The Founding Moment: The Formation of Nation and the Spectrality of Empire in *Henry V*

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Abstract

The present paper begins with a discussion of a misprint in the First Folio version of Shakespeare's *Henry V.* The printing "error" of "brother Ireland" provides a chance for us to look into the cultural and political unconscious in the Early Modern England; the very same "error" also, paradoxically, casts some light on the problematic operations in the skill and technique of editing. A critical reading of the printing and editing of Shakespeare's Folio and Quarto editions of *Henry V* thus enables us to interpret the ideological underside of the formation of English national identity and unity. However, the present essay would also aim to interrogate the limitations of the so-called "Irish interpretation" of the text; it will show that the cipher of Ireland both opens the text by giving it an edge in the ideological critique of imperialism, and closes off the text by a determinate contextualization, at the same time. It is a question of putting the cipher of Ireland into the world system, and it is a question of how to lift the reading beyond the topical-historical referent by re-considering the textual register of the "coming" of the emergent empire/nation in Early Modern England at the juncture of the passing of the residual Roman model of imperial formation and of the coming new English imperial formation at the founding/funding of English East India Company. Shakespeare's text both inhabits and thematizes the spectrality of the "sur-vival" of imperial formations

摘要

本文試圖透過莎士比亞歷史劇「亨利五世」中的一個手民之誤，來詮釋英國文藝復興期間的文化與政治無意識的運作。印刷及編輯並不如其表面看來如此中性及功能化；事實上，意識型態早已滲透其中。在莎士比亞的文本之中，一個印刷的「錯誤」給我們機會去審視新興的英國國家及帝國的歷史結構以及國家認同的不可能性。而征服愛爾蘭在英國國家形成歷史中所佔的重要角色，也在「亨利五世」一劇中表露無遺。然而，本文並不只偏限於把愛爾蘭問題彰顯出來而已；本文同時也質疑這種歷史定位閱讀的種種「偏差」。因此，本文試圖在第二部份，在利用愛爾蘭文題為支點之後，走向更開闊的方向，探討舊帝國體制的鬼附體般的進駐新興帝國結構的問題。莎士比亞「亨利五世」正好一方面在其內容中再現新舊帝國鬼魅交替的關係，而在另一方面此文本也身處在這種結構之中。

In *Henry V*, when the English and French nobles are ready to negotiate the treaty after the battle at Agincourt, the French King addresses Henry as "Most worthy brother England"(5.2.10), but, two lines later, the French Queen addresses him as, according to the First Folio, "brother Ireland."[1]   Publishers and editors were quick to detect this inconsistency; it was "corrected" into "England" in the Second Folio and consequently in all modern editions.   It is nothing but a simple misspelling in the sea of textual cruxes in the Shakespearean *oeuvre*, and it is no wonder that most popular editions do not even try to gloss it: the mistake is far too obvious.   According to J. H. Walter,   "F 'Ireland' suggests that the manuscript spelling was 'Ingland.'"[2]   But Gary Taylor objects that Walter's conjecture was unfounded, because "*OED* does not record this [the use of 'Ingland'] after the fifteenth century, and g/e confusion is unlikely," and he attributes the error to Shakespeare's Freudian slip by citing in turn John Dover Wilson's conjecture that it is an "indication of . . . preoccupation with Irish affairs."[3]   (In the introduction to his edition of the Oxford Shakespeare, Taylor explains that although the passage appears only in the 1623 Folio, the spelling is probably Shakespeare's own as Irish affairs would not be the conscious or unconscious concern of the Folio compositors at a time when Ireland had been relatively "tamed" and entered into a period of massive institutional colonization.)[4]

Apparently, and only apparently, editors are absolutely correct in following the F2 "England," for what can Henry be if not the King of England, especially when the "error" is collated with the French King's line "Most worthy brother England"? Bibliographically, editors do not emend "England" out of nothing; they have F2 to rely on (though, it must be noted, F2 has no bibliographic authority and its emendations are no more authoritative than a modern editor's), and the change is thus a much lesser case than the most famous emendation in this text (indeed one of the most famous in Shakespeare's oeuvre), "a' babbled of green field" in 2.3.17.   But my interest in this textual problem lies in another direction.   In a sense, there is nothing wrong in addressing Henry as "brother Ireland," for in 5.2.252-3, Henry offers Katherine both his body and body politic: "England is thine, Ireland is thine, France is thine, and Henry Plantagenet is thine."   Among the titles Henry has gotten and claims to get, King of Ireland is unmistakably one of them.   And furthermore, there are numerous cases where editors revert to F1 for better choices of emendation.   If the "error" of "brother Ireland" results from Shakespeare's or the scribe's unconscious preoccupation with Irish affairs in the atmosphere of Irish expedition by the Earl of

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[1] Throughout this essay, references to Shakespeare's text are based on the First Folio of 1623 in *First Folio of Shakespeare*, prepared by Charlton Hinman (New York: Norton, 1968); acts, scene divisions and line numbers follow those in J. H. Walter's edition of *King Henry V*, New Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1954).

[2] J. H. Walter, p. 142, Note to 5.2.12.

[3] Gary Taylor, ed., *Henry V*, Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 266, Note to 5.2.12.

[4] See Taylor, Introduction, p. 18.   In his edition of The New Cambridge Shakespeare, Andrew Gurr proposes another theory about this error, focusing not on Shakespeare's (imaginary) manuscript but on the "hand similar to Hand D"; see Gurr, "Textual Analysis," *King Henry V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 214.   But I am not going to pursue the textual guesswork any further.

Essex, the editorial sleight of hand to correct the error lies in the decision made in the cultural consciousness.   There is no editorial imperative to choose the F2 version of "England," and nothing can justify the latter as superior, perhaps except as more "proper," in any way.   But our choice betrays the ideological context in which we are implicated.   "England" is a better word in the immediate context because the French Queen speaks without any hint of irony, and because it seems to be consistent with the "natural" order of things.   It would be, as most editors think and most of us will accept, a "demotion" to address Henry as "brother Ireland"; King of England is the reference point upon which all other titles are based.   Thus we have a reversal of the famous rhetoric in 2.3.193: "No king of England, if not king of France"; for the editors, English kingship is the very condition of his other titles, rather than the reverse.

It is not my purpose here to argue against the editors' emendation, and I think perhaps no one can possibly do otherwise.   But I want to point out that this textual problem is emblematic of the deeper textual and ideological problems that involve the entire text.   If we follow a little further the Freudian slip argument proposed by Taylor, what editors do in the context of Ireland/England emendation is both a revelation and a normalization, if not repression, at the same time.   Writing in another context (but still apropos of Taylor's discussion of textual problems in *Henry V*), Annabel Patterson argues, "bibliographical arguments, when isolated from historical or cultural criticism, will tend . . .   to fall back on subjective values.   The resistance of the textual evidence to bibliographical solution suggests that we need to consider other, more intentionalist explanations."[5]   One has to add that bibliographical studies divorced from historical or political considerations are by no means merely subjective; rather, they are still, if only obliquely, ideological in their implications.   And the "remedy" to that blindness will not be "intentionalist" but historical-ontological.   When not completely erased, the "brother Ireland" in F1 is concealed at the very moment when editors discover a "truth" in the text and in its textual history.   But this maneuver towards revelation or unconcealment (*aletheia*) in a "misspelling" in one of Shakespeare's history plays simultaneously conceals a critical moment in English history.[6]   In this way, the editorial unconcealment by/in

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[5] Annabel Patterson, "Back by Popular Demand: The Two Versions of *Henry V*," in her *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 77; for Gary Taylor's textual study on *Henry V*, one of the most thorough in Shakespearean criticism, see, besides the Introduction to his Oxford edition, Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling, with Three Studies in the Text of* Henry V (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 39-164; for a summary of the positions held by the "new revisionists" in Shakespearean textual studies in general and their dealings with history plays in particular, see Grace Ioppolo, *Revising Shakespeare* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 1-18 & 124-131.

[6] The notion of truth as unconcealment/concealment comes from Heidegger's interpretive translation of "*aletheia*," see, among others, his "Plato's Doctrine of Truth," in *Philosophy in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. III, ed. Barrett and Aiken (New York: Random House, 1962); and "Aletheia," in *Early Greek Thinking* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

concealment thus stabilizes a textual rupture which is a site of ambivalence, of contradictions unresolved, a locus where the connections with the political subtext and ideological underside in the Elizabethan world are divulged, and where history (re)textualizes[7] itself and leaves its trace in the text. The "error" of "Ireland" in 5.2.12 reminds us, quite uncannily, of Nietzsche's dictum that truth is but a moment in the genealogy of errors.[8]

The unconscious preoccupation with Irish affairs that makes possible the supposedly erratic and erroneous displacement of England by Ireland in F1 has of course everything to do with Earl of Tyrone's rebellion in 1595-1603, which disturbed Elizabeth greatly in the last years of her reign. Shakespeare uniquely records this in the Chorus in Act 5, where the allusion to the Irish campaign led by the Earl of Essex is, as Taylor says, "the only explicit, extra-dramatic, incontestable reference to a contemporary event anywhere in the canon"[9]:

> But now behold,
> In the quick Forge and working-house of Thought,
> How London doth powre out her Citizens,
> The Maior and all Brethren in best sort,
> Like to the Senatours of th'antique Rome,
> With the Plebeians swarming at their heeles,
> Goe forth and fetch their Conqu'ring *Casar* in:
> As by a lower, but by loving likelyhood,
> Were now the General of our gracious Empresse,
> As in good time he may, from Ireland comming,
> Bringing Rebellion broached on his Sword;
> How many would the peacefull Citie quit,
> To welcome him? much more, and much more cause,
> Did they this *Harry*.   (5.0.22-35)

Not until very recently have critics begun to regard the reference to Ireland as more than a historical marker that establishes the exact date of composition. Not until very recently have scholars begun to suspect that this reference is what triggered the systematic removal of all the Choruses from the play-text that served as the basis of the First Quarto of 1600, which has been previously and indifferently lumped into the category of "bad Quarto," as chaotic without any reason in it. But even here, when critics are ready to pay attention to the possible censorship issue resulting in the

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[7] See Fredric Jameson, "On Interpretation," in *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Methuen, 1981), esp. pp. 81-2.

[8] See, among others, "On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense," in *Philosophy and Truth: Selections from Nietzsche's Notebooks of Early 1870's*, ed. and trans. Daniel Breazeale (New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1979), pp. 79-97.

[9] Taylor, Introduction, p. 7.

differences between Q1 and F1,[10] the emphasis is more on Elizabethan court politics, that is, the rebellion of Essex *after* his unauthorized return from Ireland, rather than on the threat of Ireland itself.   Indeed, not until very recently have critics begun to question the ideological underside of the play by pointing out that

> [M]uch more was at stake in the persistent Irish
> challenge to the power of the Elizabethan state,
> and it should be related to the English unity in
> *Henry V*: like Philip Edwards, we see the attempt
> to conquer France and the union in peace at the
> end of the play as a re-presentation of the
> attempt to conquer Ireland and the hope-for unity
> of Britain. . . .   The play offers a displaced,
> imaginary resolution of one of the state's most
> intractable problems.[11]

I am not proposing that Dollimore and Sinfield's is the only correct reading of the play, but their reading has the merit of highlighting the ideological subtext that can only be glimpsed in a few places.   Anthropomorphic readings concentrating on Henry's statecraft commit "disavowal" when   they, recognizing the analogy between Henry and Essex, fail to deal with the cipher of Ireland which is here not merely an intrusion of a 16th century historical event into Shakespeare's 15th century history play.   For, in a sense, upon Dollimore and Sinfield's reading, Ireland is everywhere present, albeit in its "non-presence," throughout the play; the play exists simultaneously at two levels of history: "Indeed, the play is fascinating precisely to the extent that it is implicated in and can be read to disclose both the struggles of its own historical moment and their ideological representation."[12]   To disavow is to recognize *and* not to recognize something *at the same time*, by fetishizing or replacing it into something else, thus displacing the anxiety this something other (as something out of its place) provokes.[13]   As in the case of our previous discussion of the editorial

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[10] For censorship issues concerning *Henry V*, see Janet Clare,   *'Art made tongue-tied by authority': Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 71-4.

[11] Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, "History and ideology: the instance of *Henry V*," in *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. John Drakakis (London: Methuen, 1985), p. 225.

[12] Dollimore and Sinfield, p. 225.

[13] For the concept of "disavowal," see Freud, "Fetishism," in *On Sexuality*, ed. Angela Richards, trans. James Strachey (Harmondworth: Penguin Books, 1977); for feminist employment of the concept, see, among others, Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (London: Macmillan, 1989) and Jacqueline Rose, *Sexuality in the Field of Vision* (London: Verso, 1986); for adoption of this concept in Early Modern studies, see Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, "Fetishizing Gender," in *Body Guards: The Cultural Construction of Gender Ambiguity*, ed. J. Epstein and K. Straub (New York: Routledge, 1991) and their "Dismantling Irena: The Sexualizing

Ireland/England emendation, while they recognize the importance of the allusion to Ireland in some related issues, previous critics tend to ignore its greater ideological significance in terms of its political functions on the Elizabethan stage. Both the emendation and the critical disavowal reproduce what the play aims to convey to the contemporary audience by concealing Ireland as a disturbing element through an unconcealment of something less subversive.

It is also interesting to note that Taylor, in his attempt to counter the "bad Quarto" theory, proposes that "the Quarto is based upon a deliberate adaptation and abridgment of *Henry V*, designed for performance, probably in the provinces, by a cast of eleven."[14] While in so doing Taylor makes a significant contribution in restoring the authority of the Quarto text, his meticulous effort to demonstrate the linkage between the reduced cast and the reduced cost bypasses the possible political explanation of the Quarto variant. If in the post-1599 political atmosphere of Elizabethan England the "discussion of Irish affairs carried the death penalty,"[15] if we consider the possible different effects the Quarto and the Folio had on the contemporary audience (with the textually problematic Quarto becoming politically unproblematic, resulting from the cut of all the references to Ireland and the absence of contradictions between the promises announced by the choruses and the actions they aim to contain, etc.), the Quarto version must be very close not only to the play-text designed for performance in the provinces but also to the play-text put on stage in the Liberties. Taylor's deliberate evasion of political consideration and his preoccupation with technical matters look suspect and point to the anxiety about Ireland already present in the text.

Ireland is a disturbing element in the text and has to be disavowed even in a small "misspelling" that divulges that very disturbance precisely because in the Elizabethan world it was something that threatened the English national unity. If we move away from our discussions of "misspelling" and allusion to the text "proper," the operation of ideological disavowal is nowhere more apparent than in the famous "international episode" in Act 3. The protest of Macmorris, the Irish captain, against Fluellen's contemptuous reference to "your Nation" (3.2.124) highlights the theme of national identity and national unity:

> Of my Nation! What ish my Nation? Ish a
> Villain,and a Bastard,and a Knave,and a Rascal.
> What ish my Nation? Who talkes of my Nation?
> (3.2.125-7)

As Philip Edwards observes, Walter's adoption of W. J. Greg's textual gloss in his New Arden *Henry V* is problematic and tends to cover things up as, we should add, in a gesture of editorial disavowal. In Arden Shakespeare, the protest is interpreted in this way: "Macmorris is enraged the moment Fluellen appears to be about to criticize his nation: 'What are you going to say agin [*sic*] my country now? I suppose you'll be calling me a villain and a bastard.'"[16] In place of this, Edwards offers his version,

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of Ireland in Early Modern England," in *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, ed. Andrew Parker, et al. (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[14] Taylor, *Three Studies in the Text of* Henry V, p. 39.

[15] Janet Clare, p. 72.

[16] Walter, *Henry V*, p. 65, Note to 3.2.125.

which is more attentive to the subtle relation between difference and identity: "'What is this separate race you're implying by using the phrase "your nation"?   Who are you, a Welshman, to talk of the Irish as though they were a separate nation from you? I belong to this family as much as you do.'   This is the essence of it--indignation that a Welshman should think of Ireland as a separate nation from the great (British) nation which the Welshman apparently thought he belonged to."[17]   On this account, Macmorris protests against not being included in the one great, all-embracing nation, and the "international" episode does not aim to be international at all.

In the next scene Henry speaks of his invasion into France as "impious war" (3.3.15), which Walter glosses as "bellum impium," meaning "civil war,"[18] and Henry thus blurs the boundary between the inside and the outside, the national and the international.   Henry launches a "civil war" because he is reclaiming a lawful property (a claim supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury's tortuous interpretation of the Salic Law in   Act 1, scene 2) and because the French unjustly rebel against their lawful sovereign.   (Notice also that in his interpretation of the Salic interdiction "*In terram Salicam muliere ne succedant,*/No woman shall succeed in Salic land" (1.2.38-9), the Archbishop asserts that the French "unjustly gloze" (1.2.40) the Salic land to be the realm of France, thus pointing out the nexus between territorial politics, expansionist ideology on the one hand and glossing, interpretation on the other.) Now, in the "international episode," the strategy is to recognize the differences of the nations represented by the captains and at the same time to merge them under the banner of English empire.   It has been pointed out that Shakespeare's use of historical material here is both problematic and unhistorical.   According to Holinshed, Welsh and Scottish mercenaries did appear in the battlefield, but they fought for the French rather than for Henry's English forces.[19]   By manipulating the historical data, Shakespeare forges (in both senses of the word), "In the quick Forge and working-house of Thought" (5.0.23), a fantasy of national unity.   Edwards reminds us that this historical inaccuracy is ideologically charged:

> Quite unhistorically, Shakespeare introduced his
> quartet of the Welsh Fluellen, the Irish Captain
> Macmorris, the Scottish Captain Jamy, and the
> English Gower as a tribute to the Tudor idea of
> Britain as a union of peoples setting out to
> conquer foreigners, or as Richard Simpson put it
> in 1874, "as if to symbolise the union of four
> nations under one crown, and their co-operation
> in enterprises of honour, no longer hindered by

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[17] Philip Edwards, *Threshold of a Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 75-6.

[18] Walter, p. 67, Note to 3.3.15

[19] See Andrew Gurr, Introduction, p. 4 and Appendix 2, p. 231; see also Geoffrey Bullough, ed. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, IV. (London and New York: RKP and Columbia University Press, 1962).

the touchiness of a separatist nationalism."[20]

Dollimore and Sinfield have called this strategy of integrating resistant forces into submission "aesthetic colonization," and have rightly contended that the containment can never be complete.[21] But this is already too familiar; the "Irish question" in *Henry V* are now common knowledge. I begin the present paper with a discussion of a misprint which is totally ignored by the critics (I cannot find any one who pays similar attention to it, or any attention at all) in order, not to repeat or to flog the dead horse of the "Irish reading" of the text, but to use the detour of the misprint to show the fissure in the self-knowledge and formation of national identity. But ultimately, the present paper will show that the cipher of Ireland both opens the text by giving it an edge in the ideological critique of imperialism, *and* closes off the text by a determinate contextualization, at the same time. While it is important politically to recognize the role of the conquest of Ireland in the formation of the English nation/empire, it is also ethically vital not to let an ideological reading freeze the possibilities of the text. An "Irish reading" of Shakespeare's *Henry V* would therefore be both enabling *and* limiting. The question is how to use the cipher of Ireland as a *lever* to lift our reading beyond the topical-historical referentiality, without erasing it in the process.

In consequence, the present paper now aims to consider the following questions in and in relation to Shakespeare's *Henry V*: First, the limitation of the "Irish interpretation" of the play; Second, the meaning and function of the figure of the King; Third, the all important narrative logic of the "return of the empire," a structurality that *Henry V both inhabits and thematizes*. It is my contention that a working-out of the logic of the "return of the empire" gives us a vantage point to go beyond, but at the same time without erasing, the "Irish interpretation" of the play, and provides a better look into the role of kingship as staged in this play. What is more, as will be shown later, a consideration of the "sur-vival" (living-on) or spectrality of the imperial formation at the structural juncture of the chiasmus of the new and old empires will help to explain the difficult problem of the English nationhood in the early modern period. I would argue that the formation of English nationhood, in the burgeoning stage of the sixteenth century as well as in the flourish of nationalism in the nineteenth century, cannot be possible and be understood unless set in relation to the building of the empire in the form of the return of the old empire. At stake here is the importance of a consideration of the formation of nations in the context of world-system, in the global network.

I wish to distinguish my following reading in this paper from them first part of the paper: I am trying to establish the case that critics are too eager to foreclose the significance of the "coming" referred to in the Chorus in act V; in other words, they fail to explore the ideological possibility of the reference to Ireland in this text sufficiently. Implicitly or explicitly, working on the model of "symptomatic reading," these readings "recover" the "unsaid"--"Ireland," sometimes unfortunately monolithic one--lost behind the facade of the "aesthetic colonization," through an

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[20] Edwards, p. 74; see also, David Cairns and Shaun Richards, *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 9-10.

[21] Dollimore and Sinfield, pp. 216-7.

analysis of representation.   It is as if through a critical reading at the juncture of literary representation and history, the latter were "recuperated."   But the problem of "symptomatic reading" remains how to determine the limit of context (in Althusser's term, the "different text"), how to delimit the context in the intertwining of literary representation and history.   Gayatri Spivak has mentioned some reservations about the "symptomatic reading": "I think there's a real problem when the critic of ideology takes a diagnostic position and forgets that she is herself caught within structural production.   This obviously brings us to the ghost of Althusser, because the other side of the critic's taking a diagnostic position is a symptomatic reading."   For her, what the critic within ideology and history needs to pay attention to is, besides the structural complicity of the critic's subject position, the fact that "history is the narrativizations of various kinds that are in the field of contention."[22] In the case of the interpretation of *Henry V*, our effort will be *neither* to treat Ireland and the Irish rebellion as the diagnosed, recovered and recuperated "ground" for political interpretation, *nor* to forget, erase and disavow them as impertinent to interpretation. This *neither-nor double gesture* will be very important   in our reading.   This means that we need to put the significance of Ireland in the play within a global perspective.

Explaining the possible political use of a new topical reading, Leah Marcus observes that even though topical reading has been the favorite tool of old historical approach, a radical use of the idea of topicality can reach beyond traditional historical methodology.   If, rather than following the traditional universalizing tendency of old historicism or the antiquarianism of old topicality, a topical interpretation inspired by the idea of "localization" can wield tremendous interpretive power beyond systematic methods.   Instead of "retrograde regionalism," this new topical, localized reading "may thus have affinities with more radical regionalism," which Marcus associated with the "critiques of 'totalization'."[23]   As formulated by Marcus, "Topical reading helps us to interrogate and expand cultural *explication de texte* by coming to terms with the materials that appears to resist systematic modeling.   In its very indefiniteness and provisionality, topicality cuts across closed, static explanatory systems and closed cultural forms, opening them to the vagaries of historical process."[24]   Staying away from both totalization and atomization (or, for Marcus, deconstructive abyss), a local reading in this sense is nevertheless "deconstructive" in a political and historical way: "we can look for specific ways in which a given text sets them in motion or arrests them; we can contextualize Shakespeare's deconstruction by analyzing its effects in terms of specific local conditions."[25] But we have to add that a dialectic of localization and globalization is necessary to bring a text fully into contact with its own ideological production, because usually a local reading that can pay full attention to the interaction between the literary and the historical is itself framed with the traces of global network. Topicality is useful as long as we can trace it through the genealogy of events.   My reading of *Henry V* will

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[22] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *The Post-Colonial Critic*, ed. Sarah Harasym (London: Routledge, 1990), 54; see also *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (London: Routledge, 1988), 149-50.

[23] Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 36.

[24] Marcus, 37.

[25] Marcus, 38.

try to begin with the Irish question and then to see how Ireland serves to lift the coming English nation into an empire.

Now commonly believed to be written in 1599, *Henry V* is a turn-of-the-century play, full of anxiety and anticipation, when Elizabeth was old and ailing, when the succession problem had become more and more urgent.   So is there anything apocalyptic or Messianic in this play?   Is there someone or something coming and bringing new hope at the turn of the century?   The anticipation of the new King *and* a new era?   What is being brought at this juncture, at this transitional point when the social energy and wealth accumulated during a period of rapid social mobility were reaching the end of an era and the beginning of a new one?   The date of composition of the play is established almost universally by all editors by referring to the Chorus in Act 5, where, as has been pointed out, the "double returns" of Henry and Essex is mentioned.   But much more is involved in this trans-historical connection; or more precisely, the trans-historical connection is   framed within an important historical transition.   As Michel Foucault points out, the Sixteenth century saw the emergence of the problem of government, and that this new governmentality, among other things, "shattering the structures of feudalism, leads to establishment of the great territorial, administrative and colonial state."[26]   And we should never forget that Marx reminds us that "World of trade and the world of market date from the sixteenth century, and from then on the modern history of capital starts to unfold."[27]   In other words, the sixteenth century saw the inauguration, the founding moment, of new governmentality and new economic formation.   But, under such circumstances, why was there a renewed interest in medieval history, history plays, as in Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and medievalism?[28]   Apparently it is not enough to say that it is merely a historical "residue" in the coming of the new world, not enough to say that because the cultural and economic world is so heterogeneous that different kinds of cultural-economic formations co-exist.   If we are going to talk about "residue" in the Renaissance social formation, we must take into account Raymond Williams' understanding of the term as something that is functional and incorporated (*sur*-vived; living-on and living-under) in the dominant formation: "A residual cultural element is usually at some distance from the effective dominant culture, but some part of it, some version of it-- especially if the residue is from some major area of the past--will in most cases have had to be incorporated if the effective dominant culture is to make

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[26] Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell et al (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87-8.

[27] Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, trans. Ben Fowkes (Middlesex: Penguin Books), 247.

[28] For the writing of history in the Elizabethan age, see Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), Chapter 1; Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994); for the renewal of medievalism, see Frances Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Pimlico, 1993; rpt. of RKP's 1975 edition), Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), and *Art and Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

sense in the area."[29]   Williams is talking mainly about cultural phenomena, but I think this particularly illuminating passage is extremely useful, as will be shown later, in the interpretation of the spectrality of the social formations in general and, especially in our case, the spectrality of the emergent imperial formation.   In this way, a more engaged approach is needed to explain the political function and use of this kind of return to the conventions of older temporalities.   Shakespeare's *Henry V*, the last in the two tetralogies and a play that is "implicated in and can be read to disclose both the struggles of its own historical moment and their ideological representations,"[30] is uniquely situated in the chiasmus of the two temporalities. What is more, even more precisely,   and if my quotations from Foucault and Marx about the emergent new, expansionist state form and economic structure in the sixteenth century are too general,   the play is situated at a very specific historical moment whose significance could hardly be imagined at that moment: 1600 saw the founding of the English East India Company in the midst of England's struggles with the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch colonial empires.[31]

If my attempt to link *Henry V* to the founding of EIC seems apparently stretched, it is only apparently so, because the "non-relational" relation between them is firmly established by the anticipatory and apocalyptic tone of the   Chorus in act V: the coming of the general from Ireland is also the coming of a new, colonial era. The establishment of EIC, which later became the most successful and most profitable of the great companies, has its significance far beyond the area of Asia, and Ireland, as the first important colony under the English Crown, is part of the whole colonial ambiance.   While the conquest of Ireland is a historical fact, Ireland as a historical cipher is inscribed in the general colonial economy of the English imperial formation. And as we all know well enough, *Henry V* is more a symbolic crystallization of precisely this imperial economy than a representation of historical facts.   As I have said, I do not intend, in the interpretation of the play, to erase Ireland in a sleight-of-hand to "go beyond" Ireland, but I do intend to break the closed Ireland-England interpretive circuit in order to bring in the world, in a global perspective, even though my reading still has to begin with the Ireland-England circuit.   For as Nicholas Canny has constantly reminded us in his works, the English conquest of Ireland established the pattern for the subsequent English conquests in America.   Though the analyses by Canny and others focus on the complex details of the English (later British) ways of colonization, for my present purpose they help to grasp the general picture of the significance of the conquest of Ireland in the "westward enterprise."[32]

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[29] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 123.

[30] Dollimore and Sinfield, 225.

[31] "When . . . it seemed that the Dutch, now in Asia, were likely to seal off the flow of the goods to the Levant, and when it was plain to even the most sanguine that nothing could be expected from negotiations with the joint Hispano-Portuguese monarchy, Elizabeth I issued a charter incorporating the English East India Company (1600) and granting it the monopoly of the country's trade with Asia," G. V. Scammell, *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion c. 1400-1715* (London: Verso, 1992), p. 18.

[32] See Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); also, N. Canny,   *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A*

The conquest of Ireland signifies the watershed in the English imperial enterprise, in the chain of the imperial conquests, in America or elsewhere.   And it is in this chain of conquests that the intertwining of English nation and empire can be understood.

Indeed, Ireland as the cultural other and politically problematic other-within-itself is the lever that England uses to defines its identity, as is obvious in the famous international episode where the "Irish" captain Macmorris's protest "What ish my nation?" highlights the ambivalent relation between the call to brotherhood (the regime of the brother) and the disavowal of heterogeneous origins of nationalities.[33] The anxiety about the Irish question even surfaces in a little noticed place.   The Irish question haunts the cultural and political unconscious that surrounds the textual production of *Henry V*,   it surfaces only in unguarded moments, as in the celebratory rapture that anticipated Essex's return, or in the Freudian slip in the "misspelling" of "brother Ireland" in the First Folio.   This *return* of the repressed has to be dispelled by bibliographic exorcism and the critical enterprise repeated this exorcism or disavowal until recently.   I would argue that both more and less obviously at the same time, *Henry V* the play is a spectacle of exorcism.   To dispel the cultural and political anxiety caused by the Irish question, a more spectacular exorcism is in order. But as Marx argues in his critique of Stirner and as Derrida argues in his reading of Marx reading Stirner, an exorcism of ghosts can only be accomplished by invoking yet another ghost and by insisting that this new ghost is in full flesh and blood, in its full corporeality and materiality.[34]   We know that *Henry V* is the last of Shakespeare's two tetralogy and, with the exception of the problematic *Henry VIII*, it is the last of Shakespeare's English histories; indeed it is the last of Shakespeare's Lancastrian histories.   Perhaps many readers have forgotten that if we take into consideration the sequence of composition and staging as well as the effect upon Shakespeare's contemporary audience, Henry is literally a ghost who returns from the dead.   In the *Henry VI* plays, which were composed and staged earlier, Henry is already dead.   In 2 *Henry VI*, Henry V's name can be invoked by Clifford to dispel the Irish rebel leader Jack Cade and to disband the rabble: "Clif.: Is Cade the son of Henry the Fifth,/That thus you do exclaim you'll go with him?" (4.8.34-35) and "Cade:

Pattern Established, 1565-76 (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976); see also Karl S. Bottigheimer, "Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise, 1536-1660," in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, ed. K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny and P. E. H. Hair (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 45-64.

[33] For discussions about the familiar issue of the ambivalence of national identity, see Michael Neill, "Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare's Histories," in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45 (Spring 1994)1-32; and the less satisfactory one by David J. Baker, "*'Wildehirissheman'*: Colonialist Representation in Shakespeare's Henry V," in *English Literary Renaissance* (Winter 1992), vol. 22, no. 1, 37-61.

[34] Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 125-76.

Was ever feathers so lightly blown to and fro as this multitude?[35]   The name of Henry the Fifth hales them to an hundred mischiefs, and makes them leave me desolate" (4.8.55-57).   In fact, in 1 *Henry VI*, which begins with Henry V's funeral, Henry's spirit is summoned by Bedford: "Henry the Fifth, thy ghost I invocate" (1.1.52).   And thus the exchange between Bedford and Gloucester:

> Bedford: What say'st thou, man, before dead Henry's corse?
>   Speak softly, or the loss of those great towns
>   Will make him burst his lead and rise from death.
> Gloucester: Is Paris lost? is Rouen yielded up?
>   If Henry were recalled to life again
>   These news would cause him once more yield the
>   ghost.
>   (1 *Henry VI*: 1.1.62-7)

Exeter's lamentation that "Henry is dead, and never shall revive" (1.118) is both true and not true at the same time: it is true in the context of the first tetralogy, where Henry's spirit haunts the sequence, but in light of *Henry VI*, it is not true.   In the last of second tetralogy, the culminating point of Shakespeare's English histories, Henry answers to Bedford's invocation and returns as a ghost in the body of the actor, as the Chorus says, "like himself" (1.Prologue.5).   As Christopher Pye points out: "The sequence of the history plays makes Henry V the one king who returns from the grave, and our sense of the nature of regal presence ultimately will depend on what we make of this recurrence."[36]

When I say in the second tetralogy Henry is the ghost that returns, the "return" can mean two things at the same time: he returns both to his ancestral past *and* to himself, dead in the first tetralogy.   His invasion into France can be seen as Henry's return to the France ravished by the Black Prince; in this sense, it is a return to the glory of chivalric valor of his ancestors, and a genealogical return to the legitimacy of the crown as well as the claim to France sanctioned by appealing to the common origin in Edward III ("evenly deriv'd/From his most fam'd of famous ancestors,/Edward the Third," 2.4.91-3) and made discontinuous by Henry VI's regicide ("O Lord!/O not to-day, think not upon the fault/My father made in compassing the crown!" 4.1.298-300).   The mature, valorous Henry reminds the French of the Black Prince that "haunted" the land of France. Thus the French King:

> The kindred of him hath been flesh'd upon us,
> And he is bred out of that *bloody strain*
> That haunted us in our familiar paths;
> Witness our too much memorable shame
> When Cressy battle fatally was struck,
> And all our princes captiv'd by the hand
> Of that black name, Edward, Black Prince of
>   Wales.   (2.4.50-7; Italics mine)

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[35] References from *2 Henry VI* and *1 Henry VI* follow, respectively, The Arden Shakespeare, *King Henry VI, Part 2*, ed. Andrew S. Cairncross (London: Methuen, 1957) and *The First Part of King Henry VI*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[36] Christopher Pye, *The Regal Phantasm: Shakespeare and the Politics of Spectacle* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 19.

Henry thus claims both the genealogical lineage from Edward III and the "spiritual" lineage from the Black Prince, bypassing his father, the usurper, and King Richard: "Look back into your mighty ancestors:/Go, my dread lord, to your great-grandsire's tomb,/From whom you claim; *invoke his war-like spirit,/And your great-uncle's,* Edward the Black Prince,/Who on the French ground play'd a tragedy, /Making defeat on the full power of France," 1.2.102-7; Italics mine).   It has also to be noted that in the wooing scene, where the French Princess Katherine is positioned as a means of reproduction and a figure of territorial body, the continuity of this "bloody strain" is imagined in both homoerotic terms ("Shall not thou and I, between Saint Denis and Saint George, compound a boy, half French, half English," 5.2.215-7) and sodomitical terms ("This moral ties me over to time and a hot summer; and so I shall catch the fly, your cousin, in the latter end, and she must be blind too," 5.2.330-2).   But there is more in this.   Henry returns not only to the "bloody strain" of his legitimate ancestors; in the reversal of chronology so problematically arranged by Shakespeare, his return to himself from the death in the first tetralogy makes all the differences. In Shakespeare's re-arrangement, the genealogical problem becomes entangled with the problem of national spirit, and the *mise-en-abyme* of the Black Prince/Henry/Essex displacement makes possible a proliferation of signification in the signifying chain, and extends the possible cathexis or investment of Henry's figure into a national icon.

But more importantly, the structure of the return works to push the connection beyond the direct vertical imagining of community; it works to invocate the return of the specters of the ancient imperial formations.   And *Henry V* appears to be at the juncture of the residual and emergent empires.   As the our previous quotation from Raymond Williams makes clear, some part of the residue "will in most cases have had to be incorporated if the effective dominant culture is to make sense."   Which means that unless the residual formation has a substantial role to play, the dominant form will not be effective enough.   In other words, the residual is a necessary supplement to the operation and working of the dominant formation; it is, in most cases, an indispensable prop in the constitution of the latter.   Traces of this residue can be found in the "international episode," where the outbreak of "What ish my nation?" is triggered by the quarrel over the question of who is really capable of the "Roman disciplines" (3.2.77) of wars, the "true disciplines of wars" (3.2.76), or "the disciplines of the pristine wars of the Romans" (3.2.85-6):

> Fluellen: Captain Macmorris, I beseech you now, will you
> voutsafe me, look you, a few disputations with you
> as partly touching or concerning the disciplines of
> the war, the Roman wars, in the ways of argument,
> look you, and friendly communication; partly to
> satisfy my opinion, and partly for the satisfaction,
> look you, of my mind, as touching the direction
> of the military discipline: that is the point. (3.2.97-104)

The point is in fact the struggle over the legacy of the Roman Empire: who is the true heir to the Roman art of war?   This "grafting" of the Roman tradition unto the burgeoning English imperialist militarism tells us a lot about the strive for historical legitimation in the coming new empire.   Even more significant is the attempt to establish the "figural" parallel between Harry and Alexander.   Again, it is the ideological mouth-piece Fluellen:

> I think it is in Macedon where Alexander is porn.
> I tell you, captain, if you look into the maps of the

> 'orld, I warrant you sall find, that in the comparisons
> between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situa-
> tions, look you, is both alike.   There is a river at
> Monmouth: it is called Wye at Monmouth; but
> it is out of my prains what is the name of the
> other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers
> is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.
> If you mark Alexander's life well, Harry of Mon-
> mounth's life is come after it indifferent well; for
> there is figures in all things.   (4.7.23-35)

Even though the analogy is established more by para-logic than by logic,[37] what is important in this context is indeed figures, "figural" rather than factual parallel, for, as Fluellen himself adds, "I speak but in the figures and comparisons of it" (4.7..46).[38] What is involved here is more than just a satiric rendering of the "typo-geographic" reasoning, which, according to John Gillies, is "a form of geographic moralisation," in which "[p]laces (*loci*) are read in terms of their "moral" (or historical, or epic, or mythological) significance and then concorded on that basis, opening up the possibility that places bearing similar moral significance be found physically alike also."[39]   In fact, Fluellen's para-logic betrays the deep structure upon which and with which the text works; it points to the coupling, grafting and doubling of the residual and emergent imperial formations.   In a structure of supplementarity, the new empire needs the symbolism and form of the earlier empire in order to form itself in a new configuration; in this we see the spectrality of empires, the *sur*-vival of the old in the new.

The grafting, in the structure of spectrality, seems to be a necessary step in the constitution of the nation-empires of the Northern Europe.   Speaking about the double structure of the "revived phantom" of the Holy Roman Empire in Charles V of France, Frances Yates comments: "[T]he *phantom* of the Empire *did* revive. . . . the imperial phantom, which revives with Charles V, is not the Romanized phantom, which has haunted the earlier humanists.   It is the northern phantom which returns with the second Charlemagne, and which finds congenial expression in the revived chivalrous epic, though it also drapes itself in the classical formulae which humanist studies had enriched."[40]   We should notice from the above quotation that the operation of the "revived phantom" (or my expression, *sur*-vived phantom, the phantom that lives on) is triple, and the interrupted-revived continuum of Roman/Holy Roman/French imperial formation works through the sequence of

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[37] For a discussion of the relation between the literary-historical representations of the figures of Henry and Alexander, see Judith Morssman, "*Henry V* and Plutarch's *Alexander*," in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45 (Spring 1994), 57-71.

[38] For a more detailed discussion of the Christian "figura" interpretation of history, see Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), chapter 2; Auerbach, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 rpt.), the chapter on "figura."

[39] John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 48.

[40] Frances Yates, *Astraea*, 26-7.

history in its *sur*-vival.　Also we should never forget the Holy Roman Empire is itself the revived/sur-vived version of the residual "undying Roman Empire."[41]　In Yates's study, the situation is generally similar in the northern, peripheral part of Europe, where the expansionist states and economic structure are ready to re-build the European empire in exploration and colonization.　Famous for its analysis of the symbolism of Elizabeth as Astraea, Yates's book does not fail to pay attention to the English situation:

> It has been said of the Italian Renaissance that 'it starts from the medieval conception of world-empire.'　The whole process of the 're-naissance' of art and letters is *intimately* bound up with the *return* to the classical golden age, or rather with the more vital idea of eternal *survival* and living rebirth of that age.　The Elizabethan age is the great age of the English Reniassance, and in this sense the golden age theme lies behind it.　It is an age of national expansion, and the universal medieval aspirations turn in a nationalist direction, toward a golden age for England.[42]

At stake here is the appropriation of the imperial symbolism to the periphery.　And I would say it involves more than symbolism, or more precisely the "grafting" or the former imperial system disclose the proximity in ideological deployment between the old and the new (coming) formations.[43]　But two things in this passage deserve our attention.　The first is the spectrality, the intimate embrace, of the residual and the emergent in the empire-building; the second is the intertwining of the imperial formation and nation-building.　Upon this reading, it is impossible to separate the problem of English nationhood with the current of the return of the empire in the spectral form.

　　Under such circumstances, it will surprise no one when one is reminded of the fact that, in the same year, Shakespeare turned to Roman history immediately after he finished his English chronicles with *Henry V*.　Shakespeare wrote *Julias Caesar* almost immediately after *Henry V*, and this is, I suggest, more than just a coincidence; this move can be seen as one that seeks to invoke the ghost of the old imperial

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[41] Frances Yates, *Astraea*, 27.

[42] Frances Yates, *Astraea*, 38-9; Italics mine.

[43] Cf. the illuminating Samir Amin's description of the grafting of the old proto-capitialist roots unto the northern periphery of Europe, where local "weak feudalism" made the North more capable of developing a capitalist system: "The Mediterranean system that I discussed . . . formed the prehistory of the capitalist world system.　Nevertheless, this Mediterranean system did not make the qualitative leap forward to a completed capitalist form.　On the contrary, the driving forces of development emigrate from the shores of the Mediterranean toward the peripheral regions of the European Atlantic northwest, thereby crossing the divide that separates the prehistory of capitalism from its later flourishing.　The capitalist world system is therefore fashioned around the Atlantic, marginalizing, in turn, the old Mediterranean center," *Eurocentrism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989), 73. One should notice that the spectrality of capitalist transition described by Amin parellels my description of the spectrality of the empire.

formation of Rome.   Quite significantly, the ghost of Caesar has been summoned just before the Henry-Essex connection is established:

> But now behold,
> In the quick forge and working-house of thought, ·
> How London doth pour out her citizens.
> The mayor and all his brethern in best sort,
> Like to the senators of th' *antique Rome*,
> With the plebeians swarming at their heels,
> Go forth and fetch their conqu'ring *Caesar* in.
> (5.Chorus.22-8; Italics mine)

Now, with the Henry-Essex juxtaposition following immediately after these lines, the Caesar/Henry/Essex continuum forms a hybrid genealogy of figures.   Consequently, the figure of Henry on stage possesses, always already, more than two bodies; according to the medieval theory of the king's two bodies, the king is at the same time a combination of his personal, natural body and his dynastic, genealogical body politic.[44]   The ghostly body of the king is even more important than his personal, corporeal body.   Shakespeare would turn the pivot of this double body of the figure, and turn it into something else. I would call this process Shakespeare's regicide.   We can say that Shakespeare invokes Henry's ghostly presence to exorcise the Irish question, now, as if this is not enough, he further exorcises Henry's ghost by interrupting the triumphant tone at the end of the play and lets Chorus lament Henry's second death in epilogue in the form of a sonnet.   In the epilogue, Shakespeare pushes Henry back into the grave, into the funeral ceremony that launches the first tetralogy, and puts him into the cyclical repetition of dying and resurrection, so that Henry the ideal king and his metaphorical substitutes can keep on coming and returning ("the general of our gracious empress,/As in good time he may, from Ireland *coming*," 5.Chorus.30-1; italic mine).   The Messianic waiting and anticipation of the one that is coming at a critical juncture, when the time is out of joint, are precisely the unfailing attraction (and, of course, the repulsion) generated by the play. Conventionally a poem about the celebration of love or lover's complaint, the sonnet in the epilogue becomes a patriotic lamentation over the fall of "the star of England" (5.Epilogue.6); it has to fall in order to rise again, repeatedly.   Through the Chorus, the sonnet hinges the amorous relationship between the figure or phantom of the legendary King and the Elizabethan spectators.   It is in between this chronological dislocation in the pledge of love between the figure of the king and his displaced would-be subjects in the brotherhood of communal, national blood   ("We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;/For he to-day that sheds *his blood* with me/Shall be my brother," 4.3.60-2;italics mine), rather than merely genealogical lineage, that any intermediary figure, such as Essex, can fill in and keep coming in the form of returning.   And it is in this dis-located in-between that the figure of the king is neither the dynastic sacred body nor the personal, corporeal body, but the specter of national spirit, to be manipulated and put into use by the English theater in the construction of national identity.

But on the other hand, we have seen that there is a structure of double return at work here: First, the return to genealogical lineage, in order to be lifted into the figure

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44 Fully developed in Ernest Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in the Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); see also Christorpher Pye, "Mock Sovereignty: Henry V," in *The Regal Phantasm*, 13-42.

of national spirit; second, the return to the old imperial formation, in order to bring out the new empire.　Both the new nation and the new empire have to resort to the residual elements in order to "come."　In the Caesar/Henry/Essex "genealogy" we see that, at least in the West, the formation of nation cannot be separated and is inextricably implicated in the changing formation (the spectral alternation of returning and coming) of empire.　As Partha Chatterjee points out, the postcolonial nation-state bears the inevitable imprint of the colonial imperial system of the West and, in his critique of Benedict Anderson's theorization of the imagined community of the nation as the "modular" form, the root of the postcolonial misery lies "not in our inability to think out new forms of the modern community but in our surrender to the old forms of the modern state," developed from the post-Renaissance and post-Enlightenment　West.[45]　In other words, there is a built-in continuity (as a result of and transformed by the imperial superimposition) between the colonial and post-colonial formations, even in the radical break of independence.　Similarly but inversely, if the post-colonial condition can be thought only in relation to colonial imperialism, the rise of the nation in the West can hardly be imagined without a consideration of the conscious or unconscious adoption of the rhetoric, the symbolism and the mechanism of older imperial system.

　　The prospect of conquering Ireland, the apocalyptic tone anticipating the coming of the new era, and the Messianic figure of the King who returns and will return repeatedly from the dead, all these set *Henry V* in the topology of the rise of nation in the form of spectral empires (the one that is to come as well as the one in the past that will return).　In 1599, England was neither a nation in the modern sense nor an empire, yet.　But in *Henry V*, the proximity of both possibilities is clearly visible, when Caesar, Henry and the unidentified Essex are condensed into a figure that will come with the popular support.

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[45] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton Press, 1993), 11; see also his *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), especially Chapters 1 & 2.

Some Speculations on the Semantic Change of Chinese Modal Verb "Yao"[1]

尤雪瑛

Abstract

Semantic change is a crucial factor that motivates grammaticalization. From either diachronic or synchronic perspective, semantic change studies provide certain evidence or explanation for the origin, the path, and the direction of evolution process. This study investigates synchronic variations of Chinese modal "yao," and attempts to account for its semantic change. "Yao" is found to perform various grammatical functions as a main verb, a future marker, a connective, an estimation marker, and a modal verb--its major function. In addition, seven meanings have been identified to be associated with "yao." It is proposed that these meanings have a core meaning— "want" or "desire," which is carried by its main verb use. A possible semantic change path is proposed on the basis of previous diachronic study and cognitive and cross-language research findings. Also, to illustrate the conceptualization of the semantic change, we map cognitive schemas onto semantic structure of each meaning to account for the derivation of the meanings and the relations between them.

I. Introduction.

Semantic change is a crucial factor that motivates grammaticalization. From either diachronic or synchronic perspective, semantic change studies provide certain evidence or explanation for the origin, the path, and the direction of evolution process.

Recent researches of semantic change have been concentrated on cross-linguistic studies, with an aim to postulate tendencies in semantic/functional extensions of linguistic elements. Among those works, some are about semantic change paths of modal verbs. Traugott (1989), in her study on English modals suggests three general tendencies in semantic change:

Tendency 1: Meanings related to the external situation may expand and indicate meanings related to the internal situation.

Tendency 2: Meanings of the external/internal situation may expand and indicate meanings of the textual and metalinguistic situation.

Tendency 3: Meaning tends to be more based on speaker's subjectivity. Sweetser (1990), finds a cross-linguistic fact that modal expressions usually have root and epistemic readings. It is also found to be a common development sequence that epistemic meaning derives from root meaning. Another research on modal verbs is Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins (1991). In examining the future

marking of 75 languages, they find stages of development for future based on modality uses: obligation/desire > intention > future > probability/ imperative.

In this paper we investigate the sequence of semantic change of Chinese modal verb "yao."   The hypothesis is that the theories of Traugott (1989), Sweetser (1990) and Bybee, Paglliuca and Perkins (1991) will find exemplification in Chinese modal verb "yao."   The structure of this paper is as follows: we will first identify meanings and functions of "yao."   Then, we will present explanations for meaning extensions.   Finally, we map cognitive schemas onto semantic structures and account for the connections among the schemas.

The material used in this paper is taken from a database of current daily newspaper, the Mandarin Chinese News Corpus established by Computational Linguistic Society.   The present research will be based on the analysis of 376 clauses that contain "yao."   Without actual examination of the evolution of "yao" from Archaic Chinese to Mandarin Chinese, what this study proposes will be, to certain degree, speculative.   But our speculation is by no means arbitrary.   The prior theories will be applied to account for our observation.

II.   Meanings of "Yao"

In this section we will see that "yao" has seven distinct yet related meanings. "Yao," in designating these meanings, performs different grammatical functions as a main verb, a modal verb, a future marker, a connective and an estimation marker. Below, the meanings belonging to the five categories will be presented.   For convenience, in the following discussion, "yao" designating the seven different meanings will be marked with a subscript number respectively, according to the presenting order.

Li and Thompson (1981) tends to treat "yao" as a main verb with the meaning of "wanting."   In asserting so, they do not distinguish between the functions of "yao" in the following clauses:

> (1)　Wo yao　　pingguo.
> 　　　I　want　apple
> 　　　'I wanted an apple.'
> 　　　我要蘋果.
>
> (2)　Wo yao　　xizao.
> 　　　I　want　take a bath
> 　　　'I wanted to take a bath.'
> 　　　我要洗澡.

It seems, according to their analysis, that there is little difference between these two clauses.   However, the objects of the clauses are eventually associated with different properties: one is an entity and the other is an event.   Our analysis is that "yao" of these clauses perform two different functions from both syntactic and semantic considerations.   "Yao$_1$" in (1) means "want to possess," that is, "want to have something under someone's domain."   Syntactically, it displays main verb property since it takes aspect marker "le," as in sentence (3):

(3)   Wo yao   le   pingguo.
      I   want ASP   apple
      'I have asked for an apple.'
      我要了蘋果.

In our data, 1.6% (6 among 376) of the clauses shows the main verb use.

As for the "yao$_2$" in (2), the associated meaning is "want to have something become existing."   It displays the subject's "opinion and attitude," which Lyon (1977:452) proposes as a feature of modality.   In syntactic perspective, it has to co-occur with a verb as in (2) and it cannot take any aspect marker:

(4)   *Wo yao   le   xizao.
          I   want   ASP   take a bath
          'I have wanted to take a bath.'
          *我要了洗澡.

The above observation suggests that the two types of "yao" behave indeed differently both at syntactic and semantic levels.   However, further investigation of syntactic behaviors of modal "yao$_2$" may find marginal examples like (5):

(5)   Wo yao   de   shi (ni)   qu xizao.
          I   want   NOM   be (you)   go take a bath
          'What I asked (for you) is take a bath.'
          我要的是（你）去洗澡.

Here, we have a nominalized modal verb.   This example tells that modal "yao$_2$" of text (5) may not be a typical modal verb.   To accommodate this use, we propose to classify it as a "marginal modal."   The number of the clauses containing "yao$_2$" performing this function amounts to 132 (35.11%).   That is, about one-third of "yao" clauses are used to indicate the meaning of "wishing to have something become a fact."

The third meaning of "yao" is "force something to be realized."   "Yao" carrying this meaning also serve as a modal.   At the first sight, there seems to be little difference between the meaning of modal "yao$_2$" and the meaning of "yao$_3$." However, subtle distinction is observed in their illocutionary forces.   Let us consider the following clauses:

(6)   Gongsi   yao jiashu   jingdai   xiaoxi.
      company   want families wait for   information
      'The company wanted their families to wait for further information.'

      公司要家屬靜待消息.

(7) shenzhi hai   daibu   wo yumin,   yao wo yumin li quiejieshu
     even   also   arrest   I fishermen want I fishermen sign guaranty
     'They even arrested our fishermen and forced them to sign a guaranty.'

甚至還逮捕我漁民,要我漁民立切結書.

(8)　　Zhuxi　sueiji　　　　yao　　xingzhenguen　　shumien dafu.
　　　　chair　immediately　want　Executive Yuan　　written　reply
　　　　'The chair immediately ordered Executive Yuan to propose
　　　　a written reply.'
　　　　主席隨即要求行政院書面答覆.

All the three clauses perform directive acts, but in clause (6), "yao$_2$" shows illocutionary force of advertising, since the company is not in the position to enforce an action upon the victims' families.　While in clauses (7) and (8), the subjects are authorized or have the power to command the objects to do something.　They demonstrate the illocutionary force of ordering.　Besides, "yao$_2$" in (6) expresses wish or desire of the subject, and the force associated with it is resistible.　As for clauses (7) and (8), the function of "yao$_3$" is to put obligations on the objects-- a function of deontic modal.　The illocutionary force is irresistible.　In other words, the illocution associated with modal "yao$_3$" clauses tends to be less polite.

Because people generally follow the politeness principle in communication, the impolite use of "yao$_3$" is avoided and seldom found.　In our data, only 26 clauses (6.91%) contain "yao$_3$."

Another meaning of modal "yao" ("yao$_4$") is "ought to, and have to." Sweetser's analysis (1990) points out that "ought to" and "have to" differ in their domains and imposer.　"Ought to" indicates moral or social obligation, but "have to" refers to obligation imposed by extrinsic authority.　The examples below show the use of "yao$_4$."

(9)　　Yao　　yi　　　　renmin de　　liyi　uei iouxian.
　　　　ought to　PRE　　people POSS　profit　be　priority
　　　　"People's profit ought to be a first priority."
　　　　要以人民的利益為優先.

(10)　　Yitian　　zhishao yao　　jieke　　　　　　　shici　yishang
　　　　one day　　at least　have to　practice prostitution　ten times　above
　　　　'They have to practice prostitution at least ten times a day.'
　　　　一天至少要接客十次以上.

Thus far, we have found "yao$_4$" clauses occur most frequently in our data.　There are totally 146 clauses (38.83%) containing "yao$_4$" of this use.

The next function of "yao" is to serve as a future marker.　There will be a discussion on the semantic development of the future marker function in section III. Here, we will first examine how it is used.　The "future" does not refer to the description of a future action or a future event.　It indicates an assertion or

prediction made about future possibility (Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins 1991).   In this sense, it is reasonable to relate the future use of "yao$_5$" to its modality use.

(11)   Ta yao   diaozhi   le.
       he FUTURE   transfer ASP
       'He is going to transfer to another position.'
       他要調職了.

(12)   Gongchandang   jiou   yao   dongshou le.
       the communist party   JIOU FUTURE take act   ASP
       'The Communist Party is going to take act.'
       共產黨就要動手了.

The future use of "yao$_5$" is not rare in our data.   In about 14.1% (53 among 376 clauses) of the clauses, "yao$_5$" is used as a future marker.

Another use of "yao" is as a connective.   In performing this function, "yao$_6$" designates a conditional meaning.   Phrases like "yao$_6$shi", "yao$_6$bushi' and "yao$_6$buran" are frequently found .   First, look at a "yao$_6$shi" clause:

(13) Yaoshi ta   neng jishi   ganshang huoche   jiou   hao   le.
     if   he   can   in time   catch   train   JIOU good ASP
     'I wish he had been in time for the train.'
     'It will be fine, if he can catch the train.'
     要是他能及時趕上火車就好了.

As we may see from this example, the "yao$_6$shi" clause has two readings: one signals counterfactual condition for a past event and the other marks an open condition for the future.   Interestingly, clauses with "yao$_6$bushi" and "yao$_6$buran" show different functions:

(14)   Yaobushi ni   bang wo, wo jiou   zuobuuan   le.
       without you   help me   I   JIOU   not finish   ASP
       'If you had not helped me, I wouldn't have finished it.'
       要不是你幫我,我就做不完了.

(15) Haihao   bei   song lai   zhiliao, yaoburan bu zhidao huei zenyang
     fortunately PRE send come cure   otherwise not know HUEI how
     'Fortunately, he was sent to the hospital, otherwise, it would be hard
      to imagine.'
     還好被送來治療,要不然不知道會怎樣.

(16)   Gankuai qilai,   yaoburan ni   huei   chidao.
       quick   get up   otherwise   you   will   be late
       'Get up right now, or you will be late.'

趕快起來,要不然你會遲到.

Unlike "yao₆shi," "yao₆bushi" leads clauses expressing only counterfactual past event. On the other hand, "yao₆buran" behaves quite differently. In the texts containing "yao₆buran," the clauses led by "yao₆buran" indicate conclusions drawn from the preceding clauses and the conclusions are in open condition. From the above observation, we also find that the three words differ in their positions. "Yao₆shi" and "yao₆bushi" appear in the protasis, while "yao₆buran" in the apodosis. In our data, connective "yao₆" is rare. It is found only in seven clauses (1.86%).

Now we come to the last use of "yao₇" as a comparative marker. Six clauses in the data (1.6%) have comparative "yao₇." Look at the examples below:

17. Bi   Kangningxiang   yao   qiang   duo   le.
    PRE   Kangningxiang   COM   strong more ASP
    'He is much better than Kangninggxiang."
    比康寧祥要強多了.

18. Bi   meishi   shiliou zhanji   yao   guei   shang   siyi
    PRE American sixteen fighter COM expensive above 400 million

    xintaibi
    New Taiwan dollars

    'It costs 400 million NT $ more than F16 Fighter.'
    比美式F16戰機要貴上四億新台幣.

Although "yao₇" means comparative, it is not a comparison morpheme. The absence of "yao₇" in the comparative constructions will neither affect the grammaticality nor hinder the understanding of the comparative message. Therefore, we may well say that the function of "yao₇" is nothing more than denoting the "estimate" sense.

Table 1 is a summary of the meanings of "yao" and the frequency of each meaning.

Table 1   Meanings of   "Yao" and the Frequencies

	Meaning	No	%
Yao₁	Want to possess	6	1.6
Yao₂	Want to have something become existing	132	35.11
Yao₃	force	26	6.91
Yao₄	ought to, have to	146	38.83
Yao₅	future	53	14.1

Yao$_6$	conditional	7	1.86
Yao$_7$	comparative	6	1.6
Total		376	

III. Semantic Change

In section 2, we observed seven meanings of "yao."   These meanings are carried by "yao" serving different grammatical functions as main verb, modal verb, connective, and markers of future and comparative.   However, these meanings are not totally unrelated, i.e., they have something in common.   In this section, one of our missions is to find out what is the common core meaning of "yao." Furthermore, we attempt to postulate development path of the meaning extensions of "yao."   Previous studies on grammaticalization have figured out tendencies in semantic change.   Some of them work on the semantic change of modal verbs. Their propositions will be adopted here to account for the semantic change sequence of "yao."

In our opinion, the core meaning of "yao" is "want" or "desire."   It is an attitude verb.   In other words, the "yao" clauses do not deal with truth or reality but with what speakers or subjects want to accomplish.   But, how should this attitude verb come to mean future, conditional and others?

Traugott (1989), presents three tendencies in semantic change.   Her point is that most semantic changes starts first from concrete, physical domain to abstract, psychological domain and then, to textual, metalinguistic situation.   In other words, word meanings are extended to involve more and more speakers' subjectivity. Sweetser (1990), also points out the tendency of using words which originally describe the sociophysical domain for the description of the psychological domain. Similarly, Langacker (1991:269) points out that English modals derive from main verb.   An example close to Chinese "yao" is the evolution of a verb meaning "want" into modal "will."   Their assumptions and findings strongly support that the development of "yao" starts from the main verb use "yao$_1$," which indicates the desire for the possession of a concrete entity to "yao$_2$" with the meaning of desiring the realization of abstract notions, of events, or of actions.   As for the meaning of "yao$_3$," it is close to that of "yao$_2$."   The only difference lies on that it expresses an even stronger, irresistible force, and hence, signals "obligation" at deontic level.

When the desire or the imposing of obligation is recognized, it becomes a part of speakers' belief and hence is referred to as an epistemic necessity, which is a counterpart of deontic obligation.   Therefore we propose that "yao$_4$," designating epictemic necessity is an extension of deontic modality "yao$_3$."   This development follows Traugott's subjectivity tendency (1989) stating that meaning with speakers' subjectivity comes later at the evolution stages.   In the same way, Sweetser's assertion (1991) saying that epistemic meaning comes from deontic meaning, provides further support.

Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins (1991) has a finding: in some languages, modality uses develop into future use.   The stages of the development is that obligation and desire modalities occur at the first stage stating what the subject or the

speaker want to or ought to do.　Then the obligation and desire may be inferred as to indicate what he intends to do.　The intention modality thus develops at the second stage.　When the intention is equipped with favorable conditions and can be projected to future reality with confidence, it designates a prediction and, in turn, acquires the function of future markers.　This is how the semantic change chain extends to the third stage, indicating future possibility.　We find Chinese modal "yao" may undergo similar sequence.　This change is further supported by diachronic evidence.　According to 太田辰夫 (1987),　the modality use of "yao" appeared in Tang Dynasty, while the future use, "yao_5," was not found until some time after Sung and Yuan dynasties.

It is a great leap that modals assumes conditional connective function.　In Lichtenberk (1991), an investigation of directional verbs of motion in Oceanic languages, it is observed that the conditional function of motional verb "GO" in To'aba'ita and Zabana derives from a future marker.　Remember that in (13) the protasis led by "yao_6shi" signals open-condition future events.　Actually, the difference between condition and future prediction is a matter of certainty. Uncertain future event may appear as a conditional event.　Therefore, we suspect that the conditional use of "yao_6" is an extension of future "yao_5."

The derivation of comparative use has two possible origins.　One source is the function of indicating future.　As we have stated, "yao_7" indicates "estimate" and in our perception, what is considered as estimation is mentally pushed away from present reality and is thus projected into future potential.　Therefore, we propose that comparative function of "yao_7" is related to its future use. The other origin is the modality use of "wanting to have something become existing."　The desired result is the goal to which the force of the modal is directed.　If we transfer the relation to the comparative use, we get "yao_7" as a marker of the goal (result in estimation) of comparison.

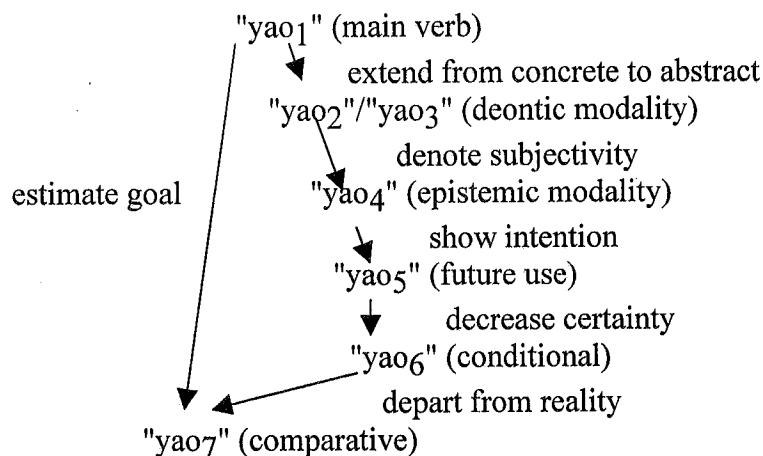The semantic change paths of "yao" together with the motivations discussed above are shown in Figure 1.

"yao_1" (main verb)

extend from concrete to abstract

"yao_2"/"yao_3" (deontic modality)

denote subjectivity

estimate goal　　"yao_4" (epistemic modality)

show intention

"yao_5" (future use)

decrease certainty

"yao_6" (conditional)

depart from reality

"yao_7" (comparative)

Figure 1. Semantic Change Paths of "Yao".

IV. Image Schemas

The discussion thus far has shown that the meanings of "yao" are distinct and yet related.   The main verb use is the core and the others are extensions of it.   The paths depicted on Figure 1. show that the extensions are related to the core meaning with different degrees of tightness.   In this section, we are going to characterize semantic structures of the meanings with conceptual representations.

With the belief that meanings represent our conceptualization of the world, we adopt Langacker's cognitive grammar model in our analysis.   Image schemas will be given to describe the conceptualization of the core meaning of "yao" and its extended meanings.   In addition, by comparing structures of the image schemas, we will illustrate how the meanings of "yao" are related to each other by cognitive strategies of metaphor and metonymy.

The central meaning of "yao" resides in main verb use, "yao_1."   In Figure 2. the trajector (TR) is understood as the subject that wants to get the landmark (LM), a concrete entity as a goal represented by a box.   Dashed arrow indicates mental contact.

LM

TR
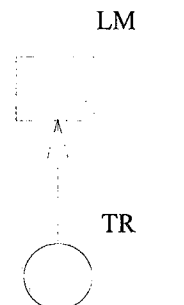
Figure 2.   Schema of "yao_1"

When modal "yao" develops, the entity LM is replaced by event LM.   To describe the modal "yao" relation, two semantic domains are relevant in semantic structure.   In the main verb sense, the instantiation domain for entity is space, while in modality use, time domain is needed for the instantiation of event. We have proposed that "yao" is an attitude verb, and that what it represents are potential situations constituted in speakers' or subjects' brains, not in objectively existing situations.   Therefore, we need potency domain in addition.   The scale of potency presented vertically indicates strength of the force associated with speakers'/subjects' attitude towards the realization of action or event.   Four degrees of the potency are identified: known reality, projected reality, potential reality and irreality.[2]   In this way the relation is put into the scope defined by potency and time.   The three meanings of modal "yao" are depicted in figures 3-5.
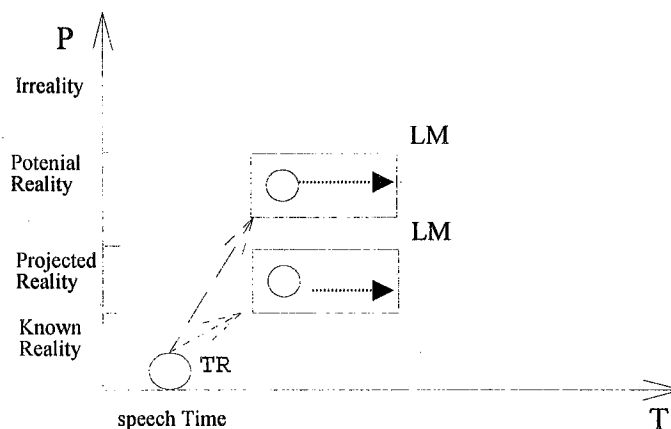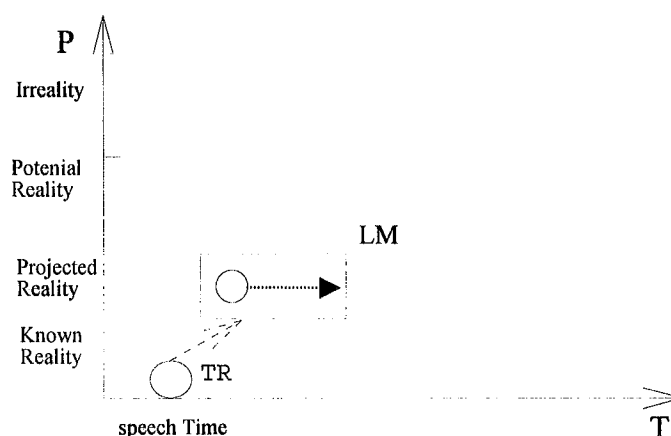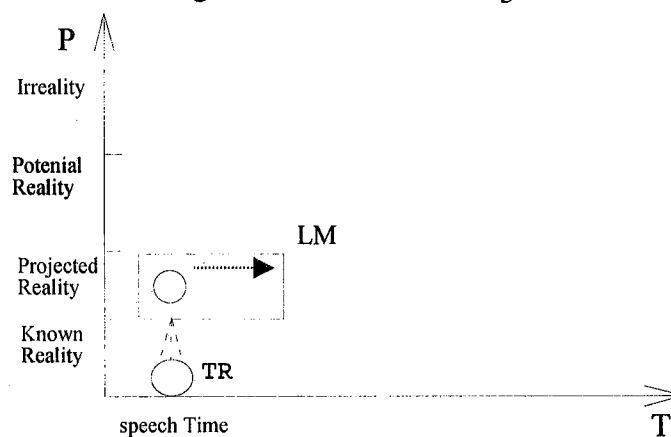
Figure 3. Schema of "Yao$_2$"

Figure 4. Schema of "Yao$_3$"

Figure 5. Schema of "Yao$_4$"

The schemas differ slightly in LM positions and TR specification.　The LM of "yao$_2$" (want to) is assumed to be either in potential reality or in projected reality since it expresses a desire rather than obligation; the TR of the LM event is not specified.　Let us now turn to image schema of "yao$_3$" (force something to be

realized).   It has LM placed in projected reality, which shows strong illocutionary force.   Furthermore, the subject of the LM event is marked as TR2, which excludes the possibility of its being correferential with TR1 of "yao" relation.   By this way, the conceptualization represents deontic obligation denoted by "yao$_3$."   The schema of "yao$_4$" depicted in Figure 5. also places LM in projected reality to imply obligation.   However, in this case, it represents epistemic necessity, that is, it is part of speakers' belief.   This characteristic of "yao$_4$" makes it become atemporal relation.   The other distinction is that the trajector of the LM event is not specified; it may be identical with the trajector (TR1) of "yao$_4$" relation or not.

Figure 6. represents the conceptualization of future "yao$_5$."   As we may see in this kind of expression, LM event is assumed with great confidence (projected reality) to occur in immediate future.
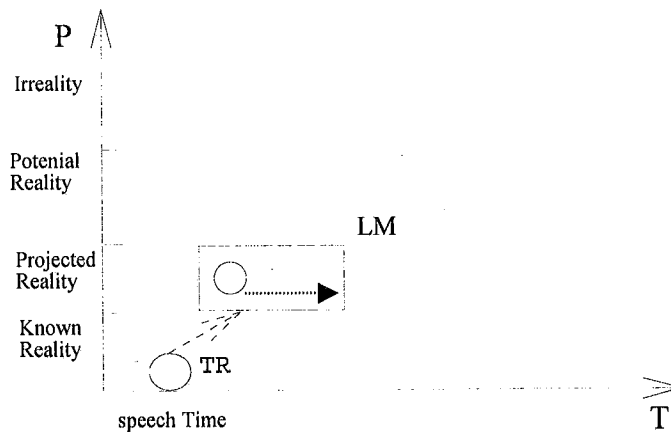

Figure 6. Schema of "Yao$_5$"

To describe the semantic structure of "yao" used for conditionals, we have to extend the time axis to include the time prior to speech time.   Figures 7-9 illustrate structures of conditional "yao$_6$."   As what the schema of "yao$_6$shi" shows, there is an open-condition LM event in the future time or counterfactual past LM event. Figure 8. tells us that "yao$_6$bushi" clauses indicate only counterfactual past events. As for the structure of "yao$_6$buran" in Figure 9., it shows that "yao$_6$buran" clauses state open-conditions (LM) for the future time.
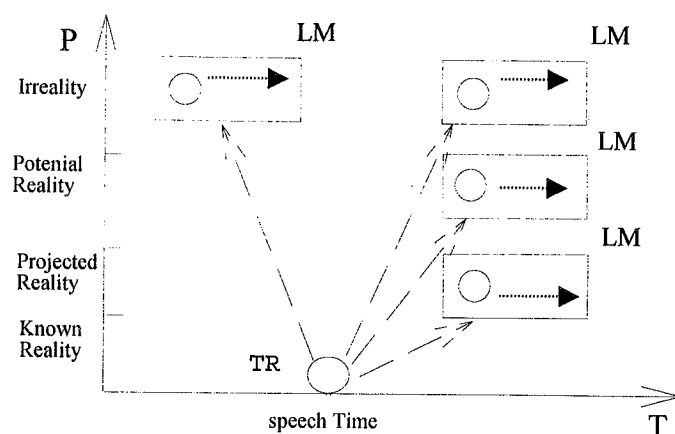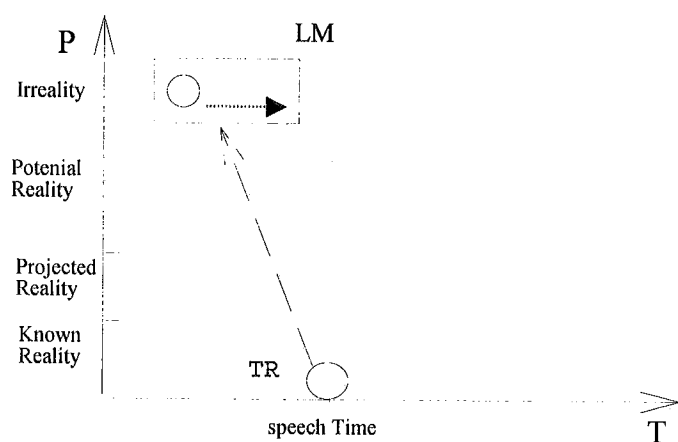
Figure 7. Schema of "Yao$_6$ (shi)"
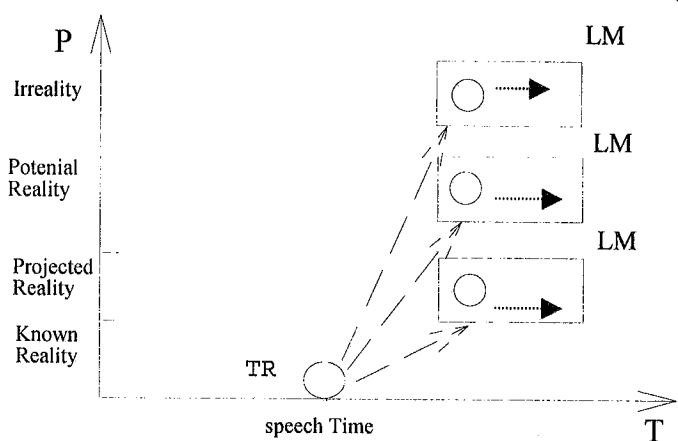

Figure 8. Schema of "Yao$_6$ (bushi)"

Figure 9. Schema of "Yao$_6$ (buran)"

To call "yao$_7$" a comparative marker is quite misleading. As what we have noted, "yao$_7$" is not a comparative morpheme since it does not constitute comparative structure. Rather, it designates "estimate" or "evaluate" sense

associated with comparison.   In spite of the "estimate" sense, the statement of comparison is believed to be true, therefore, the LM is put in projected reality and the relation as a whole is atemporal.
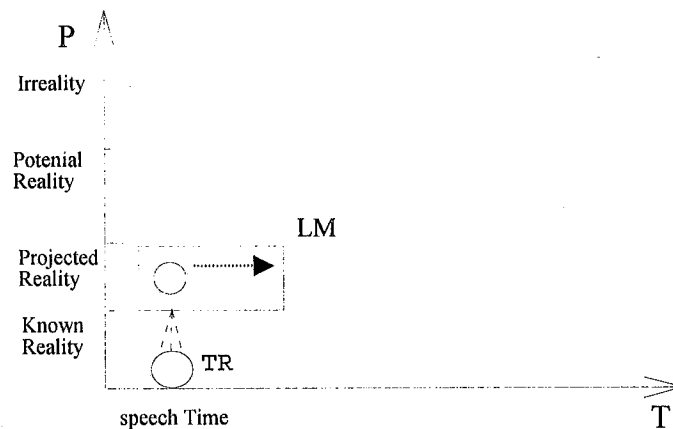

Figure 10. Schema of "Yao7"

Metaphor and metonymy are two strategies of semantic extensions. Metaphor is to map cognitive domain of one concept into another.   Metonymy is a process whereby a familiar concept or an easily-understood part of something is taken to stand for another concept or the whole thing.   In the case of "yao," we find both strategies at work.   First, the modality uses derive from the main verb function through space-to-time metaphor: the instantiation domain of space for the entity of the main verb use is mapped into the time domain for event in the modality uses. As for the extension from modality "yao" to future use, metonymy plays a role. Psychological states like desire, obligation and intention are preconditions for a prediction to be made.   And it was because of the connection of modality and preconditions that "yao" acquires future function.   Following the sequence, the future use of "yao" further develops to mean conditional, but the motivation is not as straightforward.   As we have noted, conditional use designates uncertain prediction. It seems that for "yao" to transfer from future prediction to conditional marking involves metaphoric mapping from belief system to expect domain.   Finally, as far as comparative function is concerned, we would say it is motivated by metaphor too, considering either the modality or the future origin.   First, the desired object in the modality use is mapped into estimated result in comparative function.   At the same time, both estimation and prediction have future locations and we believe this is a factor that leads the future use of "yao" to transfer metaphorically into comparative use.

V.   Summary

In this paper, we have identified seven meanings of Chinese modal "yao" and have distinguished the core meaning and its extensions.   In accounting for synchronic variations, we adopted sequence and tendencies of semantic change proposed by Traugott (1989), Sweetser (1990) and Bybee, and Pagliuca and Perkins (1991).   The conclusion is that the semantic extension paths of "yao" follow the sequence found in other languages.   Finally, we provided image schemas to

illustrate the conceptualizations of the meanings of "yao."   Also, we proposed that both metaphor and metonymy play roles in motivating the extensions.

NOTES

1.   "Yao" is actually a heterosemy.   As we may see in the discussion, it may function as main verb, modal verb, connective and markers of future and comparative.   However, it is usually categorized as modal verb, according to its most salient function.

2.   Degrees of reality are notions of Longacker's dynamic evolutionary model (1991:277).   Known reality refers to what has happened; potential reality denotes possible future evolution of event, and projected reality confines to the most possible course of evolution.   Irreality may refer to either counterfactual or impossible situations.   We find it necessary to distinguish between degrees of reality because the differences among the meanings of "yao" lies mostly in locations of events on the dynamic evolutionary model.

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