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Social Identity in Shakespeare's Plays: A Quantitative Study

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ABSTRACT

This thesis takes three major claims made by literary scholars about Shakespeare's use of language regarding issues of social identity. Each chapter introduces a critical perception of Shakespeare's language - madness (Neely 1991), whorishness (Stanton 2000, Stallybrass 1986, Newman 1986) and questions of race, ethnicity and nationality (Loomba 2000, Hall 1992) – and applies a quantitative approach to the claims they raise. In doing so, I illustrate how digital resources such as the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Kay et al 2015), the Folger Digital Texts (Mowat, Werstine, Niles and Poston 2014) and corpus analysis software including AntConc (Anthony 2014) and Ubiqu+ity can be applied to a closed-set collection of plays understood to be written by Shakespeare (Wells and Taylor 1987, 109-134) to test claims laid out by literary critics. This thesis therefore shows how quantitative evidence can lead to a more complex and robust analysis of Shakespeare's language than qualitative evidence is able to.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis takes three major claims made by literary scholars about Shakespeare's use of language regarding issues of social identity and provides quantitative evidence using the Folger Digital Texts edition of Shakespeare's plays (Folger Digital Texts edition, Werstine, Mowat, Poston and Niles 2014) and the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter HTOED, Kay et al, 2015) to show how Shakespeare uses these specific linguistic concepts in his plays. Each chapter introduces a critical perception of Shakespeare's language - madness (Neely 1991), whorishness (Stanton 2000, Stallybrass 1986, Newman 1986) and questions of race, ethnicity and nationality (Loomba 2000, Hall 1992) – and shows how quantitative evidence can lead to a new analysis of Shakespeare's language. In each study, I use corpus-based methods (McEnery and Hardie 2011, 5) to test claims from literary studies surrounding each aspect of social identity. In doing so, I illustrate how the corpus linguistic techniques make it possible to test these claims; I aim to show what these quantitative methods can offer the literary scholar.

In Chapter 2, I test Neely's (1991) claim that Shakespeare's mad characters use language differently from the rest of the play-texts' language. She picks three binary pairings of mad characters from *Hamlet, Macbeth* and *King Lear* for her study. Neely argues that the discourse of madness is gendered in its representations. Using a log-likelihood analysis, I show how keywords relating to madness present a division between the natural and unnatural world to define discourses of madness, rather than corroborate Neely's initial claim that feminine mad discourse is fragmented and quoting others, whereas masculine mad discourse shows subdued breaks of sanity (1991, 333).

In Chapter 3, I use the Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary (hereafter HTOED, Kay et al 2015) to expand Stanton's (2000) lexicon of words relating to whores and whorishness, to show how linguistic slander is used to govern women's bodies following studies by Stallybrass (1986) and Newman (1986) on distributions of social power in Elizabethan England.

In Chapter 4, I test Loomba's (2000) and Hall's (1992) claims that race and ethnicity are presented as a form of sexual promise through cross-cultural interaction. I use the HTOED (Kay et al, 2015) to identify a larger lexicon of terminology related to race, ethnicity, and nationality to show that while *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice* have strong themes of national and ethnic identity at their core, *Troilus and Cressida* and *All's Well That Ends Well* may be better examples for observing evidence of national and ethnic identity in Shakespeare's plays.

This thesis takes models of quantitative linguistic inquiry and applies them to literary study using only play-texts considered to be solo-authored by Shakespeare, following Wells and Taylor (1987)'s description of the Shakespearean canon. The *New Oxford Shakespeare: Modern Critical Edition, the Complete Works* (ed Taylor et al, 2016) was published during the writing and preparation of this thesis, and offers new insights into authorship attribution within the Shakespeare canon; this thesis follows the 1987 *Textual Companion* as its source for identifying plays understood to be written by Shakespeare. In the rest of this introduction, I outline the theoretical and methodological approaches guiding this thesis. In section 1, I discuss the how corpus stylistics is a useful theoretical approach to the questions tackled in this thesis. In Section 2, I discuss some methodological considerations, including how Shakespeare's plays are considered to be

indicative of spoken discourse and the decisions necessary to conduct an analysis of Shakespeare's dramatic language. In Section 3, I present a literature review of critical approaches to social identity in Early Modern England and discuss how the present study fits within a larger literary context.

1.1 Theoretical approaches

This thesis tests three claims from literary criticism relating to social identity, drawing on one of Rayson's three models of how to approach a quantitative study of written linguistic evidence:

> [I]t begins with the identification of a research question, continues with building and annotating a corpus with which to investigate the topic, and finishes with the retrieval, extraction and interpretation of information from the corpus which may help the researcher to answer the research question or confirm the parameters of the model (Rayson 2008, 521).

Rayson argues that once a research question is identified, a suitable corpus must be assembled to answer the question under investigation. But most crucially, the retrieval of evidence and the quantitative evidence provided by the retrieval process is not explicitly the scholarly contribution. By allowing literary criticism to guide the identification of a research question, one of the real benefits of using quantitative methods is that "literary insights and arguments from literary criticism can suggest items for a concordance analysis" (Mahlberg 2007, 22). Moreover, this process is not driven by the computer-generated results, but rather by the researcher:

> Purely automatic stylistic analysis is [not] possible. The linguist selects which features to study, the corpus linguist is restricted to features which the software can find, and these features still require a literary interpretation (Stubbs 2005, 6).

The computer can identify points of interest, but ultimately this evidence requires a humanistic interpretation. This theoretical approach can be described as corpus stylistics, using both quantitative and qualitative data in an analysis. A huge benefit of using a corpus stylistic method is the ability to set up a less subjective approach to interpreting linguistic features of a printed text. Statistical and frequency calculations will always be quantitative, while the literary interpretation of a text still requires qualitative processing (Gregory and Hardie 2011, 299, Biber et al. 1998, 4).[1]

Moreover, these are not particularly new methods: computer-assisted studies of literary-linguistic features have been available since the early 1960s, with the creation of the BROWN corpus of Standard American English (W. N. Francis and H. Kučera, 1964), which included contemporary literary fiction in its samples.[2] Ben Ross Schneider (1974) documents the process of preparing the digital resource associated with the *Index of the London Stage, 1600-1800* through the use of punchcards to observe quantification of recurring features. Burrows (1987) applies a quantitative study of function words in Jane Austen's novels to identify unique features of authorship. Sinclair (1991, 32) theorizes the use of quantitative measures as applied to collections of text, believing that the ability to identify specific lexical and syntactic patterns otherwise unnoticeable to the linear reader of a text is the true benefit of using quantitative methods. This follows on from Weber's (1996, 3) desire for "rigorous, systematic and replicable" studies. Corpus stylistics therefore is a suitable theoretical grounding, encouraging studies of written,

[1] Of course, "the rhetoric of objectivity, like all rhetorics, reveals itself as such in its language; to define is to attempt an act of exclusion, keeping out that which would threaten the logical form of the definition" (Attridge 1987, 46).
[2] See a complete list of texts sampled by the BROWN corpus at http://clu.uni.no/icame/brown/bcm-los.html.

fictionalized discourse to be replicable, systematic, and based on quantitative evidence.

1.2 Methodological approaches

The corpus scholar seeking to investigate how Shakespeare uses particular linguistic features has two primary problems to consider while working with Shakespeare's plays: there are lots of versions and editions of what can be considered his 'complete' corpus, and decisions must be made to account for these variations. Mullender (2011, 43-44) discusses some of these complications:

> Although most texts present some challenges for editors, there are problems facing the would-be analyst of Shakespeare's text that simply do not exist for someone approaching Dickens, Conrad or Austen: [… there are] numerous textual emendations and differences that cannot be reliably attributed to a single source, let alone to Shakespeare himself, and the fact that some of the plays do not exist in a single version. Instead, different texts compete for authenticity, and each time a new editor approaches them, decisions have to be made (often quite subjectively) about what to include or cut.

The 1623 First Folio is often accepted as the defining collection of Shakespeare's plays (e.g. Jowett 2007, Smith 2016a, Smith 2016b). It offers 36 plays which we generally understand to be written by Shakespeare as a solo author and Shakespeare in collaboration with other authors, yet there are still editorial complications. For example, the version of *King Lear* published in the First Folio shows heavy revision compared to the original quarto publication (1604) of the play, despite having the same title (Foakes 1997, 110-133). Another example can be found in *Hamlet*, a play which appears in print twice before its publication in the First Folio. *Hamlet* is first published as a bad quarto (1603), and secondly as a good quarto (1604-5) before being included in the First Folio (1623); Thompson and Taylor (2006, 74-94) argue that each of these texts can be

considered authentic. This presents a need for a base authoritative corpus of Shakespeare's plays based on an agreed-upon definition of authorship. But, on top of these editorial problems, authorship in the Shakespeare corpus is also complicated. Taylor and Wells (1987, 111-134) offer an overview of authorship attribution; this study follows their definition of the solo-authored plays.[3] For plays that have an unclear authorship or show evidence of multiple authors, I remove them from the corpus so I am able to focus specifically on plays which are understood to have been written in full by Shakespeare. This leaves 25 plays which are understood to be solo-authored: *King Lear, Othello, Hamlet, Two Gentlemen of Verona, Titus Andronicus, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet, King John, Henry IV Part I, Merry Wives of Windsor, Much Ado about Nothing, Henry IV part 2, Henry V, Julius Caesar, Twelfth Night, All's Well That Ends Well, Antony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus, The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline,* and *The Tempest*. I exclude *1-3 Henry VI, Titus Andronicus, As You Like It, Timon of Athens, Henry VIII or All is True, Two Noble Kinsmen, The Taming of the Shrew, Macbeth,* and *Pericles* from my analyses on the basis of being collaborative, in full or in part following evidence provided by Wells and Taylor (1987, 109-134) . However, *Macbeth* is considered an exception: this play is discussed in great detail by Neely (1991) and is fundamental to

[3] Of the canonical Shakespeare plays according to the First Folio, the *New Oxford Shakespeare* (ed Taylor et al, 2016) considers *Henry VIII or All is True, All's Well That Ends Well, 1-3 Henry VI, Macbeth, Pericles, Timon of Athens, Titus Andronicus,* and *Measure for Measure* to be collaboratively written or otherwise not sole-authored. *Two Noble Kinsmen,* which was not included in the First Folio but is included in the Folger Digital Texts Shakespeare corpus, is understood to be co-authored by Shakespeare and Fletcher (Taylor et al, 2016, vii-viii; justification for these claims is forthcoming in Taylor and Egan 2017). These studies were published too close to the end of the writing of this thesis, meaning that their updated authorship attributions could not be considered for my analysis.

the analysis in Chapter 2. To be aware of its position as a collaborative play, I replicate my analysis Chapter 2 by including a full-text analysis of *Macbeth* and an analysis *Macbeth* with scenes understood to be written by Thomas Middleton removed.

In addition to occupying a position of huge cultural importance in the English language, Shakespeare's plays have the benefit of illustrating both linguistic and literary complexity. This level of attention makes his plays prime candidates for testing new directions in critical and digital methodologies (Galey 2010, 293). Shakespeare's plays are widely available online in a variety of formats and based on several different editions of the printed works. The *Moby Shakespeare* corpus claims to be the first complete set of works still available online (Hylton 1993).[4] Shortly thereafter, The Project Gutenberg edition of Shakespeare's *Complete Works* was released in January 1994; it was posted to the current Project Gutenberg website on September 1, 2001, though individual texts are also available separately.[5] The editorial practices behind the multiple Project Gutenberg texts are obscured, whereas the Moby Shakespeare is derived from Clark and Wright's *Globe Shakespeare* (1864). The Open Source Shakespeare (Johnson 2003) updates the Moby Shakespeare for the modern Internet age with the ability to perform full-text searches on a variety of features such as characters, keywords or phrases, or stage directions. Meanwhile, The Internet Shakespeare Editions widens its scope to include an

[4] http://shakespeare.mit.edu

[5] Project Gutenberg has *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/100/pg100.txt) in addition to individual texts such as *The Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet* (https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/1112) or *The Tempest* (https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/23042/)

incomplete list of edited versions[6] but also spans 46 rather than the more conventional 36 plays (Murphy 2010, 410-11) following modern editorial conventions.[7] More recently, the Folger Digital Texts (Mowat, Werstine, Poston, and Niles 2014, based on the Folger Shakespeare Library Editions, edited by Werstine and Mowat 2014) offers a dual print-digital edition of the 36 widely accepted Shakespeare plays, and offers an updated version of the Open Source Shakespeare plays.

The Folger Digital Texts have the benefit of being highly encoded in XML, meaning that it is possible to isolate specific versions of the texts, such as a plain-text version of the plays in question minus paratextual information such as act or scene divisions and character speech prefixes with its companion API.[8] Although *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Pericles* are excluded from the First Folio, they are included in the Folger Digital Texts corpus. They are excluded from this study as well, as they are understood to be collaborative plays (Taylor and Wells 1987, 130, 134). I consider the Folger Digital Texts to be my base authoritative texts; all citations from the plays are taken from there.

In this thesis I will use two software packages to analyse Shakespeare's dramatic language. In Chapter 2 I use the concordance software AntConc (Anthony 2014) to conduct a keyword analysis. In Chapters 3 and 4, I use the Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary (hereafter HTOED, Kay et al 2015) to build custom

[6] As of 18 February 2016, http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Foyer/Texts/ lists 9 unedited plays in addition to missing prefatory material.
[7] Following the First Folio (Hemmings and Condell 1623).
[8] The Folger Digital Texts API is available from the following link: http://www.folgerdigitaltexts.org/api.

dictionaries for use with the string matching software Ubiqu+ity[9]. The HTOED is a classification schema for the entirety of the Oxford English Dictionary, enabling "users to pinpoint the range of meanings of a word throughout its history, their synonyms, and their relationship to words of more general or more specific meaning" (Kay et al, 2015).[10] This is particularly useful for tracing the use of terms relating to social identity – such as terms for whorishness or terms for racial and national identity - over a particular period of time. This allows me to collect a wider range of historically-relevant terms than literary scholars have previously been able to, introducing a more nuanced perspective on the language of social identity in Shakespeare's plays.

However, there is an additional complication to such an analysis of dramatic language: plays and other dialogic texts such as trial transcripts are often considered to be a unique type of linguistic evidence. As records of Early Modern spoken discourse only exist through written recordings (Jacobs and Jucker 1995, 7; Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000: 68–70), it is therefore possible to consider fictionalised discourse between characters as a form of "constructed imaginary speech" (Culpeper and Kytö 2000, 178). Constructed imaginary speech allows for fictional interactions of dramatic writing to be taken as evidence of how people may have interacted (c.f. Short and Leech 2007, 137) and is presented in contrast to didactic texts, where more authentic discourse can be seen in narrative written prose in the voice of the author rather than mediated

[9] Ubiqu+ity is an online string-matching software which allows you to write your own dictionary for multi-variable analyses: http://vep.cs.wisc.edu/ubiq/.
[10] The Historical Thesaurus of the OED is available online from http://historicalthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/ and as a part of the OED website at http://www.oed.com/thesaurus/. This thesis uses the http://historicalthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/ access point to obtain its data.

entirely through scripted dialogue for performance (e.g. Culpeper and Kytö 2000, 176-178, 2010, 63; Lutzky 2012, 38; 53-56). Following Culpeper and McIntyre (2006, 775), the "play-text" discussed is the data under consideration, "to emphasize I am discussing a written form of the plays, not a performed form". This study takes no account of performed versions of the plays and deals exclusively with the written editions of the plays, where the language is presented as orthographic symbols rather than spoken utterances, but is interested in ways that fictionalized characters speak about real-life concepts.

Dramatic texts are generally understood to be a form of constructed imaginary speech, whereas other text forms such as almanacs, medical texts and other forms of scientific writing would be considered didactic; other forms, such as prints of sermons, can be argued to span both functions. Because dramatic plays ultimately are a recorded textual object of the lines characters are to say, there is a tension between the playhouse and the publishers, as a list of lines plus cues would be given to each actor of a play and a manuscript of all lines in the play could then be assembled after all actors learned their part(s). Actors would frequently pass their line and cue sheets to other actors, as paper was a commodity; printing quartos of the plays would not be a cost-effective approach (Erne 2003, 35), so dramatic play-texts are not necessarily scripts so much as they a printed record historical spoken discourse intended for performance.

Although historical linguistic studies can only present knowledge about how speech is represented in written texts, "particular text types have been said to reflect speech more reliably than others" (Lutzky 2012, 46-47). For example, court proceedings, parliamentary debates, personal correspondence, sermons, conversation

manuals, fiction, and drama have all shown to be representative of speech-related writing (e.g. Lutzky 2012, 46; Culpeper and Kytö 2000, 176; 2010, 21; Kytö 2000, 273; 2010, 35; Kytö and Walker 2003, 221; Walker 2007, 12-20; Archer 2005, Barber 1997, 29; Jacobs and Jucker 1995, 7; Rissanen 1986, 98; 2008, 60; Salmon 1987a, 1987b). In particular, Culpeper and Kytö (2000, 62, following Koch and Oesterreicher 1985; 1996; 1990's communicative models) describe how text can appear to be speech-related through six primary dimensions. Speech-like characteristics are described through their production and reception (diverse, personal, non-standard or otherwise non-institutional), function (expressive, phatic), interactivity (dialogue or rapid exchanges), format (spontaneous discourse, rather than a strictly pre-established turn-taking and topic content), and transmission (transient, real time processing rather than permanent prepared language). Such texts are considered to be a record or mirror of an oral register having their "origin in speech even though they are preserved in writing" (Biber and Finegan 1997, 253; 1992). Brown and Gilman (1989) claim that dramatic texts are most like colloquial speech of a given period; Taavitsainen agrees that dramatic language can be viewed as an "approximation to everyday language spoken in historical texts" (1995, 460).

Through the use of recorded historical data such as letters or transcripts of spoken events, it is possible to identify individuals through features such as literacy (Laslett 1983, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1994, 1996) or through discoursal references (Culpeper and Archer 2003, 2005) in dialogic texts. Moreover,

> We only argue that languages must have varied in the past, and this variation cannot have been more random than it is today. Linguistic variation has most likely always been constrained by some external factors, but these will have to be reconstructed on

> the basis of what we know about the past societies themselves. (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2005, 34)

Therefore, it is possible to apply a literary-historical approach to sociolinguistic features using historical data which is indicative of how people may have spoken. In sociolinguistics, many studies are increasingly cross-disciplinary in order to expand beyond established categories and traditional paradigms (e.g. Schilling-Estes 2002a, 2002b, Cheshire 2005, Nurmi, Nevala, and Palander-Collin, 2009; Palander-Collin 2002); moreover, the study of historical language must be done within the context of social and historical analyses made by historical sociologists and cultural historians (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2005, 35). The present study contributes to this built-in interdisciplinarity, using quantitative corpus methods to study language directly relating to social identity in Shakespeare's plays.

1.3 Literary critical approaches to social identity

Literary critics are often interested in issues of social identity in Shakespeare's plays, often investigating how literary texts present ways of understanding cultural history. There are two general strands of literary criticism primarily investigating Shakespeare's treatment of women through various readings of social identity strongly influenced by French cultural theory (e.g. Wittig 1986, Cixous and Clément, 1975, de Beauvoir 1949), and those particularly interested in understanding how social identity affects women in particular in Early Modern England (e.g. . Kahn and Greene 1985; Kahn 1992, 1987; Jardine, 1993, 1989; Ferguson, Quilligan and Vickers 1986, Howard and Rackin 1997).

Paradoxes outlined by Belsey (1985, 190-1) and Erickson (1993, 8-9) show that women are empowered through platforms allowing them present their views and the right to exist outside of marriage. Women had a certain level of power and authority within the family through the transfer of objects and agency (Erickson 1993, 8-9). Several types of transferable ownership, rather than issues of strictly legal ownership, challenge the idea that women had absolutely no agency. For example, women do have social power over children or servants and from within the familial unit; married women would have a different social role than girls, and girls would have a different socio-political role in the Elizabethan period than widows, for example. Similarly, Mendelson and Crawford (1998) identify how various social roles introduce a hierarchical power dynamic for women in the Early Modern period, illustrating the various rights women have within their social positions of daughter, wife, mother, and widow. Mendelson and Crawford's study therefore does not construct male and female social domains as being completely separate, but identifies the overlaps in these socio-political domains and draws comparisons between male and female social roles.

Stallybrass (1986) discusses how the Early Modern female body is not written as an autonomous individual; he argues that silence and chastity are tied together as evidence towards women's status as property rather than an individual. A loose tongue could be indicative of loose morals; feminine silence is presented as a form of chastity towards her husband, and that her role is therefore limited to her duties as a housewife. Therefore, he emphasises how a woman's primary role in Early Modern England is be passed from father to husband, without any agency of her own: "where women are objects to be mapped out, virginity and marital chastity were pictured as fragile states to

be maintained" (1986, 129). Similarly, Howard and Rackin (1997) discuss how women such as Joan la Pucelle in Shakespeare's history plays would be considered unconventional in contrast to "the few female characters typically confined to domestic settings and domestic roles – as wife, prospective wife, mother, widow, lady-in-waiting" (1997, 24) and who are dependent entirely on being perceived as sexually receptive towards men in the theatre (1997, 143) or within the home through the division of labour (1997, 93). While they do consider intersectional identities such as socioeconomic class, property ownership and race, the central thesis claims that women in Shakespeare's plays are inherently secondary characters entirely by virtue of their gender.

Two edited collections, *The Woman's Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare* (Lenz, Greene and Neely, 1983) and *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare* (Callaghan, 2000) discusses women's identity specifically in Shakespeare's plays, ranging from issues of rape to the role of sexism and racism to describe how language can be used to create and enact a matrix of social inequality, but do so without any specific linguistic framework for identifying sociolinguistic features such as social class, race, age, gender, and/or geography. As language encodes specific aspects of social roles and modes of interaction with other individuals, studies such as Dusinberre (2000) and Novy (1983) ask where the female body is on-stage. Other studies, such as Berggren (1983) heavily lean on the idea of the asexual woman in disguise as a boy in order to be an active participant in the play. The sexual distrust of women described by Hays (1983) and Suzuki (2000) hinges entirely on the interpretation of instability of gender relations. Finally, Stanton (2000) counts instances of 'whore' in Shakespeare's canon as evidence of enduring evidence of slander against women.

However, gender is just one factor through which it is possible to interrogate social identity, therefore making studies such as Jardine's two essay collections about historicising Shakespeare (1993, 1989) much more complex, covering how Jacobean drama can be a way into Early Modern culture, discussing issues such as defamation, marriage, literary culture, gendered performance, and knowledge exchange. In each volume, essays use an example from Shakespeare's plays to discuss the larger issue under discussion; Jardine's attentions are centred on figures who are in some way marginalised, allowing the plays to illustrate social problems rather than try to fit social problems to a central claim. For example, she uses Emilia's question of "why should he call her [Desdemona] whore?" from *Othello* (4.2.159) to open a discussion of slander surrounding women's actions which are to be perceived as wrongdoings in Early Modern culture, although trial transcripts would potentially be a source of similar examples.

One literary study in particular offers a very clear view of how claims about social identity can be tested with data. Montrose (1983) explores social power through desire and male fantasy towards women in Early Modern England. He believes that comedies especially, which strive to restore social order through the institution of marriage, are most indicative of this (1983, 70) and reflective of a larger cultural issue surrounding male fantasy and the virginal queen. Queen Elizabeth, he argues, is an exceptional woman, as she does not participate in the patriarchal structure governing the period. Montrose declares that the Queen's virginity is seen as virtuous with regards to gender and power: she does not participate in this patriarchal system, so therefore she must be good and chaste, but in doing so she is an unruly woman for not obeying the system

understood to be in place. Montrose uses *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as evidence to support his claims that powerful women such as Titania and Hermia construct a homosocial desire for power as unruly Amazons, queering a patriarchal world. He describes this by saying that "the diachronic structure of A Midsummer Night's Dream eventually restores the inverted Amazonian system of gender and nurture to a patriarchal norm" (1983, 67). While it is true that social aspiration and social success is primarily achieved through marriage and the passing of a daughter from father to husband without much intervention on the part of the woman in question, women have a certain level of social autonomy which can be identified linguistically. However, linguistic scholars have not yet taken up these claims. Instead, corpus linguistic and sociolinguistic scholars have focused more on internal variation within Shakespeare's plays with regard to issues of gender, class, and race.

For example, recent sociolinguistic studies have observed how individual lexical items are used across the corpus of Shakespeare's plays using these quantitative approaches. However, these studies do not attempt to be directly in dialogue with claims made by literary scholars. Ulrich Busse (2002) studies variation in the second person pronouns *you* and *thou* in Early Modern plays including Shakespeare. Although he does not identify it as a specific issue in literary criticism, he finds that *you* is more preferred in comedies than in histories or tragedies, and that Jonson uses *you* more often than Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Ford; this however may be a feature of genre in addition to authorial style and linguistic variation. Through features such as genre, compositional date, and the use of time-sensitive pronouns, he is also able to identify differences between the early and later plays in the corpus; ultimately he claims that these second

person pronouns show adherence to Early Modern social stratification. Another study by Beatrix Busse (2006) discusses Shakespeare's use of vocatives as a sociopragmatic marker to describe relationships as an interactive lexical feature. She shows that social status and familiarity can be marked through the use of vocatives through circumstances such as speaking to a social superior, social inferior or family member, but that this changes according to the speaker and addressee's relationship and the context of the exchange.

There is also precedent of studies investigating spoken discourse in Shakespeare's plays at the level of lexical patterns. For example, Demmen (2009) investigates lexical clusters in the language of male and female characters in Shakespeare's plays, finding that language spoken by characters who are identified as feminine is markedly different than the language spoken by characters identified as male, showing that there is a visible stylistic difference across gendered language in Shakespeare's plays, but she does not explicitly connect this to any existing literary study. However, this study shows clear evidence that male and female speech is marked out as different in Shakespeare's plays, which provides justification for observations made by Froehlich (2011, 2013) on a smaller scale, investigating ways that third-person possessive pronouns are used in *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Macbeth.* Male characters in these plays offer conceptual, corporeal, and physical objects as antecedents to the possessive pronoun *his*, whereas female characters in these plays offer corporeal and physical objects as antecedents to the possessive pronoun *her*. Muralidharan and Hearst (2013) are able to independently verify this finding in the whole of the canonically accepted corpus of Shakespeare's plays, showing that there are gendered differences in ways that male and female

characters in Shakespeare's plays use language. This also strongly suggests that there is a potential for more evidence to back up literary claims.

Finally, other studies of Early Modern drama using such computationally-assisted methods include Culpeper and Kytö (2000, 2010), Lutzky (2012), Lutzky and Demmen (2013) all of which discuss extracts from Early Modern drama as a part of the Corpus of English Dialogues. All of these studies discuss evidence of variation with regards to features such as hedges, discourse markers, stance, and face-threatening actions as evidence for dramatic texts as dialogic in nature. However, these studies do not explicitly investigate Shakespeare in comparison to other dialogic texts; instead they consider dialogic language to be used similarly across authors in their corpus. Their studies are also limited to extracts of text rather than the full texts, and they conduct their studies independently of social concerns discussed in the literature. This suggests there may be an unintentional rift between corpus stylistics and literary criticism: although corpus stylistics is highly poised to answer questions raised from a literary-critical standpoint, there is limited engagement in directly testing claims taken from literary criticism with more robust data samples.

The present study aims to fill the gaps identified here by isolating three specific literary-critical claims and testing them with data. Through the use of digital resources including keyword analysis and lexicon-building, this thesis models how quantitative methods can be used to widen the field of literary studies. This thesis benefits hugely from two major shifts in the digital landscape: the existence of resources such as the Folger Digital Texts corpus and the HTOED, combined with the accessibility of computing power required to perform these tasks. In chapter 2 I use keyword analyses to

draw comparisons between the language of mad and not-mad characters in *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *King Lear*, drawing on Neely (1991). Chapter 3 and 4 use HTOED to build a larger lexicon of historically-relevant language than previous critics were able to assemble: Chapter 3 focuses on the semantics of whorishness, following claims by Stanton (2000), Newman (1986) and Stallybrass (1986). Chapter 4 tests Loomba's (2000) and Hall's (1992) claims about national, racial and ethnic identity by developing a lexicon of racial, ethnic and national identities and observing their use throughout Shakespeare's plays. This thesis therefore makes a major contribution to the field of literary studies by offering concrete rebuttals to impressionistic claims with data in a way which was previously unavailable to literary scholars until relatively recently.

Chapter 2: Discourses of madness in Shakespeare's tragedies

2.1 Introduction

In her 1991 essay, Carol Thomas Neely claims that "the speech of mad characters constructs madness as secular, socially enacted, gender- and class- marked, and medically treatable" (1991, 322). Moreover, she views the actions of mad characters to be evidenced more through language than their behavior. She provides evidence from three Shakespearean plays: *Macbeth, King Lear,* and *Hamlet.* In section 2, I outline the methods and textual issues underpinning my test of Neely's claim. Where Neely uses close reading to make her claim, I use a log-likelihood analysis to identify vocabulary strongly associated with each character Neely describes as 'mad'. I compare the discourse by the mad characters to the discourse of the whole of the play-text to establish if there is specific vocabulary-driven linguistic evidence for madness, then perform a close reading based on terms which are strongly associated with the mad characters rather than the language of the play as a whole. In Section 3, I outline the terms which are considered to be especially key or otherwise unlike the larger linguistic fabric of the play in question and discuss the implications the statistics have for Neely's initial study through close-reading examples based on the statistical analysis performed.

She argues that the discourse of mad characters does not match the description of madness. She says that "patients who report extreme symptoms-symptoms associated with mania as opposed to melancholy [are] designated by terms like 'mad,' 'lunatic,' 'mania', 'frenzy', 'raging', 'furious', 'frantic'" (1991, 331). These terms, she argues, are rarely used by characters understood to be mad, but rather are ways of describing a character who is understood to be mad. She takes three groups of mad characters from

three separate plays: Ophelia/Hamlet, Lady Macbeth/The Witches/Hecate, and Edgar/Lear, and shows how their discourse is different than our expectations of typical descriptions of madness. But she also struggles to define the concept of madness, saying it is a "material condition inscribed in discourse – most noted by those who experience it firsthand" (1991, 315), but deeply affecting second-hand observers as well. In particular, "in the Early Modern period the discourse of madness gained prominence because it was implicated in the medical, legal, theological, political, and social aspects of the reconceptualization of the human. Gradually madness, and hence sanity, began to be secularized, medicalized, psychologized, and (at least in representation) gendered" (1991, 318). Madness is therefore an interactive disease which depends on both the experiencer and observer, as well as a highly gendered experience. As a result, a variety of ways of discussing madness arise: it can be discussed as a form of witchcraft, supernatural phenomena, rational suicide, fraudulence, and physical affliction, but due to the performative nature of madness it can be difficult to fully understand its use in dramatic writing.

For example, madness and lunacy could be described through various afflictions and could be exaggerated for effect (Hattori 1995, 286; Porter 1990, 35-36), following the visual and physical stereotypes outlined in Culpeper (1659, 353). Meanwhile, Burton (1621) uses "melancholy" as a blanket term for any number of mental and physical disorders, and symptoms such as changes in demeanour, speech, habits, and/or physical appearance could be considered hysterical or otherwise symptomatic of madness. Neely claims that during the years 1580-1640, England "is fascinated with madness" (1991, 316), but also says that in order to make madness credible to its contemporary audience,

linguistic features must be used to mark an individual as mad or otherwise mentally unstable. She believes Shakespeare's plays shape a "new language for madness" (1991, 321) and that the discourse of madness is "is extreme, dislocated, irrational, alienated" (1991, 322). This study aims to challenge her notions of madness through a linguistic perspective, asking if her perspectives on madness in these plays are indeed true.

2.2 Methodological and textual approaches

In this section I discuss the relevance of methodological and textual approaches to the plays under discussion. I begin with a description of Neely's methods in her 1991 study, and then discuss how my study benefits from more recent advances in the digital realm, specifically surrounding editions of Shakespeare's plays and more recent computer-driven approaches. Finally, I will discuss some textual issues surrounding these tragedies and how they relate to issues of madness as part of Shakespeare's plays. The results of these keyword analyses are shown and discussed in Section 3.

Neely claims that the manifestation of madness in Shakespeare's plays is best identified not through behavior but through language, providing close readings to show that the characters she describes as mad share a gender-specific divide. Although she claims that "the stage does not associate madness with one class or gender over another" (1991, 332); this is an incongruous position to take. Melancholic behavior was seen as a biological flaw in women which quickly lead to emotional instability which threatens social stability, whereas an imbalance in melancholy in men would be considered to be a source of introspection and scholarly thinking (Showalter 1994, 81). Neely also argues that "feminine 'mad speech' is fragmented and quoting others, whereas masculine is

more subdued breaks of sanity" (1991, 333). To prove her point, Neely conducts her analysis through a close reading of the speeches made by three pairs of characters in three Shakespearean tragedies: Edgar and Lear in *King Lear,* Hamlet and Ophelia in *Hamlet,* and Lady Macbeth and the Witches in *Macbeth*. I will use digital methods to challenge her findings.

In order to understand what makes a character's lexical choices different to the language of the play more generally, I use a keyword analysis, also called a log-likelihood analysis, to determine if there are specific discourses of insanity. A concordance software package such AntConc (Anthony 2014) allows a user to conduct a log-likelihood analysis using the keyword function. Keyword analysis is a corpus-linguistic method primarily used to identify terms which are in some way unusual in their usage compared to an established norm (Scott 1997, 236; see also Bondi and Scott 2010, Stubbs 2010, 21; Archer 2012) such as the language of one character as compared to the language of all the characters in the play (Dunning 1993; Rayson and Garside 2000, Oakes, 1998; Kilgariff 2001, Gabrielatos and Marchi 2012; Culpeper 2002, 2009, Murphy 2015). This purposefully emphasizes how each character under investigation is also part of the language of the play-text more generally. There are two kinds of keywords which can be computed: positive keywords and negative keywords. Positive keywords are words which occur more often in an analysis corpus compared to a reference corpus, whereas negative keywords are words which occur less often in an analysis corpus compared to a reference corpus (Mahlberg 2007, 11; Culpeper 2002, 13-14; Culpeper 2009, 33, Murphy 2015). Negative keywords will only show what words

are used less by individual characters, while positive keywords will show terms more strongly associated with the characters under investigation.

As we are looking to investigate lexical items which characters use more often than the rest of the characters in the plays, I focus my attentions on positive keywords only, following Culpeper (2002, 2009) and Murphy (2015), whose studies employ a positive keyword analysis as a way to understand the language of individual characters in *Romeo and Juliet* and the language of soliloquies in Shakespeare respectively. Both Culpeper and Murphy use positive keyword analyses to identify lexical features which are strongly associated with one character or style of speech compared to the larger lexical world of the play-text using a log-likelihood measure, finding that such a method is a productive way to isolate lexical items which are strongly associated with one character or style of speech over another, and include speech by the characters in their reference corpora to conduct their analyses; I follow them in my study by doing the same.

In order to perform my analysis, I isolate the discourse of the mad characters to compare their speeches to those of all the characters in the play to observe which terms are strongly associated with each individual character. To do so, I use the Folger Digital Texts and the Folger Digital Texts API (Mowat, Werstine, Poston, and Niles 2014, based on the Folger Shakespeare Library Editions, ed. Werstine and Mowat 2014). The Folger Digital Texts API allows a user to isolate specific versions of the texts minus

paratextual information such as act or scene divisions and character speech prefixes.[11] The API generates URLs to produce various alternative versions of the text, such as the text of the play spoken by one character or to identify what another character sees while on-stage. To differentiate between individual characters' language and the language of the play-text more generally, I will refer to the language of individual characters as 'discourse' and the play-texts more generally as 'language' in this chapter.

For my purposes, I utilize the API to identify all the lines spoken by selected characters with the CharText function and to obtain a paratext-free version of the play-texts with the FullText function, which are to be saved as plain-text files. Although the API includes the ability to obtain a transcript of the full text minus a specific character, I include the characters in question in the analyses of each play. Rather than exaggerate one character's discourse in relation to the rest of the play by excluding their language from the full play-text, I ask how one character's language compares to the language of the entire play-text. Words which are defined as positively or negatively key are therefore lexical items which are statistically more or less likely to appear in the specific character's discourse than in the whole of the play-text's discourse.

While a keyword test does pick out every lexical item spoken by any specific character – such as all words spoken by Ophelia – it also performs two chi-squared tests to measure the frequency of Ophelia's language compared to the whole of the play *Hamlet*, including her speech. By performing the two chi-squared tests, it produces a statistical significance ranking of terms which are most strongly associated with Ophelia

[11] The Folger Digital Texts API is available from the following link: http://www.folgerdigitaltexts.org/api.

compared to the whole of the play.[12] Rather than listing terms which are more frequently spoken by Ophelia compared to the whole of the play-text, this process therefore identifies terms which are more strongly associated with Ophelia compared to the whole of the play-text she is a part of. This makes it possible to compare Ophelia's speeches against all of *Hamlet*, to ascertain what makes Ophelia's discourse noticeably different from the rest of the play, and then focus attention on specific passages which exemplify her madness. Without computational support, Neely is unable to do this, instead, she chooses passages which are ostensibly about madness in some way and uses them as supporting evidence. My approach identifies passages which are specifically indicative of mad language based on the identification of lexemes which are strongly associated to belong to the discourse of mad characters, and I use this quantitative approach to guide my selection of passages for close reading.

Finally, a crucial aspect of Neely's assertions surrounding the discourses of madness in her study focuses on the language of the Witches in *Macbeth*. Although Neely considers *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *King Lear* as being written by Shakespeare, this assertion can be seen as problematic. It is widely accepted that in *Macbeth* Middleton wrote Act 3, Scene 5 and likely had a hand in several of the Hecate scenes (see Wells and Taylor et al 1987, p 111-134; Taylor 2014, p 295-305; Mason and Clark 2014, 98 for evidence). If Shakespeare did not write these scenes it must be acknowledged that this is not strictly an analysis of Shakespeare's use of mad characters in tragedy as a genre. Based on evidence from Wells and Taylor (1987), both *King Lear* and *Hamlet* do

[12] This test therefore explicitly deals with variant sample sizes, so that a character such as Ophelia, who has comparatively fewer words associated with her than other characters do, is treated equally.

not show any evidence of questionable authorship, so in order to most closely replicate Neely's 1991 study I will follow her in considering *Macbeth, Hamlet* and *King Lear* as a coherent group of Shakespearean tragedies. However, I will also replicate my study excluding Act 3, Scene 5 in Macbeth. To account for this, in Section 3 I will perform an analysis of Neely's mad characters against their associated plays understood to be written by Shakespeare and I will replicate the relevant parts of the study using only parts of plays understood to be written by Shakespeare. I set up three sets of comparisons against each play under investigation, comparing keywords for the characters Hamlet and Ophelia against the whole of *Hamlet,* Lady Macbeth, Hecate and the Three Witches against the whole of *Macbeth,* and Lear and Edgar against the whole of *King Lear*.[13]

2.3 Testing Neely's claims against the keyword analysis

In this section I perform the keyword analysis to test Neely's primary claims. She believes that the language of mad characters is somehow unique to them and divisible by gender: feminine madness is "fragmented and quoting others", whereas masculine madness is more visible through "more subdued breaks of sanity" (Neely 1991, 333). She therefore groups her characters by gendered representations of madness to illustrate her claim: Ophelia, Lady Macbeth, and Edgar are considered 'feminine',

[13] As noted briefly above, Neely considers the witches and Hecate to be conflated into one larger category of 'witches', but to fully understand the role of authorship in this play I separate them into two separate entities. I consider Hecate an individual character next to the three witches, who are conflated into one character of 'Witches'. As one of her scenes is widely accepted to be written by Middleton, I ensure this study deals with the Hecate problem by considering her individually rather than part of a larger whole.

based on their discourse. They use nonsense words and fragmented speech, whereas Hamlet, Hecate and the Witches, and Lear are considered to be more 'masculine' in the way their madness is represented through quiet breaks of sanity. For each table, I discuss how passages uncovered by keyword analyses for Hamlet and Ophelia, Lady Macbeth and the Witches, and Edgar and Lear compare to Neely's findings about the gendered discourses of madness.

If madness is evident through linguistic choices illustrating a loss of sanity compared to the larger world of a play-text as Neely claims, this should be visible at the level of lexical features. Following Neely, I present the key terms for each pairing according to play, beginning with *Hamlet*, then *Macbeth*, then *King Lear*. Each table offers a ranking for individual words based on a log-likelihood analysis. The larger the statistical ranking is, the more association with the character in the question has, while the rank associated with each word describes its position within the keyword analysis. For multiple terms sharing the same statistical rank, the software ranks them alphabetically. This is primarily due to raw frequency in the analysis corpus (the corpus of one character's speech): where a lexical item appears once in the analysis corpus, it and all other lexical items which also appear once will receive the same statistical ranking.[14] For multiple terms sharing the same statistical rank, the software ranks them alphabetically.

[14] As some characters have a larger percentage of the text available to them than others, some characters have a wider selection of lexical items with true statistical relevance to choose from. But, as explained above, the log likelihood test is designed to account for this difference.

The terms highlighted in Tables 1-3 have been selected for their immediate relevance to the issue at hand, either being recognizably nonce words or through a reference which indexes to madness or mental instability. These nonce words fit Neely's expectations of mad discourse, which assumes that madness is characterised as being somehow marked from normal discourse.

> If the discourse of madness, in the short run, promoted normalization and supported the status quo, in the long run it had the capacity to contribute to changing constructions of the human and hence to cultural change. The distinctions established in this discourse helped redefine the human as a secular subject, cut off from the supernatural and incomprehensibly unstable and permeable, containing in itself a volatile mix of mind and body (Neely 1991, 337).

In other words, this is a gendered phenomenon, but not necessarily marking explicitly for gender. Where the 'feminine' form is visible, it is stopped in its tracks quickly, through eliminating the feminine form of madness through elimination: Ophelia drowns, Lady Macbeth dies, and Poor Tom is revealed to be Edgar in disguise.[15] Meanwhile, for the masculine form, madness is removed in a grand, tragic gesture, such as Hamlet and Macbeth's deaths, leading to catharsis or Lear's quiet dignity in his reunification with Cordelia in the final act. Following Neely's study, I begin with keywords in *Hamlet*, then discuss *Macbeth,* then conclude with keywords in *King Lear*; I analyse these examples in Section 3. These keywords are pulled from all of the words spoken by the individual character in question; all possible keywords are then selected for inclusion in Tables 1-3 based on their specific reference to a mad scene, their status as nonce words, or are otherwise associated with the supernatural. Following Neely, I begin with an

[15] Neely considers Tom's madness to be feminine than masculine in her analysis; as I am testing her claims, I follow her decision here.

analysis focusing on *Hamlet*, then move to an analysis of *Macbeth* and finally an analysis of *King Lear*.

Based on Bruster's claim that the language of madness shows an "emphasis on sounds and noise, the sea and sailing, gentility, martyrdom, animals (especially birds), festivity, clothing, flowers, her maidenhead, and the 'law' as an oppositional force" with their language (1995, 279), the terms provided in Tables 1-3 have been picked out of all available keywords for these characters to show lexemes which show some form of mad discourse. While there are other keywords available, the terms highlighted in Tables 1-3 are specifically selected based on their adherence to Bruster's claims about what mad discourse is understood to sound like and Neely's descriptions of madness. In addition, Tables 1-3 will all use the same headings. For each character in each table, I provide a column of words and a column of their "statistical rank", describing the statistical score for each individual term based on two chi-squared tests.[16] The larger a number is in the Stat Rank category, the more strongly it is correlated with a small number in the Rank category. Low-frequency terms (n = 1) can be identified as key but at the same rate, such as with many of Ophelia's terms showing statistical ranking of 5.406. Table 1 shows the keywords which are most strongly associated with madness for Ophelia and Hamlet in *Hamlet.*

Table 1. Keywords of mad characters in *Hamlet* associated with madness

[16] For a detailed discussion of how log-likelihood statistical rankings work, please see the log-likelihood calculator available online at http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html.

Ophelia		Hamlet	
word	Statistical rank	word	Statistical rank
nonny	16.218	nay	14.815
hey	10.812	o	13.317
rose	10.812	madness	8.924
valentine	10.812	nunnery	8.835
snow	7.131	ghost	7.407
white	7.131	gonzago	7.068
o	5.589	hecuba	7.068
affrighted	5.406	villain	6.306
ankle	5.406	guilty	5.301
bier	5.406	ophelia	5.301
bonny	5.406		
deathbed	5.406		
found	5.406		

Nonny is Ophelia's most highly ranked nonce word, coming from the tune 'hey nonny'. This directs us to Act 4, Scene 5, where it becomes most obvious that Ophelia's sanity has deteriorated; a majority of her keywords come from this particular scene. For example, in response to Laertes' rhetorical question in line 4.5.184-5, "is 't possible a young maid's wits / Should be as mortal as an old man's life?" Ophelia responds inappropriately with a song: "They bore him barefaced on the bier / Hey non nonny, nonny, hey nonny, / And in his grave rained many a tear / Fare you well, my dove" (4.5.188-191). Even though she waits her turn to speak, what she does say is unpredictable and largely irrelevant to the scene. This is not an appropriate conversational technique, showing that Ophelia's use of language is quite removed from normative communicative models (e.g. Grice 1975).

Where Ophelia's song provides evidence of her deteriorating sanity, Hamlet's presentation of madness is through direct references to frightening circumstances: the

ghost, the play, Hecuba, the Trojan woman, villains, and his relationship with Ophelia, his wish to banish her to a nunnery, and his use of the term 'madness'. Although 'madness' is not meant to be used by characters who are understood as insane or losing sanity, Hamlet describes his own insanity through direct reference to madness and the supernatural, whereas Ophelia enacts it through her suicide and desire to return to the earth with references to the natural world. Ophelia is, of course, one of the most recognizable madwomen in all of English literature (see Showalter 1994; Froehlich 2016), and her madness has been the source of much critical engagement (Neely 1991, 332 offers a summary of these discussions).

Moreover, she is portrayed as irrational and unpredictable. Her allusion to flowers and ground is also seen in the Jailer's Daughter in the Fletcher-Shakespeare collaboration *Two Noble Kinsmen*, and Lear's use of decorative flowers in *King Lear*; these conventionally mad characters echo Bruster's description of madness being about nature: animals, clothing, flowers, noise, sound, and the sea (1995, 279). This is certainly consistent with the findings of the keyword analysis above, especially her use of the words 'rose', 'valentine', 'snow' and 'affrighted', showing a tension between the natural and artificial world in mad characters' discourse. For example, Ophelia's keywords highlight when she gives out flowers in the same scene:

> OPHELIA There's fennel for you, and columbines.
> There's rue for you, and here's some for me; we
> may call it herb of grace o' Sundays. You must wear
> your rue with a difference. There's a daisy. I would
> give you some violets, but they withered all when
> my father died. They say he made a good end.
> *[Sings.] For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy.*
> (4.5.204-210)

Her sudden interest in the natural world suggests that she views herself returning to the earth as a form of madness. She cites a tune also used by the Jailer's Daughter in Act 3, Scene 4 of *Two Noble Kinsmen,* during her own mental breakdown.[17] I will use my keyword analysis to see if there is a consistent form of mad discourse which focuses on these nonsense words and a sudden desire and interest in the natural world as a specifically gendered feature of mad discourse.

Although Bruster (1995, 297) shows that women's madness is always under scrutiny, he does not discuss how men's madness compares. Hamlet confronts the issue of madness and insanity by speaking about it quite plainly. It is almost ironic: when Hamlet insists he is sane, what he says is in direct contradiction to this claim. For example, in Act 3, Scene 4, he says to Queen Gertrude,

> My pulse as yours doth temperately keep time
> And makes as healthful music. It is not madness
> That I have uttered. Bring me to the test,
> And I the matter will reword, which madness
> Would gambol from. Mother, for love of grace,
> Lay not that flattering unction to your soul
> That not your trespass but my madness speaks.
> It will but skin and film the ulcerous place,
> Whiles rank corruption, mining all within,
> Infects unseen. (lines 160-170)

In this speech Hamlet declares his accusations against his mother as "not madness that I have uttered", despite warning that corruption burrows into her life, covering her in sin. Hamlet begins by explaining that his pulse is not racing and that he is willing to repeat

[17] It is possible that Shakespeare is borrowing Ophelia's song here (see Bruster 1995 for a discussion of parallels between Ophelia and the Jailer's Daughter's discourse), and the reference to flowers and plants is also reminiscent of Lear's flower crown in Act 4, Scene 4.

something accurately to prove his mental health (Thompson and Taylor 2006, 348). But he also uses a complex negation strategy here, claiming that if he were to be mad, it is because of her actions alone, and it has nothing to do with him. And despite these repeated claims of sanity, this speech in particular makes him look completely irrational. He claims his madness is cerebral, by showing that he can repeat himself accurately (see note 141 on "reword", Thompson and Taylor 2006, 348) and he has to claim "My pulse as yours doth temperately keep time and makes as healthful music" to show that he is in control of his mental faculties. Having initially appeared unpredictable and hysteric, Hamlet now tries to use language to his benefit, twisting his outlandish claims into an introspective and coherent argument. In having to describe himself as not crazy, Hamlet inadvertently portrays himself as unstable, as this speech comes after having killed Polonius, mistaking him for the King behind the arras and after his vision of the Ghost again.

Later in the scene Hamlet says (3.4.200-203) "Make you to ravel all this matter out / That I essentially am not in madness, / But mad in craft". Again he attempts to deflect Gertrude's worry over his sanity. This is not a particularly compelling argument for his own sanity – Hamlet's insistence on declaring himself rational suggests he might not be. Like Ophelia, other characters in the play bring Hamlet's madness upon him: the Ghost and Gertrude push him into insanity, causing him to lose all rationality. Although Ophelia's language is indeed more fragmented and unpredictable, while she rambles about death and nature, Hamlet uses language to describe madness rather than portray it. While Ophelia almost embraces accusations of insanity, Hamlet repeatedly offsets them by trying to prove the sharpness of his mind against anyone who dares disagree.

Where madness is presented as a mental state brought on by social pressures in *Hamlet,* the affliction of madness in *Macbeth* centres on the relationship between witchcraft and increased social alienation, as Table 2 shows. Neely describes the Witches as "disgruntled outcasts" (1991, 328) and presents them more as demonic and a form of malevolence based largely on Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) and other models of European witchcraft (1991, 329). She does not give much attention to the Witches beyond an assessment that they are present and provide a supernatural, if not very socially removed, element to the play. However, their status as the embodiment of the grotesque and the occult is made clear in Table 2 with nouns and verbs relating to the supernatural such as *moon, spirits, charm, charms, enchanting, mortals, elves, fairies witch, artificial, magic* are marked as being key for the Witches and Hecate's language. In contrast, Lady Macbeth stresses descriptions of her mental state through verbs like *afeared, mad, undone* and *drunk*, the Witches' keywords focus more on the supernatural. Where Lady Macbeth's use of discourse undermines her mental state, the Witches use their unnatural powers to highlight their position as radically removed from normative society.

Table 2. Keywords of mad characters in *Macbeth* associated with madness[18]					
Lady Macbeth (all of *Macbeth*)		Witches (all of *Macbeth*)		Hecate (all of *Macbeth*)	
word	Statistical Rank	word	Statistical ranking	word	Statistical ranking
fie	5.946	hail		charms	11.171
bed	5.209	cauldron	23.837	artificial	5.585
drunk	3.964	thrice	16.281	elves	5.585
guilt	3.964	double	15.445	enchanting	5.585
spot	3.964	bubble	13.678	fairies	5.585
afeared	2.997	charms	12.356	foggy	5.585
mad	2.997	charm	11.490	illusion	5.585
nightgown	2.997	trouble	11.198	magic	5.585
undone	2.997	boil	9.375	mortals	5.585
daggers	2.920	toil	9.267	riddles	5.585
knocking	2.920	moon	9.267	bear	5.585
o	2.526	sister	6.178		
fatal	2.308	spirits	6.178		
		witch	6.178		
		artificial	6.178		
		charmed	5.745		
		magic	5.745		
		mortals	5.745		

[18] Should one remove Act 3, Scene 5 from the play-text of *Macbeth*, the key terms highlighted here do not differ for Lady Macbeth, the Witches, or for Hecate. What does differ somewhat is the statistical ranking, but for sample sizes like these which are so small, very few of the terms are statistically significant anyway.

As a finding, this is not particularly ground-breaking, but it does show that the Witches' language is indeed unique compared to the discourse of the world they inhabit, whereas Lady Macbeth's mental state is strongly associated with her actions according to the keyword analysis. In the world of *Macbeth,* madness is set into motion by supernatural elements and ends with emotional failure for all involved. For Neely (1991, 327) madness in *Macbeth* is more strongly associated with volition than gender, but there is a gendered element to:

> Her breakdown embodied in sleepwalking is contrasted with Macbeth's enraged, bloody, "valiant fury" ("Some say he's mad" [5.2.13]). But the division between her powerful will in the early acts of the play and her alienated loss of it in the sleep-walking scenes, her connections with and dissociation from the witches, and their bifurcated representation all construct-and blur-other distinctions associated with madness: those between supernatural and natural agency, diabolic possession and human malevolence.

Though they are positioned as more androgynous individuals according to Early Modern social norms surrounding women, Lady Macbeth and the Witches are best understood to be maligned and removed from patriarchal society more generally. But the presence of these characters in the play is entirely constructed through the presence and desires of Macbeth, rather than through their own volition. [19] Even Lady Macbeth's desire for her husband to become king is a result of the Witches' prophecy.[20] The

[19] Although the Witches are required to be read as women in order to be Lady Macbeth's other half of the gendered binary being constructed, they should be understood as socially disaffected women. See Hirsch (2008) and Froehlich (2011, 2013) for a discussion of how the Witches' gender is subject to debate; for the purposes of this chapter I follow Neely's decision to consider them as women, which is connected to Stallybrass (1982) and Adelman (1987).

[20] There is a long history of scholars arguing that Macbeth's actions are entirely due to his wife's domination over him (see Clark and Mason 2015, 107-115 for a summary,

Witches' role as a psychological form of evil is presented through their sporadic presence on-stage; their lack of reason in the play is specifically evidential from their presence as fringe characters. The keyword analysis highlights just how much they are a separate entity from the overall world of the play: the content words of their speeches come out as being especially key compared the whole of the play.

In particular, the whole of Act 4, Scene 1 comes out as most strongly key for both them and for Hecate. In this scene, the Witches prepare a potion to summon the apparitions with the famous line "Double, double toil and trouble; Fire burn, and cauldron bubble" (4.1.10-11). Mason and Clark describe this scene as "the most spectacular in the play" (2015, 234), and it is a highly memorable scene. However, they are merely listing ingredients in a play which does not speak about animals more generally. But, it can also be argued that this scene is the most supernatural in the play. The potion they make involves a number of natural ingredients include toad, hedgehog, newts, entrails, an unbaptized and illegitimate child, and blood, but also include the more exotic dragon's scale. The keyword analysis pulls out the entirety of the incantation "double, double toil and trouble; fire burn, and cauldron bubble", suggesting something more sinister and something more subversive. Their presentation of insanity in the play-text is therefore less about madness and more about mystical and occult happenings: the Witches and Hecate speak of magic and artificiality, rather than true irrationality and insanity. The Witches are presented as a form of evil as a result of their sporadic presence on-stage; their lack of reason in the play is specifically evidential from

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especially in performance). However much Lady Macbeth wishes to be queen, these arguments conveniently ignore the Witches' initial prophecy that Macbeth shall be king.

their presence as fringe characters. Meanwhile, Lady Macbeth's use of discourse undermines her mental state, the Witches use their unnatural powers to highlight their position as radically removed from normative society.

The keywords in Table 2 also set up my analysis of the justifiably famous use of 'spot' by Lady Macbeth. Her usage of 'spot' is symbolic:

> Out, damned spot, out, I say! One. Two. Why then, 'tis time to do 't. Hell is murky. Fie, my lord, fie, a soldier and afeard? What need we fear who knows it, when none can call our power to account? Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him? (5.1.37-43)

In this scene, Lady Macbeth performs madness as a physical affliction rather than as a mental affliction.[21] The Doctor and Gentlewoman observe her behaviour while she nervously washes her hands repeatedly, paces, and sleepwalks. Her discussion of fear and power shows that they are inexorably linked for the Macbeths; through a reference to Duncan's murder ("Who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him") she describes this as an indelible mark on her memory. Despite her best efforts of scrubbing her hands ("out, damned spot, out I say!"), it remains visible to her, although she has no such physical mark. Although her next speech is the song "the thane of Fife had a wife" (5.1.44), her language suggests insanity, equating the natural world with unnatural things. She describes her hallucination of the blood through contradictory terms: the Lady recoils at "the smell of blood" (5.1.50) and compares it to "the perfumes of Arabia" (5.1.51). She views blood as having an artificial smell, rather than a natural

[21] One could argue that mental affliction is being visited upon the body as a physical affliction highlighting the porous nature of early modern bodies, given the malleability of madness in Early Modern England (Neely 1991, 322; Andrews, 1991; MacDonald, 1983; Porter 1990, 1992; Hattori 1995).

one, suggesting she is losing her sense of reality compared to what can be seen as otherworldly and unnatural. She brings up Banquo a little later in the scene, saying: "I tell you again, Banquo's buried; he cannot come out on's grave" in line 63-4, equating his otherworldly or supernatural presence as a symptom of her madness.

These hallucinations mark her as insane, but her discourse describing how she deals with these hallucinations read as remarkably sane: she is thinking about and trying to remove the bloodstain from her mind. It is only through the actions associated with this passage that we understand her to be insane.

Another keyword, dagger, leads to another passage where descriptions of Lady Macbeth's actions override her language as indicative of an unstable mind. If anyone seems to fit the category of a mad character in Act 2 Scene 2, it is Macbeth, who is panicked and worried about what he has just done (2.2.35-57). But it is his wife's calmness which suggests an insidious lack of sanity. This is in direct opposition to the wild instability that Opehlia shows in *Hamlet*. The Lady says, "Give me the daggers. The sleeping and the dead / Are but as pictures. 'Tis the eye of childhood / That fears a painted devil. If he do bleed, / I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal, / For it must seem their guilt" (2.2.68-74). Macbeth understandably feels out of control, but Lady Macbeth is calm and commandeering. She berates him for succumbing to fears, demanding that he give her the daggers he used to kill the king, which shows she has a plan. Then she reminds Macbeth that both the sleeping and the dead do not move ("as pictures"), implying that only a child would fear an imaginary bugbear (Mason and Clark 2015, 182) while invoking a reference to "painted devils" from Webster's *The White Devil*. Finally, she claims to threaten other men to show their guilt in the event that a body may

go bloody again in the presence of its murderer. The problem, however, is that Lady Macbeth's veneer of calmness and precision is precisely what makes her mentally unwell. Because she positions herself as being so distant from the horrors of the situation at hand, she is able to approach the situation in a way which appears to be remarkably rational. But she is not a rational figure at all: she engineers the situation to her benefit while becoming increasingly withdrawn from society.

In light of what Table 1 and 2 have shown, I now present Table 3, which shows keywords which match Bruster's description of mad discourse for Edgar and Lear in *King Lear*. Although Lear is widely recognised as the insane character in *King Lear,* Table 3 shows that Edgar's language describing his own feigned madness is more like Ophelia's than Lear's. Table 3 covers all the language spoken by Edgar and Lear in disguise as Poor Tom, as Neely considers them to be the same individual.

Table 3. Keywords of mad characters in *King Lear* associated with madness

Edgar		Lear	
word	Stat rank	word	Stat rank
tom	36.428	daughter	8.403
fiend	21.861	ha	7.055
foul	17.793	weep	5.507
cold	9.876	nature	4.110
cock	5.959	kill	3.846
thoughts	4.934	ashamed	3.095
blows	4.127	howl	3.095
darkness	4.127	pride	3.095
free	4.127	stirs	3.095
alow	3.972	shake	3.095
flibbertigibbit	3.972	thunder	3.095
hawthorn	3.972	crack	2.256
loo	3.972	curse	2.256
lurk	3.972	fiery	2.256
malu	3.972	forget	2.256

modo	3.972		
pillicock	3.972		

Although Lear drives Neely's initial interest in madness in Shakespeare's plays (see Neely 1991, 322-3), it is Edgar's discourse which reads more 'authentically' mad. Edgar's keywords suggest his language is more consistent with the speech of madmen. Edgar is presented as the epitome of "feigned delirium of sin, guilt, and divine punishment" whereas Lear's insanity which "is staged as 'natural', as psychologically engendered, and as obsessed with secular revenge and justice" (Neely 1991, 334). And this is visible at the level of discourse too: Edgar follows a template of madness as a linguistic feature set out by Ophelia and the Witches in Tables 1 and 2 above, using words like *fiend, foul, cold, cock, darkness, flibbertigibit, loo, malu,* and *modo.* The use of nonce words like *flbbertigibit, loo, malu,* and *modo* are especially reminiscent of Ophelia's nonce words "hey nonny nonny", whereas *fiend, foul, cold, cock,* and *darkness* are all more reminiscent of the Witches' potion-brewing. However, Edgar performs madness in a far more exaggerated way, using nonce words and references himself in the third person; the keyword analysis shows this difference by pulling up *tom* as his most key term, whereas Lear's key terms are words about the weather (*nature, howl, stirs, shakes, thunder, crack, fiery*) and his relationship with the world (*daughter, weep, forget*).

For example, in his disguise as Poor Tom, Edgar's song at the end of this speech strongly invokes Ophelia's non sequitur responses in Act 4, scene 5 – rather than responding rationally to others' questions, Edgar and Ophelia dissolve into nonsense.

Foakes argues that Edgar almost takes over the role of the Fool in 3.4.122-130 (Foakes 2007, 280), especially through the use of seemingly nonce words like "Flibbertigibbet". However, Foakes identifies this as the name of a Devil (see Foakes 2007, 280, note on line 112); this is applied to Gloucester as an insult foremost, but Edgar pushes this even further. By suggesting that Gloucester is a spirit rather than a real person, Edgar may be overemphasising his disguised status as a madman through meaningless accusation:

> This is the foul fiend Flibbertigibbet. He begins
> at curfew and walk still the first cock. He
> gives the web and the pin, squints the eye, and
> makes the harelip, mildews the white wheat, and
> hurts the poor creature of earth.
> Swithold footed thrice the 'old,
> He met the nightmare and her ninefold,
> Bid her alight,
> And her troth plight,
> And aroint thee, witch, aroint thee.

Edgar's attempt to prove his insanity in this speech nearly dissolves into parody by defining Gloucester as a threat first and foremost. This strategy is not totally dissimilar to the supernatural occultism the Witches show in *Macbeth*, presenting madness as an unpredictable burst of a diabolical threat against a particular character. But it is his song in lines 127-131 where Edgar's discourse provides the best evidence for madness as linguistic feature, presenting a collection of what Foakes describes as "nonsense verses and a charm against demons" (2007, 280). Foakes presents glosses for much of this section, but even his summaries do not make much sense: this song contains a reference to King John who goes north three times, where he meets a female spirit who is potentially a snake, who will do no him no harm. Foakes suggests these are quoted

passages (see glosses on page 280) but these quotations appear meaningless and nonsensical in the context of this scene.

Indeed, this passage is reads more like Ophelia's erratic and unpredictable discourse than Lady Macbeth's quiet loss of rationality, and indeed the keywords listed in Table 2 and 3 suggest that Edgar's madness is more like Ophelia's madness than any other character discussed so far; both see themselves as having fallen out of favour with noblemen. Though the more recognizable mad character in *King Lear* is the eponymous Lear, whose insanity drives Neely's initial interest in madness in Shakespeare's plays (see Neely 1991, 322-3), it is Edgar's discourse reads which more 'authentically' mad.

Though Edgar's keywords show a repetitive, erratic speaker in a way which suggests that his madness is not artificially constructed, Lear's insanity "is staged as 'natural', as psychologically engendered, and as obsessed with secular revenge and justice" while Edgar is presented as the epitome of "feigned delirium of sin, guilt, and divine punishment" (Neely 1991, 334). And this is visible at the level of discourse too: Edgar follows a template of madness as a linguistic feature set out by Ophelia and the Witches in Tables 1 and 2 above, though he performs madness in a far more exaggerated way. Their language reflects this, by using more discourse through the use of noise, repetition, and references to own martyrdom, as Bruster (1995, 279-280) suggests. For example, Edgar does take a leaf from the witches in Macbeth, listing a series of natural phenomena in a way which is highly reminiscent of their potion. Moreover, these terms are strongly associated with his discourse according to the keyword analysis.

While Foakes rightly suggests that Edgar has anxieties over being recognised by Gloucester, when Gloucester asks who he is, Edgar responds with a long-winded list of

animalistic living conditions redefines the same circumstance using increasingly grim imagery. Terms like *fiend* and *foul* pulled up in the keyword analysis in Table 3 lead us to this passage from Act 3, Scene 4:

> Poor Tom, that eats the swimming frog, the
> toad, the tadpole, the wall newt, and the water;
> that, in the fury of his heart, when the foul fiend
> rages, eats cow dung for sallets, swallows the old
> rat and the ditch-dog, drinks the green mantle of
> the standing pool; who is whipped from tithing to
> tithing, and stocked, punished, and imprisoned;
> who hath had three suits to his back, six shirts to
> his body,
> Horse to ride, and weapon to wear;
> But mice and rats and such small deer
> Have been Tom's food for seven long year.
> (3.4.136-146)

Edgar desperately wants to construct himself as a poor, crazy beggar who is severely lacking in selfhood, partially to draw attention away from Lear's actual loss of self. Here we do see hints of Neely's suggested divisions between natural and unnatural madness. Edgar's list of seemingly "natural" afflictions are better suited to describing Lear's experience more than his own: Lear has been excommunicated from his former kingdom, left for dead by his daughters, whereas Edgar is merely pretending to be a vagabond for the benefit of somebody else. It is in this scene that it is most clear that although Edgar is desperate to portray himself as madman, it reads as more parodic than authentic.

Lear does not quite pattern with what Neely wishes to describe as this more 'masculine' form of madness, showing a more subdued or introspective form of insanity. Lear's keyword analysis in Table 3 shows a man more concerned with the natural

elements as a way of presenting insanity. For example, Lear constructs his own storm at the start of Act 3, scene 2, declaring

> Blow winds, and crack your cheeks! Rage, blow!
> You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout
> Till you have drenched our steeples, drowned the cocks.
> You sulph'rous and thought-executing fires,
> Vaunt-couriers of oak-cleaving thunderbolts,
> Singe my white head. And thou, all-shaking thunder,
> Strike flat the thick rotundity o' th' world.
> Crack nature's molds, all germens spill at once
> That makes ingrateful man.
> (3.2.1-11)

This particular speech contains several of Lear's keywords associated with madness, making it a prime example of his loss of sanity. Foakes (2007, 263) notes that it is unnecessary for directors to use special effects to create the storm, as Lear's words conjure it more convincingly. As an extended metaphor about Lear's stormy mind in the fallout of his daughters' disloyalty, Lear wishes to return to what he perceives to be a natural state through the destruction of his world (lines 7-10). The imperative verbs blow, crack, rage, and spout recall Lady Macbeth's use of words like *drunk*, *undone*, and *knocking*, all of which describing action. This is instead of fragmented or otherwise irrelevant discourse in the same way that Ophelia, Edgar and the Witches show. Just as Lady Macbeth's insanity is brought on by her hallucinations of blood, Lear's daughters bring his madness upon him. In both cases, the keyword analysis guides us to identify verbs such as *kill, crack,* and *shake* which show that Lear's madness is not an irrational form of natural being. The keyword analyses in Tables 1-3 also verify Neely's analysis of mad discourse as being uniquely identifiable as different from the rest of the play-text.

The keyword analysis corroborates Neely's claim about *King Lear* that madness can be divided into the categories of natural or unnatural forms of madness. Moreover, this phenomenon is available through divisions which reflect issues of gender and social status more generally, and the keyword analysis shows that this finding is available for mad characters' discourse across all three plays under investigation. *Hamlet, Macbeth* and *King Lear* all show division in their linguistic evidence for insanity as either a feature of the natural world or a feature of the supernatural world, showing that Bruster's suggestions of ways that madness can be manifested is missing a crucial piece. While he is correct to summarize the language of madness as being full of natural imagery, he misses the obsession with the supernatural world. Ophelia's madness drives her back to the earth but through references to graves and the ground, but Hamlet's madness is entirely a product of the Ghost's encouragement. In *Macbeth,* the Witches and Hecate use references to both the natural world and the occult. The Witches are presented as magical beings whose presence is understood to be otherworldly in the play. But their mysticism is presented through their interactions with the natural world. Meanwhile, Lady Macbeth's insanity is most strongly associated through her connections to the natural world, but like Hamlet, her madness is a product of the Witches' initial supernatural intervention. And in *King Lear*, Edgar drawing on lists of animals in natural world to construct an exaggerated form of madness while the truly insane Lear struggles to understand the natural world, trying to understand the weather – an inversion of Ophelia's desire to rejoin the earth.

In this section, I have used keyword analysis to highlight passages using lexical terms which are especially associated with madness for three sets of characters in three

Shakespearean tragedies. Neely selects characters who she perceives as "not sane" for her analysis – the pairings she sets out are very obvious choices to hang an argument about madness and insanity off of: Hamlet, Ophelia, Lady Macbeth, the Witches, Edgar and Lear. To test Neely's claim that madness is presented as a linguistic feature in Shakeaperean tragedies, I isolated terms which suggested something about the speaker's mental state, and performed close readings of passages which those terms are found to illustrate how these characters use specific lexical choices to perform madness. Neely relies exclusively on close-reading evidence to claim that the discourse of madness is gendered in how it is represented in these plays; my analysis shows quantitative evidence towards this claim.

2.4 Conclusions

Neely posits that language, not action, is the best way to identify madness in Shakespearean tragedy, extrapolating a larger cultural understanding of insanity from three plays which cover three distinct presentations of madness. In *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *King Lear*, she finds that the linguistic presentation of madness centres around a semi-gendered system which is divided between what she describes being either hysteric and erratic or through lapses in judgement. These classes are broadly conceived as indicative of 'feminine' symptoms of madness and 'masculine' symptoms of madness. In this chapter I have isolated lexical items coding for madness based on her criteria using a keyword analysis, allowing them to guide a close reading of each characters' discourse.

In this chapter I find that there is a divide between how madness is presented through language, but it is not explicitly divided through a gendered presentation as

Neely suggests. In her analysis of *King Lear*, Neely proposes that madness is a feature presented through natural and unnatural references in discourse. The language surrounding Hamlet's ghost, the Witches and Hecate's otherworldliness, and Lear's storm suggests that all madness matches this assertion, while Ophelia, Lady Macbeth and Edgar all show a stronger association with the natural world. As for whether or not this is explicitly gendered in its representations, it is more difficult to say. Neely is not completely wrong by suggesting that there are stylistic elements of madness in these plays. For example, Ophelia, Edgar and the Witches all use fragmented and nonsensical discourse to emphasise their lack of rationality, whereas Hamlet and Lady Macbeth have shown a more subdued form of madness through their discourse. But in terms of linguistic features, Lear could go in either category: his language can be seen to be fragmented and erratic, or it could be seen as a more subdued form of madness in light of Edgar's parody of madness.

Finally, Neely's assertion that her more 'masculine' form of madness is less visible linguistically than her more 'feminine' forms of madness is not true. As this chapter has shown, Hamlet is driven to madness by the supernatural and yet still speaks of madness differently than other characters in the play based on the keyword analysis. Other characters do not speak explicitly of their own madness, but the Witches and Hecate speak of their own magic and charms, which suggests they are further removed from the natural world of their own play. Lear's discourse shows a character who is both physically and mentally removed from his own world in the play-text that he attempts to control the weather, a feature of the natural world which is outside of his control. If

anything, this masculine form is more visible through a keyword analysis than Neely's feminine form.

Chapter 3. "The name of the whore": gender, power and privilege in Shakespeare's plays

3.1 Introduction

Both Stallybrass (1986) and Newman (1986) use Shakespeare plays – *Othello* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, respectively – to illustrate ways that women's lives are regulated through a representation of their physical and social unacceptability. Stallybrass uses *Othello* to illustrate the multiple failings of Desdemona's performance of chaste womanhood through her relationship with Othello; Newman uses the concept of shrewishness to show how feminine disobedience against fathers and husbands constructs an unchaste woman. In this chapter I will test these claims by building upon work by Stanton (2000), who lists ways that male and female characters use the word 'whore' in the widely recognized canon of Shakespearean plays, based on the First Folio.

Stanton draws on the *Oxford English Dictionary's* definition of the noun and verb forms and their related terms to create a list of terms falling under the dictionary headword of 'whore'. Stanton analyses various ways this lemma is used to demean women in Shakespeare's plays. However, Stanton's essay is limited by how many lemma forms she can comfortably track and discuss without the aid of computational methods. While she does not have to hand-count each example, thanks to Spevack's concordance, computer-assisted methods make it possible to widen the scope of the study. To test her claim, I will use the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter HTOED, Kay et al 2015) to identify a wider selection of terms related to the concept of a lack of chastity which are historically relevant. With a larger

lexicon for feminine lack of purity, I will investigate the language of whoreishness in Shakespeare's plays.

In section 2, I use Stallybrass's claim of the feminine grotesque in *Othello* and Newman's definition of shrewishness in *Taming of the Shrew* as two primary forms of feminine disobedience. I show how women's bodies and language are policed through social closure, subversion of class by reinforcing gender, and marriage as a form of social aspiration to discuss ways women are perceived as sexually disobedient. In Section 3, I discuss how to approach this issue with more coverage of the concept using quantitative methods and the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter HTOED). In section 4, I use the terms harvested in Section 3 to show how female characters are punished for their disobedience and I discuss the findings from Section 4, suggesting how the claims that Newman and Stallybrass (1986) initially posit are actually visible in Shakespeare's plays.

3.2 Gender, race, power in Elizabethan England

In this section I will discuss how Stallybrass and Newman describe the Elizabethan gender system. Their studies were published around the same time and discuss very similar subjects. Stallybrass's (1986) essay presents a framework for understanding gender, race and power in Elizabethan England, whereas Newman's (1986) essay illustrates ways that a woman can disobey these structures but ultimately must be reconciled to an acceptable feminine role. Both essays therefore consider how social anxieties surrounding gender and power, especially through female sexuality, are enacted. In Elizabethan England, this is most visible through the policing of women's

bodies by men in the community, most often by fathers and husbands. Indeed, establishing feminine inferiority is considered to be a duty performed by men (Stallybrass 1986, 126). And even when her father is unable to perform the taming, as Newman's analysis of physical and mental abuse in *Taming of the Shrew* shows, a man can still establish his social dominance by wearing down a reluctant woman, forcing her to conform to the socio-political patriarchal hegemony in Elizabethan England.

Newman and Stallybrass both discuss a triad of father – husband – woman, where the father and husband take ample social privilege over the woman's desires. Stallybrass in particular describes this phenomenon by presenting the argument that women's bodies are construed as inherently grotesque and require policing by husbands and fathers. The role of women as masculine property has a long history, but it is especially visible in discourses of marriage, politics and economics. This introduces questions of literary agency through several binaries, including an active/passive dynamic between men and women analogous to seller/purchaser (Stallybrass 1986, 127-128). In hopes of 'resolving' or at the very least removing women from the equation of the social world, men who retain social power attempt interventions to restore order (Newman 1986, 94; Stallybrass 1986, 127-128).

Any indication of defiance against this triad system of father-husband-woman is fundamentally monstrous, connecting the fleshy, internal tongue to bodily chastity and impurity to a "woman's enclosure within the house" (Stallybrass 1986, 127). In particular, Stallybrass argues that "the surveillance of women concentrated upon three specific areas: the mouth, chastity, and the threshold of the house" (1986, 126). This is not a totally unique perspective, as Newman cites Robert Greene's *Penelope's Web*

(1587) as well as scholars such as Kelso (1956), Fitz (1980, 1-22), Hull (1982 [1988]) and Jardine (1983 [1989], 103-140) who have identified silence, chastity and obedience to be essential to the Renaissance formulation of womanhood (see Newman 1986, footnote 11, p 90). But these three definitions of acceptable femininity are collapsible into one larger conception of femininity. It is therefore possible that one can differentiate between language and body, or the two can be again collapsed into evidence of woman's bodies as incomplete and inhuman. Ultimately, the accusations of impurity come down to criticism of women's bodies – in particular their mouths, the source of linguistic creativity and verbosity– as a form of social control.

Because the default body is always male, women's bodies are understood to be inherently unlike men's bodies. "A man who was accused of slandering a woman by calling her 'whore' might defend himself by claiming he meant 'whore of her tongue' not 'whore of her body'" (Stallybrass 1986, 126). The concept of whoreishness punishes women for their existence: women's bodies are inherently impure and inherently without social agency, are therefore perhaps best symbolised by the mouth (Stallybrass 1986, 126). Mouths are both private and public-facing spaces, raising questions of volition, performative virtue and linguistic creativity; the presentation of whorishness as a social construction within the realm of masculine control can thus be raised. The three categories discussed above can be condensed or otherwise collapsed into one form of slander. Women's language and women's bodies are both under observation: thus a woman who is too outward facing is too social and too dangerous.

However, Stallybrass also specifically identifies ways the ideal Renaissance woman is presented given that women's bodies are considered to be grotesque for the

sole reason of not being like men's bodies. Therefore, they are policed through their language (what they do or do not say), their chastity (or lack thereof), and their inability to move between public/private spheres. Newman agrees, saying "Shakespeare emphasizes not just the relationship between language and identity, but between women and language, and between control over language and patriarchal power" (1986, 90). But, this is not strictly a problem for women: rebellious behaviour "jeopardized the communal order for men and women alike" (Hodgdon 2010, 51). So although Stallybrass criticizes women for being in some way socially disruptive or otherwise rebellious, the man responsible for a woman takes on her dishonour as well. After all, a woman who is in some way transgressive is therefore still bringing shame upon her father or husband – her 'owner'.

In what follows, I discuss ways feminine disobedience is constructed across the whole of Shakespeare's plays, drawing on Montrose's (1983, 65) descriptions of the sexual and political character of the "cultural forms in which such tensions might be represented and addressed", in which women's lack of agency is to be understood as a form of physical submission in addition to socio-political submission to the patriarchal structures governing Elizabethan England. Moreover, problematic female characters are meant to be 'resolved' through establishing 'normative' womanhood: womanhood in submission to the patriarchal constructions underlying what we are to understand as the social conditions of Early Modern England (Montrose 1983, 64-65). Although Desdemona's and Kate's individual rebellions break two different requirements of femininity in Elizabethan England, Stallybrass and Newman focus their attentions on the implications of not performing an acceptable feminine identity in Shakespeare's plays,

partially because it is easier to describe their failure than success in this realm.

Newman explores how Kate's threat to male authority is primarily through her use of language (1986, 92). Newman (1986, 99) describes the tension between repression and linguistic absence and presence in comedies, but this also applies to tragedies as well. Newman makes much of Kate's verbosity, describing her as "linguistically powerful" (1986, 98). Her use of language challenges the patriarchal norms laid out above, making her 'shrewish' and grotesque, whereas her sister Bianca's silence makes her the more desirable and acceptable woman. Petrucchio wants to make Kate "a Bianca with words" (1984, 94). She completely rejects the system she rebels against: Newman claims that because Kate's use of language is more like that of a male character, she subverts the understanding of gender underlying the actions of the play, thus making her a woman who must be broken of her rebellious behaviour. Similarly, Desdemona's dialogue becomes more frequent after the start of Act II; she becomes more verbose upon her marriage to Othello. Lady Macbeth stops talking to her husband after the murders, restoring her to an acceptable form of womanhood: chaste, subdued, and at home.

There are several ways to consider exclusion from the public sphere and social enclosure within the home. For example, we are to understand that Desdemona, as a white woman (Thompson 2016, 55-56) is removed from the comfortable upper-class enclosure of Brabantio's home life by marrying Othello the Moor.[22] Marriages are intrinsically politically motivated, as they provide a form of social closure, completing

[22] Please see Thompson (2016)'s introduction to *Othello* (2nd Revised Edition, Arden3) for an overview of contemporary critical positions about racial background in the play.

the cycle of passing a daughter from father to her new husband (Hopkins 1997, 17), so Kate's insistence on not marrying leads to familial rejection (Newman 1986, 93; Novy 1979, 273-274), leading to her removal from the social enclosure of the home. Only after Petrucchio wears down her defiance is order restored and her obscenity is resolved.

In *Othello,* this action intrinsically associates Desdemona with a man whose nationality and race inherently diminishes his social power as a general, which introduces a second axis of social exclusion. By escaping the enclosure of Brabantio's comfortable noble life for a lesser man, Desdemona breaks the rule of social closure as a form of exclusion and she diminishes her gender by reinforcing class status. In contrast, Othello stands to gain social advantage through his marriage to the daughter of a Duke: though Desdemona performs the transfer from father to husband mostly successfully, she loses her class privilege through her marriage to Othello. Stallybrass suggests that although all women are the same by virtue of being female, they can also be differentiated based on their social class. While this seems contradictory he offers the example that Othello sees Desdemona as different from other women until Iago convinces him that she is independent and impure, just like the all the other women.

Marriage is meant to represent a completed cycle of patriarchal exclusion from the wider public world. Hopkins (1997) provides examples of successful pairings in comedies which do ultimately present the correct form of social enclosure, building on what Stallybrass (1986, 134-5) describes as class aspiration presented through romance (i.e. comedy). For example, she describes how Rosalind, Cecilia, Oliver, and Orlando "briefly glimpse[d] a world in which traditional gender roles could be reversed and the patriarchal system of property division overturned by Oliver's renunciation of his

patrimony" (1997, 17) in *As You Like It*. Though *As You Like It* (and other comedies, including *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*) first presents a subversion of this concept in which the lovers flee into the lawlessness of the woods in order to illustrate the importance of marriage as a resolution for re-establishing a patrilineal structure, social order is not restored (Hopkins 1997, 17-18). And this is not unique to comedies: for example, in *Macbeth*, the breakdown of marriage comes as a result of Lady Macbeth's desire to overthrow authority for the good of the family. The definition of acceptable womanhood and acceptable gender relations in Elizabethan England collapses to the detriment of the entire world of *Macbeth*.

Newman (1986, 88-93) argues that linguistic fullness is evidence of the impurity of women's bodies and leads to other forms of feminine disobedience. For example, Kate's desire for independence from the heterosexual conception of woman as an object to be possessed by men is both linguistic and social, pushing her firmly into the public sphere rather than the private sphere of a husband or father. "Kate's threat to male authority is posed through language […] woman is represented as spectacle (Kate) or object to be desired and admired, a vision of beauty (Bianca)" (Newman 1986, 92). For example, Kate's use of knowledge is declared by Newman to be like that of Petrucchio through her skill at puns, wordplay and knowledge of Latin in Act 2, Scene 1 (1986, 92-98). Because a woman's form of social domination can be seen through her use of language rather than the more masculine physical prowess displayed by Petrucchio to resolve Kate's tainted feminine identity (Newman 1986, 92; Boose 1991, 182), the use of language is therefore one of the primary ways a woman can exert any amount of

social power, even though it is still considered an aspect of a woman's body, and one which is deemed impure and incomplete.

This is more complex in *Othello* than it is in other Shakespeare plays because it is Othello, not Desdemona, whose sexual desire is initially deemed disruptive to traditional romantic-comedic structures. It is implicitly assumed that a woman must control her sexual appetite (Stallybrass 1986, 141) before she marries her husband. Because race and gender intersect repeatedly in *Othello* in ways that are not true of other plays, this is an even more complex system. For example, Stallybrass argues that Othello shows racial and class aspirations through his association with Desdemona, while Desdemona disrupts gender norms by withdrawing from the affairs of the house and internal patriarchal government of the white father and the black husband. Emilia is emphasising Desdemona's "untamed" nature either way (Stallybrass 1986, 136). Therefore, her threat to social order is threefold: she disobeys her father, she moves freely in the public sphere, and she has the potential to bring shame and disgrace upon her already-marginalised husband. For example, because Desdemona's body, mouth, and public life sully her social acceptability as a woman, Othello's jealousy over Desdemona's unchaste mouth and body must be resolved through force. However, once they are married, Desdemona's sexual impulses are brought under scrutiny, so order is restored. By the play's end, Othello smothers Desdemona with a pillow. Desdemona's body is deemed inadequate by virtue of not being fully formed and her supposed adultery is deduced from Iago's reports of her conversations with Cassio (Stallybrass 1986, 136-141). This effectively resolves her problems of embodied and linguistic autonomy in what can be considered therefore to be a highly satisfactory way.

And so any imperfections in acceptable feminine behaviour are conceived as shrewishness. Shrewishness, as Hodgdon describes, has implications of evil and wickedness in both genders, but undergoes some semantic change to indicate “a woman given to railing or scolding” during the 1500s (2010, 39). For example, Kate is “noisy, irascible and aggressive”, defined by her stream of language (“she talks and talks”) and it is clear that shrewishness is indeed a gendered construct through the variety of derogatory terms (Hodgdon 2010, 40-1). This analysis draws on Boose (1991, 185), where she says

> In sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English villages and towns […] women judged guilty of so egregiously violating the norms of community order and hierarchy […] have been labelled "scolds" or "shrews." What becomes apparent […] is that being labelled a "shrew" or "scold" had very real consequences in the late sixteenth century-consequences much more immediate and extreme than the only one that overtly confronts Shakespeare's Kate, which is to play out the demeaning role of being a single woman in married culture.

Because women’s actions are so heavily surveyed to ensure they are within the remit of acceptable order throughout a community, it is no surprise that the language of slander is particularly aimed at women whose social disobedience encompasses the body, mind, and her presence in the public sphere.

The three categories discussed above can be condensed or otherwise collapsed into one form of slander and women's language and women’s bodies are both policed: thus a woman who is too outward facing is too social and too dangerous. Women who speak too freely threaten social structure and the body producing them is inherently incomplete. It is therefore possible for one to differentiate between body and mouth or collapse the criticism of women into the singular problem body/mouth. Thus,

accusations of ‘whore’ become double-edged: a woman is too loose with her body, too loose with her tongue, or there is a combination of the two problems through her public persona.

The insult of ‘whore’ is therefore a highly derogatory way of describing women. But ultimately, the accusations of impurity come down to criticism of women’s bodies – in particular their mouths, the source of linguistic creativity and verbosity– as a form of social control. Women's language and women’s bodies are both policed: thus a woman who is too outward facing is too social and too dangerous. Women who speak too freely threaten social structure and the body producing these loose words is inherently incomplete. Moreover, a patriarchal social structure functions as a way of keeping “troubling individuals grouped in their marginalised place and to insist that the place is a vulgar, degraded one from which they can never escape” (Stanton 2000, 81). The term ‘whore’ is specifically used against female characters in Shakespeare’s plays who act in a way which is perceived as negative to the hetero-patriarchy of Elizabethan England. It is therefore possible for one to differentiate between body and mouth or collapse the criticism of women into the singular problem body/mouth. As Stanton (2000, 99) suggests, it is a specific linguistic choice to use one of these terms to specifically police or criticise women whose actions are in any way rebellious or non-normative, following Stallybrass’s and Newman’s studies of feminine rebelliousness in Elizabethan England.

The word ‘whore’ in Elizabethan England has a wide range of applications. A whore can be a woman who is promiscuous, who is a professional prostitute, who is vulgar, who desires extramarital sexual relations, who experiences extramarital sexual relations, who is believed to have had sexual relations without being married, who has

indeed had sexual relations without being married, who has had multiple sexual partners, who knowingly provokes sexual desire in men, who unknowingly provokes sexual desires in men, who is generally unchaste, who is an irrational person, a flamboyant person, who attempts to take control of any aspect of her life, or who shows desire to be like a man in professional or other social spheres (Stanton 2000, 81; Findlay 2014, 438). In Section 4 I will explore how 'whore' and its cognates function as a form of slander against women in Early Modern England, after discussing the methodology of my study in Section 3.

3.3 Methodology

In this section I discuss how to use the HTOED to build a larger lexicon of terms for face-threatening strategies to cause offense in the use of language marking for an unchaste or otherwise licentious woman than Stanton (2000) is able to. I begin by exploring the implications of linguistic politeness for accusations of whoredom, then outline synonyms for the term 'whore' using HTOED to identify synonymous terms for the headword 'unchaste' as it applies to women. By harvesting historically-relevant terms relating to the same concept from the HTOED, I can apply a larger selection of terms relating to whoreishness than Stanton does to the corpus of Shakespeare's plays.

The term 'whore' is used to slander or otherwise belittle women for breaking the social norms outlined in Section 2 above. This captures Stanton's interest, especially as she notes that Shakespeare "figures in the OED's interpretation of the word's meaning; its linguistic authority partially accrues from his literary authority" (2000, 84) ultimately yielding an enhanced form of cultural prestige afforded by their centrality to literary and

linguistic inquiry. Stanton therefore provides an extremely thorough enumeration of how the word 'whore' is used in Shakespeare's plays and sonnets, to show how male and female characters use the term.[23] Stanton notes that "the singular noun 'whore' appears 45 times in the Shakespeare canon, plural 'whores' eight times, singular possessive 'whore's' twice, adjective 'whorish' once, gerund 'whoring' once, verb form 'whoring' once, and 'bewhored' once for a total of 59 times" (2000, 84). She groups these forms together to consider them the lemma of 'whore', though she excludes some compounds.

From that list, she also produces a list of plays by frequency of use, replicated below in table 4.[24]

Table 4. Plays with a frequency of one or more instances of the lemma 'whore' in Shakespeare's writing by Stanton (2000, 84, originally published as Table 1)

Text name	Raw frequency of 'whore' lemma
Othello	14
Troilus and Cressida	11
King Lear	5
Antony and Cleopatra	4
2 Henry IV	3
Measure for Measure	3
Hamlet	2
1 Henry VI	1
Titus Andronicus	1
Romeo and Juliet	1
Macbeth	1
The Merry Wives of Windsor	1
Cymbeline	1
The Tempest	1
Henry V	1

[23] She also hopes to challenge the question of whether or not Shakespeare's language is indicative of male authority over women in the period, but this is a more difficult question to solve.

[24] She also follows most conventions of authorship attribution (see footnote 1 in Stanton 2000, 84) in her study.

Timon of Athens	1

Not every play uses the lemma ‘whore’, and in particular the poems do not show any evidence of the lemma at all: Stanton notes that “a form of the word ‘whore’ appears in all the tragedies except for *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus*, three history plays, five comedies, two of which are now otherwise classed”, adding up to sixteen total texts (2000, 84).[25] Perhaps unsurprisingly, *Othello* tops this frequency table, as the question of whoreishness is quite central to the play’s plot. But *Taming of the Shrew’s* absence is more notable, partially because the question of shrewishness is intrinsically tied up with chastity and sexuality. Table 4 can therefore best be described as a jumping-off point to identify various ways in which the term ‘whore’ is used to demean women in some way or another across the conventionalized Shakespeare canon.

The HTOED (Kay et al 2015) is a hierarchical system for organizing historical language data from the Oxford English Dictionary by synonymous forms. It allows researchers to identify words with similar meanings over time, spanning from Old English to Modern English. The HTOED is organized into three primary semantic categories: the external world, the mind, and society. Terms for madness as a mental and physical affliction are classed as a form of ‘the external world’ as an exploration of health, a condition of living in the world. The condition of being a whore (noun and verb) as a result of a lack of chastity, according to the HTOED, is part of the semantic category

[25] Stanton cites Spevack (1970) as her source for these numbers. Though she does not cite where her genre assignment came from, it seems to be implied the genre assignments are also taken from the same.

society > morality > moral evil > licentiousness > unchastity

Searches for ‘whore’ (n) and ‘whore’ (v) lead to more specific subcategories within this heading, including ‘prostitute’ and ‘verb intransitive’, providing terms which are considered synonymous to the search term throughout the history of the English language. There are 10 available subcategories relevant to issues of unchastity; they are listed below. Each subcategory has the potential for multiple subcategories, as well.

— [noun]
— [adjective]
— [adverb]
— [verb (intransitive)]
— unchaste [verb (transitive)]
— [phrase]
— lasciviousness or lust
— loss of chastity
— fornication, adultery, or incest
— prostitution

These ten categories contain 1,497 phrases or individual lexemes which are historically synonymous with the concept of being a whore or the action of being whorish, covering a range of contexts relating to a lack of chastity. Although initially I collected all of these synonyms to classify them by definition and semantic relationship, I am particularly interested in those in use between 1564 and 1616. As Stanton (2000, 84) rightly points out, there is an inherent conundrum in using the Oxford English Dictionary to identify ways that Shakespeare uses language. Because the HTOED is a means of organizing data from the OED to show historical semantic relationships, it therefore reproduces the same biases the OED does. For example, early books are unevenly cited in the OED, so many instances of historical evidence are taken from Shakespeare’s plays. Thus, rather than focusing just on evidence available from the

years that Shakespeare's plays were performed, I therefore widen the time frame to include words in continuous use during Shakespeare's lifetime. A synonym listed in these categories is cross-referenced for relevance throughout the period, so that examples listed as first cited in the 1300s continue to be in use through to the 1500s and 1600s according to the OED. For example, a term like 'adultery', first cited in the OED in 1405, continues to be in use between 1564-1616, and therefore should be included in this study.

As Stanton has shown, the word 'whore' can therefore be used across a huge range of licentious and sexually changed actions: it can be indicative of fornication in general, lust, lechery, rape, seduction, accusations and outcomes of adulterous actions, loose women, those who spend their time in the company of prostitutes, and indicative of sexual indulgence, among other subcategories. Unlike Stanton's study, which quantifies the way the dictionary form of the word 'whore' is used throughout Shakespeare's plays, I use terms harvested from the Historical Thesaurus to identify specific ways the concept of 'whoredom' was defined and used during Shakespeare's life. Through using the HTOED, my study therefore presents a more robust analysis of the concept than Stanton's earlier study.

From the synonyms available for 'whore' during Shakespeare's life, I construct five broad classes which cover the variation based on the HTOED data, based on their semantic and lexical similarity. Words which share roots but have slightly different meanings and words which are understood to be synonymous are grouped together to show a unified, discrete class of lexemes that are used in similar ways. I do this through the identification of terms which share semantic closeness within the larger HTOED

category of terms for ‘whore’ and grouping them accordingly; new categories are introduced when previous categories are insufficient. Each of these classes represents a discrete use for the concept of ‘whorishness’, and they serve as a custom dictionary to be used with the string-matching software Ubiqu+ity:[26]

1. The state of being unchaste or a whore; ways of describing one who is unchaste or whorish or associates with individuals who are whores
2. Sexual desire and the indulgence of lust
3. Dishonour and negativity attached to sexual deviance (real or imagined)
4. The loss of virginity
5. Violence

Although these classes could potentially be broken down into more specific definitions, these show coherent groupings of terms from the HTOED. The HTOED considers many of these forms to fall under different semantic subcategories under the larger umbrella of ‘lack of chastity’, it is clear that they are related by sharing many of the same morphological roots or through their shared definitions. Each class’s words are therefore similar in their meanings, functions, uses and forms. The class related to the ‘state of being a whore’ covers the forms of ‘whore’ listed by Stanton (2000) in addition to some compounds (such as ‘whore-monger’, ‘whore-keeper’) and other lemma such as ‘harlot’, ‘quean’, ‘prostitute’, strumpet’, and ‘wench’.[27] The class relating to sexual desire and

[26] Ubiquity is an online string-matching software which allows you to write your own dictionary for an analysis of multiple variables: http://vep.cs.wisc.edu/ubiq/. A full list of terms based on the HTOED’s entry for ‘whore’ as a form of licentiousness which comprise each category is in Appendix A.

[27] Stanton (2000, 81) describes some of these synonyms as old-fashioned or archaic, but the HTOED suggests otherwise.

lust covers lemmata such as ‘lust’, ‘lecher’, ‘lascivious’, ‘luxury’, and ‘venerian’, whereas the class relating to dishonour and negativity attached to sexual deviance covers lemma such as ‘adulterer’, ‘cuckold’, ‘horn’, and ‘cornute’. Meanwhile, the class relating to the loss of virginity includes lemma such as ‘devirginize’, ‘deflower’ and ‘defile’ – all strongly negative associations for the loss of virginity. Finally, the class relating to violence covers lemma dealing with sexual violence and its role in producing a lack of chastity, including ‘rape’, ‘violation’, and ‘ravishment’. With the string-matching software Ubiqu+ity, I identify frequencies and contexts for the terms harvested from the HTOED in the Folger Digital Texts plays to understand how Shakespeare as a single author uses the lemma ‘whore’ as an epithet to define and police women in his plays. This study uses and gives figures from more advanced quantitative methods than Stanton (2000) previously had available to investigate how Shakespeare as a solo author uses accusations of whoredom as a form of slander.

To perform my analysis, I use the Visualising English Print’s plain-text version of the Folger Digital Texts edition of Shakespeare’s plays (Mowat, Werstine, Poston, and Niles 2014, based on the Folger Shakespeare Library Editions, ed. Werstine and Mowat 2014).[28] Because the Folger Digital Texts are so highly annotated, the Visualising English Print version of the corpus provide a standardized plain-text version of the original files. To avoid concerns of multiple authorship as evidence against Shakespeare’s use of this specific concept, I exclude the following plays from my analysis: *Henry VI parts 1-3, Titus Andronicus, As You Like It, Timon of Athens,* and

[28] Available online from the Visualising English Print website http://graphics.cs.wisc.edu/WP/vep/shakespeare/.

Henry VIII (Taylor and Wells 1987, 111-134).[29] The question of authorship is either too unclear or the plays show evidence of multiple authors, so by removing them from the corpus I am able to focus specifically on plays which are understood to have been written in full by Shakespeare. This leaves 27 plays which are contemporaneously understood to be attributed to Shakespeare as a solo author. In section 4, I present the results and provide an analysis based on this process.

3.4 Results and analysis based on the Custom Dictionary

In this section I analyse several examples showing how the concept of 'whore' (drawing on Stanton, 2000) can be used as a form of slander against women, drawing on Newman (1986) and Stallybrass's (1986) definitions of feminine unacceptability in Elizabethan England. I begin by presenting a ranking of plays under investigation first by individual use of the synonyms organised by class as outlined above in Section 3. I show how each play uses these five groups of functions for 'whore' by overall frequency. I then present close readings from Shakespeare's plays based on each of the five forms of whorishness described in Section 3 above. I specifically include examples from *Othello* and *The Taming of the Shrew* to show how claims initially made by Stallybrass and Newman inform the way scholars understand the language of whorishness. I begin with the overall relative frequencies to explore which plays use these terms most and least frequently.

[29] *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Pericles* are not included in the Visualising English Print edition of the Folger Digital Texts corpus. They also would have been removed from this study if they were present.

Like Table 4, Table 5 shows that overall *Othello* is the play with the largest number of references to whorishness. There is again no clear pattern based on genre division or date of composition dictating the overall total of references, and the overall rankings match Table 4 quite closely. Table 2 below reports the raw frequencies of each constructed semantic class described in Section 3, listed by total overall frequency. These frequencies are provided unnormalised to set up comparisons with the information provided by Stanton in Table 4.[30] However, the addition of the HTOED data means this analysis is more robust than what Stanton could achieve: I am able to show a wider selection of language relating to whorishness, covering 290 more individual lexical items in addition to the lemma for 'whore'.

Table 5. Relative percentage of each play reporting terms from each class outlined in Section 3

Play Name	Dishonor	Whore	Lust	Violence	Loss Of Virginity	Total
Othello	34	30	8	6	0	78
Troilus and Cressida	24	17	16	2	0	59
King Lear	32	10	10	1	1	54
Measure For Measure	30	10	8	4	0	52
Merry Wives Of Windsor	24	11	8	2	1	46
King Richard III	36	4	5	0	0	45
Love's Labours Lost	24	18	2	0	1	45
King Henry IV, part 2	13	18	9	4	0	44
Antony And Cleopatra	21	9	9	1	0	40
Hamlet	27	7	4	1	1	40
King John	31	3	1	1	0	36
King Richard II	31	3	2	0	0	36
Romeo and Juliet	20	11	3	1	0	35

[30] It must be noted that all the terms under investigation in this chapter are content-driven and therefore are low-frequency terms overall, following Zipf (1939, 1945). To this end, it is not expected that any of these terms will be widely used throughout the corpus.

All's Well That Ends Well	12	14	7	1	0	34
Comedy Of Errors	14	16	3	0	0	33
King Henry IV, part 1	20	10	1	1	1	33
Cymbeline	16	5	6	2	0	29
Much Ado About Nothing	25	2	2	0	0	29
Coriolanus	22	4	1	1	0	28
Taming Of The Shrew	16	11	1	0	0	28
Tempest	15	10	1	1	0	27
Macbeth	11	6	7	1	0	25
Merchant Of Venice	11	9	0	0	0	20
Twelfth Night	9	4	4	1	0	18
Julius Caesar	7	5	2	2	0	16
Two Gentlemen Of Verona	8	4	2	0	0	14
Midsummer Nights Dream	6	2	1	0	0	9

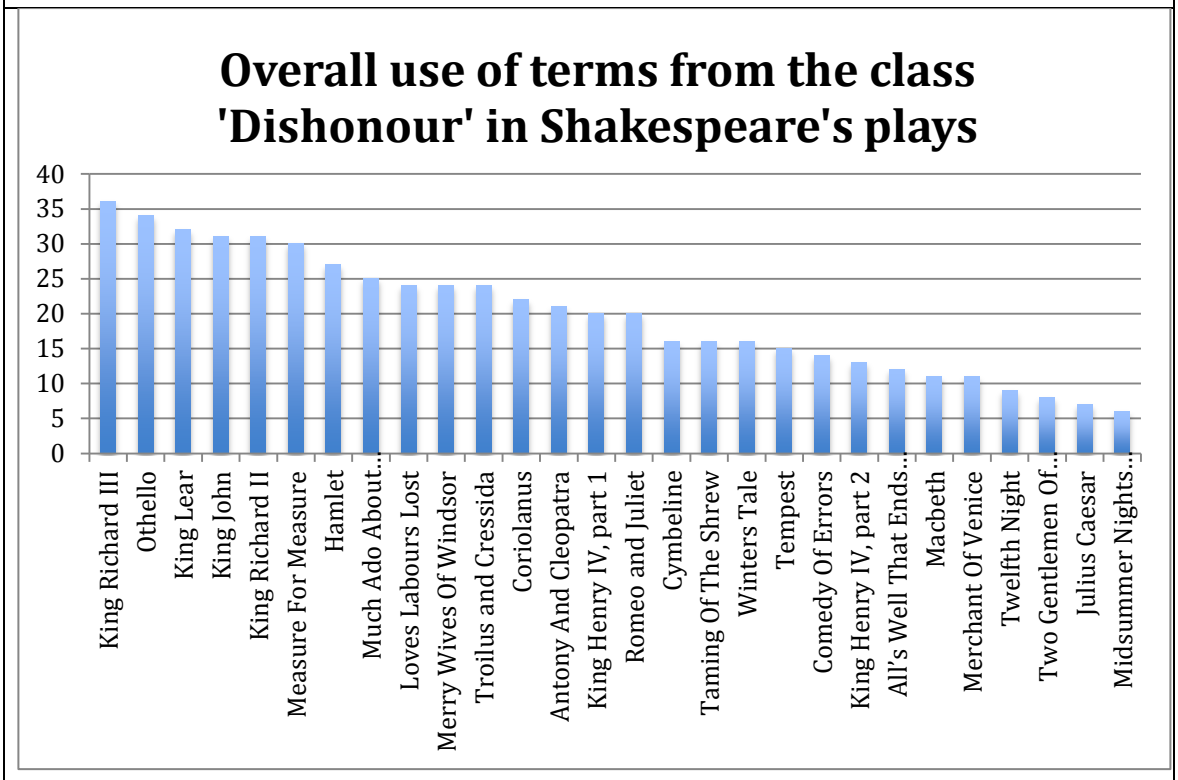
While this corroborates what Stanton finds in her study of the lemma *whore*, Table 5 offers some new findings. Although Stanton's investigation of the word 'whore' is instructive, she has missed a huge amount of evidence relating to this larger concept in Shakespeare's plays. For example, she does not count examples from *Taming Of The Shrew* (2000, 84), because the specific dictionary term for 'whore' does not appear in the play. These digital methods therefore make a more robust analysis of ways that whoreishness is used in Shakespeare's plays possible: for example, there are 11 instances of terms used synonymously for 'the state of being a whore' in this play alone based on the synonyms available from the HTOED, especially the word 'wench'. The HTOED data is therefore especially useful for showing the scope of language that Stanton misses: for example, the language in the constructed categories Dishonour and Whore are far more frequent throughout the corpus than the language of Violence or

Loss of Virginity, whereas the category of Lust is more middling in its overall frequencies.

But, Table 2 presents difficulties for observing the overall frequency effects for each play by class. By separating out each class and graphing the rankings for each play from highest to lowest, it is easier to see which plays use these terms the most and which plays use these terms the least, and what the overall spread of these terms is throughout the corpus. I will continue to discuss them as raw frequencies rather than normalised frequencies, making these results comparable to Stanton's (2000) original findings, which are also presented as raw frequencies. In Figures 1-5 I will present a visualisation of how each class is used throughout Shakespeare's plays.

Figure 1 shows how the terms related to dishonour are used in Shakespeare's plays, and it shows quite a wide spread throughout the corpus. These terms are used in every play in the corpus, but at varying frequencies. *Richard III* has the highest overall frequency and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has the lowest overall frequency, with no clear pattern of distribution by genre, as comedies, histories and tragedies are all unsystematically mixed in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Overall use of terms from the class 'Dishonour' from Shakespeare's plays

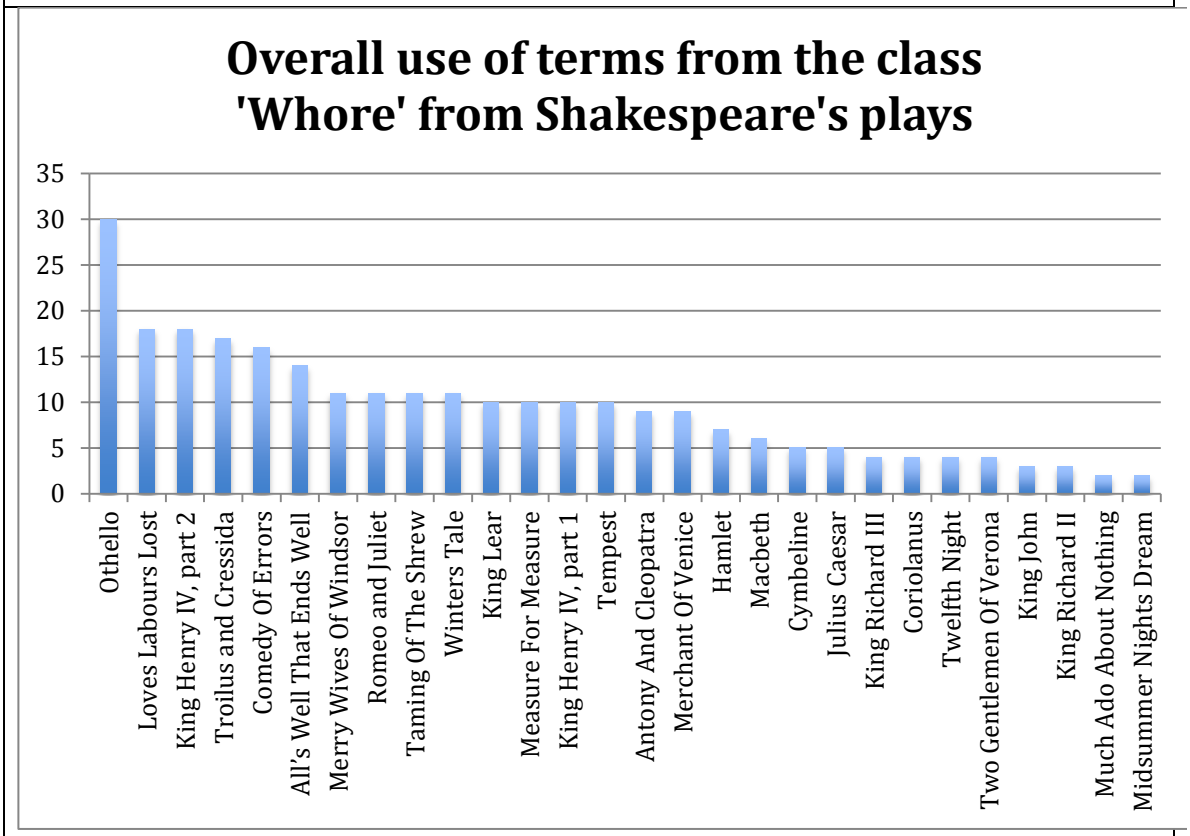


The question of feminine dishonour is quite important to the plot of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, but Figure 1 seems to suggest that all the infidelity portrayed in the *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is not explicitly stated, because it shows only six examples: a comparatively low overall frequency, given the rest of the corpus shown in Figure 1, which averages at an overall frequency of 15. Yet this does not necessarily hold for other plays, especially in tragedies, in which feminine dishonour as a result of infidelity (real or imagined) is present. For example, *Othello* and *Merry Wives of Windsor*, are very highly ranked, whereas *Romeo and Juliet* and *Antony and Cleopatra* are quite near

the overall average. But 'dishonour' is the most-frequently used class of terms relating to whorishness in the corpus, and shows what looks to be a fairly regular distribution.

I now compare this to the table for the constructed class 'whore', which is used far less often throughout the corpus, a fact which mirrors Stanton's earlier findings. It shows a much smaller average frequency of 9, with *Othello* being a clear outlier with 30 instances and the next available plays - *Love's Labours Lost* and *King Henry IV part 2* – with a frequency of 18.

Figure 2: Overall use of terms from the class 'Whore' from Shakespeare's plays



Unlike the 'Dishonour' class of words, the 'whore' class seems to show division along genre lines. The 'whore' class, perhaps unsurprisingly, is more likely to be used in comedies (e.g. *Love's Labours Lost, Comedy of Errors, All's Well that Ends Well, Merry*

Wives, Taming of the Shrew) than tragedies (e.g. *Hamlet, Macbeth, Cymbeline, Coriolanus*). This however is not a strict rule, as comedies such as *Much Ado About Nothing* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* have the least frequent examples in the corpus while the tragedy and history plays *Othello* and *Henry IV, Part 1* have some of the most frequent examples. This class also seems to be more specifically linked to plot, as accusations of sexual deviance are important part of the dramatic action in the plays using these terms most frequently. Based on close reading, Newman assumes that Kate's disobedience towards acceptable social interactions leads to accusations of sexually charged slander in *Taming of the Shrew*. However, as Figure 1 and 2 show, these terms are used far less often in this play compared to the others. However, Stallybrass's choice of *Othello* as evidence for his argument has thus far proven correct. Accusations of whoredom are used at a much higher rate in this play than the rest of the corpus, and I will now provide some evidence of how *Othello* and *Taming of the Shrew* use some of the terms under discussion here, as they offer a direct rebuttal to both Stanton's initial study and Newman's and Stallybrass's claims.

Othello has just accused Desdemona of being Cassio's mistress, and Emilia questions what makes Desdemona a whore, as this accusation cannot be considered lightly:

> EMILIA Hath she forsook so many noble matches,
> Her father and her country and her friends,
> To be called "whore"? Would it not make one
> weep?
> DESDEMONA It is my wretched fortune.
> IAGO Beshrew him for 't! How comes this trick upon him?
> DESDEMONA Nay, heaven doth know.
> EMILIA I will be hanged if some eternal villain,
> Some busy and insinuating rogue,

> Some cogging, cozening slave, to get some office,
> Have not devised this slander. I will be hanged else.
> IAGO Fie, there is no such man. It is impossible.
> DESDEMONA If any such there be, heaven pardon him.
> EMILIA A halter pardon him, and hell gnaw his bones!
> Why should he call her "whore"? Who keeps her
> company?
> What place? What time? What form? What
> likelihood?
> The Moor's abused by some most villainous knave,
> Some base notorious knave, some scurvy fellow.
> O heaven, that such companions thou 'dst unfold,
> And put in every honest hand a whip
> To lash the rascals naked through the world,
> Even from the east to th' west!
> (4.2.146-169)

Tackling the intersecting issues of race and class as they relate to Desdemona in the face of Iago's accusations, Emilia alludes to Desdemona's two unladylike actions: her denial of society's expectation that she would marry a more suitable husband for her (lines 146-149) and her public-facing persona which makes it possible for these accusations to be potentially true. Yet Emilia continues to use Othello's slander against her by repeating the accusation in Act 4, scene 2. Towards the end of this passage, she turns her attention away from Desdemona to accuse Othello of the same form of social disobedience. Emilia describes him as worthless, obscene and foolish ("some busy and insinuating rogue" "some cogging, cozening slave", "base notorious knave, some scurvy fellow"), who deserves his own punishment for his own sexual desire, shifting the social power in this scene completely. Emilia believes that Othello is spreading lies about his wife for his own benefit: it may seem initially that this is a power play between the more elevated Othello and the diminished Desdemona, but Emilia's repeated insistence of the slander against Desdemona contributes to her exile. While it could be argued that Emilia

has no idea about Iago's hand in Othello's accusation, her ongoing echo of the original allegation suggests that she also contributes to the construction of Desdemona's infidelity. By repeating Othello's slander Emilia intensifies the criticism against Desdemona, continuing to contribute to her loss of social standing. Although Emilia is also breaking the social rules of Elizabethan England by also speaking out publicly about the sexual affairs of others, she broadcasts Desdemona's offense more widely.

Newman, meanwhile, believes that Petrucchio refuses to respect Kate's autonomy in the *Taming of the Shrew* (1986, 95); he arrives to marry Kate in a terrible outfit and threatens to leave her waiting at the altar. They argue, raising questions surrounding the role of public humiliation as a way of punishing rebellious or otherwise unpredictable individuals. Weddings are a highly public events for women, as they symbolise the handoff from father to husband. In this passage Petrucchio ensures that he gets the last word between them by demanding that the wedding be rescheduled at her command, not at his. This may seem like a romantic proclamation, except he ends this speech by insulting Kate:

> PETRUCCIO They shall go forward, Kate, at thy command. --
> Obey the bride, you that attend on her.
> Go to the feast, revel and domineer,
> Carouse full measure to her maidenhead,
> Be mad and merry, or go hang yourselves.
> But for my bonny Kate, she must with me.
> Nay, look not big, nor stamp, nor stare, nor fret;
> I will be master of what is mine own.
> She is my goods, my chattels; she is my house,
> My household stuff, my field, my barn,
> My horse, my ox, my ass, my anything.
> And here she stands, touch her whoever dare.
> I'll bring mine action on the proudest he
> That stops my way in Padua. -- Grumio,
> Draw forth thy weapon. We are beset with thieves.

> Rescue thy mistress if thou be a man! --
> Fear not, sweet wench, they shall not touch thee,
> Kate.
> I'll buckler thee against a million. (3.2.228-246)

Here, Petruccio lays claim to Kate as her future possessor through a series of legal references: "by marriage law she now belongs to him" (Hodgdon 2010, 238 note on lines 230-1) and he issues a series of legal challenges against any man who wishes to disrespect his new wife, listing the ways she now belongs to him (Hodgdon 2010, 238-9). He also invites the assorted guests to celebrate her virginity ("Carouse full measure to her maidenhead", line 231), equating her virginity and its associations to chastity to her whole value.

He ends the speech promising to defend Kate from other men ("thieves" threatening to steal her from him), but the tone of this speech undergoes a serious change from seemingly sincere to insulting when calling her his "sweet wench" in line 245. Although Findlay's dictionary of women in Shakespeare offers that the word 'wench' is understood to be synonymous with 'girl', and that calling a woman a wench

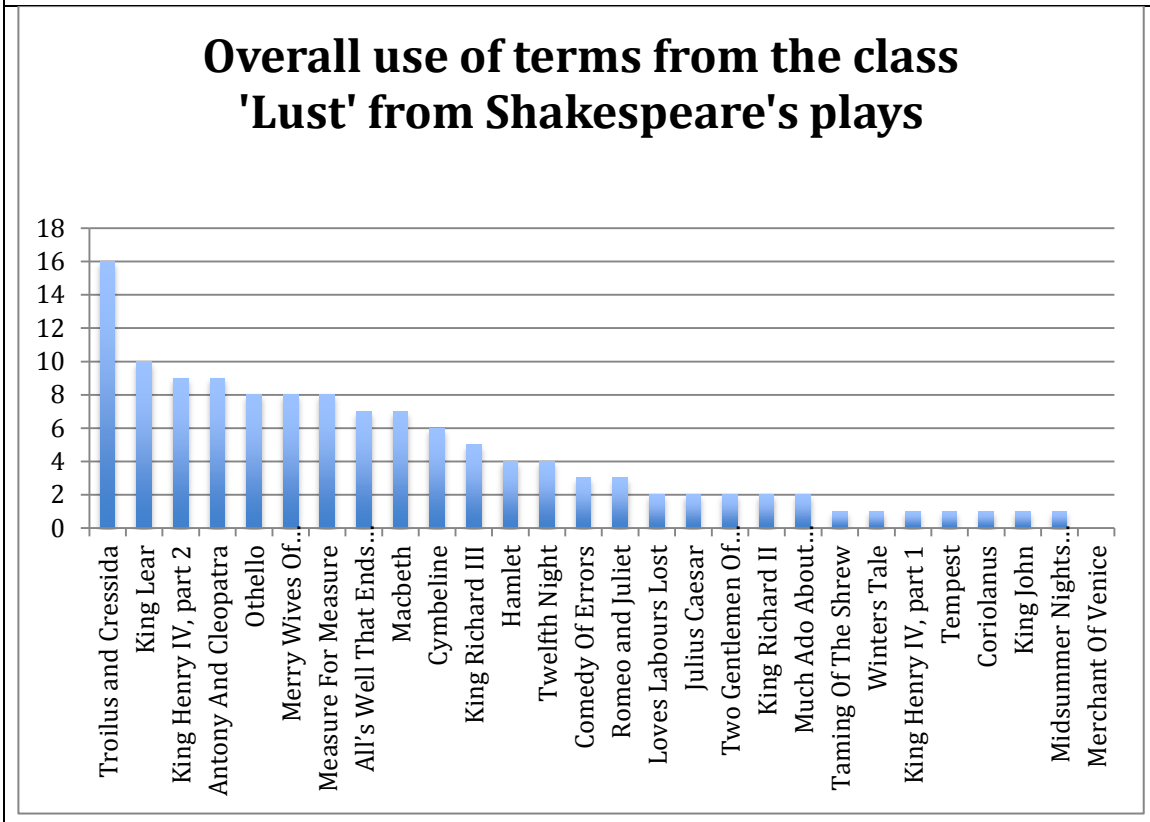
> invariably endows speakers with a sense of superiority to the subject by virtue of seniority. In sympathetic uses this produces an impression of protective, parental caring. 'Wench' can also be a patronizing or disparaging term of reference for a woman. At its most pejorative, it refers to a prostitute. […] Male characters invariably use 'wench' in a patronizing way" (Findlay 2014, 436-437).

In his speech, Petrucchio says women are winnable prizes for a male suitor and it is the job of a man to control his wife. By declaring her his "sweet wench", Petrucchio affects domination and social superiority by using "wench" in their wedding scene. It could be argued that he diminishes Kate's femininity by referencing her age, in effect calling her a 'sweet girl', but the implication is the same – it is still an attack on Kate's inherent

danger on the basis of being a woman. And if Kate is to be seen as a girl rather than a woman, Petrucchio asks the revellers to celebrate her virginity while calling her his mistress, thus re-establishing his own social dominance.

I now return to the frequency tables to observe other ways Shakespeare uses these terms in his plays. As we have seen, the classes for words relating to 'dishonour' and 'the state of being a whore' are more frequent throughout the corpus than the other three remaining classes, but Figure 3 shows that terms classified under the grouping of 'Lust' start to show a large decrease in overall frequency throughout the corpus. Terms considered under the category of Lust show an overall average frequency of 4, which is lower than what Figures 1-2 have shown. With an overall frequency of 18, *Trolius and Cressida* is quite visibly the outlier compared to the rest of the corpus:

Figure 3: Overall use of terms from the class 'Lust' from Shakespeare's plays



Othello, a play which is exceptional in its use of the previous two classes, has fallen to a more normal place in the distribution. The use of terms for whore relating to lust may therefore be more specific in how it can be used to perform slander against women, especially given the genders of the speakers and addressees. Figure 3 therefore is contrary to Stallybrass's claims about women's sexual desire as being an extension of their bodily autonomy and their subsequent grotesqueness (1986, 136-7) given the impurity of women's bodies. Given this finding, I now turn to evidence of this term from the corpus to show how this works in practice.

Although *A Midsummer Night's Dream* shows very little evidence of language relating to the concept of lust, I highlight it to show that the use is consistent throughout the corpus. So when the Athenian lovers are wrongly paired, and after Lysander declares his love for Helena over Hermia, Helena accuses Hermia of having "no maiden shame". She claims she is being unchaste and immodest with Lysander (3.2.299-303):

> HERMIA O me! You juggler, you cankerblossom,
> You thief of love! What, have you come by night
> And stolen my love's heart from him?
> HELENA Fine, in faith.
> Have you no modesty, no maiden shame,
> No touch of bashfulness? What, will you tear
> Impatient answers from my gentle tongue?
> Fie, fie, you counterfeit, you puppet, you!

In this passage the question of whorishness and impurity is centred squarely on the sexual desires of the women. Though it is not entirely Lysander's free will which has shifted his allegiance from Hermia to Helena, the women punish each other for being open to sexual reciprocation. Both women use the language of sexuality against each other: Helena accuses Hermia of being too loose with Lysander, whereas Hermia can only describe Helena's assumed actions as a personally-driven attack.

Hermia uses a string of insults (cankerblossom, juggler, thief of love) towards Helena, beginning by accusing Helena of an overnight affair with Lysander. This level of sexual availability is presented as a punishable offense to the stability of feminine identity as chaste and removed from the public sphere, especially other men. Helena, however, does not try to resolve the issue of impoliteness but rather returns the threat, aggravating impoliteness in the exchange, as she apparently is unaware of Lysander's newfound declared allegiance to her. She therefore accuses Hermia of having "no

modesty, no maiden shame, no touch of bashfulness". Helena believes that Hermia's suggestion that she has stolen her lover is too lewd and impure, declaring her too much like an indignant child. The implication here is that Helena is the more mature of the two women. But Helena accuses Hermia of being equally unchaste: if she feels this strongly outside of marriage, their relationship is too sexually charged and she is not the picture of desirable female virginity.

In the previous example, the lovers battle about male unfaithfulness. Apparently women's unfaithfulness was a common enough phenomenon to have its own concept in wide use: 'cuckold' is slanderous against a husband whose wife has been unfaithful, and a play which uses this particular term often is *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Not only does this term accuse a wife of leaving her husband, it also suggests a failure of masculinity on the part of the husband. Not only do women bring dishonour upon their husband through any physical encounter outside the house, husbands who have been cuckolded are emasculated and publicly shamed: cuckolds were said to have horns on their heads, producing both a strong insult and a very strong accusation. For example, the tragic character Othello is a cuckold, although a more comedic example is perhaps more typical of the exchange. In Act II Scene ii of *Merry Wives of Windsor,* Falstaff has been asked to help Ford (in disguise as Brooke) seduce Mistress Ford. Master Brooke tells Falstaff to avoid Ford, to which he replies:

> FALSTAFF Hang him, mechanical salt-butter rogue! I will stare him out of his wits. I will awe him with my cudgel; it shall hang like a meteor o'er the cuckold's horns. Master Brook, thou shalt know I will predominate over the peasant, and thou shalt lie with his wife. Come to me soon at night. Ford's a knave, and I will aggravate his style. Thou, Master Brook, shalt know him for knave and cuckold. Come to me soon at night (2.2.285-293)

In this passage, Falstaff describes another man as base, low-status, and easily deceived, meaning that it is not just femininity at risk in Elizabethan England, but also the performance of masculinity. These are closely tied concepts, as one way of performing masculinity is to participate in the surveillance of women's social lives. This passage is especially good as a comedic example, as it presents a matrix of insults relating to emasculation through one's wife. "Cuckold" and "horn" fall under the category of 'dishonour' described above, but Falstaff does not realise he is speaking Ford in this passage. If Falstaff thinks Ford cannot keep his wife under control, Ford has therefore failed as a man. Falstaff is therefore welcome to step in to fill this role, and he uses the language of slander against Ford repeatedly in this passage to re-assert his dominance. However, it could be argued that because Falstaff keeps using derogatory language to Ford in disguise, Ford is still the recipient of the insult. Women's bodily and social impurities mean they are too predisposed to unfaithfulness, so this strategy shows that the discourse of dishonour as a result of an unfaithful wife is more typical of men. Rather than directly accusing women of failure, this is an example in which men accuse each other of being insufficiently masculine.

Othello rises to the top of the rankings again in Figure 4, showing that while Stallybrass has certainly chosen the most obvious play for his analysis, it is proving to be exceptional rather than indicative of the rest of the corpus. Meanwhile, *Taming of the Shrew* is proving to be far more average and more indicative of the rest of the corpus, as Figure 4 shows: nine out of 27 plays do not use these terms at all, including *Taming of The Shrew,* and ten other plays only offer one example each. Although *The Taming of the Shrew* can be argued to show evidence of domestic violence through Petrucchio's

insistence on Kate's submission, there is no direct reference to sexual violence, whereas *Othello, 2 Henry IV,* and *Measure for Measure* all offer evidence for this language in use.

Figure 4: Overall use of terms from the class 'Violence' from Shakespeare's plays

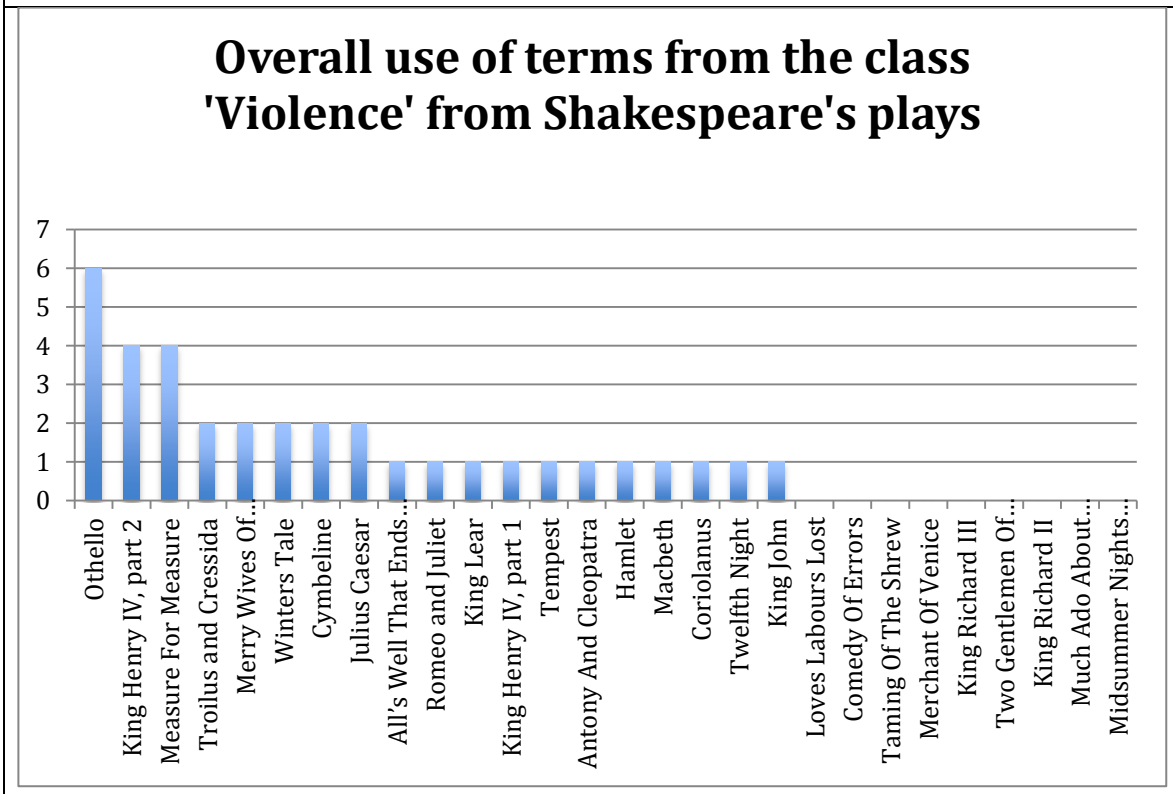


Figure 4 shows that this is a very infrequent class of language relating to whoreishness overall, suggesting that although the language surrounding violence as a result of feminine unchastity was available in Shakespeare's time, he does not use this language very often. Terms under this category include the lemma 'rape', 'ravish' and 'violate', all of which are terms that Stanton ignores.

Titus Andronicus, with its famous rape scene, is unequivocally the most frequent user of 'rape', but as this play has been excluded from the analysis on the grounds of authorship, I wish to shift attention to use of the synonym 'violate' in *The Tempest*; again these are examples that Stanton cannot account for. In Act 1, scene 2, Prospero insults Caliban, accusing him of being a monster and a brute who seeks to cause harm to Miranda. Not only is he a grotesque entity, Caliban's innate lustfulness as an almost non-human entity makes it impossible for him to respect the boundaries and rules surrounding women. Prospero reasserts his dominance as the rightful head of the social sphere on the island, restoring the gendered hierarchy:

> PROSPERO Thou most lying slave,
> Whom stripes may move, not kindness, I have used
> thee,
> Filth as thou art, with humane care, and lodged
> thee
> In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate
> The honor of my child.
> (1.2.412-417)

Women have been considered to be monstrous and grotesque, but Caliban is even further removed from the public sphere than Miranda or the other women discussed in this chapter due to his status as a deformed slave. Where proper men understand the social hierarchy underlying divisions by gender, Caliban does not participate in the same social world. By not understanding the sociocultural expectations relating to masculine behaviour towards women, his attempt to "violate the honor of my [Prospero's] child" makes him a double threat to Miranda. For these reasons, it is quite easy to present Caliban as inherently dangerous: he depends on Prospero's kindness to treat him like a man despite his status as an individual who is even further removed from the masculine construction of social expectation.

Most, but not all, examples of the lemma ‘lecher’ from the category Lust are found in *Troilus and Cressida*, in which questions of feminine chastity recur. Again this is a term that Stanton ignores, and although ‘lecher’ is used of men rather than women, it offers a perspective on how male agency affects the perception of women. In this passage Diomedes uses several of the semantic categories discussed previously, including the concept of a woman who is unchaste (‘whorish’), a critique of masculinity and its relation to male dishonour (‘cuckold’), and reference to lustiness (‘lecher’). This passage critiques the feminine acceptability of a woman who is not present on-stage to defend herself and the man who lusts after her. Paris asks Diomedes to comment on the likelihood that Paris or Menelaus will woo Helena in Act 4, Scene 4. Diomedes responds (4.4.60-72):

> DIOMEDES Both alike.
> He merits well to have her that doth seek her,
> Not making any scruple of her soilure,
> With such a hell of pain and world of charge;
> And you as well to keep her that defend her,
> Not palating the taste of her dishonor,
> With such a costly loss of wealth and friends.
> He, like a puling cuckold, would drink up
> The lees and dregs of a flat tamèd piece;
> You, like a lecher, out of whorish loins
> Are pleased to breed out your inheritors.
> Both merits poised, each weighs nor less nor more;
> But he as he, the heavier for a whore.

In this passage, Diomedes uses the three strategies discussed thus far to construe a woman as dishonourable while also declaring Paris a whoremaster.

Though Menelaus seeks to recover his wife, Paris strongly wishes to take her from him. Diomedes’s claim of “the taste of her dishonor, with such a costly loss of wealth and friends” (lines 65-66) reminds us of Petrucchio and Desdemona above: a

woman's unchastity and impurity is not felt just by her but her entire circle of guardians and owners. Diomedes then criticises Paris for his insatiable desire for her, despite her sullied status, declaring him one who would "would drink up the lees and dregs of a flat tamèd piece" – that is, "prepared to settle for the leftover carcasses of a used woman" (Bevington 1998, 265). Helena has therefore already shown herself to be an unchaste or otherwise open woman. Her "sexual defilement" (Bevington 1998, 264, quoting Psalms 18.4 and 116.3) proves she has already lost her value as a non-virgin woman. For Diomedes, Paris' lustiness is equally as unacceptable as Helena's impurity, and he presents an extended accusation using very impolite terms to portray that to Paris.

Finally, the language surrounding the loss of virginity is used even less often than that of sexual violence: Figure 5, below, shows that *Love's Labours Lost, Merry Wives of Windsor, A Winter's Tale, King Lear* and *1 Henry IV* are the only plays to use these terms, and they all only use them once.

Figure 5: Overall use of terms from the class 'Loss of Virginity' from Shakespeare's plays

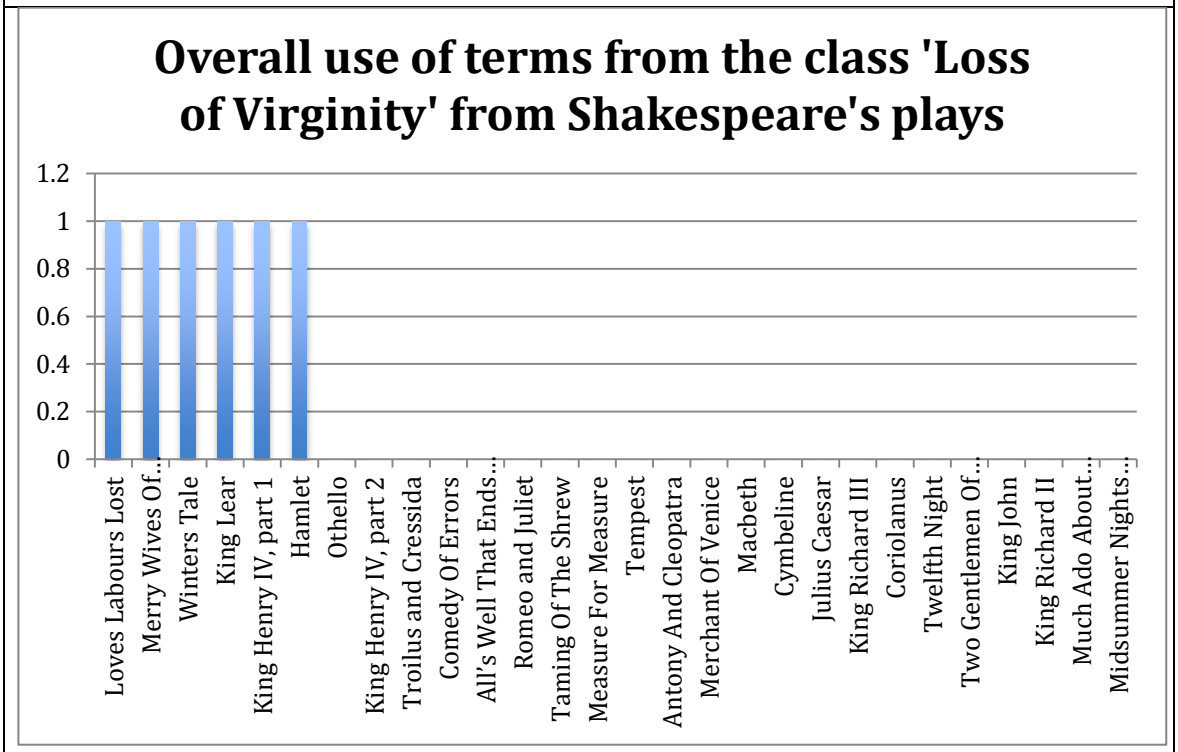


Figure 5 shows that language relating to the loss of virginity is therefore very sparsely used throughout the corpus. Of the available 27 plays, this class of words is only in use in six plays. These six plays provide examples from all three major genres: tragedies (*Lear, Hamlet*), comedies (*Love's Labours Lost, Merry Wives of Windsor*) and histories (*1 Henry IV*). Moreover, comedies in which virginity and marriage have such a strong presence – such as *All's Well that Ends Well, Twelfth Night, Much Ado About Nothing* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* – show no mention of this concept. This implies that all the women in these plays are sufficiently performing what Stallybrass outlines as

acceptable feminine roles, despite other infractions. Therefore, it is only in the plays that show evidence of this class of language in which this is an issue, and it appears more as a warning than a criticism of women. In all the examples except for *Hamlet*, the one word in question is 'defile' – and in every example across the corpus, except the one from *1 Henry 4* – it used metaphorically rather than literally. Based on Figure 5, it would appear that whorishness as a route to the loss of virginity and women's subsequent loss of value is not presented as an issue in these plays.

Stanton's Table 1 (2000, 84, reproduced here as Table 4) is suggestive, but is limited in its scope. With the help of the HTOED, I am able to investigate 290 additional lexemes for the general concept of whorishness, and Table 5 and the additional figures 1-5 show a more robust analysis of how this is constructed in Shakespeare's plays. Indeed, plays such as *Othello* and *Troilus and Cressida* have a much higher overall frequency of language relating to whoreishness than other plays. However, Stanton is unable to show a larger vocabulary of whorishness beyond just the dictionary form for 'whore' in Shakespeare's plays; language describing the state of being a whore may not actually the most indicative of ways whorishness can be understood in Shakespeare's time. Instead, synonyms for whorishness specifically about dishonour are the most indicative of how Shakespeare discusses whorishness throughout the corpus. Though Stallybrass and Newman allude to the ways discourses of slander can be used against women, especially their corporeal and social autonomy, Stanton (2000) shows that the accusation of whorishness can be applied to any number of circumstances, and presents different power structures throughout; this chapter shows that the structures surrounding womanhood affect both men and women. In particular, women can cast accusations of

impurity at each other, striving to set up a binary of good and bad within the already sexist system demanding that all women are ostensibly the same, whereas masculine pride is used to establish social dominance through the exchange of feminine sexuality.

My analysis also shows that although there is variation across the corpus in terms of frequency of use for each constructed class, Shakespeare's plays use these five unique ways of describing whorishness. Plays such as *Troilus and Cressida*, *Othello,* and *Merry Wives of Windsor* show examples across four or more classes under investigation, making my analysis of these plays more robust than Stanton's. I also chose examples from the lower-frequency plays *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*, which show less, but still present, evidence for the language of whorishness. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest* provide evidence from the class of 'dishonour' as well as evidence from 'lust' and 'whore'. These plays are also chosen based on how the language of whorishness can be used by male and female characters. These examples show how women's sexuality is under near-constant surveillance. References to whorishness from both men and women are low-hanging fruit used to criticise any evidence of deviation from acceptable masculinity and femininity, as Stallybrass (1986) suggests. As this section has shown, the inherently imperfect existence of women may be a threat to the social world of Elizabethan England, but masculinity and femininity are both intrinsically tied up in the performance of patriarchal hegemony.

3.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have explored the implications of linguistic politeness strategies surrounding the representation and presentation of women in Elizabethan England. I

begin by discussing the ways that women are policed and obliged to follow specific social conventions, including bodily impurity and the performativity of social enclosure through the passing of a daughter from father to husband. Women who do not obey these structures are slandered by accusations of being unchaste or otherwise unacceptable women, and one way of marking this is to call them whores. In Section 3, I curate a list of terms relating to whorishness during Shakespeare's lifetime to identify five unique semantic categories associated with whoredom. In Section 4, I apply these terms to a corpus of plays canonically understood to be written by Shakespeare to observe how the language of whoreishness and unchastity as it is associated with women is represented in Shakespeare's plays.

This chapter uses Stallybrass (1986) and Newman (1986) as exemplars for understanding the highly gendered social world of Elizabethan England. Stanton (2000) covers a tremendous amount of ground by analysing each instance of 'whore' in Shakespeare's plays, but as the concept is so broad, it requires a more nuanced view. By using the HTOED, I am able to identify five unique categories of whorishness covering a variety of contexts, including dishonour, lust, loss of virginity, violence and the state of being a whore more generally. These terms show variation across the corpus, but using them to guide a literary analysis suggests that it is possible to challenge claims by Stallybrass and Newman.

This chapter also finds that despite Stanton's attention on the lemma 'whore', words relating to whorishness under the broad semantic category of 'dishonour' are used most frequently throughout the corpus. This initially untangles several of the potentially contradictory definitions outlined by Stanton, who finds that women can be defined as a

whore by virtue of showing evidence of promiscuity, vulgarity, desiring or partaking in extramarital or pre-marital sex, is any way unchaste, or desiring of her own independence. Not only does this process highlight various ways that women can bring dishonour to a father or husband, but it also emphasises the threat to masculinity which is also implicit in sexually-driven slander. The social and sexual virtue of women is constructed not just as a form of on-going surveillance by men but also by women. Moreover, this approach improves on Stanton's earlier study specifically because it provides evidence for 11 instances of synonyms for whoreishness in *Taming Of The Shrew* which were excluded from her earlier study because the word 'whore' does not appear in the play.

Though Stallybrass finds women to be totally interchangeable because they are not men, he is able to show differentiation by social class. However, this chapter shows that even within gender it is possible to show a further divide of acceptable and not acceptable women. As Newman suggests through her analysis of Bianca/Kate pairing, it is easy to present women as contrastive, but in examples from *Othello* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, there is still a level of policing feminine identity between women. Women perform the acceptable presentation of gender not just for the men of Elizabethan England but also for each other's benefit. In examples from *Troilus and Cressida*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Tempest*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*, masculinity is performed through stance and discourse strategies surrounding desire and power as a form of social authority for men. And although social authority is effectively absent for women, it is possible to show that different pragmatic strategies surrounding

the use of the concept of a ‘whore’ can further divide into acceptable and unacceptable versions of femininity.

Chapter 4. Race, ethnicity and national identity in Shakespeare's plays

This chapter will test Loomba's (2000) and Hall's (1992) claims that race and ethnicity are presented through discourses of sexual promise based on unequal cross-cultural interaction. Ania Loomba (2000) discusses *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as a colonial attempt to impose normative western male social structures through the fetishization of people and places in Early Modern Europe. She argues that the function of race and ethnicity in this play is to illustrate how foreignness is a feature of property or possession, thus invoking issues of power, authority and identity. Hall (1992) explores ways that miscegenation is understood in *Merchant of Venice*, arguing that economic exchange and social exchange can be understood through the idea of foreignness and racial/social othering. I will challenge this notion by producing a list of terms for ethnicities and nationalities from the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Kay et al 2015, hereafter HTOED) to analyse their use in Shakespeare's plays, Both Hall and Loomba struggle to show specifically how this difference is constructed through the language of the plays through close reading: Loomba provides contextual clues and Hall provides explicit references to Jewishness, but their vocabulary of difference is limited by what they can identify to be explicitly descriptive of people based on their ethnic background and their relationship to everyone else in the play. Hall and Loomba believe that the quantity of terms they can identify and trace is quite limited: they believe non-white, non-Christian identities are rarely mentioned in Shakespeare's plays (2000, 170,173; 1992, 93). By identifying and analyzing a larger lexicon of terms related to national, ethnic, and racial identity in use between 1564-1616 from the HTOED, I challenge their notions that Shakespeare shows

a limited description of race, ethnic, and national background. My quantitative approach therefore serves two purposes: first, it shows that there is a wider selection of terms for racial, ethnic or national groups available in Shakespeare's lifetime than scholars previously understood. Secondly, my analysis shows that despite this wide range of vocabulary, Shakespeare does not take full advantage of the terms available to him in the period. My analysis therefore shows a more robust set of evidence surrounding race and national identity than Loomba and Hall are able to.

In Section 1, I discuss how Loomba and Hall claim Shakespeare uses terms for nationality and ethnicity to create a sense of 'foreignness' in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice*. While *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* are plays where race is most overt as a theme, I aim to highlight how race, ethnicity and nationality is present throughout the corpus, as these are linked concepts in Loomba and Hall's construction of foreignness or otherness. Section 2 discusses the selection of terms for analysis across Shakespeare's plays, Section 3 explores how these terms are used across the plays under investigation. Section 4 discusses the findings from Section 3, and Section 5 offers conclusions of this study.

4.1 Foreignness as an ethnic identity in Shakespeare's plays

In this section I discuss the concept of 'foreignness' in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice* as presented by Loomba and Hall. While Loomba focuses on race, Kim Hall (1992) discusses how non-Christian religions such as Judaism similarly invoke anxieties surrounding foreignness and race, especially through colonialist discourses of marriage and mercantilism. These two plays are linked by their

representations of non-Western identities, and both Loomba and Hall consider ways that nationality (being Indian) or religion (being Jewish) are constructed as being unlike Western culture more generally. For example, Loomba explains that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is performed five years prior to the establishment of the East India Company. Although she claims that India is well-represented in European writing and stories, there is an element of foreignness and exoticism available in descriptions of India as a place:

> Some of the accounts were known to Shakespeare's contemporaries, others had circulated in Europe for a while but were not available in English, and some other were yet to be written [….] Gender ideologies in the play and in the culture are shaped by fantasies of racial otherness which were molded by contact with worlds outside Europe (2000, 181).

This is an amplification of a claim by Montrose, who describes this exoticism as "an intertextual field of representations, resonances, and pressures that constitutes an ideological matrix from which and against which Shakespeare shaped the mythopoeia of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*" (1996, 146); Loomba leans heavily on his description. Using place and nationality as a guide, this chapter expands the lexicon of words for people based on their status according to nationality, ethnicity or race and describes how the language of foreignness is used in Shakespeare's plays.[31] As Loomba emphasizes, "both rampant female sexuality and formidable but alien social structures were recurrent features of descriptions of foreign, especially eastern, lands" (2000, 175). This builds on

[31] As the present study is focused exclusively on Shakespeare's language, I focus my attention on him as a solo author without introducing new information about other authors.

Montrose's claims that "descriptions of the Amazons are ubiquitous in Elizabethan texts" (1983, 66). This study aims to explore ways that issues of nationality, race and ethnicity intersect with gender and social power in Shakespeare's plays, using a wider set of terms than Loomba or Hall are able to discuss through close reading. This study first identifies what constitutes the foreign 'other' in Shakespeare's plays using the HTOED, then observes how Shakespeare's plays use this larger lexicon of foreignness as a shorthand for race, ethnicity and nationality.

In both *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice*, a civilized, orderly Westernized culture is presented in opposition to the unruly world of non-Western culture (Loomba 2000, 178-179; Hall 1992, 102-103). For example, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* foregrounds issues of female rebellion and its relationship to male dominance, such as Theseus's dominance over the queen of the Amazons (I.i.16-19). Loomba cites Early Modern travel literature, which presents the Amazons as unbridled warriors and seductresses (173-177); these tales function primarily as cautionary tales for misbehaving women. Their unbridled sexuality and matrilineal society place the Amazons squarely in opposition with virginal British culture, and Loomba claims the Amazons become a Westernised fantasy of what non-Western cultures may be like. For Loomba, the most important fact about the Amazons is that they are unruly women who do not perform patriarchal Westernness.

Feminine defiance is available through accounts of feminine sexuality and its relation to social power. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia's presentation of her gender drives the disruption of social power, especially in the courtroom scene in IV.i, even

though it is Bassanio and to a larger extent Antonio who create most of the problems in the play. What Montrose describes as the "perverse cultural presence of the queen" is also a characteristic of Portia in *Merchant of Venice* (Montrose 1996, 160; 1983, 60-64). Montrose (1983, 60-64) argues that feminine power should be read as form of male cultural fantasy surrounding gender and sexuality. Women – even those with any particular form of power – are therefore still subject to a patriarchal system. And if this is the case, any hint of feminine autonomy is to be subject to male wants and desires under *all* circumstances. Hall argues that Jessica and Portia both subvert the social expectations for women and thus push the boundaries of the gender and racial system in the world of the play (1992, 103-104) in a way that is unacceptable, and so must be resolved by the play's conclusion. Thus the real worry about Amazons is not necessarily a fear of foreigners but that a powerful matrilineal society will "threaten[ing] to spill out and aggressively overpower the world of (European) men" (Loomba 2000, 174). The requirement to restore order therefore falls squarely on the women, even though it is the men in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* who are most responsible for creating the disorder (Loomba 2000, 163-4). For example, the lovers' switch in Act 3, Scene 2 and Titania's unwillingness to succumb to Oberon both draw on these tropes of Amazonian women who are untamable. In both instances, rampant female sexuality does not follow acceptable social expectations for women as laid out in Chapter 3 of this thesis. This can only be resolved through supernatural (i.e. unnatural) circumstances and antidotes which restore order: Puck anoints the correct lovers and Titania is released from her constructed admiration for Bottom. And in *Merchant of Venice,* "Portia's originally

transgressive act is disarmed and validated by the play's resolution when these 'disorderly' women become pliable wives" (Hall 1992, 104).

The Merchant of Venice also presents anxieties about ethnicity and race as a system of barter and economics over the father-daughter-husband triad. Hall (1995) and Shapiro (1996) have both compellingly argued that competing discourses of theology, gender and race dictate ways that Shylock, the Jewish Merchant, is presented in his play. "Being a Jew, like being a Moor, was a theological distinction" foremost (Hirsch 2006, 123, 124). Hall (1992, 92) agrees, arguing that "physical differences in association to their cultural differences (a combination that is the primary basis of 'race')" marks both Jews and Moors as different from the white Western world. Although Moors may be Christian, they are still othered on the basis of their physical appearance: for example, Hall describes Jews and Moors as "visible minorities" and suggests that a "black presence" is a threat towards normative "white European" culture (1992, 92). They are not considered to be 'white' by virtue of being described as being 'other' through race and/or ethnicity. For example, "The imagery associated with Shylock in the play reveals an ongoing link between perceptions of the racial difference of the black, the religious difference of the Jew, and the possible ramifications of sexual and economic contact with both" (Hall 1992, 100). Throughout *Merchant of Venice*, these anxieties are especially visible through images of mercantilism and exchange. Hall offers the examples of Lorenzo "steal[ing] two thousand ducats along with a jewel-laden Jessica" and Portia's large fortune (Hall 1992, 100). These women are violently disruptive of Western social norms; their deviance re-introduces a form of patrilineal mercantilism. "An acceptable woman should move from father to husband, which precludes marriage

leading to a family through a system in which women are property to be exchanged by men. The successful end of courtship (endogamous marriage) is achieved through the balancing of the problems of conversion, inheritance, and difference" (1992, 102). Hall also offers an exploration of boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, although her argument is that both religion and race can impose boundaries on acceptability. She describes this based on "physical difference in association with cultural difference", which is a way of defining religion as part of a larger system of racial difference (1992, 92). In other words, religion and race are not separate entities, but rather part of a larger system of constructing difference from Western norms.

But in Shylock's case, he is an outsider twice: first by religion and second by not being a member of the nobility or 'better sort' in Tudor society (Nevalainen and Ramoulin-Brunberg 1994, 140, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996, 58, Laslett, 1983, 38). Shylock's daughter Jessica frees herself from Shylock's exotic Jewish identity through her marriage to Lorenzo. Jewishness, though hard to identify as visibly different without a badge or other such marker (Hirsch 2006, 123), is still a source of much anxiety for Europeans, as they create disorder through their unwillingness to conform to Western culture (Hall 1992, 96). Jessica re-enters into the play as a successfully assimilated member of Catholic society after disrupting the father-husband mercantile system while Shylock remains left behind as an outsider. This creates a second problem regarding foreignness which closely aligns Jews and blacks in Western thought (Hall 1992, footnote 14) and thus makes them both into inferior and unacceptable bodies. While Hall argues that otherness in these texts constructs individuals against a Western norm, Loomba warns literary critics against "equating

non-European individuals as underdeveloped" (2000, 165), which allows the issue of race to be unchallenged against colonialist and patriarchal structures in both 16th and 21st century readings of Shakespeare.

A Midsummer Night's Dream foregrounds issues of feminine rebellion and male dominance and *The Merchant of Venice* foregrounds cross-cultural interaction between the pairings of Shylock and Antonio as well as Jessica and Lorenzo. While there are different perceptions of femininity across the racial and ethnic spectrums, "observations of the East are fitted through a Eurocentric lens, but they are also manufactured out of observations of difference that contribute to the making of the lens itself" (Loomba 178-179). The construction of difference is performed from a dominant cultural viewpoint which can be used to (re)construct family narratives based on mercantilism and colonialism. Moreover, the question of nationhood and nationality is intrinsically tied to the construction of difference. Both Loomba and Hall ask how the identification of a racial, national and ethnic status contributes to group identities in Early Modern England. However, they are limited by their inability to observe historically-relevant terminology for racial, national and ethnic difference. Their essays can only focus on one issue surrounding ways race and ethnicity are portrayed in one play. Hall investigates the role of Jewishness in *Merchant of Venice* and Loomba discusses ways foreignness is constructed in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. These are obvious examples to focus on, given the topics of each play; *Merchant of Venice* is about the role of othering based on ethnic affiliation. Although the question of Shakespeare and race is more commonly discussed in contemporary scholarly discourse, it is still unclear precisely how the language and discourses of nationality in Shakespeare's life shape

both contemporary and historical understandings of international interaction in his plays. In Section 2, I explore how to widen our understanding of nationality, race, and ethnic identity during Shakespeare's life using the HTOED.

4.2 Methodology

In this section I will introduce terms for national, racial and/or ethnic identity using the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *HTOED*, Kay et al 2015) following Wells and Taylor (1987)'s description of the Shakespearean canon.[32] For these concepts, terms in use during Shakespeare's lifetime will be harvested from the *HTOED* for analysis in the form of a custom dictionary for the text-tagging system Ubiqu+ity.[33] National, racial, and ethnic identity are descriptive of characteristics and not a binary or ranked system in the same way that gender and social class are: social class can operate on a ranked scale (Laslett 1983, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1994, 1996, Culpeper and Archer 2003, 2005) whereas gender is a social, biological and linguistic process, constructing the way we perform language and behavior, and is substantiated through expectations and narratives based on gendered identities.[34] Smith (1991, viii) describes national identity as a form of "collective

[32] The *New Oxford Shakespeare: Modern Critical Edition, the Complete Works* (ed Taylor et al, 2016) was published during the writing and preparation of this thesis, and offers new insights into authorship attribution within the Shakespeare canon. The thesis uses the 1987 *Textual Companion* as its source for identifying plays understood to be written by Shakespeare.

[33] Available online from the Visualising English Print website, http://vep.cs.wisc.edu/ubiq/

[34] English does not have grammatical gender, but instead uses natural, or 'notional' gender (Curzan 2003, 30; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1994; Jesperson 1924, 55, 230; Corbett 1991; Hellinger and Bußmann 2001, 2002, 2003). Gender can, but is

cultural identity" which dictates how social power can be performed in relationship to social class, skin colour, and political history. National identity is "a named human population sharing an historic territory or homeland, common myths and historical memories, a common, mass public culture, and a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith 1991,14).[35] This definition suggests that race and ethnicity can be considered to be a part of national identity, such as through a shared religious background or a group from a particular location with sociopolitical implications. The HTOED offers a hierarchical classification schema which allows users to identify terms associated with a national identity throughout a large sample of historical English language material related to the concept of national, racial and ethnic identity.[36] This improves on Hall and Loomba's approaches by identifying every instance of national and ethnic identity cited by the HTOED during Shakespeare's lifetime. I will identify a range of terms that Shakespeare could have used, therefore encapsulate all the words relating to the language of national, racial and ethnic identity available to Shakespeare during his lifetime. In order to discuss how he uses language

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not required to be, prototypically male or female. This is not true of all of the world's languages (Corbett, 1991; Hellinger and Bußmann, 2001; 2002; 2003). Although grammatical gender is "semantically arbitrary" in that "there is no inherent reason why *soleil* ('sun') in Modern French is masculine but its German equivalent, *Sonne*, feminine" grammatical gender "is semantically motivated in that it encodes real-life distinctions such as animacy and sex of entities referred to" and are indicated through third-person singular and reflexive pronouns in English (Nevalainen 2006, 80).

[35] In endnote 20 (Smith 1991, p 180) primarily emphasises on the difficult relationship between national identity and nationalism, stressing that the concept of national identity is not an unproblemantic notion.

[36] There are not exactly synonymous, but related, concepts. I will use these terms interchangeably throughout this chapter

under investigation in this chapter, I focus my attentions primarily on plays that are widely accepted to be sole-authored, according to Wells and Taylor (1987).

To perform my analyses, I use the Visualising English Print plain-text version of the Folger Digital Texts (Mowat, Werstine, Poston, and Niles 2014, based on the Folger Shakespeare Library Editions, ed. Werstine and Mowat 2014). The Folger Digital Texts are highly annotated for features such as individual words, speakers and stage presence, making them a valuable resource but difficult to use for linguistic analyses. The Visualising English Print version of the corpus provides a standardized plain-text version of the original files representing just the spoken texts of the plays and disregarding paratextual information like speech prefixes, act and scene divisions and dramatis personae, making them better suited for lexical analysis.[37]

One difficulty of historical analysis of social conceptions of national, racial, and ethnic identity is the struggle between the explicitly named identities of a specific character compared to how they are portrayed through references to these categories by other characters. For example, we know that Caliban is described as a deformed savage and slave in *The Tempest*, but we do not know much about his racial identity within the world of the play. In an effort to mitigate this concern, I rely on the *HTOED's* classification schema for terms relating to nationality, ethnicity, and race broadly conceived from the *HTOED* category 01.04 n "People". Every term and its associated hierarchical structure from these categories are identified using the advanced search syntax outlined on the *Historical Thesaurus*'s website. A search for the concept of

[37] Available online from http://graphics.cs.wisc.edu/WP/vep/vep-shakespeare-collection/.

nationality (a subset under "People") can be performed as follows: *nation*, using the search pattern "first cited from Old English until 1616" and "last cited from Old English to 1616", following the advanced search apparatus on the HTOED website.[38] Because I want to see terms contemporary to Shakespeare's life, this range is specifically chosen to be inclusive of terms used during Shakespeare's life (1564-1616). In order to find examples which are in use during Shakespeare's life, one must be inclusive of terms that were first recorded prior to Shakespeare's birth, as they can continue to be in use and those that cease being in use prior to Shakespeare's death.

These dates of first and last records are based on the *Oxford English Dictionary's* citations, which can be problematic. Although the First Folio was published in 1623, the *Oxford English Dictionary* dates its Shakespeare entries from the date of each individual play's publication in quarto where possible:

> **1600** SHAKESPEARE Merchant of Venice v. i. 127 We should hold day with the Antipodes, if you would walke in absence of the sunne.
> or dated with a combination of ante-death and publication dates if taken from the (posthumous) First Folio, for example:
> **a1616** SHAKESPEARE Tempest (1623) v. i. 318 I'le..promise you calme Seas, auspicious gales.[39]

The *OED* considers works by Shakespeare to be written while he was alive, but its dating system is variable due to the HTOED being only partially revised. However, the search apparatus provided by the HTOED is an imperfect system, as not all results are

[38] The HTOED advanced search apparatus is available as part of the search function found at this website: http://historicalthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/search/.
[39] "Shakespeare in the OED." *Oxford English Dictionary*. 17 January 2017. Available online: http://public.oed.com/aspects-of-english/shapers-of-english/shakespeare/

directly applicable to the concept in question or available in the correct period in English language history.[40]

This process produces lists of people from a certain area, such as "Native/Inhabitants of Spain" as a way of describing Spanish people and "Native/Inhabitants of Turkey" to describe the Turkish people. The "Ethnicity" category also includes classifications for people, such as "black person" or "non-white person" in addition to classifications such as "Ancient People of Italy" and "People of Russia/U.S.S.R"; these categories are therefore designed to be inclusive of every historical and contemporary ethnic group available in Shakespeare's lifetime as recorded by the Oxford English Dictionary. The HTOED, a hierarchical classification schema, allows for gradient detail further down the hierarchy: this category contains further relevant subcategories "Ethnicities" (01.04.06 n) and "Nations" (01.04.07 n). Although 'Jew' and 'Arab' are considered under the classification of 'ethnicity', other forms of religion are not. Thus, within the same date parameters, I also include searches for the religious groups 'Catholic', 'Protestant' and 'Muslim' and include any examples of terms available within our specified date range. This ensures I am including evidence for religious identity, which may not necessarily be classed under 'ethnicity' or

[40] The HTOED's advanced search apparatus is available online: http://historicalthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/. Other applications of the HTOED data, such as the SAMUELS parser, which uses HTOED data as a string-matching process (Rayson et al, 2015; Piao et al 2014), shows offers similar difficulties: by depending on HTOED data and using unannotated plain-text files it is impossible to resolve such lexical ambiguity without applying part of speech taggers in the pipeline, and it still may not be able to sufficiently resolve these problems. For example, the adjective 'black' is included in the category of 'non-white' and 'mere' in 'unmixed race', which can also be read as an adjective or an adverb account, both of which can skew this data.

‘nationality’. This concept can also be expressed through the separate category of Society > Faith > Sect (03.08.02), but by searching for the exact group in question, this is a more efficient way to collect all relevant examples available across the database.

To give an example, I have formatted data from the HTOED which initially looked like this

> 01.04.07.06.09|01 n
> Nations :: The Swiss :: native/inhabitant Switzerland Swissener (1542)
> 01.04.07.06.09|01 n
> Nations :: The Swiss :: native/inhabitant Switzerland Switzer (1577–1754 + 1810– arch.)
> 01.04.07.06.10 n
> Nations :: Native/inhabitant Bohemia/former Czechoslovakia Bohemian (1603 + 1845)
> 01.04.07.06.12 n
> Nations :: Native/inhabitant Croatia Croatian (1555–1837)
> 01.04.07.06.13 n
> Nations :: Native/inhabitant Hungary Hungarian (1553–)
> 01.04.07.06.13 n
> Nations :: Native/inhabitant Hungary Hungar (1606)
> 01.04.07.06.14 n
> Nations :: Native/inhabitant Moravia Moravian (1555–1847)
> 01.04.07.06.15 n
> Nations :: Native/inhabitant Poland Polan (1502–1604)
> 01.04.07.06.15 n
> Nations :: Native/inhabitant Poland Polack (1574–)

and transformed it into a machine-friendly format in a comma-separated values spread sheet, entirely compatible with Ubiqu+ity’s custom dictionary rules, including the use of camelcase lettering for category names. The final dictionary form for the forms above therefore looks like this:

> NativeInhabitantSwitzerland, Swissener
> NativeInhabitantSwitzerland, Switzer
> NativeInhabitantBohemia, Bohemian
> NativeInhabitantCroatia, Croatian
> NativeInhabitantHungary, Hungarian
> NativeInhabitantHungary, Hungar

NativeInhabitantMoravia, Moravian
NativeInhabitantPoland, Polan
NativeInhabitantPoland, Polack
NativeInhabitantPoland, Polaker

I verify each of these entries in the Early English Books Text Creation Partnership Phase I available through the CQPweb corpus query system, allowing the EEBO-TCP corpus to function as a monitor corpus for these words.[41] Old English words without a modern-English cognate not present in CQPweb's Early English Books Text Creation Partnership Phase I are scrubbed from the list. For example, *Nations :: English nation :: native/inhabitant England Englishman < Engliscman (OE–)* retains the modern form 'Englishman', whereas *Ethnicities :: other ancient peoples Scyþþisc (OE)* was removed from the population for not having a modern form in use. For the remaining words, I then removed all the HTOED numerical identifiers, as I am interested in the terminology offered by the HTOED's structure rather than the hierarchical structure itself. At this point I simplified the categorizations, so that *Nations :: The Italians :: native/inhabitant Italy Transalpiner (1599)* became *native/inhabitant Italy Transalpiner (1599)*. Information about Italians being a national identity group is redundant, so I have retained the most detailed level of information – in this case, 'native/inhabitant Italy' -- and the term in question ('Transalpiner'). This distils information available for each description of national identity, race, or ethnic group into a lightweight but descriptive model. I then removed the date metadata so that *Nations :: The Italians :: native/inhabitant Italy Transalpiner (1599)* is simplified down to *native/inhabitant Italy*

[41] The CQPweb front end for accessing the EEBO-TCP phase I data is available from this website: https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/eebov3/

Transalpiner. This sets up a two-column system for the custom dictionary for Ubiqu+ity.

The HTOED classification scheme is based on the idea that new categories should be created when existing HTOED categories do not sufficiently cover the concept at hand, but occasionally the same word can appear in multiple HTOED categories. For example, the word *burgomaster* is listed in the categories of both 'Dutch' and 'Dutch and Others'. As it can be used to describe Dutch people and other Dutch-speaking places, I recategorised this term as 'Dutch and Others' as it is inclusive of both categories. Another example of this involved converging 'Turkish', 'Turkish-language speaking peoples' and 'Natives of Turkey' into the broader category of 'Turkish'. Wherever possible I tried to simplify and reduce these duplicate categories to coalesce into the most broadly meaningful category available from the HTOED classifications.

There are a few exceptions to this rule, born out of necessity. For example, it seemed necessary to retain differences between the category 'Ancient Greeks and Neighbours' and 'Greek Islands' as they represent two unique ways to discuss Grecian lands. 'Ancient Greeks and Neighbours' cover historical terms for the Ancient Greeks (Spartan, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Olympian, etc) whereas the category 'Greek Islands' refers to individuals from these specific lands (Cretan, Ionian, Naxian, Rhodian, etc), which are different from 'Regions of Greece' (Attican, Peloponnesian, Thracian, etc). There are a variety of classes associated with Italy for this reason as well: there are words for 'Natives or Inhabitants of Italy', 'Italians', and 'Other Italian Towns'; these are all discrete categories that present different views of the Italian landscape. Some

descriptions of places, such as Locrian, Dorical, and Phocian, are part of the very broad category ‘States/Regions/Cities’, suggesting there was no more specific category available for them based on the OED definitions.

As much as possible, I tried to retain the HTOED’s classifications for each expression of national identity, ethnicity or race. This was primarily done to reduce the level of noise in the analysis, given the number of categories I was working with; I wanted to make smaller categories which only covered three or fewer words each into larger, more representative categories without losing reference to their place and background. Such clean-up is therefore designed to make the dictionary less crowded given enough geographic and cultural overlap. These become an artificially constructed category that covers several existing smaller categories, which show very close semantic uses. For example, the smaller categories ‘Dutch and Neighbours’ and ‘Native/Inhabitants of the Low Countries’ are conflated into the larger category of ‘Dutch and Others’ to coexist alongside the unique category ‘Dutch’, which specifically only references individuals from the Netherlands and not associated lands (e.g. Belgium). Terms associated with the Greeks posed lots of problems here, through both polysemy and ostensibly very similar sounding categories, such as ‘Greek Islands, ‘Ancient Greeks and Neighbours’, and ‘Native/Inhabitant of Greece’. Because these are individuated by time and place, I ultimately decided to leave them as they were, but

made adjustments to other categories which were both small enough and semantically similar enough to justify joining them together to cover more descriptive ground.[42]

As the comma-separated values below show, multiple words can be assigned to one category ('NativeInhabitantHungarian' or NativeInhabitantPoland'). Out of interest in retaining the HTOED's description of 'Native and Inhabitant', I include this descriptive information in my dictionary to keep track of semantic usage. However, this qualifier is removed in the final dictionary, as 'NativeInhabitant' blocks too much of the relevant national detail for data manipulation. The completed list spans 504 individual lexical entries across 124 unique classifications. The complete dictionary for race, ethnicity and national identity is available in full in Appendix B. It largely retains the lowest-detail classification scheme provided by the HTOED.

In this section, I described how I scraped the HTOED for terminology describing race, ethnicity and nationality listed by the OED as being in use between 1564-1616 to list every race, nationality and ethnicity available during Shakespeare's life according to the *HTOED*. This list is available in a dictionary format for use with Ubiqu+ity's string-matching capabilities for text-tagging. In Section 3, I discuss the outcome of identifying these terms and applying them to the corpus of plays based on Wells and Taylor's (1987) description of plays understood to be written exclusively by Shakespeare.

4.3 Search Results

In this section, I apply the custom Ubiqu+ity dictionary for race, ethnicity and

[42] Italians, Indians, and South American Indian are the other categories which represent several smaller categories conflated into slightly larger ones.

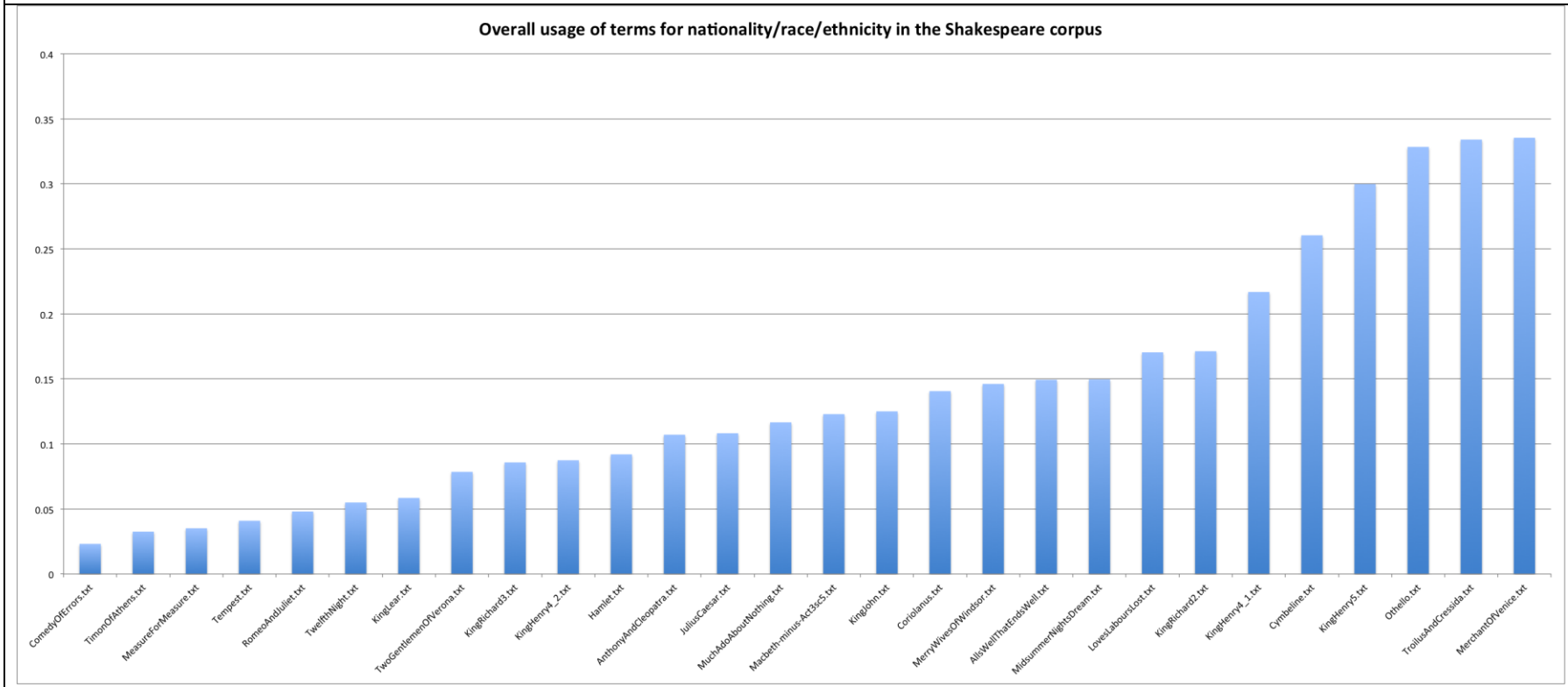
nationality from Section 2 to my corpus of Shakespeare's plays based on Wells and Taylor (1987)'s authorship attributions. The dictionary constructed in Section 2 uses the HTOED's collection of language related to national, racial and ethnic identities in use from Shakespeare's life, and in this section I show which groups are and are not mentioned in Shakespeare's plays. While Loomba and Hall's analyses have strongly focused on one aspect of national-racial (Indian) and ethnic (Jewish) identity as it is portrayed in two plays, I am able to show a much wider range of nationalities, ethnicities and racial groups across a larger selection of texts than Hall and Loomba were previously able to do. I begin by exploring which constructed categories are not used at all in my modified Shakespearean corpus, then discussing the terms which are present, and offer close readings of passages from plays which strongly focus on these racial and/or ethnic elements. By modeling these simple frequencies, I present an overview of how these features are used overall in Shakespeare's plays, before exploring them in more detail in Section 4.

Figure 6 presents an aggregated view of what percentage of each play is made up of all the available terms from the HTOED data, ranked from least to most. Figure 1 shows that *Troilus and Cressida*, *Henry V,* and *Merchant of Venice* have the highest overall usage of terms related to racial, ethnic or national identity. Figure 1 shows that the plays with the most overall use of these terms are rather unlike the rest of the corpus. Based on overall linguistic makeup of the plays. Most of Shakespeare's plays use the terms under investigation less than .2 most of the time, with the corpus showing an overall average of .14. The nationalities of the island inhabitants of *The Tempest* are

unclear, so it is unsurprising to see it ranked so lowly. *Othello*, a play which has received considerable critical attention for its depiction of race in Early Modern England, shows a lower overall rate of these terms compared to *Henry V* or *Troilus and Cressida*, suggesting that perhaps Loomba and Hall are not looking in the best plays to understand how nationality and race are portrayed. However, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* appears to be quite average, and well suited to such an analysis of nationality and race.

While not every play will use the same terms at the same rate, of the 124 available categories under investigation from the HTOED, 55 of them are actually used in Shakespeare's plays. Remembering that these are very low-frequency terms overall; in order to be included in Figure 6, a category has to be represented in at least one or more Shakespeare play. It is also crucial to remember that these categories are not representative of any high-frequency terms.

Figure 6: Overall usage of HTOED terms for race/ethnicity/nationality in Shakespeare's corpus

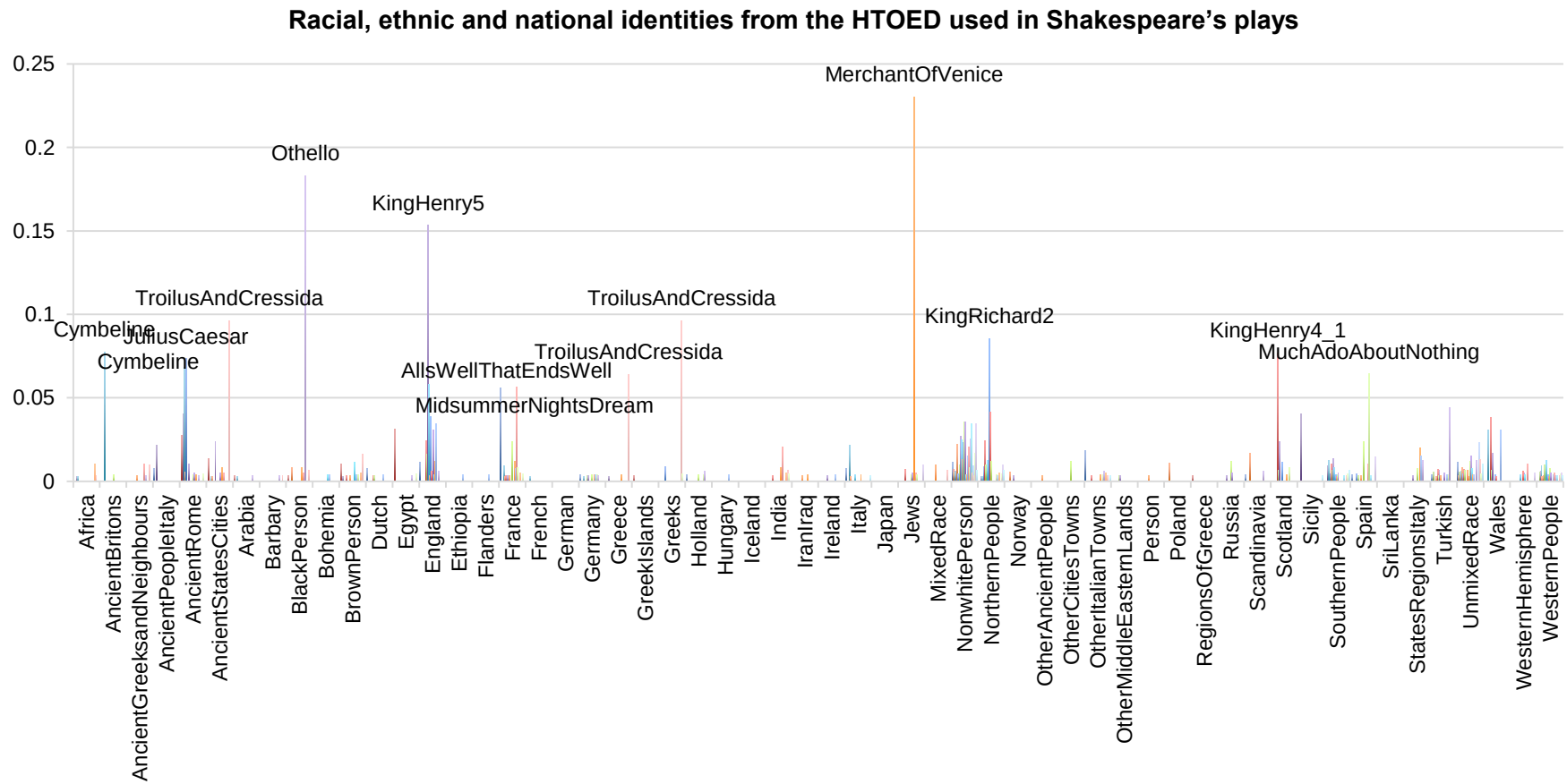


Where Figure 6 gives an overall view of how each play uses all the categories available, Figure 7 takes this information and shows how individual category are used throughout the corpus: Figure 7 shows a breakdown of these lexical items by category and by play. While this may seem like a lot of information at first, Figure 7 primarily shows fluctuation terms for race or nationality in the corpus: it shows, for example, that the language for 'Jews' is highest in *The Merchant of Venice*. This contrasts with Figure 6, which shows which plays use the overall largest amount of the categories combined. In other words, both Figure 6 and 7 account for terms appearing in at least one text throughout the corpus.[43] While Figure 7 condenses a lot of information into one image, each bar corresponds to one play; the more plays using a category, the more populated the play is in Figure 7. Meanwhile, the category of 'non-white person' is the most densely populated, containing evidence from every play under consideration except for *1 Henry IV*. Meanwhile, the category 'Black person', which is most strongly associated with *Othello*, raises a potentially interesting question about its absence in other plays throughout the corpus. Figure 7 therefore allows a visualization of which HTOED categories in use in Shakespeare's plays are most heavily populated and which plays use

[43] The absent categories are: Ancient Britons, Ancient People of Asia, Ancient People of Europe, Ancient Pict, Ancient Regions, Ancient Romans, Arabians, Arabs, Asians, Basque, Berber people, Carib Indian, Dutch and Other, Ethnically English, Finnish Tribes, German, Italians, Middle East, Mongul people, Muslim, Native Americans, Albania, Asia, Borders, Brazil, Canada, China, Cyprus, Demark, Eastern Provinces, Europe, Guiana, Iberia, Iceland, Japan, Malta, Morovia, Other Regions, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Thailand, Ancient States and Cities, Native People, Other Ancient People, Other Ancient Cities, Peoples of Arabia, Caucasus, Peoples of the South East, Peoples of Tibet/Nepal, Peoples of Northern/Central USSR, Protestant, Protestantism, Regions of Germany, Regions of Yugoslavia, Roman Catholic, Russian People, South American Indian, Slavic People, Syrians, Of Amazons, and Person. From this list, only 'Denmark' has been modified, as 'Dane' was listed under the category 'Scandinavians', and 'Denmark' – if it can be synonymous for Danish people and Scandinavian people, it made more sense to use the broader meaning of 'Scandinavian' for this analysis. The category 'Of Amazons', presumably of much interest to Loomba, only includes the word 'feminie' following the HTOED data available.

very few categories across the corpus, already showing that Loomba and Hall are underestimating the scope in which Shakespeare uses the language of foreignness. In addition, Figures 6 and 7 both show that Shakespeare does not necessarily use the same terms at the same rate across his plays. As these are content words, it is expected that there will be fluctuations in use throughout the corpus based on the plays' content. Ubiqu+ity reports total overall percentage of texts, rather than raw frequencies, anticipating the need for a normalized analysis of texts of different lengths; Figure 6 shows that *Comedy of Errors, Timon of Athens* and *Measure for Measure* show the lowest overall usage of the terms under investigation, with an overall reported percentage of 0.046 0.065, and 0.070 of each play respectively using terms for racial identity. Figure 2 supplements this by showing that *Comedy of Errors* only references the categories 'Turkish', 'Unmixed Race' and 'Western people', at a rate of one instance each for an overall total of three examples. This suggests that a lower overall frequency of categories may be correlated with a smaller selection of nationalities, again a feature that Loomba and Hall are unable to identify through their close reading.

Figure 7: Racial, ethnic and national identities from the HTOED used in Shakespeare's plays



Meanwhile, *Merchant of Venice, Othello, Troilus and Cressida, Cymbeline, Julius Caesar, Henry V, All's Well That Ends Well, A Midsummer Night's Dream, King John, 1 Henry IV, Much Ado About Nothing* and *Richard II* all use at least one HTOED category for racial, national, or ethnic identity at a rate greater than a rate of 0.05, and these plays show the highest overall use of one or more HTOED categories, making them quite unlike the rest of the corpus. *Trolius and Cressida, 1 Henry IV, All's Well That Ends Well* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* collectively show a much higher frequency of use of language associated with racial identity across multiple categories, whereas other plays show much less engagement with these categories. This suggests that Loomba and Hall's attentions are focused on the wrong plays, instead looking at the obvious examples of plays with themes of race and identity, rather than looking for high-frequency lexical uses throughout the corpus.

In this section, I have taken the results of the custom dictionary described in Section 2 computed simple frequencies to show how Shakespeare's plays use these terms. I have modeled two ways the language of race, nationality and ethnic identity can be used to construct foreignness in Shakespeare's plays using digital methods. In Section 4, I will observe how the construction of foreignness is presented in two plays that diverge from Hall and Loomba's sources for presenting descriptions of racial, ethnic and religious difference.

4.4 Analysis

Based on Figures 6 and 7, I now present close readings of several examples from

two plays based on the custom dictionary from Section 2. I focus my attention on two plays discussed above, *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Troilus and Cressida*. Both plays show an unusually high overall frequency in their use of words relating to national identity while also showing evidence of multiple categories for national identity in relatively frequent use. One primary function of these adjectives and nouns is to describe groups who are not present in the play but nonetheless produce imagery of foreignness, as in *All's Well That Ends Well*. They can also be used to illustrate how racial tensions and their larger implications define the plot of a play as well, such as in *Troilus and Cressida.* While these may seem like obvious choices to pull examples from, they provide evidence from multiple categories and at a comparatively high frequency against the rest of the corpus, whereas the plays that Loomba and Hall pick up on - *Othello*, *Merchant of Venice*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* - show more isolated examples. In what follows, I explore several examples from each play under discussion, beginning with *All's Well That Ends Well*.

In *All's Well That Ends Well*, the dramatis personae includes members of the French court, a Spanish Countess, her son, and a Florentine Duke, Widow, and their neighbours. This makes the assumption that the Spanish Countess and her son are both Spanish, and that the Duke, Widow and Neighbours are all Italian; difference in this play is therefore constructed by national identity. However, *All's Well that Ends Well* also provides references to racial or ethnic identities not on stage, suggesting that if one racial or ethnic identity is in use it can activate others, which may or may not be relevant elsewhere in the play. While references to France, Italy and Spain are present as

expected, there are also references to Italians, Danes, and the Dutch. These groups are not otherwise a part of the play, but nonetheless references to them are present as a result of Parolles' speech in 4.1.72-75. As a character, Parolles is perhaps best viewed as Bertram's fool and foil figure; Hunston (1970, 321) suggests that he is a wildly unpopular character who serves primarily to drive the plot along. Soldiers in Act IV, Scene 1, capture Parolles, whose name implies knowledge of foreign languages. The Lord and Soldiers speak in a false language which they describe earlier in the scene; Parolles tries to guess what language it may be. Hunter (1997, 99, note on line 65) identifies 'Cargo' as potentially being a reference to Spanish, but it also appears to borrow from Italian. Parolles struggles to identify the language they may be speaking in, providing a list of guesses (4.1.67-84):

> LORD, *advancing Throca movousus, cargo, cargo, cargo.*
> ALL *Cargo, cargo, cargo, villianda par corbo, cargo.*
> *They seize him.*
> PAROLLES O ransom, ransom! Do not hide mine eyes.
> *They blindfold him.*
> FIRST SOLDIER *Boskos thromuldo boskos.*
> PAROLLES I know you are the Muskos' regiment,
> And I shall lose my life for want of language.
> If there be here German or Dane, Low Dutch,
> Italian, or French, let him speak to me.
> I'll discover that which shall undo the Florentine.
> FIRST SOLDIER *Boskos vauvado,* I understand thee and can speak thy tongue. *Kerelybonto,* sir, betake thee to thy faith, for seventeen poniards are at thy bosom.
> PAROLLES O!
> FIRST SOLDIER O, pray, pray, pray! *Manka reuania dulche.*
> LORD *Oscorbidulchos voliuorco.*

Whilst Parolles' linguistic skills are not especially good, he provides an intriguing list of foreign places he believes they may have come from, including Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, Italy, France, or Russia. With the exception of Italy, these countries are not otherwise mentioned in the play, making this scene look highly interactive with regards to national or otherwise shared ethnic identities surrounding a common language. The construction of one national identity can pull in examples of others to emphasise difference. Parolles does not know what kind of foreigners these men are, but he tries to guess based on the nationalities he knows about. Given the information the HTOED offers, this could have been a much longer list, but perhaps these are the best-known foreign groups to Shakespeare and his audience.

Furthermore, because this play provides mention of other national and ethnic identities, it suggests that mentioning one ethnic group can introduce further mentions to construct difference across several axes. For example, Lafew says "Do all they deny her? An they were sons of mine, I'd have them whipped, or I would send them to th' Turk to make eunuchs of" (2.3.94). While Lafew chaotically attempts to make sense of the scene, he also establishes a racial hierarchy between the Turks and the Western Europeans: the Westerners are presumed to be white, whereas the non-Westerners are considered black. It is difficult to tell if Lafew is discussing black people in general, any non-Western Europeans, Arabs, Turkish citizens, or anybody more generally deemed to be exotic.[44] The imagery of cutting and removal that Lafew posits here suggests that

[44] Please see the Oxford English Dictionary entry for Turk, n., for the variety of ways this term can be used throughout the period. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/207622

bodily mutilation is related to blackness and foreignness, defining one subordinate group as morally inferior to another dominant group through skin colour and social dominance.

In *Troilus and Cressida,* the question of national identity is a big issue. There are frequent clashes between the Greeks and Trojans, and Myrmidon, Olympian, Spartan, Trojan people are all named. But the question of otherness is also present in this play through discussion of blackness. Terms like 'afric', 'India', 'black', 'blackness', 'blackamoor' 'barbarian' are present in this play, which may be masked by the dominating discourse of Greeks and Trojans. Ajax's mixed background inverts Greek mythology; he is understood to be the son of Hesione and Telemon, making him a mixed-race character (Bevington 1998, 128). When Thersites describes Ajax as a mongrel, despite the discrepancy in status between the two men, this is a racialised curse based on his mixed background: "The plague of Greece upon thee, thou mongrel beef-witted lord!" (2.1.12). But the use of mongrel is especially poignant in this line because Thersites describes Ajax as being cross-bred, like a dog. Proverbially, beef is understood to make men stupid (Bevington 1998, 182, note 12), and the juxtaposition of these two phrases suggests that Ajax's impure blood makes him like more like a dog than a human. But Theristes' racialised discourse goes on to subvert slave/owner dynamics, accusing his owner of being a slave himself.

This kind of abuse continues later in the same scene, suggesting that one term for ethnicity can preclude another semantically related one 32 lines later in 2.1.44-51:

> Thou hast no more brain than I have in mine elbows; an asinego may tutor thee, thou scurvy-valiant ass. Thou art here but to thrash Trojans, and thou art bought

> and sold among those of any wit, like a barbarian slave. If thou use to beat me, I will begin at thy heel and tell what thou art by inches, thou thing of no bowels, thou.

This is not near enough to be within a reasonable ngram window, but in spoken discourse this may only be said a few minutes later, meaning that these are certainly part of the same interaction. From a methodological standpoint this presents an interesting case in which two examples do not necessarily occur in a rapid exchange but may be linked semantically and over the course of an exchange between characters. In this example from *Troilus and Cressida*, it is important to remember that although Thersites is Ajax's slave, he feels morally superior for being a pureblood Greek whereas Ajax's is mixed. Theresites' Greekness makes him white, whereas Ajax's Trojan lineage is enough to override his Greek identity. This particular example also appears in *Othello* and *Coriolanus* as a form of a "foreign" i.e., a non-Greek, identity (Bevington 185, 1998). By decrying his master's power, Thersites therefore presents the idea that blackness and slavery are inexorably linked, and that ethnic makeup is linked to racial identity. In both cases these are racialised epithets implying that Ajax's foreign status marks him as unacceptable despite his princely status. No matter how powerful he is, Thersites' whiteness as a full Greek by lineage provides him with a social advantage, which is unavailable to Ajax. This is similar to what happens to Othello, whose race undermines all of his social clout in Act 3, Scene 3, emphasising ways that race is intertwined with other aspects of social identity including class status.

In this section, I have highlighted several ways that race and ethnicity are constructed in Shakespeare's plays to describe social tensions across national and ethnic

lines. In this chapter I have expanded upon Loomba and Hall's studies of racialised and colonialist discourses in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice* respectively to understand how data from the HTOED contributes to the representation of foreign identities in Shakespeare's plays. Loomba and Hall suggest that the language of race and ethnicity are ways of challenging social order from within the dominant Westernized social structure. Using this wider lexicon, I am able to challenge what Loomba and Hall posit about national identity in Shakespeare's plays. With the aid of the wider vocabulary test, I show that Loomba is correct in her assertion that racial and ethnic identities invoke issues of power, authority and identity, as I have shown using examples from *Troilus and Cressida*. However, Hall's theory of economic exchange and its relationship with social exchange as understood through othering is closer to how the language of race and ethnicity actually works in Shakespeare's plays. Race is not always consistently constructed: for example, the idea of "Blackness" is relative to whatever is considered "Western". Ajax's blackness stems from his mixed background, and Lafeu describes Turks as being black because they are different from the other groups of people in the play. Race and ethnicity are also not necessarily constructed as one coherent group of foreigners (i.e. Amazons), against an unnamed dominant group, as Loomba would suggest. Instead, these features can be a way of thinking about foreign entities as a group of unknowns, and imagining from where they could have come from.

5. Conclusions

In this chapter I have challenged Loomba's and Hall's notions of racialised and colonial discourses in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice* to

understand how Shakespeare portrays foreign identities in his plays. Hall and Loomba believe non-Western and otherwise foreign identities are rarely mentioned in Shakespeare's plays. In Section 1, I discuss how Loomba and Hall claim Shakespeare uses terms for nationality and ethnicity to create a sense of 'foreignness' in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice*. While *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* are perhaps the most obviously racialised Shakespearean plays, I aim to highlight how race is present throughout the corpus by looking at other plays which use terms for a larger selection of racial and ethnic identities. In Section 2, I take a larger sample of terms relating to national, ethnic, and racial identity in use between 1564-1616 from the *HTOED* to observe how descriptions of ethnic groups and racial-national identities are used in Shakespeare's plays. Section 3 visualises how these terms are used in the corpus of plays written by Shakespeare, and illustrates the variation throughout his corpus. Using these visualisations, Section 4 focuses on examples from two strong outlier plays: *Troilus and Cressida* and *All's Well That Ends Well.* Both of these plays show a higher overall use of these nationalistic discourses than *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or *The Merchant of Venice*, suggesting that Hall and Loomba are looking for evidence for their arguments in the wrong, or at least the more obvious, plays. By focusing on plays that use language of national, ethnic and racial identity more frequently than the average, I am able to offer multiple examples from each play. As both plays cover the two primary uses of the language of national and ethnic identity, I am able to show that Hall's claim of othering through ethnic and national diversity is true, but Loomba's claim that race and ethnicity are constructed as

one coherent group of foreigners (i.e. Amazons), against an unnamed dominant group is not true.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

There are three major findings from this thesis, which I summarise briefly here and spell out in more detail below in Section 1. Each chapter introduces a critical perception of Shakespeare's language - madness (Neely 1991), whorishness (Stanton 2000, Stallybrass 1986, Newman 1986) and questions of race, ethnicity and nationality (Loomba 2000, Hall 1992) – and shows how quantitative evidence can lead to a more complex and robust analysis of Shakespeare's language than qualitative evidence. In Chapter 2 I test Neely's (1991) claim that mad characters' discourse in *Hamlet, Macbeth* and *King Lear* shows linguistic difference from the overall discourse of the plays. In Chapter 3 I build on Stanton's (2000) lexicon of ways that the word 'whore' functions in Shakespeare's plays by using the HTOED (Kay et al 2015) and test claims made by Stallybrass (1986) and Newman (1986) about women's autonomy in *Othello* and *Taming of the Shrew* respectively. In Chapter 4 I test claims made by Loomba (2000) and Hall (1992) about race, nationality and ethnicity and their manifestations in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice*.

This thesis illustrates how digital resources such as the HTOED, the Folger Digital Texts, and corpus analysis software including AntConc and Ubiqu+ity can be applied to a closed set collection of plays written by Shakespeare to test claims laid out by literary critics. Chapters 3 and 4 especially show how to use the HTOED as a rich resource for identifying and tracing historically relevant terms surrounding a specific topic of interest in historical literary-linguistic data. The rest of this conclusion discusses some specific limitations placed on this thesis and suggestions for further research.

5.1 Findings

The primary finding of this thesis is that literary critics are not always looking in the best places for their evidence without the aid of quantitative methods. In Chapter 2, I test Neely's (1991) claim that Shakespeare's mad characters' language is somehow marked. She identifies three tragic binary pairings of mad characters for her study: Ophelia/Hamlet, Lady Macbeth/The Witches, and Edgar/Lear. She argues that the discourse of madness is gendered in its representations, but I show how keywords relating to madness instead present a division between the natural and unnatural world using a log-likelihood analysis and the corpus linguistic software AntConc. This runs contrary to Neely's claim that feminine mad discourse is fragmented and quoting others, whereas masculine mad discourse shows subdued breaks of sanity (1991, 333).

In Chapter 3, I expand Stanton's (2000) lexicon of words relating to whores and whorishness to show how linguistic slander is used to govern women's bodies following studies by Stallybrass (1986) and Newman (1986) on distributions of social power in Elizabethan England. I identify five unique semantic categories associated with whoredom using the HTOED to show how the language of unchastity as applied to women is used in Shakespeare's plays. These five semantic categories cover a variety of contexts, including the state of being a whore in general, lust, loss of virginity, violence, and dishonour, to untangle several of the potentially contradictory definitions outlined by Stanton in her analysis of the lemma 'whore' in Shakespeare's plays. Not only does this process highlight various ways that women can bring dishonour to a father or husband, but it also emphasises the threat to masculinity which is also implicit in sexually-driven slander, as Stallybrass (1986) and Newman (1986) suggest. Newman

and Stallybrass argue that although it may seem easy to understand that women are interchangeable with each other and that women's sexuality is under surveillance; they both discuss how women's bodies and language are subjected to patriarchal power. They cite examples from *Othello* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to show feminine identity is also under surveillance between women. In other words, a woman's acceptable femininity is not just performed for the men of Elizabethan England but also for other women's benefit. Moreover, it is possible to show different ways that the use of terms semantically related to the term 'whore' can further divide into acceptable and unacceptable versions of femininity.

In Chapter 4, I test Loomba's (2000) and Hall's (1992) claims that race and ethnicity are presented as a form of sexual promise through cross-cultural interaction, again using the HTOED (Kay et al, 2015) to identify a larger lexicon of terminology related to race, ethnicity, and nationality in Shakespeare's plays. In doing so I show that Loomba's claim that race and ethnicity as being constructed as one coherent group of foreigners (i.e. Amazons), against an unnamed dominant group is not true, whereas Hall's claim of othering through ethnic and national diversity is true. While *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice* have strong themes of national and ethnic identity at their core, and therefore drive Hall and Loomba's analyses, I argue that the data provides evidence to show that *Troilus and Cressida* and *All's Well That Ends Well* are two strong outlier plays, providing further evidence of national and ethnic identity.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the difficulties of doing inherently interdisciplinary work. This thesis has drawn on methods and theories from linguistics,

literary studies and history; it is inevitable I have missed important contextual information from one or more of these fields. It is my hope that by framing this study as a way of testing literary-critical conceptualizations of social identity using quantitative linguistic methods I have been respectful of the historiography informing each disciplinary perspective.

5.2 Limitations

The late-2016 release of the *New Oxford Shakespeare: Modern Critical Edition, the Complete Works* (ed Taylor et al, 2016) updates the canon of plays understood to be authored by Shakespeare. The justification behind these authorship decisions (Taylor and Egan, published on 9 February 2017) may have strong implications for how we understand the language of the plays. Similarly, McEnery and Baker (2016)'s book discussing the language of prostitution in the social history of Early Modern English print was published on 1 December 2016; this would have been an immense resource to have during the writing and preparation of Chapter 3 especially, but would surely have offered relevant findings about social history during part of Shakespeare's life throughout the thesis. Both of these volumes undoubtedly have much to offer the present study, however, given the timelines for their publication and the preparation of this thesis, it was impossible to take their findings into account.

This study is also limited by the exclusion of the release of 25,363 hand-keyed Early Modern texts into the public domain on 1 January 2015. The Early English Books

Online Text Creation Partnership[45] is a joint venture between the Bodleian Library and the Michigan University Library, in which humans hand-key each page of the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database. EEBO and EEBO-TCP depend heavily on the English Short Title Catalogue I and II (based on the Pollard & Redgrave and Wing short title catalogs), as well as the Thomason Tracts and the Early English Books Tract Supplement (Gadd 2009; Kichuk 2007; Zimmer and Brown, 2015). Ideas about social identity understood specifically through the language of Shakespeare's plays may not necessarily be reflected in a larger view of Early Modern writing which would have been enhanced by using data from the EEBO-TCP phase I dataset.

5.3 Future directions

This thesis focuses exclusively on the language of Shakespeare's plays. It is difficult to justify subsequent studies just on Shakespeare's use of social identities in his plays without considering his relationship to the larger world of dramatic writing he operates in. Given the relatively recent availability of machine-readable full-text transcriptions of non-Shakespearean dramatic writing, this thesis raises several future directions which show a direct benefit arising from the presence of the EEBO-TCP phase I dataset. With the release of the first phase of the EEBO-TCP dataset, discussing Shakespeare's plays in context and dialogue with a much wider range of writing from Early Modern period more broadly is now possible. However, in order to truly harness the power of this large database to test literary critical claims, a more focused study was clearly needed.

[45] See http://textcreationpartnership.org for details.

Projects such as Mueller's Shakespeare his Contemporaries (2015), the Visualising English Print corpora curated from Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership (Phase I) (http://graphics.cs.wisc.edu/WP/vep/), the Digital Renaissance Editions (Hirsch, ed., 2014-) and Brown et al's *A Digital Anthology of Early Modern English Drama* (2016) means that despite all of our attention on Shakespeare's language, it is very difficult to justify our insistence on understanding Shakespeare without considering the language of his immediate contemporaries as well. Other future corpora curated from the EEBO-TCP project could potentially be avenues for exploration as well.

Given the research on the language of whoreishness presented in Chapter 3, I am especially interested in exploring the ways that city comedies use these terms. A case study exploring the language of whorishness as seen in city comedies written by authors such as Ben Jonson, Thomas Middleton and/or Thomas Dekker would be illuminating, as these plays are especially interested in exploring themes of sexuality and chastity. It would, for example, be very interesting to see how genre informs the use of these lexical items, and to observe how Shakespeare's treatment of these terms in his plays compares to some of his more immediate dramatic contemporaries. Additionally, it would be interesting to see if author gender plays a factor in the use of words relating to whorishness and sexual deviance; suitable authors for such an analysis may include later women writers such as Aphra Behn, Margaret Cavendish, and Elizabeth Cary. A study of ways that sexual promiscuity is – or is not - presented in scientific writing is also a potential avenue for further analysis.

Another potential avenue to explore would draw directly on work presented in Chapter 4 relating to race, nationality and ethnicity. With the existence of the custom dictionary for race, ethnicity, and national identity, it would be very illuminating to apply these terms to other corpora taken from the EEBO-TCP dataset. It would be possible to see how other non-Shakespearean authors writing plays in his lifetime use these terms, to see if their use is consistent with the ways outlined here. Additionally, travel writing could potentially reframe our understanding of discussing nationality and identity, showing ways of how our understanding of race, ethnicity and place in Early Modern England is informed by the language used to describe individuals.

By focusing my attentions on claims about social identity made by literary critics, I have been able to test these ideas at scale. It would be very plausible to use the methods outlined here to study further aspects of social identity. One feature I have not discussed in this thesis is social class; a similar study could valuably observe how Shakespeare uses a lexicon of social class. Moving beyond social identity, it would similarly be possible to observe how Shakespeare references specific cultural concepts using the HTOED. The studies presented here can be re-framed as queries around other highly canonical writers based on other literary-critical perspectives regarding social identity in the Early Modern period.

After just over a year of EEBO-TCP phase I being in the public domain, it is increasingly difficult to study the Early Modern period without referencing it at least cursorily, if not explicitly. With an additional 45,000 texts also expected to enter the public domain in 2020, EEBO-TCP is poised to be the largest-ever available machine-readable corpus of Early Modern English. This thesis therefore primarily exists as a

model for further research using the Historical Thesaurus and ways in which quantification makes it possible to test claims made by literary critics. Following the methods outlined here, it should be possible to conduct similar studies on a range of topics and texts.

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APPENDIX A.

The custom Ubiqu+ity dictionary for whorishness based on the HTOED data used in Chapter 3.

Barber's chair	Whore
Bitchery	Whore
Brothel	Whore
Brothels	Whore
Brothelly	Whore
Common stale	Whore
Commoners	Whore
Commoner	Whore
Community	Whore
Crushabell	Whore
Crushabells	Whore
Cunts	Whore
Cunt	Whore
Curtal	Whore
Curtals	Whore
Customers	Whore
Customer	Whore
Doll-commoner	Whore
Doll-commons	Whore
Doll-common	Whore
Drivelling	Whore
Forwhore	Whore
Hackster	Whore
Hacksters	Whore
Hackney	Whore
Harlot	Whore
Harlots	Whore
Harloting	Whore
Harloting	Whore
Harlotise	Whore
Harlotised	Whore
Harlotises	Whore
Harlotize	Whore
Harlotized	Whore
Harlotizes	Whore
Harlotry	Whore

Harlotry	Whore
Hell-mouths	Whore
Hell-mouth	Whore
Hiren	Whore
Hirens	Whore
Incontience	Whore
Incontinecy	Whore
Incontinent	Whore
Jumblers	Whore
Jumbler	Whore
Keep a woman	Whore
Land-frigate	Whore
Light-heels	Whore
Lighted-tailed	Whore
Loose in the hilts	Whore
Loose-legged	Whore
Loose-tailed	Whore
Mermaid	Whore
Mermaids	Whore
Miss	Whore
Molls	Whore
Moll	Whore
Night-worm	Whore
Night-worms	Whore
Occupant	Whore
Pagans	Whore
Pagan	Whore
Paphians	Whore
Paphian	Whore
Polecats	Whore
Polecat	Whore
Prostitutes	Whore
Prostitute	Whore
Prostituted	Whore
Prostitution	Whore
Public commoners	Whore
Public commoner	Whore
Pugs	Whore
Pug	Whore
Punk	Whore
Punker	Whore

Punks	Whore
Putanie	Whore
Queans	Whore
Quean	Whore
Queaning	Whore
Queanish	Whore
Queanry	Whore
Slut	Whore
Stewpot	Whore
Stewpots	Whore
Streetwalker	Whore
Strumpery	Whore
Strumpet-wise	Whore
Strumpet	Whore
Strumpetly	Whore
Strumpetry	Whore
Strumpets	Whore
To keep a woman	Whore
To wench out	Whore
Trader	Whore
Traders	Whore
Traffic	Whore
Trugs	Whore
Trug	Whore
Turn-up	Whore
Twiggers	Whore
Twigger	Whore
Unchaste	Whore
Unchastity	Whore
Ventairer	Whore
Venture	Whore
Walk-street	Whore
Wench out	Whore
Wench	Whore
Wenched	Whore
Wenchel	Whore
Wenchels	Whore
Wenches	Whore
Wenching	Whore
Whore-lust	Whore
Whore-lusts	Whore

Whore-man	Whore
Whore-men	Whore
Whore	Whore
Whoredom	Whore
Whoreishness	Whore
Whorekeeper	Whore
Whorekeepers	Whore
Whoremaser	Whore
Whoremonger	Whore
Whoremongering	Whore
Whores	Whore
Whoring	Whore
Whorish	Whore
Whorishly	Whore
Whorishness	Whore
Whory	Whore
Winchester geese	Whore
Winchester goose	Whore
Womanist	Whore
Womanise	Whore
Womanize	Whore
Womanizer	Whore
Womaniser	Whore
By-lusting	
Cockish	
Cockishness	Lust
Cocky	Lust
Concuspiscential	Lust
Covet	Lust
Coveting	Lust
Covetous	Lust
Effeminate	Lust
Flesh-lusts	Lust
Flesh-lust	Lust
Hot-backed	Lust
Lascivient	Lust
Lascivious	Lust
Lascivity	Lust
Lecher	Lust
Lechers	Lust
Lecherer	Lust

Lecherhead	Lust
Lecherness	Lust
Lecherous	Lust
Lecherous	Lust
Lechery	Lust
Libidinosity	Lust
Libidious	Lust
Libidiousness	Lust
Liburical	Lust
Lickering	Lust
Lickerous	Lust
Lickerousness	Lust
Lickster	Lust
Lubric	Lust
Lubricity	Lust
Lubricous	Lust
Lust-breathed	Lust
Lust	Lust
Lusting	Lust
Luster	Lust
Lustful	Lust
Lustfulness	Lust
Lustihead	Lust
Lustiness	Lust
Lustiness	Lust
Lusting	Lust
Lustly	Lust
Lustre	Lust
Lusty laurence	Lust
Lusty lawrence	Lust
Luxe	Lust
Luxur	Lust
Luxurious	Lust
Luxuriousness	Lust
Luxurity	Lust
Luxury	Lust
Man-wood	Lust
Rampant	Lust
Ruttish	Lust
Salacity	Lust
Saltness	Lust

Saucy	Lust
To go to sault	Lust
Venerial	Lust
Venerian	Lust
Venerian	Lust
Venerious	Lust
Veneriousness	Lust
Venerist	Lust
A fate worse than death	Dishonor
Adulter	Dishonor
Adulterate	Dishonor
Adulterated	Dishonor
Adulterer	Dishonor
Adulterers	Dishonor
Adulterise	Dishonor
Adulterize	Dishonor
Adulterous	Dishonor
Adulterousness	Dishonor
Attempt	Dishonor
Attempter	Dishonor
Behorn	Dishonor
Byhore	Dishonor
Bywhore	Dishonor
Cornute	Dishonor
Cornuted	Dishonor
Cornutes	Dishonor
Cornuto	Dishonor
Corruption	Dishonor
Cuckally	Dishonor
Cuckold-maker	Dishonor
Cuckold	Dishonor
Cuckoldry	Dishonor
Cuckolds	Dishonor
Cuckoldy	Dishonor
Cuckquean	Dishonor
Cuckqueans	Dishonor
Defiler	Dishonor
Dishonor	Dishonor
Dishonored	Dishonor
Dishonour	Dishonor

Dishonoured	Dishonor
Forked	Dishonor
Foul	Dishonor
Fulyie	Dishonor
Horn-mad	Dishonor
Horn-maker	Dishonor
Horn	Dishonor
Horned	Dishonor
Horner	Dishonor
Horning	Dishonor
Hornity	Dishonor
Ram-head	Dishonor
Ruin	Dishonor
Shame	Dishonor
Spouse-break	Dishonor
Spouse-breaking	Dishonor
To give horns to	Dishonor
Unconstant	Dishonor
Unfaithful	Dishonor
Vitiate	Dishonor
Vitiating	Dishonor
Vitiation	Dishonor
Wedlock-break	Dishonor
Wedlock-breaking	Dishonor
Worse than death	Dishonor
Bawding	Dishonor
Bawdry	Fornication
Constupration	Fornication
Defile	Fornication
Defloration	Fornication
Deflourish	Fornication
Deflower	Fornication
Deflowerer	Fornication
Deflowering	Fornication
Defouling	Fornication
Depucel	Fornication
Depucelate	Fornication
Dettorate	Fornication
Devirginisation	Fornication
Devirginization	Fornication
Devrginate	Fornication

Dismaiden	Fornication
Mackerelage	Fornication
Maintainer	Fornication
Panderage	Fornication
Pandering	Fornication
Panderirms	Fornication
Rape	Violence
Raped	Violence
Raping	Violence
Rapter	Violence
Rapture	Violence
Ravener	Violence
Ravishment	Violence
Ravishment	Violence
Stupration	Violence
Tup	Violence
Unmaiden	Violence
Unmaidening	Violence
Violation	Violence
Violation	Violence
Violator	Violence
Abuse	Violence
Abuser	Violence

APPENDIX B.

The custom Ubiqu+ity dictionary used in Chapter 4 for race and nationality based on the HTOED data in a comma-separated values (csv) format.

Eastseaxan	AncientBritishKingdoms
Mercian	AncientBritishKingdoms
Suthseaxan	AncientBritishKingdoms
Westseaxan	AncientBritishKingdoms
Belgic	AncientBritons
Britain	AncientBritons
Celt	AncientBritons
Celtican	AncientBritons
Icenian	AncientBritons
Argive	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Argyraspids	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Bulgarian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Caphtorim	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Cimbrian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Epidaurian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Flavian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Locrensian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Locrian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Macedonian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Mantinean	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Minyan	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Molossian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Myrmidon	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Mytilenian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Olympian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Phociana	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Pylian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Spartan	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Spartiate	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Tegeate	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Theban	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Thessalian	AncientGreeksandNeighbours
Hun	AncientPeopleAsia
Hunnian	AncientPeopleAsia
Hunnican	AncientPeopleAsia
Helvetian	AncientPeopleEurope

Ausonian	AncientPeopleItaly
Marrucinian	AncientPeopleItaly
Marrucinian	AncientPeopleItaly
Marsi	AncientPeopleItaly
Marsian	AncientPeopleItaly
Oscian	AncientPeopleItaly
Paelignian	AncientPeopleItaly
Sabellian	AncientPeopleItaly
Sabine	AncientPeopleItaly
Samnite	AncientPeopleItaly
Tarentine	AncientPeopleItaly
Tuscan	AncientPeopleItaly
Vestinian	AncientPeopleItaly
Volsce	AncientPeopleItaly
Volscian	AncientPeopleItaly
Volscian	AncientPeopleItaly
Pecht	AncientPict
Pict	AncientPict
Cyrenaican	AncientRegions
Latian	AncientRegions
Latin	AncientRegions
Marmaric	AncientRegions
Marmarican	AncientRegions
Numidian	AncientRegions
Picene	AncientRegions
Tyrrhene	AncientRegions
Romanish	AncientRomans
S.P.Q.R.	AncientRomans
Babylonized	AncientStatesCities
Carthaginian	AncientStatesCities
Dardan	AncientStatesCities
Hyrcan	AncientStatesCities
Hyrcanas	AncientStatesCities
Illyrian	AncientStatesCities
Lycaonian	AncientStatesCities
Macedon	AncientStatesCities
Mysian	AncientStatesCities
Phrygiana	AncientStatesCities
Punic	AncientStatesCities
Punical	AncientStatesCities
Punican	AncientStatesCities

Sardian	AncientStatesCities
Susian	AncientStatesCities
Susianian	AncientStatesCities
Arabical	Arabians
Hagarene	Arabs
Ishmaelite	Arabs
Ismaelite	Arabs
Saracen	Arabs
Saracena	Arabs
Saracene	Arabs
Saracenical	Arabs
Saracenican	Arabs
Sarsenisha	Arabs
Sarsenry	Arabs
Turka	Arabs
Asian	Asians
Asiatall	Asians
Asiatical	Asians
Bactrian	Asians
Paphlagonian	Asians
Basquish	Basque
Biscayanism	Basque
Getulian	BerberPeople
African	BlackPerson
black	BlackPerson
black man	BlackPerson
blackamoor	BlackPerson
blackamorian	BlackPerson
blackish	BlackPerson
blackishness	BlackPerson
blackness	BlackPerson
blacky	BlackPerson
bloman	BlackPerson
blueman	BlackPerson
Ethiop	BlackPerson
Ethiopian	BlackPerson
Hubshee	BlackPerson
Moor	BlackPerson
Morian	BlackPerson
neger	BlackPerson
Negro	BlackPerson

niger	BlackPerson
nigredity	BlackPerson
nigrite	BlackPerson
nigroa	BlackPerson
sable	BlackPerson
thick-lips	BlackPerson
brown	BrownPerson
tawny-moor	BrownPerson
Carib	CaribIndian
butter-box	Dutch
butter-mouth	Dutch
Dutch	Dutch
Dutchkin	Dutch
Holland	Dutch
Holland-toad	Dutch
Hollandish	Dutch
liskin	Dutch
Low Dutch	Dutch
Low Dutchmen	Dutch
the Dutch	Dutch
bourgmaister	DutchAndOthers
burgomaster	DutchAndOthers
frow	DutchAndOthers
Hans	DutchAndOthers
Lombard	DutchAndOthers
pensionary	DutchAndOthers
borough-master	DutchAndOthers
Englishry	Ethnically English people
Cwenas	FinnishTribesPeoples
Gallian	French
Parisian	French
Provencal	French
Provencale	French
Almaine	German
Almany	German
Dutchland	German
Cretan	GreekIslands
Ionian	GreekIslands
Ionic	GreekIslands
Lemnian	GreekIslands
Lesbian	GreekIslands

Leucadian	GreekIslands
Naxian	GreekIslands
Rhodian	GreekIslands
Samian	GreekIslands
Greek	Greeks
Greekish	Greeks
Italian	Italians
Italianate	Italians
Italianate	Italians
Italianated	Italians
Italianish	Italians
Italianize	Italians
Italianly	Italians
Italical	Italians
Italish	Italians
Grecian	Jews
Hebraical	Jews
Hellenist	Jews
Israelitical	Jews
Jew	Jews
Judaic	Jews
Judaically	Jews
Latinize	LatinatePeople
the Levant	MiddleEast
mongrel	MixedRace
mongrelism	MixedRace
mustechee	MixedRace
Kalmuck	MongolPeople
moslem	Muslim
muslim	Muslim
American	NativeAmericans
Indian	NativeAmericans
mestizoc	NativeAmericans
Powhatan	NativeAmericans
Susquehannock	NativeAmericans
Affrice	Africa
Afric	Africa
African	Africa
African	Africa
Africanas	Africa
Angolan	Africa

Guinean	Africa
Albanian	Albania
gownsman	AncientRome
Roman	AncientRome
Romaner	AncientRome
Romulist	AncientRome
arethedea	AncientStatesCities
arthedea	AncientStatesCities
Canaanite	AncientStatesCities
Cappadocian	AncientStatesCities
Carian	AncientStatesCities
Galatian	AncientStatesCities
Gallo-Greeks	AncientStatesCities
Hamathite	AncientStatesCities
Hyrcanian	AncientStatesCities
Iberian	AncientStatesCities
Lycian	AncientStatesCities
Macedon	AncientStatesCities
Mede	AncientStatesCities
Milesian	AncientStatesCities
Minaean	AncientStatesCities
Mysian	AncientStatesCities
Ninevite	AncientStatesCities
Palmyrene	AncientStatesCities
Palmyrenian	AncientStatesCities
Parthian	AncientStatesCities
Pergamene	AncientStatesCities
Phocaean	AncientStatesCities
Phoenician	AncientStatesCities
Phrygiana	AncientStatesCities
Sidonian	AncientStatesCities
Smyrnaean	AncientStatesCities
Smyrnian	AncientStatesCities
Sodomite	AncientStatesCities
Sogdian	AncientStatesCities
Syrophoenician	AncientStatesCities
Trojan	AncientStatesCities
Tyrian	AncientStatesCities
Arabian	Arabia
Araby	Arabia
Asiana	Asia

Asiatican	Asia
Barbarian	Barbary
Bohemian	Bohemia
Borderer	Borders
debatablers	Borders
debatables	Borders
Brazilian	Brazil
Canadian	Canada
Chinese	China
Chinian	China
Chino	China
Chinois	China
Croatian	Croatia
Cypriot	Cyprus
Dane	Denmark
Dansker	Denmark
Walachian	EasternProvinces
Wallachian	EasternProvinces
Egyptian	Egypt
Englishman	England
God-damn	England
English	England
Inglismanan	England
Ethiopian	Ethiopia
Hubshee	Ethiopia
European	Europe
Roumi	Europe
Fleming	Flanders
Frenchman	France
Gascon	France
Menapian	France
Monsieur	France
Almainc	Germany
Dutchman	Germany
German	Germany
Muff	Germany
Achaean	Greece
Grecan	Greece
Grecian	Greece
Gregoisa	Greece
Griffona	Greece

Guianian	Guiana
Dutchman	Holland
Hollander	Holland
Netherlander	Holland
Hungar	Hungary
Hungarian	Hungary
Celtiberian	Iberia
Icelander	Iceland
Indeas	India
Indes	India
India	India
Indian	India
Indian	India
Indian	India
Indianly	India
Indie	India
Indisc	India
Indish	India
Indois	India
Indy	India
Kling	India
Lydian	IranIraq
Median	IranIraq
Mesopotamian	IranIraq
Perse	IranIraq
Persian	IranIraq
Ireis	Ireland
Irish	Ireland
Irishman	Ireland
Yreis	Ireland
Genoan	Italy
Genoway	Italy
Itaile	Italy
Italian	Italy
Italianate	Italy
Transalpiner	Italy
Japan	Japan
Japanese	Japan
Japanner	Japan
Japonian	Japan
Japonite	Japan

Maltese	Malta
Moravian	Moravia
Norgan	Norway
Norman	Norway
Norse	Norway
Norwegian	Norway
Bactrian	OtherRegions
Catadupes	OtherRegions
Mauritanian	OtherRegions
Polack	Poland
Polaker	Poland
Polan	Poland
Polander	Poland
Polonian	Poland
Lusitanian	Portugal
Portingale	Portugal
Portingaler	Portugal
Portugal	Portugal
Portugallian	Portugal
Muscovian	Russia
Muscovite	Russia
Russ	Russia
Russian	Russia
Massiliot	tates/regions/cities
Dane	Scandinavia
Northman	Scandinavia
Albanian	Scotland
Albanian	Scotland
bere-bag	Scotland
blue-cap	Scotland
Irish	Scotland
Mailrosisc	Scotland
Moravian	Scotland
riveling	Scotland
Scot	Scotland
Scotch	Scotland
Scotchman	Scotland
Scotical	Scotland
Scotize	Scotland
Scotry	Scotland
Scots	Scotland

Scotsman	Scotland
Scottish	Scotland
Scottishman	Scotland
The scots	Scotland
Westland	Scotland
Westland	Scotland
Sicilian	Sicily
Sicilie	Sicily
Sicilisc	Sicily
Syracusan	Sicily
Syracusian	Sicily
Andalusian	Spain
Diego	Spain
Diego	Spain
Don	Spain
Guanche	Spain
ispanisc	Spain
Spainol	Spain
Spaniard	Spain
Spaniardo	Spain
Spaniel	Spain
Spanish	Spain
Spaynard	Spain
Cingalese	SriLanka
Faliscan	StatesRegionsItaly
Latin	StatesRegionsItaly
Picene	StatesRegionsItaly
Sybaritan	StatesRegionsItaly
Sybarite	StatesRegionsItaly
Venetian	StatesRegionsItaly
Swede	Sweden
Sweden	Sweden
Swedian	Sweden
Swevian	Sweden
Muff	Switzerland
Swissener	Switzerland
Swisser	Switzerland
Switzer	Switzerland
Syriana	Syria
Siamit	Thailand
Siamite	Thailand

Briton	Wales
Cambro	Wales
Flannel	Wales
Walesman	Wales
Welsh	Wales
Welshman	Wales
western	WesternHemisphere
landfolk	NativePeople
thede-folk	NativePeople
black	NonwhitePerson
coloured	NonwhitePerson
Norfolk	NorthernPeople
North	NorthernPeople
Northern	NorthernPeople
Northfolk	NorthernPeople
feminie	ofAmazons
Icenian	Other Ancient people
Babylonical	OtherAncientCities
Babylonish	OtherAncientCities
Venusian	OtherAncientCities
Hyksos	OtherAncientPeople
Jebusite	OtherAncientPeople
Massagetae	OtherAncientPeople
Moabitish	OtherAncientPeople
Philistia	OtherAncientPeople
Sabaean	OtherAncientPeople
Scythian	OtherAncientPeople
Scythian-like	OtherAncientPeople
Scythisc	OtherAncientPeople
Inapes	OtherCitiesTowns
Mantuan	OtherCitiesTowns
Trebuler	OtherCitiesTowns
a-napes	OtherItalianTowns
Bergamask	OtherItalianTowns
Ferrarese	OtherItalianTowns
Florentine	OtherItalianTowns
Florentine	OtherItalianTowns
Milanese	OtherItalianTowns
Milliner	OtherItalianTowns
Neapolitan	OtherItalianTowns
Patavin	OtherItalianTowns

Patavine	OtherItalianTowns
Pisan	OtherItalianTowns
Salerne	OtherItalianTowns
Salernitan	OtherItalianTowns
the Genoese	OtherItalianTowns
Vicentine	OtherItalianTowns
Assirisc	OtherMiddleEasternLands
Assyrian	OtherMiddleEasternLands
Bethlem	OtherMiddleEasternLands
Syrian	OtherMiddleEasternLands
Askapart	PeoplesArabia
Eskimo	PeoplesOfArctic
Circassian	PeoplesOfCaucasus
Svan	PeoplesOfCaucasus
Svanian	PeoplesOfCaucasus
Swanian	PeoplesOfCaucasus
Sarmatian	PeoplesOfnorth/central U.S.S.R.
Sauromatian	PeoplesOfnorth/central U.S.S.R.
Floridian	PeoplesOfSouth East
Tangut	PeoplesOfTibet/Nepal
Drusian	Person
half-blooded	Person
Ionic	Person
Lappian	Person
Mahometician	Person
Sufian	Person
Chaldee	person
evangelic	Protestant
French temple	Protestant
Protestantical	Protestant
Protestantism	Protestant
reformity	Protestantism
Westphalian	Regions of Germany
Prussian	RegionsOfGermany
Swevical	RegionsOfGermany
Thuringian	RegionsOfGermany
Achaean	RegionsOfGreece
Aonian	RegionsOfGreece
Attic	RegionsOfGreece

Attican	RegionsOfGreece
Isthmian	RegionsOfGreece
Peloponnesian	RegionsOfGreece
Pharsalian	RegionsOfGreece
Phocian	RegionsOfGreece
Thracian	RegionsOfGreece
Croatian	RegionsOfYugoslavia
Istrian	RegionsOfYugoslavia
antichristianism	RomanCatholic
Babylonic	RomanCatholic
Babylonish	RomanCatholic
Babylonism	RomanCatholic
Cartholic	RomanCatholic
Catholicism	RomanCatholic
mass-monging	RomanCatholic
papal	RomanCatholic
papane	RomanCatholic
papistic	RomanCatholic
papistically	RomanCatholic
papistry	RomanCatholic
papizing	RomanCatholic
pope-worshipper	RomanCatholic
popinian	RomanCatholic
pseudocatholic	RomanCatholic
pseudocatholical	RomanCatholic
RomanCatholic	RomanCatholic
Romanish	RomanCatholic
Romified	RomanCatholic
Romulian	RomanCatholic
Ruthene	RussianPeople
peai	SAmericanIndian
peyae	SAmericanIndian
piache	SAmericanIndians
Patagon	SAmericanIndians
Tapuia	SAmericanIndians
Sclavonian	SlavPeople
Slavon	SlavPeople
Slavonian	SlavPeople
Slavonic	SlavPeople
Slavonish	SlavPeople

South	SouthernPeople
Southern	SouthernPeople
Southfolk	SouthernPeople
Suffolk	SouthernPeople
Dorian	states/regions/cities
Doric	states/regions/cities
Dorical	states/regions/cities
Locrensian	states/regions/cities
Locrian	states/regions/cities
Philippica	states/regions/cities
Phocian	states/regions/cities
Phociana	states/regions/cities
Syrian	Syrian
Anatolian	Turkish
Mahometan	Turkish
Oghuzian	Turkish
Othomanique	Turkish
Ottoman	Turkish
Ottomite	Turkish
Tartarian	Turkish
turcesco	Turkish
Turcian	Turkish
Turcical	Turkish
Turcoman	Turkish
Turk	Turkish
Turkeina	Turkish
Turkesco	Turkish
Turkeys	Turkish
Turkisa	Turkish
Turkish	Turkish
Turkisher	Turkish
Turkize	Turkish
Turkman	Turkish
Uzbek	Turkish
mere	UnmixedRace
west	WesternPeople