitted into a belief structure or conceptual structure of some kind. The marking which it receives will thus be of a particular kind which distinguishes it, in terms of that system, from an otherwise normal event.

As we have seen in the above discussion much of this marking where not purely the Emotive mark of an idiosyncratic experience, arises from the tension between man's need to comprehend all that he encounters or experiences and the necessary fact that there will always be uncomprehended phenomena. In order to satisfy the basic need for comprehension the result of any act of 'making sense' must be at least a belief that comprehensibility is achieved. In other words either a phenomenon is truly comprehended or it is falsely comprehended, i.e. understood incompletely or incorrectly in a way which makes the individual concerned believe he has understood it completely and correctly.

It is for this reason that lexemes of belief collocate with supernatural names so frequently(1), why "change" is so important in sentences employing *fairy* and why a number of different Groups are used in an attempt to resolve apparent paradoxes, where perceptions and beliefs seem to conflict(2). Tne Clusters identified for different supernatural names will not differ insofar as they encode

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(1) BELIEVE occurs 48 times in the corpus and IMAGINE 74 times.
(2) Groups such as APPEAR/DISAPPEAR, INVISIBLE, ENCHANT and DECEIVE.

similar experiences and problems. If it is true that fictional Reference demands encoding of the Groups listed in section 8.1.3 then all supernatural names will possess these Groups in their defining Clusters. Similarly if all supernatural names are used to resolve such paradoxes of perception and belief, then the Groups listed here will be used as markers of the abnormality of supernatural experience.

Where the Clusters for different names will vary will be in the typification of that abnormality. It may be the case that fundamentally all supernatural names are equivalent and that the structures described for fairy in this study are the same as those one might find for ghost, demon or goblin. However it seems more in accord with the evidence that, although different names will use roughly the same Set of lexemes, the focus will be different. That is to say, certain lexemes will be used more frequently in the Cotext of some supernatural names than in others, even if the Groups realised by those lexemes are roughly equal in use.

Our typification of the differences between such names will thus depend on the level of specificity at which comparison is sought. For example we will almost certainly find that both witch and fairy collocate with the Group EVALUATIVE(321) with equivalent frequency, and that this Group is realised by the Groups GOOD and EVIL for both names. But it is also probably the case that GOOD collocates more frequently with fairy than with witch and thus the Cluster definition for both can mark these Groups accordingly. Effectively this is part of the structure of the language such that if a user wishes to mark a particular phenomenon as [supernatural, evil] he is more likely to choose witch than fairy because EVIL is more prominent in the Cluster for the former than for the latter.

However if the description of the differences between such names is to pass beyond such generalisation further studies of the same kind must be carried out on corpora representing the base of other names, using a method similar to that employed herein.

8.1.4 The Problem of the Meaning of 'Fairy'

Fairy was taken as an example of levels (1) and (2) and explored in detail. As a result of the analysis described in Chapter 3 applied to the corpus listed in Appendix 1 the semantic hierarchy given as Diagram 3.6.b was produced and this was regarded as the 'macro-Cluster' which described the meaning of fairy, i.e. the Set of all the semantic features which gave meaning to the word. As detailed in sections 8.1.3 and 8.1.4 a number of these Groups might not be regarded as distinctive for fairy as it seems likely that they are common either to all supernatural names or to all lexemes usd with fictional Reference. Nevertheless each of the Groups was examined in detail and important examples were used in the discussions of Chapters 5, 6 and 7 to illustrate the key areas of the semantics of the object-word.

The difficulty with this procedure should be clear. As some of the Groups have not been discussed within the study some readers may feel that important information has been omitted. Certainly a folklorist wishing for a detailed explanation of all the features typically associated with fairies in tradition will find many of the characteristic ones only briefly mentioned. A great deal more could be written about their colour, size, rings, feasts, hills, music and magic for example. Similarly a linguist may feel that too great an emphasis has been placed on the detailed ontology of fairy phenomena. It is the contention of this study that the meaning of fairy consists of a complex of linguistic and ontological features and that the description given in the previous chapters is sufficient to characterise that complex without being overburdened with the particularities of all aspects of its realisation. A number of excursions have been made into particular illustrations but only as

examples of key features. Further accounts of all such aspects would confirm the account of these features without substantially adding to the description. Thus the model summarised as Diagram 8.2.a should contain all the major processes involved in controlling the meaning of fairy (as defined in this corpus) but may not realise all the detailed texts. However if it is read in conjunction with Diagram 3.6.b in the manner of the examples given in section 8.2, it will be seen that all Cotexts using fairy can be generated by the model but that it does not always provide criteria specific enough for particular choices. These choices will depend on the speaker/writer concerned and the situation in which the text is produced. Only specification of all the possible relevant situational and personal variables would be sufficient to enable a thoroughly comprehensive model which accounted for texts at the detailed level of actual lexemic and syntactic structures.

Further evaluation of the description and explanation of the meaning of fairy is given below in section 8.1.6. As an example of how the account given in this study might reveal the distinctive meaning in such a particular text section 8.1.6 briefly considers the difficulty which provided the initial impetus behind this work, level (4), the problem of William Blake's use of fairy.

8.1.5 The Problem of Blake's Use of 'Fairy'

The study provides a number of avenues for approaching the individual Clusters selected by particular authors or texts. One could, for example, take the texts collected for two authors and gain a measure of the degree of similarity between their use of fairy according to the extent that the same Groups are encoded within those texts and with similar frequency. This may be of help with the study of Blake, but the major difficulty with his use of supernatural names is knowing how they are to be read. Are they more or less traditional supernatural beings (as found either in literature or folk tradition), or are they more elaborate symbolic creatures, as much of his work seems to suggest? And, if the latter, what are the key aspects of meaning which are peculiar to Blake and therefore central to his symbolic use?

Diagram 8.1.5.a lists in the first column the Semantic Groups identified in Blake's texts within the corpus, after the analytical process decribed in Chapter 3. However here the cut off point for allowing a Group is two occurrences, on the assumption that anything repeated in such a small corpus is likely to be significant. The Blake corpus thus consists of 144 words of which 64 are repeated in 12 Groups. Immediately we have some indication of how the word fairy is being used by Blake - primarily it is used together with other supernatural names in lists of some kind, perhaps for its Associative effect; supernatural 'place' is a major component, whereas there is no mention of supernatural 'being'; however the conventional eighteenth century associations of 'singing' and 'dancing', though evident are not prominent, and there are a large number of Groups one might expect which are not in this list including WOMAN, TIME, BEAUTY, RING and

Diagram 8.1.5.a Semantic Groups Used by Blake

GROUP	TOTAL	% OF 64	TOTAL	% OF 1592
SUPERNATURAL				
NAME	12	18.4	426	26.8
PLACE	10	15.4	312	19.6
NUMBERS	8	12.3	185	11.6
ELEMENT	6	9.2	0	0
MAKE	6	9.2	0	0
VEGETATION	5	7.7	72	4.5
WAR	3	4.6	0	0
CATCH	3	4.6	0	0
SING	3	4.6	58	3.6
DANCE	3	4.6	108	6.8
MONARCH	3	4.6	318	20.0
SKIP	2	3.1	29	1.8
TOTAL	64		1592	

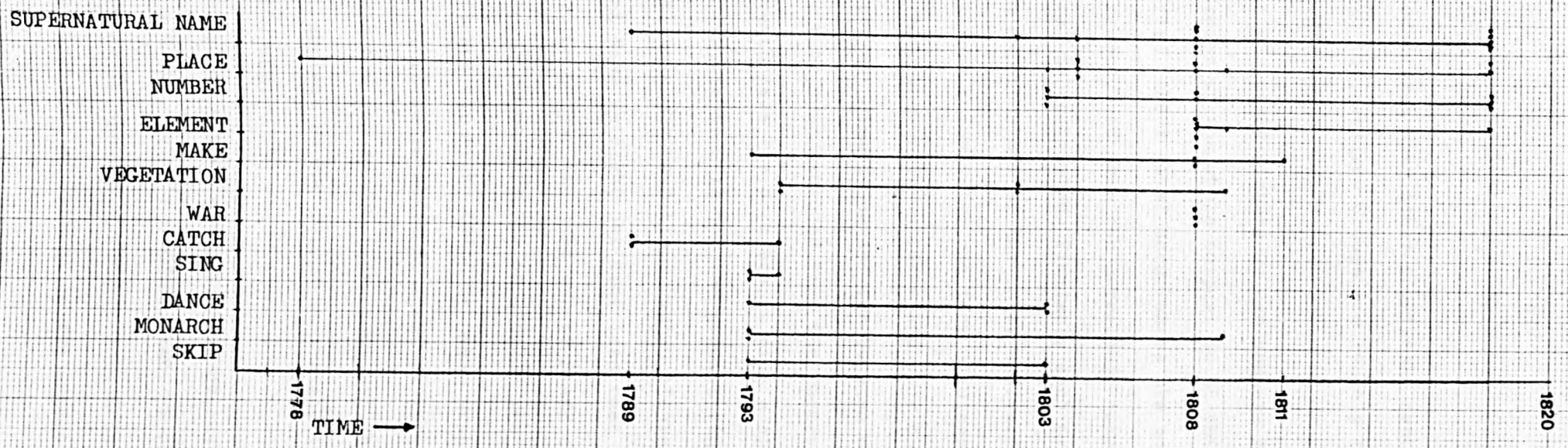

DIAGRAM 8.1.5.b Scattergram of Blake's Most Frequent Groups Against Date of Occurrence

ENCHANT. Comparison with other eighteenth century authors may show that, though the realised Groups are roughly the same, the relative importance differs.

To gain a clearer picture we can compare Blake's use with that of the same Groups in the whole corpus. To do this the relevant Groups are identified, their total occurrences are added together, giving 1592 occurrences, and then the percentage contribution of each Group to that total is calculated. Similarly each Group in Blake's list is turned into a percentage of the total analysed Blake corpus. These percentages form columns two and four of Diagram 8.1.6.a. It should be remembered here that columns three and four do not represent quite the same analysis as columns one and two because Groups of less than ten occurrences have been excluded from the former but not from the latter. Nevertheless the percentages give a clear indication of the magnitude of difference if not the precise figures.

Here Blake's preoccupations become clearer. His use of SUPERNATURAL NAME is eight per cent less than one might expect from the rest of the corpus and his use of PLACE five per cent less, so although these Groups have the prominence one would expect, they are less significant for Blake than for other writers. The most significant of these is MONARCH, which is fifteen per cent les than might be expected and in the rank order well below MAKE and VEGETATION, whereas in the corpus as a whole it is the third most significant Group.

This change of expected emphasis is because other Groups are more important to Blake, notably ELEMENT, WAR, CATCH, MAKE and VEGETATION. The first three Groups are virtually unique to Blake in the corpus, with all realisations of ELEMENT in the entire corpus being in his

work. In contrast with these NUMBERS, SING, DANCE, and SKIP are roughly at the percentages one might expect as being normal for the corpus. It seems therefore that Blake is trading to some extent on the traditional conception, but weakening it in favour of his own peculiar concerns.

We can get a clearer picture of this from Diagram 8.1.5.b. Here all occurrences of the Groups are plotted against time. The line for each Group links all occurrences to give an indication of the time span that each Group is active in his work. As one might expect SUPERNATURAL NAME and PLACE run virtually throughout Blake's creative life, but none of the other Groups do. There appears furthermore to be some correlation between frequency of occurrence and lateness of use. That is to say, those Groups which Blake places most emphasis on are used late in his career, whereas those which are less used are early. In particular DANCE, SING and SKIP, which are prominent in eighteenth century use, are not used by Blake after 1803, whereas NUMBER, ELEMENT and WAR are not used before this date. We can thus regard Blake's use as composed of three classes of meaning. There are firstly those Groups which are found throughout tradition and persist almost as strongly in Blake's work. Secondly there are those which are also traditional but which Blake abandons after 1803. And thirdly there are those either unique to Blake or unusually favoured by him which become prominent after 1803.

We can thus look at two periods in Blake's development and two corresponding conceptions of <u>fairy</u>. It seems to be the case that Blake commences as a writer with concerns which are not all that different from other eighteenth century writers with a general interest in the traditional literary treatment of the supernatural. His fairies are

conventional and indistinguishable from those of a number of minor eighteenth century poets such as Langhorne, Tickell and Warton. Poems using this conception of fairy need not be read as part of a weighty symbolism, though that is not to say that Blake is using the image in a totally conventional way. For example it is clear in a poem like The Marriage Ring (1793/07) that he is using the conventional fairy as an image of sexuality, trading on the Emotive associations of LOVE without explicitly stating those associations in the Cotext of fairy.

Later in his work a new conception takes over, employing some of the traditional elements but primarily focussing on meanings of Blake's own. It is here that his symbolic, idiosyncratic use comes about, here that the meaning of fairy is drastically changed for Blake and here that we need to investigate his use of words like element and war to discover what novel connotations are being brought to fairy. This change of use corresponds to the move in Blake's work from lyrics and short symbolic works to the longer and more complex works, notably Milton (1804-8) and Jerusalem (1804-20).

The analysis thus identifies key semantic features in Blake's work which determine his particular use of fairy in such a way that we can relate changes in meaning to changes in the type of text. We can describe much of the meaning that Blake is using in his early work, and point towards the areas that need further study in his later work. However the analysis does not provide a complete understanding of Blake's use of fairy. For this we would need at least a comparable analysis of the supernatural names nymph, gnome and genie which collocate with fairy together with an understanding of the Groups identified as particular to Blake.

Thus the study can demonstrate partial explanation of Blake's

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8.1.6 Questions (i), (ii) and (a) to (e).

The bulk of this study has been devoted to questions (i) and (ii), the how and the what of the meaning of fairy. These two broad questions were broken down into five smaller topics. Question (a) concerned the Applicability of Fairy. Chapter 7 described the extent to which fairy can be said to Refer or Denote and the nature of that Reference and Denotation, describing the actual realisation in the corpus of the features described in section 2.3.1. Similarly Chapters 5 and 6 applied the theory of sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 to the corpus to answer question (b), the nature of relations between fairy and the culture of which it is part.

These two problems interrelate in complex ways, but show that fairy depends on both cultural and ontological relations as well as the relations within the language structure. However it was also shown that some aspects of this meaning, such as those called idiosyncratic Reference and Emotive meaning cannot be handled completely by this approach nor can the Cotextual explanation necessarily explain the rationale behind particular connections.

Question (c) concerned the relationship between fairy and other supernatural names. On the one hand there may be no clear distinction between such names as there are innumerable overlaps of both form and meaning. On the other hand they may be distinct in terms of the typical Groups they collocate with, the nature of the Clusters they encode and the frequency of occurrence of particular Groups and/or lexemes.

Answering question (c) is thus a problem of the level of specificity. If the observations in sections 8.1.2 and 8.1.3 are correct all supernatural names will, at some level of generality, be indistinguishable. But different levels of specificity are likely to

distinguish different names. For example at the level of INJURE nixy and fairy may be the same, but at a more specific level the form of injury will identify two typical Clusters, one focussing on "drowning" for nixy and one on "pinching" for fairy.

Question (d) asked whether the meaning of fairy is essentially a continuum or a discrete meaning or set of meanings. Essentially the answer provided by this study is that the meaning of fairy is a continuum which users cut up in several different ways to give several reasonably distinct but not discrete meanings, treated here as the most typical collocations.

Finally question (e) concerned the nature of that continuum. Is there a system underlying the meaning of a word such as fairy or is it simply a collection of more or less random associations? Undoubtedly a number of such associations do accrue around such names and probably more so than with other types of word, but the nature of this study has usually excluded them from the discussion. A system has however been described as the set of features used either to create a meaning which is felt to be an appropriate fiction for fairy or used as evidence in reality of phenomena which require Denotational or Referential use of fairy. Thus such features if present in a particular concrete situation determine choice of the name or in a fiction are used to create the meaning for that name.

To some extent therefore we can answer (c) and (e) by use of a formula summarising the most general choices. This can be written as :

fairy = agent + fatedness (event) + change + distortion from the norm.

This formula captures the conception of fairy as an agent causing an event of some kind which contains the quality called here fatedness, that event involving some form of change and the whole description or narrative involving an explicit or implicit distortion away from a norm. As has been stated use of supernatural names is in many cases a means of stating that something is extreme by normal human standards. Consequently lexemes of magnitude occur frequently and modifiers tend to polarised at one or the other of two semantic poles (the antonymous relation discussed in Chapter 5). Verbs tend to encode "change", nouns tend to be actors and agents and places tend to have "fatal" qualities.

8.2 The Total Model

Diagram 8.2.a combines the four algorithms of Sense Relations, Stylistic Meaning, Associative Meaning and Applicability given as Diagrams 5.4.1, 6.2.4.1, 6.4.1 and 7.6.a. This diagram summarises the processes which determine use of fairy and its Cotext for a user in a concrete situation. Whilst not a cognitive model, it captures the major features of the discussions in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and the interrelations between them. Thus it can be taken as a total model of the processes at work in the use and concept of fairy.

In order to clarify how the model might work it can be read in conjunction with the hierarchical trees of Diagram 3.6.b and the semantic Groups listed in Appendix 2. To do so one must imagine a particular situation and its attributes, then carry out each of the stages in the algorithm, using only Groups from Appendix 2 and where necessary the branches of Diagram 3.6.b.

Diagram 8.2.a

1. ASSESS THE PARTICULAR SITUATION, CONSISTING OF REAL ITEMS, REAL OBJECTS, THE USER'S PERCEPTION OF THESE, THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERCEIVED PHENOMENA AND THE USER'S PURPOSE.

2.DETERMINE THE APPARENT PHYSICAL RELATIONS OF IMPORTANT ITEMS AND OBJECTS IN THE SITUATION.

3. CALL THOSE RELATIONS r1, r2, r3.....rn.

4. CALL THE SET OF RELATIONS [r1, r2, r3....rn] R.

5. SELECT A SET OF SEMANTIC GROUPS CALLED S1 WHICH ENCODES R.

6.IF THERE IS ANY PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE FELT TO BE RELEVANT TO THIS PARTICULAR SITUATION AND IT IS EMOTIVELY MARKED THEN LET EV BECOME THE EMOTIVE VALUE.

7. IF EV IS 0 THEN MAKE SENSE OF THE SITUATION USING AVAILABLE COGNITIVE STRUCTURES OF HUMAN LOGIC.

    7a. IF THIS PROCESS OF MAKING SENSE INVOLVES THE NEED FOR EXPLANATION CHOOSE THE NARRATIVE MODE OTHERWISE CHOOSE THE DESCRIPTIVE MODE.

8. IF PROCESS 7 INVOLVES USING A BELIEF SYSTEM THEN LET B BECOME 1.

9. IF B=1 THEN IF THE AVAILABLE RELEVANT EXPERIENCE ALTERS GO TO PROCESS 6.

10. IF B=1 THEN IF THE BELIEF SYSTEM IS MARKED AND ITS EMOTIVE VALUE IS GREATER THAN EV LET EV BE SET TO THE EMOTIVE VALUE.

11. IF EV IS SO GREAT THAT THE SEMANTIC SYSTEM OF THE LANGUAGE IS OVER-RIDDEN THEN ALTER THE USER'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGE SYSTEM ACCORDINGLY AND SELECT AN ESOTERIC SUBSET OF SEMANTIC GROUPS. CALL THIS SUBSET J, LET ID=1 AND GO TO PROCESS 13.

12. CHOOSE A SUBSET OF AVAILABLE SEMANTIC GROUPS WITH VALUE EV. CALL THIS SUBSET J.

13. CHOOSE A FIELD AND CALL IT F.

14. CHOOSE A MODE WHICH FITS THE CHOICE IN 7a AND CALL IT M.

15. CHOOSE A GENRE WHICH FITS WITH F AND M AND CALL IT G.

16. THE SET OF MEANINGS AVAILABLE IS ALL SEMANTIC GROUPS LISTED IN APPENDIX 2 WHICH CAN BE USED IN F AND M AND G AND INTERSECT WITH S1. CALL THIS SET S2.

17. CALL THE PERIOD SUBSET OF S2, P.

18. IF P IS 0 THEN THE CHOICE IS INAPPROPRIATE. GO TO PROCESS 13.

19. CHOOSE EITHER A FOLK OR A LITERARY IDIOM.

20. IF THE CHOICE IS FOLK THEN CALL THE FOLK SUBSET OF P C, OTHERWISE CALL THE LITERARY SUBSET OF P C.

21. IF C IS 0 THEN THE CHOICE IS INAPPROPRIATE. GO TO PROCESS 13.

22. IF F, M OR G FOREGROUND FORMAL SIMILARITY THEN PREFER ALL LEXEMES ENCODING GROUPS IN C WHICH BEGIN WITH /ʃ/ OR /v/ OR END IN /ɛərɪ/.

23. IF THE CHOSEN SUBSET C ALTERS THE ORIGINAL PERCEPTION OF THE SITUATION GO TO PROCESS 1.

24. CHOOSE AN IMPORTANT FEATURE IN THE PARTICULAR SITUATION. CALL THIS FEATURE X.

25. SELECT A GROUP FROM C WHICH ENCODES X. CALL IT W.

26. IF ID=1 THEN T IS J (idiosyncratic Reference, R1). GO TO 36.

27. IF EV IS HIGH THEN T IS J (Emotive Reference, R3). GO TO 36.

28. FICTIONAL REFERENCE (R2) HAS BEEN CHOSEN.

29. IF SOCIAL REALITY IS A MAJOR DETERMINER OF THE MOTIVATING SITUATION THEN D=1. (This is fictional referenece by social construction, D1). GO TO 34.

30. IF THE SOCIAL PURPOSE OF THE TEXT IS GREAT THEN D=1. (This is fictional Reference by social construction). GO TO 34.

31. IF X IS AN OBJECT THEN D=2. GO TO 34. (Fictional Reference by

connotative Object).

32. IF X IS ONE OR MORE OF r1, r2, r3 etc. THEN D=3. (Fictional Reference by Denotative relations). GO TO 34.

33. D=4. (Fictional Reference by Sense Relations).

34. SELECT A SUBSET FROM W WHICH HAS THE VALUE EV AND THE VALUE D. CALL THIS SUBSET T, THE TOPIC SET.

35. IF THE TEXT IS FICTIONAL DETERMINE THE INTENDED AFFECTIVE POWER OF THE TEXT. SET EV TO THIS AFFECTIVE POWER.

36. SELECT A LEVEL OF CREDIBILITY WITH VALUE EV. CALL THE LEVEL Z.

37. ACCORDING TO Z SELECT A LEXEME FROM T TO BE THE TOPIC LEXEME, TL.

38.ACCORDING TO Z ESTABLISH SYNTACTIC AND SENSE RELATIONS BETWEEN LEXEMES IN C AND TL.

38a. CHOOSE LEVELS OF ENTAILMENT WHICH HAVE THE SPECIFICITY NECESSARY FOR Z.

38b. FOREGROUND AT LEAST ONE OF THE AVAILABLE SYNONYMS OR ANTONYMOUS PAIRS WHICH IS FOUND IN C, BUT DO NOT FOREGROUND A COMPLETE PAIR.

39. ACCORDING TO F, M AND G AND THE CHOICE MADE IN 19 ASSIGN SENTENTIAL ROLES SUCH THAT TL IS THE TOPIC.

39a. IF LITERARY IDIOM WAS CHOSEN IN PROCESS 19 THEN THERE IS 65% LIKELIHOOD THAT FAIRY WILL TAKE THE ROLE OF SITUATION OTHERWISE THERE IS A 30% LIKELIHOOD.

40. REALISE TOKENS OF TL AND LEXEMES CHOSEN FROM C ACCORDING TO THE SENSE RELATIONS SELECTED IN 38, ROLE CHOICES MADE IN 39 AND, IF CHOSEN IN 22, FORMAL CORRESPONDENCE TO /fɛərɪ/.

41. COMPLETE UTTERANCE.

The best way to understand how this model might apply in a real situation is to work through an illustration. It must be remembered that there is no suggestion that this is the actual sequence of decisions carried out by a user, only that it is a model of the decisions which effectively have to be made for fairy to acquire its Cotextual meaning as evident in the corpus.

The sample situation could be described as follows:

Real Items - darkness, late hour, bird calls, loss of way

Real Objects - hillock, mushroom ring

User's Perception - obscured by darkness, coloured by apprehension, Rem appear greater than they actually are, need to find familiar details

Social Significance of phenomena - should not be alone late at night especially in a lonely place, circles are unnatural, calls are meaningful

User's Purpose - to explain his loss of way

Historical period - late sixteenth century

The traveller records and assesses the information (1), noting that a hill is ahead of him, that he has been hearing bird calls since he lost his way, that there is a mushroom ring at the foot of the hill and so on (2). These are r1, r2, r3 (3) forming R (4). He selects Groups like NEAR, CAUSE, HEAR, UNDER, AROUND, MISLEADING, DECEIVING as S1 (5). He has previously heard stories of creatures encountered at night but the story was matter-of-fact, so not strongly emotive (6). So he tries to make sense of his predicament (7), and needs to explain how it came about so chooses narrative (7a). In doing this he draws on his belief that malignant forces lead people to destruction, so B=1

(8). This makes him think that the beings of the story and the malignant force are the same (9), (6). This means that the creatures have deliberately misled him (here the supernatural as an agent of malignant change is invoked) (7). (8) and (9) are unchanged. The belief he has used is not a systematic one for him (e.g. not part of his religious beliefs) so (10) does not apply. EV is quite high, but not so high that he needs to alter his language competence to express it (11). He now chooses Groups which fit this emotive level, such as FEAR, DEMON, FAIRY, EVIL etc. and these become J (12).

He now chooses a short truthful oral anecdotal narrative as the suitable combination of field, mode and genre (13, 14, 15) which creates a potential set of Groups linking S1 and J (16). Because of the period Groups such as MONEY, DISAPPEAR and TALE are not allowed or likely. This reduced set becomes P. P is not empty so (18) is ignored. The folk idiom fits best (19) so Groups with a primarily literary nature are excluded (such as NYMPH, SHEPHERD, MYRTLE). C is not empty so (21) is ignored. Narrative sometimes foregrounds formal features, but the other aspects of F, M and G do not so no lexemes are marked.

At this point Groups like EVIL, TIME, STEAL, HURT might cause him to reinterpret his experience and go to (1) but not for this example. He selects the Item 'bird call' as the most important Item (24) and chooses SOUND to encode it as W (25). (26) does not apply but (27) does so stages (28) to (36) are ignored. He wants to be believed so chooses a specific level (36) going to the furthest entailment level below SOUND giving Group SONG for which a period realisation could be <u>strain</u>. This becomes lexeme TL, (37, 38a). As TL is the topic it

becomes ACTOR and grammatical subject and the search for a detailed level of specificity(38a) gives lexemes like midnight, hillock (perhaps with a Proper Noun as epithet) to fill the other roles in the sentence. He chooses Group DECEIVE for ACTION, a lexemic realisation being trick, NIGHT gives midnight, EVIL evil and HILL hillock filling SITUATION (39). As the choice under (19) was 'folk' then fairy becomes the ACTOR which is already occupied, giving fairy + song (39). Finally this is realised as an actual sentence, e.g. At the stroke of midnight a fairy strain tricked me by an evil hill.

For a fictional text a similar series of choices might be made but on different grounds and using different areas of knowledge, particularly stages (28) to (36).

The usefulness and accuracy of this illustration show that the model provided here is a good one for accounting for the underlying semantic construction of fairy. It would be better if some cognitive base could be demonstrated and if the grounds for choices could be more clearly stated. For this however a detailed investigation of cognitive processes would be needed and of the way they map onto actual language use. It would also be necessary to provide a detailed pragmatics of the cultural determinants of cognitive choice to indicate, for example, how a belief system affects use of language in actual situations. Both of these are areas presently under investigation by linguists, psychologists and social scientists, but no study adequate for the explanation here required yet exists. Thus as a complete model of the meaning of fairy Diagram 3.6.b, Appendix 2 and Diagram 8.2.a are inadequate, but as a description of the range of

meaning found in the corpus, and the system of knowledge and use underlying that range, these models are probably as complete as can be provided.

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APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX 1

A List of All Texts Used in the Analyses

The corpus is listed in the following pages. Texts marked * were used only in the preliminary analysis and those marked ** only in the main analysis. Citations consist of the date code used in the computer file plus a short title for the text and reference to the source as listed in the bibliography. Where possible precise reference has been given for the location of each occurrence within that source, where this has not been possible partial reference has been given. Throughout the study the texts herein are conventionally referred to by the form DATE/NUMBER OF TEXT/NUMBER OF OCCURRENCE, e.g. 1828/01/006, which is to be read as "the sixth occurrence in the first text for 1828", i.e. line 24 on page 203 of Miss Mitford's Our Village (edition as in the bibliography).

(Note: For the purposes of further research the entire computer file together with additional material on sources will be deposited at The Centre For English Cultural Tradition And Language, Sheffield University.)

1330/01 Kyng Alisaunder. Smithers (1952)
001 Auchinleck 1.41.
*002 Laud. 1.6975.

1330/02 Lai le Freine. Sands (1966)
001 p.235. 1.10.

1330/03 Reinbrun. Zupitza (1969)
001 p.655. 1.29.
002 p.659. 1.22.

1330/04 Degare. French and Hale (1964)
001 1.98.
002 1.193.

1330/05 Sir Orfeo. Bliss (1954)
001 1.193.
002 1.283.
003 1.404.
004 1.492.
005 1.562.

1361/01 William of Palerne. Skeat (1867)
001 1.230.

1362/01 Langland: Piers Plowman: A Text. (1867)
001 Prologue. 1.6.

1390/01 A Disputation between a Christian and a Jew. Horstmann (1892)
001 p.489. 1.184.

1390/02 Gower: Confessio Amantis. (1901)
001 Book I. 1.2317.
002 Book II. 1.964.
003 Book II. 1.1593.
004 Book V. 1.5003.
005 Book V. 1.7073.
006 Book II. 1.1019.
007 Book IV. 1.1321.
008 Book V. 1.3769.
009 Book V. 1.4105.

1390/03 Think on Yesterday. Brown (1924)
001 1.28.

1400/01 Chaucer: Canterbury Tales. (1970)
001 p.129. 1.96.
002 p.130. 1.201.
003 p.120. 1.1743.
004 p.125. 1.2227.
005 p.125. 1.2316.
006 p.123. 1.2039.

007 p.165. 1.802.
008 p.165. 1.814.
009 p.84. 1.859.
010 p.84. 1.872.

1400/02 Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. Tolkien and Gordon (1970b)
001 1.240
002 1.2446.

1402/01 The Wheatley Manuscript. Day (1921)
001 p.30. 1.249.

1406/01 Mum and the Sothsegger. Day and Steele (1936)
001 p.64. 1.1293.

1410/01 Mandeville's Travels. Hamelius (1919)
001 p.97. 1.13.
002 p.182. 1.10.

1420/01 Lydgate: Troy Book. (1908)
001 Book III. 1.4805.
002 Book IV. 1.5586.
003 Book V. 1.2964.

1423/01 Lydgate: Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London. (1934)
001 p.643. 1.366.

1425/01 The Laud Troy Book. Wulfing (1902)
001 p.279. 1.9458.

1426/01 Lydgate: The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man. (1904)
001 p.255. 1.9260.

1430/01 Mandeville's Travels. Seymour (1973)
*001 p.18. 1.600.
*002 p.42. 1.1553.

1439/01 Lydgate: Fall of Princes. (1934)
001 Book VIII. 1.3101.
002 Book VIII. 1.3112.
003 Book VIII. 1.3115.

1440/01 Scrope: Epistle of Othea. (1970)
001 Book LIX. 1.6.
002 Book LIX. 1.13.

1450/01 This worde, lordingges, I understonde. Greene (1935)
001 p.245. 1.13.

1460/01 Emare. French and Hale (1964)
001 p.100. 1.104.

1460/02 Sir Launfal. French and Hale (1964)
001 1.280.
002 1.1035.

1460/03 Lybeaus Desconus. Mills (1969)
001 p.164. l.1432.
002 p.180. l.1706.

1460/04 Merlin, or early history of King Arthur. Wheatley (1899)
001 p.638. l.18.

1490/01 Partonope of Blois. Bodther (1912)
001 l.743.
002 l.887.
003 l.5072.
004 l.5656.

1491/01 Caxton: Four sonnes of Aymon. (1885)
001 p.337. l.27.

1500/0 Melusine. Donald (1895)
001 p.2. l.27.
002 p.4. l.8.
003 p.4. l.27.
004 p.5. l.28.
005 p.6. l.7.
006 p.6. l.16.
007 p.15. l.12.
008 p.27. l.16.
009 p.27. l.17.
010 p.296. l.5.
011 p.370. l.25.
012 p.371. l.6.

1503/01 Dunbar: Ane Littil Interlud. (1893)
001 p.314. l.11.

1505/01 Valentine and Orson. Watson (1937)
001 p.133. l.20.
002 p.107. l.29 (a).
003 p.107. l.29 (b).

1508/01 Dunbar: Sir Thomas Norray. (1893)
001 l.5.

1513/01 Douglas: Aeneis. (1874)
001 p.172. l.23

1520/01 Dunbar: The Dream . (1950)
001 p.130. l.111.

1520/02 Romance of Partenay. Skeat (1866)
001 l.142.
002 l.3474.
003 l.4385.
005 l.4548.
006 l.5916.

1530/01 Huon of Burdeux. Berners (1887)

001 p.63. l.19.
002 p.63. l.21.
003 p.64. l.17.
004 p.65. l.25.
005 p.66. l.5.
006 p.67. l.2.
007 p.68. l.11.
008 p.68. l.27.
009 p.69. l.10.
010 p.73. l.14.
011 p.73. l.27.
012 p.75. l.20.
013 p.76. l.6.
014 p.76. l.14.
015 p.85. l.11.
016 p.105. l.13.
017 p.166. l.5.
018 p.166. l.17.
019 p.231. l.2.
020 p.244. l.27.
021 p.256. l.29.
022 p.258. l.12.
023 p.264. l.6.
024 p.265. l.1.
025 p.265. l.21.
026 p.265. l.29.
027 p.267. l.4.
028 p.268. l.13.
029 p.269. l.4.
030 p.273. l.4.
031 p.313. l.4.
032 p.313. l.17.
033 p.313. l.19.
034 p.408. l.31.
035 p.411. l.2.
036 p.411. l.34.
037 p.425. l.15.
038 p.508. l.12.
039 p.536. l.4.
040 p.536. l.8.
041 p.536. l.10.
042 p.536. l.19.
043 p.539. l.16.
044 p.539. l.30.
045 p.541. l.4.
046 p.541. l.6.
047 p.580. l.18.
048 p.593. l.22.
049 p.593. l.30.
050 p.594. l.2.
051 p.595. l.8.
052 p.595. l.22.
053 p.597. l.13.
054 p.597. l.15.
055 p.598. l.18.

056 p.598. 1.29.
057 p.599. 1.4.
058 p.599. 1.5.
059 p.599. 1.6.
060 p.599. 1.27.
061 p.600. 1.1.
062 p.600. 1.16.
063 p.601. 1.2.
064 p.601. 1.20.
065 p.601. 1.27.
066 p.602. 1.21.
067 p.603. 1.4.
068 p.603. 1.19.
069 p.604. 1.2.
070 p.604. 1.15.
071 p.605. 1.23.
072 p.606. 1.15.
073 p.676. 1.7.
074 p.677. 1.26.
075 p.677. 1.28.
076 p.678. 1.5.
077 p.679. 1.30.
078 p.680. 1.1.
079 p.681. 1.9.
080 p.683. 1.17.
081 p.683. 1.25.
082 p.684. 1.8.
083 p.684. 1.11.
084 p.687. 1.15.

1548/01 The Pilgryms Tale. Thynne (1865)
001 p.79. 1.88.
002 p.80. 1.97.

1548/02 Tamlane. Child (1857-8)
001 p.238. 1.117.
002 p.238. 1.119.
003 p.238. 1.132.
004 p.241. 1.197.
005 p.242. 1.215.
006 p.242. 1.219.

1550/01 The Adventures of Sir Gawen. Hazlitt (1875)
001 p.134. 1.15.
002 p.136. 1.26.
003 p.137. 1.17.

1554/01 Lyndesay: Satires on 3 Estates. (1954)
001 p.63.
002 p.83.
003 p.93.
004 p.100.
005 p.183.

1560/01 Lindsay: Manuscript on Heraldry. Scott (1902)
**001 p.443. l.1.
**002 p.443. l.2.

1563/01 Gammer Gurton's Needle. Gassner (1971)
001 A.I. s.2. l.26.

1563/02 Fulke: The naturall Causes of all kinde of Meteors. (1640)
001 p.68b. l.25.

1566/01 Walsh: Witchtrial. Murray (1967)
001 p.240. l.14.
002 p.240. l.15.
003 p.240. l.19.

1567/01 Ovid: Metamorphoses. (1948)
001 p.370. l.15.
002 p.205. l.7.
003 p.288. l.18.
004 p.159. l.15.
005 p.279. l.7.
006 p.335. l.19.
007 p.367. l.8.

1568/01 Misogonus. Bond (1911)
001 A.3. s.3. l.101.

1568/02 Henryson: Orpheus and Eurydice. (1958)
001 p.133. l.119.
**002 p.133. l.125.

1568/03 Henryson: Sum Practysis of Medecyne. (1958)
001 l.86.

1570/01 Googe: The Popish Kingdom. (1880)
001 Book II.

1570/02 Levins: Manipulus Vocabulorum. A Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language. (1867)
001 col.104.

1570/03 Henryson: The Swallow and the other Birds. (1958)
001 l.1775.

1572/01 Lavater: Of Ghosts and Spirits walking by nyght. (1929)
001 p.49. margin.
002 p.49. l.26.
003 p.93. l.9.

1576/01 Dunlop: Witchtrial. Pitcairn (1833)
001 p.49. l.5.

1577/01 Harrison: Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth. (1877)
001 Book II. p.360.

1579/01 Spenser: Shepherd's Calendar. (1970)
001 p.429. 1.76.
002 p.436. 1.32.
003 p.441. 1.25.

1580/01 Lyly: Euphues. (1902)
001 p.200. 1.13.

1581/01 Sidney: Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. (1973)
001 p.143. 1.25.

1582/01 Stanyhurst: Virgil's Aeneid. Books I-IV. (1880)
001 p.101. 1.23.

1583/01 Sempill: The Sempill Ballates. (1872)
001 p.210. 1.13.

1584/01 Scot: Discoverie of Witchcraft. (1973)
001 p.XXII. 1.23.
**002 Book 3. p.32. 1.19.
003 Book3. p.51. 1.23.
004 Book 7. p.122. 1.20.
005 Book 12. p.176. 1.23.
**006 Book 15. p.340. 1.9.
007 Book 15. p.340. 1.13.
008 Book 15. p.341. 1.8.
009 Book 15. p.342. 1.2.

1585/01 Lyly: Gallathea. (1970)
001 A.V. s.3. p.22.

1587/01 Holinshed: Chronicles. Boswell-Stone (1896)
**001 p.24. 1.20.

1588/01 Byrd: (from his) Psalms, Sonnets and Songs of Sadness and Piety. Bullen (1893)
001 p.34.

1589/01 Puttenham: Arte of English Poesie. (1936)
**001 Book 3. p.173.

1591/01 Shakespeare: Comedy of Errors. (1955a)
001 A.II. s.2. 1.193.

1591/02 Nichols:Entertainment gieven to the Queene, at Elvetham, in Hampshire, 1591. 4th Daies Entertainment. (1788)
001 p.21. 1.4.
**002 p.21. 1.9.
003 p.21. 1.11.
004 p.21. 1.19.
005 p.21. 1.26.
006 p.21. 1.29.

1591/03 Lyly: Endimion. (1902)
001 A.IV. s.3. 1.24.
002 A.IV. s.3. 1.28.

003 A.IV. s.3. 1.30.
004 A.IV. s.3. 1.34.
**005 A.IV. s.3. 1.1.
**006 A.IV. s.3. 1.2.
**007 A.IV. s.3. 1.3.
**008 A.IV. s.3. 1.6.
009 A.IV. s.3. 1.21.

1591/04 Spenser: Tears of the Muse. (1970)
001 1.31.

1591/05 Spenser: Virgil's Gnat. (1970)
001 1.179.

1591/06 Spenser: Mother Hubbard's Tale. (1970)
001 1.30.

1592/01 Nashe: Foure Letters Confuted. (1966)
001 p.317. 1.27.

1592/02 Greene: Groatsworth of Wit. (1923)
001 p.34.

1593/01 Giffard: A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts. (1847)
001 p.10. 1.21.
002 p.35. 1.13.
003 p.54. 1.3.

1593/02 Henslowe: Dead Man's Fortune. (1907)
001 No. 2. 1.6.

1593/03 Shakespeare: Romeo and Juliet. (1955b)
001 A.I. s.4. 1.54.
002 A.I. s.4. 1.1.

1594/01 Nashe: The Terrors of the Night. (1966)
001 p.347. 1.14.

1594/02 Marlowe: Dido, Queen of Carthage. (1947)
001 A.V. 1.215.

1595/01 Spenser: Amoretti. (1970)
001 s.XXXIII. 1.3.
002 s.LXXX. 1.2.
003 s.LXXX. 1.14.

1595/02 Spenser: Faery Queen. (1970)
001 p.411. 1.10.
002 p.412. 1.6.
003 Book I. s.2. 1.5.
004 Book I. Canto I. s.3. 1.3.
005 Book I. Canto III. s.28. 1.5.
006 Book I. Canto IV. s.15. 1.6.

007 Book I. Canto IV. s.39. l.2.
008 Book I. Canto V. s.1. l.6.
009 Book I. Canto V. s.12. l.1.
010 Book I. Canto V. s.45. l.3.
011 Book I. Canto VI. s.29. l.9.
012 Book I. Canto VII. s.36. l.8.
013 Book I. Canto VII. s.36. l.9.
014 Book I. Canto VII. s.46. l.3.
015 Book I. Canto IX. s.3. l.8.
016 Book I. Canto IX. s.6. l.4.
017 Book I. Canto IX. s.14. l.9.
018 Book I. Canto IX. s.16. l.6.
019 Book I. Canto X. s.58. l.3.
020 Book I. Canto X. s.65. l.6.
021 Book I. Canto X. s.65. l.9.
**022 Book I. Canto X. s.66. l.1.
023 Book I. Canto X. s.66. l.8.
024 Book I. Canto VI. s.47. l.1.
025 Book I. Canto IX. s.47. l.9.
026 Book I. Canto X. s.33. l.2.
027 Book I. Canto X. s.52. l.3.
028 Book I. Canto X. s.64. l.7.
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031 Book I. Canto XI. s.7. l.4.
032 Book I. Canto XII. s.18. l.6.
033 Book I. Canto XII. s.41. l.8.
034 Book II. Prologue s.1. l.7.
035 Book II. Prologue s.4. l.8.
036 Book II. Prologue s.5. l.7.
037 Book II. Canto I. s.17. l.6.
038 Book II. Canto I. s.31. l.6.
039 Book II. Canto VI. s.36. l.7.
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042 Book II. Canto IX. s.4. l.1.
043 Book II. Canto IX. s.9. l.8.
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054 Book III. Canto III. s.26. l.6.
055 Book III. Canto III. s.26. l.9.
056 Book III. Canto IV. s.23. l.9.
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058 Book III. Canto IV. s.54. l.7.
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085 Book II. Canto IX. s.8. 1.9.
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090 Book VI. Canto X. s.17. 1.6.
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093 Book III. Canto II. s.8. 1.1.
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096 Book III. Canto IV. s.51. 1.2.
097 Book IV. Canto II. s.31. 1.6.
098 Book V. Canto III. s.2. 1.3.
099 Book VI. Canto XII. s.37. 1.1.
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101 Book II. Canto VII. s.38. 1.1.
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103 Book II. Canto II. s.43. 1.3.
104 Book IV. Canto II. s.44. 1.1.
105 Book IV. Canto II. s.44. 1.8.
108 Book IV. Canto II. s.49. 1.6.
107 Book IV Canto II. s.53. 1.1.
108 Book IV. Canto III. s.2. 1.1.
109 Book IV. Canto III. s.40. 1.4.
110 Book II. Canto X. s.42. 1.7.

1596/02 Shakespeare: A Midsummer Night's Dream. (1955a)
001 A.2. s.1. stage direction.
002 A.2. s.1. 1.8.
003 A.2. s.1. 1.12.
004 A.2. s.1. 1.58.
005 A.2. s.1. 1.61.
006 A.2. s.1. 1.65.
007 A.2. s.1. 1.122.
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010 A.2. s.1. 1.256.
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012 A.2. s.2. 1.8/9 stage direction.
013 A.2. s.2. 1.12.
014 A.2. s.2. 1.26/7 stage direction
015 A.3. s.1. 1.68.
016 A.3. s.1. 1.141.
017 A.3. s.2. 1.110.
018 A.3. s.2. 1.378.
019 A.4. s.1. 1.32.
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023 A.4. s.1. 1.90.
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028 A.5. s.1. 1.385.
029 A.5. s.1. 1.388.
030 A.5. s.1. 1.402.
*031 A.4. s.1. 1.57.
*032 A.4. s.1. 1.58.
*033 A.4. s.1. stage direction.

1596/03 Shakespeare: King Henry IV. Part I. (1970)
001 A.1. s.1. 1.87.

1597/01 Middleton: The Famous Historie of Chinon of England. (1925)
001 p.30. 1.7.
002 p.31. 1.5.
003 p.39. 1.7.
004 p.39. 1.19.
005 p.51. 1.30.

1597/02 Langham: The Garden of Health. (1597)
**001 p.47. 1.11.
**002 p.483. 1.19.

1597/03 Peele: The Battle of Alcazar. (1907)
001 A.2. s.4. 1.1231.

1597/04 Chapman: An Humorous Day's Mirth. (1914)
001 p.24. 1.99.
002 p.24. 1.101.

1597/05 Stewart: Witchtrial. Pitcairn (1833)
001 p.25. 1.36.
002 p.26. 1.3.

1598/01 Jonson: Every Man Out of his Humour. (1926)
001 Epilogue. 1.28.

1598/02 Henslowe: The Eventary of the Clownes Sewtes and Hermetes Sewtes, with divers other sewtes, as followeth, 1958, the 10 of March. (1907)
001 p.114. 1.19.

1598/03 Jonson: A Tale of a Tub. (1926)
001 A.2. s.1. 1.18.

1598/04 Greene: James the Fourth. (1874)
001 p.187. 1.2.
002 p.188. 1.31.
003 p.195. 1.20.
004 p.202. 1.41.
005 p.207. 1.5.
006 p.212. 1.14.

1599/01 Dekker: Old Fortunatus. (1953)
001 Prologue 1.55.
002 A.1. s.1. 1.160.
003 A.2. s.2. 1.400.
004 A.4. s.2. 1.38.

1600/01 Fairfax: Jerusalem Delivered. (1890)
001 Book IV. s.18. 1.5.

1600/02 The Maid's Metamorphoses. (1912)
001 p.127. 1.7.
002 p.127. 1.16.
003 p.128. 1.11.
004 p.130. 1.28.
005 p.132. 1.26.

1600/03 Conjurations for Fairies. Halliwell-Phillips (1845)
001 p.220. 1.6.
002 p.229. 1.15.
003 p.230. 1.5.
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005 p.230. 1.9.
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1600/04 Sports of the Fairies. Halliwell-Phillips (1845)
001 1.3.

1600/05 Montgomerie: Polwart and Montgomeries Flyting. (1885-6)
001 p.69. 1.280.
002 p.80. 1.617.

1600/06 The Wisdom of Dr. Dodypoll. Wisdom (1965)
001 A.3. Epilogue. 1.944.
002 A.1. 1.74.
003 A.1. 1.77.
004 A.3. s.4. 1.1048.
005 A.3. 1.1090.

1601/01 Campion: A Book of Ayres. (1909)
001 No.XIX. 1.2.
002 No.XIX. 1.9.
003 No.XIX. 1.10.
004 No.XIX. 1.16.
005 No.XIX. 1.23.
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1601/02 Shakespeare: The Merry Wives of Windsor. (1971)
001 A.4. s.4. 1.49.
**002 A.4. s.4. 1.57.
003 A.4. s.4. 1.59.
004 A.4. s.4. 1.61.
005 A.4. s.4. 1.70.
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1602/01 Shakespeare: Hamlet. (1955a)
001 A.1. s.1. 1.163.

1603/01 Philotus. (1835)
001 s.122. 1.2.
002 s.132. 1.5.

1603/01 Harsnett: Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures. (1603)
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**002 p.135. 1.3.
003 p.137. 1.10.

1603/02 Jonson: The Satyr. (1890)
001 p.408. 1.23.
002 p.409. 1.15.
003 p.409. 1.18.
004 p.410. 1.23.
005 p.411. 1.18.
006 p.412. 1.11.

1605/01 Chapman: Eastwood Ho! (1914)
001 A.4. s.1. 1.33.
001 A.4. s.1. 1.39.

1605/02 Shakespeare: King Lear. (1973)
001 A.4. s.6. 1.29.

1605/03 Heywood: If ye know not me, you know nobody. (1874)
001 p.302. 1.34.

1605/04 Le Loyer: A Treatise on Specters or Strange Sights, Visions and Apparitions appearing sensibly unto Men .
001 p.17/1 (a).
002 p.17/1 (b).
003 p.17/1 (c).
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006 p.17/1 (f).
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008 p.17/1 (h).
009 p.17/1 (i).
010 p.17/1 (j).
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1606/01 Field: Woman is a Weathercock. (1888)
001 A.1. s.1. 1.12.

1606/02 Shakespeare: Macbeth. (1972a)
001 A.4. s.1. 1.42.

1606/03 Dekker: News from Hell. (1884-6)

1607/01 Dekker: The Whore of Babylon. (1953-61)
001 Prologue 1.42.
002 A.1. s.1. 1.46.
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005 A.1. s.1. 1.81.
006 A.1. s.1. 1.99.
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057 A.5. s.6. 1.81.

1607/02 Topsel: History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents . (1673)
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1607/03 Shakespeare: Antony and Cleopatra. (1955a)
001 A.4. s.8. 1.12.

1608/01 Shakespeare: Pericles. (1955a)
001 A.5. s.1. 1.155.

1608/02 The Merry Devil of Edmonton. Warnke and Proescholdt (1884)
001 A.3. s.2. 1.34.

1608/03 Dekker: The Bel-Man. (1884-6)
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1608/04 Revels. Carpenter (1906)
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1609/01 Jonson: The Silent Woman. (1926)
001 A.5. s.1. 1.119.

1609/02 Ravenscroft: The Fayries Daunce. (1822)
001 p.20. No.XXI. Title.
002 p.20. No.XXI. 1.2.
003 p.20. No.XXI. 1.7.

1609/03 Beaumont and Fletcher: The Faithful Shepherdess. (1970)
001 A.1. s.1. 1.115.
002 A.1. s.2. 1.100.
003 A.3. s.1. 1.99.
004 A.3. s.1. 1.148.
005 A.3. s.1. 1.89.

1610/01 James I: Daemonologie. (1924)
001 p.57. 1.7.
002 p.73. 1.21.
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004 p.74. 1.8.
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1610/02 Shakespeare: Venus and Adonis. (1955a)
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1610/03 Shakespeare: Cymbeline. (1955a)
001 A.2. s.2. 1.9.
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004 A.5. s.4. 1.133.

1611/01 Shakespeare: The Winter's Tale. (1972b)
001 A.3. s.3. 1.116.
002 A.3. s.3. 1.120.

1611/02 Shakespeare: The Tempest. (1965)
001 A.4. s.1. l.196.
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003 A.4. s.1. l.212.

1611/03 Jonson: Oberon. (1938)
001 p.341. Title.
002 p.343. l.52.
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1612/01 Jonson: The Alchemist. (1926)
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005 p.49. l.34.
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008 p.50. l.39.

1613/01 Beaumont and Fletcher: The Honest Man's Fortune. (1905-12)
005 A.5. s.1. l.37.

1613/02 The Cozenages of the Wests. Halliwell-Phillips (1845)
001 p.223. l.11.
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1613/03 Rowlands: Knaeve of Spades. (1880)
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1614/01 Browne: The Shepherd's Pipe. (1830)
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1614/02 The Elves Dance. Carpenter (1906)
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1615/01 Jonet Drever and Katherene Bigland tried for Witchcraft. Maitland Club (1840)
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1615/02 Armin: The Valiant Welshman. (1913)
001 A.2. s.1. a.
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003 A.2. s.5. a.
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1616/01 Beaumont and Fletcher: The Pilgrim. (1905-12)
001 A.2. s.1. l.10.
002 A.3. s.1. l.32.
003 A.3. s.4. l.1.
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1616/02 Elspeth Reoch tried for Witchcraft. Maitland Club (1840)
001 vol.2. p.188.
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1616/03 Beaumont and Fletcher: The Scornful Lady. (1905-12)
001 A.3. s.1. l.24.

1616/04 R. C.: The Times Whistle or A New Dance of 7 Sabines. (1871)
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1616/05 Caray: Witchtrial. Murray (1967)
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1617/01 Campion: The Charm. Carpenter (1906)
001 p.133. 1.5.

1618/01 Willimot: Witchtrial. Murray (1967)
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1620/01 Corbett: Iter Boreale. (1955)
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1620/02 Corbett: The Faeryes Farewell. (1955)
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002 p.49. 1.1.
003 p.50. 1.10.
004 p.51. 1.1.
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1621/01 Fairfax: A Discourse of Witchcraft As it was acted in the Family of Mr. Edward Fairfax . (1859)
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1621/02 Burton: The Anatomy of Melancholy. (1866)
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1621/03 Jonson: The Gypsies Metamorphos'd. (1938)
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1621/04 History of Tom Thumb. Opie (1974)
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002 p.34. 1.21.
003 p.34. 1.23.
004 p.34. 1.31.
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*017 p.186. 1.4.
*018 p.186. 1.8.

*019 p.198. l.8.
*020 p.204. l.4.
*021 p.204. l.11.
*022 p.204. l.29.
*023 p.205. l.18.
*024 p.384. l.8.
*025 p.385. l.17.
*026 p.386. l.10.
*027 p.388. l.8.
*028 p.389. l.7.
*029 p.389. l.13.
*030 p.390. l.2.
*031 p.390. l.3
*032 p.390. l.22.
*033 p.391. l.2.

1808/01 Review of Lectures on English Poets. (1803-1835)
001 p.63.
002 p.64.
003 p.65.

1808/02 Jamieson: An Etymological Dictionary. (1808)
001 s.v.Fair-folk.
002 s.v.Fairy-Hillocks.
003 s.v. a.
004 s.v.Farefolkis. (a).
005 s.v. (b).
006 s.v. (c).
007 s.v. (f).
008 s.v. (g).
009 s.v. (h).
**010 s.v. (i).
*011 s.v. (d).
*012 s.v. (e).

1808/03 Blake: Milton. (1966)
001 s.31. l.20.
002 s.28. l.60.

1808/04 Wordsworth: The White Doe of Rylston. (1953)
001 Dedication l.7.
002 l.267.

1809/01 Blake: A Descriptive Catalogue. (1966)
001 p.570. l.1.
002 p.578. l.1.

1809/01 Review of Partenopex of Blois. Edinburgh Review (1809)
*001 p.424.a.
*002 p.424.c.
*003 p.424.f.
*004 p.424.g.
*005 p.424.h.
*006 p.424.i.

*007 p.424.j.
*008 p.424.k.
*009 p.424.l.
*010 p.424.m.

1810/01 Conder: Birthday Retrospect. (1810)
001 1.8.

1810/02 Conder: Time. (1810)
001 s.2. 1.9.

1810/03 Conder: Silence. (1810)
001 1.95.

1810/04 Cromek: Remains of Galloway and Nithsdale Song. (1812).
001 p.293. Title.
002 p.293. 1.12.
003 p.293. 1.21a.
004 p.293. 1.21b.
005 p.294. 1.21.
006 p.295. 1.5.
007 p.296. 1.20.
008 p.296. 1.24.
009 p.297. 1.4.
010 p.297. 1.5.
011 p.297. 1.19.
012 p.298. 1.4.
013 p.298. 1.8.
014 p.298. 1.9.
*015 p.298. 1.15.
*016 p.299. 1.4.
017 p.300. 1.9.
018 p.301. 1.6.
019 p.301. 1.9.
020 p.301. 1.13.
021 p.302. 1.8.
022 p.302. 1.11.
023 p.302. 1.23.
024 p.303. 1.7.
025 p.303. 1.19.
026 p.303. 1.24.
027 p.304. 1.6.
028 p.304. 1.13.
029 p.305. 1.14.
030 p.305. 1.20.
031 p.306. 1.23.
032 p.307. 1.13.
033 p.307. 1.14.
034 p.309. 1.8.
**035 p.309. 1.23.
036 p.310. 1.1.
037 p.310. 1.7.
038 p.310. 1.19.

1810/05 May Eve, or Kate of Aberdeen. Cromek (1810)
001 1.26.

1811/01 Mrs. Grant on Highlanders. Edinburgh Review (1811)
001 vol.XVIII. p.500.
*002 vol.XVIII. p.501. 1.27.
*003 vol.XVIII. p.501. 1.48.
*004 vol.XVIII. p.503. 1.16.

1811/02 Byron: Hints from Horace. (n.d.)
001 p.645. 1.538.

1811/03 Blake: I will tell you what Joseph of Arimathea. (1966)
001 p.552. 1.2.
002 p.552. 1.6.

1812/01 Keats: Imitation of Spenser. (1967)
001 1.18.

1812/02 Byron: Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. (n.d.)
001 To Ianthe 1.42.
002 canto 1. 1.282.
003 canto 1. 1.572.

1813/01 Index. Edinburgh Review (1802-1835)
001 vol.I. Fairies
002 vol.I. Fairy Queen
**003 vol.I. Fairyism
004 vol.III. Fairy-rings

1813/02 Letter on Hoston-Stone. Gentleman's Magazine (1813)
001 p.319. 1.9.
002 p.319. 1.24.

1813/03 Shelley:Queen Mab. (1891)
001 s.I. 1.59.
002 s.I. 1.91.
003 s.I. 1.94.
004 s.I. 1.101.
005 s.I. 1.106.
006 s.I. 1.167.
007 s.I. 1.199.
008 s.II. 1.21.
009 s.II. 1.20.
010 s.II. 1.41.
011 s.II. 1.55.
012 s.II. 1.68.
013 s.II. 1.97.
014 s.II. 1.109.
015 s.II. 1.244.
016 s.III. 1.1.
017 s.VI. 1.2.
018 s.VI. 1.15.
019 s.VI. 1.23.

020 s.VII. 1.267.
021 s.VIII. 1.41.
022 s.IX. 1.212.
023 s.IX. 1.221.

1813/04 Byron: The Bride of Abydos. (n.d.)
001 s.I. 1.286.
002 s.II. 1.66.

1813/05 Byron: The Giaour. (n.d.)
001 1.55.

1814/01 Brand's Popular Antiquities. Quarterly Review (1814)
001 p.262. 1.25.
002 p.262. 1.31.

1814/02 Byron: Lara. (n.d.)
001 s.I. 1.159.

1814/03 Byron: The Corsair. (n.d.)
001 s.I. 1.411.
002 s.II. 1.404.

1814/04 Song of the Fairies. Gentleman's Magazine (1885)
*001 Title.

1815/01 Dunlop's History of Fiction. Quarterly Review (1815)
001 vol.XIII. p.390. 1.7.
*002 vol.XIII. p.390. 1.33.

1815/02 Keats: Epistle to George Felton Mathew. (1967)
001 1.26.
002 1.28.

1815/03 Roberts: Cambrian Antiquities. (1815)
**001 p.192. Title.
002 p.195. 1.11.
003 p.195. 1.18.
004 p.196. 1.16.
005 p.197. 1.5.
006 p.200. 1.11.
007 p.200. 1.24.
008 p.202. Title.
009 p.202. note.
010 p.203. note.

1815/04 Shelley: The Demon of the World. (1891)
001 1.205.
*001 1.221.

1815/05 Wordsworth: Artegal and Elidure. (1953)
001 1.49.

1816/01 Austen: Emma. (1928)
001 p.844. l.9.
002 p.844. l.17.
003 p.999. l.20.

1816/02 Culloden Papers. Quarterly Review (1816)
001 p.328. a.
002 p.328. b.

1816/03 The Antiquary. Quarterly Review (1816)
001 No.14. p.127. l.1.
002 No.14. p.127. l.10.

1816/04 Keats: To Emma. (1967)
001 l.7.

1816/05 Polidori: The Vampyre. (1966)
001 p.272.
002 p.274.

1817/01 Keats: Calidor. (1967)
001 l.95.

1817/02 Keats: On Receiving a Curious Shell. (1967)
001 l.25.

1817/03 Keats: Lines. (1967)
001 l.7.

1817/04 Clarke's Travels. Quarterly Review (1817)
001 vol.17. p.192.

1817/05 Antiquarian Repertory. Blackwood's Magazine (1817-1830)
001 No.2. vol.I. p.167.
002 No.2. vol.I. p.168.

1817/06 Gilbert: Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall. (1817)
001 p.106. l.10.
002 p.106. l.15.
003 p.107. l.13.
004 p.107. l.17.
005 p.107. l.20.
006 p.107. l.21.
007 p.107. l.25.

1818/01 The Good People. Gentleman's Magazine (1818)
001 p.52. l.31.
002 p.52. l.35.
003 p.52. l.39.

1818/02 General Index to 56 volumes: Volume I. Gentleman's Magazine (1815)
**001 p.159. Fairies.

002 p.159. s.v.
003 p.159. Fairy tale.
004 p.159. Fairy Queen.

1818/03 General Index to 56 volumes: Volume II. Gentleman's Magazine (1818)
001 p.277. Fairies.
002 p.277. Fairy. (a).
003 p.277. s.v. (b).
004 p.277. s.v. (c).
005 p.277. s.v. (d).
006 p.277. s.v. (e).
007 p.384. Fairies.
008 p.384. Fairy Tale.
009 p.384. Fairy anecdote.

1818/04 Keats: Where be ye going, ye Devon Maid? (1967)
001 1.3.

1818/05 Keats: Song. (1967)
001 1.5.

1818/06 Keats: To J.H. Reynolds Esq. (1967)
001 1.50.

1818/07 Keats: Sonnet VII. (1967)
001 1.11.

1818/08 Keats: Fairy's Song. (1967)
001 Title.

1818/09 Keats: Faery Song. (1967)
001 Title.

1818/10 Keats: Endymion. (1967)
001 s.I. 1.92.
002 s.II. 1.93.
003 s.II. 1.352.
004 s.III. 1.575.
005 s.III. 1.802.
006 s.III. 1.857.
007 s.IV. 1.499.
008 s.IV. 1.693.

1818/11 The Fairies. Blackwood's Magazine (1818)
001 vol.III. p.30. Title.
002 vol.III. p.30. 1.1.
003 vol.III. p.30. 1.55.
004 vol.III. p.30. 1.60.
005 vol.III. p.30. 1.89.
006 vol.III. p.30. 1.94.
007 vol.III. p.30. 1.107.
008 vol.III. p.31. 1.23.
009 vol.III. p.31. 1.63.

010 vol.III. p.31. l.74.
011 vol.III. p.31. l.100.
012 vol.III. p.31. l.105.
013 vol.III. p.32. l.19.
014 vol.III. p.32. l.36.
015 vol.III. p.32. l.43.
016 vol.III. p.32. l.50.
017 vol.III. p.32. l.77.
018 vol.III. p.32. l.36.

1818/12 Shelley: Rosalind and Helen. (1891)
001 l.266.

1818/13 Byron: Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. (n.d.)
001 canto 3. l.951.
002 canto 4. l.51.
003 canto 4. l.155.
004 canto 4. l.426.
005 canto 4. l.1051.

1819/01 Keats: When they were come. (1967)
001 l.1.
002 l.3.
003 l.4.
004 l.24.
005 l.26.
006 l.32.
007 l.35.
008 l.37.
009 l.62.

1819/02 Keats: La Belle Dame Sans Merci. (1967)
001 l.14.
002 l.24.

1819/03 Keats: Song of Four Fairies. (1967)
001 Title.
002 l.31.
003 l.39.
004 l.55.
005 l.62.
006 l.64.

1819/04 Keats: The Eve of St. Agnes. (1967)
001 s.1. l.3.
002 s.8. l.7.
003 s.14. l.4.
004 s.19. l.6.
005 s.39. l.1.

1819/05 Keats: Ode to a Nightingale. (1967)
001 s.4. l.7.
002 s.7. l.10.

1819/06 Keats: Otho the Great. (1967)
001 A.V. s.V. 1.68.

1819/07 Keats: Lamia. (1967)
001 s.I. 1.1.
002 s.I. 1.16.
003 s.I. 1.329.
004 s.I. 1.123.
005 s.I. 1.5.

1819/08 On Good and Bad Fairies. Edinburgh Magazine (1819)
001 vol.LXXXIV. p.16. Title.
002 vol.LXXXIV. p.16. 1.2.
003 vol.LXXXIV. p.16. 1.5.
004 vol.LXXXIV. p.18.
005 vol.LXXXIV. p.19. 1.9.
006 vol.LXXXIV. p.19. 1.86.
007 vol.LXXXIV. p.19. 1.88.
008 vol.LXXXIV. p.19. 1.93.
009 vol.LXXXIV. p.19. 1.101.
010 vol.LXXXIV. p.19. 1.118.
011 vol.LXXXIV. p.19. 1.120.

1819/09 Fairy Tales collected by B. Tabart. Quarterly Review (1819)
001 vol.21. p.91. Title.
002 vol.21. p.93.
003 vol.21. p.94.
004 vol.21. p.99.
005 vol.21. p.101.
006 vol.21. p.109.

1820/01 A Lay of Fairy Land. Blackwood's Magazine (1820)
001 vol.VI. p.432. Title.
002 vol.VI. p.433. 1.4. (a).
003 vol.VI. p.433. 1.4. (b).
004 vol.VI. p.433. 1.22.
005 vol.VI. p.433. 1.24.
006 vol.VI. p.433. 1.26.
007 vol.VI. p.433. 1.32.
008 vol.VI. p.433. 1.51.
009 vol.VI. p.434. 1.10.
010 vol.VI. p.434. 1.12.
**011 vol.VI. p.432. 1.26.

1820/02 Montgomery: The Wanderer of Switzerland. (1862)
001 1.4.

1820/03 Quarterly Review: Index. Quarterly Review (1820)
001 vol.XX. Faery.
002 vol.XX. Fairies (a).
003 vol.XX. s.v. (b).
004 vol.XX. s.v. (c).
005 vol.XX. s.v. (d).

006 vol.XX. s.v.(e).
007 vol.XX. s.v.(f).

1820/04 Hogg: The Woolgatherer. (1837)
001 p.196.

1820/05 Keats: The Cap and Bells. (1967)
001 Subtitle.
002 s.I. 1.3.
003 s.II. 1.5.
004 s.III. 1.4.
005 s.IV. 1.9.
006 s.X. 1.2.
007 s.XI. 1.8.
008 s.XIX. 1.5.
009 s.XXI. 1.2.
010 s.XLIII. 1.8.
011 s.LIII. 1.9.
012 s.LX. 1.2.
013 s.LXV. 1.1.
014 s.LXXI. 1.7.

1820/06 Popular Mythology of the Middle Ages. Quarterly Review (1820)
001 p.351. 1.26.
002 p.351. 1.28.
003 p.351. 1.33.
004 p.351. 1.39.
005 p.362. 1.20.
006 p.363. 1.3.
007 p.363. 1.27.
**008 p.376. 1.3.

1820/07 Blake: Jerusalem. (1966)
001 Plate 3. 1.2.
002 Plate 13. 1.29.
003 Plate 36. 1.37.
004 Plate 63. 1.14.

1823/01 The Frog Prince. Opie (1974)
001 p.106. 1.24.

1823/02 Byron: The Island. (n.d.)
001 Canto I. 1.135.

1824/01 Shelley: The Witch of Atlas. (1891)
001 s.16. 1.3.

1824/02 Byron: Don Juan. (n.d.)
001 Canto IV. 1.138.
002 Canto V. 1.27.
**003 Canto I. 1.567.
004 Canto XI. 1.637.
005 Canto XV. 1.339.

1825/01 Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland. Quarterly Review (1825)
001 p.204. l.10.
002 p.206. l.34.
003 p.206. l.31.
004 p.206. l.38.
*001 Title.

1825/02 Coleridge: Constancy to an ideal object. (1969)
001 l.6.

1826/03 Fielding: Proverbs of all Nations. (1826)
**001 p.185. l.1.
**002 p.185. l.11.
**003 p.185. l.12.
**004 p.185. l.24.
**005 p.185. l.28.

1826/02 Wordsworth: Once I could hail. (1953)
001 s.I. l.21.

1827/01 Pollok: The Course of Time. (1831)
001 Book 3.

1827/02 Wordsworth: Scorn not the Sonnet. (1953)
001 l.10.

1827/03 Wordsworth: On seeing a needlecase in the shape of a harp. (1953)
001 l.22.

1828/01 Mitford: Our Village. (1926)
001 p.27. l.4.
002 p.114. l.16.
003 p.116. l.21.
004 p.134. l.8.
005 p.175. l.1.
006 p.203. l.24.
007 p.204. l.13.
008 p.224. l.9.
009 p.245. l.16.
010 p.250. l.1.
011 p.250. l.1.

1828/02 Coleridge: The Garden of Boccaccio. (1969)
001 l.15.
002 l.48.

1828/03 Hogg: The Shepherd's Calendar. Blackwood's Magazine (1817-1830)
001 p.214. l.2.
002 p.214. col.1. l.31.
003 p.214. col.1. l.12.

004 p.217.col.1. 1.38.
005 p.218.col.1. 1.6.
006 p.219. col.2. 1.22.
007 p.220. col.1. 1.37.
008 p.221. col.2. 1.54.
009 p.222. col.1. 1.10.
010 p.224. col.2. 1.27.
011 p.224. col.2. 1.36.
012 p.224. col.2. 1.41.
013 p.509. 1.3.
014 p.510. col.2. 1.40.
015 p.512. col.1. 1.31.
016 p.512. col.1. 1.38.

1828/04 Wordsworth: Triad. (1953)
001 1.170.

1828/05 Wordsworth: The Wishing Gate. (1953)
001 1.19.

1829/01 Wordsworth: To Gold and Silver Fishes in a Vase. (1953)
**001 1.33.

1830/01 Forby: Vocabulary of East Anglia. (1830)
001 vol.I. p.108 (a).
002 vol.I. p.108 (b).
003 vol.I. p.108 (c).
004 vol.I. p.108 (d).
005 vol.I. p.108 (e).

1830/02 The Origin of the Fairies. Blackwood's Magazine (1817-1830)
001 vol.28.
002 vol.28.

APPENDIX 2

Semantic Groups derived from the main Analysis.

L = Lexemic Group.

E = Entailment Group.

S = Synonymous Group.

Appendix 2

Group	Group Type	Total	Group	Group Type	Total
BE	L	765	HILL	E	49
SUPERNATURAL NAME	E	426	BELIEVE	S	48
MONARCH	E	318	JOY	S	47
HAVE	E	317	TALE	S	45
PLACE	E	312	THINK	L	45
BODY	E	197	HOLD	S	42
SEE	S	195	SHINE	E	41
MOVE	E	188	APPEAR	S	40
NUMBERS	E	185	WOOD	S	38
SAY	E	184	POWER	S	38
PROPER NOUNS	E	157	CARRY	S	38
DO	S	155	HEAR	L	38
WOMAN	E	154	LIGHT	L	37
COUNTRY	S	147	SOUND	E	37
COLOURS	E	144	CAN	L	36
TIME	E	139	HIT	E	36
RING	S	120	PINCH	S	36
COME	E	115	SHAPE	S	36
MAN	S	111	BRING	S	35
CHILD	E	109	USE	S	35
CALL	S	109	DESCEND	E	35
DANCE	L	108	FILL	L	34
LIVE	E	95	KIND	S	34
NIGHT	E	88	KNOW	L	34
GO	E	84	REALM	S	34
MAKE	S	84	RISE	L	34
TAKE	E	79	MUSIC	E	33
BEAUTY	S	77	THING	L	32
IMAGINE	S	74	NAME	L	31
KNIGHT	L	74	PARENT	E	30
VEGETATION	E	72	AIR	L	29
ENCHANT	S	69	HIDE	E	29
GIVE	L	69	MOON	L	29
OLD	S	68	SKIP	S	29
SMALL	S	68	STONE	S	28
GOOD	L	62	COMMON	S	67
PEOPLE	S	59	OVER	L	27
PLAY	S	59	PRINCE	E	27
SING	S	58	FATE	S	25
WATER	E	56	FIELD	S	25
LOVE	L	55	ROOM	E	25
GREAT	L	54	SWEET	L	25
WILL	L	54	DOWN	L	24
LEAVE	S	53	LEAD	L	24
EARTH	S	52	GET	S	24
BEING	S	51	PART	S	24
DRESS	E	51	CHANGE	L	23
FIND	L	49	GRACE	L	23

Group	Group Type	Total	Group	Group Type	Total
LONG	L	23	ROYAL	E	15
SET	L	23	BIRTH	L	14
MEET	L	22	HOPE	S	14
MONEY	S	22	HURT	E	14
NEAR	L	22	NATURAL	L	14
DECEIVE	S	21	SCENE	L	14
MARVEL	S	21	SEND	L	14
WAY	L	21	SERVE	L	14
WORK	S	20	DARK	S	13
BAND	E	19	HARD	L	13
DEATH	L	19	LOSE	L	13
EVIL	S	19	NOTE	L	13
FEAR	L	19	SEEK	S	13
PASS	L	19	TRAIN	L	13
RIGHT	L	19	FAMOUS	L	12
SHOW	L	19	GUIDE	S	12
SOFT	S	19	HIGH	L	12
STAND	L	19	HORN	L	12
STEP	S	19	MUSICAL INSTRUMENT	E	12
STRANGE	L	19	NATION	S	12
TOWN	S	19	PLEASE	L	12
DISAPPEAR	S	18	PRESENT	L	12
FAR	S	18	SHEPHERD	L	12
TRUE	L	18	VIRTUE	S	12
WORD	L	18	ALONE	L	11
DRINK	E	17	BEGIN	L	11
LORD	L	17	BLESS	L	11
ORDER	S	17	BREATH	L	11
SOON	L	17	CRADLE	L	11
TURN	L	17	FRIEND	L	11
WILD	L	17	GUARD	S	11
BED	L	16	INVISIBLE	L	11
CASTLE	S	16	MEAN	L	11
GAY	S	16	MIGHT	L	11
SLEEP	L	16	MISCHIEF	S	11
SPRING	S	16	PLACE OF WORSHIP	E	11
ATTEND	L	15	SHADE	L	11
CLEAN	L	15	SIDE	L	11
FAVOUR	L	15	SMILE	E	11
FOLLOW	S	15	WAND	L	11
ILL	S	15	WIND	L	11
RICH	L	15			

APPENDIX 3: GLOSSARY

The following list summarises the major terms used in this study with precise or unusual definition. For further discussion of the terms see the pages referred to. The majority of the terms have initial letters capitalised throughout the study to signify this special use. Where such terms are not capitalised the term is used in one of its wider or more usual senses.

The attempt to specify degrees of reality which is one of the underlying difficulties of such a study as this, has been made using the terms Rem, Entity, Item and Object. Throughout the definition and discussion of these terms the point of view is that of an analyst attempting objective description of levels or interpretation of reality. Except where explicitly stated it is assumed that a person experiencing a supernatural phenomenon or using a supernatural name does not attempt such analysis.

Applicability (pp.25, 45-70). The meaningful relation between a word and the world, subsuming Denotation (q.v.) and Reference (q.v.).

Associative Meaning (pp. 31-2). The sum of Stylistic (q.v.) and Emotive (q.v.) meaning.

Class (p.29). A group of Entities (q.v.) having a common property or properties and listed together.

Cluster (pp.67-8). A group of Items believed by a language user to have an organised relation, Denoted (q.v.) by a lexeme.

Cotext (p.43). The text immediately surrounding a particular occurrence (q.v.) of the object-word (q.v.).

Denotation (pp.59-70). The relation between a lexeme and reality which is conventionally predetermined in a language.

Emotive Meaning (pp. 33-9). Those features of a lexeme and reality felt to be meaningful by an user of a language but which are not necessarily systematic in the language.

Entity (pp.28, 30). Any Rem (q.v.) taken to exist as a portion of reality.

Extension (p.29). A Set (q.v.) of Entities (q.v.) defined by listing.

Intension (p.29). Defining a Class (q.v.) of Entities (q.v.) by virtue of properties common to all Entities in the class.

Item (p.28). Any Entity (q.v.) which is assumed to possess neither separateness or individuality.

Lexeme . A vocabulary item as one entry in a lexicon, which may be realised by several forms. It may not have a single form but is represented conventionally by its citation form.

Metalanguage (p.24). The language used to describe another language.

Object (p.28). An Item (q.v.) regarded as having independent existence.

Object-word . The word forming the major object of study, in this case, fairy.

Occurrence (p.80). A particular Cotext (q.v.), i.e. a string of words which contains a token of the object-word (q.v.).

Reference (pp.51-8). The act of using a token of a lexeme (q.v.) to indicate an Entity (q.v.) in the context of utterance.

Rem (p.28). Any organised experience of an individual taken to be a perception.

Sense Relations (pp.71-4). The semantic aspect of the relation between two lexemes.

Set (p.29). A group of Entities (q.v.) listed together.

Stylistic Meaning (pp.40-4). Those features of a lexeme which are meaningful by virtue of the register, mode, field or genre in which it is used and which prevent full paradigmatic equivalence with Denotational (q.v.) synonyms.

Supernatural Name (p.11). Tokens used in a language to Refer (q.v.) to or Denote (q.v.) the supernatural.

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An Index to Discussion of Semantic Groups.

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