

Online Appendices to Hayes and MacEachern, “Quatrain Form in English Folk Verse”

to appear in *Language*

The material here would not fit into our article “Folk Verse Form in English,” but seems relevant and also perhaps lays to rest issues that might call the main analysis into question. We therefore have chosen to make it electronically accessible.

Appendix A: On the Reliability of Grid Transcription

Folk songs existed largely in an oral tradition, and were sung almost exclusively by individuals who knew no musical notation. The field workers who set the folksongs down on paper listened to the songs and relied on their rhythmic intuitions and formal musical training to establish an appropriate graphic depiction of the songs’ rhythm. In our own work, we examined the musical notation of the field workers, and converted it into the grids on which our analysis is based. The question addressed here is: should the resulting grids be counted as legitimate data, or are they merely a large pile of capricious, subjective interpretations imposed by ourselves or by the fieldworkers?

With regard to the conversion of musical notation to grids, the opportunities for any subjective judgments on our part to influence the theoretical outcome are low. The only parts of the conversion task that are potentially subjective are the establishment of grid structure above the levels indicated by musical bar lines (usually, nothing depends on what this structure is), and the division of the temporally continuous grid into lines. In our experience, any subtle judgment calls that arise in the latter task do not affect the classification of the lines by rhythmic cadence, and thus would not affect our results.

We must also consider the harder task faced by the musical field worker; that of establishing the rhythmic structure from purely auditory impressions. In general, we think that transcription as carried out by skilled musicians is sufficiently reliable for our purposes. The crucial fact is that the transcription process shows high intersubjective reliability: when the same song is reduced to notation by independent observers, they usually obtain the same results, differing only in nonessential detail.

To elaborate on this point, we wish to describe a quite rare occurrence, one in which different musicians really did come to a different conclusion from the same auditory input.

In 1917, Cecil Sharp, conducting field work in Kentucky with Maud Karpeles, took down the music of “Nottamun Town” from Una Ritchie and her cousin Sabrina Ritchie. In his field notes (published in Karpeles 1932, #191A), Sharp used a modified version of 9/8 time, later adjusted to straight 9/8 in a version he published for public use (Sharp 1923).

In 1965, Jean Ritchie, Una's younger sister, published a book of Ritchie family songs. She employed two amanuenses, Melinda Zacuto and Jerry Silverman, to prepare the musical notation. In notating the largely identical version of "Nottamun Town" that Jean Ritchie sang, Zacuto and Silverman used 6/8 time rather than 9/8. This difference implies radically different grid and structural analyses. We translate a couple of lines of the song into grids implied by Sharp's transcription and by Zacuto and Silverman's, abstracting away from some minor details to facilitate comparison:

(1)a. Sharp: 9/8

x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	In	Not-	ta-	mun	Town,				
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Not	a	soul	would	look	up,				
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Not	a	soul	would	look	up,				
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Not	a	soul	would	look	down				

b. Zacuto and Silverman: 6/8

x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
In	fair	Not-	ta-	mun	Town,				Not	a	soul
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
would	look	up,				Not	a	soul	would	look	up,
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
			Not	a	soul	would	look	down,			

Our opinion is that these two interpretations are *not* equally legitimate structural renderings of the same input material; rather, Zacuto and Silverman committed a gross (though isolated) transcription error. Looking at the grids, one can see that the Zacuto/Silverman transcription places many strong beats where no syllable occurs, and repeatedly slides in and out of parallel with the lines of the song. In contrast, Sharp's transcription closely aligns musical strong beats with strongly stressed syllables, and employs a grid with the correct periodicity. Zacuto and Silverman's error is established vividly if one attempts to sing or chant the words while tapping on a table to what Zacuto and Silverman claim to be the strongest beats.

This, then, is what a genuinely serious transcription error looks like. We present it as the exception that proves the rule: in our experience errors of this magnitude are quite rare.

The process of transcription, at least as we do it, consists of (a) listening for a sequence of strong beats at long, evenly spaced intervals; (b) letting this serve as the basis for locating bar lines (or, for grids, the highest grid levels), then (c) recursively subdividing longer intervals into shorter ones until an appropriate structural location has been found for every syllable or note. Assuming that Zacuto and Silverman did pretty much the same thing, we may conjecture that they erred at the first step of the process, which is what establishes the 6/8 vs. 9/8 distinction.

There are two plausible sources for their error. First, 9/8 rhythm is unusual in music, especially in folk songs (we have never seen a 9/8 folksong other than "Nottamun Town"). Second, the song itself contains a metrical irregularity near the end, which under any analysis forces a deformation of the grid. Sharp correctly treated this as a local irregularity, whereas Zacuto and Silverman made it the basis for the entire analysis.

Appendix B: Beyond Quatrains

None of the principles on which our analysis depends are intrinsic to quatrains. In principle, then, the same formal patterns we have seen in quatrains should also occur at higher and lower levels. In this section we explore cases of this sort.

B.1. Higher Levels

Not all stanzas are quatrains. Apart from the obvious case of two-quatrain stanzas, there are stanza types that interpolate extra material or abandon the binary principle in various ways.

We first consider large scale Long-Last effects. These seem to be to some extent an art verse phenomenon; the examples we give either are art verse ((3)), or look suspiciously like it ((1), (2); see Reeves 1958, 21-22). All are English; the Appalachian folksong tradition from which we take most of our examples existed at a much greater distance from contaminating literary influences.

The first example, which represents a fairly common type, is the two-quatrain stanza in which the first quatrain involves two salient couplets, while the second quatrain is salient as a unit (cf. Malof 1970:123):

- (1) 4 I am a sailor stout and bold,
 G Long time I've ploughed the o————cean,
 4 I fight for my king and country too,
 G For honor and promo————tion.
- 4 I said: my brother sailor I bid you adieu,
 4 No more to the sea to go along with you
 4 I travelled the country through and through
 G And still be a rambling sai————lor.

Karpeles 1974, #298A

It can be seen that such an arrangement manifests Long-Last on a large scale: its structure is [4G][4G][444G], analogous to the [G][G][4G] quatrain.

Another stanza from an English song achieves Long-Last by a kind of interpolation: a couplet is placed in the penultimate position of a quatrain, lengthening it:

- (2) 4 Bold Nelson's praise I'm going to sing,
 4 Not forgetting our glorious king,
 4 He always did good tidings bring
 G For he was a good comman————der.
- 4 There's Sydney Smith and Duncan too,
 4 Lord Home and all the joyial crew,
 4 And they were the men that were true blue,
 4 Full of care, yet I swear,
 4 None with Nelson could compare,
 G Not even Alexan————der.

Karpeles 1974, #282

Similar, even more substantial Long-Last effects occur in written art verse. MacEachern 1993 discusses such an effect in Macauley's "Horatius" (from *Lays of Ancient Rome*), which is an art-verse poem heavily influenced by the folk tradition. Stanza 40 of "Horatius" shows a three-line interpolation:

- (3) 3_f Herminius smote down Aruns:
 3 Lartius laid Ocnus low,
 4 Right to the heart of Lausulus
 3 Horatius sent a blow.
- 3_f “Lie there,” he cried, “fell pirate!
 3 No more, aghast and pale,
 4 From Ostia’s walls the crowd shall mark
 4 The track of thy destroying bark.
 4 No more Campania’s hinds shall fly
 4 To woods and caverns when they spy
 3 Thy thrice accursed sail.”

Here, we see the erstwhile penultimate line of the stanza (“From Ostia’s walls...”) expanded into a complete quatrain. As a result of this interpolation, the second section obeys the Long-Last principle on a truly impressive scale ([3_f3][44443]).

In all cases of large-scale Long-Last constructions known to us, the nonfinal cadences of final unit are 4, conforming to the TOTAL LONG-LAST COHESIVENESS constraint.

The Long-Last principle is perhaps also the force behind another major stanza type, the five-line stanza consisting of a quatrain plus a repetition of its final line. What is striking about such cases, which form 5.6% of our folksong data corpus, are the stratagems employed for “gluing” the fifth line into the preceding constituent, thus creating a Long-Last construction:

- (4) 4 Lord Lovel he stood at his castle gate
 3 A combing his milk-white steed, Ø
 4 And along came Lady Nancy Bell
 4 To wish Lord Lovel good speed, **good speed**,
 3 To wish Lord Lovel good speed. Ø

Karpeles 1932, #21B

The maximal salient constituents here are [43][443], forming a Long-Last construction. The “glue” in question is the reduplication of *good speed* shown in boldface, which extends what would otherwise be a 3 line (yielding [43][43][3]) to a more acceptable 4.

The glue that creates a Long-Last construction is most often reduplication, but it can take on different forms as well, including an empty epithet or other expression (75a), or occasionally an early start on the next line (75b):¹

¹ Further discussion of these line boundary bracketing mismatches, which are relatively rare, may be found in Hayes and MacEachern (1996; this Web site).

- (5) a. 4 John Hardy was a brave and desperated man,
 3 He carried his gun every day. Ø
 4 He killed him a man in the Shunny camps,
 4 This day he's condemned to be hung, **I do know**,
 3 This day he's condemned to be hung. Ø Karp
- b. 4 Well met, well met, my own true love,
 3 Well met, well met, says he. Ø
 4 I've just returned from the old salt sea
 G And it's all for the sake of thee, / And
 3 it's all for the sake of thee. Ø Karp

Note that in (75b), the “gluing” effect is limited to the creation of a G line, yielding the less perfect (because less cohesive) Long-Last construction [43][4G3]. This is true as well in a number of quatrains in which only a single syllable is reduplicated:

- (6) 4 Rise up, rise up, little Matthy Groves,
 3 And men's clothing put on. Ø
 4 It never shall be said in the old Scotland
 G I slewed a naked man,—————**man**,
 3 I slewed a naked man. Ø Karpeles 1932, #23A

Finally, it must be admitted that in a minority of five-line stanzas, there is nothing in the text to induce a Long-Last structure, aside perhaps from repetition itself. Thus some 4343 quatrains are extended to 43433, and some 4444 to 44444:

- (7) a. 4 O how do you like my fine feather bed?
 3 And how do you like my sheet? Ø
 4 And how do you like my pretty little wife
 3 That lies in your arms asleep? Ø
 3 That lies in your arms asleep? Ø Karp
- b. 4 Come all you Alabama girls and listen to my noise,
 4 And don't you marry the Arkansas boys. Ø
 4 If you do, your portion shall be
 4 Johnny cake and ven'son is all you'll see,
 4 Johnny cake and ven'son is all you'll see. Karp

In many of these, there appears to be a purely musical device to achieve the [xx][xxx] cohesion: the fourth line ends in a non-tonic note (which is less cadential), the fifth on the tonic. But it seems likely that repetition itself, for reasons as yet unknown to us, sometimes provides the necessary cohesiveness.²

B.2. Micro-Cadential Patterns

It was observed by Stein and Gil (1980) that many chants consisting of just a single line (such as sports or political cheers) have a particular rhythmic structure. The examples below are taken from their article.

(8)a.

x		x		x		x		x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
One,		two,		three	four	five,		
Once I caught a fish alive.								

b. Ho, Ho, Ho, Chi Minh!

c. sir, sir, ya sadat

‘Hail, hail, O Sadat’

(Arabic)

d. el, el yisrael

‘el, el, Israel’

(Modern Hebrew)

As Stein and Gil point out, other logically possible renditions are considerably less satisfactory:

(9) a.

x		x		x		x		x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
* <u>One</u>	two	<u>three</u> ,		<u>four</u> ,		<u>five</u> ,		x

b. *Ho Ho Ho, Chi, Minh!

c. *Ho Chi Minh, Minh, Minh!

² Possibly this might serve as the basis of another fairly common stanza type, in which a normal quatrain is followed by a repetition of its second couplet:

- (i) 4 O mother, O mother, come dig my grave,
 3 Come dig it wide and deep; Ø
 4 And place fair Ellender by my side
 3 And the brown girl at my feet; Ø
 4 And place fair Ellender by my side
 3 And the brown girl at my feet; Ø

Karpeles 1932, #19A

More generally, we do not understand the principles that govern repetition in folk stanzas. Empirically, the generalizations seem fairly clear: (a) repetition in *cadential* positions, such as [XX_i][XX_i] is allowed only for refrain material; (b) non-refrain material may be repeated either in *non-cadential* position, such as [X_iX][X_iX] or [X_iX_iX_iX]; or it may involve repetition of quatrain-final material with post-quatrain material, as in the stanzas of (74)-(77) or (i) above. Just why this distribution of repetition should be respected is a topic we must reserve for future research.

These cases can be understood within our theory with a fairly minimal extension: suppose that, just as the quatrain is grouped in binary fashion into couplets and lines, the line is itself grouped into a hierarchy. Typically, the line is divided into two hemistichs, which are divided into two dipods or tripods, which are divided into two or three feet. Such a proposal finds support from the same kind of evidence that supports higher level constituency: agreement of metrical constituency with phonological phrasing, and occasionally rhyme (especially rhyming hemistichs). Naturally, the agreement of metrical and phonological groupings is more subtle and less regular at lower levels, but the patterning is definitely present on a statistical basis (Guéron 1974; Kiparsky 1977; Napoli 1978; Zwicky 1986; Hayes and Kaun 1996).

To make this idea concrete, we give below a folk song verse in which the agreement of phonological bracketing and metrical bracketing is quite salient. The grid has been simplified in noncritical ways for expository purposes.

(10)

[x	x]	line level														
[x	x]	[x	x]	hemistich level										
[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	tripod level		
	One	mor-	ning,	one	mor-	ning,	one	mor-	ning	in	May,							

[x	x]	line level														
[x	x]	[x	x]	hemistich level										
[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	tripod level		
	I	spied	a	fair	cou-	ple	a-	mak-	ing	their	way;							

[x	x]	line level														
[x	x]	[x	x]	hemistich level										
[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	tripod level		
	The	one	was	a	la-	dy,	a	la-	dy	so	gay,							

[x	x]	line level														
[x	x]	[x	x]	hemistich level										
[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	[x	x	x]	tripod level		
	The	oth-	er	was	a	sol-	dier,	and	a	brave	one	I	say.					

Karpeles 1932, #145C

In a full version of the grid, there would be one lower level to accommodate rapid sequences like *was a* and *and a* in the fourth line, and for consistency we would assign this level constituency as well, as the Foot level. The crucial thing to notice is that at every line-internal hemistich break, the words and syntax have been chosen to place a fair-sized phonological break in alignment with the hemistich break. Intuitively, the quatrain reads like (81):

- (11) One morning, one morning, / one morning in May,
 I spied a fair couple / a-making their way
 The one was a lady, / a lady so gay,
 The other was a soldier, / and a brave one I say.

Even tripod breaks are rather well marked:

- (12) One morning, / one morning, / one morning / in May,
 I spied a fair couple / a-making / their way
 The one was a lady, / a lady / so gay,
 The other / was a soldier, / and a brave one / I say.

We add in passing that the use of sub-line constituency also offers a reason for why most grids have four strong beats: it is the same binary principle that governs quatrain structure at work, recapitulated line-internally.

We return now to Stein and Gil's examples. Since these are just single lines of "verse", they must obey the rules of form in their internal structure if they are to do so at all. This is indeed the case: at the level of feet and hemistichs, the preferred pattern of rhythmic cadences comes out as 1121, which is entirely analogous in its cadentiality contour to the familiar 3343:

- (13)
- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|------|---|-------|----------------|-------|----------------|---|----|----------------|---|----|---|---|
| [L | [_H | x | | x | |]] | [_H | x | | x | |]] | | |
| [_F | x | | x |]] | [_F | x | | x |]] | [_F | x | | x |] |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| One, | ∅ | two, | ∅ | three | four | five, | ∅ | | | | | | | |

Naturally, such an extension requires us to extend the formal account of cadentiality, establishing categories like "1" and "2" that hold for very short units and arranging them in appropriate hierarchies. We will not attempt such a formalization here, though in principle it would seem to pose no difficulties.

Micro-analogies of the type just seen can be taken further. Should one wish to count to six in rhythm, then the suitable cadence pattern seems to be 2121, analogous to 4343:

- (14)
- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|--------|---|-------|----------------|------|----------------|---|----|----------------|---|----|---|---|
| [L | [_H | x | | x | |]] | [_H | x | | x | |]] | | |
| [_F | x | | x |]] | [_F | x | | x |]] | [_F | x | | x |] |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| One, | two, | three, | ∅ | four, | five, | six, | ∅ | | | | | | | |

And if one recites the letters from A to G (as in the familiar alphabet song), the appropriate outcome is 2221, like 4443:

(15)

[L	[_H	x]]
	[_F	x		x]]	[_F	x		x]]
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Ø		

The above case concerns quatrain-like microcadence patterns within a single-line structure. Burling (1966:1428) noted an analogy between the quatrain and couplet, which works in much the same way. One of his examples is a nursery rhyme:

(16)

[L	[_H	x]]
	[_F	x		x]]	[_F	x		x]]
	This	old	man,	Ø	he	played	one,	Ø		

[L	[_H	x]]
	[_F	x		x]]	[_F	x		x]]
	He	played	knick-	knack	on	my	thumb.	Ø		

Formally, what occurs is a 3343 couplet, with the rhythmic cadences defined at the hemistich level. Similar instances can be found throughout the examples in the main text: the “embedded couplet” of (72) is 3343; the first couplet of (17) is 1121; (18c) begins with GG2_iG; and (65) contains 1_f1_f1_f1.

Summing up: the “quatrain” patterns we have described are not confined to the quatrain. In long, stanzaic songs, it seems to be the quatrain level that most clearly manifests the cadential patterns. But even there, the lower levels play a role. We have examined the computer-coded folk song data corpus employed by Hayes and Kaun 1996, and found that on a *statistical* basis, our patterns of cadence hold true at all levels of structure: couplets, with their four hemistichs interpreted as if they were the four lines of a quatrain, behave rather like real quatrains; and so do lines, when one does the same with their four dipods. Very similar results were obtained by Lindblom and Sundberg 1970 in their study of Swedish children’s songs.

Appendix C: Other Cadences

The set of rhythmic cadences our grammar has dealt with ($\{4,F,G,3_b,3\}$) is defined only on certain grids; other grids define different cadence types. We give below a list of the grids that are most commonly met with in our data. For each, we define the rhythmic cadences that the grid commonly displays, and list the quatrain types that occur for them in our Appalachian data corpus, with citations of examples. The grid columns crucial to defining the cadences are shown in boldface. xxx check these

(17)

a.

```

      x           x
      x   x   x   x
x x x x x x x x
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
    
```

$$\begin{aligned} \sigma &= 4 \\ \sigma \quad \sigma &= G \\ \sigma \quad \sigma &= 3_f \\ \sigma &= 3 \end{aligned}$$

The most common grid .

See main text for quatrains defined.³

b. (x)

(x)

```

      x           x
      x   x   x   x
x x x x x x x x
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
    
```

$$\begin{aligned} \sigma \quad \sigma &= 4_f \\ \sigma &= 4 \\ \sigma \quad \sigma &= G \\ \sigma \quad \sigma &= 3_f \\ \sigma &= 3 \end{aligned}$$

Many quatrains defined in main text, plus:

4_f4_f4_fG Ritchie 1965, p. 21
 4_f4_f4 Karpeles 1932, #216C
 444_f4 Karpeles 1932, #250

c.

(x)

(x)

```

      x           x           x
      x   x   x   x   x   x   x
x x x x x x x x x x x x
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
    
```

$$\begin{aligned} \sigma \quad \sigma &= 4_f \\ \sigma &= 4 \\ \sigma \quad \sigma &= G \\ \sigma \quad \sigma &= 3_f \\ \sigma &= 3 \end{aligned}$$

Many quatrains from main text, plus:

4_f44_f4 Karpeles 1932, #57D

d.

```

      x           x           x
      x   x   x   x   x   x   x
x x x x x x x x x x x x
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
    
```

$$\begin{aligned} \sigma \quad \sigma &= 5_f \\ \sigma &= 5 \\ \sigma \quad \sigma &= 4_f \\ \sigma &= 4 \end{aligned}$$

54_f54_f Karpeles 1932, #34B
 5454 Karpeles 1932, #20P
 555_f5 Ritchie 1965, p. 28

e.

```

      x           x
      x   x   x   x   x   x
x x x x x x x x x x x x
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
    
```

$$\begin{aligned} \sigma &= 6 \\ \sigma &= 5 \end{aligned}$$

6565 Karpeles 1932, #32A
 5565 Karpeles 1932, #259A
 5555 Karpeles 1932, #190

³ In principle, a 4_f cadence, using the very last two positions, is defined in this meter. But the lines written in it sound very awkward (see (39b) of the main text for an example and discussion), and are quite rare.

```

f .      x          x          x          x          x          x
      x  x      x  x      x  x      x  x      x  x      x  x
     x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x
     xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
                               σ  σ  = G     5r5G5      Karpeles 1932, #66C
                               σ  σ  = 5r     5r55r5      Karpeles 1932, #163A
                               σ      = 5     555r5      Karpeles 1932, #13D
                                         5555      Karpeles 1932, #22P
    
```

As can be seen, there is nothing truly novel about the novel quatrain types here: one finds the same use of rhythmic cadences to mark lines, couplets, quatrains, and Long-Last constructions. While we have not formally modeled quatrains that go beyond our basic five cadences, we see no barrier to doing so, especially since the systems involved seem rather simpler.

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