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EMPIRE AND IDENTITY IN G. B. SHAW'S PLAYS THE DISCOURSE OF POWER IN *MAJOR BARBARA*

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Abstract: The Anglo-Irish playwright's oeuvre displays an ambiguous attitude towards the British empire of his age. This presentation gives a summary of Shaw's contradictory views related to his contemporary society and colonialism and relates it to linguistic representations of Britishness in *Major Barbara*. This paper aims to present the sources of this ambiguity (mainly due to Shaw's assumed double identity), the historical-cultural background of this literary product and how the ethnic identity of the characters is either overtly or covertly present in their conversations. The Shavian play is approached from a micro-sociolinguistic perspective, discussing the conversationalists' face-to-face interactions.

Keywords: ethnic identity, nation, Britishness, ambiguity, colonial attitude, language and power

1. Empire, Power and Discourse

Though for today's generations it seems to be a Victorian irrelevance, the British Empire was the largest in history, very close to world domination. In Victorian times, nearly a quarter of the world's land surfaces was under some form of British rule. In spite of the fact that Britain is a relatively small island in the Atlantic, its traders and pirates, later planters, settlers, administrators and colonizers slowly explored and conquered distant lands and attached them to the mother country. In his 2004 book called *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, the historian Niall Ferguson claims that, in spite of the repulsion and oppression that accompanied the process of colonization, Imperial Britain brought more good than harm, and acted as a dynamic, modernizing force that spread liberal democracy and free enterprise beyond Europe, not to speak of the humanitarian reform implemented in backward societies, thus "illuminating" the darker side of the world.

Generically, social structures develop their own ideologies, and the British Empire was no exception. The formerly outlined social, political and economic background, the newly emerging social structures shaped new ideologies. It is known from Fairclough (2001) that power relations in social institutions and in society as a whole ideologically shape the orders of the discourse applied, sets of conventions associated with social institutions, and that this is valid vice versa as well, i.e. society and its institutions are linguistically determined. The language used by a member of a society varies according to race, gender, class, ethnic group, etc., but it is also "the product of social conditions specific to a particular historical epoch" (Fairclough 2001: 21). Language has been jokingly defined as "a dialect

with an army and the navy”, and this is especially true for G. B. Shaw’s *Major Barbara* (1905).

Shaw, along his long-lasting life had the chance to follow a significant period of the rise and climax of the British Empire and was not only one of the most outstanding spokesmen, but also a severe and clear-sighted critic of these times. He had an ambiguous attitude towards his own society and his own nation, partly due to his double, Anglo-Irish background and inheritance (see its discussion in Ajtony 2012), which allowed him to view both the English and the Irish society more objectively, even ironically. Owing to Shaw’s Socialist inclinations it is but natural that the power relations and their representation in the characters’ face-to-face conversations have a defining role in *Major Barbara*. Therefore the play easily lends itself to be approached from a critical discourse analytical perspective.

“Power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants.” (Fairclough 2001: 46) These constraints refer to the contents of the discourse, to the relations between the interlocutors and positions they occupy. The discussion of the power relations present in the language of the main characters is the purpose of this contribution. In what follows I will briefly outline the plot of the play. The next subchapter will deal with the linguistic manifestations of power in the play. Finally I will give a few remarks about markers of powerlessness present in the language of the characters.

The title character of the play, Barbara, is the daughter of the armaments manufacturer Andrew Undershaft. In revolt against her father’s profession she has joined the Salvation Army. A rebel himself, Undershaft tries to escape from the conventions of society, represented by his wife, Lady Britomart and his family, his son, Stephen and his other daughter, Sarah. Both the arguments offered by her father and the sight of the model conditions in which his workers live weaken Barbara’s faith and force her to realize that her own fight against poverty by trying to change society through charity is less successful than her father’s.

2. Verbal Manifestations of Power in *Major Barbara*

In creating his characters, Shaw displays an ironic, even sarcastic attitude towards his own empire, seen as a very powerful, colonizing force (see Britannus’ behaviour in *Caesar and Cleopatra*, discussed earlier in Ajtony 2012). Examining the different characters’ linguistic behaviour in *Major Barbara*, one cannot help noticing the presence of a character, this time a female one, whose name is a direct reference to the British national stereotype, suggesting her identification with it. This is **Lady Britomart**.¹ She is characterized by Shaw in his stage directions as

¹ Shaw used a real life model for his character, the mother-in-law of a friend, Gilbert Murray. The latter describes Lady Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle, with the following words: “she was not only a remarkable character in herself, but she was a representative of a social type which has probably quite disappeared from the modern world never to emerge again: the Whig aristocrat in an extreme form, with all the authoritarianism and fearlessness of the aristocrat and the rebellious

“the typical managing matron of the upper-class”, who has her own “domestic and class limitations” (51)¹, and who “conceives the universe as if it were a large house in Wilton Crescent” (ibid.) (a reference to their family home in London), or – as her husband, Andrew Undershaft describes her – she is “the incarnation of morality” (146). As Crompton (1969: 73) claims,

Lady Britomart represents the hereditary British governing class in its most enlightened and liberal aspect, but also under its limitations. For, despite all her admirable civic energy, her vision is circumscribed by two ironclad principles--her conventional morality and her belief in the divine right of the aristocracy to rule the country.

She overtly identifies herself with her own class: “in *our* class nothing should disturb *our* self-possession” (56); “*We* are Whigs, and believe in liberty” (54). By employing the in-group identification markers, the first person plural pronoun or possessive adjective (*we*, *our*), markers of inclusion, she considers herself to be a member of this social group. Naturally, she also speaks and behaves according to the conventions prescribed by the upper-classes and her class identification overrides any other identity role that she may assume (her gender or other social group identity, like family, for instance).

In the play, she represents Britannia in all “her” splendour. She is an assertive, imposing, authoritative woman, for whom morals and reputation are above all and this is present in her verbal behaviour as well. She displays her power over her family members, including her three adult children and their fiancées, whom she still considers grown-up babies and keeps instructing and lecturing them regarding what to say and to behave properly. She even addresses them as “children”. Her imposing character appears in her speech in the form of the frequent use of directive speech acts, imperatives addressed not only to Morrison, her butler (in whose case it is appropriate to use bald on record imperatives), but also her family members:

own, all of you. (63)

(1) Don't make excuses, Stephen. (52)

(2) Bring me my cushion... Sit down... Don't² fiddle with your tie, Stephen. (52)

(3) Don't stammer, Stephen. Speak distinctly... Now ask your question properly. (56)

She frequently expresses her disapproval in negative terms and thus exercises control over her interlocutors.

idealism of the radical. One might add, the puritanism of English nineteenth-century Liberalism” (quoted in Crompton 1969: 73).

¹ The page numbers refer to Shaw [1907], 1965.

² Sic! This is a type of simplified spelling that Shaw promoted in all his writings.

- (4) I dont approve of the present fashion of philandering bachelors and late marriages.
(54)

Similarly, she speaks “peremptorily” (see Shaw’s stage direction, 63), which is the perfect definition for her language behaviour, speaking and behaving rather rudely as if she were expecting (as she is) other people to obey her immediately (as all her family members do). She often uses the modal verbs of strong or milder obligation *must*, *shall* and *ought to* in order to show her imposition and the modal *will* and its synonymous *want* to express willingness and power.

- (5) Barbara *shall*¹ marry, not the man [people] like, but the man *I* like. (54)
(6) You *must* learn to face life seriously, Stephen... You *must* advise me: you *must* assume the responsibility. (53)
(7) I *dont want* you to order the dinner. (53)
(8) I *wont* be consoled. (74)
(10) I *will not* be disobeyed. (72)

She also exercises control over her interlocutors’ contributions by holding the floor for long stretches of conversation and by frequently interrupting her speaking partners:

- (11) STEPHEN. It was only while I was waiting –
LADY BRITOMART. Don’t make excuses, Stephen.
- (12) LADY BRITOMART [*squaring herself at him rather aggressively*] Stephen: may I ask how soon you intend to realize that you are a grown-up man, and that I am only a woman?
STEPHEN [*amazed*] Only a –
LADY BRITOMART. Dont repeat my words, please: it is a most aggravating habit.
(...) (52)

In this example she not only reprimands her son for repeating her words, but she also evaluates his contribution to the conversation by expressing a negative opinion in a meta-linguistic form. Moreover, in spite of the fact that she keeps interrupting her son, it is her who reproaches Stephen for doing so when seemingly they misunderstand each other:

- (13) (...) I never said anything of the kind. I never dreamt of such a thing. This is what comes of interrupting me. (57)

For her morals and manners come to the forefront, the greatest values for the British stereotype. She feels that duty is above all, and whenever her conversational

¹ My emphases.

partner does not speak or act the way conventions require it, she expresses her strong disapproval and displays a stiff, uncompromising attitude:

(14) LADY BRITOMART. Barbara: you have had the education of a lady... dont talk like a street girl. (68)

(15) LADY BRITOMART. Really, Barbara.... Do have some sense of propriety. (72)

She does not approve of informal speaking either. Family nicknames have no place in her vocabulary. Though her daughters call their fiancées by their nicknames (Cholly for Charles, Dolly for Adolphus), she never adopts this habit. She even protests against her own shortened form of surname (Lady Brit) or nickname (Biddy) used by her husband. When Lomax, her would-be son-in-law uses such language register, she ironically comments on this:

(16) LOMAX: I suppose he hasn't seen Sarah since she was a little kid.

LADY BRITOMART. Not since she was a little kid, Charles, as you express it with that elegance of diction and refinement of thought that seem never to desert you. Accordingly – er – [*impatiently*] now I have forgotten what I was going to say. That comes of your provoking me to be sarcastic, Charles. (64)

She approves of “reputable English” (64) and whenever the “lower” language register is being used, she becomes irritated and she starts using irony. Quite stereotypically, she is also ready for self-irony: when her husband is jokingly called “the old man”, despite of their earlier misunderstandings and even separation, she expresses her solidarity for Undershaft by accepting the face-threat addressed to her former husband:

(17) LOMAX [*chuckling*] I wonder how the old man will take it.

LADY BRITOMART. Much as the old woman will, no doubt, Charles. (64)

Irony is also one of the defining verbal features employed by the other authoritative figure of the play, Andrew Undershaft, the millionaire armament manufacturer, whose money is desperately needed both by the Salvation Army and his own family. Despite the title, as Shaw himself indicates it in the Preface, it is Undershaft, who is the real hero of the play. His name is also well-chosen for his character: the etymology of his first name suggests that Andrew means “manly” (cf. Crompton 1969), while his surname is a compound, the first element of which has a negative connotation, while the second element invokes concepts which involve destruction, deception, constraint and force:

- shaft: 1. a long narrow part of an arrow or spear;
- 2. the long handle of a hammer or other tool, e.g. of a golf club;
- 3. either of the two poles between which a horse stands and to which it is fastened to pull a cart or carriage.

Even the phrases containing the word have the same negative effect:

- shaft of sthg. = an amusing remark intended to hurt or provoke somebody (e.g. her brilliant shaft of wit)
- The shaft: harsh or unfair treatment often involving deception.
- As a verb, shaft means ‘to treat somebody unfairly or harshly, to cheat somebody’ (OED)

As opposed to Lady Britomart, who applies bald on record politeness strategies (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987), even impoliteness strategies (cf. Culpeper 1998, 2010) (orders, commands, direct requests), Undershaft operates in a more sophisticated manner in order to convince his interlocutors of the rightfulness of his argument and to make his opponents (actually all his family) change their minds. Not once is he called Machiavelli or even Mephistopheles to suggest the dark side of his character. One of his paradoxes is that he turns the motto of the Salvation Army (Blood and Fire) to his own benefit, boasting that

(18) My sort of blood cleanses: my sort of fire purifies. (69)

He makes it clear that the “mighty power is the power of bombs” and sarcastically he can achieve more with his money and power than Barbara can with her prayers, ridiculous music and pathetic “bread and treacle” offered to the poor. Therefore it becomes obvious both for Lady Britomart and Barbara that the “conviction of moral superiority” they represent “is in itself the hollownest of consolations” (Crompton 1969: 80).

Undershaft is in the least determined by any sort of ethnic or other conventions or background. When introducing himself, he is not ashamed to admit being rich and he identifies this as his defining moral value (“My religion? Well, my dear, I am a Millionaire. That’s my religion.”)

His sardonic attitude suggests that he claims to be superior and, at the same time, he does not take things seriously.¹ He resembles his model Alfred Nobel in that he is a shy, retiring personality in the family: one can easily notice the negative politeness strategies he employs when, after a long absence from his family’s life, he is introduced to his own family members. It may even be claimed that his character is based on a paradox: Undershaft, “this dealer of lethal weapons ... plays the role of Socrates” (Crompton 1969: 79). He is in possession of destructive-creative energies, and both Barbara and Cusins, her fiancée, himself a teacher of Greek, have to admit that in their noble idea of joining the Salvation Army they are just romantic and very ignorant of the world around them, and therefore Undershaft’s moral triumph is inevitable. Cynically, the Salvation Army can only

¹ Crompton (1969: 79) suggests that when drawing Undershaft’s character, Shaw seems to have had in mind the Swedish arms maker Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite. Nobel himself was very ironic in temperament and he sardonically gave money to charity. It was this complex person who endowed not only the Nobel Prize for different sciences (Shaw himself having received it in 1925) but ironically, also the Nobel Peace Prize.

survive with the donations offered by a whisky distiller and a cannon maker. Undershaft explains this in an ironic tone:

(19) UNDERSHAFT [*with reasonableness which Cusins alone perceives to be ironical*] My dear Barbara: alcohol is a very necessary article. It heals the sick ... Well, it assists the doctor: that is perhaps a less questionable way of putting it. It makes life bearable to millions of people who could not endure their existence if they were quite sober. It enables Parliament to do things at eleven at night that no sane person would do at eleven in the morning. (...) (107-108)

Undershaft's cynicism reaches its climax in the way he organizes his factory and the way he presents it to his family. His workmen keep an eye on each other therefore there is no need to give orders to them. That also explains why his speech does not contain any directive speech acts, but simple representatives, describing the world around him. With an authoritative rhetoric, he draws the idealists of the play, Stephen, Barbara and Cusins, back to reality and force them to face their own hypocrisy. When Stephen boasts about knowing the difference between right and wrong, Undershaft cools him down with his ironic comment:

(20) UNDERSHAFT. You don't say so! What! no capacity for business, no knowledge of law, no sympathy for art, no pretension to philosophy; only a simple knowledge of the secret that has puzzled all the philosophers, baffled all the lawyers, muffled all the men of business, and ruined most of the artists: the secret of right and wrong. Why, man, you're a genius, a master of masters, a god! At twentyfour too! (123)

Stephen, who is "filled with moral clichés" (Crompton 1969: 80) and identifies himself as an Englishman, with his government and his own upper class ("I pretend to nothing more than any honorable English gentleman claims as his birthright"; "I am an Englishman and I will not hear the Government of my country insulted") is retorted by his father's 'brutal', cynical argument:

(21) UNDERSHAFT. The government of your country! *I* am the government of your country. (...) No, my friend: you will do what pays us. You will make war when it suits us, and keep peace when it doesn't. (...) When I want anything to keep my dividends up, you will discover that my want is a national need. When other people want something to keep my dividends down, you will call out the police and military. And in return you shall have the support and applause of my newspapers, and the delight of imagining that you are a great statesman. Government of your country! Be off with you, my boy, and play with your caucuses and leading articles and historic parties and great leaders and burning questions and the rest of your toys. I am going back to my counting-house and pay the piper and call the tune. (124)

3. Markers of Powerlessness

Exercise of imperial power/powerlessness in *Major Barbara* is also present in more covert ways (Fairclough 1989). While the Queen's English, the standardized

version of English is an asset that gives way to higher classes, better jobs, position and influence in the class-divided British society, the dialect spoken by the characters protected by the Salvation Army allows them to have less possibilities, less chances. This is the case of the unemployed, “lost” people identified in the play by their East End, Cockney accent. Their dialect stigmatizes them as Standard English is considered to be the only “correct” language variant. The Cockney accent spoken by this group of slum-dwellers indirectly reflects their lifestyle and morality: they are “vulgar, slovenly, low [and] barbarous” (Fairclough 1989: 57). At the time when the action of the play takes place,

“dominance of standard English and the subordination of the other social dialects was part and parcel of the establishment of the dominance of the capitalist class and the subordination of the working class.” (ibid.)

Unlike *Pygmalion*, where both Eliza and Alfred Doolittle appear to be attractive characters in their poverty, *Major Barbara* presents these poor characters in less cheerful and amusing way. Poverty and subordination demoralizes them and pushes them towards the abyss of hopelessness, and the play ends with Barbara’s failure to save them.

Conclusions

The analysis of the relation between power and language use of the main characters in *Major Barbara* has shown that the play displays both implicit and more explicit, less sophisticated means of expressing control. On the one hand, Lady Britomart employs the direct, overt language of command: imperatives, prohibitions, reprimanding actions, frequent use of modals expressing willingness and obligation from the speaker’s part, etc.), Undershaft employs irony and cynicism, on the other, while the powerlessness of the slum-dwellers’ language variant is also present. They all reflect the relations of power existing in Shaw’s contemporary British society. By employing these means of powerful versus powerless language, the playwright proves to be a harsh critic not only of his own society, but of all societies where unequal power relations prevail. The modernity and validity of his claims consist “in hearing any man confess it” (93).

Primary source

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TRISTRAM SHANDY AND SALEEM SINAI - BETWEEN THE ORAL AND THE WRITTEN

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Abstract: This paper analyses comparatively how S. Rushdie's and L. Sterne's narrators construct their identities as the storytellers of their lives, taking into consideration that Saleem, as his creator confesses, is partly modelled after Tristram. I will argue that both of them use skaz, but in two different ways. Saleem is more of a storyteller in the oral tradition than a writer, whereas Tristram is what I call the extroverted writer caught up between the oral and written discourse. Sterne, through Tristram Shandy, exaggerates the features of both oral and written discourses, and by doing so, he exposes their artificiality. The result is a two-headed monster, a *disjointed discourse*, in which the oral and written discourses fight for supremacy. Saleem successfully combines the two types of discourse, thus creating a very sophisticated postmodernist skaz.

Keywords: skaz, oral and written discourse, disjointed discourse, oral tradition, storytelling

Skaz narratives

The term skaz comes from the Russian skazat which means "to tell", and it is semantically related to rasskaz, "short story" and "skazka", "fairy tale". In literature, more exactly in Russian literature, the device designates a written narrative that imitates the unmediated, improvisational, or spontaneous oral discourse using dialect, slang, and the idiosyncrasies of a speaking persona.

The person who coined the term is the Russian formalist Boris Eikhenbaum. In a 1918 essay "The Illusion of the Skaz", Eikhenbaum (1-3) introduces and gives a detailed description of this narrative device, which he connects with the illusion of improvisation, performance (mimics, gestures, and facial expressions), and a heightened sensitivity to phonetic deviations. In another essay on Nikolai Gogol's short story "The Overcoat", Eikhenbaum (4-17) indicates two main features present in skaz: the first is that the narrator is not in control of his text and that the latter is being created in the process without revision. This lack of control is linguistically and textually marked. Moreover, when skaz is used, the narrator of that particular novel or short story occupies a central position, even to the detriment of the plot.

Jacob L. Mey (166) links *skaz* to homodiegetic novels, where an 'I' person is telling his/her story to someone else. Thus, this dialogic 'I' is characterised by 'addressivity'. The skaz narrator could be characterised by a general addressivity, when he/she merely 'poses' as an 'I' and he/she is not a character in the story. Alternatively, he/she could enter the story scene and become an 'I' for the purpose

of action. Certainly, these two modes can overlap and the two instances of the first person narrator may both appear in the same story, which they usually do. According to Mey (166), this narrative device is closely connected to the oral discourse and the vernacular. Similarly, Simon Dentith (155) states that “*skaz* is constantly oriented toward an audience and cannot be understood outside of the interrelationship between speaker and listener or author and reader”.

Contrary to the above presented theoreticians, Fludernik takes *skaz* to a new and different level, by focussing exclusively on how twenty century writers use this device. In *Towards a Natural Narratology*, Fludernik (178) discusses how two narrative strategies that she defines as reflectorization and figuralization, respectively, converge in modernist and postmodernist writing techniques, similar to *skaz* or *sufiction*:

Reflectorization and figuralization can therefore be argued to have anticipated the inception of a specific postmodernist style of writing which can even now claim a status of prominence equal to that of the better-known experiments in self-reflexive language play (as in the more familiar postmodernist *écriture* that goes under the name of *surfiction*). This massive deployment of pseudo-orality or *fingierte Mündlichkeit* (‘simulated orality’) (in postmodernist literature) can be regarded as the ultimate endpoint in a conceptual development from oral storytelling into written forms of narrative and their eventual re-oralization at the other end of the spectrum. (Fludernik 177-178)

Ethnic and postcolonial writers adopt this device which allows them to recover their identity before colonization and which also accommodates postmodernist self-reflexive writings and metafictional games.

Both Laurence Sterne and Salman Rushdie use *skaz* to construct their narrators’ identity as storytellers. But why analyse these two novels together? What connects them? As Rushdie himself admits, Saleem is partially modelled after Tristram. Any experienced reader will immediately notice the many intertextual references to Sterne’s famous novel. However, most importantly, these two novels offer two different instances of the interplay between orality and written discourse. In *Tristram Shandy*, orality is still very much present in its residual forms, whereas Rushdie’s novel marks a programmed return to oral discourse or to simulated orality, to use Fludernik’s words (178). In this paper, I will not dwell on all the aspects regarding the interplay between orality and written discourse in the two novels, due to lack of space. Therefore, I will focus less on the relationship between narrator and narrate, writing and improvisation, and concentrate instead more on the construction of digressions as markers of orality.

Tristram Shandy – a disjointed discourse

Tristram is the extroverted writer caught up between his predilection to tell stories freely, to digress and to improvise, to interact with his audience at will like an oral

storyteller, and the desire to narrate his 'autobiography', obeying certain conventions of form and plot. His rebelliousness makes him adopt a simulated oral discourse, meant to subvert the conventions of a genre (the novel) still superficially defined. Not to mention that the simulated oral discourse overlaps with residual orality, still present in eighteenth century texts. This unique book is at the crossroads between the extroversion, allowed only by oral discourse, and the refined experimentalism encouraged by print alone. The result is a two-headed monster; a *disjointed discourse* in which orality and textuality fight for supremacy.

Oral discourse and storytelling are participatory, performative, and agonistically toned. These characteristics are noticeable in the relationship between storyteller and listener. It is participatory because storytelling encourages both storyteller and listener to play an active role in the creation of the story. It is performative because the storyteller has to perform his story like an actor; he has to entertain and charm his audience. Finally, it is agonistically toned because it involves both parties into ardent disputations. In fact, all three characteristics could be subsumed under the word 'participation'. How could Tristram create the illusion of participation? By creating the impression of a conversational, friendly style or what might be called a 'calculated spontaneity'; in other words, by transforming writing into conversation: "WRITING, when properly managed (as you may be sure I think mine is) is but a different name for conversation". (Sterne 75)

Print silences the uttered word and distances it from both addresser and addressee. Voice gives presence to the word and surrounds the listener. By imitating the oral mode, Tristram can be closer to his narratees. Also, he can give the impression of being face to face with his listeners, getting them into his story, and making them part of it. Thus, through an artifice, print becomes 'talk', and absence turns into presence. The artifice is apparently simple: the use of what Sternberg (233) calls an 'addreentric discourse', 'addressee-oriented expressions', and 'loose syntax'. To all these, we add punctuation marks: question and exclamation marks, semicolons, commas, asterisk, and the famous Shandean dash, since they all give Tristram's speech its special rhythm.

However, the conversation between narrator and reader is just an illusion. Hence, it is exposed as a farce. Tristram exaggerates the features of orality and conversational storytelling; his sentences often seem too long and syntactically too complex not to stray even from the oral model. Syntax imitating speech is taken to extremes, giving the impression of chaos and incoherence. His sentences are too complex in terms of number of clauses to be followed without difficulty by any reader. There is no linear chain of ideas; the narrator interrupts the linear flow of the text with numerous parenthetical comments and even parenthetical comments within parenthetical comments. Tristram even interposes a parenthetical constituent between the auxiliary 'have' and the past participle. When the readers reach the end of his sentences, they have most likely forgotten what their subject was.

At the same time, oral discourse is recuperative and repetitive. The listener is always kept on track through repetitions and digressions which, allow the storyteller to move back and forth in time. Piper distinguishes between small

digressions, lasting one or two sentences, and longer or ‘larger’ digressions, which tend to suffocate the whole novel (Book 4, Chapter 40). The small digressions “perform such common narrative functions as asking for attention, filling in background, and voicing asides” (Piper 36). The great majority of Tristram’s small digressions are thus meant to establish a connection with the narratees, whereas the long ones may alienate them. However, there is a third type of digression called by Leech and Short (187) *parenthetical constituent*, which can operate at the level of the sentence. According to the same authors, from the speaker’s point of view, a *parenthetical constituent* is a recuperatory mechanism allowing him to add something new. But if in the same sentence, the speaker uses more than once such a recuperatory device and thus flouts *the memory principle*, the listener loses track of the main idea.

What happens when writing as conversation and the act of storytelling become the narrator’s main focus? In an oral storytelling situation, the performance overtakes the story. In a written piece, this is the equivalent of metafiction overtaking fiction. “A storytelling event might be meticulously staged, with storyteller and audience ready to participate, but the actual tale never materializes” (Halevi-Wise 52). In other words, we have all the ingredients of the archetypal storytelling scene: a storyteller who entertains his audience, but the tale is missing, lost in a maze of digressions and embedded stories.

Jeffrey Williams (24-51) in *Theory and the Novel* states that there are two types of plot in *Tristram Shandy*: the plot proper, namely the few events narrated, and the plot of narrating (digressions, regressions, and progressions). Therefore, digressions are incoherent, disruptive in the plot proper, but coherent in the plot of narrating. The former type of plot is action oriented, whereas the latter is linguistically oriented, and forms a simultaneous narrative, temporally more immediate to the narratee. Moreover, the plot of narrating makes Tristram’s discourse performative (Williams 25). “Performative” is a key characteristic of Tristram’s narrative, a feature that makes it similar to ur-narratives. In fact, this is the paradox of *Tristram Shandy*; the plot of narrating gives the novel an ‘oral’ dimension, but at the same time, the existing commentaries on narrative strategies and devices would have been inconceivable in an oral culture.

As stated before, digressions and the plot of narrating are more important than the story itself:

Digressions, incontestably, are the sunshine;--they are the life, the soul of reading;--take them out of this book for instance;--you might as well take the book along with them; [...] restore them to the writer;--he steps forth like a bridegroom;--bids All hail; brings in variety, and forbids appetite to fail. (Sterne 51)

As Tristram himself confesses, digressions are unavoidable, unpredictable, and accidental. What he actually asserts is that they dominate him, not vice versa. They are the pretext for his whimsical narrative, which flouts both the rules of oral storytelling and conventions of plot. He sees himself as the historiographer of his

own family, not sparing a single detail and including all the loose ends of his life in his narrative.

Since digressions are accidental, they may interrupt the story any time. They suspend the characters' dialogue ("twill be time to return back to the parlour fire-side, where we left my uncle Toby in the middle of his sentence"), cut short or break off their actions or, on the contrary, dilute their activities (it takes five chapters for Tristram's father and uncle Toby to descend the stairs).

Tristram starts his story with the words "I wish", words that will haunt his discourse as well as that of Toby, Trim, and Walter. Automatically, these words plunge his narratees in a world of "conjecture, desire, and fantasy" (Furst 181). In Sterne's novel, both the narration and the narratees are captive to what Furst (181) calls an "enveloping *I*" or "an all compassing consciousness". The narrator's exclusive claim to the superiority of his own consciousness and the entrapment of his narratees in the same self-centred discourse announce "a turning-point and, possibly a crisis, in the art of narration" (182). This is the trajectory of storytelling, from the overt communication between storytellers and their audience, encountered in oral cultures, to what Erich Kahler called the "inward turn of narrative", favoured by writing and print. The inward turn of storytelling finds expression in the introverted exploration of mental processes, which culminated in the modernist novel. In *Tristram Shandy*, there is a clash between a highly extroverted, addressee-centred discourse, where the narratee is constantly accosted and buttonholed by Tristram, and a discourse marked by an excessive involvement with the narrator's own consciousness. His concentration on the act of telling makes him self-absorbed, somehow alienated from his narratees in spite of his constant dialogue with them.

The result is a *disjointed discourse* where Tristram's conversational style lapses into stream of consciousness; a discourse where the novelistic conventions are broken to the detriment of a coherent discourse. Tristram is, at the same time, narrator, commentator, witness, historian, diarist, mock-philosopher, and orator. This mixture is also reflected in Tristram's digressions, which pretend to offer guidance, but follow instead the thread of his rambling thoughts.

One of the most important attributes of the storyteller is to captivate and enthrall his public, and to make sure that his story is a success. Tristram's narrative is a very long foreplay with his narratee. One such rhetorical device is the use of what Leech and Short call (184) *anticipatory constituents* or narrative baits. A good storyteller uses *anticipatory constituents* to create suspense and to grab the listener's attention. Tristram overuses this rhetorical device, and instead of creating suspense, it has the exact opposite effect. It dilutes the narrative and postpones the satisfaction of the narratees' desire; the desire to listen and the desire for closure. For example, the narrator continuously teases his narratees with the promise of lewd stories. However, Tristram's stories stay in the realm of allusiveness and innuendoes, they never become explicit:

No wonder I itch so much as I do, to get at these amours—They are the choicest morsel of my whole story! and when I do get at 'em—assure yourselves, good folks—(nor do I value whose squeamish stomach takes offence at it) I shall not be at all nice in the choice of my words!—and that's the thing I have to declare. (236)

Superlatives like “choicest” or the assurance he gives to his narratees that they are going to listen to something absolutely outrageous are all meant to arouse their curiosity and keep them prisoners of this narrative. Two hundred pages later, he still has not delivered the “choicest morsel” of his story (the love affair between the widow Wadman and uncle Toby). Ironically, after a long line of such assurances, Tristram changes his mind and asks his narratees to write the story for him. He again tantalises his readership with the existence of a “choicest morsel” at the disposal of the storyteller. His confession that he has hastened to this part of the story with earnest desire is plain irony, since all he has ever done is to delay the moment as much as possible.

In fact, one may argue that Tristram's narrative is all based on the anticipatory factor; he anticipates more than he can or will actually deliver. As stated, all his narrative is a constant foreplay with the narratee, offering little or no satisfaction to the latter's curiosity. He continuously promises to deliver the story of his birth, and he does so only late in the novel. This is also the case of the much promised chapter on ‘whiskers’ and ‘buttons’, all overtly advertised as erotic euphemisms. However, when some of these stories do materialise after many pages or chapters, they are often far from their trailers and their endings are anti-climactic. This is in fact the case of the much advertised love affair between uncle Toby and Mrs. Wadman, which ends in comic bathos due to Toby's sexual impairment.

Saleem Sinai – back to orality

When writing about *Midnight's Children*, Rushdie acknowledges the oral roots of his story. He compares his eclectic, digressive, and apparently chaotic style with traditional Indian storytelling. However, what surprised him was that Sterne's famous novel seemed to follow the same convoluted form. This type of storytelling that imitates oral narratives becomes the meeting point of two cultures.

Then I found in novels like *Tristram Shandy*, for example, a very similar spirit. So it seemed to me that I was finding out was the kind of writing that stood, so to speak, at the frontier between both the cultures. That I could, as a migrant from that culture into this culture, bring with me that luggage and already find that there was a similar thing going on. (Rushdie 76)

The non-linearity of the story, the embedded stories, and the chameleonic nature of the narrator, all make the two types of stories similar up to a certain point. However, in the absence of a main story or a narrative thread (as is the case of *Tristram Shandy*), the narratees ultimately get lost in the maze of digressions and

alternative stories, whereas Saleem has a main narrative to which all the other embedded stories are subordinated. Moreover, Tristram's exclusive concentration on performance to the detriment of the story proves to be his undoing as a storyteller. His effort to convey in writing what should normally be delivered orally results in a *disjointed discourse*: a superposition between an oral and written discourse in which their features are exaggerated.

The *disjointed discourse* is a combination between the features of both types of discourse (written and oral). But in the *disjointed discourse*, the written and the oral type of discourses fight for supremacy as their features are continuously contrasted. By amplifying their characteristics, Sterne's narrator exposes their artificiality and stresses their differences irremediably. Rushdie's narrator combines successfully and creatively the two types of discourse, thus rejuvenating the written discourse and pushing it to the limit.

Rushdie argues that the story is told in a manner that could echo as closely as possible the "Indian talent for non-stop self regeneration" (Rushdie 16). Thus, Saleem's narration is copious, baroque, and it incorporates many other narrative threads. When discussing *Shame*, Brennan (115) notices Rushdie's penchant for repeating key words which he calls "Sanskrit Mantra". The same reiteration of key words is obvious in *Midnight's Children*. Tristram's narrative is also copious, but because of his many digressions, the main story becomes difficult to follow.

The spoken word is evanescent. Therefore, repetition of the just said is essential to keep the listener on track. One such recuperatory technique is epic regression in which the storyteller repeats what has happened up to a certain key moment. Whitman (306) notices in Homer's *Iliad* the tendency to reiterate at the end of an episode, elements from the episode's beginning, thus the epic has the structure of Chinese boxes within boxes. Saleem makes use of this device over and over again. For example, before being born he takes the time to recapitulate in short everything that has happened in the story up to that point and that will continue to recur later on. In oral cultures, redundancy is essential for preserving knowledge "knowledge not repeated enough vanishes" (Ong 104). For Saleem redundancy is assimilated to the word "leaking".

'Things-even people-have a way of leaking into each other,' I explain, 'like flavours when you cook. Ilse Lubin's suicide, for example, leaked into old Aadam and sat there in a puddle until he saw God. Likewise,' I intone earnestly, 'the past has dripped into me .. so we can't ignore it...' (Rushdie 1995: 38)

This confession, which is closely connected to the way Saleem chooses to tell his story, true to oral tradition, provides one of the keys for understanding this text. The process of storytelling is compared with cooking; the cook mixes ingredients and flavours like a storyteller who blends different themes and motifs. In its turn, the cooked food leaks into the people who eat it, being assimilated by the body the same way the words of the storyteller are absorbed by the listener. Also, by saying

that stories leak into one another, one sees stories as liquid, fluid, in a perpetual change, and influencing one another.

This metaphor can explain the recurrence of incidents in the lives of different people at different points in time: Tai's drinking predicts the djinns Ahmed was going to fight against. Tai also seems to have reincarnated into an ageless prostitute, bearing the same name. The stroke that affected Aadam's father leaks into Ahmed. The bald foreigner, Tai describes as being Jesus, prophecies Methwold, the Englishman from whom the Sinais buy their house. Tai's booming laughter leaks into Aadam and later on is inherited by Hanif. Almost every incident or detail seems to find a way to keep coming back in the story.

Another metaphor thematically connected to 'the leaking of stories' is that of the 'swallowing of stories'. As he himself confesses, Saleem swallows stories and voices, many variants of a diverse, contradictory and elusive India.

Additionally, Saleem's baroque, additive style is meant to create tension through a cumulative effect. The syntax is over-laden with tension. Like Tristram's narrative, Saleem's is also based on the anticipatory factor, from the level of the sentence to the whole narrative. However, what differentiates their narratives is the simple fact that most of Tristram's *anticipatory constituents* lead nowhere as he offers many false leads, whereas the narrator of *Midnight's Children* slowly but progressively leads his audience to the promised story.

We read and listen to a story in anticipation of retrospection (Brooks 23). Anticipation is synonymous with suspense and suspense is created if the storyteller does not reveal everything from the very beginning. According to Macherey (quoted in Batty 71), "[the] the narrative progresses only by the inhibition of the truth; its movement is an ambivalence, an effort to postpone rather than to hasten revelation". One of the ways in which Scheherazade achieves suspense is to stop that night's story without having elucidated some mystery or another about the plot. The devices Saleem resorts to in this respect are numerous. He frequently anticipates what will happen by giving Padma bits of information about things in the future. In fact, Saleem perfectly illustrates Mieka Bal's (95) theory about how storytellers achieve anticipation in a narrative. He replaces the suspense generated by the question "How is it going to end?" with the tension that keeps the audience engaged by prompting questions like "How could it have happened like this?" Saleem disregards temporal sequence; the same as oral poets, he will report a situation and only much later explain in detail how it came to be. When Saleem tells about his mother's secret love for Nadir Khan and their encounters in the secret chamber under the floor, he briefly mentions what will happen to her in the future:

By day she was a single girl, living chastely with her parents, studying mediocly at the university, cultivating those gifts of assiduity, nobility and forbearance which were to be her hallmarks throughout her life, up to and including the time when she was assailed by the talking washing-chests of her past and then squashed flat as a rice pancake... (Rushdie 58)

Words like “the time when she was assailed by the talking washing-chests” with their promise of fantastic tales are likely to attract any listener. Also, promising a violent death for one’s characters is an effective incentive. We know of Amina’s death, Saleem’s aunt, long before it occurs, but we do not know the details surrounding her death. This is an example of a progressive digression which forays into the future.

Sometimes *anticipatory constituents* take the form of a torrent of questions most likely to attract and overwhelm the narratee. These are questions whose answers are postponed to increase suspense.

What was in the room with Ahmed Sinai? What had given my father a face from which djinns and money had been chased away and replaced by a look of utter desolation? What sat huddled up in the corner of the room, filling the air with a sulphurous stench? What, shaped like a man, lacked fingers and toes, whose face seemed to bubble like the hot springs of New Zealand (which I’d seen in the Wonder Book of Wonders)?... No time to explain ... (280)

Other times, Saleem uses aposiopesis, but not as often as Tristram, though. “And already I can see the repetitions beginning; because didn’t my grandmother also find enormous... and the stroke, too, was not the only... and the Brass Monkey had her birds...” (12). Sometimes, *anticipatory constituents* are separated from the rest of the text by being put in brackets as a way of foregrounding them visually.

Most of Tristram’s *anticipatory constituents* are vague, revealing nothing, or they are misleading, leading nowhere. Most probably, Tristram mocks at the practice of throwing narrative baits to the curious reader. Saleem sometimes offers misleading *anticipatory constituents* to trick his narratee, without ever abusing their use. One such example occurs when Saleem hints at the fact that he murdered Homi Catrack, the film magnate and the neighbour of the Sinai family, when in fact his connection with the producer’s death is but accidental.

Faithful to the copious oral discourse he wants to imitate, Saleem punctuates his narrative with many digressions. Therefore, judging after the rules of written discourse, Saleem’s narrative may seem hesitant, redundant, suffocated by alternative plots, and digressive. This fact makes Wilson argue that *Midnight’s Children* is a novel “concerned with the imperfections of any narrative act” (62). However, if we analyse it according to the rules of oral storytelling, we may come to a different conclusion. Actually, what Rushdie does through Saleem is to recreate through writing the oral discourse or *skaz*. One might argue that Tristram did the same thing. However, while Sterne’s narrator lost himself in a digressive maze of his own creation, thus losing track of his story, Saleem is still faithful to his main narrative thread, the story of his life. Tristram’s digressions are regressive, whereas Saleem’s are progressive propelling the story further. Even his long digression after announcing the date of his birth is still connected to his life story and offers explanations for what is going to happen later on to Saleem.

Postmodernist *skaz* marks a return to the story, apart from metafictional games, whereas in the case of the highly conversational *Tristram Shandy*, textual and narrative experimentation literally kills the story. There is no surprise that Ong (238) links metafictional novels to death, a book about itself is a book about death, hence, the nihilist drive that pervades Sterne's novel and consequently Tristram's narrative.

As stated before, Rushdie has often expressed his interest in the eclectic form of Indian storytelling, and the way in which Indian storytellers construct their stories, most of times in a non-linear, seemingly chaotic way. He even compares Tristram's digressive style with the manner in which the oral storyteller digresses off, reiterates old themes, and always cycles back to the initial story (Rushdie 76). As a rule, digressions serve to hold the audience. Scheherazade weaves stories within stories, adds digressions after digressions to hold the king's attention, thus delaying her execution. Saleem, Scheherazade's proud descendant, constantly interrupts his narrative to comment on it, add new stories, and insert *anticipatory constituents* to make sure that his listener is captivated by the narrative world presented and will not leave.

In *Tristram Shandy*, the accent was placed on performance to the detriment of the story. To Saleem both the telling and the story are important, if he wants to get and keep Padma's attention. Each time he gives in to his desire to digress, Padma reminds him to go back to the story. But this does not mean that Saleem's story is not at all performative. It is enough to mention his "aesthetic of abundance" (Merivale 91), meaning his excessive language and verbosity. Also his use of alliteration, rhythm, parallel constructions, recurrent words and themes, repetition with variation, his way of juggling with various stories, and using free variation on a theme (e.g. the spittoon, the perforated sheet) or a word (e.g. the nose) are all markers of a performative style. All these features coupled with the use of *anticipatory constituents*, flash-forwards, flash-backs, addressee-oriented expressions create Saleem's variant of an oral discourse. Compared to Tristram, Saleem does not exaggerate the features of oral discourse and does not place an increased accent on experimentation with the book format either. Although Saleem's syntax is based on the anticipatory factor and his discourse is marked by addressee-oriented expressions, these features are never exaggerated to the detriment of the story. However, this is a highly stylized and sophisticated variant of an oral discourse, since Rushdie's text, like much of the refined postmodernist discourse, passed through the filters of modernism with its sophistication and experimentation.

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DEVELOPMENT OF IDIOMATIC KNOWLEDGE THE CASE OF KTÜ, ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE DEPARTMENT

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Abstract: Being familiar with every single word in a sentence does not guarantee that students can understand it and studying in a department of English Language and Literature does not provide them to become capable of identifying every idiomatic expression unless they are especially interested in it. To some extent, it is due to the absence of socio-cultural courses and this is exactly the point which this current study aims to underline. The study is conducted in the Department of English Language and Literature at Karadeniz Technical University. The aim of this study is to identify the differences between the first and fourth year students' idiomatic knowledge. By doing this, this current study also aims to reveal the importance of cultural courses and how they affect the capacity of one's understanding and interpretation of the language. This paper argues that there is no dramatic difference between the first and fourth year students. To this aim, the knowledge of the first and fourth year students are compared within the help of a test on idioms. This comparison suggests that the number of the books they have read and the number of the years they studied have no importance on their idiomatic knowledge as long as they are not genuinely interested with it outside the university or they are not taught idiomatic courses.

Keywords: idiomatic knowledge, comparison of idiomatic knowledge, cultural courses

1. Introduction

Communication is some kind of skill and the listener is expected to understand although the speaker implies it directly or indirectly. In the process of learning a language, one may encounter with some difficulties even if he studies this language as a major. It is neither something grammatical nor something theoretical, but it is something lexical and metaphorical. In an authentic language, one can use nonliteral expressions and it is because of flourishing opinions with some cultural-specific utterance. And at this point, the apprehension of the listener is engaged with the information he has about the culture and social issues- grammar does not work.

Oxford Dictionary (p.191) defines an idiom as “a group of words whose meaning is different from the meanings of the individual words”. In a nutshell, it is an expression that you may not predict and you cannot translate word by word to understand the meaning.

When we talk about an academic programme mainly dealing with English and its literature, we expect that its member need to have some other different language

qualities than other language learners. As a member of an English Language and Literature Department, I personally made an overall observation to have an understanding on the attitudes of students towards idioms. I attended some conferences and organizations held by fourth year students, I, however, did not hear any idiomatic expressions in their conversations. I could have the firsthand opportunity to identify the attitudes of the first year students. During the lessons, I did not witness any student using idiomatical expression in his speech.

Cooper (1998) underlines that idiomatical expressions are widely used in both written and spoken discourse and idioms need to be relegated as a core curriculum class in language programs. From researchers' perspectives, learning idioms are vital and those who want to have competency in foreign language must pay attention to metaphorical expressions.

From students' perspectives, learning idioms are useless in the process of gaining academic goals and this belief leads them not to pay attention to studying idioms in or outside the classroom. Although a number of researchers express that English language has a lot of idioms and native speakers apply them frequently, we cannot encounter with any activities based on idioms.

The unawareness of the importance of idioms among the students of KTU-DELL (Karadeniz Technical University Department of English Language and Literature) is something deserving to investigation and this is why this study has chosen to investigate this topic. The aim of this study is to show the importance of idioms and the necessity of pragmatic knowledge not only to the students of KTU-DELL, but also to any other students studying English language as a major.

2. Literature Review

An increasing number of studies attribute a crucial role to reveal an understanding of the fact that a language involves not only knowledge of grammar but also certain features and characteristics of that language such as, idioms, proverbs, metaphorical expressions . In a book identified as a guide book of teachers who want to provide quality education for their students, Tompkins (2001) suggests “ they can be confusing to students because they must be interpreted figuratively rather than literally” (p.256). As a result of this, students cannot understand the implied meaning of the expressions. They think they know or can deduce the meaning but they are completely mistaken.

One of the foremost linguistics, Krashen (1982), defines the linguistic efforts, identified by Hatch, (1979) in order to summarize the linguistic aspect of simplified input appearing to promote comprehension.

Among these characteristics are: (1) slower rate and clearer articulation, which helps acquirers to identify word boundaries more easily, and allows more processing time; (2) more use of high frequency vocabulary, less slang, fewer idioms; (3) syntactic simplification, shorter sentences (p.64).

By looking the deductions of Hatch, it is not hard to realize why and wherefores of the avoidance of using idioms in the speeches of native speakers and even doctors and professors of English while communicating with nonnative speakers or instructing their students.

Idioms are culture specific and it is really hard to find their counterparts in every language. In other words, one who learns the idioms of the target language has opportunity to be more successful in expressing his feelings and thoughts. In an article mainly concerned with bilingualism, it is indicated that learning idioms has such a crucial role in acquiring information about a language's culture that a great emphasis must be put on idioms during the learning process. (Agar, 1991).

In another study aimed to discriminate influences of semantic relatedness and process related to predictability, it is underlined that a complete interactive relation between previously obtained data, data currently being obtained, and the predictions arising from the combination of these two sources of data have a great impact on the comprehension of a linguistic message (Roehm, 2007).

Irujo (1986) suggests that there are different kinds of difficulties in learning idioms properly in a language learning environment. The first thing is omitting idioms in the speech addressed to nonnative speakers in order not to lead them to misunderstanding or get them confused. The second thing is the variation of idioms in formality from slang and colloquialisms. The last thing is that language materials ignore idioms entirely and do not provide exercises to teach them. As a result of these, the idiomatical expressions could not take their places under the name of an individual course in syllabi of schools, even of colleges.

Idioms can be used frequently in daily situations, and therefore they deserve to be a part of syllabus of the target language (Laufer, 1997).

3. Methodology

3.1 Subjects

In this study, subject groups were composed of the students from English Language and Literature Department, Karadeniz Technical University in Trabzon, Turkey. The number of the participants was 30 students from the first grade (n15) and fourth grade (n15). The participants were selected from those who were willing to take part in this study. Each student was given an informed consent form and asked whether they wanted to participate or not. After giving decisions, the students were required to respond a questionnaire and idiom test which aims to identify their idiomatic knowledge and the attitudes toward idioms. A semi-structured interview was conducted by those who were successful in the test.

3.2 Instruments

Three instruments were used in this study: informed consent form, questionnaire, idiom level test. The questionnaire administered to the students was composed of seven yes- no questions. In this questionnaire, participants were asked to answer

some questions relating to their grades, possession of idiom dictionary, cultural courses that they are taught, and their usage of idioms in their writings and speaking. In the second stage of the research, participants were given a test adapted from www.world-english.org. The test (See Appendix 3.) administered to the students was composed of 50 questions. Participants were asked to answer this multiple choice exam in 35 minutes. After evaluating the answers of the participants, an interview was conducted with those who gave 20- 24 correct answers out of 50 questions.

3.3 Procedure

The study was conducted for the first and fourth grade students of KTU-DELL. The participants were selected among those who were willing to take part in the study. To do this, an informed consent form was given and their voluntary participation was requested. These two groups were selected to make a comparison between those who are adequately proficient in English (at least upper-intermediate to advanced level) and those who are going to graduate at the end of the semester. The results obtained from the questionnaire and test were given in tables in Data Analysis. For their each correct answer, 2 points were given and their scores were calculated in 100-point grading scale.

3.3.a Research Questions and Hypotheses

Research Question 1. Are the cultural courses of KTU-DELL sufficient enough?

Hypothesis 1. There will be a negative response for this question. This hypothesis is based on the syllabus of the department.

Research Question 2. 1. Is a five year education of language and literature enough to become aware of idiomatical expressions?

Hypothesis 2. After evaluating the results of the participants, there will be a negative conclusion. This hypothesis is based on the study of Irujo (1986) who suggests that language teachers ignore idioms because of the variation of idioms in formality from slang and the suggestions of Laufer (1997) who underlines the part of idioms in daily language. Cakır (2001) says, "...idioms are a code, a language within a language, designed to mystify outsiders" (p.373). Hence, I can predict that a five year education of language and literature is not enough to become aware of idiomatical expressions.

Research Question 3. How much can students of KTU-DELL interpret the idioms in the target language?

Hypothesis 3. This study asserts that students of KTU-DELL cannot interpret the idioms in the target language in a high rate. My hypothesis is based on the former studies of Liontas (2002), Katsarou (2012) and Cakır (2011). By looking their findings, this current study can make a negative deduction in the level of idiomatical knowledge of KTU-DELL students.

Research Question 4.3. Is there a dramatic difference between the idiomatic knowledge of the first and fourth year students of KTU-DELL?

Hypothesis 4. In this study, a dramatic difference between the idiomatic knowledge of the first and fourth year students are not expected as long as they are not interested in idioms outside the college or they have an abroad experience. The study made this assumption after examining the courses of the fourth year students which they have studied since preparation class; it does not find out any courses regarding directly to both the culture and semantic. Keeping this issue in mind, it is not hard to estimate the answer of the fourth research question.

4. Results and Discussion

Table 1:Answers of the participants for questionnaire

Sample Groups	Yes		No		
	n	%	n	%	
First year students	Q1	6	33,3	9	66,6
	Q2	1	6,6	14	93,3
	Q3	2	13,3	13	86,7
	Q4	7	46,6	8	53,3
	Q6	1	6,6	14	93,3
	Q7	11	73,3	4	26,6
	Fourth year students	Q1	2	13,3	13
Q2		12	80	3	20
Q3		6	40	9	60
Q4		13	86,7	2	13,3
Q6		1	6,6	14	93,3
Q7		7	46,6	8	53,3

Table 1. demonstrates the answers of the participants for the questionnaire given at the first stage of the research (See appendix 2). Looking through the foremost responses of the students, more than half of the first year students do not have idiom dictionaries. Surprisingly, approximately 90% of the fourth year students do not have idiom dictionaries. The results obtained from the first question of questionnaire reveal that students are not aware of the importance of idiomatic knowledge. It can be interpreted in two ways: the students do not pay attention to the cultural aspects of the language they learn or teachers do not remark the importance of the idioms in their teaching process. As Tan (2011) claims if a syllabus ignores to follow the culture, life-style, accent, pronunciation, beliefs and values of the target language, students may be on the verge of the threat of devaluation.

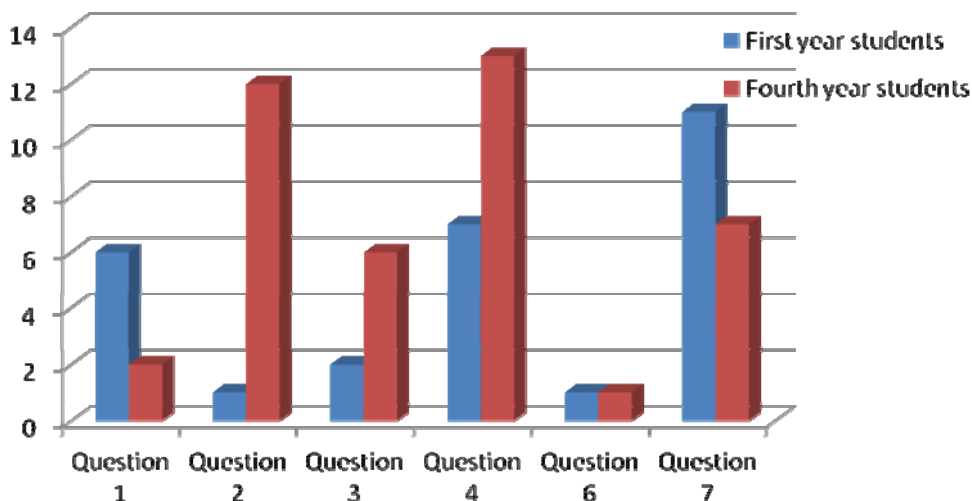


Figure 1: Frequency response of Yes

In addition to this, when participants were asked whether they find the cultural courses of their department sufficient enough in the sixth question, both of % 6,3 of the first and fourth year students signed ‘yes’. As it can be understood from the responds of the students, their syllabus do not uphold the requirements of the cultural background of the target language. Lontas (2002) suggests that idioms should be introduced to the L2 learners at the beginning of their learning process and idioms should not be excluded from other aspects of learning a language.

A one-year education of English Culture and Literature and American Culture and Literature courses are not enough to give cultural education to students; the content of these courses must be reviewed and redesigned to provide requirements of cultural and social aspects. Çakır (2001) underlines that by learning idioms of the target language, one can become more familiar with the customs, cultural beliefs, specific features, social attitudes and norms of a society . Idioms reveal the attitudes of a society and their reactions to some cases. If students become aware of the role of the idioms in one’s language learning process, they pay much more attention on studying them.

In his book *Second Language Acquisition*, Allen underlines that acquiring the essentials of English phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and especially being integrated them for use in an expand range of social contents are the expectations from learners. In order to fulfill the requirements, students need to expand their social and personal identity.

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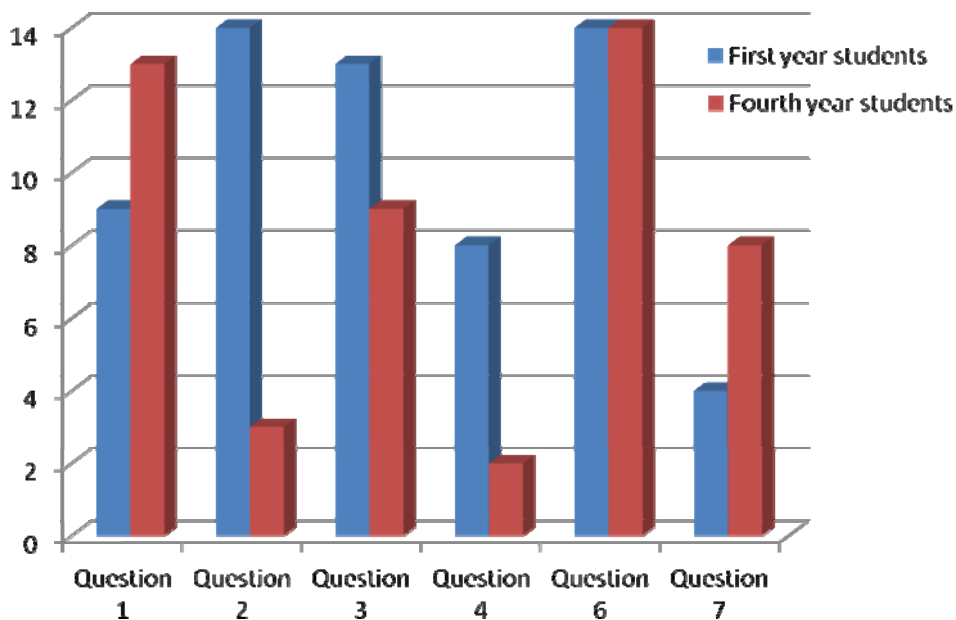


Figure 2: Frequency response of No

Regarding to the responds of the students, especially, fourth year, for the seventh question, it can be said that they still do not realize the necessity of idioms in spite of their approximately five-year experience in university . They were asked if they want idiomatical courses, more than half of them said ‘no’’. Fully developed language proficiency cannot be achieved by turning a deaf ear to its culture.

Based on quantitative data from the figures of correct answers, *Table 2*. demonstrates the overall success of the first year students. As estimated, none of the students were able to identify half of the idioms correctly. It should be noted that they, during the duration of testing, expressed the difficulty of the questions and they even regretted their lack of knowledge.

Table 2:Test Results of First Year Students

First year students	Test results
N1	16
N2	44
N3	34
N4	26
N5	32

First year students	Test results
N6	24
N7	40
N8	36
N9	38
N10	32
N11	38
N12	48
N13	42
N14	44
N15	30
Mean	35
Standard Deviation	8,6

As the results of the participants are examined, it, surprisingly, can be seen that fourth year students are not successful as the first years students. With respect to overall success rate in the idiom identification test, *Table.2* and *Table. 3* are given in order to make a comparison between these two sample groups. These results indicate that the sample groups from KTU-DELL are not aware of the importance of idioms.

Table 3: Test results of Fourth Year Students

Fourth year students	Test results
N1	38
N2	28
N3	38
N4	12
N5	6
N6	34
N7	38
N8	42
N9	20

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Fourth year students	Test results
N10	44
N11	22
N12	38
N13	34
N14	26
N15	19
Mean	31
Standard deviation	11,2

Having mentioned the results of the test, the study can move on with the discussion of the reasons behind these failure: the absence of idiom-related activities, not to approach idioms as a part of language and to evaluate them offensive and humored. Tran (2012) says:

Another controversial issue in teaching idioms is idioms selection. Among numerous idioms in the dictionary, which idioms should be taught? The issue of teaching methodology is also a growing concern. Should we teach idioms in separated lesson or in an integrated approach? or which activities can be used to teach idioms? (p.78)

These questions have been the focus of a lot studies and a lot of methods have been examined to reveal which of them are suitable for teaching idioms. In the conclusion part of his research, De Caro (2009) underlines that a great deal of students participated in his study were not able to identify idioms and aware of the importance of them before having participated in the research. After a series of workshops, they became aware of the attributes of learning idioms and felt much more comfortable while they were trying to express themselves and communicate with native speakers of English. By looking the results of the research, teachers decided to integrate the topic of idiom in the syllabus.

In the light of aforementioned and other studies, the study below underlines the importance of idioms and its chief role in communication are identified and in order to attract more attention to this subject, researchers invite the following researches to study on the topic of idioms. If it is something deserving to conduct research, it is a must that we should do something to improve students' idiomatic knowledge. As can be seen from the results of the study, students who are going to get the epitaph of linguist are lack of idiomatical knowledge.

In order to help students go deeper into the language and culture, departments of English and foreign schools must follow a path which directly integrate their students not only with academic knowledge but also with authentic knowledge. To accomplish this, some basic courses can be given or some conferences can be held

to inform the students and every effort to broad their understanding idioms should be done.

5. Conclusion

This study investigated the idiomatic knowledge of the first and fourth year students of KTU-DELL. From the data elicited by English idiom test, their knowledge was identified and compared.

On the other hand, this small scale research had some limitations: the number of the participants could be much more than 30, each class in the department could be taken as a sample group, the form of the test could be composed of different kinds of parts, such as fill in the blanks, matching, and also a speaking and a listening exam could be arranged to have a deeper understanding in exploring the knowledge of students.

Although the number of the participants of this study is not broad to make generalizations, it is understood that the results of the present study could contribute to the development of current syllabus and show the importance of idioms to the students of KTU-DELL.

The possible hypotheses of the research questions were confirmed in the light of this research. It was found that the cultural courses of the KTU-DELL are not sufficient enough, a five year education of English language and Literature is not enough to have an idiomatic knowledge, students of KTU-DELL are not good at identifying idioms and there is not a dramatic difference between the first and fourth year students in idiomatic knowledge.

Their limitation must be taken into consideration and the regulations must be immediately upheld and done to educate students who are fully aware of the idiomatic expressions and have a deeper understanding in language. The following suggestions can be made in order to improve the idiomatic knowledge of the students:

- 1- Some activities can be done such as, workshops, seminars, conferences, and periodical idiom exams.
- 2- Under the title of authentic knowledge, a course can be arranged and integrated in syllabus.
- 3- Index of the linguistic courses can be expanded.
- 4- Semantic courses can be given.

As seen in the words of Laufer (1997) and Cooper (1998), idioms deserve to take their parts in the syllabus. It needs to be repeatedly stressed that learning to use idioms is very crucial for achieving both an academic and authentic proficiency in English.

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APPENDIX- I

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

A RESEARCH ON IDIOMATICAL KNOWLEDGE OF ELL STUDENTS AT KARADENİZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

I am conducting a survey on the idiom knowledge of our department's first year students and fourth year students. Your voluntary participation is requested so I may learn more about the necessity of idiomatic courses and the attitudes of students towards idiomatical

expressions. My questionnaire will take approximately 2 minutes and my test will take approximately 30 minutes. Your name will not be recorded on the questionnaire and your responses will be anonymous. If you are willing to participate, please sign this form.

If you have any questions pertaining to this study, please contact Asst. Prof.Dr. Elif Demirel and 1st year student Meral Birinci

Thank you for your assistance.

Participant Signature

Date

APPENDIX- II

A QUESTIONNAIRE ON IDIOMS

1- Do you have an idiom dictionary?	Yes	No
2- Can you list 5 idioms by heart?		

3- Do you use idiomatical expressions when you speak English?	Yes	No
4- Do you use idiomatical expressions in your writings?		

5-Approximately, how many books have you read after you began your education in the department ?	50-100	100-150	150-200	200-...
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5- Do you think that the cultural courses you study are efficient and enough?	Yes	No
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6- Would you like to have idiomatical expressions courses?	Yes	No
--	-----	----

7- If I am asked to identify myself as a student, I would say that	I study a lot but cannot take good grades.	I study a lot and take good grades.	I take good grades without studying hard.
--	--	-------------------------------------	---

Thank you for your participation

APPENDIX- III
English Idioms Test

1) Hania and Joanna are as different as and cheese?

- a) biscuits
- b) chalk
- c) ham
- d) jam

2) My father wants me to study law, but I have made up my to become an archaeologist, instead.

- a) heart
- b) head
- c) brain
- d) mind

3) If something frightens you it gives you the

- a) wood
- b) bulls
- c) willies
- d) hots

4) You haven't been studying much recently and you'd better if you want to pass the Cambridge CPE exam.

- a) thread your way through
- b) meet your Waterloo
- c) pull your socks up
- d) change your spots

5) Magda was after she heard that she had won a television in a competition.

- a) over the hill
- b) on cloud nine

- c) on the hop
- d) over the peg

6) Donna after her husband left her for a younger woman.

- a) read between the lines
- b) lead the field
- c) took to the bottle
- d) spared the rod

7) Don't throw that old FCE testbook away. It will in handy when your sister is studying for the college entry examination.

- a) turn
- b) find
- c) come
- d) give

8) Simon was given the cold by the other teachers after informing the newspapers about widespread corruption at the college.

- a) chin
- b) shoulder
- c) neck
- d) back

9) Wild boar haven't been seen in this of the woods for about ten years because of overhunting in the past.

- a) walk
- b) ward
- c) neck
- d) leg

10) Charles has been in Kamila's since he called her a fat slag.

- a) bad letters
- b) bad books
- c) bad records
- d) bad papers

11) The school director's resignation came like a bolt from the Nobody had expected it.

- a) green
- b) red
- c) black
- d) blue

12) Marcin's father wasn't happy to find his son drunk on the bathroom floor with a bottle of Vodka beside him.

- a) blind
- b) stiff

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- c) deep
- d) tight

13) The President is very old. He's as old as the

- a) moon
- b) grave
- c) rock
- d) hills

14) The Skwierzyna football team never win. So I wouldn't put my on them if I were you. You'll only lose it!

- a) shoes
- b) shirt
- c) jacket
- d) hat

15) If you tell Maria there's a surprise English test today, you won't see her for

- a) dust
- b) cloud
- c) rain
- d) fog

16) Neil is famous for making up the most incredible stories, so you'd better take them with a pinch of

- a) snuff
- b) pepper
- c) salt
- d) herbs

17) If you you work very hard.

- a) work to the winds
- b) work like a new leaf
- c) work your fingers to the bone
- d) work until you are blue and black

18) It took me several seconds to grasp the meaning of her statement but finally the dropped.

- a) penny
- b) axe
- c) hammer
- d) stone

19) Jarek is the best swimmer in the water polo team. He can spots off everyone else.

- a) brush
- b) knock
- c) put
- d) win

20) Magda has never turned her on her family and offers help whenever they need it.

- a) hair
- b) eyes
- c) back
- d) stomach

21) The jacket fits like a but the sleeve has a hole in it.

- a) door
- b) window
- c) condom
- d) glove

22) Joanna will never forgive you for letting the It was meant to be a secret!

- a) cows out of the field
- b) cat out of the bag
- c) pig out of the poke
- d) chickens out of the cage

23) John's mean down in the since his girlfriend ditched him for his best friend.

- a) pockets
- b) dumps
- c) heels
- d) carpets

24) Ever since Hania told him she was pregnant, Christopher has been himself with worry.

- a) next to
- b) beside
- c) beneath
- d) over

25) I was knocked for when Kate told me she had passed her driving test.

- a) nine
- b) eight
- c) seven
- d) six

26) A past experience you cannot change is under the bridge.

- a) a duck
- b) water
- c) a boat
- d) traffic

27) Somebody who is foolish or stupid is

- a) soft in the head
- b) riding high
- c) over the moon
- d) pushing up daisies

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28) Mr Jones gave us about losing our match against Gorzow.

- a) cane
- b) rod
- c) stick
- d) log

29) The children are really getting in my Tell them to go and play outside.

- a) hair
- b) nerves
- c) mouth
- d) books

30) Angela will in front of her boss to get a pay rise.

- a) hue and cry
- b) bow and scrape
- c) leap and bound
- d) wine and dine

31) Mrs Raven isn't capable of controlling the class. She is so timid she wouldn't say
.....

- a) kill the fatted cow
- b) put the cat among the pigeons
- c) boo to a goose
- d) cry wolf

32) Kate Moss looks like She's far too skinny!

- a) a kettle of fish
- b) a bag of bones
- c) a whale of a time
- d) a bundle of nerves

33) Some of the boys in the class used to take the out of Alfie's speech impediment.

- a) hooray
- b) mickey
- c) cackle
- d) hampers

34) If something true it sounds true.

- a) rings
- b) chimes
- c) shouts
- d) beeps

35) I was off with some rotten apples at the corner shop.

- a) palmed
- b) handed
- c) armed
- d) fingered

- 36) To fun at someone is to laugh rudely at them.
a) give
b) stick
c) beat
d) poke
- 37) If the police find out it was us who smashed up the telephone box, we'll be in
a) hot water
b) the beaten track
c) a mine of information
d) the drop of a hat
- 38) It's easy to get a place at the local College of English. They accept all and
a) people
b) road
c) sundry
d) league
- 39) Bill is a of habit. Every Sunday he goes for a swim in the river.
a) kind
b) animal
c) creature
d) type
- 40) The local Tesco hypermarket has been losing a lot of stock. It's high time they took a tough with shoplifters.
a) measure
b) line
c) penalty
d) discipline
- 41) I'm looking for a new place to live. My flat doesn't have enough space to swing a
a) crow
b) cat
c) dog
d) giraffe
- 42) My neighbour is almost 50 but wears very short skirts, and low-cut tops. She looks like
a) a duck out of water
b) mutton dressed as lamb
c) sheep from goats
d) she has a flea in her ear
- 43) If you draw a over something unpleasant, you try to forget something and avoid the subject.
a) scarf
b) hat

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- c) hood
- d) veil

44) Robin Hood was a at archery. He always hit the target.

- a) dab hand
- b) rough diamond
- c) vested interest
- d) fine hand

45) Why do our students always cheat in tests? I don't know, I haven't the

- a) foggiest thought
- b) foggiest idea
- c) foggiest notion
- d) foggiest answer

46) Marta looks great! She's really dressed to

- a) destroy
- b) kill
- c) murder
- d) slaughter

47) If you hide your under a bushel, you are too modest to boast about your skills.

- a) beard
- b) looks
- c) light
- d) mind

48) You can shout until you're in the face but she won't hear you. She's as deaf as a post.

- a) blue
- b) green
- c) pink
- d) black

49) The decision has already been taken, so there's no point in your

- a) giving a tickle
- b) taking the biscuit
- c) being tickled pink
- d) arguing the toss

50) She would have failed the practical exam by a long way, but the school decided to the rules so that she passed.

- a) bend
- b) twist
- c) skip
- d) dodge

PATTERNS OF SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE EVOLUTION OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH SOCIAL RANK TERMS

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Abstract: Social rank terms (*king, churl, villain* etc) are categories which exhibit a distinct lexical structure from other categories of terms (natural, artifacts) due to the specificity of the classes of objects they denote (Rosch:1978, Dahlgren:1985). This means that they can be defined according to a set of criterial features which Dahlgren (1985) identified and used for their description (functional, relational etc). The distinct lexical structure of social categories engenders different patterns of semantic development from other categories of terms which will be presented from a sociolinguistic perspective (Hughes: 1988, Baugh&Cable: 1992) and from a cognitivist perspective (Lakoff: 1987, Taylor: 1989). Some similarities and differences concerning the evolution of both frames of English and French terms are also presented in this paper.

Keywords: semantic change (abrupt, gradual, shift into and out of constitutive definition), lexical change, criterial features, systematic semantic evolution

I. Introduction

The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, I will show that social rank terms represent a particular category of terms with properties specific to both abstract¹ and concrete terms (apple, chair), which means that they can be defined according to a set of criterial features which Dahlgren (1985) proposed for their description. Secondly, I will bring evidence for the fact that some of these features which account for the *constitutive*² information in the cognitive representation of social categories engender *different patterns of semantic evolution* from other categories of terms (natural, artifacts).

My hypothesis is that being constitutively defined, social rank terms have evolved differently compared to other categories of terms (Dahlgren: 1985). Besides, since the systems of both English and French social rank terms were formed almost in the same period of time (IXth century in France and Xth-XIth

¹ "Abstract" refers to any social category (worker, nurse, politician) that is describable by means of the *constitutive function* (Searle: 1969). This function refers to social position, social relations and stereotypes which people refer to when identifying and describing such a category.

² The constitutive function accounts for the emergence and functioning of a social category within an institution with its specific rules. In the case of terms denoting social roles in the medieval period, the institution is represented by the medieval society with its rigid social stratification.

century in England), being socially and historically influenced, I expect their semantic evolutions to be quite similar.

The research has been made on a corpus of 17 English high rank terms (*baron, baroness, duke, duchess, earl, countess, king, knight, noble, prince, princess, queen, marquis, marquise, squire, viscount, viscountess*) and 23 English low rank terms (*bailiff, blackguard, boor, bondman, brigand, churl, clown, constable, footman, knave, lackey, marshal, page, peasant, ribald, serf, sergent, servant, slave, soldier, vassal, vavassour, villain*), respectively 18 French high rank terms (*baron (baron) baronne, (baroness), chevalier (knight), comte (count), comtesse (countess), duc (duke), duchesse (duchess), écuyer (squire), marquis (marquis), marquise (marquise/ marchioness), noble (noble), prince (prince), princesse (princess), roi (king), reine (queen), seigneur (noble, lord), vicomte (viscount), vicomtesse (viscountess)*) and 20 low rank terms (*brigand (highjacker, brigand), connétable (constable), esclave (slave), huissier (bailiff), laquais (lackey), maréchal (marshal), page (page), paillard (ribald), paysan (peasant), ribaud (ribald, blackguard), ruffian (ruffian), sergent (sergent), serf (bondsman), servant/serviteur, domestique (servant) soldat (soldier), valet (knave), vassal (vassal), vavasseur (vavassor), vilain (villein)* which seem to describe best the social structure of medieval England and France.

Given the specificity of the semantic content of these terms, they were approached from a sociolinguistic perspective (Dahlgren: 1985, Hughes: 1988, Baugh & Cable: 1992) and from a cognitivist perspective (Rosch: 1978, Barsalou: 1992, Fillmore & Atkins: 1992, Lakoff: 1987, Taylor: 1989).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, social rank terms are studied according to the way in which they adapted to the socio-historical changes which occurred. The diachronic study of terms against the social background of the medieval period is mainly based on the theory of Hughes (1988) who argues that words enter the vocabulary when new concepts emerge as a need to name new things, people etc. Besides, they do not enter the language in an isolated manner, but *grouped in conceptual fields which reflect social and historical realities*. Hughes' theory is reflected in the rise and development of the feudal vocabulary which were both motivated by changes in the constitutive laws that regulated the English society in the Xth century and before. These laws changed as a result of a historical fact, the Norman Conquest (1066) which had a sudden and violent character. Linguistically, the consequences of this event were seen in the changes that took place in the English vocabulary, as words often directly reflect *gradual* or *abrupt* social changes. The foundation of a new social system by means of constitutive laws engendered *the constitution of a new system of terms denoting the newly formed social categories*, with their roles within the medieval institutions.

From a cognitivist perspective, social rank terms are grouped and studied in *frames*¹ (Lakoff: 1987, Taylor: 1989, Fillmore: 1992) and have a *prototypical*¹

¹ *Frames* or cognitive structures are systems of knowledge which reside in the mind of each individual and help him categorize (Fillmore: 1992, Barsalou: 1992). Taylor (1989) assumes that they are *configurations of culture-based conventionalized knowledge*.

structure, illustrated by the criterial features which were identified by Dahlgren (1985) as being specific for their description.

II. Dahlgren (1985)'s criterial features for defining social categories

In this section, I will show that social categories (SECRETARY, POLITICIAN) are different from natural categories or artifacts (TIGER, CHAIR), due to the specificity of their semantic content. This will be revealed by presenting a set of characteristics /criterial features, which Dahlgren (1985) identified by making an experimental study, features that she proposed for the description of social categories. Starting from the assumption that the properties of social categories are *reflected by the characteristics of the institutional framework in which they exist*, which is not true for natural categories or artifacts, Dahlgren (1985) applied in her study the *prototypical method* which Rosch (1978) had applied to natural categories. The group of subjects involved in Dahlgren's experiment was asked to mention attributes, give characteristics or describe ways in which they recognize members of several contemporary categories: PROFESSIONAL, WORKER, EMPLOYER and POLITICIAN. Comparing the answers given, she distinguished several features which were *repeatedly used* by the subjects in the process of the identification and description of social terms. These features contained information about the *role* and *function* of social categories within the institutions which regulated their existence (e.g. /runs state/ for POLITICIAN), a fact which accounts for the *constitutive function* of social categories. They were also distinguished perceptually (by their *appearance*). With the exception of the perceptual feature which also helps describe natural categories (it corresponds to form, colour), all the other features elicited by the subjects proved to be *specific only for social categories*. Besides, since these features are society-related, Dahlgren's conclusion was that *social categories are constitutively defined*.

To illustrate the constitutive character of social categories, Dahlgren proposes a description of the category SECRETARY which she opposes to the natural category of TIGER. She notices that unlike the category of TIGER which exists in nature independently of human society, the category of SECRETARY exists as a result of *social conventions*, in the sense that society defines the functions of a secretary *in relation to the goals of institution* in which they work. The class of secretaries would not exist unless human society had created a *set of social*

Categorization is a psychological process which reflects the experience and knowledge of each individual (Rosch: 1978, Lakoff: 1987). Thus, the meaning(s) of a word will not be studied in isolation, but against the background of a complex structure of knowledge and characterized against specific cultural norms and practices.

¹ The concept of *prototype* is related to the way in which we categorize things and people around. We do not categorize objects by means of a set of "necessary and sufficient conditions" as assumed by structuralism. We categorize them according to a prototype, which is an abstract mental representation containing the attributes/semantic features that represent the best e.g. of a category (e.g. *robin* is the prototype of *bird*). The prototype groups the other members of the same category according to the attributes which they share (Rosch: 1978, Lakoff: 1987).

practices which specify the nature and role of a secretary within an institution. This is similar to Searle's (1969) notion of a *constitutive rule*¹. The differences in the cognitive structure of social and natural categories also correspond to Rawls' (1967) distinction between *constitutive rules* which define social practices and describe categories like SECRETARY and *summary rules* which are based on experience and do not depend on the existence of rules. Summary rules help define natural categories like TIGER.

If the cognitive structure of natural categories can be described independently of the social reality (the category APPLE is described only in terms of form-round, colour-red and function-good for eating), the cognitive structure of social categories reflect cultural factors and knowledge which people possess of them, distinguished as *cultural stereotypes* (for example, the feature which was most frequently listed by the subjects for EMPLOYER is /authority/, so this feature is considered more typical of employers than other features).

Based on these observations, Dahlgren (1985) concluded that there are five criterial features which count for a complete description of social categories: *internal*, *perceptual*, *functional*, *behavioral* and *relational*. **Internal** attributes describe personality traits or education, **perceptual** describe external, observable characteristics like physical appearance (wears *white* for SECRETARY), **functional** define functions such as *answers phones* (for SECRETARY), *takes care of sick people* (for DOCTOR), *runs state* (for GOVERNOR), **behavioral** classify actions other than the functional ones (*hard worker* for DOCTOR) and **relational** refer to social relations such as *give orders works, well with people* (for BOSS).

The table below illustrates Dahlgren's description of the category SECRETARY, in terms of the criterial features she distinguishes.

Table 1. Folk sociological information in the social category SECRETARY

	constitutive	summary	cultural stereotypical
physical appearance	human, adult	female	
physical function	types, answers phone		
social function	furtheres institutional goals of boss correspondence appointments, keeps papers in order		acts as surrogate wife to boss
social relations	works for someone	socially inferior to boss in a general sense (e.g. income)	
internal qualities	knows stenography		thinks about clothes

¹ Searle (1969) believes that there are two types of rules which construct and regulate social reality: regulative rules and constitutive rules. The purpose of the first category is to regulate an activity (e.g. the driving of a car), while the constitutive rules create the possibility of an activity (e.g. the rules for playing a football game, the place where it can be held).

As apparent, the category of SECRETARY is described in terms of physical traits and personal skills, social function and social relations, proving the complexity of information in its cognitive structure. It is also defined by cultural stereotypes which represent the subjective and objective knowledge which people possess of this category. Being constitutively defined, social categories are *interrelated* and sometimes come in *systems of terms* denoting groups of people with particular functions and positions in the social hierarchy, unlike natural categories and artifacts which are not inherently relational. The social rank terms we investigate are also described according to Dahlgren (1985)'s criterial features, following this model, since they denote people who fulfilled different roles within the medieval society with its institutions.

The next section deals with the description of the medieval society in England and France, bringing evidence for the constitutive character of these terms.

III. The semantic legacy of the medieval world: words of duties and power

The socio- historical events which marked England between the XIth-XVIIth centuries and France between the IXth-XVIth centuries account for the rise and development of the medieval vocabulary in both countries. These events motivate the *constitutive function* of language (Searle: 1969) which explains how social terms entered each language and how the institutional framework in which they functioned was created. From this perspective, the medieval history of England is more revealing than the history of France, because it shows the *abrupt, disruptive* way in which the medieval terminology replaced the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary of terms denoting power and status after the Norman Conquest (1066).

From a linguistic perspective, the constitution of the English medieval system of terms denoting social ranks by military conquest is particularly interesting. It is only in the XIth century that the English vocabulary underwent such a *sudden* lexical and semantic change. In other historical periods (XVIIth- XVIIIth c. - the birth of capitalism), changes in the vocabulary were gradual and slow. In France, the birth of the feudal vocabulary was a long, slow, process with no traces of disruptive semantic or lexical changes.

The sudden changes which took place in the English vocabulary in the XIth century are justified by the social changes which the Norman Conquest engendered. Before this historical event, the Anglo-Saxon society was organized by clans, with a sharp distinction between the class of *ceorls* (simple freemen) and that of *eorls* (the hereditary aristocracy). They populated small territories called kingdoms. Each kingdom was under the influence of a powerful leader, called *cyning* (king). The *cyning* protected the *eorls* and preserved the order within his kingdom. The class of *eorls* helped the *cyning*, who was no more than a local chief, to rule the kingdom.

The Norman Conquest brought about significant changes in the Anglo-Saxon society and implicitly “changed the whole course of the English vocabulary” (Baugh & Cable: 1992: 107). The Anglo-Saxon aristocracy (the *eorls*) was wiped out and replaced by the Norman nobility which took over the highest positions in state, the great estates and the church. These events changed the old social order with its institutions, functions and relations among people.

Being sensitive to social changes, it was natural that the structure of the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary underwent changes as well. These were of two types: *semantic* (“a change of meaning undergone by a word in the course of time”) and *lexical* (“the addition of new words via invasion and borrowing”) (Hughes: 1988: 8). According to Hughes (1988:40), the linguistic legacy of the Norman Conquest is huge. The takeover by the Normans of the high positions in the Anglo-Saxon state, the way in which they organized the new society as well as the relations between the conquered (the Anglo-Saxons) and the conquerors (The Norman-French) led to a considerable transfer of words from various domains (society, government, army, religion, food, art) from French to English. The next sections deal with the lexical and semantic changes undergone by the studied terms, reflecting their constitutive character.

3.1. Lexical changes undergone by English social rank terms

Many English words denoting ranks entered the vocabulary only to reflect the newly established higher or lower social positions: *noble, prince, duke, marquis, baron, squire* etc. The list might be extended to include words relating to the economic organization of society: *servant, bailiff, vassal, peasant*, etc., or to the military field: *soldier, sergeant* etc. These words were borrowed with the social roles they designated in the institutions of the Norman-French society. Such is the case of *marshal*. When the Normans established themselves as the official class in England, this word came with them with its meaning of “a high officer of the royal army” (XIIIth century). The same meaning is registered in OED (IX: 403): “a high officer of the royal court, usually entrusted with military affairs”. Another example of lexical change is the word *baron*. Dahlgren (1985) studied its semantic evolution and concluded that this word entered the English language because there was an abrupt change in the constitutive definition of *thegn*, the word which was replaced by *baron*. When the Norman-French aristocracy replaced the Anglo-Saxon one, the Anglo-Saxon terminology also changed and *thegn* became *baron*. Also, the new class of barons controlled the class of *ceorls* and had new powers over them (during the Anglo-Saxon period, the class of *ceorls* was under direct command of the *cyning*). Starting with the XIth century, the denotation of *thegn* was so different from a *social* and *physical* point of view, that the *ceorls* started to use the Norman word to refer to them, instead of the English one (1985:122). The same may have happened with the other English terms denoting high ranks.

The great number of French words borrowed into English and implicitly, the various social positions and roles they designated relatively to the goals of the medieval institutions in which they functioned, prove the complexity of the new form of social organization which was the feudal system.

3.2. Semantic changes undergone by English social rank terms

Though most of the studied English social rank terms were borrowed from French after the Norman Conquest, there were several Anglo-Saxon terms which were preserved in the language, undergoing changes in their semantic content. Such is the case of the word *ceorl* whose evolution was studied by Dahlgren (1985) since the earliest times when laws defining social ranks survived (the Laws of Ine, 690 AD) up to the period following the Norman Conquest (XIIth century). She noticed that unlike the noble class which was immediately replaced after the Conquest, the class of *ceorls* (known as *churls* in the medieval period) was not. The term *churl*, however, changed its conceptual nature to a certain extent, but this semantic shift was not abrupt. The change was *gradual*, following the “fate” of the denoted social group.

The semantic change undergone by this term is accounted for by the socio-historical context in which this class emerged and evolved. Historical sources and Dahlgren (1985)’s study of the evolution of this word showed that, in the Anglo-Saxon period, the *ceorls* represented the class of freemen who worked their own lands and were protected by the *cyning*. Four centuries before the Norman Conquest, their position started to decline because they lost direct contact with the king and they also lost their lands, in favour of the lord. They had to pay rent to him in the form of labour so that they could use the land. Thus, they became mere serfs and they will remain serfs in the Middle Ages as well. According to Dahlgren, it was only then that people started to consider them as semi-serfs and no longer as freemen. The conception of the typical *ceorl* as a freeman resisted the facts at first, but finally it changed, due to overwhelming evidence. This brought, of course, a semantic change in the structure of the word. If, at the beginning, the term *ceorl* (*churl*) can be defined by the attributes/*free*/, /*possessor of land*/and / *in relation to king*/, later these attributes are lost, the word being defined by the features / *lack of freedom*/ and /*in relation to lord*/.

The opposite type of semantic change, the *abrupt change*, was undergone by the high rank term *king*. The changes in the structure of the Anglo-Saxon society and the redefinition of the social roles denoted by the terms mentioned affected the status and the attributions of the king as well. From a mere *local chief* who ruled small Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, he *rose considerably* in rank after the Conquest, becoming an absolute monarch. The rules according to which he governed changed. He had control of the *whole army of the territories he ruled over*. He was a *holder of land* and he had the right to divide this land to those which were socially inferior to him. It was also believed that the king was in direct contact with God, being an illuminated figure. The concept of the medieval *king* possesses the

attributes /supremacy/, /control/and /divine right/. Comparing the status, duties and powers of the tribal kings with those of the medieval king, we easily notice the changes which took place in the conceptual nature of this term.

Besides the gradual change and the abrupt change, Dahlgren (1985) envisaged a third type of semantic change undergone by the social rank terms she studied: *shift into and out of constitutive definition*. In this type of change (which does not exclude the gradual or abrupt change) a term may change *from summary to constitutive definitions*. Such is the example of *ceorl /churl*, which changed its initial meaning “man” (summary definition) to “freeman of the lowest rank” (constitutive definition), in the Anglo-Saxon period. Other medieval social terms which change from summary to constitutive definitions are: *knight* (from “youth, lad” (O.E.) to “servant” (about 900) to “military attendant” (XIIth century), *bondman* (from “husbandman” in the XIIIth century to “slave” one century later) and *king* (from “tribal chief” (O.E.) to “the sovereign ruler of an independent state” (IXth-XIth century).

The reverse process is also possible: in the medieval period (XIth-XVth c.), *churl* changes from “serf” (constitutive) into “country bumpkin” (summary) (p.122). Many terms, especially those of low rank will eventually change *from constitutive to summary definition* towards the end of the Middle Ages due to the fact that they acquire negative evaluative meanings (e.g. *villein*, *boor*, *slave*, *serf*). Here is an example:

Villein

- One of the class of serfs in the feudal system; a peasant occupier or cultivator entirely subject to a lord or attached to a manor: (1958) Cruise, Digest, (ed.2) I. 256 After the conquest the estates of the great lords were cultivated by their villeins (OED: XIX: 637);
- (mod. period: villain) The main bad character in a film, play or story; (informal) a bad person or criminal (Longman Dict.:2006:1713): He plays the villain in this movie.

The analysis of the semantic evolution of such social rank terms favours Dahlgren (1985)’s theory regarding their constitutive character. She predicted that the meaning of social terms change as a response to social evolution. When there is a new government or when new laws are instituted, social terms change abruptly or gradually, because the people’s roles designated by them are only defined within the goals of institution in which they function.

3.3. Semantic changes undergone by French social rank terms

The development of the French vocabulary was not so spectacular, due to the fact that France was not marked by such violent and sudden socio-historical changes as England was. The French feudal vocabulary developed *gradually*, enriching itself with new words which, after the IXth century denoted the new system which structured the French society around relationships derived from the possession of

land in exchange for military service or labour. Like the English feudal vocabulary, the French feudal vocabulary underwent socio-historically motivated lexical and semantic changes, with the difference that the latter were not abrupt and that French terms underwent semantic changes rather than lexical changes.

Many words underwent a semantic *shift into and out of constitutive definition*. The words which acquired evaluative meaning towards the end of the medieval period stopped to be constitutively defined such as *villain*, *esclave*, *vassal* or *brigand*.

Brigand:

- (1350) Soldat qui fait partie d'une compagnie ;
- (XVth c.) Homme qui pratique le brigandage : bandit, malfaiteur, pillard : Brigands qui brûlaient les pieds de leurs victimes ;
- (mod.) Homme malhonnête, bandit, crapule, escroc (Rey : 2005:1092).

The reverse process was undergone by the social term *baron*, which changed from summary ("a free man" in the Xth century) to constitutive definition ("a noble possessor of a territory called barony" in the XIth century) (translation from Rey: 2005:790). Another similar example is *seigneur* ("mari" in 1050 (senior, senier) then "a man on whom depend lands and people within the system of feudal relations" in the XIth century) (translation from Rey: 2005: 665).

IV. The evolution of social rank terms after the breakdown of feudalism

Given that the feudal period in England began with the Norman Conquest which imposed the Norman-French type of social organization, it is natural that the feudal systems¹ in both countries developed in a similar manner. This rigid but complex social structure² started to disintegrate towards the end of the XIVth century, when the first elements of the modern started to mingle with the medieval, and England emerged as a distinct nation. At that time, the English society was characterized by an exaggerate wealth of kings and great landlords, which led to many peasant uprisings. These events, as well as the shortage of labour provoked by the Black Death (1349) weakened the secure position of landlords and registered a decline in the amount of their wealth. The break-up of the feudal manor was a long, slow process and prepared the way for the development of capitalism.

¹ Feudalism is identified with the economic system which prevailed in Europe before the rise of capitalism, in particular with serfdom. It manifested more prominently in France, between the IXth-XIVth centuries. In England, the medieval period started in the XIth century, being imposed by William the Conqueror after 1066 (Trevelyan: 1953, Bloch: 1940) and ended in the XVth-XVIth century, when the modern period started.

² The structure of the feudal system was like a **pyramid**, where the **king** (Fr.*roi*) was on top and the **peasants** were at the base. In between the two were the powerful **nobles**. Each person in the pyramid was a *vassal* of the person above. This meant that they swore *loyalty* to the person above them in return for the right to live on the *land* and have *protection* in times of crisis.

The process of the disintegration of the medieval society brought about changes in the social status and function of the people who fulfilled different roles in the feudal system. Some social classes will disappear (e.g. *vassal*, *vavassour*) because their social attributions become unnecessary in the newly created society. Others will be replaced by a new social class. Such is the case of the *villeins*: when the wide gap between the lord and the villein that had characterized the feudal system disappears, the villein serf became either a *yeoman farmer* (a free man owning his own land) or a *landless labourer*. From this point of view, England was ahead of France in getting rid of the servile status of the peasant (XVIIth-XVIIIth century). A few social classes will remain as such after the breakdown of feudalism, denoting new functions and attributions and sometimes a different social status. Such is the case of *squire*, *sergeant*, constable and of those terms denoting high ranks. The example of the high rank term *noble* whose feudal position still survived “in his powerful chairmanship of the manor court (...)” (Trevelyan: 1978: 59), proves that the change from one form of society to another was a long, slow and gradual process.

These social and political changes were also reflected in the conceptual nature of the words which formed the vocabulary of the medieval society. During this period of time, both English and French terms evolved in the three directions mentioned by Dahlgren (1985): they underwent abrupt changes, gradual and slow changes and shift out of constitutive definition.

The diachronic study of these words revealed that *the medieval social terms evolved systematically in two main directions* towards the end of the medieval period:

(1) Many low rank terms *lost their social¹ meanings* because the social class and the social function they denoted in the medieval period also disappeared. Such is the case of *footman*, *vassal*, *vavassour*, *bondman*, *brigand* and *blackguard*.

In the feudal system, the *vassal* represents one of the key concepts. Feudalism is mainly described by the relation of subordination between a vassal and his lord. The concepts related to the frame of *vassal* are *subordination*, *land*, *loyalty*, *homage* and *chivalrous acts*. In the capitalist society based on man equality and money wages, the class of vassals disappears and these concepts grow outdated. Here is the social meaning of the medieval term *vassal*, as registered in OED (1989): “in the feudal system, one holding lands from a superior on condition of homage and allegiance; a feudatory; a tenant in fee (now Hist.)” (OED: XIX: 456);

A term like *villein* lost its social meaning because the social class it represented was replaced by a new social class. In the medieval period, the term designated the oppressed class of peasants bound to the land and subordinated to a lord. The replacement of the class of villeins by the class of yeomen which

¹ The social meaning makes reference to the function, status and relations of a person within a social system.

reflected the new social stratification and the newly crystallized social relations brought about changes in the conceptual nature of this term. *Villein* lost its social meaning, that of “a peasant serf working the land of the lord”.

Other terms lost their medieval meaning, but acquired instead other social meanings denoting a new social status according to the new form of social organization. These terms are *sergeant*, *marshal*, *constable* and *squire*. For example, in the feudal hierarchy, the squire is a young nobleman attending upon a knight. At the end of the feudal system, the terms designates “a country gentleman or landed proprietor, (...) one who is the principal landowner in a village or district” (OED: V: 421):

- 1855 Poultry Chron.II.281/2 It was unanimously decided that ‘the squire’, who also was member for the borough, should be asked to act as patron (OED: V: 421)

Trevelyan (1978:17) noticed that if the feudal manor owed by the lord was a community of poor serfs whose rights were limited within the land to which they were bound, “the modern village under the squire was a society of wealthy farmers, village craftsmen, and a proletariat of free, but landless labourers (...)

For some terms, the replacement of feudalism by capitalism provoked an abrupt change in their meaning. Such is the case of *villein* presented above. Other terms underwent a long, gradual process of meaning change. Terms like *knave* or *lackey* kept their social meanings until the modern period, designating the same position of a servant of a superior, with a change in their function and attributions. This may be explained by the fact that the noble class still existed in Early Modern England (XVIIth-XVIIIth century). Among the English low rank terms, only *peasant* and *soldier* kept their denotative meanings undergoing, however, some changes in their conceptual sphere, proving they are prototypical terms in the frame.

The majority of words which lost their social meanings underwent shift out of the constitutive definition (Dahlgren; 1985), being used with their evaluative meanings which they acquired in the medieval period (e.g. *vassal*, *brigand*, *slave*, *servant*, *boor*, *churl*, *clown*). For example, in the period following the decadence of feudalism, the word *vassal* is only used with its evaluative meaning denoting “one who is completely subject to some influence” and “a base and abject person; a slave” (OED: XIX: 457).

A similar example is *clown*. This term is first registered in the English language in the late XVth with the meaning of “a countryman, a rustic, a peasant”:

- 1848 Macaulay Hist. Eng. I 610 The Somersetshire clowns, with their scythes...faced the royal horse like old soldiers (OED: II: 364).

The term undergoes depreciation in meaning, acquiring negative attributes. Therefore, in the XVIth century the term denotes an ignorant, a person who lacks in manners, a mere rustic, a boor:

- 1565 Golding Ovid’s Met. (1593) To Rdr.6, The wise, the foole: the countrie cloine: the learned and the lout (OED: II: 364).

The figurative meaning of *clown* has been kept until nowadays, but its social meaning (that of “a countryman, a peasant”) was lost at the end of the feudal system. In the XVIIth century, it acquires another denotative meaning: “a fool or a jester, as a stage character, or (in Shakesp.) a retainer of a court or great house”(OED:II:364).

- 1822 Nares Gloss S.V., The fool was indeed the inmate of every opulent house, but the rural jester, or clown, seems to have been peculiar to the country families (OED:II:364);

From this meaning emerged the modern meaning of clown, that of “a character in a pantomime or in a circus” (OED: II: 364).

The terms which preserved their social meanings after the end of the feudal period will continue to be used with both their social and evaluative meanings. A word like *knave* will keep denoting the servant of a superior, while also being connotatively used to refer to a dishonest person who behaves humbly towards a superior, only to achieve some purpose. The evaluative meaning was acquired in the XIIth century and survived throughout the modern period:

- “a boy or lad employed as a servant; hence, a male servant or menial in general; one of low condition” (OED: VIII: 483);

- “an unprincipled man, given to dishonourable and deceitful practices; a base and crafty rogue” (OED: VIII: 483), as in the example:

- 1726 Swift Gulliver I.vi, The honest dealer is always undone, and the knave gets the advantage (OED: VIII: 483).

(2) Terms denoting a *high rank* underwent a *change of meaning in the social sphere*, according to the changes which affected the social class designated by them. The new meanings denote especially *titles* in the modern period. They also refer to the status and attributions of a high rank person, but these attributions are limited (e.g. a lord does no longer share land to the inferior class), proving that the disintegration of the manorial system also meant the decadence of the nobility. Consequently, we may conclude that the conceptual nature of terms denoting high rank changed only to a certain extent. They still denoted high ranks after the breakdown of feudalism, only that that they gradually lost their power, authority and material privileges. In the modern period, high rank terms denote only honorary titles. Such is the case of *duke*:

- (med.) In some European countries: a sovereign prince, the ruler of a small state called a duchy: Grafton Chron.II , William the Conquerour, Duke of Normandie...began his dominion over this Realme (OED:IV:1100)

- (med.& mod.) In Great Britain and some other countries: A hereditary title of nobility, ranking next below that of prince: 1852 Tennyson Ode Wellington, Bury the Great Duke With an empire’s lamentation (OED: IV: 1100).

The majority of high rank terms also develop evaluative meanings like low rank terms, towards the end of the medieval period and in the modern period as well. These meanings refer to an imposing physical appearance and high moral skills. Such is the example of *duchesse*:

- (XVIIIth c.) A woman of imposing demeanour (...):1700 B.E.Dict. Cant. Crew. , Rum-dutchess, a jolly handsom woman (OED: IV: 1090).

As for the French terms, they followed the same paths of semantic development, undergoing abrupt changes (*vilain*), gradual changes (*laquais*, *valet*) and changes which involve a shift from constitutive to summary information (*brigand*, *esclave*, *serviteur*). Here is an example:

Valet

- Ancienn. Écuyer au service d'un seigneur ; officier d'une maison princière royale : Premier valet de chambre de roi : « officier considérable de sa maison (...) qui est toujours en sa chambre, garde la cassette, etc. » (Dict. de Furètiere) ;

- (Mod.) Domestique de grande maison en livrée ;

- (1549) Salarié chargé de certains travaux : valet de cuisine, aide cuisinier (Rey : 2005 :1724).

These meanings show the gradual evolution which this term underwent from the medieval period when the role of a knave was to assist and help his lord (Fr.*seigneur*) during the war, up to the modern period when, though a servant of a superior, his role and attributions changed.

V. Conclusions

In the first part of this paper, I tried to show that social rank terms represent a special category of terms which exhibit attributes specific for natural and abstract terms. I started from Dahlgren (1985)'s assumption that the properties of social categories are reflected by the characteristics of the institutional framework in which they exist and I showed that social rank terms are constitutively determined (Searle: 1969). This means that they can only be defined and can evolve within an institution with specific goals and rules, where the people designated by them perform specific roles and have specific functions. In the case of social terms, the institution in which they emerge and develop is the feudal system with its rigid and complex system based on relations of subordination and mutual help.

Using the prototype method previously used by Rosch (1978), Dahlgren distinguished a series of criterial features useful for the identification and description of this category of terms: *internal*, *perceptual*, *functional*, *behavioral* and *relational*. These features illustrate the constitutive character of social categories.

In the second part of this paper, I tried to bring evidence in favour of Dahlgren's hypothesis that being constitutively defined, social rank terms have a different semantic evolution than other categories of terms. This was proved by showing the different patterns of semantic development which they exhibit in the medieval system (XIX-XIV century in France and XI-XV/XVI century in England) and afterwards. Thus, both English and French social rank terms underwent three types of semantic changes, as distinguished by Dahlgren (1985): *abrupt change*, *gradual change* and *shift into and out of constitutive definition*. I also brought evidence for the fact that the systems of both categories of social rank terms

evolved similarly, since they were formed almost in the same period of time and were affected by similar social and historical changes.

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ANNEX

Table 1. The description of several English low rank terms

ENGLISH LOW RANK TERMS	SOCIAL FUNCTION	SOCIAL RELATION (relation to the social hierarchy)	CULTURAL STEREOTYPES
Bailiff	(XIII-XVI) Administrative authority in a district, an officer of justice under a sheriff who executes writs and processes, the agent of a lord of a manor who collects his rents	In a relation of subordination to the king and the nobility, higher social position than that of the peasantry	Has certain authority, wears uniform, oppressive behaviour towards peasants

ENGLISH LOW RANK TERMS	SOCIAL FUNCTION	SOCIAL RELATION (relation to the social hierarchy)	CULTURAL STEREOTYPES
Blackguard, brigand	Military duties (a mercenary soldier)	Subordinated to the lord or to the king	<i>Brigand</i> : low moral qualities (vagabond, bandit, violent man, criminal). <i>Blackguard</i> acquires the same attributes only in the XVII th - XVIII th century. Both wears military costumes
Constable	Officer of (1) household, (2) at court, (3) in administration, (4) the military forces of a ruler; also the governor of a royal fortress/castle	In direct relation of subordination to the king or to the noble	Has certain authority, wears uniform
Footman	Has military duties (a foot soldier), attends a noble, running before his carriage	Subordinated to the lord or the king	Military clothes
Knave	Does menial jobs (household and army) for his lord	Low social position, serves a lord	Bad moral qualities (dishonesty ,shrewdness), wears a servant uniform

Table 2. *The description of several French low rank terms*

FRENCH LOW RANK TERMS	SOCIAL FUNCTION	SOCIAL RELATIONS	CULTURAL STEREOTYPES
Brigand (brigand), ribaud (ribald, blackguard)	Military duties (mercenary soldier); <i>ribaud</i> is also an officer of the royal household (XIV th - XV th c.)	Subordinated to the lord or to the king	Wears uniform ,violence, thievishness, immorality (<i>ribaud</i>)
Connétable(constable)	Has high military duties and attributions (chief officer of the royal household; chief commander of the royal army)	In direct relation of subordination to the king , higher social status	Authority, power, ears uniform
Esclave (slave)	Works the land of his <i>owner</i> , does all the menial jobs for his master (e.g. household work)	The lowest social status, <i>belongs</i> to a noble (by birth, by purchase or as a capture in war), does not have rights, does not receive protection from his superior	Poorness, <i>total</i> lack of freedom, poorly dressed

PATTERNS OF SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE EVOLUTION OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH
SOCIAL RANK TERMS

FRENCH LOW RANK TERMS	SOCIAL FUNCTION	SOCIAL RELATIONS	CULTURAL STEREOTYPES
Huissier (usher, bailiff)	(XII-XIV) Household duties (guards and opens door for the king/nobles); (XVI) an officer of justice, signs procedural documents	(XII-XIV) low social status, directly subordinated to the king/lord; (XVI) (as bailiff) higher social status, subordinated to the king	Has certain authority (as bailiff of justice), wears uniform

IDENTITY AS THE AVATAR OF THE PAST IN PETER ACKROYD'S VISION AND IN ALASDAIR GRAY'S "LANARK"

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Abstract: Investigating the impact of the past on shaping the present literary writing and its characters' written identities in Peter Ackroyd's work and in Alasdair Gray's *Lanark*, this essay argues that the present creates its identities based on the cultural heritage of the past. In art and literary writing, the present and its identities go back to an essence which lies in the past times of other stories, writings and identities. The present-day Age of Digitalization and Globalization cannot efface the essence of art and humanity: as being built on the already existing values, patterns of existence and creation, on the already existing words which are permanently adapted and creatively rewritten.

Keywords: identity, the past, avatar, circle, words.

The circle of past and present identities

As "nothing can come out of nothing" (*Albion*, 2002: 43), the concept of individual identity amounts to a mixture of cultural traits and influences, associated with the space we belong to, with the history and times we have gone through, with the real and the textual experiences we have had. To demonstrate this idea in *Albion. The Origins of the English Imagination*, Peter Ackroyd (2002) remarks that "we owe much to the ground on which we dwell. It is the landscape and the dreamscape. It encourages a sense of longing and belonging. It is Albion" (*Albion*, 449). Throughout this book, Peter Ackroyd suggests that we have a subconscious feeling of belonging to a particular space which defines our identity whose essence is a sum of other past identities, acknowledged, reread, and rewritten. In line with Peter Ackroyd's view, Alasdair Gray's novel, *Lanark. A Life in Four Books* (1989), shows that identities in a literary work are created and given vitality based on the author's personal and textual experiences. One's identity is a world of words longing for love and appreciation, the same as Lanark and any valuable literary creation. As Peter Ackroyd (2002) demonstrates in *Albion. The Origins of the English Imagination* and as Lanark's author admits in the Epilogue of the novel, the cultural past gives life to contemporary literary texts and to their evinced identities, shaping them into circles of the same aspirations to harmony and love, to tolerance and mutual empathy.

In Peter Ackroyd's work, the concept of one's present identity stands for an avatar of other revisited past identities. The characters of his novels – Oscar Wilde in "The Last Testament of Oscar Wilde", Milton in "Milton in America", Dan

Leno in "Dan Leno and the Limehouse Golem", John Dee and Matthew Palmer in "The House of Doctor Dee"—do not have a unique identity, but one which revolves in a circle of past times and stories. However, it is not identical to the historical identities these characters remind us of. Their identity is creatively rewritten breathing novelty due to the author's vision and gifted reinterpretation of the past. Ackroyd's words reconstruct their identities which just echo the past and warn us that the key to understanding the present lies in acknowledging and quoting the cultural and the historical past.

Albion. The Origins of the English Imagination, published in 2002 by the contemporary English writer Peter Ackroyd, shows that the metaphor of the circle defines the English art and imagination: "The English imagination takes the form of a ring or circle. It is endless because it has no beginning and no end; it moves backwards as well as forwards" (Albion, 2002: xix). According to Peter Ackroyd, English writers have always reconsidered their cultural past and values, which they have creatively assimilated, paying tribute to their legacy which forms the inevitable circle of ideas, words, views and events of the world, literary patterns, themes and motives. It is this circle of life, of art and identity, which Ackroyd refers to. He demonstrates that "nothing can come out of nothing" (*Albion*, 2002: 43) and that we live a life which has already been lived and created. Throughout his literary work, Ackroyd quotes and alludes to the past, which is the essence of the present, the embodiment of the present identities.

The same as the characters' identities in Peter Ackroyd's work, Lanark in Alasdair Gray's novel, *Lanark. A Life in Four Books*, evinces the influence of the past on his own identity. As his author admits in the Epilogue of the novel, Lanark is a written identity based on other stories. He is given a gloomy, strange identity with a view to having the future readers appreciate it as reliable and true. He is the victim of destructive authorial pride in writing an identity for the sake of plausibility. Lanark's identity is a complex one, with an alter ego and various desperate experiences and attempts to cope with a subconscious world of imagination, which sometimes turns out to be dreams and sometimes to be the reality of the story. He goes on a journey through the parts and the chapters of the book, starting from Book Three, moving on to Book One, continuing in Book Two and Book Four and ending up in an Epilogue. During his encounter with his author, associated with a "king" and a "conjurer" (*Lanark*, 480-484), Lanark expresses his dissatisfaction with the condition and the end attributed to him in the book-world he has gone through. He turns out to be more knowledgeable than his author in terms of the events of the story. His creator is blinded by authorial pride and just demonstrates that his creation is the avatar of other past creations, which he consciously quotes and enlarges upon in the Epilogue for plausibility. The author's novelty consists in his gloomy vision upon the world and in creating an identity out of a blurred past, Lanark never remembers.

The concept of identity in Alasdair Gray's "Lanark"

"The past is eternal and every day our abortions fall into it: love affairs we bungled, homes we damaged, children we couldn't be kind to" (*Lanark*, 337)

Starting from Mark Currie's idea that postmodernity is marked by "the conquest of cultural schizophrenia over narrative identity" (Currie, 1998: 113) and that "far from being the death of narrative identity or the death of totality, it is the playing out of savage narratives on the global stage, where fragments have acquired a new awareness, a new self-consciousness of their role in an increasingly visible totality" (Currie, 1998: 113), the paper shows that Lanark's identity bears the hallmark of schizophrenia. He does not perceive a chronological, different time, but just lives in an eternal, traumatic present, being helped by his outer world to find his identity. Thus, in Book Three, which the novel begins with, he is introduced to us as a hospital patient suffering from dragonhide, as an adult devoid of memories and hopes, whose curiosity is hardly satisfied with the answers to the questions he asks. An accidental look in a mirror in a train makes him aware of his physical image whereas a name "printed under a brown photograph of spires and trees on a hilltop on the compartment wall" (*Lanark*, 20) urges him to take the name of Lanark. Devoid of friends and a family, he only seeks the warmth of the sun, which is thin on the ground in his living space. He remains isolated due to his stern, stiff upper lip condition. In *Lanark*, identity is subverted by schizophrenia and lack of light. In Book Three, the place lacks an identity as not even the clerks know its name. Time, work and love, which are abstract notions, are given a new identity and are redefined as tormenting objects – "there are cities where work is a prison and time a goad and love a burden, and this makes my freedom feel worthwhile" (*Lanark*, 23).

The same as in Peter Ackroyd's work, the author's words construct and define one's identity in *Lanark. A Life in Four Books* (1989). Words account for one's memory and legacy of the past. They go back to a conceptual essence and bear a stable identity beyond any time. Their energy prevails and shapes identities and times. This is Lanark's strong belief expressed in Chapter 4 of Book Three: "But I do enjoy words – some words – for their own sake. Words like river, and dawn, and daylight, and time. These words seem much richer than our experiences of the things they represent" (*Lanark*, 25). Lanark is a writer who admits to his appreciation of words as the only bearers of the long-forgotten essence of the world: energy, shadows of light and shadows of darkness. He is in search of inner light or the light of the mind, of primordial life, of writing as a coherent organization of words into new lives and identities, into COSMOS. Everything is shallow but words. Everything is perishable but words. Nothing survives times but words.

Called the "mystery man" (*Lanark*, 25), Lanark is shown that light comes from words, from what we make of them to define ourselves. In a dialogue with Lanark, "a tall man" – a man without a name or a clear identity – enlarges upon the essence of a metaphor: "Metaphor is one of thought's most essential tools. It illuminates what would otherwise be totally obscure. But the illumination is sometimes so bright that it dazzles instead of revealing" (*Lanark*, 30). In Chapter 3 of Book Three, "Mouths", Lanark could hear a voice coming from nowhere and whispering to him "I am the way out" (*Lanark*, 47). This reminds us of the Holy Scriptures where Jesus is presented as the WAY, the TRUTH and the LIFE. The same as Jesus or God – the begetter of words – illuminates our paths, so does the written literary word, guiding us and Lanark on our way to grasping the correct meaning of the world depicted by the novelist, by pondering on it, by investigating its past occurrences, by making comparisons. For other characters like Ozenfant, words stand for dissimulation, for a mask to one's real identity: "I distrust speech therapy. Words are the language of lies and evasions. Music cannot lie. Music talks to the heart" (*Lanark*, 66). Our understanding of words depends on our culture, on our knowledge of the historical past and of other literary works written in the past whose ideas return to the present times shaping apparently new identities and views.

Lanark envisages the world of the past as the world of the future. He hopes to leave the "Institute" or the hospital where he was cured from dragonhide in order to feel the warmth of civilization. He looks for a companion to leave the "Institute" as the disease might come back if he leaves the place alone: "you have seen a city and think it in the future, a place to reach by travelling an hour or day or year, but existence is helical and that city could be centuries ahead" (*Lanark*, 60).

Lanark discovers his identity in his longed for journey out of the "Institute" to the free world. Freedom is Lanark's destination. He wants freedom from the prison of duties and constraints, from the institutional world: "I was a writer once and now I'm a doctor, but I was advised to become these, I never wanted it. I've never wanted anything long. Except freedom" (*Lanark*, 74). The "Institute" can stand for the Inferno, as Noakes admits to Lanark: "I assure you, the institute is preparing to swallow a world. I am not trying to frighten you" (*Lanark*, 81). It is in the "Institute" where Lanark finds out more details about his identity. From the voice of an "Oracle", he learns that he was once called Duncan Thaw whose story will be presented in Book One. Lanark's conclusion is that his existence amounted to a world of thoughts which are nothing but unspoken words turned into a vision: "I had become bodiless in a bodiless world. I existed as a series of thoughts amidst infinite greyness" (*Lanark*, 111).

Lanark's identity is the avatar of his thoughts, states of mind and words. He is the unloved word of a rigid world of schizophrenia, technology (the "Institute") and unhealed diseases. The same as the word, which is always reminiscent of its past occurrences, the present is reminiscent of a blurred past. Lanark's only objective deeds are his remembrances of the past: "The future had gone with my

body. There was nothing to do but remember, and I was depressed to find that the work which had given my life a goal and a decent order now looked like an arithmetical brain disease, a profit-and-loss calculation lasting years and proving nothing” (*Lanark*, 111). Lanark is nothing but a remembrance of the past, vainly hoping to feel the illumination of the mind and the soul. The bodiless Lanark admits to the power of the haunting past on the present spiritual world: “I was condemned to a future of replaying and replaying the tedious past and past and past and past. I was in hell. Without eyes I tried to weep, without lips to scream” (*Lanark*, 116).

Lanark’s alter ego, Duncan Thaw, also speaks for the power of the past in shaping our present experiences, identity and knowledge of the world: “If we could only live by our own experience we would have no science, no civilization, no progress! Man has advanced by his capacity to learn from others, and these boots cost me four pounds eight” (*Lanark*, 136). Duncan Thaw, who studied Latin, art and English, used to be a writer, the same as Lanark. His imaginary worlds of writing and of painting define his personality. The same as Lanark, he used to be very sick, suffering from asthma and fighting it by recollections. He wishes he were an artist at all costs, having a gift for writing and painting. He longs for freedom, the same as Lanark, but what he wants is not possible: “I wish I was a duck on Alexandra Park pond. I could swim, and fly, and walk, and have three wives, and everything I wanted. But I’m a man. I have a mind, and three library tickets, and everything I want is impossible” (*Lanark*, 294). He is accepted to paint a church, planning to represent God’s creation on its walls. Engrossed in his artistic attempts to paint the church and not having enough time and determination to study for passing his exams, Duncan Thaw is finally expelled from school, having to continue his existence based on what he could earn from painting. Devoid of love and unable to love, he commits a murder and finally commits suicide by drowning in the sea.

Thaw’s future alter ego, Lanark, forgets his being a painter and does not remember it even when he is reminded by his future wife, Rima: “He’s a painter – an artist.” (*Lanark*, 388). His dissatisfaction with his past seems to be expressed by his violent denial of this fact: “Lanark yelled, <I’m not a painter>” (*Lanark*, 388). Thaw’s frustrations and loveless existence are further experienced by Lanark, who encounters his author in the Epilogue and who learns that his existence and the novel itself are based on other literary works.

Lanark, an instance of what Brian McHale calls a “transworld identity” (McHale, 1987: 57), is nothing but a revisited past, a revisited thought of the past, which is the avatar of its present incarnation in Alasdair Gray’s novel. His identity is the avatar of other identities. He cannot make progress as he follows an already experienced pattern of existence and course of events. He can just silently remember a world he wanted to escape from, a haunting past of confusing memories he tried to reorder and to make sense of: “He had lost someone or something, a secret document, a parent, or his self-respect. The past seemed a muddle of memories without sequence, like a confused pile of old photographs. To

sort them out he tried recalling his life from the start" (*Lanark*, 517). Therefore, identity is what the past makes of us and what we are willing and gifted to transform by our power of recollection, of analyzing the past, of building upon the past. We can creatively rewrite it for a new beginning.

Lanark is an example of the "ex-centric" (Hutcheon, 1988: 57-73) in Linda Hutcheon's words. He argues against his present political and social world order. His discourse and views of the world turn him into an enemy of the "center". He ends up in prison for his "ex-centric" attitude, language and dissatisfaction with his human condition. He turns out to be a postmodernist hero proving Linda Hutcheon's theory: "to be ex-centric, on the border or margin, inside yet outside is to have a different perspective, one that Virginia Woolf (1945, 96) once called "alien and critical", one that is "always altering its focus", since it has no centering force. This same shifting of perspective, this same concern for respecting difference, can also be seen both in and within postmodern theoretical discourse today" (Hutcheon, 1988: 67).

The postmodernist "ex-centric" is a landmark of all times, especially of our 21st century society marked by Globalization and Digitalization, which can be associated with the technological world of "*Lanark*". The "ex-centric" sticks to his values – freedom in the case of Lanark – and subverts the accepted official ones. Lanark's arguments stem from his education, from his deep-going thinking, from what he has read in a blurred past. The "ex-centric" Lanark is the intellectual fighting for ontological freedom as the way out of the darkness of his technological world of constraints, out of the Inferno of *the center*. Considering Lanark's technological world a metaphorical projection of the present world of Digitalization and Globalization, we can conclude that postmodernist values are still with us.

Conclusion

The concept of identity as evinced by Peter Ackroyd's work and by Alasdair Gray's "*Lanark*" revolves around revisited past times, stories and events. That is why it can be associated with a circle. It is not unique. It is complex and multiple, an avatar of the past, of memory and words. The past shapes the identities belonging to the present. Words, as the bearers of the essence of the past and of the present world, recreate one's identity in a literary work with a refreshing energy coming from the writer's vision, cultural experience and gifted hand.

One's identity does not come from a void but from one's culture that lies heavily upon one's present. Revisited mentalities, revisited thoughts and ideas create the present identities. In the Age of Globalization and Digitalization, one's identity is not a new world apart. It is not new. It bears the hallmark of the past whose essence cannot be effaced by the rapid progress of our present technological world.

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NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION.

NOTES ON PROXEMICS AND EYE CONTACT

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Abstract: 'Non-verbal communication' (NVC) deals with features of human communication that are not part of verbal language. Many non-verbal systems that are associated with speech include eye contact, proxemics, gesture, body contact, posture, body orientation, facial expression, gaze. Non-verbal communication may be extended to semiotic systems such as clothing; some other semiotic systems (e.g. room layout) are usually seen as part of the context of an interaction rather than non-verbal communication. The present paper offers a brief description of two major sources of NVC: proxemics and eye contact.

Keywords: non-verbal communication, proxemics, eye contact, interpersonal communication, interaction.

NVC derives from various sources: eyes (eye contact is essential when you want to analyze and interpret facial expressions); mouth (especially smiling or grimacing; there is much emotional content in our smiles, but is this content identical in all cultures? are there different types of smile? are there different types of smile within the same culture?); posture (sitting forwards or backwards); gesture (the use of arms movements when talking; our gestures complete speech; we remember more of what is being said if words are accompanied by gestures; when we gesture we tell someone something or draw their attention to something; gestures help us remember something that has happened in the past); orientation (of the body to the addressee); body distance (too close or too far away from others); smell (including perfumes); skin (including blushing, pigmentation); hair (including texture, length, style); clothes. Non-verbal communication is not the same as 'body language'. Language communicates ideas, opinions, viewpoints, feelings, etc. by means of oral symbols that are produced by the organs of speech. Still, we may include 'signs', besides oral symbols, if we take into account the visual-gestural language ('sign language') used by deaf people to communicate. These languages (i.e. sign languages) are systems that have their own rules and are structured at different levels of analysis: syntax, morphology, phonology (that is not the case with NVC). The present literature on non-verbal communication is not abounding and the results from research are not relevant. Many-sided situations and circumstances may cause problems in research in NVC. Researchers usually focus on apparent, observable behaviour; however, sometimes non-visible behaviour may be important. Whereabouts, place or position, the time at which various patterns of behaviour are studied, the length of time during which these patterns are observed constitute important factors in NVC. Very often non-verbal situations may mean

different things, e.g. 'to wink at somebody' can mean 'I am kidding/this is a lie/an informal greeting/I can play fast and loose/I pay my addresses to this girl'/a hint at sex; 'gaze' can mean 'furry/irritation/support/admiration/dislike/anger'; 'silence' can mean 'familiarity/weakness/one is distant/isolated/inaccessible. Close personal relationship between the researcher and the person whose behaviour is studied may also affect the way in which his/her actions are assessed.

Norms and patterns imposed by society are important in carrying out conversations. Among these norms the distance between the participants in a conversation (how far or near they stand from each other) is important; the conventional distance may differ from one culture to another or even within the same culture. Within the framework of a certain culture specific distances are suitable for some particular activities and a shift from one area to another may be decoded as an attempt to modify the character of the interaction. How many interpersonal distances are there? Hall (1963) states that the proxemic system in the USA has four levels, i.e. public distance (12 ft. from hearers), intimate (from full body contact to 1.5 ft.), social-consultative (close 4-7 ft., far 7-12 ft.), and casual/personal (1.5-4 ft). Distance is a marker of intimacy and interlocutors can be responsive to distance. Hall (ibid) also states that the distance favoured by Arabs in the conduct of their transactions may be felt by Americans as intrusive and disturbing. Distances may also depend on contextual factors (in large rooms people stand closer together than they do in small rooms; in Britain and America male pairs seem to interact at greater distances than female pairs).

The study of the distance between the participants in a conversation is approached by the term proxemics (which was coined in the 1950s). It refers to the study of the role played by the physical distance, orientation and space relations that occur in interpersonal communication. Proximity is commonly identified as a relation that is socially significant in non-verbal communication, alongside with: facial expression; the particular position or manner in which one member involved in interpersonal communication stands; the movement people make with a part of their body, especially with their hands/heads, during communication; general appearance. Some cultural differences can be noticed when focusing on this type of relation; for example, the Germans are said to stand at further distances than do the Romanians or the Russians. Much depends on the topic that is being considered, thus closer distances and contact are common with more intimate discussion. Though distances vary between situations it is worth mentioning that within interpersonal communication one can identify some 'private space', a space where one member can be alone without being disturbed or interrupted. This space can even increase with the position, rank and prestige of the individual; proxemic relations can be negotiated and one can get into that 'private space' if permission is given. Goffman (1963) admits that in densely populated spaces these rules are often violated and thus one may question the 'personalization' issue; this may explain some other situations (for example, rush hours or crowded lifts might explain lack of eye contact or attention).

A small group of two members (a dyad) is characterized by the conduct, actions and communication between its members. It is not out of place to mention that on no account should one equal a group of twenty people with ten dyads (the communication process and networks vary basically with such large groups). In dyads, e.g. teacher and student, wife and husband, doctor and patient, etc., communication is characterized by an effective exchange of information between the two members. Spoken language may be supplemented or completely replaced by non-verbal cues that may serve as signals for some action (as in the case of parent-newborn baby). How do participants position themselves in an exchange? How do they measure distance? The answer is anything but simple; to study proxemics is difficult and demanding because of the variables engaged, such as age, gender, status, power, solidarity, the place of interaction, the type of intimacy., etc.

Eye contact is an extremely important signal for interaction. Argyle and Dean (1965) state that during interpersonal communication the amount of eye contact may fluctuate and identify five sources of this variation: point in the conversation; nature of the topic; individual differences; relations between a pair of people; the developmental history of eye contact. Here is a brief delineation of the main causes that lead to changes in the amount of eye contact:

- *point in the conversation* During human communication there is more eye contact when the subjects listen than when they talk. People tend to look up at the end of their speech and look away when they start new utterances.

- *nature of the topic* When less personal topics are being discussed there is more eye contact; on the other hand, there is less eye contact when the topics are not articulate and natural or when interlocutors have second thoughts or hesitate.

- *individual differences* Dissimilarities between the subjects that are involved in communication are great; these individual differences are also great in eye contact, for example women engage more in eye contact than men, some subjects have to experience and endure difficult situations (e.g. detestation of gaze). Argyle and Dean (ibid) also mention cross-cultural differences that may vary from restrictions on eye contact to greater amounts of closeness.

- *relations between interlocutors* There are instances where the relation between interlocutors may affect the amount of eye contact: if A likes B there is more eye contact; if interlocutors cooperate there is also more eye contact; if interlocutors compete, if there is hostility and pressure the amount of eye contact is small.

- *the developmental history of eye contact* The actions and processes of carefully watching infants indicate that the smiling reaction to certain 'faces' develops in the first years of life.

Some functions of eye contact are also described by Argyle and Dean (ibid):

- *information seeking* Feedback is necessary, especially at the end of a speech. Usually, speakers tend to look away at the beginning of their discourse or even when they want to think about what they are going to say further, because permanent, additional or unnecessary eye contact may be disturbing and confusing.

However, it is important to know how subjects get feedback from their interlocutors. One way of obtaining feedback is to examine the other's face (especially the eyes).

- *signalling that the channel is open* During eye contact each subject of the group (A, B, C or D) knows that the other members are primarily looking after him, thus showing that the channel is open. The channel may be closed when, for example, B's eyes keep flickering towards C or D. Eye contact may also compel one subject to interact. For example, if there is eye contact between a waitress and customers in a restaurant, the former is obliged to interact. Once there is eye contact she is obliged to answer, while, by looking away she is not obliged to take orders (the channel is shut). When a person is called by another a verbal answer is not enough; if you turn your head toward the person who called you and there is eye contact, interaction can begin (the channel is open).

- *concealment and exhibitionism* There are persons who passionately want to be seen in order to be admired, applauded or venerated; others want to be seen and eye contact is a proof that they are being seen; some people do not want to be seen (this may be due to a fear of being repudiated).

- *establishment and recognition of social relationship* If A, in an eye contact situation, gazes at B the impact may be different; both know that A's attitude may be that of sexual attraction, affection, alliance, authority, antipathy. In a succession of communicative events eye contact plays an important role and serves to establish the relationship between subjects, e.g. suppose A wants to command and dominate B; A stares at B with the proper expression; B may accept A's authority and dominance by an obedient expression.

- *the affiliative conflict theory* Here Argyle and Dean (ibid) propose some ideas which may clarify and describe some of the eye contact phenomena that have been explained so far:

a. There are two types of forces behind eye contact: approach and avoidance forces. Approach forces involve the need for feedback; avoidance forces involve fear of being seen, fear of betraying personal emotions and inner thoughts, fear of being rejected.

b. The two forces (i.e. approach and avoidance) behind eye contact authorize the application of conflict analysis.

c. Identical attention should be applied to other types of behaviour connected with the above mentioned theory.

d. It is suggested that balance develops for 'intimacy' (a shared function of eye contact, physical proximity, intimacy of topic, smiling, etc.); if one of the constituents of intimacy is displaced, one or more constituents will move in the opposite direction in order to maintain balance.

e. As mentioned above, intimacy is a shared function of eye contact, physical proximity, intimacy of topic, smiling. Argyle and Dean state that twelve practical conclusions result from this function. If the amount of smiling decreases and physical proximity is constant, eye contact should be increased to restore balance.

f. If one of the constituents is affected, it is possible to recover it by harmonizing the others; if this is not possible the subject will feel uncomfortable (if the irregularity is directed towards too much intimacy the avoidance forces will prevail and the subject will not reveal his personal emotions and inner thoughts).

Is there much eye contact in restricted spaces, e.g. a cable car? What do people fix their eyes upon? We can notice that people generally do not involve in spoken interaction in cable cars or elevators. If, however, there is eye contact with strangers, we may look away instantly (probably shamed and uncomfortable), or spend our time in idle chitchat. So, what do people fix their eyes on? Do they make eye contact? I know from experience that under certain conditions, in neutral spaces (for example, in an elevator) some people stare at button indicating the floor (the feeling is that they are in a hurry and there is no time to chitchat), some stare at the elevator door, some stare at the ceiling, and some people fix their eyes on their watches, bags, clothes. Anyway, these are all good ways of avoiding eye contact. Generally, there is little eye contact (few people make eye contact, and if they do, they give brief glances) in such places. I have also noticed that people usually position themselves at the back or sides of the elevator and thus may avoid eye contact; positioning in the middle means that one has to look at those who come in.

If you stare, you look at someone or something for a long time with wide open eyes; you may do it when you are confused, scared, nervous, or thoughtful. In many cultures staring is disrespectful and rude; it may be a sign of authority and control, it may be taken to mean conceit and superiority; it may exclude the person stared at from society (still, some people deserve staring if their behaviour is abnormal). The frequency and length of eye contact can cause distress and trouble within various cultures. There may be differences in eye contact between age groups, gender, social class, ethnicity, etc. For example, women engage in eye contact more than men do. Generally, a. women seem to be more predisposed to social relations; b. they are more perceptive and responsive to visual signals (the visual nature of communication is important in relation to non-verbal communication as well as in the description of visual-gestural sign language used by deaf people); c. usually, in face-to-face spoken interactions the person whose status is inferior looks at the superior person more than the superior person looks at him (looking at the superior person is a way of getting approval; I do not think that gazing is always a sign of inferiority or subordination or of desire to interact). Those who are accustomed to frequent eye contact think that all those who refuse eye contact are dishonest, sly, unreliable, or indifferent; those who are accustomed to little eye contact consider that those who engage in more eye contact are staring. Gazing can regulate social interaction; finally, gazing can be a means of getting others to consent to your thoughts and appeals. We know from our own experience that teachers who engage in eye contact are assessed favourably. If students are also engaged in eye contact the teacher is stimulated to continue, so this is a co-operative and supportive sort of interaction. Those students who come from backgrounds where people refrain from engaging in eye contact might feel

intimidated by teachers who gaze at them; or, teachers might believe that those students who refuse to engage in eye contact feel tired, bored, or unconcerned.

We presume that all sides and features of proxemics and eye contact have to be accurate, unequivocal and definite for interactions to come off well. If our assumptions are broken or disregarded, changes and differences in one's behaviour may occur. For example, in interactions where the number of members is small, participants whose social status is high will be better estimated, even if they do not obey the norms (however, participants who follow the norms and whose social status is low are accepted favourably by the other members). Researchers (Burgoon, 1983) assert that agreeable people are seen as being friendly, warm, conversable; even more, they have no problems if they avoid social norms (do they really convey unspoken messages of great importance?). Moreover, in various contexts people may be rated favourably if they are calm, unexcited, and temperate. Consequently, are social norms broken? I think social expectations are not broken or disregarded. These deviations from norms may be seen as variations in non-verbal communication.

Associated with interpersonal communication, eye contact, proxemics, gaze, posture, smiles, facial expressions are factors that are socially significant in NVC processes. They constitute ways of behaving that are believed to be natural and innate, but at the same time they are also culturally determined. They may convey the same message in all cultures or may have particular, explicit significance in different cultures.

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**OFF THE BEATEN TRACK IN ROMANIAN
TRANSLATION STUDIES
TRANSLATIONS FOR CHILDREN. VISUAL ELEMENTS IN THE
ROMANIAN TRANSLATION OF
THE TALE OF JEMIMA PUDDLE-DUCK BY BEATRIX POTTER**

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Abstract: This paper focuses on a relatively unexplored area in Romanian Translation Studies, the translation of children’s literature, and exemplifies its potential by analysing critically the visual elements in the 1998 Romanian translation of Beatrix Potter’s *Tale of Jemima Puddle-Duck* (1908). The Romanian edition features a new layout and illustrations and alters the original, meaningful relationship between visual and verbal elements. An interview with the illustrator of the Romanian edition suggested possible causes for these changes, including the economic context, a lack of collaboration between the producers of the book, and specific publishing practices and artistic approaches.

Keywords: translation of children’s literature, visual/verbal, Beatrix Potter, Romania

Introduction

This paper contributes to the “Constructions of Identity” conference, whose declared aim was to discuss “the challenges and future of English and American Studies” (home page), by indicating an area of Romanian Translation Studies which has been largely unexplored to date and therefore has significant potential for development, namely, the translation of children’s literature. It also points to a particularly productive research topic regarding translations for children, that is, visual elements in translation. To exemplify the potential of such research, we analyse Beatrix Potter’s *Tale of Jemima Puddle-Duck* and its Romanian translation. Explanations for the differences between the original and translated versions are then suggested, based on an interview with the illustrator of the Romanian edition and data regarding the source and target translation contexts. It is concluded that the 1990s economic context, a lack of collaboration between the illustrator, translators and publisher, as well as the publisher’s and illustrator’s individual approaches to the Romanian edition were influential in establishing its visual characteristics.

Off the beaten track: Children’s Literature Translation Studies in Romania

Children’s Literature Translation has become an established research area in international scholarship in the past four decades, exploring such topics as the

relationship between translating for children and educational conceptions or cultural representations of childhood; ideological manipulation; the history and status of translations and translators for children; the translation of culturally-specific items; readability; and the treatment of visual and aural elements. In Romania, such research appears to be relatively recent and uncommon, although translations are a significant part of Romanian children's literature. General studies of translation or translatology (for instance, by Lungu-Badea) tend to leave out references to the translation of children's literature. With some exceptions (Cernăuți-Gorodețchi, Morar), studies of children's literature do not approach translation-specific issues, even when mentioning international children's books (for example, Buzăși, Rogojinaru, Chiscop and Buzăși, Goia, Rațiu, Bodiștean). There are relatively few studies on the translation of children's literature, including an issue of the Suceava University journal *Atelier de traduction*, other articles and conference papers (Chifane, Pelea, Debattista, Manolache, Panteleiciuc, Panteleoni, Pegulescu), as well as (related) PhD theses (Chifane, Pelea¹, Stoica) and books (Coreschi, Stoica², Constantinescu). However, despite the significance of visual elements in translating for children (see Lathey, *The Translation*, González Davies and Oittinen), this issue has barely been tackled to date (by Constantinescu).

Methods

The selection of the case study below, Beatrix Potter's 1908 *Tale of Jemima Puddle-Duck* (henceforth *Jemima*) and its 1998 Romanian translation, *Povestea Jemimei Puddle-Duck*, is justified by its relevance and illustrative potential for our purposes, outlined in the Introduction above. Firstly, in the picture books of Beatrix Potter (1866-1943), the visual elements are used purposefully, and they interact with the text to construct the books as complete entities. Potter not only created the illustrations for her books, but also made decisions regarding their format and layout, endpapers and covers, and was actively involved in the production process, as shown by Lear and Taylor (*Potter: Artist...*) and her published correspondence (Taylor, *Potter's Letters*). However, the significance granted to visual elements in Potter's books is not an exceptional case in children's literature. Their importance for (translated) picture books has been underlined repeatedly by scholars such as O'Sullivan, Lathey (*Time, Narrative Intimacy*), Nikolajeva and Scott, Nodelman, Doonan, Salisbury and Styles.

Secondly, although Potter's books have been translated into numerous languages³, Romanian translations have been slow to appear¹. Until November

¹ Pelea's thesis on the translation of fairy tales, while not aiming at discussing them from a children's literature perspective, finds that Romanian translations of Perrault's tales were mostly aimed at children and discusses the translation strategies used to adapt them to this particular audience.

² This book is the published version of the PhD thesis.

³ Our research has identified 40 to date, by combining data from Index Translationum, the online UNESCO database of translations; WorldCat.org, a worldwide library database run by the library

2013, when the first edition licensed by Warne² was published, the only translations were a 1998 (print) collection of six tales, including *Povestea Jemimei Puddle-Duck*, and translations by internet bloggers, such as those by “Franco Schetti” (a pseudonym). Therefore, the 1998 edition was the only print edition available at the time of the “Constructions of Identity” conference. More significantly, this edition, in contrast with the licensed one, replaces the original illustrations with new ones, which entails modifications to the narrative and to the potential reading experience³, as shown below.

To discuss the visual aspects in Potter’s tale and its Romanian version, we use concepts derived from children’s literature studies, more precisely, from Nikolajeva and Scott, Doonan, and Nodelman. These authors point out the multitude of visual elements of a picture book, including its illustrations, format, jacket, covers, endpapers, layout, framing, and text appearance. Due to space limitations, we focus on only a few of the above, namely format, layout and framing, which are particularly relevant and illustrative for Potter’s book. We also discuss the ways in which the visual elements, in particular the illustrations, interact with the printed text to build the narrative.

A book’s “format” refers to its “size and ... shape” (Doonan 84-85), and, as Nodelman explains (44-45), it can foster reader expectations and impose technical limitations on the illustrator. For example, a small-format book (also specific for Potter) may be associated with young children and delicate stories, and may impose “restraint” on the illustrator to avoid over-charging. The “layout” comprises “the shape, size and arrangement of the illustrations and the placement of the text throughout the picture book.” (Doonan 84-85). Doonan argues that different layouts have specific effects. For example, the most “formal and traditional” layout (commonly used by Potter), in which the text and the illustration are placed on two facing pages, results in a specific “visual rhythm, a series of strong beats” appropriate, for example, for the fairy or folk tale, due to their “repetitive structure [and] stereotypical characters”. Finally, framing refers to the borders placed around the illustrations. Nodelman (50, 53) and Nikolajeva and Scott (62) agree that, in general, framing a picture can separate and detach the viewer or reader from it and the story, while lack of frames fosters reader involvement. To analyse the visual-verbal interaction, we employ an adapted version of Nikolajeva and Scott’s categorisation of picture books (12). Based on

cooperative Online Computer Library Center, Inc.; the official Warne *peterrabbit.com* website; and Potter scholarship (Linder, Lear, and Taylor, *That Naughty Rabbit*).

¹ Our efforts to identify such translations included general internet searches and searches in the National Library of Romania catalogue, Index Translationum, and Romanian children’s literature scholarship.

² Potter’s official publisher, currently owned by Penguin, in turn owned by Pearson (Fraser).

³ We use “reading experience” as a general term for experiencing the books, which includes the listening-and-viewing experience of younger children to whom the books are read to.

the type of image-text interaction, Nikolajeva and Scott classify picture books as follows:

- a) Symmetrical: either the same gaps are to be filled by readers in both text and pictures, or there are no gaps at all;
- b) Complementary: the text and the illustrations fill each other's gaps;
- c) Expanding or enhancing: the illustrations develop the information in the text;
- d) Counterpointing: there is contradictory information in the text and in the pictures;
- e) Sylleptic: there are two or several narratives, independent of each other, in the text and the pictures.

Although Nikolajeva and Scott's definition and use of the term "picturebook" is slightly unclear and their description of "picturebook" categories above sometimes contradicts it¹ (1-29), their analysis of the actual text-image interaction is insightful and can be applied to Potter's picture books productively, especially since the two scholars discuss how narrative elements (for example, setting, characterisation, or narrative perspective) can be constructed through the image-text interaction. We have selected "characterisation" and "setting" to illustrate the differences between the original and translated versions of *Jemima*.

To explore the reasons for such differences, we interviewed the illustrator of the Romanian edition (November 2012)². Although the interview was particularly useful, the limitations of this approach must also be borne in mind. Firstly, it was revealed that the book publisher had made important decisions regarding the book's visual elements, and therefore further research is necessary to complement the information provided by the illustrator with the publisher's perspective. Secondly, the 14-year time gap between the book's publication and the interview sometimes made it difficult for the illustrator to remember specific aspects, and made his statements rather tentative. Thirdly, a better context for the interview might have yielded better results. Due to the different locations of the interviewer and interviewee (Ireland and Romania, respectively), and to technical difficulties, the interview was conducted via Skype with no visual contact. Moreover, the illustrator did not have the book with him, which further accounts for the difficulty of answering detailed questions. Nevertheless, even after considering these limitations, productive insights can still be obtained through the combined analysis of the original and translated versions and the interview, complemented with data regarding the source and target translation contexts.

¹ Nikolajeva and Scott seem to define a "picturebook" as one in which the text and the picture are equally essential for constructing the narrative, yet their description of "symmetrical picturebooks" is self-contradictory, as it suggests that the pictures are redundant and do not contribute to the narrative.

² The illustrator wished to remain anonymous.

Visual elements in *The Tale of Jemima Puddle-Duck* (1908) and *Povestea Jemimei Puddle-Duck* (1998)

We shall first contextualise the discussion by summarising the plot of *Jemima*. Jemima is a farm duck, who decides to hatch her eggs in a forest, since she is not allowed to hatch them on the farm. However, in the forest she meets a fox who deceives her into laying eggs in his shed and is about to eat them – and her – when she is rescued by the farm dog. Jemima returns to the farm, where she is allowed to hatch her eggs, but only four of them hatch.

Jemima has several visual features which Potter chose purposefully (Stevenson), and which define her easily recognisable style. The format is small, of a vertical rectangular shape. Each double spread features a colour illustration on a page and a short text on the opposite page, the text and the picture being closely connected. The illustrations are vignettes surrounded by large amounts of white space, and therefore do not have clearly defined frames.

There are several implications of these characteristics for the reading experience. First, the small size makes it easy for young children to hold the book, and may thus facilitate closeness to and involvement with it. Second, the layout establishes a regular rhythm, not only at the visual level, as Doonan suggests (see Methods above), but also at the level of the narrative and of the reading experience. Readers are encouraged to pause and consider the text and illustration on each double spread carefully. This is because the importance of both text and picture is emphasised by the shortness of the text, the large amount of white space surrounding it, and the fact that each short text has a corresponding illustration. A different type of layout, for instance with running text on the entire double spread, would hasten the reading process and the events would not carry the same weight. Third, the layout builds up suspense and urges the reader to move on to the next pages, as not much information is offered on each double spread. Finally, Potter's framing is placed mid-way on a continuum between definite frames and lack of frames. Her pictures are not clearly bordered; their edges fade off into the white space surrounding them. This gives the impression of a window into another world, and therefore, of separation, but the distancing effect is not as strong as that accomplished by clear borders (see also Nikolajeva and Scott 94).

The Romanian *Jemima* is part of a collection of six tales, *Aventurile iepuraşului Peter* ("The adventures of the bunny Peter"), published by Editura Dacia in 1998. Although the book's format is square and slightly larger than the original one, the differences are not significant enough to alter its accessibility for children. However, the layout has incurred greater changes. In each tale, including *Jemima*, most pages are composed of running text and a small, comparatively simpler, black-and-white illustration at the bottom. There are only two colour plates, each facing a page as above (running text, small picture). The amount of text per page is considerably larger than in the original, that is, one translated page equates at least two original pages. Finally, all the pages have highly decorative, black-and-white, frames at the corners.

These features of the translated *Jemima* entail a potentially different reading experience. Firstly, by increasing the amount of text per page and placing a small and simple illustration at the bottom, the text is given prominence over the illustrations, and therefore the reader's attention may not be as equally distributed between them as in the case of the original. Furthermore, because of this generous offering of larger narrative units on each page, without complex illustrations to match them, the pace of the reading process is potentially hastened, the events carry less weight, and suspense is decreased. Secondly, the close text-picture relationship, which supports Potter's purposeful use of visual elements, is not adhered to very closely, especially in the colour plates. For example, the first one, showing Jemima's first encounter with the fox, is placed on a recto page, preceding the page where the encounter is actually narrated in the text. Consequently, the picture anticipates the text, acting as a potential "spoiler". Thirdly, the decorative frames bordering both text and images emphasise the artefact nature of the book, they tell readers "this is a tale that you're reading", and thereby do not encourage the same degree of involvement as Potter's original. The same effect is achieved by the placement of large page numbers at the top centre of the pages, which emphasises that "this is a book". By contrast, in the original, the page numbers are much smaller and placed at the centre bottom of the pages, clearly dominated by their text or illustrations (see original edition photographs on Brass' *Rare Books*).

Finally, we examine how the illustrations interact with the text to build narrative elements such as characterisation and setting. In *Jemima*, characterisation is achieved through complementary or counterpointing interactions between text and illustrations. For illustrative purposes, below we discuss the counterpointing relationship, with reference to a specific feature of Potter's characters, namely their human-animal duality.

Most of Potter's characters are anthropomorphised animals, characterised by an ambiguous combination of animal and human features. Nikolajeva and Scott point out this ambiguity, noting, for example, that Peter Rabbit is drawn in accurate anatomical detail, but his posture is human (94). Realistic anatomical representation is one of the particularities of Potter's artistic style, rooted in her personal and cultural background¹. Besides anatomical accuracy, her characters also display some specifically animal behaviours. On the other hand, they have significant human attributes, for example they wear clothes, walk on hind legs, or speak. Clothes in particular play an important symbolic role, namely, wearing or not wearing them emphasises the human or the animal side of the characters, as pointed out by Bruscini, Scott, and Nikolajeva and Scott (95).

¹ Potter grew up amid the widespread Victorian preoccupation with science, which saw many Victorian families become amateur scientists (Kucich 120). According to Lear, Potter studied plants and animals and strove to paint or draw them in a scientifically accurate manner. Furthermore, she sometimes used photographs as a basis for her painting, which may have directed her artistic style towards realism.

Throughout *Jemima*, there is a partial counterpoint between the text and illustrations to characterise the villain fox, which creates humour, irony, suspense and fosters reader involvement. In the text, the fox is referred to as a “gentleman”, never as a “fox”, which shows Jemima’s naïve perception of him. However, the text also offers hints about his true identity and intentions (he has “black prick ears”, “a long bushy tail”, and asks Jemima to bring herbs used to cook roast duck). In the pictures, however, he is represented as a real fox, although wearing gentlemanly clothes and walking on his hind legs, and sometimes his predatory intentions are suggested by his gestures and facial expression (invisible to Jemima). This contradicts Jemima’s perception and therefore is a counterpoint to all the textual mentions of the “hospitable/polite gentleman”, and to his deceptively polite speech. The reader is thus required to assemble a puzzle to understand the fox’s hidden intentions, and is invited to share in the narrator’s knowledge, which is superior to Jemima’s¹. An example of this intelligent narrator-reader complicity occurs on pages 28-29, where the fox deceives Jemima into entering his shed:

“This is my summer residence; you would not find my earth – my winter house – so convenient,” said the hospitable gentleman.
There was a tumble-down shed at the back of the house, made of old soap-boxes. The gentleman opened the door, and showed Jemima in.

In the text, direct and indirect characterisation (“the hospitable gentleman”, the fox’s polite speech and actions) are counterpointed with hints that he may be lying, such as the contrast between his description of the shed as “summer residence” and the narrator’s description, and his slip of the tongue (“my earth² –”). The picture gives him the facial expression and body language of a mean person rejoicing in deceiving someone, thereby suggesting that his intentions are not “hospitable”, and that his predatory animal nature prevails over his “gentlemanliness”. By putting the text and the illustration together, the reader may notice the contradictions and infer the real story and the fox’s real nature. The contradiction is greatest on pages 34-35, where he looks like a wild fox, not dressed, on all fours, touching Jemima’s eggs with his paw. This emphasises his predatory animal nature, in ironic contrast with the text which reads: “... she laid nine eggs in the nest. They were greeny white and very large. The foxy gentleman admired them immensely. He used to turn them over and count them when Jemima was not there.”

This counterpointing relationship is less strong in the Romanian version. Firstly, the artistic approach is less closely bound to the characters’ actual anatomical features, which weakens the original human-animal ambiguity. The characters are drawn in a freer manner, with simplified, conventional lines, perhaps similar to children’s drawings. This makes their animal nature much less prominent

¹ This conclusion corroborates Nikolajeva and Scott’s claim (259) that the text-picture interaction in Potter’s works enhances readers’ understanding and involvement.

² A fox’s lair is called “earth”.

than in Potter's illustrations, where there is a concern for anatomical accuracy. Moreover, the two illustrations featuring the fox (dressed, either talking to Jemima or standing) do not suggest his specifically predatory intentions. Secondly, the counterpointing relationship is less intense also because of the changes in layout discussed above. Thus, in the original there are 18 pages from Jemima's first encounter with the fox to the moment when he asks her to bring herbs; half of them are illustration pages, always counterpointed to the facing text to some extent. In the Romanian version, the same episodes are fitted into 7 pages, out of which only 2 include the fox, namely the misplaced colour plate showing their first encounter (29, see above), and a small illustration at the bottom of page 31. The other illustrations, which show either Jemima or setting elements, do not suggest that she is in danger. In particular, when Jemima's entrance into the shed is narrated (32), the illustration shows only a small hut. The translated text also misses the fox's slip of the tongue, which is left out. Furthermore, the colour plate on the opposite page (33) is actually a reference to the end of the story, as it shows Jemima happy in a nest with four ducklings. This can have a falsely reassuring effect on the reader, or it can be interpreted as Jemima's wishful projection of the future. Along the same lines, the only picture relating to the fox's "admiration" of the nine eggs shows a nest with numbered eggs, under the lines relating this episode (34). This emphasises the idea of "counting", thereby benignly supporting the text, rather than ironically contradicting it. Additionally, the original emphasis on characterisation is replaced with an educational or playful element (the numbered eggs), which can distract from the narrated events and therefore decrease reader involvement in the original plot. Overall, although some of the original hints are preserved in the text (the references to the ears, whiskers and tail of the "gentleman", his polite speech and the narrator's descriptions), the permanent counterpointing interplay with the illustrations is largely absent. This makes it slightly more difficult for the reader to guess the fox's real intentions, and decreases the irony, humour and suspense of the story.

Other significant differences are noticeable with regard to setting elements. In *Jemima*, setting elements fulfil several functions¹, including establishing the story context (time and place). Such items are present either in both text and pictures, or in only one of them. In the former case, the setting elements in the text and in the illustrations generally interact in a complementary manner. Below we focus on culturally-specific setting items, which locate the tales in a particular cultural space, namely, 19th century Britain. In *Jemima*, culturally-specific items in the text include names of plants ("fox-glove") and animals ("fox hound", "collie dog"), clothing items ("poke bonnet", "coat-tail pocket"), cultural practices ("dinner party"), measurement units ("yard"), and the fox's polite Victorian speech. In the illustrations, the 19th century British context is suggested by the characters' clothes and by the representation of buildings and landscapes, especially since Potter included real-life landscapes and buildings in her books (Taylor, *Potter: Artist...*,

¹ As discussed by Nikolajeva and Scott 61-69, in relation to picture books in general.

Lear). Most notably, *Jemima* features the Tower Bank Arms inn in the village of Near Sawrey, where Potter lived, in an illustration which shows the name clearly. The respective double spread (42-43) is an example of a complementary text-picture relationship to build setting, as the text mentions the location of the characters at a general level (“down the village”), while the picture shows the specific part of the village where they are: in front of a building with specific architectural features and a sign reading “Tower Bank Arms”.

In the Romanian *Jemima*, the culturally-specific elements in the text tend to be acculturated (for example, “yard” becomes “meter”), although the “poke bonnet” and “shawl” are preserved, and the “collie” is given a Romanian phonetic spelling, “coli”. Neither reference to “fox” in “fox-glove” and “fox hound” is preserved or compensated for. In the illustrations, however, the setting elements are reduced to a minimum, except for clothing items. The colour pictures are vague: the first one locates the first encounter between Jemima and the fox in a forest represented in a similar manner to the characters, that is, simplified and suggestive, rather than specific. The second one, showing Jemima and her four ducklings in a man-made nest, does not suggest any particular location. Furthermore, the small black-and-white pictures generally show the characters without any background elements. Out of the three pictures representing setting elements, two are not individualised in any way. The third one, however, shows the bunch of herbs which Jemima collects at the fox’s request, including an inflorescence of dill which is not mentioned in the text, but is quite familiar to Romanian readers, due to its common use for pickling in Romania.

The inclusion of this localised element concurs with the acculturating tendency in the text, and with the use of modern clothing items in the illustrations¹. However, there are inconsistencies between the text and the illustrations, and among the illustrations themselves. For example, Jemima is shown to wear a contemporary muffler and hat, while the text states that she is wearing a shawl and a poke bonnet. Moreover, the fox wears two different period costumes on neighbouring pages, both related to the same narrative event. Such inconsistencies and mismatches, together with the large amount of text corresponding to a picture, make it virtually impossible to analyse the text-picture interaction according to the framework we proposed.

In conclusion, the original *Jemima* has a unitary design, in which the visual and verbal elements are equally important and interdependent for overall effect. They are used purposefully to achieve, for example, a certain narrative rhythm, suspense, reader involvement, and construction of narrative elements. Potter’s approach requires readers to participate actively in the construction of meaning, by drawing conclusions from the image-text interaction. On the other hand, in the Romanian version, the alteration of the visual elements modifies the narrative and

¹ Such modernising tendencies are also visible elsewhere in the book, the most notable example being the image of Peter Rabbit shedding his coat and shoes (13), in which Peter’s outfit is partly that of a modern boy, including Puma-branded sneakers, a point we have also made elsewhere (Cocargeanu).

the reading experience. For example, the text is given prominence over the pictures, their original relationships are modified, and narrative elements such as characterisation and setting are changed. Finally, there are mismatches between the text and the pictures, as well as inconsistencies, which cannot be justified by assuming a purposeful strategy from the producers of the book. Several explanations for these changes are proposed below.

Looking for answers: interview findings discussed

The interview with the Romanian illustrator suggested that the changes were caused by a lack of collaboration between the producers of the book, the publisher's attitude to producing the book and to the role of visual elements, and the illustrator's artistic conceptions and views of children's literature. Thus, according to the illustrator, he was very little involved in the overall concept of the book, and rather simply fulfilled an order from the publishing house. It was the publisher who had decided the format, the layout, the type and placement of illustrations, and the number of colour plates. Furthermore, the illustrator did not see the original books or the complete translated text. He stated that the book editor only gave him a detailed account of the tales and several extracts from the Romanian version, together with the technical data mentioned above. Moreover, he never interacted with the translators, but collaborated well with the typesetter. Finally, the misplacement of the colour illustrations (preceding the pages where the events are actually narrated) occurred due to technical printing matters (sheet folding and cutting) over which, the illustrator affirmed, he had no control.

Some of the inconsistencies and mismatches of the Romanian edition can be explained, therefore, by this apparent lack of collaboration between the producers of the book (publisher, two translators, one illustrator, one typesetter, and the printing press staff). By contrast, Potter created both the illustrations and the text of her books, collaborated closely with her publisher, and monitored the production process. This dissimilarity supports Nikolajeva and Scott's discussion of "ownership" of (translated) picture books (29-61). Nikolajeva and Scott argue that the text-image interaction becomes more problematic to interpret as the number of people producing a picture book grows and their collaboration decreases, since "multiple intentionality" can foster ambiguity regarding the overall meaning of the book. Furthermore, Nikolajeva and Scott rightly explain that when there are contradictions between the text and the illustrations, it is difficult to decide if they are intentional, meant to create meaning, or they "simply [create] confusion and ambiguity – the kind of contradiction that arises from a mismatch of text and image, which might be due to an author and illustrator who do not work as a team ..." (30). Such seems to be the case of the Romanian edition, which partly explains why the visual-verbal relationship is different and less coherent than in the original. This also supports our claim above, regarding the impossibility of interpreting the text-image interaction in the realisation of setting.

The publisher's and the illustrator's individual decisions also contributed to the final make-up of the Romanian edition, and they can be related to the wider context in which the book was produced. Although further research is necessary to establish why the publisher decided to replace the original illustrations, format and layout, the illustrator underlined the significant role of the economic context. He described the 1990s as difficult for the publishing industry, which had to produce a diverse, yet accessibly priced, range of books. He stated that the publishing house Dacia was privatised in the early 1990s and then faced increasing difficulties¹. Financial considerations may have accounted also for the small format and the low proportion of colour illustrations. Additionally, the illustrator hinted at a possible lack of professionalism in book publishing in that period, in contrast with the early 2000s, when publishers started to work in more professionally.

These seem reasonable hypotheses, considering the history of state enterprises, including publishing houses, in post-communist Romania, and the overall economic difficulties that the country has been undergoing for the past three decades. The transition from a centrally-planned to a (badly managed) market-oriented one involved the privatisation, restructuring and sometimes closing down of state enterprises, including even the main pre-1989 children's literature publishers, Ion Creangă and Tineretului. The widespread economic difficulties faced by Romanians also justify the need to adapt pricing strategies to their incomes. However, such considerations do not account for the publisher's apparent carelessness, visible in his not providing the full text to the illustrator, not encouraging the illustrator to collaborate with the translators, and not verifying the quality of the final product. Therefore, the economic environment and a low degree of professionalism may account for some of the characteristics of the book.

In addition, the publisher's attitude to visual elements may also be explained by a particular view of their role in children's books, which foregrounds their decorative function. According to this view, visual elements make books more appealing to children, but are not indispensable to the narrative and the reading experience. The publisher disregarded or was not aware of these other functions of visual elements, especially in relation to Potter. This can explain the changes in layout and text-image relationship, and why it was not considered necessary to provide the full text to the illustrator.

Furthermore, the illustrator's experience and artistic conceptions regarding illustrations for children's books were also important for the make-up of the book. The illustrator stated that *Aventurile iepuraşului Peter* was an "experiment", the first children's book which he had illustrated. This may account for the degree of freedom which he declared he took when making the illustrations. His approach had a higher measure of independence from the verbal story than Potter's: "I have not followed the text word-by-word, it was also an attempt at freedom."; "... an illustration is never an exact rendering of the story, nor something very far from the

¹ In fact, Dacia eventually went bankrupt (Bacalu).

story. It should combine these things: be along the same line as the story, in its atmosphere, but create something parallel with it.”

The same free approach can account for the representation of culturally-specific items. The illustrator stated that he did not have a systematic method to locate the characters in a specific context. His was a more “impressionistic” and eclectic approach, based on how he had experienced children’s stories in his childhood, and how he was experiencing the present. Thus, he stated that he wanted to create a “fairy tale context” based on these past and present experiences, which could explain why both modern and period clothing are worn in Jemima’s story: “I’ve never thought that illustrations are like photographs, either of the story or of the present you are in. It’s like a putting together of everything that exists.”

It can be seen, therefore, that whereas Potter’s artistic outlook incorporated the text and the visual aspects into a coherent whole, the Romanian illustrator may have viewed things from a more unilateral perspective, that of creating the illustrations commissioned by the publisher. Since he affirmed that he did not see the originals before making his own illustrations, it is also very probable that he was not aware of Potter’s worldwide recognition as an author-illustrator. As mentioned above, Potter has been little known in Romanian until very recently. If she had been as well-known as in other countries, an awareness of her status and the characteristics of her artistic style might have changed both the illustrator’s and the publisher’s strategies.

Conclusions

The analysis of the visual elements in Beatrix Potter’s *Jemima* and its Romanian translation demonstrates that they were altered in significant ways in the translated edition, with implications for the narrative and the reading experience. In the original, they interact with the verbal elements in meaningful ways, create a specific narrative rhythm, reader involvement, suspense, humour and irony, and build the narrative, for example by contributing to characterisation or setting the story in a specific time and place. By contrast, in the Romanian edition, such effects are altered, eliminated or diminished, and there are mismatches and inconsistencies between the text and the illustrations, or between the illustrations themselves. Several explanations for these differences are proposed, by considering the findings of an interview with the illustrator of the Romanian edition, and the features of the source and target translation context. We conclude that the differences were caused by the 1990s economic context and publishing policies, the lack of collaboration between the producers of the book, the publisher’s and illustrator’s views of children’s literature and visual elements in children’s books. Further research is necessary to identify more precisely the publisher’s point of view, and to analyse Romanian children’s book publishing in the 1990s. However, our research demonstrates the relevance of visual elements for research into translated children’s literature, and the potential of this relatively unexplored field of research in Romania.

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UPDATING TRANSLATION THEORIES NEW MEDIA AND TECHNOLOGIES

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Abstract: The paper addresses several themes regarding the ever-changing landscapes of contemporary globalization, focusing on the new media and information technology; on the emergence of a global communication industry as well as on the place of localization, nowadays considered a strong business model (Maroto: 2008), and advertising within the field of translation studies. Considering the important role of cultural models in the study of the above-mentioned advances, and the guidelines provided by the theoretical framework, the hands-on approach analyzes the different marketing strategies adopted by advertisers in order to secure the advertising success of a product.

Keywords: Globalization, Translation, Cultural models, Localization, marketing strategies

Introduction

We structured our research around one highly debated topic nowadays, both in the media and the social sciences: contemporary globalization; and it is within this context we attempt to analyze the impact of a global communication industry on global marketing and the advertising business in order to understand their position within the field of Translation Studies.

An important change brought by this new globalized world is the emergence of trans-national companies (e.g. AOL, IBM, Microsoft, etc.) that can provide infrastructure (hardware and software) and access to 'news, information, entertainment and knowledge about the world in general' (Wilkin, 2001). It is crucial to be aware of the impact they have on the global economy and, besides their obvious presence in areas such as economy and marketing, we should not disregard their influence on all spheres of life, from politics or social systems to the everyday activities of the ordinary person. Their role is influential in the dissemination of globalist discourse where values, attitudes and identities are important prerequisites for a unified global communication.

Moreover, the continuous expansion of markets influenced the way products are promoted and sold, forcing companies to develop new and improved marketing strategies in order to adapt to the globalization era and increase their profits (Maroto, 2008). Here, the role of localization and cultural models becomes relevant and it will be further explained in the paper. For the practical approach, we have selected and analyzed a number of websites from different domains in order to understand how or if the theoretical framework applies to this type of products.

1. A Global Communication Industry

Within global marketing, advertisers consider localization, along with translation, internationalization, globalization and standardization¹, a key concept for the advertising success of a product and also a strong business model.

Drawing on a study provided by LISA, the Localization Industry Standards Association², a key player in the field of localization industry, globalization is thought of as a cycle, rather than a single process of product translation and cultural adaptation. Since globalization 'involves integrating localization throughout a company, after proper internationalization and product design, as well as marketing, sales and support in the world market' (LISA in Esselink, 4), we can now see that globalization encompasses both internationalization and localization, as primary technical processes (Figure 1).

Wright (1998) considers internationalization 'the lead-in activity to localization' because ensures the applicability of the source product in 'multiple languages and cultural conventions without the need for re-design.' In other words, by removing any cultural references, the source product can be easily localized with reduced costs.

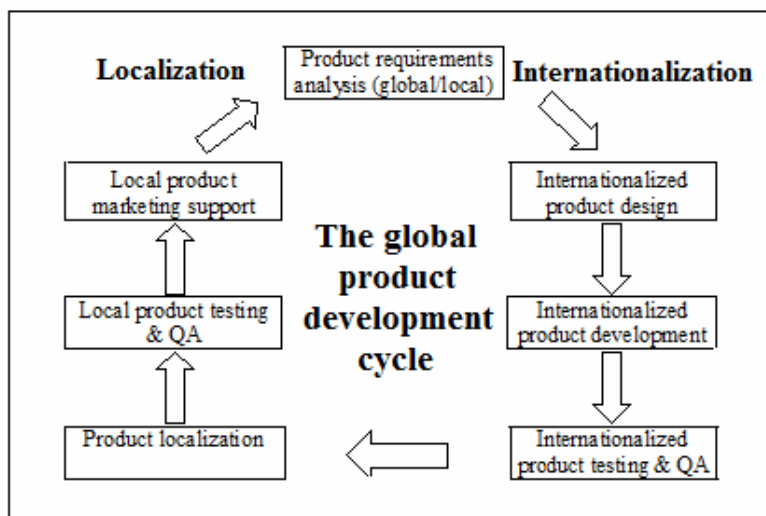
Interestingly, there are two directions adopted by marketers when promoting a product on an international scale: they either aim towards a specific target locale or choose to create a global image of the source product and market it globally (Declercq, 266).

The topic of globalization raises a further discussion on whether to standardize or localize a product. In global marketing it is crucial for an advertiser to know which strategy to adopt, whether the product is culturally bounded and therefore embraces the local attitudes and values of a community (via localization), or the product is tradition-free and then a standardization process is preferred³.

¹ Four of these concepts are also referred to as GILT: globalization, internationalization, localization and translation. The concepts are sometimes abbreviated with the number of characters between the first and last letter as a number between those two letters. GILT then includes: g11n, i18n, l10n, and t9n. (Declercq 263)

² LISA, established in 1990, anticipated the need for localization industry standards, and over the years became an important player in the field. LISA members include: Adobe Systems, Cisco Systems, the Directorate- Generale for Translation of the European Commission, Hewlett-Packard, Lessius Hogeschool, LionBridge, Nokia Corporation, SDL International, and World Bank Group.

³ There are scholars who suggest a similarity between the dichotomy: 'to standardize or localize' and the 'domestication' discussion in translation studies. (see Declercq, 266)



**Figure 1. The globalization process
(a chart adapted from the LISA website)**

No matter what marketing strategy companies adopt, we share Declercq's opinion that a 'functionalist and re-creative approach for the localization of advertisements' is the optimal solution for the promotion of a product (Declercq, 267).

From a translation studies perspective, Adab (2000) suggests a new concept, namely *glocalization*, in order to describe the 'optimum compromise' between the two principles of globalization and localization and explains it as the 'the production of a globally relevant ST, based on a message that will have similar impacts across different cultural contexts. Such messages will require minimum adaptation mainly at the level of style and use of language, to be relevant for any single target community' (Adab, 224).

1.1. Translation and localization

As far as the process of localization is concerned, LISA provides the following definition:

“Localization involves taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale (country, region and language) where it will be used and sold.” (Esselink, 2000: 3)

From a translation studies perspective, localization can be described as an industry that requires advanced knowledge in computer science, and follows three major fields of research: multilingual translation of complex technical texts,

software localization and audiovisual translation (subtitling, games, etc.). As LISA suggests, localization goes beyond translation as it ‘also involves more than just making the product readily available in the form and language of the target market. It must speak to the target audience, based on its cultural norms and their worldview’ (LISA, 1).

A simple description of the relationship between translation and localization would include a translator, on the one hand, aided by conventional tools (word processor, dictionaries, lists of terms, etc.); and software localization projects involving countless applications and computer programs, on the other hand. Moreover, localization is known to take place on three levels: translation level, technological level and cultural preferences. From this point on, it becomes clear that translation represents merely a part of the localization process.

1.2. Advertising and Localization

Narrowing down our research to the process of localization in particular and its effects on the advertising business, we point out two aspects: firstly, the message of the advertisement, usually understood as a one-way communication, is now influenced by the audience it addresses; and secondly, the advertising discourse of companies reflects the cultural values and identities of a community (Goddard, 1998).

For this reason, advertisers follow the ‘backbook of innate guidelines’ (Declercq, 268) with defined local requirements in order to obtain a customized target market, where the identity-building values and the cultural references are easily recognized and embraced.

According to their advertising needs, Wind, Douglas and Perlmutter (1973) consider there are four types of advertising companies with four different attitudes towards the marketing business. Also known as the EPRG model, this categorization according to attitudes is ‘assumed to reflect the goals and philosophies of the company with respect to international operations and lead to different marketing strategies and planning procedures’ (Wind et al., 14):

- ethnocentric (home country orientation), standardized campaigns; the company focuses on its own base and products; without adding values in foreign countries;

- polycentric (host country orientation): often happens in the case of multinational companies that have a subsidiary to develop its own marketing strategy; unilateral advertising policy;

- regiocentric (a regional orientation): markets are considered according to regions (Scandinavia, British Isles, EU as a whole etc.); and because of the diversity of these regions, the advertising policy focuses on images, not language;

- and geocentric (a global orientation): such companies represent a combination of ethnocentric and polycentric attitudes, with an integrated marketing strategy oriented towards the world seen as one big market.

However, we note that companies, regardless of their advertising policy, respect the local requirements of the target community and even though they prefer a standardized tone in marketing, they also try to maximize the effect of local advertising, aiming towards an integrated communicative approach (Bennett, Blythe and Adler, 2003). An exception is made in the case of successful companies, when the brand name is so easily recognizable that a standardized approach is considered the optimal solution. A few examples of global brand and their slogans are: 'Always Coca Cola', 'Nokia: Connecting People', 'L'Oreal: Because you're worth it' etc.

2. Cultural models and marketing strategies

Based on the above discussion, we can agree that culture is considered a key element when adopting a marketing strategy, be it via a standardization process or a localization one. Therefore, we need to understand what constitutes a culture in order to interpret it. Cronin's (2006: 46) definition of culture as 'the essentialized way of life of a people, and generally linked to a geopolitical territory', followed by Declercq's assumption that the best way to understand what a culture consists of is to apply a definition in a cultural model and implement it in a marketing strategy to see if it raises 'cultural sensitivities' (Declercq, 270).

For this reason, we have adopted Hofstede's dimensions of cultural models¹, one of the most frequently used approaches in marketing and localization², cultural models that Marcus and Gould (2001) applied to web design and interface structure and elements, in order to examine how much influence do the five dimensions of the cultural model have on this field of research.

The first dimension arranges countries according to a 'power distance index' (PDI), that is an axis where inequality is defined by 'the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions (like the family) accept and expect that power is distributed unequally' (Hofstede n.d. b). Applied to web design, the awareness that a country like China, in Asia, has a higher PDI than most Scandinavian countries in Europe, results in more official logos or seals, structure and symmetry as well as pictures of buildings rather than pictures of people; compared to an European web site.

The second dimension contrasts individualism (IDV) and collectivism, where individualist societies are characterized as having much looser ties between the people than a collectivist society. Here, Marcus and Gould suggest that an individualist society prefers images of success instead of achievement of sociopolitical agenda, youth and action instead of age and wisdom, or innovative and unique elements instead of traditional and historical ones (Marcus and Gould, 12).

¹ Other cultural models are by Hall, Katan, Trompenaars, Schwartz and Gray.

² Hofstede gathered data from IBM employees from many different countries in order to comprise a four dimensions cultural model, later adding a fifth.

Drawing on Hofstede's remark that 'another fundamental issue for any society is the distribution of roles between the genders' (Hofstede, n.d. b) we reach the masculinity versus femininity dimension that, transmitted in web design, reflects images that stress traditional gender distinctions (or the opposite).

Fourthly, the Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI) deals with how the members of a particular culture feel when caught in an unexpected, surprising situation. Here, societies with a high UAI have the tendency to apply more laws and norms in order to make the citizens feel comfortable. These types of cultures require simplicity and more navigation possibilities from a webpage. The fifth dimension to the cultural model developed by Hofstede implies long-term orientation (LTO) versus short-term orientation, and here, we notice that societies with a high LTO are focused on achieving results through practice and patience, while low LTO societies focus on truth and the achievement of goals.

Despite Hofstede's cultural framework, where countries are culturally bounded, differences arise. Hofstede himself agrees and stresses the fact that relativism is necessary when dealing with such cultural models.

3. A hands - on approach

In order to establish how the theoretical framework applies to our corpus, we selected four websites from two countries with different cultural dimensions, Romania and the United Kingdom and analyzed their marketing strategies based on Geert Hofstede's model.

Firstly, we examined two university websites of the two countries that have significantly different PD indices: the website of Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, in Romania (<http://www.ubbcluj.ro/en>) with a PD index rating of 90, and the website of Queen Mary's University of London (<http://www.qmul.ac.uk>), in the UK, with a PD index of 35 (Figures 2 and 3).



Figure 2. Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca (<http://www.ubbcluj.ro/en>)

UPDATING TRANSLATION THEORIES



Figure 3. Queen Mary's University of London
(<http://www.qmul.ac.uk>)

The analysis reveals several differences between these two websites: we notice not one, but two logos for the country with higher PD and a more symmetrical and structured website. Interestingly, given the fact that Romania is considered a collectivistic society, with a IDV score of 30, we notice how the word 'tradition' is embedded in the very logo of the university. The UK site, with an IDV index of 89, puts emphasis on change: what is new and unique vs. tradition and history .

The MAS dimension from Hofstede's analysis shows a rather similar result for both countries, index of 42 in Romania and 66 in the UK, making them relatively feminine societies. Indeed, both websites emphasize the following: blurred gender roles, mutual cooperation, exchange, visual aesthetics, and appeals to unifying values.

Secondly, we have selected the websites of two airline companies: Tarom Airline, in Romania (<http://www.tarom.ro/en/>) and British Airways (<http://www.britishairways.com/>), in the UK (Figures 4 and 5).



Figure 4. Tarom Airline, in Romania
(<http://www.tarom.ro/en/>)

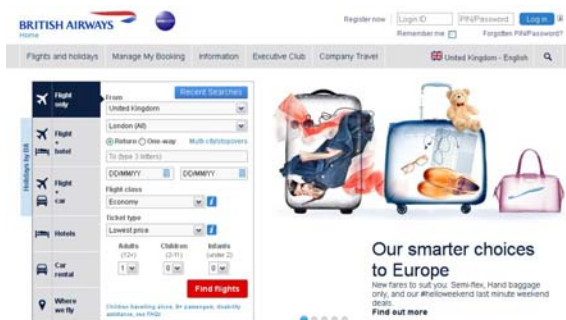


Figure 5. British Airways, in the UK
 (<http://www.britishairways.com/>)

In the case of the Uncertainty Avoidance dimension, the two countries present further dissimilarities because Romania, with an index of 90, has a very high preference for avoiding uncertainty. Hence, the Romanian website is characterized by simplicity, limited choices, and restricted amounts of data; navigation schemes intended to prevent users from becoming lost; redundant cues (color, typography, sound, etc.) to reduce ambiguity. The UK is positioned at the other end of the continuum with a low index of 35, therefore we find much more complexity of content and choices; popup windows, multiple types of interface controls; and ‘hidden’ content that must be displayed by scrolling.

Drawing the line on the above discussion, we believe that the advertising and success of a product are strongly influenced by cultural, social and economic factors and they are all taken into account when designing a marketing strategy.

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THE ACQUISITION OF ‘GOOSE’ AND ‘FOOT’ BY ROMANIAN LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

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Abstract: The paper investigates to what extent the tense vs. lax quality of the GOOSE vs. FOOT lexical set of monophthongs are acquired by Romanian learners by bringing phonetic evidence either in favour of or against the following models: the Speech Learning Model (Flege 1986, 1997), the Theory of Interlanguage (Selinker 1972) and the Ontogeny Phylogeny Model (Major 1997). According to the findings, SLM does hold since the respondents have the tendency to create laxer categories. Intermediate values are encoded by new interlanguage categories, which exhibit a mixture of RP GOOSE and FOOT.

Keywords: lax, tense, interlanguage, Praat, GOOSE, FOOT

Preliminaries and aim

The GOOSE and FOOT experiment is meant to provide valuable findings regarding the tense quality of GOOSE and the lax quality of FOOT. Basically the leading questions which guide my investigation are the following:

- (1) Do Romanian learners of English distinguish GOOSE from FOOT given the fact that only GOOSE features in their native language?
- (2) Does GOOSE have an assimilatory function over FOOT? If so, which type of context favours partial or complete assimilation?
- (3) When phonetically realized, is GOOSE closer to Romanian or to English? What do the mean values of the formants indicate in this sense?

The theoretical framework

The Ontogeny Phylogeny Model (henceforth OPM)

OPM captures the basic patterns of interlanguage, the relationships between L1 and L2 as well as universals. “As L2 increases, L1 decreases, and U [universals] increases and then decreases” (Major 2001: 82). In the earlier stages of L2 acquisition (i.e. the kindergarten category and the third graders’ category) L1 interference is the dominant factor, and the role of universals is minimal. In later stages the only element on the rise is the influence of L2 with concurrent decline of the role of L1 and universals (Yavaş 2005: 206).

Predictions for the present study

The kindergarten category and the third graders' category are expected to be transfer-oriented: the English lax vowels will be replaced with their relatively tense Romanian correspondents.

The Speech Learning Model (SLM)

The formation of new phonetic categories is directly dependent on the similarity of the L1 and L2 phonemes (Flege 1987).

Predictions for the present study

The /ʊ/ vs. /u:/ pair will be assimilated to the Romanian /u/ category.

The selected speakers might be expected to set up separate categories for the English lax vowels.

The Second Language Linguistic Perception Model (L2LP)

A New scenario (Escudero 2005) occurs when the L2 comprises more phonetic/phonological categories than L1. In this case, the learner will start out with a single category for the two phonemes which might be used contrastively in L2. Furthermore, the learner will split the L1 category to conform to the L2 input. The model proposes that the dimensions not employed in L1 will be easier to employ for the formation of the new category (Makarova 2010: 58).

Predictions for the present study

The relationship between the English and Romanian vowel inventory is a set to superset one (Chițoran et. al 1987); or the dimensions not employed in L1 will be easier to employ for the formation of the new category.

The Markedness Differential Hypothesis (MDH)

Those areas of the TL which differ from the NL and are more marked than the NL will be difficult. The relative degree of difficulty of the areas of difference of the TL which are more marked than the NL will correspond to the relative degree of markedness (Eckman 1977: 321).

A structure X is typologically marked relative to another structure, Y, (and Y is typologically unmarked relative to X) if every language that has X also has Y, but every language that has Y does not necessarily have X (Gundel et al. 1988: 108). Therefore, markedness is defined as an implicational relation.

Predictions for the present study

The phonological representation of /ʊ/ is typologically marked relative to another phonological representation, /u:/, if every language that has /ʊ/ also has /u:/ (i.e.

English), but every language that has /u:/ does not necessarily have /ʊ/ (i.e. Romanian).

The theory of interlanguage

Interlanguage stands for the intermediate states or interim grammars of a learner's language as it moves toward the target L2. Selinker (1972). IL is a third language system in its own right which differs from both L1 and L2 during the course of its development (Saville-Troike 2009: 41).

Predictions for the present study

Romanian learners of English are expected to acoustically mix the mean values of the two formants typical of English and Romanian, creating thus new categories which are in between the native system and the target one.

The data

Informants

For the current experiment I conducted, I used a number of 70 subjects as follows: 14 very young learners in the kindergarten category (source: Just4Kids kindergarten in Bucharest), 17 subjects in the third graders' category (source: School no. 149 in Bucharest), 17 lower students in the seventh graders' category, and 22 upper students in the seventh graders' category (source: The Military Technical Academy in Bucharest).

Tests and methodology

For this linguistic experiments I carried out, I used a laptop Dell Vostro1310 make, series: 5Q1864J. Besides, a Canyon outer microphone CNR-MIC2 was required as well as speakers Logitech make, series: 3L0288. All the target words were digitized onto the Praat speech analysis software at a sampling rate of 44100 Hz. I have used Praat – a program designed by Boersma and Weenink (2010) at the Department of Phonetics of the University of Amsterdam – to conduct the phonetic speech analysis since it is constantly being improved and a new build, featuring extra options, is published almost every week. More precisely, Praat provides objective and precise data (spectrograms, formants etc.) concerning the acoustic parameters of phonemes. In my dissertation I have used version 5.2.03 as well as the edition for Windows XP. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that Praat is restricted to processing mono signals in mono files. I have worked only with WAV format and measured the mean values of the required formants with the formant tracker function. After saving all speech samples as WAV files, I assigned a directory for each type of test. It is mandatory for the formants to be set to a value suitable for the speaker. Thus, the standard value of 5500 Hz is suitable for females and children, whereas the value of 5000 Hz is strongly recommended for males.

Following Boersma and Weenink (2010), if the value 5500 Hz is used for an adult male, two few formants are obtained in the low frequency region. Nonetheless my main concern had always been that all recordings should take place in as quiet a place as possible. As a result, I conducted the experiments individually, within the school building, in the library or in classrooms, attempting to avoid as much as possible the occasional background noise that interfered with the speech samples I obtained from the selected subjects. Since all the recordings I made didn't take place in a soundproof booth in phonetics laboratories, I considered it necessary to filter the data before analyzing it in order to get accurate mean values for the formants¹.

I elicited three kinds of speech style from the subjects since stylistic variation often operates along the same scale as social class differences in speech, and also reflects differences in the social context in which a speaker finds him- or herself interacting at a given time, as can be seen in the studies of Trudgill (2002), Labov (1977) and Kamata (2006). Thus, I will mention the three kinds of speech style in the exact order they were elicited from the subjects: interview style, reading-passage style, word-list style. As for the kindergarten category, all texts were replaced with flashcards and visual material since this particular category of students cannot read. Therefore, each session was divided into roughly three sections: guided interview, reading-passage which I entitled text reading in my thesis, and word-list reading. Following Labov's (1977) view, the prediction I make as a starting point for my research is that my students will outperform when it comes to reading the list of words. Since the words lack a particular context, all the subjects will focus on the form and, thus, on the appropriate pronunciation of the given words. When it comes to the second type of test, reading a text paragraph, they will come across major difficulties because they have to focus both on the message the text conveys, but also on the pronunciation. The poorest performance I estimate will be for the guided interview part. Here the selected subjects have to pay attention to their interlocutor, and use their receptive and productive skills. In what follows I want to check if the results I obtain confirm or not Labov's (1977) theory.

These pictures² were used for the GOOSE and FOOT experiment with the kindergarten and third graders' informants. The actual pictures were approximately 25 cm x 20 cm and brightly coloured. The targets in the left column contain the FOOT lax quality of the elicited monophthongs, whereas the targets in the right column contain the GOOSE tense quality of the elicited monophthongs.

¹ I acknowledge the technical assistance of Professor Amado Ștefan of the Military Technical Academy in Bucharest.

² Adapted from <http://www.shiporsheep.com>.



1. *look* [lʊk]



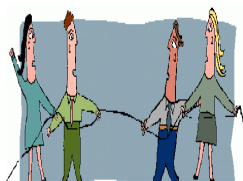
2. *Luke* [lu:k]



3. *full* [fʊɫ]



4. *fool* [fu:ɫ]



5. *pull* [pʊɫ]



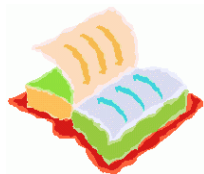
6. *pool* [pu:ɫ]



7. *foot* [fʊt]



8. *food* [fu:d]



9. *book* [bʊk]



10. *boo* [bu:]

Table 1 illustrates the aggregate of GOOSE and FOOT tokens elicited from the kindergarten category in the most formal type of text, “name the missing card”. The table also shows the phonological environment in which the tokens occur, accompanied by the specification minimal pair or lexical word.

Phonological environment		No. of tokens
/l _ k/	minimal pair	/ʊ/ = 1; /u:/ = 1
/f _ l/	minimal pair	/ʊ/ = 1; /u:/ = 1
/p _ l/	minimal pair	/ʊ/ = 1; /u:/ = 1
/f _ t/ - /f _ d/	minimal pair	/ʊ/ = 1; /u:/ = 1
/b _ k/ - /b _ /	minimal pair	/ʊ/ = 1; /u:/ = 1

Table 1. Target words in Guided interview, Name the missing card, Picture labelling with the specification of the phonological environments. The kindergarten category. Sample.

Spectrographic analysis

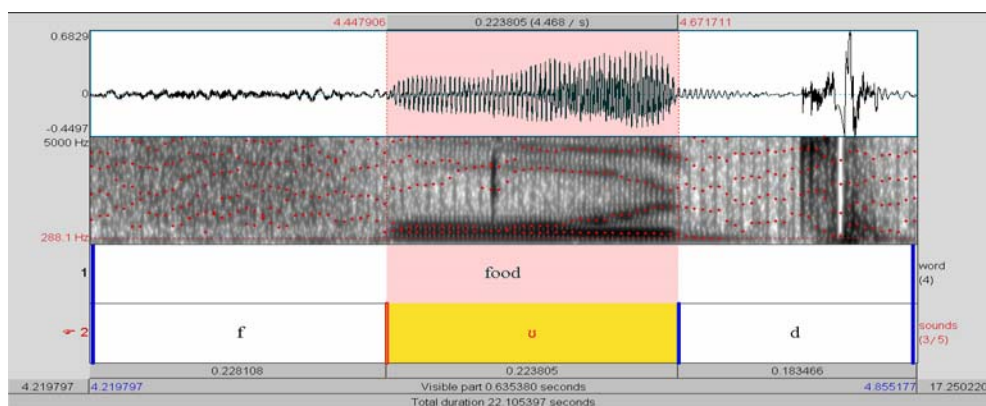


Figure 1. food (Subject BB. The kindergarten category). The guided interview.

Figure 1 is a spectrogram of an utterance of the GOOSE monophthong in the /f _ d/ context. Given the F1 and F2 measurements (F1 equals 537 Hz and F2 is 1187 Hz), there is no doubt that the quality of the nucleus is more in the region of FOOT than in the GOOSE area. Contrary to my expectations, Figure 1 brings consistent phonetic evidence which proves that the GOOSE category was assimilated by the FOOT laxer category.

Illustrated below is the rendition of foot to which I will turn my attention now. Consider, thus, Figure 2 which shows the vowel spectrum of the FOOT monophthong in the /f _ t/ context

Figure 2: foot (Subject BB. The kindergarten category). The guided interview.

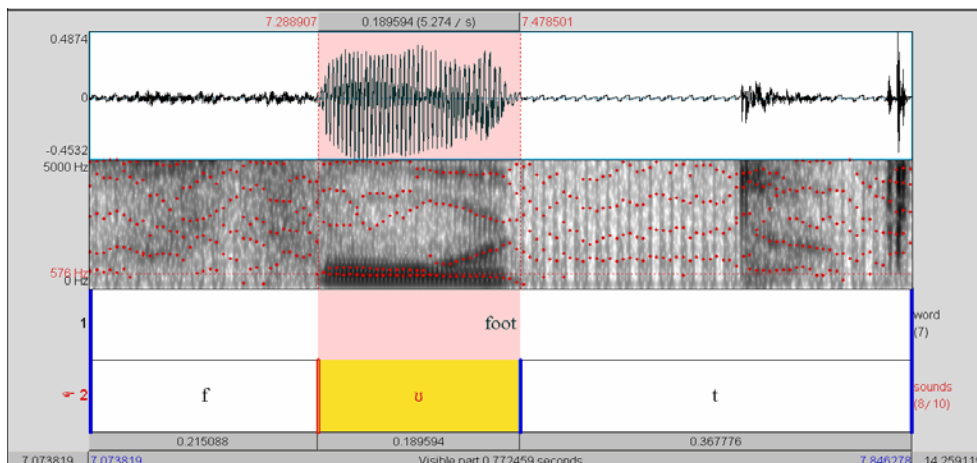


Figure 2. foot (Subject BB. The kindergarten category). The guided interview.

The tendency of subject BB was to realize the vowel nucleus in the region of the lax area. Thus, the mean value of F1 of the current utterance equals 477 Hz which is higher than RP FOOT which measures 380 Hz as is well known. With respect to F2, the measurements indicate a value of 1012 Hz which is higher both than RP GOOSE and FOOT. Therefore, the utterance of the word FOOT is accurate, but a further comment is still required: the rendition of the vowel is by far laxer than expected. Furthermore, as I pointed out when discussing Figure 35, the duration cue (marked on the selected portion of the spectrogram) was employed by the Romanian speaker BB to discriminate FOOT from GOOSE.

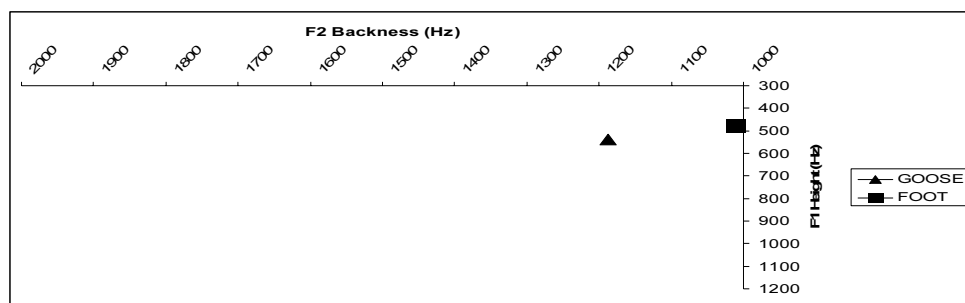


Figure 3. Formant plot of GOOSE and FOOT (Subject BB. The kindergarten category). The guided interview.

As shown in Figure 3 above, the two categories are not all merged, being successfully discriminated. Still one can observe that in spite of the distance which exists between GOOSE and FOOT which mathematically equals 61 Hz (in the event of subtracting F1 of FOOT – indicated in Figure 1 above– from F1 of GOOSE – indicated in Figure 2 above–).

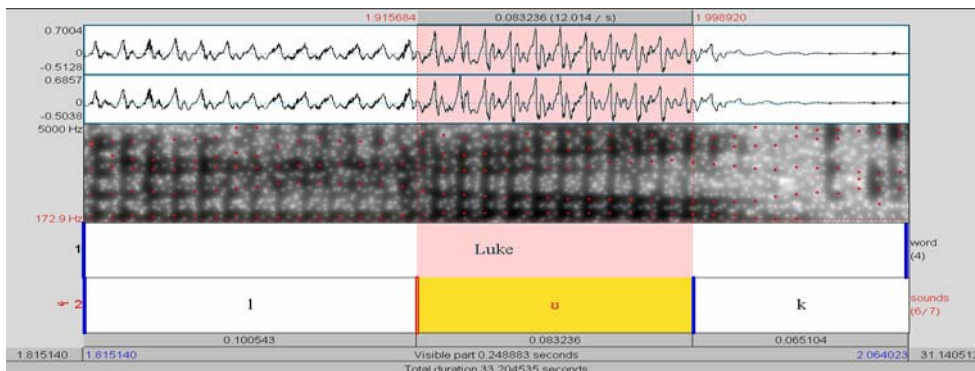


Figure 4. Luke (Subject IP. The seventh graders' category). Text reading.

Figure 4 is a spectrogram of an utterance of the word *Luke*. The automatic function of the speech analysis Praat software indicates that F1 measures 453 Hz and F2 equals 1242 Hz. This means that the GOOSE category was replaced with the FOOT category. Compare these values to the ones provided by the spectrogram in Figure 5, and one can safely observe the degree of laxness indicated by F1. The nucleus of the word *Luke* exhibits a laxer quality than the nucleus in the word *look* illustrated in Figure 5 below. Note the duration cue, too which also reverses the data reported in the literature. The vowel phoneme in *Luke* measures 0.08326 seconds which is by far shorter than the FOOT category marked on the selected portion of the spectrogram in Figure 5 (which measures 0.120860 seconds). This finding is definitely contrary to the data reported in the literature. The duration cue should have been reversed so that the monophthong in *look* would have been shorter than the monophthong in *Luke*.

Consider now Figure 5 below for a more detailed investigation of an utterance of the word *look*. The nucleus was accurately produced in the area of RP FOOT with F1 measuring 445 Hz and F2 equaling 1233 Hz. Undoubtedly these values are consistent with RP FOOT.

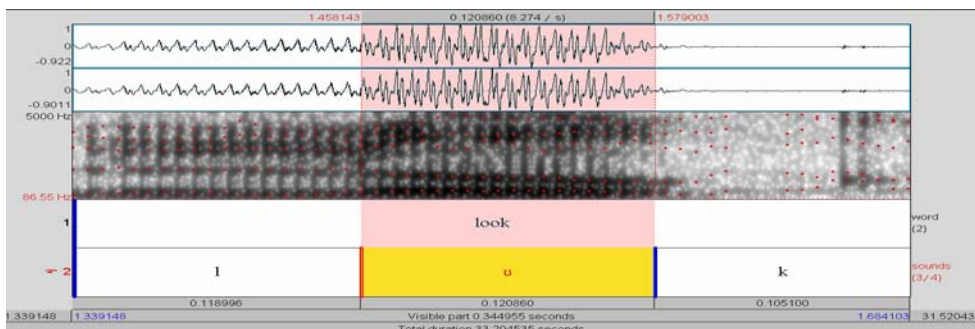


Figure . look (Subject IP. The seventh graders' category). Text reading.

If one plots the values obtained from the spectrograms in Figures 41 and 42 above, one would notice that the two categories are assimilated to one category which is represented by an interlanguage category very similar to RP FOOT. If F1 in *look* is subtracted from F1 in *Luke*, the result equals 8 Hz (Constantin: 2012).

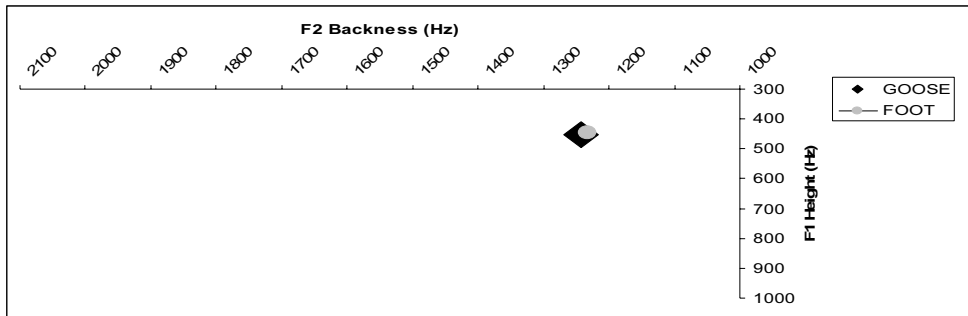


Figure 6. Formant plot of GOOSE and FOOT (Subject IP. The seventh graders' category). Text reading.

Conclusions

OPM is not validated by the current findings since the kindergarten category and the third graders' category are not transfer-oriented. In fact these two categories who are in their early stages of acquiring GOOSE and FOOT proved to assign different underlying representations to GOOSE and FOOT as shown by the formant plots and the result obtained from GOSSE F1 subtracted from the FOOT F1. Therefore the distance between the two categories was mathematically proven by the data.

SLM is partially validated by the findings I obtained. In light with Flege (1987), I advocate that, given the similarity between the English tense GOOSE and its Romanian relative tense counterpart, Romanian speakers of English phonetically realized categories which encode intermediate values between GOOSE and FOOT which are closer to GOOSE, therefore to the tense quality already existing in L1.

Romanian learners of English produce merging between GOOSE and FOOT but not in all contexts. As previously shown by the graphs stylistic considerations should be taken into account, too. Thus, Labov's theory (1977) is 100% validated by the data within the all four categories: merging is favoured by the less formal contexts: text reading and the guided interview.

It seems that the new scenario (Escudero 2005) successfully applies in the formal context but not so successfully in the informal settings. Thus, the Romanian /e/ category split and two distinct categories arose for GOOSE and GOOSEFOOT_{MERGE}. Even if duration is not employed contrastively in Romanian to make the distinction between the monophthongs the Romanian vowel system comprises as indicated in the contrastive analysis (Chițoran et. al 1987), it turned

out that in the experiment I conducted duration was used to reinforce the discrimination between GOOSE and GOOSEFOOT_{MERGE}. In this sense the predictions within the L2LP framework are validated.

Since FOOT is typologically marked relative to GOOSE, MDH accounts for the Romanian informants' preference of GOOSE to FOOT. Therefore, the Romanian learners whose utterances I investigated turned out to encounter difficulties in realizing the FOOT phoneme since it is a more marked area in TL and a nonexistent area in the source language. To conclude, MDH was totally confirmed by the data I obtained: Romanian learners of English produce the unmarked GOOSE more easily compared to the marked FOOT counterpart which is 90% merged with the GOOSE tense quality.

IL is entirely validated by the clear-cut findings of the present thesis: the Romanian informants I tested exhibit a series of merging features which make me claim within the IL framework that the subjects mixed the acoustic features of English GOOSE and FOOT with those in their L1 and created new categories such as GOOSEFOOT_{MERGE}.

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ON THE POSSIBILITY OF ACTUALITY ENTAILMENT IN ROMANIAN BEYOND ABILITY MODALS

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Abstract: The paper investigates the possibility of actuality entailment in Romanian beyond the scope of (perfective) ability modals. It looks instead at a so-called mis-behaved (or semi-) implicative verb, *a încerca* ‘try’ – alongside other verbs of the ‘strive’ class – and shows that actuality entailment can be triggered with such predicates on condition that the subjunctive is replaced by a *de* + indicative structure in Romanian. It is only in such structures that *a încerca* ‘try’ behaves like a true implicative, on a par with ‘manage’ verbs. Thus, the *de*-construction seems to have a similar effect to that brought about by perfective morphology on ability modals – or by alternative coordinating/causative structures available cross-linguistically for implicative verbs also.

Keywords: ability, modals, implicative verbs, subjunctive, indicative, actuality entailment

0. Outline

Drawing on more recent studies which argue in favour of teasing apart actuality entailment readings from the (exclusive) realm of perfective ability modals, the present paper investigates the possibility of such effects in Romanian with verbs other than *a putea* ‘can/be able to’. We look instead at the semantics of *a încerca* ‘try’ and similar ‘strive’ verbs and we show that the non-veridicality of the subjunctive complements of such predicates can be shifted towards actuality entailment when they appear in a different configuration, i.e., in the vicinity of what we have dubbed the ‘*de*-construction’ (a construction headed by what looks like the complementizer ‘*de*’, followed by the indicative form of the verb). Without committing ourselves as to the precise categorical status of ‘*de*’ in the aforementioned construction, we bring what we hope is convincing evidence that this configuration switches the non/semi-implicative meaning of ‘try/strive’ verbs to actuality entailment readings.

The paper is organized as follows: in *Section 1*, we set the stage by introducing the concept of ‘actuality entailment’ – both within and without the scope of ability modals (marked for perfective morphology). Having shown that actuality entailment is also available in other contexts than with matrix modal verbs, *Section 2* discusses the case of ‘try’ (versus ‘manage’) and shows how this mis-behaved (hence, non-veridical) implicative (when it selects subjunctive complements) can trigger the veridicality implication in a specific configuration which is, significantly, built with an indicative form of the verb. Based on studies

which look into the semantics of trying and try-verbs, we argue that this configuration (i.e., try + de + vb_{indicative}) is a causative one of the type ϕ CAUSE [BECOME ψ], that is, one in which the initial event (the trying event) necessarily triggers a result state. Finally, a brief *Section 3* draws the conclusion.

1. What is ‘actuality entailment’ (AE)?

Before discussing actuality entailment by looking at contexts other than modal verbs (in association with which actuality entailment has mostly been discussed), let us explain more plainly what the term refers to. It is due to Bhatt (1999) (who also dubs it “*veridicality entailment*”) and basically refers to the interpretation of the complements of ability modals. More to the point, under certain conditions or in certain configurations (see below), the truth of their complement clause is implied. We therefore find ourselves before a distinction between pure/generic ability (which is thus non-veridical, hence the truth of p is not implied) vs. *actualized* ability (veridical, so the truth of p is implied).

Let us have a look at some of the most relevant studies on the topic and their account of actuality entailment.

1.1. Bhatt (1998, 2006)

For English, a language which does not have a clearly marked perfective-imperfective distinction, the claim is that *was able to* is ambiguous between two readings: a) an implicative one (according to which it would be the equivalent of “managed to”) and b) an abilitative one (i.e., “had the ability to”). The two readings can be seen in the example in (1) below:

- (1) a. Yesterday, John was able to eat five apples in an hour. (past episodic)
 b. In those days, John was able to eat five apples in an hour. (past generic)
 (1998: 74)

It is only (1a) that has the actuality implication. That is, only according to (1a) above can we understand that John actually ate five apples in an hour.

More reliable cross-linguistic evidence comes from languages which do have a perfective-imperfective distinction in the past (i.e., Greek): when the ability modal is in the imperfective, the assertion can be denied (i.e., it can be followed by a clause asserting that the ability was not actualized) (cf. 2a), whereas when the ability modal is in the perfective, the modal assertion cannot be denied (i.e., it disallows a sequel which asserts the proposition of the complement clause (2b))

- (2) a. Borusa na sikoso afto to trapezi ala den to sikosa
 CAN.**impfv**.1s NA lift.non-pst-pfv.1s this the table but NEG it lift.impfv
 ‘(In those days), I could lift this table but I didn’t lift it.’

- b. Boresa na tu miliso (# ala den tu milisa)
 CAN.pst-**pfv**.1s NA him talk.non-pst-pfv.1s but NEG him talk.pst-pfv
 ‘I was able to talk to John (* but I did not talk to him).’ (Bhatt 2006: 161)

Thus, the difference between modal and actuality ABLE is described as a lexical effect brought about by perfective aspect, such that actualized ability (*PERF* (*able p*)) lexicalizes as an implicative verb (in the sense of Karttunen 1971), whereas pure ability is signaled as *GEN* (*able p*) and does not take on the implicative meaning. So, ability modals behave like implicative verbs in disguise in their circumstantial readings; the actuality entailment (henceforth, AE) vanishes in imperfective sentences because imperfective morphology comes with an extra modal element, the generic operator GEN.

1.2. Hacquard (2009)

Hacquard points out a few problems with Bhatt’s analysis. The first and most obvious one would be that (as pointed out by Bhatt himself), it predicts that implicative verbs like *manage* ought to lose their implicative behavior when combined with imperfective morphology, which is obviously not the case. Secondly, there is the rather undesirable solution of positing two lexical entries for ABLE.

The proposal put forth by the author is that (all) modals share a core semantics and that they should be differentiated on structural grounds. Thus, the proposed structural account claims that in spite of specific aspectual/temporal morphology on the modal, Aspect is interpreted *below* the modal with deontic and epistemic readings but *above* the modal with circumstantial readings. So, AE arises when aspect scopes above the modal

- (3) a. Jane a pu courir.
 Jane was able to run
 b. [TP past [AspP perf [ModP can [VP Jane run]]]]

For (3b), the reading would go as follows: “There is an event in the actual world located in a past interval, and there is a world compatible with the circumstances in the actual world where that event is a ‘run by Jane’ event.”¹

1.3. Discarding the perfective analysis?

Some (more) recent studies have taken issue with the earlier claim that AE exclusively obtains with modals in the presence of perfective morphology. Let us briefly consider some of these before moving on to a discussion of AE in Romanian.

¹ For Romanian, Aspect outscoping the modal would yield a reading along the lines of “J. a putut sa alerge” (was able to run) (AE) (whereas modal outscoping aspect would read as “J. poate sa fi alergat” (could have run)).

1.3.1. Mari & Martin (2009)

The authors point out some problems with previous analyses. Firstly, (at least in French), modals do not *always* trigger the AE in perfective sentences under their circumstantial readings, such that the AE can be cancelled in at least two cases:

1) when the context makes clear that the circumstances (or the ability, the opportunity to reach the goal) are temporally bounded (see the italicized adverbial), as shown in the example under (4):

- (4) La carte a permis *pendant dix minutes seulement* d'entrer dans la bibliothèque. OK Mais stupidement je n'en ai pas profité.
'The card permitted.PERF for ten minutes only to enter the library. But stupidly, I didn't enjoy the opportunity.

2) AE is not necessarily triggered when the infinitival complement contains a stative predicate, as shown in (5) – here, in spite of the perfective on the matrix modal, the proposition in the complement clause selected by the modal can be denied/refuted (so there is no AE)

- (5) T'as pu.PERF avoir un repas gratuit, et tu ne t'es même pas levé !
You could have a meal for free, and you even didn't get up !

1.3.2. Giannakidou & Staraki (2010)

This other pair of authors discusses evidence from Greek, focusing on the distinction between *ability as potential for action* and *ability as action itself*. Their claim is that the phenomenon of AE is not just aspectual: actualized ability emerges with the ability verb also with imperfective aspect and present tense.

Instead, AE is assumed to be due to a *causation* structure – two clauses connected with conjunction *ke* 'and' – which triggers a shift from pure ability to ability as *force*. One such instance is illustrated in (6)

- (6) I Maria **borese ke** eftiakse to aftokinito.
Maria could.perf.3sg and fixed the car
Mary could, and did, fix the car. (2010: 9)

Interestingly, this structure is also shown to be available with implicative verbs in Greek (of the *try* and (especially) *manage* class). This brings us closer to our aims stated above, for it opens up the way for a discussion of AE beyond the scope of (ability) modals in Romanian.

1.4. Questions for Romanian

Looking at examples involving the ability modal *a putea* ‘can/be able to’ in Romanian, cf. (7), the questions that one should ask at this point would be at least two, as follows: 1) : Does the perfective on the ability modal impose AE on the complement? Is this AE cancellable – and if yes, under what conditions? and 2) Are there any other alternative constructions where AE emerges?

- (7) a. Ion putea sa scape (OK dar nu a facut-o)
 Ion could-imperf sbj escape (but didn’t do it)
 ‘John could have escaped (but he didn’t)
 b. Ion a putut sa scape. (?* dar nu a facut-o)
 Ion could-perf sbj escape (?* but didn’t do it)
 ‘John was able to escape (?? But he didn’t)

As far as the second question is concerned, let us observe that the co-ordination structure is not available for *a putea* in Romanian (unlike its Greek counterpart), as shown in (8):

- (8) a. (?) Ion a putut **si** a reperat masina.
 Ion could-perf and fixed-perf car-the
 b. (??) Ion putea **si** repara masina.
 Ion could-imperf and fixed-imperf car-the

However, the coordination construction is freely available with implicatives. In (9) below, (9b) is quoted from an online source:

- (9) a. Ion a reusit/izbutit **si** si-a rupt piciorul.
 ‘Ion managed and broke his leg’
 b. Am izbutit **si** mi-am imbunatatit mosia de am facut-o ca o gradina ¹
 ‘I managed and improved my estate so that I made it a garden.’
 c. Ion a incercat si-a gatit o tarta.
 ‘John tried and baked a cake.’

Next to the coordination structure, Romanian has another structure at its disposal which it uses with implicative verbs (11) but not with the ability modal (10). This is a structure made up by the element ‘*de*’², followed necessarily by an indicative form of the verb³.

¹ <http://www.zf.ro/ziarul-de-duminica/beyul-de-samos-3015921/>

² ‘*de*’ is a most ubiquitous element in Romanian, fulfilling/signaling a wide range of functions, from infinitive complementizer to subordinating conjunction. We refrain at this point from committing ourselves as to the (syntactic) status of ‘*de*’ in the discussed constructions.

³ Note also that the use of this construction in the considered contexts seems to be more frequent and wide-spread in the central and northern parts of Romania (Transilvania). It might also be looked upon

- (10) a. (?) Ion a putut de -a reparat masina
 Ion could-perf DE repaired-perf car-the
 b. (??) Ion putea de repara masina.
 Ion could-imperf DE repaired-imperf
- (11) a. și, până să mă ajungă, eu [...] **am izbutit de m-am îngropat** în țărână¹
 Eventually, I managed DE buried myself in dust
 b. ..asa **am reusit de am adunat tot...**²
 thus we succeeded DE gathered all
 c. Era tarziu pentru Vasile, socrul meu care ne-a rugat sa nu ne lasam si
am izbutit de am revendicat frumusetea aproape distrusa³
 [...] we managed DE claimed back the beauty almost destroyed

An observation is in order at this point: typical implicative verbs (i.e., the ‘manage’ class) trigger by default the truth of their complement clause, given their semantics. Consequently, there is no difference in the interpretation of *a reusi* ‘manage’ + *subjunctive* and *a reusi* ‘manage’ + *de* + *indicative*, in that the veridicality of the complement is ensured by the semantics of the triggering implicative verb:

- (12) a. Am reusit să citesc cartea = Am citit cartea
 I managed sbj read book-the = I read the book
 b. Am reusit de-am citit cartea = Am citit cartea.
 I managed DE read book-the = I read the book
 ‘I managed to read the book’

However, the fact that *de* + *indicative* does impose AE obligatorily (with ‘manage’) can be seen from the ungrammaticality of the *de*-construction in contexts where ‘manage’ is negated. In (13) below, (13a) is an example found in online sources and which is quite telling from this perspective, since it shows two occurrences of *a reusi* ‘manage’ (within the same complex clause), of which only the second is followed by the *de*-construction. Significantly, the first ‘manage’ is negative (and thus followed by a subjunctive), while the second is in the affirmative and followed by the *de* + *indicative* structure. The combination of a negative implicative with the latter would result in ungrammaticality, as shown in (13b):

- (13) a. Si dupa ce tot **nu am reusit sa bagam** masina in curte **si sa punem**
 zgura unde am planuit, am pus zgura in fata curtii. [...] **Acum am reusit**

as rather colloquial and thus restrained to familiar register. This is nonetheless a productive construction in Romanian and the quoted examples (all from valid online sources) stand proof of that.

¹ <http://www.gimnaziu.info/?p=1228>

² <http://www.ro-mamma.com/subiecte/am-spart-un-termometru-cu-mercur>

³ <http://www.hoinari.ro/index.php?cu=12574420060321#ixzz2hQqfBzn7>

de am pus zgura prin curte [...] ¹

after we still haven't managed **sbj** get the car in the yard **and sbj** lay the
[...]. / Now we managed **DE** laid the in the yard

b. ?? **N-am reusit de-am citit** cartea.

What about *a încerca*? Though many include it in the class of implicatives, it is obviously different from 'manage' in more ways than one. In Cotfas (2012) it was also called a mis-behaved implicative. Unlike *a reusi*, it *does not in itself imply that p*; it merely implies that some sort of effort was made by the subject in order to bring about the event described in the complement clause. This can be seen from the contrast below between (14a), with 'manage' and (14b) with 'try' as matrix predicates selecting subjunctive complement clauses. Significantly, only 'manage' disallows annulment of the AE, but not 'try'. In other words, only 'manage' – but not 'try' – triggers AE. The latter can be easily annulled when the matrix contains predicates of the 'try' class.

- (14) a. A reusit să repare masina. (*dar nu a reparat-o)
He managed to fix the car (*but didn't fix it)
b. A încercat să repare masina (dar nu a reusit/nu a reparat-o)
He tried to fix the car (but didn't manage to/didn't fix it after all).

In conclusion, *a încerca* + subjunctive is actually non-veridical, since there is no AE. Thus, *a încerca* in this context can be analyzed as non-implicative – or rather semi-implicative (since some initiation of the event denoted by the embedded verb is at stake) – or, possibly, a conative 'try', cf. Cinque 2005. Conversely, as we will show below, the only instance when 'try' behaves on a par with 'manage' (i.e., as a true implicative) is when it selects the *de* + indicative construction instead of a subjunctive.

2. Form non-veridicality to veridicality in Romanian

Given the above, our aim is to account for the interpretative contrast in (15) below, which, taken into account the different moods, is strongly reminiscent of the old subjunctive/indicative divide (i.e., irrealis vs. realis).

- (15) a. *Am încercat să* repar masina (...dar nu am reusit)
I tried sbj fix car-the (but didn't manage it)
≠ *Am reparat masina*; ≈ *Am intentionat (cel putin)/Am facut ceva ca sa..*
≠ I fixed the car ≈ I meant/intended to / I took some action towards
making it happen so that ...
b. *Am încercat de-am* reparat masina. (* dar nu am reparat-o)
tried DE fixed car-the = *Am reparat masina.*
= I fixed the car.

¹ <http://ursufloirin.wordpress.com/2010/07/30/gazon-pestezgura/>

2.1. *A încerca* ‘try’: a misbehaved implicative. On the semantics of ‘try’

2.1.1. Sharvit (2003)

Sharvit (2003) discusses the obligatory existential reading associated with the semantics of ‘try’. The author proposes an aspectual analysis of ‘try’ based on Landman’s (1992) account of the progressive and shows that – unlike propositional attitude verbs (e.g., *want*), *try* has an “extensional action” component in that indefinite NPs in its scope must have an existential reading:

- (16) a. John wanted to cut a tomato, but there were no tomatoes to cut.
b. John tried to cut a tomato, ##but there were no tomatoes to cut.
(2003: 405)

In the author’s own words:

Intuitively, it seems that *try* differs from its cousins *want*, *expect*, etc. in that it doesn’t simply express an attitude of some individual toward some ‘proposition’, but that it also expresses some activity . . . This required ‘action’ is extensional, in the sense that it has to go on in the actual world for the sentence to be judged true. (2003: 407)

This “extensional action” component of *try* makes it akin to progressive aspect. Thus, (17a) and (17b) below do share some properties. The progressive in (17a) establishes a relationship between an event description and some event in the evaluation world: we trace the progression of *e* in *w*, and if something interrupts *e* in *w*, we go to the closest world (on the continuation branch) where the event is not interrupted and which is a reasonable/realistic option for *e* in *w*.

- (17) a. John was crossing the street
b. John tried to cross the street

Try also lends itself to a continuation branch-based semantics, but differs from the progressive in two important ways. Firstly, the progressive is sensitive to realistic continuation branches, whereas *try* is sensitive to continuation branches that are *possibly non-realistic but sufficiently similar to any realistic continuation branches*. This difference is meant to account for contrasts like the one in (18), where (18a) is judged ungrammatical – or at least odd – precisely because the progressive is sensitive to realistic outcomes, and it is conceivably highly unlikely for one person (Mary) to be wiping out an entire army. Conversely, (18b) is acceptable on the assumption that *try* need not have/establish realistic outcomes (at least not in the same way as the progressive does)

- (18) a. *Mary was wiping out the Roman army.
b. Mary tried to wipe out the Roman army.

The second difference between the two is that *try* has an attitudinal component: it quantifies over the subject’s ‘success’ worlds. (‘successful’ in the sense of ‘preferable to the subject’). This accounts for the control behavior of ‘try’ (i.e., the fact that it is subject-oriented).

In conclusion, *try* has a *higher tolerance for unrealistic outcomes* (as compared to the progressive) and has an attitudinal component. What the two do share is the intuition that some event *e* holds in *w* (with different degrees of actualization for the progressive and *try*, respectively)

2.1.2. Grano (2011)

Picking up where Sharvit (2003) leaves off, in a way, Grano (2011) claims that outcome likelihood doesn’t actually play a significant role in establishing the truth of *try*-sentences. Instead, the difference between *try* and the progressive lies in how close the outcome is to being realized.

- (19) a. * John was unknowingly paralyzed and was raising his arm.
 b. John was unknowingly paralyzed and tried to raise his arm. (2011:434)

As (20) below shows, for the progressive (but not for *try*!), the event must be developed sufficiently so that the theme argument has started to be affected (in the right way). The use of the progressive in (20a) necessarily entails that the action is significantly underway; *try*, however, has no such entailment: (20b) could very well be felicitous in a context in which the apple in question is still untouched/unaffected.

- (20) a. John was eating an apple. → Part of the apple was consumed.
 b. John tried to eat an apple. ≠ Part of the apple was consumed. (2011:433)

To formally account for the above, one needs to draw on the philosophical literature on action theory, where trying denotes mental action. The basic ideas are as follows:

- a) voluntary bodily movements are preceded and caused by *an internal spark on the part of the agent*. This typically (but not necessarily – see (19b)) leads to an observable result (which can only be envisaged at the point of the ‘internal spark’)
 b) eventualities are decomposable into ‘stages’; volitional events may include a ‘*preparatory stage*’ whose onset corresponds to a mental action and whose transition into the “inner stage” occurs precisely when the theme begins to change. Example (21) below illustrates these ‘stages’:

- (21) —————|—————|—————
 PREPARATORY INNER STAGE ENDPOINT RESULT STATE

With respect to (21) above, the use of the progressive means that the event progresses to somewhere in the “inner stage”; conversely, the use of *try* signifies that the event progresses to somewhere in either the “preparatory stage” or the “inner stage”. This difference is shown in (22) below:

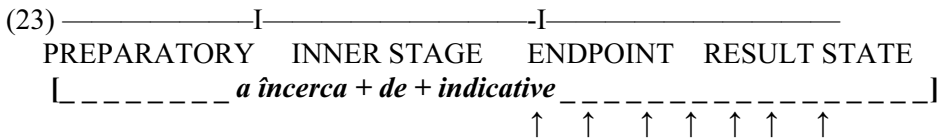


For Romanian, the use of *a încerca + subjunctive* matches the above representation for *try*, that is, its non-veridicality: this construction merely implies that the event denoted by the complement has an initial or preparatory stage, while no entailment is made as to the result state.

2.2. A shift towards actuality entailment

The claim we are advancing at this point should by now be clear: Romanian does have a structure at its disposal that changes non-veridical readings into veridical ones with the same verb (*a încerca*), and that is the afore-mentioned and illustrated *de + indicative* construction.

What the use of the *de + indicative* construction does is shift the reading of the complement and trigger AE such that only in its vicinity does *a încerca* manage to reach the end point and the result state in (22), cf. (23) below:



The structure has a causative reading along the lines of Dowty (1979): φ CAUSE [BECOME ψ]. The same is suggested by Giannakidou & Staraki (2010) for the coordination structure in Greek. Thus, a sentence like “*Am încercat de-am spălat blugii*” (I tried DE washed jeans-the) roughly means “I did something which caused the jeans to become clean(er)”.

Like any causative structure, the result (e₂) intrinsically depends on the occurrence of the ‘initializing’ event (e₁), the trying event, whether we choose to envisage the latter as the beginning/instigation of some *e* in *w* (along the lines proposed by Sharvit 2003) or mental action (cf. Grano 2011).

Interestingly, similar effects (i.e., AE) can be observed with (non-implicative) motion verbs:

- (24) a. *Am mers să văd* filmul (dar n-am mai intrat în sală până la urmă) vs. went subj see movie-the (but not entered in theatre eventually)

- ‘I went to see the movie (but didn’t go in after all).
 a’. *Am mers de-am văzut* filmul (*dar n-am mai intrat în sală)
 went DE saw movie-the (*but not entered in theatre)
 I went and saw the movie (*but didn’t go in after all)
 b. *M-am dus să beau* ceva (dar barul era închis) vs.
 ‘I went to have a drink (but the pub was closed)’
 b’. *M-am dus de-am băut* ceva (*dar era închis)
 ‘I went and had a drink (*but the pub was closed).’ +

Also, (25) below brings what seems to be supporting evidence for the ‘causative’/result use of ‘de’ :

- (25) a. Te-am căutat **de-am înnebunit!**
 You looked for DE went crazy
 ‘I went crazy looking for you!’
 b. Am mers pe jos **de-am căpiat.**
 walked on foot DE went nuts
 ‘I went bollocks walking and walking.’
 c. L-au bătut **de l-au desfigurat.**
 him beat DE him desfigured
 ‘They beat him to a pulp’

2.2.1. (Other) Naturally-occurring examples

In this brief sub-section we list some of the examples we have found with the verb in question appearing in the AE construction (in bold). We offer approximate translations after each example which, interestingly, seem to all be from roughly the same (technical) domain.

- (26) Cand dau Dismount camera imi vine in josul caracterului si nu mai am vizibilitate asa buna...si doar daca dau relog se face la fel; **am incercat de am luat 2-3 WoW 4.3.4**, pe 4.0.6a nu imi facea problema asta! DE CE?¹

‘When I click Dismount the camera moves somewhere below the character and I lose visibility...and only if I click ‘relog’ does it revert to the initial settings; I tried DE took/to take 2-3 WoW 4.3.4.. I didn’t have this problem when using 4.0.6a. WHY?’

- (27) Am patit si eu la masina de tuns iarba dupa o iarna sa nu mai porneasca, benzina isi pierde din proprietati si nu se mai aprindea; inainte **am incercat de am demontat** bujia de 2-3 ori, **am incercat de am scos** putina benzina [...]¹

¹ <http://www.freakz.ro/forum/view-post-2587261.html>

‘The very same thing happened to me, too with my lawn mower, it wouldn’t start after the winter break; the gas had lost its properties so it wouldn’t start; I tried DE unscrewed/to unscrew the spark plug 2 or 3 times, I tried DE took out/to take out a little gas...’

- (28) **Am mai incercat de am bagat** pe stutul de la capac un furtun si celalat capat intr-un borcan sa vad cat ulei vine din capac , dar [...]²

‘I also tried DE stuffed/to stuff a hose down the lid and (placed) the other end in a jar to see how much oil drips, but...’

2.2.2. Other verbs in the ‘strive’ class

Not accidentally, other verbs in the *strive* class share this alternation (i.e., subjunctive vs. *de* + indicative): *a se chinui* ‘strive/endeavour’ in (29), *a se aventura* ‘venture’ in (30) and *a se strofoca* ‘strive’ in (31). The same shift is triggered (i.e., AE) with the indicative structure, a reading which remains unavailable for the structures where these verbs select subjunctive complements.

The examples under (30) are particularly interesting: (30a) features ‘venture’ followed by the *de* + indicative construction and the obvious actuality entailment. Conversely, in (30b) the same verb is followed by a subjunctive, and rightly so, since the context clearly requires an *irrealis* reading for the complement (see the concessive clause in italics). In other words, an actuality entailment reading of the complement would be most infelicitous in the context.

- (29) a. **m am chinuit de am prins** toate firele imperecheate de la ecu de megane la cel de logan...si nu a pornit³
‘I strived and connected all the paired wires from the electrical computer of the Megane to the one of the Logan...but it wouldn’t start.’
- b. [...] unde inregistrez plusurile si minusurile cantitativ in Saga?
Explicati-mi si mie va rog ca anul trecut **m-am chinuit de am modificat** eu in op contabile⁴
‘Where exactly in Saga can I list the quantity pluses and minuses? Please explain this to me, for last year I strived and modified the books myself’
- c. **m-am chinuit** doua luni **de am vandut** jigurile astea ...⁵
‘I did my best/strived and sold these for two whole months...’

¹ <http://www.clubopel.com/viewtopic.php?t=74188>

² <http://www.clubopel.com/viewtopic.php?p=1420771>

³ <http://www.daciaclub.ro/motor-logan-1-6-8v-ecu-t206176.html>

⁴ <http://www.sagasoft.ro/forum/viewtopic.php?f=6&t=21370>

⁵ <http://www.rapitori.ro/forum/jiguri-de-dunare-xh-6-0-t23636-10.html>

- (30) a. aceasta placinta a ajuns in topul preferintelor familiei mele. Am facut-o de 2 ori si **m-am aventurat de am schimbat** carnita si am pus pulpe dezosate in una din dati¹
 ‘..this pie is among my family’s top favourites. I’ve already made it twice and once I ventured and changed the meat and used chicken legs instead’ vs.
- b. Tot **m-am aventurat sa-l lovesc**, *desi m-am trezit din nou izbita de perete*... Nu prea ma invatzam minte.²
 ‘Still, I ventured to strike him back , although I found myself crashed against the wall once more. I had had it coming...’
- (31) Si dupa ce **s-au strofocat** cei din opozitie **de au nascut** cea mai buna idee politica din ultimii 20 de ani [...]³
 ‘And after the opposition strived and strived and eventually came up with the best idea in the past 20 years, ...’

3. Concluding remarks

In the present paper, we aimed to discuss the possibility of actuality entailment (AE) in Romanian in contexts which do not involve ability modals – the environment which AE is traditionally associated with. In doing so, we have drawn on more recent studies which argue that AE can and should be kept apart from perfective ability modals.

What we have shown is that – leaving aside the discussion of/on ability/circumstantial modals and the contribution of the perfective – actuality entailment in Romanian is triggered with non-veridical predicates (the *try/strive/endeavour* class) whenever the subjunctive complement is replaced by a *de* + indicative construction. We have analyzed the former as a causative structure of the type ϕ CAUSE [BECOME ψ].

The (non-) control properties of this construction have yet to be discussed and we leave that for further research. That is, given that control can be obviated with the subjunctive complements of these verbs (see Cotfas 2012), it remains to be seen whether the *de* – construction behaves similarly.

¹ <http://www.lalena.ro/301-reteta-Placinta-din-piept-de-pui.html>

² http://lifestory.3xforum.ro/post/2/1/Trandafirul_insangerat/

³ <http://www.mysearchresults.com/search?fi=&s=web&cat=&l=&c=3513&t=01&q=s-au+strofocat+de-au>

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ON THE INTERPRETATION OF *ORI*-FREE RELATIVE CLAUSES A COMPARISON WITH ENGLISH

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Abstract: This paper aims at checking whether *oricine/orice/oricare* free relative clauses (henceforth *ori*-FRs) have the same readings as their English counterparts. We will show that Romanian *ori*-FRs, unlike *-ever* clauses, are not plain definite descriptions in episodic or non modal contexts, that is, they cannot have a unique or maximal iota reading in such contexts (i.e., they are quantificational). However, in particular modal contexts, that is when the sum individual distributes over situations/worlds, they are definite descriptions. When comparing English and Romanian FRs, we see that *-ori* FRs are less ambiguous than *-ever* FRs in that they always have modal uses.

Keywords: free relative clauses, relativization, maximality, quantificational force, definiteness

1. Introduction

This paper aims at checking whether *ori*- free relative clauses (henceforth FRs) have the same readings as their English counterparts.

We will show that Romanian *ori*-FRs, unlike *-ever* clauses, are not plain definite descriptions in episodic or non modal contexts that is, they cannot have a unique or maximal iota reading in such contexts (i.e., they are quantificational). However, in particular modal contexts, that is when the sum individual distributes over situations/worlds, they are definite descriptions. Thus, when comparing English and Romanian FRs, we claim that *-ever* FRs are more ambiguous than *ori*-FRs in that, in addition to their modal reading, they can also have non-modal uses in episodic contexts.

As to the outline of the paper, sections 1.1-1.3 introduce the reader to the semantic properties of *-ever* FRs. Section 2 examines the range of meanings of *ori*-FRs (2.1), *ori*-pronouns as used in simple sentences, where their *wh*-feature (i.e., the λ -operator property) is not visible (section 2.2) and the properties of the external determiner D° selecting for the CP represented by the free relative clause (2.3). Section 3 sums up the conclusions of the paper.

1.1 Background

In English and Romanian there are two types of FRs, introduced by simple relative pronouns and introduced by compound relative pronouns (see 1-2). The former type will be referred to with the term “plain FRs”.

- (1) Who dares to teach must never cease to learn.¹
 (2) Whoever invented the miniskirt deserves our thanks.

Regarding their syntax, given their DP-like interpretation and distribution as well as other nominal properties, plain and *-ever* FRs are best described as DPs selecting for a CP hosting a fronted *wh*-word in Spec, CP (WH-NP) (see Caponigro 2002a, Kayne 1994).

With respect to their semantics, both plain and *-ever* English FRs have been shown to be maximal expressions (Jacobson 1995, Caponigro 2002a/b, 2003, Tredinnick 2005). Maximality means that the FR always picks out a maximal individual or the maximal set of individuals as its denotation. They refer to the maximal set of persons or things having the property denoted by the relative clause, their external D° being endowed with semantic definiteness (like in the case of singular and plural definite descriptions) which we will represent by the feature [+Max].

1.1 The range of meanings of *-ever* FRs

The basic meaning of *-ever* pronouns illustrated in (3) is the so-called Free Choice reading. This accounts for the fact that *-ever* FRs are often given *any* paraphrases, *any* being a free choice universal quantifier (cf. Vendler 1967). The paraphrase with free choice items shows that a referent is randomly picked up out of a set of individuals. Compare (3a) and (3b), which shows the basic contrast between an *-ever* FR and a plain one:

- (3) a. Quality is whatever counts most.
 =Quality is anything that counts most.
 b. Quality is what counts most.
 =Quality is the thing that counts most. (Quirk 1985)

Recently, a lot of work has focused on the meaning of *-ever* FRs proposing a detailed analysis of the range of interpretations of *-ever* FRs in English. The common idea of all these analyses is that *-ever* relative pronouns are *modal operators* given the modal meaning of EVER (cf. Dayal 1997, Iatridou and Varlokosta 1996/1998, Quer 1998, von Stechow 2000). Like other modal operators, *-ever* pronouns introduce a set of alternatives/situations to the actual world. In these alternatives the property denoted by the CP remains constant, but the identity of the implicit or explicit antecedent varies across these possible worlds/situations. Von Stechow (2000) gives a more fine-grained analysis of *-ever* FRs, showing that EVER contributes *a presupposition* of ignorance or indifference as to the identity of the referent of the FR (see also Tredinnick 2005). The two readings of *-ever* FRs appear in situations in which the speaker either does not know (cf. 4), or does not care about the identity of the referent (cf.5).

- (4) There's a lot of garlic in whatever (it is that) Arlo is cooking. (ignorance)
 = There is a lot of garlic in the thing that Arlo is cooking, but I don't know/remember what he is cooking.

¹ <http://thinkexist.com/quotes/with/keyword/who/2.html>

- (5) Zack will vote for whoever is on top of the list. (indifference)
 = Zack will vote for [_{DP} the person who is on top of the list
 indifferently/irrespective of who he is]

1.2. *-Ever* as a modal operator

In this section we turn to the analysis of the morpheme *EVER*. Consider the sentence in (6). As suggested by Baker (1995 *apud* Tredinnick 2005) sentence (6) can be understood in terms of conditional sentences. Baker suggests that *-ever* FRs, have “conditional” force.

- (6) The Smiths welcomed whatever visitors came their way.
 If John came their way, the Smiths welcomed John.
 If Mary came their way, the Smiths welcomed Mary.
 If George came their way, the Smiths welcomed George.

What Baker is saying is that the identity of the visitor having the property of being welcomed by the Smiths in (6) is intuitively different from one situation to another. This intuition, namely that the semantics of *-ever* FRs involves variation about the denotation of the FR across situations was exploited by Dayal (1997), who shows that the contribution of *EVER* can be explained in terms of quantification over possible worlds (cf. Kratzer 1981, 1991, Portner 1992). *EVER* thus functions as a modal operator. A modal operator is a lexical or functional element, which, when it is appended to a proposition, introduces a set of alternatives to the actual world. Modal operators are quantifiers over possible worlds in which the respective proposition is true. The set of worlds with respect to which the modalized proposition is evaluated is called a *modal base*. Different kinds of modal operators (epistemic, deontic, bouletic, circumstantial, counterfactual) introduce different types of sets of alternatives or possible worlds as the domain of quantification. These are worlds that are compatible with what is known, worlds that satisfy the relevant body of law or principles, worlds that conform to what the relevant person desires, or counterfactual worlds, etc.

Consider, for instance, the sentence containing the ‘identity’ *-ever* FR in (7), which carries epistemic modality. The speaker signals that he does not know the identity of the thing cooked by Adam. The proposition asserted by the FR in (7), namely *Adam cooked x* is true in all those worlds which are consistent with the speaker’s knowledge.

- (7) Mary ate whatever Adam cooked.
 (7) says that the identity of the thing(s) cooked by Adam (the denotation of the FR) is different from one world to another, while the property expressed by the relative clause, that is the CP (i.e., being cooked by Adam) in (7) remains constant.

Now compare (7) with its plain counterpart in (8):

- (8) Mary ate what Adam cooked.

There is a clear intuitive difference between (7) and (8). *Mary ate what Adam cooked* means that Mary ate the thing(s) Adam cooked in the actual world. In contrast, *Mary ate whatever Adam cooked* means that in every world that is an *i-*

alternative to the actual world, Mary ate the thing(s) Adam cooked in that *i-alternative*.

In Dayal's terminology an *i-alternative* is a world that is *identical* to the actual world, except for what the plain FR denotes. If we assume that Adam cooked soup, then an *i-alternative* is a world that is identical to the actual world, except that Adam did not cook soup in that world, but something else. The same property identifies different unique entities (atomic or groups) in different worlds. This condition can be expressed as in (9), which says that the unique object having property P in *w'* is different from the unique object having property P in *w''*:

(9) $\exists x [P(w')(x)] \neq \exists x [P(w'')(x)]$

Under Dayal (1997)'s view, in 'identity *-ever* FRs', *whatever* introduces universal quantification over epistemic identity alternatives and the sentence can be paraphrased as follows "In all epistemically accessible worlds, Mary ate the things that Adam cooked". Thus, an *-ever* FR is a definite plain FR with an extra *modal dimension*. We conclude that *-ever* FRs are *modalized definites* (Dayal 1997). The morpheme EVER conveys the idea that the property expressed by the relative clause, (i.e., the CP of the FR) remains constant and that only the identity of the implicit or explicit antecedent of the FR varies across possible worlds (for details see Tredinnick 2005).

1.3 Non modal interpretations of *-ever*

In addition to the class of modalized *-ever* FRs discussed above (i.e., ignorance and indifference FRs) there exist cases of *-ever* FRs in which the morpheme *-ever* seems to be invisible.

Consider the sentences in (10-11) in which *-ever* does not contribute anything to the interpretation of the FR it appears in (i.e., *whoever* = *who* and *whatever* = *what*). Their meanings convey the exactly the same meaning as plain FRs, that is, just the iota meaning).

(10) a. Whoever called asked a lot of questions.

Paraphrase: the person who called asked a lot of questions.

b. *Who called asked a lot of questions.

(11) Whoever did that should admit it frankly. (Quirk 1985: 1056)

(the person who did that..)

Sentences (10-11) illustrate examples with *whoever* FRs which have massively replaced their plain counterparts in modern English.

2. The interpretation of *ori-* FRs

This section deals with the range of interpretations of *ori-* FRs and examines the properties of their external D°, questioning its quantificational force.

2.1 The two readings

With respect to the two readings displayed by *-ever* FRs, the ignorance unique iota reading is missing in Romanian *ori-* FRs:

- (12) a. *Orice gătește mama acum în bucătărie miroase foarte bine
 (*singleton set, definite)

anything (she) cooks mother.the now in kitchen smells very well
 “Whatever mum is now cooking in the kitchen smells very good.”

a’. Whatever mum is now cooking is salty. (singleton set, definite)
 =the dish which...

- (13) a. A antrenat pe oricine i s-a trimis. (sum individual)
 (he) has trained PE anyone CL_{3SG.DAT} REFL_{3SG.ACC} -has sent
 “He trained whoever was sent to him.”

b. Cumpără orice găsești la piață. (sum individual distributed across situations)

buy_{IMPERAT} anything (you) find at market
 “Buy whatever you find at the market.”

c. Orice o fi gătind mama acum în bucătărie miroase foarte bine.

anything (she) cook_{PRESUMPT.3SG.PRES} mother.the now in kitchen (it) smells very well

“Whatever mum is now cooking in the kitchen smells very good.”

As shown in the ungrammatical (12a), the ignorance reading is missing in indicative episodic *ori*-FRs in Romanian. The unique iota reading of *ori*-FRs is also absent in the F(ree) C(hoice) examples in (13a), but it is available in modal intensional contexts, where the sum individual distribute over worlds/situations (see 13b,c).

As expected, the unique iota interpretation, i.e., singleton set interpretation is only available in case of *ori*-FRs introduced by the d-linked *oricare*, which partitions the set into singletons:

- (14) *Oricare din ei se prezinta la interviu maine preia postul vacant. El devine secretar-sef.* (singleton set (semantically definite) (pragmatically definite))

It will be shortly shown that, apart from the case of *ori(care)*, the determiner selecting the CP in *ori*-FRs is definite in modal contexts, while it is endowed with a quantificational feature in indicative episodic sentences.

Regarding the ignorance reading, it is available in Romanian *ori*-FRs as well, even if in a more limited class of contexts (see 15).

- (15) a. Orice o fi gătind ea acolo acum are mult usturoi. Nu
 anything (she) cook_{PRESUMPT.3SG} she there now has much garlic. Not (you)
 vezi ce miros vine din bucătărie? (ignorance FR)

(you) see what smell comes from kitchen

“Whatever she is cooking has plenty of garlic”. Can’t you smell what is coming from the kitchen?”

a’. *Orice gătește ea acolo acum are mult usturoi. Nu vezi ce miros

anything (she) cooks she there now has much garlic. Not (you) see what smell vine din bucătărie?
 comes from kitchen

The default reading of *ori*-FR is the indifference reading (see 16).

(16) *Oricine* *fură azi un ou, mâine va fura un bou.* (indifference FR)
 anyone steals today a egg tomorrow will steal a ox
 “He who steals an egg today will steal an ox tomorrow.”

2.2. *Ori*-relative pronouns

Ori-FRs are introduced by the free choice indefinite pronouns (also called “quodlibetics”). These represent one of the series of Romanian indefinite pronouns derived from interrogative pronouns. Crosslinguistically indefinite pronouns can have two derivational bases. They are derived from interrogative pronouns, like in most Indo-European languages (e.g., Romanian, Polish, Russian, Dutch etc.), or from generic-ontological category nouns (such as ‘person’, ‘thing’, ‘place’, ‘time’, manner (like English) (Haspelmath 1997).

The compound *ori*- forms are derived by prefixing the morpheme ORI- to the *wh*-word (*cine, ce, care*). This morpheme is homonymous with the plural form of the noun *oară*, whose meaning is ‘time’, ‘moment’, ‘date’, and with the disjunctive morpheme *ori* ‘or’ (DEX 1998)¹. Note that *oricare* always refers to a contextually given set, being D-linked, while *oricine* and *orice* are normally non-D-linked.

Interestingly, the morpheme ORI comes from Latin *velis* (= “you want” (subjunctive)) (Haspelmath 1997). This is in keeping with the modal /quantifier status of *ori*- pronouns. *Ori*- pronouns introduce a set of alternatives, functioning just like the English EVER. Thus, the introduction of alternatives is made by disjunction in Romanian.

An important contribution to the study of *ori*- pronouns in simple sentence is Giurgea (unpublished manuscript). He shows that *ori*- pronouns are modal quantifiers (i.e., they introduce alternatives in the discourse). This property determines their occurrence with particular verb classes and constructions: imperatives² (see 17), circumstantial possibility, deontic modals, verbs of propositional attitudes³. In such cases *ori*- pronouns introduce a universal operator with the consequence that the sum individual denoted by the *ori*- pronoun is distributed over the alternatives introduced by the modal operators. This gives the free choice effect, that is, *ori*- pronouns convey the idea that the denotation (the identity) of the referent varies across possible worlds. This is in line with what we said about the role of EVER in the previous section.

(17) *Ia orice carte*
 take any book
 “Take any book!”

¹ Dictionarul Explicativ al Limbii Române (1998)

² Imperatives introduce the worlds of the speaker’s wishes

³ Attitude propositional verbs are verbs such as *aștepta* “expect”, which introduces worlds of expectations.

Thus, free choice determiners such as the ones in the examples in (18) say that for all entities satisfying the restriction, there is a possible world containing that entity. They sometimes carry the implicature that each alternative contains only one entity from the set denoted by the restriction. This becomes clear when we compare a sentence containing *orice* with the same sentence containing the universal quantifier *toate* ‘all’:

(18) a. Vreau orice măr./ b. Vreau toate merele.

(I) want any apple (I) want all apples.the

“I want any apple!” “I want all the apples!”

Free choice *ori-* pronouns may also appear in other typically modal contexts, such as generics and habituals (which imply the existence of a covert generic operator)(19) and in future or conditional sentences (which are assumed to contain a c(overt) conditional operator).

(19) Orice student bun vine întotdeauna la seminar. any student
good comes always at seminar

“Any good student always attends the seminar.”

Note that, since they are indefinite free choice items, they can introduce a discourse referent. This is apparent from examples such as (20), which show that the free choice pronoun can be resumed by a pronoun.

(20) Dacă vezi orice farmacie_i, să mi-o_i arăți și mie.
if (you) see any pharmacy, SĂ CL_{1SG.DAT} -CL3_{SG.F.ACC} (you) show_{SUBJ.2SG}
also me_{DAT}

“If you see a chemists’s shop, show it to me”

The use of free choice pronouns has been shown to imply *domain widening*. Kadmon and Landman (1993) observed that *any* widens the previously given domain of quantification, generating a conventional implicature in the sense of Grice. As known, implicatures refer to what is suggested by the sentences, they are not part of the assertive, truth conditional meaning of the sentence. The conventional implicature, part of the meaning of *any*, has the effect of extending the domain of quantification named by the noun. The speaker believes that every element of the domain satisfies the scope of the quantifier, implying that there is no exception. For instance, when *any potatoes* is used in (21b) the extension of ‘potatoes’ is extended to include *all sorts* of potatoes. The same inference is made in the case of *orice* (see 22):

(21) a. I don't have potatoes.

b. I don't have any potatoes. (Kadman and Landman 1993: 359)

(22) a. Ia niște fructe de la piață.

take some fruit_{PL} from market

“Take some fruit from the market.”

b. Ia orice fructe de la piață.

take any fruit_{PL} from market

“Take any kind of fruit from the market.”

As could be noted in the previous section, FC *any* and *ori-* pronouns are excluded in purely episodic contexts. They are grammatical in episodic contexts

only if they head a restrictive relative, or they introduce a FR, like in (23)-(24). Sentences with FC items are redeemed if *any* is *subtriggered* (LeGrand 1975):

(23) a. *Any student was excluded.

b. Any student who cheated was excluded.

(24) a. *Orice student a fost exclus din sala de examen.

any student has been excluded from room.the of exam

a'. Orice student (care) a încercat să copieze a fost exclus din any student (which) has tried SĂ copy_{SUBJ.3SG} has been excluded from sala

room.the de examen.

of exam

“Any student who tried to cheat was excluded from the exam room.”

Sentences (23a) and (24a) are infelicitous because they mean ‘every student in the universe’, that is, because of the undue extension of the restriction domain (cf. Carlson (1981)).

Thus, *ori-* pronouns in episodic sentences become felicitous once they introduce a RC or they are followed by another modifier. They prefer modal contexts, in which the modality is either external or internal to the clause.

We will now turn to *ori-* FRs.

2.3. Properties of the external determiner in *ori-* FRs

As shown above *ori-*pronouns always denote sum individuals. We will show that sometimes they distribute over possible worlds/situations introduced by another modal operator, ending up denoting a unique entity that is contained in the minimal situation.

We first examine the external determiner D° , giving evidence that it is maximal [+Max] at least in some contexts.

There are syntactic and semantic arguments for assuming that the external D is definite. On the syntactic side, there are D-linked pronouns, such as *oricare*. The *ori-*FRs introduced by the D-linked *oricare* may be clitic doubled when postverbal and clitic left dislocated if topicalized (see 25). The clitic in the matrix clause bears the *phi* and case features of the implicit antecedent of the FR.

(25) Îl aleg pe oricare îl dorești tu.

CL_{3SG.ACC} (I) choose PE anyone CL_{3SG.ACC} (you) want you

“I choose whoever you want.”

2.3.1 Tests for definiteness

There are also distributional arguments for assuming that sometimes *ori-* FRs, like *ce* FRs are definite descriptions. *Ori-* FRs occur in environments which are typical for definite descriptions, that is in those environments where universal quantifiers are blocked. Two discourse properties of definite descriptions which are common to both *ce* and *ori-* FRs are the possibility of being resumed by overt definite

personal pronouns, or the null anaphoric pronoun *pro*, and the possibility of being used anaphorically to refer to entities previously introduced in the discourse.

(a) Null (*pro*) anaphora

Definite expressions support *pro*-anaphora (i.e., the possibility of resumption by the null anaphora *pro*), while universally quantified DPs do not, as noticed below (see 26).

(26) a. Ion a citit cartea recomandată de profesor. A fost lungă și plicticoasă.

Ion has read book.the recommended by teacher (it) has been long and boring
 “Ion read the book recommended by the teacher. It was long and boring.”

b. Ion a citit tot ce i-a recomandat profesorul. *A fost lung și plicticos.
 Ion has read all that CL_{3SGDAT} -has recommended teacher.the (it) was long and boring
 boring

“Ion read everything the teacher recommended to him.”

c. Ion a citit fiecare carte pe care a recomandat - o profesorul.

Ion has read every book PE which (he) has recommended-CL_{3SG.ACC} teacher.the
 *Era lungă și plicticoasă.
 (it) was long and boring

“Ion read every book the teacher recommended to him.”

Unlike quantified DPs, *orice* FRs do support null anaphora, but this happens only in modal intensional contexts where the sum is distributed across worlds or situations and in which the ori-FR ends up denoting a unique individual in each of these world (see 27). In contrast, *ce* FRs may be anaphorically resumed in both extensional and intensional contexts (see 28).

(27) a. Bill a citit orice carte i s-a dat. *Era lungă și plicticoasă.
 Bill has read any book CL_{3SG.DAT} REFL_{3SG.ACC}-has given (it) was long and boring

“Bill read any book which was given to him.”

b. Bill ar citi orice carte i s-ar da. Ar putea fi chiar și lungă și plicticoasă.
 Bill would read any book CL_{3SGDAT} REFL_{3SG.ACC} -would give. (It) could be even also long and boring

“Bill would read any book which would be given to him. It could be even long and boring.”

(28) a. Bill a citit deja ce carte i s-a dat. Era lungă și

Bill has read already what book CL_{3SG.DAT} REFL_{3SG.ACC}-has given (it) be_{IMP} long and plicticoasă.
 boring

“Bill has already read the book which was given to him. It was long and boring.”

b. Bill ar citi ce cărți i s -ar da. Ar putea fi
 Bill would read what books CL_{3SG.DAT} REFL_{3SG.ACC} -would give. (they)
 AUX_{3PL} can be
 chiar și lungi și plicticoase.
 even also long and boring

“Bill would read the books which he would be given. They could be even long and boring.”

(28a) illustrates an extensional episodic context. *Orice* FRs cannot be resumed by the null pronoun *pro*. In contrast, in modal intensional contexts, that is, where the sum individual may distribute, *ori-* FRs can be resumed by the null anaphora (28b).

(b) Discourse antecedents

Definite descriptions take discourse antecedents, unlike universally quantified DPs. The anaphoric function of the definite article is one of its most frequent pragmatic roles, indicating familiarity.

(29) a. Mara a cumpărat o pisică_i. [Pisica]_i este siameză.
 Mara has bought a cat. cat.the is Siamese.
 “Mara bought a cat. The cat is Siamese.”

b. Mara a cumpărat niște fructe_i. [Fiecare]_i e proaspăt./Toate sunt proaspete.
 Mara has bought some fruits. every is fresh every are fresh
 “Mara bought some fruit.”

In (29a) the definite description resumes the discourse antecedent introduced by *o pisică*. However, in (29b) the coindexation between an indefinite DP and a quantified expression such as *fiecare* (‘each’) is impossible. Note that *toate* NP (‘every NP’) is a definite quantifier having anaphoric properties, hence it is allowed.

Only in modal contexts may *ori-* FRs have discourse antecedents, unlike quantifiers. This indicates that in these contexts they denote a sum individual that distributes over situations or possible worlds, ending up denoting a unique individual (see 30).

In episodic non modal contexts *ori-* FRs (see 48a-b) cannot be coindexed with the discourse antecedent *ceva*. In contrast, in intensional contexts, *ori-*FRs can take discourse antecedents (see 30a’-b’):

(30) a. A cumpărat câte ceva din excursie. *Orice a cumpărat
 (he) has bought some something from trip anything (he) has
 bought
 este pe masă./Tot ce a cumpărat este pe masă.
 is on table all that (he) has bought is on table
 “He bought a couple of things while he was on the trip. Everything he bought is on the table.”
 a’. Ar cumpăra ceva din excursie. Orice ar cumpăra ar
 (he) would buy something from trip whatever (he) would buy
 (he) would

pune pe masa din hol.

put on table.the from hallway

“He would like to buy something from the trip. Whatever he would buy he would put on the hallway table.”

b. Maria a pus ceva pe masă. * I-a arătat lui Ion orice
 Maria has put something on table CL_{3SG.DAT} - (she) has shown Ion_{DAT}
 anything

a pus pe masă. / I-a arătat lui Ion tot ce a
 (she) has put on table CL_{3SG.DAT} -(she) has shown Ion_{DAT} everything
 that (she) has cumpărat.

bought

“Maria put something on the table. She showed Ion everything she bought.”

b'. Maria ar vrea să pună ceva pe masă. I-ar
 arăta

Maria would want SĂ put_{SUBJ.3SG} something on table CL_{3SG.DAT} - (she)
 would show

și lui Ion orice ar pune pe masă.

also Ion_{DAT} anything (she) would put on table

“Maria would like to put something on the table. She would show also to
 Ion

anything she would put on the table.”

In contrast, *ce* FRs behave like definites in that they may have discourse antecedents, irrespective of the nature of the context, as illustrated in (31).

(31) a. A cumpărat câte ceva din excursie. Ce a cumpărat este pe
 masă/

(he) has bought some something from trip what (he) has bought is
 on table Tot ce a cumpărat este pe masă.

All that (he) has bought is on table

“He bought a couple of things while he was on the trip. What he bought is
 on the table. /Everything he bought is on the table.”

b. Ar cumpăra câte ceva în excursie. Ce ar cumpăra ar
 (he) would buy some something in trip what (he) would buy
 (he) would

pune pe masă/Tot ce ar cumpăra ar pune pe masă.

put on table / all that (he) would buy (he) would put on table

“He would buy something while he is his trip. What he would buy he would
 put on the table. /Everything he would buy he would put on the table.”

In conclusion, only in modal contexts do *orice* FRs support anaphoric relations and take discourse antecedents, where the sum individual can distribute over the situations/worlds introduced by the intensional operator. On the strength of this we will assume that the external D^o is maximal (at least in some contexts). Therefore, *ori*- FRs have the distributional properties of definites only in modal contexts, while *ce* FRs do so in both extensional and intensional contexts.

3. Conclusions

- 1) FR *ori*- pronouns have a more complex meaning than FC *ori*- pronouns (in simple sentences) for two reasons: a) the *wh*-feature, which lies dormant in simple sentences is activated by the external determiner so that the λ feature will be present, determining the property reading of the RC (i.e., the CP), and b) modality may be external or internal to the RC so that the class of contexts where FRs are allowed is wider than that where FC pronouns are possible.
- 2) *Ori*- pronouns are never non-modal, unlike their English counterparts.
- 3) ORI introducing FRs is a modal operator, just like its English counterpart, but it only introduces a presupposition of indifference (the modal base is always counterfactual). ORI induces variation in the identity of the denotation of the FR which is that of a definite description. The FR introduced by *ori*- always denotes a sum individual, which may or may not distribute over possible worlds. In the latter case they end up denoting a unique individual.
- 4) The ignorance meaning is available in Romanian only when the presumptive or conditional mood is used in *ori*- FRs, that is, only when the presupposition of ignorance is overtly expressed. The reading of *ori*- FRs is an indifference reading by default.
- 5) The universal interpretation with *ori*- FRs occurs in non modal contexts (i.e., episodic).
- 6) In modal contexts *ori*- FRs have the distributional properties of definites, not of universals, unlike *ce* FRs, which behave like definites in both modal and non modal contexts.
- 7) *ori*- pronouns in FRs can be described as follows:

Presupposition	Modal Base	Quantificational force
ignorance	*	(definite)
indifference	counterfactual	universal in non modal contexts/ definite in modal contexts

Table 1

- 8) In modal contexts the D° selecting the CP of *ori*- FRs is thus endowed with semantic definiteness, that is with the [+Max] feature.

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SEARCHING FOR IDENTITY IN THE POSTCOLONIAL WORLD

THE EXAMPLE OF AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS LITERATURE

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Abstract: Australian Indigenous literature in English began as the expression of an Indigenous minority living on the fringes of the majority community. Australian Indigenous writers may be labelled ‘committed’ writers. They are deeply concerned with the problems of their communities even to the extent that community is stressed at the expense of the individual. In writing about these problems, some of them become aware of similar situations facing minorities in other countries of the world and give their support to those communities fighting for a place under the sun, free from the domination of national majorities.

1. Introduction: Colonialism vs. post-colonialism (defining the concepts)

There have always been misunderstandings in using these concepts, mainly caused by certain confusions between *imperialism* and *colonialism*. One clear-cut distinction is provided by Gina Wisker, in her “Introduction” to *Post-Colonial and African American Women’s Writing*, where she distinguishes between *imperialism* and *colonialism*:

“Imperialism is usually taken to mean ... ‘of the empire’; authority assumed by a state over other states or peoples. It is often accompanied by symbolism, pageantry as well as military power, and Roman imperialism was a prime example of this – military power and ways of life, symbols and beliefs taking over from those of indigenous peoples, absorbing difference under the power of empire.”¹

As early as 1964, the Conference on Commonwealth Literature held in Leeds brought about the issue of *resistance and reconciliation* as a defining feature of the post-colonial world, arguing that:

Literary writing in English, despite its grounded history in colonial oppression, can nevertheless become a vehicle for cross-cultural understanding and mutuality, and thus an instrument for promoting genuine *reconciliation* in a post-imperial world. One necessary condition for that cross-cultural reconciliation is mutual intelligibility – how else to understand resistance in others? Another is a commitment to the local, to the uncommon, in the pursuit of a common end. Resolution 17 of the Leeds conference mandated that ‘University departments of English should study by

¹ Wisker, Gina. *Post-Colonial and African American Women’s Writing* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd. 2000), p. 5.

linguistic and literary methods the relations between English literature and indigenous literatures and other languages'.¹

In an essay published in *Cultural Studies*, Simon During argued that 'postcolonialism' started as a thesis about self-representation in the aftermath of direct colonial relations, to be more precise, as a hypothesis about resistances – as clearly proved by the seminal volume *The Empire Writes Back* (1989) edited by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, an example of what has been termed as 'resistance postcolonialism'.² Their definition of postcolonialism has become a landmark for the understanding of such a complex phenomenon:

"We use the term post-colonial, however, to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression."³

Defining the multiplicity of meanings carried by the term *postcolonial*, Arif Dirlik distinguishes three prominent uses of the term:

- (1) "As a literal description of conditions in formerly colonial societies, in which case the term has concrete referents, as in postcolonial societies or postcolonial intellectuals;"
- (2) As a description of a global condition after the period of colonialism, in which case the usage is somewhat more abstract and less concrete in reference, comparable in its vagueness to the earlier term *Third World*, for which it is intended as a substitute, and
- (3) As a description of a discourse on the above-named conditions that is informed by the epistemological and psychic orientations that are products of those conditions."⁴

Post-colonial theory, then,

"focuses particularly on the way in which literature by the colonizing culture distorts the experience and realities, and inscribes the inferiority, of the colonized people, and on literature by colonized peoples which attempts to articulate their identity and reclaim their past in the face of that past's inevitable otherness." (3)

Otherness leads to doubleness; both concepts refer to identity and difference, and may be said to define the writings of most Australian writers, Aboriginal or not. Postcolonialism is one of the terms already criticised in the '90s by Ella Shohat and

¹ Cited by Stephen Slemon, "The Return of the Native" in *Resistance and Reconciliation: Writing in the Commonwealth* (ACLALS, Canberra: 2003), p. 1-15.

² Simon During, 'Globalizing Postcolonialism', *Cultural Studies*, 14.3/4 (2000): 385-405.

³ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 2.

⁴ Arif Dirlik. (1994). "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism." *Critical Inquiry*, 20 (Winter), 328-356. The University of Chicago Press Stable, URL: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343914>>.

Anne McClintock as having been so intensively used, and on such a large scale, that it only suggests an era subsequent to colonialism. A famous definition is the one formulated by Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin in their well-known anthology *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*:

“We use the term ‘post-colonial’... to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression. We also suggest that it is most appropriate as the term for the new cross-cultural criticism which has emerged in recent years and for the discourse through which this is constituted” (Ashcroft & al, 1989, p. 2).

The purpose followed in the present paper is not to develop on the different assumptions of the term ‘postcolonialism’ and the complexities of the post-postcolonial approaches to the literatures of those nations belonging to the British Empire, but to delve into the position of marginalized Australian indigenous writers towards the writers of the centre – the ‘centre’ being represented, in this case, not by writers of the colonial centre but the writers of the national majorities.

2. The Australianness of Australian literature

In approaching Australian indigenous literature, we shall proceed backwards, from the literature of the dominant, white culture, to the literature of the Australian natives. Under the particular circumstances of the Australian continent, the Australians’ vision is characteristically a double vision which can easily be perceived in the complexities of what is usually referred to as the Australian stereotype: the “typical Australian” set in the typical Australian landscape – the Bush (or the Outback). This typical figure, so visible in the literature of the majority, is usually an adult male of Caucasian race, an itinerant rural worker, inhabitant of the Australian Bush, with no fixed address. His moral values and frame of mind, and the variety of English he speaks are generally considered to represent Australian authenticity, a basic component of Australian identity.

Hodge and Mishra detect a number of paradoxes (or contradictions) that may be said to define this ‘typical’ character: “neither the character nor his setting is or has been ‘typical’ in any useful sense”, and, because of the intensely urbanized nature of contemporary Australia, this particular character is rendered less and less visible, and “most Australians are left with the paradox that they are not ‘typical Australians’ at all.” To be more precise,

“...this figure exists to suppress from the national image recognition of what he isn’t. He encodes a class, race and gender identity which classifies women, Aborigines and new migrants as ‘unAustralian’, a potent factor which is immediately recognized by all those who are subjected to this symbolic annihilation.”¹

¹ Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra, *Dark Side of the Dream: Australian Literature and the Postcolonial Mind* (North Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, 1990), xv.

Another contradiction is given by the valuations of this controversial figure which seem to be proclaimed by the myth, in contrast to the common judgement on this type in the mundane world. His marginality or *otherness* triggers anxiety and fear. He can hardly manage his personal relationships, women included. He constantly flees the cities inhabited by the other Australians, and chooses the Bush – not because he is a lover of nature but because it is the only place where he can survive. His approach towards the labour/capital opposition is rather individualistic and devoid of stamina. All these traits bring him closer to other categories of marginalized Australians: the mad, the criminals, and the dispossessed. Paradoxically, he situates himself midway between two other categories, equally marginalized: the indigenous Australians – the Aborigines – whom he helped to dispossess, and the newcomers – the recent migrants, European and Asian, who threaten his existence by their own newness, at the same time confirming the basis of his possession of the land which, in reality, he does not own.

3. Turning native: an appraisal of indigenous Australian literature

One possible starting point of an appraisal of Australian indigenous literature might be the concept of ‘Orientalism’ as formulated by Edward Said, by which he defined a number of methods and techniques adopted by the formerly colonial powers in order to construct the colonized ‘Other’. The central colonial powers completely controlled ‘the *Other*’ by completely silencing him, and thus turning him into an object of discourse which has not lost its fascination. According to Said, a culture, a self, or a national identity, is always produced in relation to its ‘others’. He insisted that

“... The development and maintenance of every culture requires the existence of another different and competing alter ego. The construction of identity... whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain... involves establishing opposites and ‘others’ whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of their differences from ‘us’.”¹

As regards the ‘Australian version of Orientalism’, Hodge and Mishra think that

“[It] has its own distinctive features but by and large it conforms closely to the basic pattern. All of its forms are distinct from those that cluster around the fragment ideology, and they seem unassimilable to it. Usually no attempt is made to assimilate the two. But the very depth of this fissure is evidence of the division. The Australian psyche is not a unitary phenomenon, which has an Orientalist piece of ideological baggage attached somehow to it. On the contrary, it is organized around this fissure, it is this contradiction, and typically it projects an inarticulate, egalitarian Orientalist, a racist republican.”²

¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 332.

² Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra, *Dark Side of the Dream: Australian Literature and the Postcolonial Mind* (North Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, 1990), xiii.

One of the uncontested paradoxes of Australia is that until the 1967 referendum, the Aborigines were not considered as natives of the country. Consequently, what was usually termed as ‘Australian Literature’ eliminated from the very beginning any texts written by the Aborigines, while the politically-oriented study of Australian literature and history at all levels of education had a very precise purpose: to eliminate the Aborigines from the conscience and preoccupations of the white majority. The post-1967 apprehension of the problem is entirely different, as

“Aborigines are at last being written back into the history of Australia. In literature and art, Aboriginal creativity is being recognized and valued as a major component of Australian cultural production. Recent histories of Australian literature can now be expected to have a (small) section at the end devoted to aboriginal writers. Cultural justice, however belated, now seems to have come.”¹

In recent years, most of the international events held on Australian soil open (or close, as the case may be) with a company of indigenous performers, traditionally dressed, didgeridoos and boomerangs always displayed, who offer the “Welcome to Country” ritual to the foreign visitors, and proudly informing those who want to hear it, that “We have been here for fifty thousand years”....

Hodge and Mishra rightfully argue that the ‘Aboriginal’ is one of the most enduring ‘others’ against which white Australia has sought to construct itself (in various guises), over the past two hundred years or so but this has never been a strictly internal relationship between the white colonialist and the indigenous population, rather, it has always been mediated, to a lesser or greater extent, by external representations of the Aboriginal, produced or constructed primarily in Europe, and more recently in North America. These changing representations are continuously imported into Australia where they act to delineate internal Aboriginal/white relations. In other words, the construction of ‘Australia’ within the global arena is, to a certain extent, predicated on external constructions of the indigenous inhabitants of this island-continent, which in turn, tends to set the parameters, in both positive and negative ways, of white Australia’s relationship with its indigenous other, and therefore its sense of itself.

According to the Penny van Toorn, “the earliest Aboriginal writings in the Roman alphabet were produced by dictation and other collaborative modes. In 1796, Bennelong – an Aborigine who had the chance to travel to England – dictated a letter to Lord Sydney’s steward, Mr. Phillips, whom he had met while visiting England three years previously.” The letter is rightfully considered the product of the “cultural doubleness” that characterizes Australian writing. The European epistolary conventions are not observed, and “Bennelong proceeds as though he, and everyone he speaks about, are in each other’s physical proximity, and can thus be spoken to – as is indeed usually the case in relatively small, locally

¹ *Ibid*, xiv.

based, oral-tribal Aboriginal societies of the kind in which Bennelong's paradigms of the social world are likely to have developed."¹ Here is the letter:

Sidney Cove.

New S. Wales Augst. 29 1796

Sir, I am very well. I hope you are very well. I live at the Governor's. I have every day dinner there. I have not my wife; another black man took her away; we have had muzzy [bad] doings: he speared me in the back, but I better now: his name is now Carroway [the names are frequently changed], all my friends alive and well. Not me go to England no more. I am at home now. I hope Sir you send me anything you please Sir. hope all is well in England. I hope Mrs. Phillips very well. You nurse me Madam when I sick, you very good Madam: thank you Madam, & hope you remember me Madam, not forget. I know you very well Madam. Madam, send me two Pair stockings. You very good Madam. Thank you Madam. Sir, you give my duty to Ld Sydney. Thank you very good my Lord. Very good: Hope very well all family, very well. Sir, send me you please Some Handkerchiefs for Pocket. You please Sir send me some shoes: two pair you please Sir.

Bannolong.²

It took the native Australians almost one century and a half to venture into the writing of fiction. Writers like William Ferguson and David Unaipon combined creative and political writing, and wove Aboriginal and Western narrative elements together, but the contemporary phase of Aboriginal writing begins in 1964, with the publication of Oodgeroo Noonuccal's (Kath Walker's) first poetry collection, *We Are Going*. The book broke a period of white deafness by bringing a powerful Aboriginal voice into the earshot of mainstream audiences both in Australia and overseas. It opened a new channel of transmission that allowed the dominant society to hear what Aboriginal voices had been saying for many years.

Oodgeroo, together with Kevin Gilbert, Jack Davis, and Colin Johnson (Mudrooroo), were seen as the founders of contemporary Aboriginal literature. Mudrooroo's Aboriginal identity has since been disputed. Even so, he was and still is an influential figure because, from 1965 (when his novel *Wild Cat Falling* was published) to the mid-1990s, his large and diverse body of writings served as an inspiration and rallying point for other Aboriginal writers. Oodgeroo, Gilbert, Davis and Mudrooroo shared number of common concerns and methods. They called for justice and land rights, challenged racist stereotypes, dismantled

¹ Penny van Toorn, "Indigenous texts and Narratives", in Elizabeth Webby (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Australian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 50.

² Reproduced in Jack Brook, "The forlorn hope: Bennelong and Yemmerrawannie go to England", *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, Mar. 22, 2001.

exclusionary models of national identity, and corrected biased historical narratives of progress and peaceful settlement. They also insisted on the continuity of past and present.

On the other hand, Aboriginal autobiography is one of the most dynamic areas of contemporary Australian writing. Autobiography is a story form foreign to traditional Aboriginal cultures. Its beginnings can be found in various modes of formalised dialogue with non-Aboriginal officials and researchers. The process of transforming talk into writing presented a number of problems, both practical and political. On the one hand, it was necessary to preserve the integrity of the Aboriginal voice; on the other, readers (predominantly non-Aboriginal) expected certain standards of coherence, conciseness and grammatical correctness. Aboriginal life-writing is thus a highly contested textual territory. For example, early publications such as *I, The Aboriginal* (1962) and *Lamilami Speaks* (1972) are especially problematic. A number of Aboriginal men have written or recorded their autobiographies, among them Charles Perkins, Jack Davis, Wayne King, but it has been Aboriginal women who have won the largest readership and been most successful. Thus, Sally Morgan's *My Place* (1987) was a watershed publication in being the first Aboriginal-authored bestseller. A number of autobiographies appeared in close succession in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Prominent among them were Ruby Langford Ginibi's *Don't Take Your Love to Town* (1988), Alice Nannup's *When the Pelican Laughed* (1992), and Evelyn Crawford's *Over My Tracks* (1993).

Many Aboriginal writings resist classification within conventional European genre systems. A number of Aboriginal 'fiction' writers, for instance, undo the Western common-sense categorical distinction between fact and fiction. They may do this by drawing on their own experiences, by creating historical fictions, and by confronting readers with the double vision of what critics usually call magic realism. These three strategies form a basis for three strands of Aboriginal fiction, although it must be recognized that these strands may themselves be interwoven in the same text.

Monica Clare's posthumously published *Karobran: the story of an Aboriginal girl* (1978) is regarded as the first Aboriginal novel. *Karobran* is based on Clare's experience as a child growing up in welfare institutions and white foster homes in New South Wales. Archie Weller's novel, *Day of the Dog* (1981), and short story collection, *Goin Home* (1986), included people and events typical of those he knew growing up in East Perth, but also used motifs derived from gothic romance. In his beautifully crafted novel *True Country* (1993), Tim Scott makes "stepping off points for the imagination" out of people and situations encountered during his time as a teacher at Kalumburu in the far north of Western Australia.

Parts of Scott's novel *True Country*, and other novels such as Sam Watson's *The Kadaitcha Song* (1990), Alexis Wright's *Plains of Promise* (1997) and Archie Weller's *Land of the Golden Clouds* (1998), might be called magic realist. But traditional Aboriginal cultures had different ways of classifying stories. What Westerners call magic realism might be seen, from a different cultural viewpoint,

as a self-consistent story form. A number of Aboriginal novelists have concerned themselves with re-writing history. They contest the myths of heroic exploration and peaceful settlement that, for many years, were disseminated through the school system. Mudrooroo's novels, *Long Live Sandawarra* (1979), *Doctor Wooreddy's Prescription for Enduring the Ending of the World* (1983) and *Master of the Ghost Dreaming* (1991), formed a nucleus around which a tradition of Aboriginal historical fiction developed.

Recently, a number of Aboriginal women writers have moved into fiction, a genre previously dominated by men. Alexis Wright's *Plains of Promise* (1997) and Melissa Lukashenko's *Steam Pigs* (1997) have raised questions about domestic violence and sexual exploitation within the Aboriginal community, as well as between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. While many writers have noted the gender-specific nature of racial oppression, younger novelists like Melissa Lukashenko, Alexis Wright and Kim Scott are focussing on the complex, politically ambivalent situations that arise when differences of gender, sexuality, and class cut across lines of racial and cultural difference.

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LANGUAGE AND ATMOSPHERE IN *UNCLE SILAS*

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Abstract: The focus of the present paper will be on language and the features of the Gothic style in the novel *Uncle Silas* by Sheridan Le Fanu. I will approach the rich Victorian atmosphere of menacing, somber gloom and ebony shadows meant to create creepy and tingling sensations.

Sheridan Le Fanu – Anglo-Irish Gothic Writer

One of the most popular Victorian writers, Sheridan Le Fanu is a distinct voice in the Gothic literature through his own “psychological” kind of Gothic. His work includes writings such as: Gothic novels, historical romances, fantastic tales, ghost and mystery stories. Le Fanu’s creations are praised for the skilled use of narrative technique, for the convincing use of supernatural elements and for the coloured evocation of dread. The element of novelty brought by Le Fanu seems to be the penetration into human consciousness that pervades some of his Gothic writings. His well-known novel *Uncle Silas: A Tale of Bartram-Haugh* appeared in 1864 and was based upon “Passage in the Secret History of an Irish Countess,” issued in the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1838, which had already reappeared once in “*The Haunted Cousin*” in *Ghost Tales and Tales of Mystery* (1851). Though the background is Derbyshire, Elizabeth Bowen argued that *Uncle Silas* is “an Irish story transposed to an English setting.” (4) As products of the fears and anxieties shared by late eighteenth and nineteenth-century writers and readers alike, the Gothic writings brought to the fore the political, social and religious problems they were confronted with at the time. Nineteenth century Ireland acts as an element of “quasivisionary or hallucinatory retrospect” (Corcoran 149) not only because of its landscape but also because of the “quasi-feudal landlordism which its social system appears to suggest.”(Corcoran 149)

Language and Style Approach

Our present paper considers an author’s style as being the product of a particular linguistic habit which is conditioned by some social, cultural and ideological environments. Major writers have their own way of writing and a “fictive sense characteristically of their own” (Spector 3), their abilities thus transcending the limitations of the form. Therefore, a style analysis is nothing but an attempt to highlight the artistic principles that lie at the basis of the author’s choice. Every writer has an individual combination of linguistic habits meant to somehow betray him in everything he/ she writes. In the case of the language analysis in *Uncle Silas* we have chosen to understand the word style as the choice of words and phrases in

the Anglo-Irish Victorian context by an Irish writer for a given purpose. E. Bowen wrote in the introduction to the 1974 edition of *Uncle Silas* about Le Fanu's decision of placing the action of his novel in the wild northern England – Derbyshire:

Up there, in the vast estates of the landed old stock, there appeared, in the years when Le Fanu wrote (and still more in the years of which he wrote: the early 1840's) a time lag – just such a time lag as, in a more marked form, separates Ireland from England more effectually than any sea.” (5)

It is obvious why for a stylistic analysis one has to identify from the whole range of linguistic features specific to the author's language exactly those features restricted to a certain social context, features meant to produce a certain effect upon the readers. The Gothic shadow makes its appearance everywhere in Le Fanu's work, and, historically speaking, one can state that the author's interest in manipulating plot and conventions places him in a transitional position: in between old-fashioned and modernist Gothic.

The Dark Gothic Shadow in *Uncle Silas*

Edward Wagenknecht considers that “the Gothic shadow is as dark in this novel as anywhere in Le Fanu's work” (5) referring to the atmosphere in his writings. As far as this aspect is concerned, Elizabeth Bowen posits in the same introduction to the 1974 edition that “the background, or atmosphere, needs little discussion: in the first few pages one recognizes the master-touch.”(14) The novel seems to be divided between two houses: Knowl and Bartram-Haugh, the contrast contributing to drama (Bowen 14). The two locations and the time have a major contribution to the mystery and dread feeling the reader encounters:

It was winter ... and great gusts were rattling at the windows, and wailing and thundering among our tall trees and ivied chimneys – a very dark night, and a very cheerful fire blazing, a pleasant mixture of good round coal and spluttering dry wood, in a genuine old fireplace, in a sombre old room. Black wainscoting glimmered up to the ceiling, in small ebony panels; a cheerful clump of wax candles on the tea-table; many old portraits, some grim and pale, others pretty ... It was a long room too, and every way capacious, but irregularly shaped. (Le Fanu: 5)

The auditory images created by the verbs “rattling”, “wailing” and “thundering” appear mixed with visual ones: “tall trees and ivied chimneys”, “a very dark night”, “cheerful fire blazing”, “sombre old room”, “black wainscoting glimmered”, “small ebony panels”, “cheerful clump of wax candles”, “old portraits, some grim and pale”, “long room ... irregularly shaped”. The first part of the description ends with another auditory image: “spluttering dry wood,” the night scene reminding the reader of Poe's musicality. The sound of the wind is created at the phonetic level through the repetition of the vowels and diphthongs /i/, /ei/, /u/, /a/ and /ae/

(*winter ... and great gusts were rattling at the windows, and wailing and thundering*) that suggest the contrast between the harsh wind outside and the cosy interior (*good round coal*). The play of “round” sounds rendered through long vowels and diphthongs in the words: *good, round, coal* contrasts with the “sharpness” of the ones rendered through consonants: *spluttering, dry*, creating a vaguely perceived tension. This tension started with the accumulation used in the description of the wind: “gusts were rattling ... **and wailing and thundering**”. An important component of atmosphere is represented by the dialectical relationship between exterior and interior. The visible exterior of the estates is important, yet not as important as the interior, narratologically speaking. The explanation lies in the fact that in *Uncle Silas* the space of the story is concentrated inside each house:

Firelight and candles are inspiring. In that red glow I always felt and feel more safe, as well as more comfortable, than in the daylight – quite irrationally, for we know the night is the appointed day of such as love the darkness better than light, and evil walks nearby. But so it is. Perhaps the very consciousness of external danger enhances the enjoyment of the well-lighted interior, just as the storm does that roars and hurtles over the roof. (Le Fanu 310)

The play of inside and outside is constantly present, the gloom of the interior being accompanied and intensified by the stormy weather. The interior is described as “a long, narrow room, with two tall, slim windows at the far end, now draped in dark curtains. Dusky it was but with one candle,” (Le Fanu 9) while the storm outside is “like a dirge on a great organ.” (Le Fanu 10) The first chapter of the novel is dominated at the semantic level by the lexical set of [+Gloom]: “wailing”, “very dark night”, “dirge”, “sombre old room”, “old portraits, some grim and pale”. Words marked [+Dread] and [+Mystery] appear in the presentation of Austin’s and Mr Bryerly’s behaviours, as perceived through Maud’s eyes: “This monotony and silence *would have been terrifying* to a person less accustomed to it than I,” “he nearly *disappeared in the gloom*, and then returning emerged for a few minutes, *like a portrait with a background of shadow*, and then again in silence *faded nearly out of view*” (Le Fanu 6), “In my *hazy notions* of these *sectaries* there was a *mingled suspicion of necromancy*, and a *weird freemasonry*, that inspired *something of awe and antipathy*” (Le Fanu 7), “a tall, lean man, all in *ungainly black*, with a *white choker*, with either a *black wig*, or *black hair ... and a dark, sharp, short visage*”(Le Fanu 7), “The *lank black figure* of Mr Bryerly stood up” (Le Fanu 8). The aura of gloom and mystery is enhanced in terms of colour, the scene being dominated by black and white, colours which together with red, are representative of the Gothic spectrum. Maud’s experience is dominated by uncertainty, stylistically rendered through the modal construction *would have been terrifying*, through the adverbial “nearly” in the phrases *nearly disappeared in the gloom* and *faded nearly out of view*, through the epithets *hazy notions, mingled suspicion, something of awe and antipathy* and also through the comparison *emerged ... like a portrait with a background of shadow*.

The two locations where Maud lives are characterised by the simultaneity of the present and the spectral past. We can say that “Gothic space compels past and present to cohabit, whether embodying the past in the form of ghosts, or by inducing recollection and re-enaction, or through a combination of both”(Maguire 115). Knowl has the features of a well-to-do home: “Quite the setting for a romance; such timber, and this really beautiful house. I do so like these black and white houses – wonderful old things.”(Le Fanu 63) However, it is rigid, overcast and haunted; there are ghosts and in the neighbourhood there is the family mausoleum. Bartram-Haugh is a place of “desertion and decay, contrasting almost awfully with the grandeur of its proportions and richness of its architecture.” (Le Fanu 182) One presence that Knowl and Bartram-Haugh share is that of Silas. In the former location he appears painted, creating a strong impression on Maud: “that mysterious relative whom I had never seen – who was, it had in old times been very darkly hinted to me, unspeakably unfortunate or unspeakable vicious.” (Le Fanu 13) It seems that terror is produced especially by leaving the object of fear outside perception. Uncle Silas appears fully present in the novel very late, after Maud had enough time to examine his portrait when he was young and to find out bits of information regarding his past: “A face like marble, with fearful monumental look, and, for an old man, singularly vivid strange eyes, the singularity of which rather grew upon me as I looked.” (Le Fanu 187)

Suspense and atmosphere

The definition given by *The Random House Dictionary* to suspense as being “a state or condition of mental uncertainty or excitement, as in awaiting a decision or outcome, usually accompanied by a degree of apprehension or anxiety” (qtd. in Vordener 107) highlights the need of reader involvement and that of identification with the characters. One technique used by Le Fanu in order to increase suspense is that of offering the reader knowledge of potential danger and difficulties that the character does not have.

Le Fanu’s method of accumulating details up to an intolerable terror can be transposed at the chapter level through a gradual crescendo towards the penultimate one, entitled “The Hour of Death.” By means of the supernatural the author adds further elements of fear, horror and suspense. Taking into consideration Maud’s age and her little knowledge of practical matters one notices that the experience of suspense goes beyond what can be termed a deficit of information, the suspense involving a complex network of the readers’ “cognitive and emotional activities that might have been stimulated by various textual characteristics.”(Vordener 37). The basic component of fear, delight, and confident hope with regard to an external danger lead to the phenomenon of suspense and thrill. Boringo (1980) stated in his work on excitement that suspense is to be viewed through its “basic components of fear and hope as ‘generator of fear’”(qtd. in Vorender 40). Both excitement and fear are considered emotions of expectation in Wulff’s view (in Vorender 40) and what is more important for our approach is

the fact that the expectation of fear is marked by ambivalence, as it comes with the hope that the expectation of fear will not be met. In the chapter "A Midnight Visitor" Maud has a shocking experience: "My terror lest she should discover me amounted to positive agony." (Le Fanu 95). Later in the novel she will have other such experiences: "I remained for a space which I cannot pretend to estimate in the same posture, afraid to stir – afraid to move my eye from the door." (Le Fanu 408), "I remained perfectly still, with a terrible composure, crouched in my hiding-place, my teeth clenched, and prepared to struggle like a tigress for my life when discovered." (Le Fanu 409) Lack of movement ("I remained ... in the same posture", "I remained perfectly still") and determination to fight ("my teeth clenched and prepared to struggle like a tigress") are elements that place the novel among psychological thrillers, as "Uncle Silas was in advance of, not behind, its time: it is not the last, belated Gothic romance but the first (or among the first) of the psychological thrillers. And it has, as terror-writing, a voluptuousness not approached since." (Bowen 11)

Uncertainty seems to be a necessary condition for suspense: "Once the outcome is fixed, however, the state is no longer suspense." (Vordener 74) Not being a response to the outcome, suspense is in close connection to the moments leading up to the outcome, when the outcome is not certain:

Notwithstanding my mind sometimes wondered, often indeed, to the conference so unexpected, so suddenly decisive, possibly so momentous; and with a dismayed uncertainty, the question – Had I done right? – was always before me. (Le Fanu 166)

According to Maud's perception, we can detect three types of uncertainty: the one referring to the past – as she is not convinced her uncle did such horrible deeds, the one referring to the present – as she is not certain about her uncle's true intentions as far as her life is concerned and finally, the one referring to the future – for as long as she is so tormented by a blurred past and suspicious about her present it is normal that she should have felt insecure and mistrustful regarding her future.

An interesting aspect regarding the nature of uncertainty and its connection to suspense in the novel lies in the definition given by Rodell (1952) to suspense: it is "the art of making the reader care about what happens next." (qtd. in Vorender 76) In order to make the reader concerned, the author must find some general interest to make the reader sensitive: "one such interest is what is morally right." (Vorender 77) Maud is the naïve Gothic heroine very much tormented when she has to make decisions:

That night I was troubled. I was already upbraiding myself. I could not sleep, and at last sat up in bed, and cried. I lamented my weakness in having assented to Doctor Bryerly's and my cousin's advice. Was I not departing from my engagement to my dear papa? Was I not consenting that my Uncle Silas should be induced to second my breach of faith by a corresponding perfidy? (Le Fanu 166)

Suspense will exist as long as out of the two competing outcomes to the relevant course of events, one of the two, although morally correct is “improbable or uncertain or unlikely, whereas the logically alternative outcome is evil but likely or probable or nearly certain.”(Vorender 77) The difference between mystery and suspense consists in the number of potential outcomes that stand in relation to each other as logical contraries. In the case of mystery the uncertainty “is distributed over as many possible answers as there are suspects, whereas with suspense, we are ‘suspended’ between no more than two answers, which stand in binary opposition.”(Vordener 76): “I was left still in doubt, which sometimes oscillated one way and sometimes another.”(Le Fanu 248), “Oddly enough, though, I now felt far less confident upon the point than I did at first sight. I had begun to distrust my memory, and suspect my fancy.” (Le Fanu 248)

The evolution of Maud’s feelings confirms the definition of suspense given by the psychologists Ortony, Clore and Collins (1988) who stated that “We view suspense as involving a Hope emotion and a Fear emotion coupled with the cognitive state of uncertainty”(qtd. in Vorender 78). The reader witnesses Maud’s increased state of emotional distress:

That night in the study I found four papers which increased my perturbation [...] The other letters were in the same spirit. My heart sank like lead as I read them. I quaked with fear. [...] with these letters in my hand, white with fear, I flew like a shadow [...] I nearly screamed the conclusion of this wild confession.” (Le Fanu 166-168)

The register of uncertainty, rendered through the phrases “increased my perturbation” and “letters were in the same spirit” is doubled by that of fear (“my heart sank like lead”, “I quaked with fear”, “white with fear”, “I nearly screamed”). The state of exacerbated excitement is completed by the element of movement suggested by phrases such as “sank as lead”(downward movement), “I quaked”(trembling movement), “I flew like a shadow”(quick movement through the air). The underlying suggestion of the movement is that of gradual change or development in a situation or in people’s attitudes towards it.

Time represents an integral element of suspense, a component of the protagonists’ emotional states.

I sat still, listening and wondering, and wondering and listening; but I ought to have known that no sound could reach me where I was from my father’s study. Five minutes passed and they did not return. Ten, fifteen. (Le Fanu 74)

Le Fanu’s style is said to be translucent, at once simple and subtle: the elapsed time and its consequences are masterly exploited at the linguistic level through repetition and accumulation within the clause: “I sat still, listening and wondering, wondering and listening.” Another way of rendering the tension caused by time and expectation is through elliptical coordinated clauses: “Five minutes passed and they did not return. Ten, fifteen.”

Very often in Gothic fiction sounds or lack of sound is an integral part of the atmosphere of gloom and suspense. The element of uncertainty in the protagonist's perception is enhanced both by visual images but more often by auditory ones: they differ in the possibility to be located. If a visual image, be it either clear or blurred, has boundaries, this cannot be said about sounds: a sound is able to evoke a presence that is difficult to locate, something invisible and thus ghostly. Mention should be made in *Uncle Silas* of the sounds that typically lack a source, for example rustling sounds, a breathing or a creaking floorboard. They share ambiguity as far as their physical origin is concerned:

I had been wakened, I suppose, by a sound which I now distinctly heard, to my great terror, approaching. There was a rustling; there was a breathing. I heard a creaking upon the plank that always creaked when walked upon in passage. (Le Fanu 95)

The element that *Uncle Silas* share with other Gothic novels is the phenomenon of accretion: "Accretion is a major factor in art. Le Fanu could not be rid of the niece and uncle till he had built around them a comprehensive book." (Bowen 8) Pressure, volume and spiritual urgency are conveyed through the alternation of sounds and silence. The passage from a state of uncertainty to one of certainty enhances suspense: "I had been wakened, I suppose, by a sound which I now distinctly heard". The opposition "suppose"/"distinctly heard" will be balanced by the parallel constructions "There was a rustling; there was a breathing," thus preparing the increasing tension for the materialization of the worst apprehensions. Both silence and sounds contribute to the general atmosphere of unease and gloom. After her father's death, while sitting with Lady Knollys, Maud hears the wind roaring through the woods. The wind seems to come from the threatening direction of Bartram-Haugh, creating "a furious, grand and supernatural music." (Le Fanu 146) The wind seems to liaise the two estates: Knowl, described as a place of comfort and stability where servants know their place and do all they should, and Bartram-Haugh, later to be discovered by Maud as a location with ruined rooms, haunted by the mysterious and whimsical presence of Silas.

Conclusion

When reading a Gothic novel the reader who somehow "learnt" the pattern knows what to expect. It is a well-known fact that Gothic fiction is somehow predictable, that it is characterized by a certain number of clichés, that inevitably there will be a brooding atmosphere, a hero/ heroine, a villain, that there will be fear, terror, horror, entrapment etc. We may speak therefore of a predictable repeatability. On the other hand, the reader's imaginative activity is guided by a piece of fiction whose features induce certain emotional responses. This somehow paradoxical situation supposes that although he/she is aware of the outcome, he/ she will be gripped by suspense (and therefore will be uncertain of the outcome during the act of reading). The only possible explanation for this situation is that emotions may

rest on thoughts and not merely on beliefs: readers do not have to believe the story, it is just the thought, or the propositional content of the thought that is sufficient for playing a role in causing the chill of fear in the reader's bloodstream. And this is the level of language, of the way the writer chose to express thoughts, to direct characters and to create atmosphere. The novel owes the pressure and spiritual urgency to the phenomenon of accretion. Tension and suspense are created through a wide range of linguistic devices, proving that Le Fanu's writing was not at all behind its time, announcing the birth of the psychological thriller.

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THE REVERSED ODYSSEY
IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, CULTURAL ARCHETYPES AND
STEREOTYPES IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CINEMA.
THE CURIOUS CASE OF BENJAMIN BUTTON (2008)

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Abstract: Departing from the idea that contemporary media narratives play an essential role in providing essential cultural symbols, myths, and resources (Kellner 2003), mostly by reinterpreting/recycling existing cultural typologies, prototypes and archetypes (Lyden 2003), the paper discusses the processes and mechanisms through which current cinema employs and recodes such cultural patterns in an accessible formula for contemporary mass audiences to identify with. Combining methodological and conceptual tools from the areas of Film Studies, Media and Cultural Studies and using as a case study the 2008 cinema adaptation of Fitzgerald’s *The Curious Case of Benjamin Button*, the approach focuses on the issue of identity construction (and in particular of masculine identity) within mainstream Hollywood cinema, based on a series of recycled cultural patterns, motifs, myths and archetypes (as well as stereotypes), processed, adapted and reinterpreted through cinematic strategies.

Keywords: identity construction, media narratives, myth, cultural archetypes, hero’s journey, American cinema.

Introduction

Since the postwar period, the media have become increasingly influential in the Western (and particularly American) culture and society in the process of constructing cultural identity, as well as in the reproduction of behaviour patterns and in the shaping of mainstream values. It thus replaced or at least challenged—through the appropriation of a series of their functions – the impact of previously prevailing institutions (such as the church). The culture we live in is a media centred consumer culture, while “media images help shape our view of the world and our deepest values: what we consider good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil.... Media spectacles demonstrate who has power and who is powerless.” (Kellner 1). In the complex landscape of media, cinema occupies a privileged space as it plays - through its fictional features as well as all its complex multi-sensorial paraphernalia – the role of a modern story-teller, using recycled myth patterns and favouring the emergence of others. The significance of cinema within the contemporary media dominated culture is undeniable due to its mass impact and the transmedia spreading of the cinema narratives. Speaking of impact, Ford (2000) argued that “epic films like *The Matrix* are the modern day equivalent of *The Iliad*—

Odyssey, the epic of Gilgamesh, or various Biblical myths. Indeed, one might well argue that popular epics like *The Matrix* and *Star Wars* carry more influence among young adults than the traditional religious myths of our culture". (8)

As early as 1956 but presumably based on the already global impact of Golden Age Hollywood, Mircea Eliade anticipated the role of cinema in the recycling and distribution of classical myth patterns, wrapped in the cinematic language and Hollywood stereotyping: "The 'dream factory' of cinema ... 'takes over and employs countless mythical motifs - the fight between hero and monster, initiatory combats and ordeals, paradigmatic figures and images (the maiden, the hero, the paradisaic landscape, hell, and so on)." (*The Sacred and the Profane* 205) If media in general are providers of "symbols, myths, and resources through which we constitute a common culture and through the appropriation of which we insert ourselves into this culture" (Kellner), the Hollywood industry is a privileged provider - based on this role of the modern story-teller and myth creator (actually re-creator) - of recycled myth patterns, selling processed eclectic and specific mythologies to mass audiences. These media processed myth patterns are employed with commercial purposes, making the transition from actual "myths (religious, must be believed) to fiction (untrue, aims at entertaining)". (Bitarello 4)

As mythology itself is "like the god Proteus" (Campbell, citing the *Odyssey*, 400-408), these recycled religious patterns take new shapes within the cinema narratives, being reconverted, relabelled or rebranded (under names as *entertaining* etc.), to *advertise* the contemporary *Zeitgeist*. The current paper departs from the thesis that similarly to other areas of contemporary media, the American cinema finds an essential source in the assimilation and recycling of a series of patterns, myths and heroes and their conversion into an accessible media processed discourse in order to achieve massive impact. The analysis is interested in these myth recurrences present in contemporary media discourses - and particularly the myth of the hero's journey as an essential myth in cinema story telling conventions (paradoxically marked by a "nostalgia for the sacred", Linnitt, 2010).

Cinema: Recycling Myths, Archetypes and Heroic Patterns. The Hero's Journey Myth

One of the central myths of cinema story-telling pattern and set of conventions is the (male) hero's journey, most obviously recycling the traditional mythological pattern, because it is a universal pattern ("occurring in every culture, in every time. It is as infinitely varied as the human race itself and yet its basic form remains constant." Vogler 4), that can thus be - at least implicitly and emotionally - recognised and therefore favour empathy with the narrative. Thus, as Hollywood has recycled and then continuously reinvented mythical features in constructing its heroes: "the protagonists of *The Matrix* and *Avatar*, Neo and Jake Sully, both possess these messianic qualities and ...[b]oth Neo and Jake fulfil the role of the mythic hero as a figure who goes beyond their personal limitations and breaks new ground. ... Both Neo and Jake possess strong biblical imagery for, like the

Christian Messiah, they emerge re-born with a new and powerful body, awakening to a new life with vision and purpose (Linnitt n.pag.).

The emphasis the current paper places on the hero's journey myth is also justified by the fact that the latter is, in its essence, central both to classic myth patterns and to contemporary cinema narratives: "despite its infinite variety, the hero's story is always a journey. A hero leaves his comfortable, ordinary surroundings to venture into a challenging, unfamiliar world. It may be an outward journey to an actual place: a labyrinth, forest or cave, a strange city or country, a new locale that becomes the arena for her conflict with antagonistic, challenging forces." (Vogler 7)

Moreover, as Campbell - in his classical *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949) – emphasised, the classical hero's journey pattern is that of an adventure, outside of the familiar space (implying the key moment of the departure), filled with obstacles, ordeals and descent into a sort of dark world (or underworld), implying initiation and ended usually with a successful return not only in terms of fulfilling the explicit purpose of the journey but also with a gain in terms of knowledge and maturity. Thus, "the mythological hero, setting forth from his commonday hut or castle, is lured, carried away, or else voluntarily proceeds, to the threshold of adventure. There he encounters a shadow presence that guards that passage. The hero may defeat or conciliate this power and go alive into the kingdom of the dark (brother-battle, dragon-battle; offering, charm), or be slain by the opponent and descend in death (dismemberment, crucifixion). Beyond the threshold, then, the hero journeys through a world of unfamiliar yet strangely intimate forces, some of which severely threaten him (tests), some of which give magical aid (helpers). When he arrives at the nadir of the mythological round, he undergoes a supreme ordeal and gains his reward. The triumph may be represented as the hero's sexual union with the goddess-mother of the world (sacred marriage), his recognition by the father-creator (father atonement), his own divinisation (apotheosis), or again - if the powers have remained unfriendly to him--his theft of the boon he came to gain (bride-theft, fire-theft); intrinsically it is an expansion of consciousness and therewith of being (illumination, transfiguration, freedom). The final work is that of the return. If the powers have blessed the hero, he now sets forth under their protection (emissary); if not, he flees and is pursued (transformation flight, obstacle flight). At the return threshold the transcendental powers must remain behind; the hero re-emerges from the kingdom of dread (return, resurrection). The boon that he brings restores the world (elixir)." (212-13)

The hero's journey is therefore a form of exploration of the world and of the self, symbolised in the *quest* and classical prototype of Odysseus, but proving itself enduring in taking the form of multiple avatars. Although the "call to adventure" can take the shape of different challenges and problems to solve, the common pattern mentioned above remains remarkably stable and enduring. The initial moment is generally that of the hero abandoning his familiar space as a condition

THE HERO'S JOURNEY

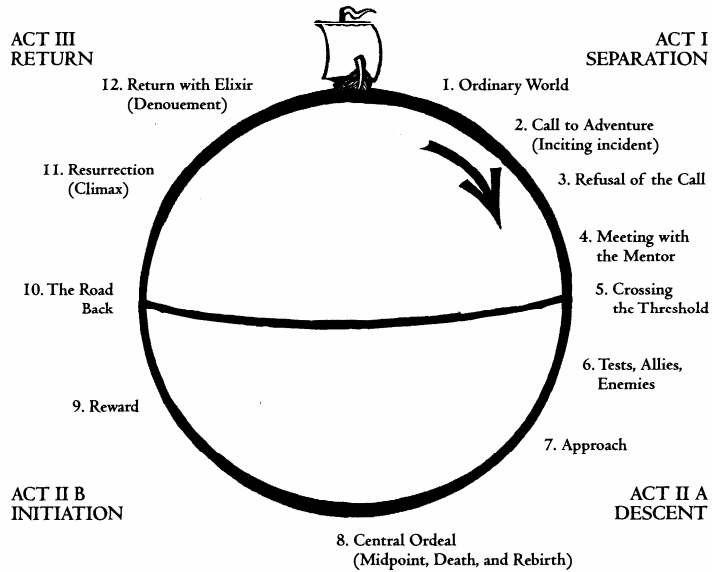


Figure 1. *The Stages of the “Hero’s Journey”*¹

for him to achieve the goal (including that of self-knowledge) and conquer the unknown world and defeat external and internal demons. “A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.” (Campbell 31)

The ordeal(s) he has to face are part of the traditional initiation processes (common to many cultures, as it is found in shamanic ancient rituals as well as in Western folk tales and traditions) and while this is an “indispensable step in his initiation and identity quest” (Vogler 14) it is also highly significant in cinema narratives as it aims at stirring empathy and emotional reactions: “the Ordeal is a ‘black moment’” for the audience, as we are held in suspense and tension, not knowing if he will live or die. The hero, like Jonah, is ‘in the belly of the beast’.” (15) The overcoming of the ordeal has a deeper aim the “profound self-realization” (181) and knowledge. The dark forces fought against can also be read as a confrontation with one’s inner demons and weaknesses.

¹ Image source: Vogler 9.

The Hero's Quest for Identity. The Myth of Eternal Youth

"Whether the hero or heroine were ever children or not they never cease to be young" (Somerset et al. 248)

The initiation is meant to leave deep marks in the hero's identity and have as a result his evolution and therefore maturity: "young people coming back from a war or from an ordeal like basic training seem different — more mature, self-confident, and serious, and worthy of a little more respect. There is a chain of divine experience: from enthusiasm, being visited by a god, to apotheosis, becoming a god, to epiphany, being recognized as a god." (Vogler 181). However, despite the journey being a quest of identity and manhood, therefore of maturity, as it is essentially challenging (the above mentioned ordeals) and has as a result the transformation of the young heroes into men, classic mythology records a sort of obsession for the preservation of eternal youth, an obsession undoubtedly shared by Hollywood cinema. "In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus, returning to Ithaca after twenty years' absence, finds Penelope still in the bloom of youth and charm. His son, Telemachus, has just reached man's estate; that is, he is about sixteen, yet he has been the leading man in Ithaca for about eight years. Nestor at the beginning of the siege of Troy, is a wise and very old man. At the end of the siege he is still a wise and very old man, and he returns home and keeps on being a wise and very old man" (Somerset et al. 246)

As anticipated, the hero's preservation of youth in classical mythology is easily detectable as a recycled feature of mainstream American cinema, both in the motion pictures and in the industry of Hollywood (ageless) stars. Among the very popular examples of films depicting a hero's journey at the end of which the latter, although initiated (mature) remains physically young we could mention, for instance, *The Legends of the Fall* (also starring Brad Pitt) - where the hero returns physically unchanged from a very long journey (having taken several years), while everything else is altered, his father being an old and sick man and the children already adults. Similarly, in *Forrest Gump* (compared sometimes with Benjamin Button's story due to some narrative and character similarities), the hero remains physically of approximately the same age at the end of his long journeys and adventures. And the examples could continue, Hollywood sharing - as I anticipated - the fascination of classical mythology for eternal youth as well as the technical means to provide the audience with the illusion of the hero's achieving this (special effects, make up).

If the examples provided above speak of this implicit obsession for eternal youth, an explicit narrative on the topic belongs to the scholar Mircea Eliade (one of the best trained in myth issues and therefore employing in his narratives the myth structures he studied in his academic work). Coppola's recent adaptation of Eliade's *Youth without Youth* - a text (and film) that on the background of Eliade's writings offers numerous and interesting meanings - brings the story to screen, revealing the hero as rejuvenated after being hit by lightning (which took place in a

special space, a sacred gap in the profane: near a Church). This search of eternal youth is, eventually, a story of an identity quest and of the fascination for a never-ending self-accomplishment.

The hero's search of identity also overlaps very well the pattern of the journey through its dynamic component, as it is, before everything else, a *process*, implying evolution and change, the "discovery of the new; recovery of the old, forgotten, or appropriated; and synthesis of the new and old" (Kirk & Okazawa-Rey 10). As Hall puts it in his famous remark, "identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think. Instead, of identity as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation. This view problematises the very authority and authenticity to which the term, 'cultural identity' lays claim." (Hall 222)

It also implies the contact with the external (cultural) environment, as "none of us exist outside cultural immersion of this sort....We all acquire *an internal identity from outside ourselves*." (Ryan 83). Thus, in order to answer to the identity conundrum embodied in the identifiable universal identity concerns – such as "Who am I? Where did I come from? Where will I go when I die? What is good and what is evil? What must I do about it? What will tomorrow be like? Where did yesterday go? Is there anybody else out there?" (Vogler 5) – the hero must undergo the quest within the metaphorical labyrinth, alone or assisted by teachers, guides, mates or allies, but also challenged by monsters, seducers, demons or betrayers (30). The hero also possesses exceptional qualities, yet, the audience is compelled to resonate with his misfortunes as the challenges he faces as well as the answers he seeks are, as shown above, universal in their essence. *Identification* is a key feature in hero's journey narratives, whether classical or contemporary and is essential for the cathartic experience, all this being well assimilated by contemporary media.

The Hero's Journey in Cinema: Conventions and Myth Recycling. Case Study: *The Curious Case of Benjamin Button* (2008)

"Benjamin Button's journey is a very interior one"
(Kate Blanchett, actress)

The current paper focuses on the literary adaptation *The Curious Case of Benjamin Button* (2008) rather than on F. Scott Fitzgerald's story, as in this case, the script – although inspired by F. Scott Fitzgerald's story and the initial "curiosity" he depicts – is far more influenced by cinema stereotypes, myths and conventions than by the initial story and therefore more complex and relevant for this particular analysis. In the short story, the depiction of Benjamin's reversed life line lacks drama and tension, the hero's quest, journeys and search for identity being cinema additions, with the purpose of creating an unconventional and yet digestible

(through a series of *loci communi*) cinema epic (in the Forrest Gump style, minus the humorous touches existing there). As a convention, the cinematic strategies employ, as a convention, a Bildungsroman cliché (the recurrent formula “I was born” etc.) audiences feel comfortable with (“Benjamin Button: [*narrating*] My name is Benjamin Button, and I was born under unusual circumstances.”). Also, in this case, the line (as a *captatio benevolentiae*) induces - in addition to the title - expectation and curiosity. The birth of the unusual child is associated with the disturbance of the timeline -concentrated in the metaphor of the clock at the station that functions backwards - and implicitly with the troubled history of the time (the war, the death of *young* people, converted into tragic *heroes*). Although the child is born old and disabled, showing signs of sickness (the doctor predicting imminent death), the reversed journey through time that Benjamin performs takes the shape of an adventure and from a certain moment on, of an initiation. However, the initiation pattern is inevitably – for Hollywood mainstream productions - reduced to cinematic (and narrative) stereotypes: *his alcohol and sexual initiation, the journey on sea and the war (the death ordeal)*.

The film contains therefore a series of recognisable patterns and motifs, references to both classical narratives and cinema stereotypes. Thus, after *nine* years at sea as well as his *three* journeys (both considered to be magic numbers in many traditional cultures and borrowed by the fairytales patters), the hero returns home – mature, changed (yet, physically rejuvenated). His inner change is described by the protagonist in the following manner: “Benjamin Button: [*narrating*] It's a funny thing about comin' home. Looks the same, smells the same, feels the same. You'll realize what's changed is you.” The identity quest and initiation process is thus fulfilled, accomplished. This is one of the most significant changes between the short story and the cinema adaptation, as in Fitzgerald’s story Benjamin lives among his family, despite his father’s initial shame and hesitations on the unusual situation. Other changes in the film include further cinema stereotypes such as the orphan hero or the conflict with the father.

The formula of the three complementary journeys also reveals the evolution and progress towards maturity: while the first trip is a quest for adventure (although it involves the ordeal, guidance and other steps towards the self-realization), the second is related to the erotic fulfilment and the third, the most significant, is the spiritual journey to India (a space associated, particularly within Hollywood stereotypes, with a spiritual self-discovery pattern). The result of the three journeys is that the initiated hero returns as a re/newborn child: “Daisy: ‘you are so much younger’; Benjamin: ‘only on the outside’”. Thus, the hero’s paradoxical nature does not interfere with a typical hero’s journey and initiation, Benjamin declaring himself more mature and experienced at the end of his (self-quest) journeys.

Besides the main pattern of the hero’s journey (unusual through its reverse timeline), there are also other universal themes and motifs employed in this narrative. Among them there is the theme of solitude, which – although it does not have the deep and anguishing features to be found in the literary treatment of the

theme - is nevertheless necessary in the reversed journey pattern, taking the shape of the solitude of a lonely walker through time: “Benjamin Button: *[narrating]* While everybody else was aging...I was getting younger... all alone...; Ngunda Oti: *[to Benjamin]* Plenty of times you be alone. When you're different like us, it's gonna be that way. But I tell you a little secret, fat people, skinny people, tall people, white people...they just as alone as us we are...; Benjamin Button: I shall die alone as I came into the world”.

Thus, the theme is deeply connected to those of time, identity and, less significantly, death. Hence, the issue of time - directly linked to the theme of solitude – dominates the narrative, being crucial for the whole “reversed Odyssey” pattern. The film begins with the figure of the *blind* clock-maker, perhaps a reference to Homer, the blind creator of Odysseus or just symbolising a character/creator punished by the gods through the loss of his son, but the symbolism is not expanded or explain, typically to cinema recycling of classic myths and patterns. As a revenge for his son’s death (and that of other young men), he builds the clock that works backwards, thus interfering with the laws of historical time (the reversed time pattern). The clock metaphor follows Benjamin until the end of the story, until he himself dies or is devoured by time, despite finding youth and childhood at the end of the road (a reversed Chronos myth). “Benjamin Button: ‘right then she realised that none of us is perfect forever’ “. In the end, he survives by preserving his memory only through writing (the diary and letters to his daughter) as he is completely amnesic at the end (idea even more prominent in the initial short story). The only moment of recognition (felt as such by Daisy, his lifelong love and mother of his child) appears to be that of his death.

The theme of death is also a constant, both as a threat during the hero’s journey in which, as shown above, the initiation of the hero involves ordeals and confrontation with dark demons and death dangers but also as a natural ending of the hero’s physical evolution/involution. Moreover, in the film, Death is not solely the main ordeal of the journey (associated to the war) but follows the hero from the beginning, as his death is anticipated as imminent from the first day: “Doctor Rose: His body is failing him before his life's begun.” This idea is not implied in the initial story, which is – because of this and other reasons - far less dramatic. Also, in a scene in church (again the sacred space, see Eliade), the adoptive mother translates this scientific explanation into a diabolic threat, saying that Benjamin must have the devil following him in order to kill him “before his time”. However, the hero’s reversed evolution (he grows younger and stronger by the day), proves that the Death has been, at least for the moment, defeated (itself as a conquest ordeal). Benjamin’s experience with death expands during his first journey, when he fights it on sea and although he survives he understands its magnitude and inevitability: “Benjamin Button: ‘You can be as mad as a mad dog at the way things went. You could swear, curse the fates, but when it comes to the end, you have to let go.’” The hero’s acceptance is consistent with the idea, detaching itself from this cinema narrative, that nothing lasts (Duski 45-46) and that in his usual story this ephemeral aspect of life would prove even more relentless. Benjamin’s

own death is described by Daisy - who assisted at his final moments – as a conscious acknowledgement and therefore peaceful acceptance: “Daisy: And in the spring, 2003, he looked at me. And I knew, that he knew, who I was. And then he closed his eyes, as if to go to sleep.”

The issue of identity (and implicitly, identity quest) detaches itself as a dominant theme of this cinematic narrative, although the entire framework lacks the depth of classical myths, being drastically schematised into a conventional Hollywood narrative. However, this dominant theme is explicitly emphasised in the hero’s “last will”/“words of wisdom” to his daughter, focusing on the idea of a self-search and self-realisation: “Benjamin Button: *[voice over]* For what it's worth: it's never too late or, in my case, too early to be whoever you want to be. There's no time limit, stop whenever you want. You can change or stay the same, there are no rules to this thing. We can make the best or the worst of it. I hope you make the best of it. And I hope you see things that startle you. I hope you feel things you never felt before. I hope you meet people with a different point of view. I hope you live a life you're proud of. If you find that you're not, I hope you have the strength to start all over again...”.

Also, Benjamin’s last words (as the narrator of his story) are meant to provide the film with a conclusion (again, in the Hollywood cinema generalising manner), capturing somehow – as a hero’s journey would imply - the essence of his experiences, of his self-search and of life and its meaning in general, the people being defined through a main feature associated both to destiny and gift: “Benjamin Button: *[narrating]* Some people, were born to sit by a river. Some get struck by lightning. Some have an ear for music. Some are artists. Some swim. Some know buttons. Some know Shakespeare. Some are mothers. And some people, dance.”

Conclusions

In a contemporary world dominated by media - which have substituted and overwhelmed other previously mainstream sources of values and codes – but by no means devoid of myths and sacred patterns, heroes and archetypes, the cinema has taken over as a new privileged story-teller. Recycling classic myth patterns and behaviours - and adapting to its new strategies and techniques -, cinema has become a favourite supplier of ready processed recycled mythological patterns and clichés in an attempt to preserve both the interest and curiosity of the audiences and the user-friendly aspect of the stereotyped narrative patterns.

The “Hero’s Journey”, a basic pattern in both mythology and traditional narratives, is one of the dominants in this respect, as it combines the adventure implied by the quest with the empathy resulting from the growth and misfortunes in hero’s life journey and the participation in the construction of his identity. In *The Curious Case of Benjamin Button*, the Hollywood cinema industry and its strategies and conventions make their presence known from the very start, as in adapting Fitzgerald’s short stories, the script preserved very little besides the

original idea of the hero's life evolving backwards (from maturity to childhood). The film was added in exchange a new (yet filled with cinematic stereotypes and conventions) narrative and mainly, the Hero's Journey pattern and the mythological and behavioural connotations associated to it. Thus, the initial story of a person born an old man and growing younger was turned into a "reversed *Odyssey*", the Hero assuming no less than three journeys that in the end accomplished his "initiation" and identity quest. The issue of identity and its search remains a central direction in general in the pattern of the Hero's Journey and is even more so in this story of an unusual ("curious") individual.

However, this unusual journey of the hero travelling backwards in time preserves the regular coordinates of the traditional pattern of the Hero's Journey (ordeal, initiation, spiritual journey etc.) resulting in a mature, changed hero, despite his physical youth. Therefore the "unusual" remains a superficial feature and a pretext, as the myth is employed with few changes, resulting in a stereotypical and simplified approach, in which the language, behaviours and values are (intentionally) familiar to the cinema audiences. The journey itself is quite simplified despite taking years and refers to a basic symbolism (the sea, death, war) and very few, stereotypical places (India etc.). Although predictable, as a natural regression, the most problematic remains somehow the death of the hero - as an infant at the end and his previous memory loss (preserved from the original story) - as it takes the audience out of their comfort zone (seeing a baby dying instead of an old man). However, the scene preserves a sense of calm and motherly protection. Whether it is a failed "quest"/*odyssey*/fairytale, this is debatable but I would say the manner in which the film employs not only the stereotypes associated to the initiation myth and personal achievement but also many lines of "wisdom" in Benjamin's diary would support the idea that though reversed, it can be described as a typical (and even stereotypical) cinema Hero's Journey.

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TOLKIEN THE FUNCTIONAL LINGUIST

A PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE ON *THE HOBBIT*

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Abstract: The aim of the present paper is twofold: first of all, it is to take a fresh look at Tolkien’s style through a discourse-pragmatic analysis of the use of general extenders, an important authentication strategy in *The Hobbit*; secondly, it is to briefly reconsider Tolkien’s linguistic beliefs (either explicitly stated or implicit in his authorial strategies) from the perspective of pragmatics as a theory of linguistic adaptation (as in e.g. Verschueren).

Keywords: Tolkien, literary pragmatics, discourse markers, general extenders, authentication strategies

Introduction

Tolkien’s philosophy of language is a rarely discussed, delicate issue because of his “highly personal if not heretical” linguistic beliefs (Shippey xiv), exemplified by his preoccupation with phonosemantics and linguistic aesthetics, i.e. the study of the relationship between the sounds of words, their meaning, and our emotional responses to them. Smith notes that Tolkien’s interest in these issues was so deep that he described himself as “a professional philologist particularly interested in linguistic aesthetics” (Smith 1), what is more, he referred to *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy as “an essay in linguistic aesthetics” (*Letters* 219). Another controversial idea implicit in Tolkien’s novels is the (original) semantic unity of language and reality, implied by several passages from *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy as well as the *The Hobbit*:

To say that Bilbo’s breath was taken away is no description at all. There are no words left to express his staggerment, since Men changed the language that they learned of elves in the days when all the world was wonderful. (*The Hobbit* 147)

However, it is important to note that even though Tolkien’s linguistic preoccupations and the key components of his philosophy of language were highly heretical at the heyday of Saussurean structuralism and linguistic positivism (i.e. around the time *The Hobbit* was written), and were, naturally, still frowned upon in the wake of the Chomskyan revolution, many of Tolkien’s key concerns have taken a new shape (e.g. the study of iconicity, motivation of form-function pairings, the reflection of diachronic development in synchronic data, metaphorical extension, etc.) and are viewed more favourably today, as we witness a shift of perspective away from linguistic phenomena that can be described in truth-functional terms towards the non-truth-functional; from formal-structural to functional approaches

to language; from an attempt to describe language in terms of formal logic to an interest in the logic of everyday conversation; from grammar as a cognitive phenomenon to grammar as a cognitive and (emergent) interactional phenomenon (cf. Furkó *The Presence and Absence of Pragmatic Markers*).

Tolkien expressed many of his linguistic beliefs, “not by abstract argument, but by demonstration” (Shippey xvi): the precisely controlled stylistic effects produced by the strategic choice of linguistic devices as well as his metalinguistic reflections in *The Hobbit* reveal that his concern was to represent linguistic diversity rather than a “homogeneous speech community” (Chomsky 3), an emergent system of communication rather than a fixed code, and that he was fully aware that meaning is both created and negotiated in interaction.

In the following, I will illustrate Tolkien’s metapragmatic awareness by analysing the use of general extenders and a number of other authorial strategies in *The Hobbit*. In the first part of the paper, I will provide a short description of previous research on general extenders as a subgroup of discourse markers, and will subsequently take a look at a number of passages from *The Hobbit* where Tolkien uses general extenders to create carefully calculated stylistic effects. In the second part of the paper I will look at a number of additional authorial strategies that clearly match a number of (micro-)pragmatic phenomena (e.g. disambiguation, anaphora resolution, implicature detection, invented conversational routines, etc.), and which, therefore, also illustrate Tolkien’s linguistic insight and philosophy of language, implicitly expressed on almost every single page of *The Hobbit*.

General extenders as authorial strategies

There is a relatively large body of literature about functionally similar expressions that occur in clause final position and have the basic form of conjunction (*and* or *or*) plus noun phrase (e.g. *and things*, *and stuff*, *and things like that*). They have been variously named vague category identifiers (e.g. Channel), set marking tags (e.g. Dines; Stubbe and Holmes), list completers (e.g. Lerner), discourse extenders (e.g. Norrby and Winter) and general extenders (e.g. Overstreet; Cheshire). The first three terms suggest an emphasis on the referential meaning of such expressions, and it comes as no surprise that researchers using those terms usually describe them as linguistic items that indicate additional members of a list, set or category exemplified by the items preceding them. Ward and Birner, for example, suggest that *and everything* functions as a semantic variable that should be instantiated by “at least one other (typically unspecified) member of some inferrable set” (205). However, corpus-based research (e.g. Overstreet; Furkó *General extenders*) has shown that in many cases the recovery of a set or a category which is exemplified by the preceding items is irrelevant, especially in cases when general extenders serve interpersonal functions, such as marking attitudes, shared experience, shared knowledge, etc.

As a result, along with researchers interested in the interpersonal and discourse functions of such expressions, I prefer the term general extenders

(henceforth GEs); ‘general’ because they are in contrast with “specific extenders” such as *and all of that bureaucratic stuff* in which inferences play a lesser role, and ‘extenders’ because they extend otherwise complete utterances.

GEs occur in a variety of styles, genres and discourse types: in formal as well as informal contexts, in casual conversation as well as in academic discourse, in narratives as well as in descriptive texts. Since GEs form a subgroup of discourse markers, they are, naturally, widely multifunctional, while their forms and functional spectra are highly context-dependent.

In *The Hobbit*, Tolkien uses GEs with great panache with a view to creating a variety of stylistic effects. In Bilbo’s monologue (example 1) the rather formal GE *and so forth* serves to underline (and mock) Bilbo’s business-like manner of speech:

example 1

...doing his best to appear wise and prudent and professional and live up to Gandalf’s recommendation. [Bilbo said] “Also I should like to know about risks, out-of-pocket expenses, time required and remuneration, *and so forth*”—by which he meant: “What am I going to get out of it? and am I going to come back alive?” (*The Hobbit* 21)

Gandalf, on the other hand, uses the colloquial GE *and all* (and a variety of other non-standard linguistic features) to confuse the Trolls into believing he is one of them:

example 2

In the end they [the Trolls] decided to mince them [the dwarves] fine and boil them. So they got a black pot, and they took out their knives.
“No good boiling ’em! We ain’t got no water, and it’s a long way to the well *and all*,” said a voice [Gandalf’s]. (*The Hobbit* 32-33)

In addition to fictional dialogue (and monologue), we find adjunctive as well as disjunctive GEs in narrative parts of *The Hobbit*. In example 3, the disjunctive GE *or anything* marks an assumption of shared knowledge or experience, and as such, is used as an authentication strategy¹:

example 3

To the end of his days Bilbo could never remember how he found himself outside, without a hat, walking-stick or say money, *or anything* that he usually took when he went out; leaving his second breakfast half finished and quite unwashed-up, pushing his keys into Gandalf’s hands, and running as fast as his furry feet could carry him

¹ I use the term “authentication strategies” to refer to authorial strategies that “lend the fictional world additional complexity and verisimilitude” (Gymnich 10).

down the lane, past the great Mill, across The Water, and then on for a whole mile or more. (*The Hobbit* 26)

Overstreet maintains that such uses of GEs in naturally-occurring conversations “help to establish and maintain a sense of rapport among the interlocutors” (18), if we apply this statement to literary discourse, we might say that the use of GEs helps to establish a connection between the textual world and the reader.

Metapragmatic awareness and metacommunicative reflections in *The Hobbit*

On the basis of the above examples, one could argue that the strategic use of general extenders can be explained in terms of Tolkien’s adeptness at making the right stylistic choices and his efforts to present the reader with authentic speech communities. In what follows, however, I intend to discuss pragmatic strategies and metacommunicative reflections in *The Hobbit* that illustrate Tolkien’s linguistic insight and metapragmatic awareness, as well as the fact that the philosophy of language which is implicit in Tolkien’s works is not as incommensurable with contemporary linguistic thought as is often claimed (e.g. by Shippey xiv).

If one reads *The Hobbit* with an eye to pragmatic phenomena, one cannot but notice that disambiguation, anaphora resolution, implicature detection, and (invented) conversational routines are recurrent themes. Conversational routines include “may the hair on his toes never fall out!”, “all praise to his wine and ale!” (17), and “may your beard grow ever longer” (145). Tolkien even creates discursized forms and uses them as behaviorive performative verbs, for instance in “Confusticate you” and “Bebother you!” (13). Since the development of such routines is invariably a long diachronic process, their presence in *The Hobbit* also implies that “there is a story outside the story” (Shippey 19), i.e. “a whole wider world of which one is seeing only some small fraction” (ibid.). Another salient example of conversational routines is the use of *at your service* as a standard social formula roughly equivalent to contemporary English *how do you do*. *At your service* occurs altogether 23 times throughout the book, the ambiguity of its force often creates a comic effect (cf. 4C and E), what is more, it is, at times, accompanied by a metacommunicative comment (cf. 4B):

examples 4 A-E

A, Another dwarf had come along while he was wondering in the hall. He had hardly turned the knob, before they were all inside, bowing and saying “at your service” one after another. (*The Hobbit* 12)

B, “Thorin the dwarf at your service!” he replied—it was merely a polite nothing. (*The Hobbit* 48)

C, “Thorin Oakenshield, at your service! Dori at your service!” said the two dwarves bowing again.

“I don’t need your service, thank you,” said Beorn, “but I expect you need mine...” (*The Hobbit* 86)

D, They thanked him, of course, with many bows and sweepings of their hoods and with many an “at your service, O master of the wide wooden halls!” (*The Hobbit* 94)

E, “Dear me! Dear me!” said Bilbo. “[...] The time was, all the same, when you seemed to think that I had been of some service. Descendant of rats, indeed! Is this all the service of you and your family that I was promised, Thorin? Take it that I have disposed of my share as I wished, and let it go at that!” (*The Hobbit* 187)

The comic effect of examples 4C and E stem from the contrast between non-literal/primary and literal/secondary illocutionary acts: Beorn in C and Bilbo in E decide to ignore the primary (non-literal) illocutionary act, i.e. the fact that ‘at your service’ is intended as a conceptually empty/non-compositional politeness formula, in favour of the literal (secondary) illocutionary act, that is, the dwarves actually offering their services.

In Searle’s original framework of indirect speech acts, one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another, and the “speaker says one thing and means that” but also means something else (Searle 60). In this interpretation, Beorn and Bilbo (intentionally or inadvertently) fail to assign two different illocutionary acts to the utterance ‘at your service’. However, from the viewpoint of Relevance Theory (cf. e.g. Sperber and Wilson), a more recent pragmatic framework, the source of misunderstanding has to do with the distinction between two different processes of utterance interpretation, i.e. between decoding and inferencing. Since the utterance ‘at your service’ is intended as a formulaic/idiomatic sequence, its interpretation should involve decoding the phrase as a whole unit (cf. Jacobsen), however, the (fictional) hearers (Beorn and Bilbo, respectively) misinterpret the utterance on two counts: (1) rather than decoding the phrase as a single unit, they decode the individual components of the phrase, and (2) they choose to take the inferential path of utterance interpretation in addition to the process of decoding.

The exploitation of different types of linguistic ambiguity appears to be a unique feature of Tolkien’s writings, further examples include the following:

examples 5A-E

A, You may remember saying that I might choose my own fourteenth share? Perhaps I took it too literally... [ambiguity of force, literal vs. non-literal interpretation] (*The Hobbit* 187)

B, When Bilbo came to himself, he was literally by himself. [lexical ambiguity] (*The Hobbit* 194)

C, “Hear, hear!” said Bilbo, and accidentally said it aloud, “Hear what?” they all said turning suddenly towards him [ambiguity of force: expressing strong agreement vs. getting the audience’s attention] (*The Hobbit* 23)

D, [Gandalf to Sam Gamgee] “How long have you been eavesdropping?”

[Sam Gamgee] “Eavesdropping, sir? I don’t follow you, begging your pardon. There ain’t no eaves at Bag End, and that’s a fact.” [pun based on lexical ambiguity and folk etymology] (*The Fellowship of the Ring* 43)

E, [Gandalf to Bilbo] “Indeed for your old grand-father Took’s sake, and for the sake of poor Belladonna, I will give you what you asked for.”

[Bilbo] “I beg your pardon, I haven’t asked for anything!”

[Gandalf] “Yes, you have! Twice now. My pardon. I give it you.” [formulaic/non-literal vs. compositional/literal meaning, cf. ‘at your service’] (*The Hobbit* 10)

The examples so far (however frequent they are in *The Hobbit* as well as *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy) could still be explained in terms of a high degree of metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness on the part of the author. Gandalf’s metacommunicative reflection in example 6, however, raises even more complex issues of utterance interpretation, issues that are difficult to analyse even in the framework of either Speech Act Theory or Gricean Pragmatics:

example 6

“Good morning!” said Bilbo, and he meant it. The sun was shining, and the grass was very green. But Gandalf looked at him from under long bushy eyebrows that stuck out further than the brim of his shady hat.

“What do you mean?” he said. “Do you wish me a good morning, or mean that it is a good morning whether I want it or not; or that you feel good this morning; or that it is a morning to be good on?”

“All of them at once,” said Bilbo. “And a very fine morning for a pipe of tobacco out of doors, into the bargain.” [...]

“Good morning!” he [Bilbo] said at last. “We don’t want any adventures here, thank you! You might try over The Hill or across The Water.” By this he meant that the conversation was at an end.

“What a lot of things you do use Good morning for!” said Gandalf. “Now you mean that you want to get rid of me, and that it won’t be good till I move off.” (*The Hobbit* 9)

Speech Act Theory enables us to distinguish between the utterance’s (in Austin’s terms) behabitive, (in Searle’s terms) expressive interpretation (‘good morning’ as a greeting formula), and an expositive/representative interpretation (‘good morning’ as a remark/observation). We might also say that, in Gricean terms, Bilbo blatantly flouts the maxim of quantity (he does not say all that he means), thereby generating implicatures, whose recovery is a task Gandalf undertakes in his response. However, the full complexity of the exchange, i.e. all six (and more) interpretations of ‘good morning’ can be only captured in relevance-theoretic (RT) terms.

Utterance interpretation from the perspective of RT is based on the claim that human cognition is geared towards the maximisation of relevance. For Sperber and Wilson, relevance is a potential property of inputs to cognitive processes. Any input (linguistic as well as non-linguistic) may deliver a variety of cognitive

effects; it may combine inferentially with existing assumptions to yield new conclusions (in RT terms, contextual implications), it may provide evidence that strengthens existing beliefs, or it may contradict and eliminate existing assumptions. Arriving at the effects of a particular input, however, demands processing effort. In RT, relevance is, in general terms, a trade-off between cognitive effects and processing effort: the greater the cognitive effects achieved by processing the input, the greater the relevance of that input, the greater the processing effort, the lower the relevance of an input. Simply put, we are designed to look for “as many cognitive effects as possible for as little processing effort as possible” (Carston and Powell 342). Increasing the processing effort is, ideally, rewarding because of the resulting increase in cognitive effects .

Accordingly, Bilbo’s utterance can be most simply (with the least processing effort) interpreted as a mere greeting formula, however, as we increase the processing effort we invest into the interpretation of his utterance (as Gandalf does) and combine his utterance with a variety of background assumptions and/or more or less salient aspects of the mutual cognitive environment, we will yield a variety of cognitive effects (strongly or weakly implied by the utterance), some of which strengthen our existing assumptions, others contradict or eliminate them.

In addition to the exploitation of utterance-level pragmatic phenomena, Tolkien’s metapragmatic awareness of discourse organization and sequencing is also manifest in *The Hobbit*. A salient example is 7 below:

example 7

And so the argument began all over again, and went on hotter than ever, until at last they decided to sit on the sacks one by one and squash them, and boil them next time. “Who shall we sit on first?” said the voice. “Better sit on the last fellow first,” said Bert, whose eye had been damaged by Thorin. He thought Tom was talking. “Don’t talk to yerself!” said Tom. “But if you wants to sit on the last one, sit on him. Which is he?” “The one with the yellow stockings,” said Bert. “Nonsense, the one with the grey stockings,” said a voice like William’s. “I made sure it was yellow,” said Bert. “Yellow it was,” said William. “Then what did yer say it was grey for?” said Bert. “I never did. Tom said it.” “That I never did!” said Tom. “It was you.” “Two to one, so shut yer mouth!” said Bert. “Who are you a-talkin’ to?” said William. “Now stop it!” said Tom and Bert together. “The night’s gettin’ on, and dawn comes early. Let’s get on with it!” “Dawn take you all, and be stone to you!” said a voice that sounded like William’s. (*The Hobbit* 32-33)

What we can observe here is that Gandalf, through topic control and by producing conversational gambits (e.g. first pair parts of adjacency pairs), keeps “the trolls bickering and quarrelling until the light [comes and makes] an end of them” (33). The trolls are bound to provide the second pair parts to Gandalf’s utterances because of the “simplest systematics” of “the organization of turn-taking in conversation” (cf. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 701).

Conclusions, directions for further research

In the discussion above I have looked at various pragmatic aspects of Tolkien’s novels with special reference to *The Hobbit*. I argued that Tolkien’s strategic use of general extenders as well as his metalinguistic reflections on a number of pragmatic phenomena suggest a great degree of linguistic insight and metapragmatic awareness. Moreover, Gandalf’s metacommunicative reflections on the possible implicatures of *good morning* raise complex pragmatic issues that are too complex to explain even in Searlean or Gricean terms, and can only be handled with reference to Relevance Theory, one of the most recent theoretical frameworks of pragmatics.

There are, in broad terms, two different ways of performing a discourse-pragmatic analysis of works of fiction, i.e. literary discourse (cf. e.g. Dahlgren 1082). The first is primarily a descriptive approach whereby the analyst looks for examples of discourse-pragmatic phenomena such as implicature, topicalization, voicing, attitude-marking, etc. The second method (commonly referred to as literary pragmatics) is, by design, interpretive, and as such investigates “the kinds of effects that authors, as text producers, set out to obtain, using the resources of language in their efforts to establish a ‘working cooperation’ with their audiences” (Mey 12). Naturally, the first approach is safer for the purposes of a linguistic analysis, thus, in my paper, my primary aim has been to identify a variety of linguistic choices and pragmatic strategies Tolkien uses in *The Hobbit*. However, I have also made attempts to relate Tolkien’s linguistic choices to particular aspects of the literary genre of fantasy as well as to various features of Tolkien’s unique prose style, an endeavour that needs to be extended to the analysis of additional non-propositional linguistic features, such as the use of evidential markers, reformulation markers, as well as digressive markers.

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THE TYPOLOGY OF ROMANIAN / ENGLISH CODE-MIXING

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Abstract: Muysken uses the term code-mixing to refer to “all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence” (2000: 1). He also emphasizes the idea that “intra-sentential code-mixes are not distributed randomly in the sentence, but rather occur at specific points (2000:2), and puts forth a threefold classification of this phenomenon (i.e. insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization) based on structural, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic criteria. The present paper aims to describe Romanian/English code-mixing in terms of Muysken’s three classes, hypothesizing that transfers from English into contemporary Romanian are mainly of an insertional nature. The empirical study is conducted on a corpus of Romanian journalistic prose, and uses structural elements (syntactic positions occupied by English words and phrases, constituent length, morphological integration) in order to validate this general claim.

Keywords: code-mixing, insertion, alternation, congruent lexicalization, integration

Introduction and literature review

When bilinguals combine elements from two languages in one sentence, they act according to a number of structural, social and psycholinguistic constraints that determine the outcome of this process. However, the particular patterns of mixing which result from language contact vary extensively from one language pair to another rendering any deterministic or universal approach to the study of code-mixing untenable. In the last decades of the 20th century, and as a result of a growing interest in bilingualism as a worldwide phenomenon, several general models for the description of bilingual speech were put forth. Although the predictions these models make do not hold true in all situations and are sometimes contradictory to each other, their integrated interpretation can hope to reveal a unitary and coherent picture of this field of study.

One such attempt to systemize the various theories of code-mixing belongs to Muysken (2000) in a comprehensive study of bilingual speech based on a large body of literature on the topic. Muysken defines code-mixing as “all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence” (2000: 1), and takes it to cover three different processes: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. The emergence of one or the other of these patterns is conditioned first and foremost by the structural features of the two languages in contact, although sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors (e.g. the degree of bilingual competence, language attitudes, type of interactive setting, and power relations between languages) have also been found to play an important role. A brief overview of the three code-mixing patterns as presented by Muysken is given below.

The notion of insertion is frequently associated with Myers-Scotton (1993) and her study of Swahili/English contact in Africa. Underlying this notion is the idea of a matrix language into which foreign material is embedded, and which serves as a morphosyntactic base for this material. However, Muysken argues, this structural requirement follows from the social and psycholinguistic context in which contact takes place. Thus, insertion is frequent “where there is considerable asymmetry in the speakers’ proficiency in the two languages” (2000: 10), for example colonial settings and recent migrant communities. This asymmetry leads to activation in one language being only temporarily diminished, which allows the existence of a structurally dominant language. Insertion may involve single words as well as whole phrases, as in the examples below:

1. na’iish-crash la
‘I am about to pass out.’ (Navaho/English; Canfield 1980: 219)
2. Yo anduve *in a state of shock* por dos dias.
‘I walked *in a state of shock* for two days’ (Spanish/English; Pfaff 1979: 296)

The notion of alternation is associated with Poplack (1980) and her study of immigrant languages in the United States. Alternation most often takes place in stable bilingual communities in which languages are traditionally separated according to the speech situation. From a psycholinguistic point of view, this social separation leads to a shift in activation between the two languages, which in turn results into “a true switch from one language to the other, involving both grammar and lexicon” (Muysken, 2000: 9). The examples below illustrate alternation as described in the literature:

3. Les femmes et le vin, *ne ponimayu*.
‘Women and wine, *I don’t understand*.’ (French/Russian; Timm 1978: 312)
4. Andale pues *and do come again*
‘That’s all right then, *and do come again*.’ (Spanish/English; Gumperz and Hernandez-Cavez 1971: 118)

Between insertion and alternation there is a transition zone: as elements inserted from another language become longer, more activation in this language is required, in a way that turns insertional into alternational mixing.

Finally, congruent lexicalization is rooted in the study of style shifting and dialect/standard variation as in the work of Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1986), but it can also be traced to Clyne’s (1967) work on German/English bilingual speech in Australia. It involves a “largely (but not necessarily completely) shared structure, lexicalized by elements from either language” (Muysken, 2000: 5) and can be

interpreted as a combination of alternations and insertions. For example, Muysken shows, in the sentence below *where Jenny is* could be English or Dutch, as *where* is close to Dutch *waar*, *Jenny* is a name in both languages, while *is* is homophonous:

5. Weet jij [*whaar*] *Jenny is*?
 ‘Do you know where Jenny is?’ (English/Dutch; Crama and van Gelderen 1984)

Muysken puts forth a number of diagnostic features which may be used to distinguish these mixing patterns, with the provision that none of them can be expected to make the correct predictions by itself, but should be seen in combination with the others. These diagnostic features are constituent length and number, type of transferred element (i.e. content vs. function words), syntactic centrality or marginality in the clause, and morphological integration.

Based on these criteria, several differences can be formulated between insertion and alternation. Firstly, insertion involves single constituents, usually single words, while alternation involves longer or multiple constituents. For example, Van Hout and Muysken (1994, quoted in Muysken, 2000: 63) show that most of the Spanish elements inserted in Bolivian Quechua (a contact situation most likely to lead to insertional mixing) are single words. On the other hand, Treffers-Daller (1994) finds that 12 per cent of the switches in her French/Dutch Brussels corpus (most likely an alternation one) involve several constituents. An example of multi-constituent alternational mixing is given below:

6. Je dois je dois glisser /*daan vinger/hier*.
 I have to insert/*my finger/ here*. (Treffers- Daller 1994: 213)

Secondly, inserted elements are content words, mostly nouns, adjectives, and verbs, while alternations are function words. Van Hout and Muysken (1994, quoted in Muysken 2000: 63) show that out of 363 borrowed Spanish types, 338 are content words. On the other hand, tags and interjections are frequently found in alternational corpora such as Poplack’s (1980) and Treffers-Daller’s (1994).

Insertions exhibit a nested *a b a* structure, i.e. “the fragment preceding the insertion and the fragment following are grammatically related” (Muysken, 2000: 62), while alternations exhibit a non-nested *a b a* structure. From a syntactic point of view, insertions are selected elements (objects or complements) and clause-central, while alternations tend to be adjuncts, and more marginal to the clause structure, involving the use of a foreign adverb or adverbial phrase. Examples:

7. En *automatiquement* klapte gij ook schoon Vlaams.
 ‘And/*automatically*/you would switch to standard Flemish. (Treffers-Daller, 1994: 178)

Finally, Muysken shows, insertions are morphologically integrated, while alternations tend to be morphologically bare.

Corpus and methodology of research

Starting from the criteria discussed above, the present paper attempts to determine the nature of Romanian/English code-mixing. The analysis is based on a corpus of journalistic prose, i.e. one year of the economic publication *Capital*, as well as on data coming from the specialized literature on the topic. Our main hypothesis is that insertion is more central than alternation to Romanian/English mixing in general.

The available data has been analyzed quantitatively in order to assess the validity of this hypothesis against Muysken's diagnostic features. Thus, in order to formulate some conclusions regarding the clause centrality or marginality of the English elements in *Capital* 2005 (1,442 single words types occurring in 20,534 tokens, and 860 phrases occurring in 2,497 tokens), these have been tagged with respect to the syntactic position they occupy in the sentence. Data from previous research on Romanian/English contact (Greavu, 2013) has been used in order to assess how constituent length and type, and morphological integration influence the patterns of mixing in the corpus.

Results and discussion

Research on the English influence on Romanian as evident from the *Capital* publication (Greavu, 2013: 126) shows that more than 60% of all English elements in this corpus are single words and compounds, and less than 40% are two- or multi-word phrases and whole sentences. According to the principle that longer switches from a foreign language require more activation in this language, therefore facilitating a true shift between languages, we can claim that the *Capital* corpus is mainly an insertional one. Moreover, a very large number of phrasal elements in our data are noun phrases and therefore insertions according to Muysken (2000: 61), formal complexity in itself not being sufficient for their characterization as alternational switches. Clear examples of alternations include multiple constituents as in 8 and 9 below, formulaic expressions or whole sentences:

8. (...) va ocupa postul de *senior vicepresident/*, *adviser/ external affairs*, pentru Europa Centrală și de Est.
9. Din 1972 în 1981 a fost *Associate Professor of Acquisition and Project Management* la *School of Logistics/at the Air University*, (...)
10. CNA ar trebui poate să prevadă, (...), ceva de genul "*don't do this at home*".
11. Dacă adăugăm și faptul că Bursa a avut un rally susținut și fructuos în timpul verii, atunci trebuie să reținem o vorbă folosită de traderi: "*expect the unexpected*".

12. Să auzi “*and the winner is.*”
13. Discuțiile ce se purtau erau numai dacă FED va menține sau nu acea faimoasă exprimare: “*removing policy accommodation at a pace that is likely to be measured*”

Another of Muysken’s proposed criteria states that content words are insertions while discourse markers and adverbs are alternations. The analysis of *Capital 2005* (Greavu, 2013: 144), as well as other quantitative studies on English borrowings in Romanian (Ciobanu 2004, Manolescu 1999), shows an overwhelming predominance of word classes such as nouns, adjectives and verbs over adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. More exactly, over 98% of all English-origin single words in our corpus are nouns, adjectives and verbs, and almost 90% of all phrasal elements are noun phrases. This finding seems to support the idea of an insertional pattern in the case of Romanian/English code-mixing. Examples:

14. (...) este clar că fără *advice/consultation* nu vor ajunge departe ...
15. Vază gen bol de sticlă, (...), așa numitele vase *crazy*, datorită jocurilor speciale de culori utilizate în construcția vasului.
16. Astral are o prezență importantă în București și *și-a upgradat* rețeaua ...
17. (...) polița de asigurare de viață poate fi folosită cu succes ca un *cash colateral* pentru contractarea unui credit.

Moreover, adverbs are very often central to the clause in which they occur, thus qualifying as insertions rather than alternations (e.g. vor juca *short*, campanile targetate *high*, fonduri mutuale înregistrate *offshore*, să lucreze *full-time*, serviciile oferite *in-house*, etc). An example of an adverb we consider to illustrate a true shift between languages is given below:

18. Surprize??? Șefii?? *Never!*

Following the syntactic tagging of English mixes in the *Capital* corpus, it has been found that more than 80% of all single words and about 50% of all phrases are subjects (examples 19), subject predicatives (example 20), direct objects (example 21), indirect objects (example 22), complements of prepositions (example 23) and noun modifiers (example 24). It is relevant that significantly fewer phrases than single words enter such central syntactic positions. We believe that this situation confirms the occasional validity of the length criterion in separating cases of insertion from those of alternation.

19. Iar *tools-urile* Microsoft sunt evident optimizate (...).
20. Se gândește, probabil, că este “*cool*” să stea acasă .
21. Cartea, (...), este povestea agentului literar Frensic, proprietarul unui nas care poate adulmea un *best-seller* de la o poștă.

22. În afară de extrema sa portabilitate, oferă *business-man-ului* aflat în deplasare toate opțiunile adecvate de extensie ...
23. Rămânerea doar în postura de *outsourcing company* este destul de riscantă, (...).
24. Piața *e-commerce* devine din ce în ce mai atractivă pentru marii jucători.

On the other hand, most code-mixes that occupy more peripheral syntactic positions such as adverbials (examples 25- 27) or appositions (example 28) belong to the class of multi-word phrases. In detail, from all English phrases in the corpus, more than 300 types and almost 900 tokens are appositions designating job titles and other related concepts.

25. (...) îi place să spargă tiparele și să gândească "*outside the box*".
26. (...) măsurători realizate în perioada 13 aprilie-24 mai 2004, *all day, all week*, (...)
27. Este o stare de spirit care se construiește (...) la nivelul valorilor, al percepțiilor, al modului de raportare la lume în complexitatea ei de manifestări și, *last but not least*, la nivelul sufletului și al împăcării cu sine.
28. Acum un an toți erau foarte reticenți în această privință, (...), spune Cătălin Dit, *Retail&System Builder Account Manager ...*

Although this paper contains no quantitative information as far as Muysken's nested vs. non-nested sequences are concerned, unsystematic observation of the data in our corpus suggests the idea that the code-mixes we consider insertions based on other criteria tend to be nested, while those we consider alternations tend not to show this characteristic. For example, in sentences 14-17 and 19-24 there is a syntactic relation between the fragments preceding and following the switch (e.g. *poate adulmeca ... de la o poștă, oferă ... toate opțiunile, piața ... devine, ramânerea în postura de ... este riscantă*), while in sentences 8-13, 18 and 25-28 there is no such relation.

Another important criterion by which insertional and alternational mixes can be separated is their degree of conformity to recipient language morphological rules, i.e. insertions are morphologically integrated, while alternations can be morphologically bare. Our findings regarding the morphological integration of English elements in *Capital 2005* positively correlate with the conclusions resulting from the application of Muysken's other criteria: most single words are integrated into the morphological structures of Romanian, a relatively low number (under 10%) being unmarked for various grammatical categories usually marked in monolingual discourse. On the other hand, longer constituents show less conformity to Romanian grammar (Greavu, 2013), thus confirming the idea that foreign language activation increases with constituent length, and inhibits the application of recipient language rules. Examples of unintegrated English words

include nouns that lack plural endings (examples 29-31), definiteness (example 32), or genitive marking (examples 33-34).

29. TINERII NOȘTRI SUNT “JOBHOPPER”
30. (...) mi-au atras atenția așa zisele “quiet room”, niște birouri cu un perete din sticlă, (...).
31. În prezent, în Statele Unite, cele mai numeroase sunt așa- numitele “day spa”, centre amplasate în marile orașe, (...).
32. PERICOLELE CARE PÂNDESC MIDDLE-CLASS
33. Politica fiscală necorespunzătoare, (...) pe mulți dintre membrii *lower-middleclass* îi trimite în rândurile clasei de jos.
34. Activitatea sa profesională se concentrează în principal asupra *investment banking*, ...

Examples 9 and 29 above contain an apparent contradiction between the length and structural complexity of ‘Associate Professor of Acquisition and Project Management’ on the one hand, and the unintegrated, flagged character of ‘jobhopper’ on the other, and their central syntactic roles in the sentence. This situation shows that none of the diagnostic features discussed in this paper is completely foolproof, as these features can sometimes compete against each other in a way that makes it difficult to distinguish between integration and alternation. However, in most cases they make the same predictions. Thus, the examples above show that increased length leads to lack of integration into the morphosyntactic structures of the recipient language, and is accompanied by flagging, doubling, or the insertion of dummy elements, strategies used to signal a switch to another language. Examples:

35. În toate țările producătoare de țigări există o suprataxare a profitului obținut din activitatea de bază, *asa zisa formă “Accounting Profits Royalty”*, (...).
36. Nebunia aceasta colectivă are un efect în economie care, *în limba engleză, se numește “bubble”*.
37. (...) am influențat - în mare măsură, fiind *cea ce se cheamă, cu un barbarism, “market maker”*, (...)
38. *În engleză se spune “Voice and choice”*.
39. Principalele artere comerciale din marile orașe ale României, *așa-numitele “high-streets”*, întrec detașat (...).
40. În funcție de nevoile clientului, care pot varia de la o radiografie sumară asupra pieței într-un anumit moment, până la analize în profunzime (*“consumer insight”*)
41. Al doilea chart prezintă doi indicatori care alertează despre mișcări în anticipare (*“smart money”*, bani deștepți) și mișcări de confirmare, târzii (*“dumb money”*, bani naivi).

Conclusions and outlook

The quantitative analysis conducted in this paper has shown that Romanian/English mixing largely conforms to Muysken's insertional model. Most English elements in *Capital 2005* are content words, morphologically integrated and performing central syntactic roles in the sentence. Alternation takes place only with longer, more complex constituents and remains relatively marginal to the general pattern of mixing between the two languages.

However, the results of this study are limited by the nature of the studied corpus. The written medium allows for considerable planning, and is therefore more likely to inhibit true switches between languages. A study of Romanian/English code-mixing based on real speech data would probably reveal different results, making it possible to assess the role of various social and psycholinguistic factors in regulating language contact processes.

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HOW UNIVERSAL ARE LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS? A CROSS-LINGUISTIC RESEARCH ON SEGMENT ALTERNATIONS IN INFLECTIONAL AND DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES

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Abstract: The existence of language universals is based on the assumption that languages are built to a common pattern and supposes that certain features and/or rules occur in all or in most of the world languages. On the other hand, some linguists claim that “in fact, there are vanishingly few universals of language in the direct sense that all languages exhibit them. Instead, diversity can be found at almost every level of linguistic organization” (Evans & Levinson 429). One of the language universals indicates that vowel alternations in word stems usually accompany inflections, whereas consonant alternations are more typical of derivational processes. In order to evaluate this assumption about inflectionally or derivationally conditioned vowel and consonant stem modifications, and thus to support either the idea of the unity or the diversity among languages, a research has been carried out on the sample of the data from 120 world-languages falling into eleven language families. The preliminary findings support the diversity among languages, at least in the given field of the phonology – morphology interface.

Keywords: language universals, vowel and consonant alternations, inflection, derivation

Introduction

In 1999, the Universals Archive was made available. It is an online database of over 2,000 linguistic entries that are considered to be valid in all or in most of the world languages (Plank & Filimonova 109). It is a tool for typologists and – as mentioned by the editors in the introduction to this archive – it is open for further extension and refinement. And thus, since that year, the talk of linguistic universals has become more popular than ever before (see, for example, Bauer, Pertsova, Štekauer et. al., Evans & Levinson). However, as to the validity of the individual entries in this archive, i.e. the validity of the language universals, there is no general agreement in the linguistic society.

One group of linguists, following the generative tradition in linguistics, maintains that “all languages are English-like but with different sound systems and vocabularies” (Evans & Levinson 429) and if a linguistic theory applies to English, “there is a good chance that [...] it will apply universally” (Duanmu 180).

On the other hand, some linguists cast doubt on the legitimacy of language universals claiming that “there are vanishingly few universals of language in the

direct sense that all languages exhibit them. Instead, diversity can be found at almost every level of linguistic organization” (Evans & Levinson 429).

Thus, where is the truth? Are there features common to all languages or are there considerable structural differences among them?

Current Research

One of the language universals indicates that there is a correlation between vowel and consonant stem modifications¹ and inflectional and derivational processes. In detail, “vowel alternations usually accompany inflections, whereas consonant alternations are more typical of derivations” (Sabol 344).

An extensive cross-linguistic research of the world languages primary aimed at the word-formation processes has indicated that the existence of the above-mentioned assumption about inflectionally or derivationally conditioned vowel and consonant stem modifications (i.e. alternations) can be true.

Consequently, so as to evaluate this hypothesis and thus to support either the idea of the unity among languages (as presented by typologists) or the idea of the diversity among languages, a research has been carried out.

For the purposes of the research itself a questionnaire was proposed², aimed at the morphological characteristics of languages. This means that questions included in the questionnaire were aimed predominantly at the inflectional and word-formation processes (with the emphasis on derivation) and the possible changes that may accompany them (i.e., vowel and consonant stem modifications as the result of adding inflectional and/or derivational affix to the word stem, as specified below). The questionnaires were filled out by linguists. This information was combined with the information from handbooks on grammar, morphology and phonology of a given language when available³.

¹ Vowel and consonant stem modifications in inflectional and derivational processes fall into two categories. These are either neutralizations or alternations. Neutralization as “the loss of distinction between two phonemes in a particular linguistic environment” (Štekauer 286) is a change of a phoneme triggered by another phoneme. For example, in Slovak, the West Slavonic language, the change of alveolar /n/ into alveo-palatal /ɲ/, i.e. /nʲ/ in the IPA transcription, when inflecting the noun *vřana* ‘a crow’: Nominative *vřan-a* ‘a crow’ > Dative *vřan-e* /*vřaɲ-e*/ ‘to a crow’ is caused by /e/ as a phoneme. This is a phonological process. On the other hand, alternation as a variation in a phonological realization of a phoneme or a morpheme (e.g. Štekauer) is a change induced by another morpheme (Sabol). For example, in Slovak, the change of alveolar /n/ into alveo-palatal /ɲ/, i.e. /nʲ/ in the IPA transcription, when creating the diminutive form of the noun *vřana* ‘a crow’: *vřan-a* ‘a crow’ > DIM *vřaɲ-a* ‘a little crow’ is caused by /a/ as a diminutive morpheme. The same diminutive morpheme in this example is also responsible for the change of a short vowel ‘a’ in *vřan-a* ‘a crow’ into a long vowel ‘á’ in *vřaɲ-a* ‘a little crow’. This is a morphological process.

However, in many languages encompassed in this research, the boundary between the neutralization and the alternation processes is not very clear-cut and that is why all stem modifications will be evaluated as alternations in this paper.

² On the existence of other methods in universals research see, for example, Bauer 132 - 135.

³ Some of the languages analysed do not have written form, for example Bezhta.

In the first stage of the research, I have concentrated on the sample of the data from 120 world-languages falling into eleven language families. The classification of the languages was based on The World Atlas of Language Structures Online (WALS) and Ethnologue Web Version. For the sample complex analysis of the hypothesis stated above, the following language families were chosen: Indo-European, Northeast Caucasian, Nakh-Daghestanian, Austronesian, Afroasiatic, Altaic, Finno-Ugric, Australian, Sino-Tibetan, Niger-Congo and Dravidian language family¹.

The selection of the languages was quite random, depending especially on the data available. However, one criterion was important: the presence of both inflectional and derivational morphology.

In the analysis itself, the attention was paid to the vowel and consonant alternations in word stems triggered by inflection and/or derivation. For example, the Koni language is characterized by the vowel alternation in inflection since plural ending induces the change of a vowel in the word stem of nouns:

(1) naag-1ŋ ‘cow sg.’ → niig-e ‘cow pl.’.

An example of a consonant alternation in inflection can be found in the Ket language where plural ending causes the change of a consonant in a word stem:

(2) bit ‘loon sg.’ → bik-ng ‘loon pl.’

As to the alternations accompanying derivational processes, vowel alternation can be found in suffixation in Ladin:

(3) tlinëus ‘tousled’ ← tlin[a] ‘mane’ + -ëus.

Consonant alternation can be observed in Serbian derivation:

(4) svat ‘guest at the wedding’ → svad-ba ‘wedding’.

These four types of stem modifications were collected and then summarized and evaluated in all 120 languages.

¹ The following languages were included in the selected language families: *Indo-European language family* (37) – Albanian, Faroese, Afrikaans, Armenian, Belarusian, Breton, Catalan, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Hindi, Icelandic, Irish, Italian, Kurdish, Ladin, Lithuanian, Manx, Marathi, Mari, Norwegian, Persian, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Sardinian, Scottish Gaelic, Serbian, Slovak, Spanish, Swedish, Trinidadian, Ukrainian, Welsh; *Northeast Caucasian language family* (7) – Nakh, Avar-Andic, Tsetzik, Lak, Khinalik, Lezghik, Dargi; *Nakh-Daghestanian language family* (12) – Bezhta, Dargwa, Aghul, Avar, Datooga, Chechen, Icar Dargwa, Kabandian, Kartvelian, Khinalug, Kwarshi, Lezgian; *Altaic language family* (10) – Azerbaijani, Buriat, Gagauz, Churash, Mongolic, Tatar, Tungusic, Turkish, Turkmen, Uzbek; *Austronesian language family* (8) – Amele, Anejou, Bahasa, Ilocano, Karao, Māori, Nēlēmna, Tukang Besi; *Finno-Ugric language family* (7) – Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, Ostyak, Udmurt, Vogul, Votic; *Australian language family* (5) – Kalkutungu, Kayardild, Wardaman, Worrorra, Tiwi; *Afroasiatic language family* (7) – Amharic, Arabic, Berber, Hausa, Hebrew, Sahel, Somali; *Sino-Tibetan language family* (9) – Baric, Bodic, Garo, Karenic, Kham, Kukush, Limbu, Megam, Tibetan; *Niger-Congo language family* (11) – Bantu, Igbo, Fula, Yoruba, Katla, Owerre, Rashad, Shona, Zulu, Songhay, Swahili; and *Dravidian language family* (7) – Brahui, Kannada, Kurkh, Malayalam, Muria, Tamil, Telugu.

Research results by the individual language families

Indo-European language family

37 selected Indo-European languages cover ten genera – Albanian, Armeniac, Baltic, Celtic, Germanic, Greek, Indic, Iranian, Romance and Slavic (see, e.g., Ramat & Ramat). No alternation changes can be observed in the word stems of ten languages from this sample. In the remaining 27 languages: vowel alternations are more frequent than consonant alternations and derivation causes more changes than inflection. However, both, vowel and consonant alternations seem to be typical of derivation rather than inflection (Figure. 1).

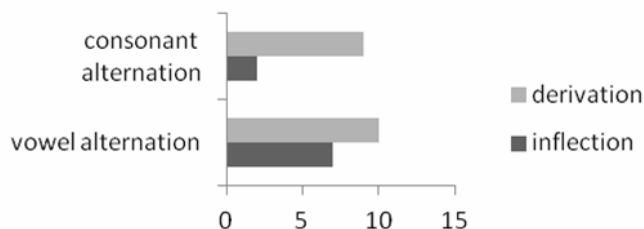


Figure 1. Stem modifications in the Indo-European languages

Northeast Caucasian language family

In the sample of the Northeast Caucasian languages only some inflectional tendencies can be observed. There is a singular/plural number and noun cases. In this language family, one language represents one genus. This means that seven genera of this language family are included in the sample – Nakh, Avar-Andic, Tsetzik, Lak, Khinalik, Lezghik and Darg (cf. Pereltsvaig). In five languages, i.e. five genera, vowel alternations accompany inflection and consonant alternations are triggered by derivation. In two languages only consonant alternations can be observed as a part of derivational process. All in all, this language family seems to “behave” in accordance with expectations, as illustrated by Figure 2.

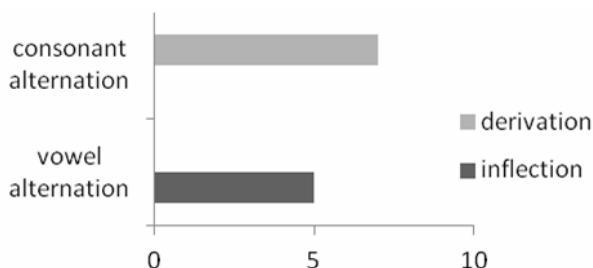


Figure 2. Stem modifications in the Northeast Caucasian languages

Nakh-Daghestanian language family

The languages in this language family – similarly to the previous language group – display inflectional tendencies in noun cases and singular/plural division (see also Aronson et. al.). These inflectional processes cause vowel alternations and derivations are usually responsible for consonant alternations (Fig. 3).

The similarity of the morphological classification and of the results obtained from the Northeast Caucasian (Fig. 2) and Nakh-Daghestanian languages (Fig. 3) has a logical explanation. The classification of these languages is not clear. For some linguists these are just two different names for one and the same language family (e.g. Pereltsvaig). Yet for the other, they represent separate language groups (see, e.g., WALS). Nevertheless, the languages in these two language families are genetically and morphologically very closely related. And this morphological closeness is also reflected in the results of the present analysis.

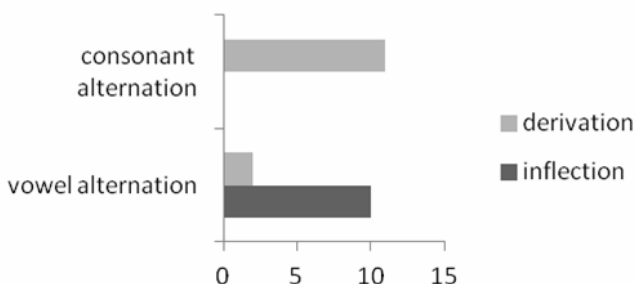


Figure 3. Stem modifications in the Nakh-Daghestanian languages

Altaic language family

Ten Altaic languages encompassed in the analysed sample represent five main genera of this language family: Japonic, Koreanic, Mongolic, Tungusic and Turgic (see also Pereltsvaig). The stem modifications found in these languages contradicts universal expectations. Either no changes can be observed or vowel alternations are caused by derivation and consonants alternate in inflection (Figure 4).

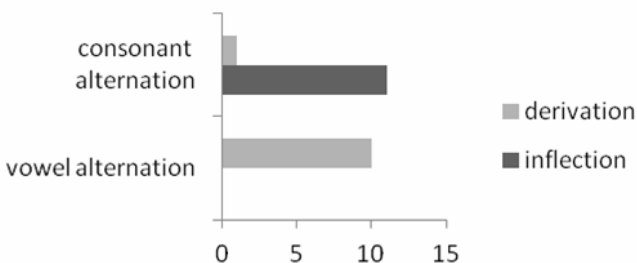


Figure 4. Stem modifications in the Altaic languages

Austronesian language family

Although the Austronesian language family is one of the most numerous and the most varied language families, the languages with inflection are very rare in this group of languages (e.g. Pereltsvaig). That is why only eight languages were chosen to represent this family. In three languages, there are no alternations, and the modifications in the remaining five languages are quite miscellaneous, as can be deduced from Figure 5.

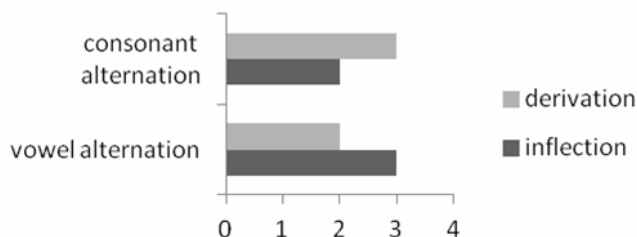


Figure 5. Stem modifications in the Austronesian languages

Finno-Ugric language family and Australian language family

No relevant changes can be observed in the word stems from the sample of the Finno-Ugric and the Australian languages.

Afroasiatic language family

In a large Afroasiatic language family one language represents one genus (on details see e.g. Pereltsvaig). Thus seven genera are represented in the sample. Most of the languages included in this language family are well-known due to morphology in which words are inflected not only by affixation, but especially by changes within the root (ibid.). Nevertheless, in the selected Afroasiatic languages, either no alternations can be observed, or the modifications in stems show no correlation between inflection, derivation and vowel and consonant changes respectively, as expected (Fig. 6).

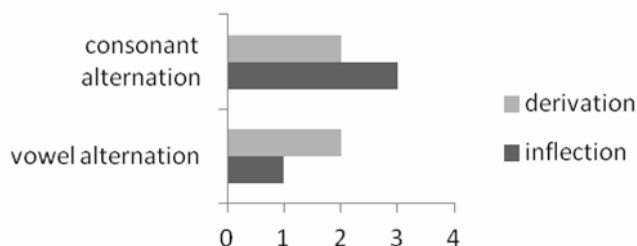


Figure 6. Stem modifications in the Afroasiatic languages

Sino-Tibetan language family

The representatives of the Sino-Tibetan language family display rather mixed changes in word stems (Fig. 7) that are not in accordance with the initial assumption that inflection causes vowel alternations and derivational processes are responsible for the consonant modifications.

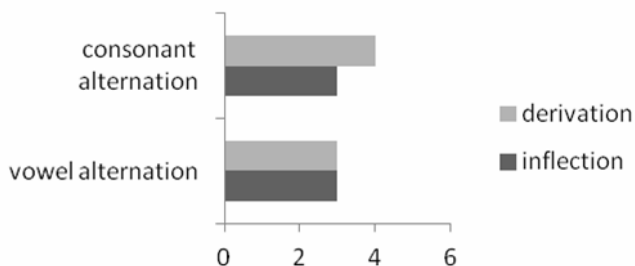


Figure 7. Stem modifications in the Sino-Tibetan languages

Niger-Congo language family

In the sample of the languages from one of the world's major language families – Niger-Congo language family – vowel alternations prevail over consonant alternations and both seem to accompany inflection rather than derivation (Fig. 8).

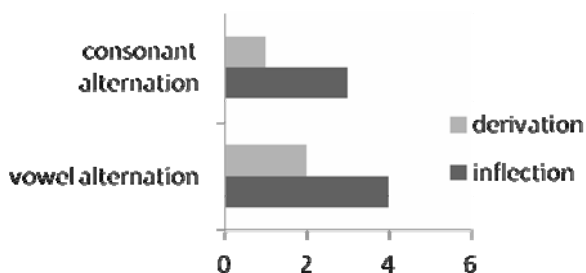


Figure 8. Stem modifications in the Niger-Congo languages

Dravidian language family

And finally, Dravidian languages support the hypothesis about the vowel alternations in word stems as a result of inflectional process and consonant changes as the result of derivational processes, as can be seen in Fig. 9.

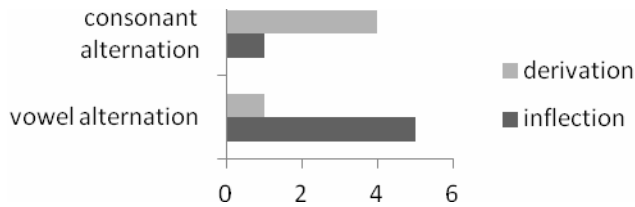


Figure 9. Stem modifications in the Dravidian languages

Summary

The analysis of the alternation changes of vowels and consonants in the word stems when inflectional and/or derivational affix is attached to a word indicates that vowel alternations may be typical of inflections and consonant changes may be dominant in derivations only in some language families: Northeast Caucasian language family, Nakh-Daghestanian language family and Dravidian language family support the initial hypothesis (cf. Fig. 2, 3, 9). In the remaining language families included in this research probe, either no changes occur or the occurrence of segment alternations does not seem to depend on the character of the affix attached. It assumes that the analysed processes are language-specific rather than language-universal. These findings also indicate possible areal nature of the phenomena observed¹.

The evaluation of the data as a whole (Fig. 10) shows that vowel alternations slightly prevail in inflection and consonant alternations seem to prevail in derivation. However, one can hardly speak about the universal tendency of inflections to trigger vowel alternations and derivations to induce consonant alternations.

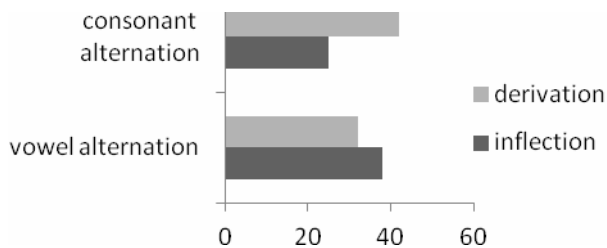


Figure 10. Stem modifications in the analysed languages

¹ On the assumed universal character of another Language Universal see, for example, Bauer or Gregová et al.

Conclusions

The Universals Archive is an online database of over 2,000 linguistic entries based on the assumption that languages are built to a common pattern and thus certain features and/or rules occur in all or at least in most of the world languages. One of the language universals assumes that vowel alternations in word stems usually accompany inflections, whereas consonant alternations are more typical of derivational processes. So as to evaluate this assumption about inflectionally or derivationally conditioned segment modifications in word stems a research has been carried out on the data from 120 world languages falling into eleven language families. The results of this research indicate possible areal nature of this phenomenon. The overall data gained from the sample analysed support the idea of the diversity and not the unity among languages, at least in the given field of the phonology – morphology interface.

Nevertheless, having in mind that the list of language universals could not emerge out of nothing, without any justification, in the follow-up research it will be necessary to increase the sample of the languages analysed. After all, 120 world languages represent only a small part of the whole group of more than 7,000 languages in the world (cf. Evans & Levinson). And if a process is to be evaluated as language universal it should be analysed in as many languages as possible. Otherwise the results can be characterized only as partial.

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EXPERIENCERS

WHAT THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY ARE NOT

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Abstract. Experiencers **are** arguments which belong to the event structure of psych verbs, they are those individuals that undergo a certain mental state. Interestingly, Experiencers **are not** arguments which are generally associated with a specific syntactic position. Thus, the reason why Experiencers are special is encoded in their syntactic behavior: they can be licensed either in subject or object position, and they can bear different cases, such as the Nominative, the Accusative or the Dative. In fact, the existence of three classes of psych verbs (in Italian) has been proposed in the literature (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988) – the **temere** class (Nominative Experiencer, Accusative Theme), the **preoccupare** class (Nominative Theme, Accusative Experiencer), and the **piacere** class (Dative Experiencer, Nominative Theme). The purpose of this paper is to introduce some basic ideas on Experiencers; in dealing with this purpose, we need to focus on some significant works such as: Belletti & Rizzi (1988), Pesetsky (1995), Landau (2010). Moreover, special attention will be paid to Dative Experiencers in quirky Subject position in contemporary Romanian since Experiencers in such constructions are parameterized crosslinguistically (Landau, 2010 states the quirky subject parameter). We are hopeful that Romanian data will shed some new light on Experiencers; in particular, Dative Experiencers in Romanian deserve closer investigation.

Keywords: Experiencer, subject, case, dative

1. Introduction

Experiencers and Themes are the two arguments which are part of the θ -grid of psych verbs. Experiencers are particularly challenging since they can be projected onto various syntactic positions, contrary to Baker's (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) which requires identical syntactic linking patterns in cases of semantic identity.

The fact that Experiencers can be projected onto different syntactic positions has long been discussed in the literature. Some relevant points of view that have been made on this topic will be mentioned in the next section, such as Belletti & Rizzi's (1988), Pesetsky's (1995) and Landau's (2010).

Moreover, Experiencers are a challenging topic of discussion since their case assignment is not uniform. Belletti & Rizzi (1988) noticed that, in Italian, Experiencers can bear the Nominative, the Accusative or the Dative.

Examples (1), (2) and (3) show that Experiencers can bear the same three cases in contemporary Romanian, the Dative Experiencers being the central topic of this

paper since the assignment of the Dative on Experiencers as quirky subjects in Romanian in examples such as (3.a) needs closer investigation.

- (1) Maria.SUBJ_[EXPERIENCER] se teme de strigoi.OBJ_[THEME]
 Maria.Nom cl.refl. fear.3.sg of ghosts.
 “Maria fears ghosts”.
- (2) Strigoi.SUBJ_[THEME] o preocupă pe Maria.OBJ_[EXPERIENCER]
 Ghosts.Nom cl.Acc worry.3.pl prep.Acc Maria
 “Ghosts worry Maria”
- (3) a. Mariei.SUBJ_[EXPERIENCER] îi plac strigoi.OBJ_[THEME]
 To Maria.Dat cl.Dat like.3.pl. ghosts
 “Maria likes ghosts”
 b. Strigoi.SUBJ_[THEME] îi plac Mariei.OBJ_[EXPERIENCER]
 Ghosts.Nom cl.Dat like.3.pl. to Maria.Dat
 “Maria likes ghosts”.

More often than not, Experiencers which bear the Dative are quirky subjects in languages such as contemporary Romanian. Recent research on the assignment of the Dative on Experiencers as quirky subjects has argued for two opposite points of view: the Dative is assigned as a structural case by an applicative functional head (Appl) (Pylkkänen, 2002), or the Dative is assigned non-structurally by a lexical head (V or P) (Woolford, 2006, Landau, 2010).

It follows that the next sections of this paper will briefly introduce some basic assumptions on Experiencers, the focus being on Dative Experiencers. Moreover, Romanian examples of Dative Experiencers will be used and discussed extensively.

2. Experiencers – some basic theoretical assumptions

2.1. Belletti & Rizzi (1988) look into the matter of psych verbs and θ –theory and investigate the special status of Experiencers as arguments of psych verbs: Experiencers can occupy both subject and object position, which is a challenge to the UTAH.

Moreover, Belletti & Rizzi (1988) investigate three classes of psych verbs in Italian which take Nominative Experiencers, Accusative Experiencers and Dative Experiencers. Nominative Experiencers are licensed in subject position, Accusative Experiencers are licensed in object position and Dative Experiencers allow both orderings.

Examples (4), (5) and (6) illustrate the **temere** class, the **preoccupare** and the **piacere** class, respectively:

- (4) Gianni teme questo
 Gianni fears this
- (5) Questo preoccupa Gianni
 This worries Gianni

- (6) a. A Gianni piace questo.
 To Gianni pleases this
 b. Questo piace a Gianni
 This pleases to Gianni
 (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988: 291-292)

The **piacere** class seems to be the most interesting since it takes both orderings; it is also the most interesting because of the assignment of the Dative on Experiencers.

Building upon Chomsky (1981) and Burzio (1986), Belletti & Rizzi (1988) propose that there is a structural Accusative which is assigned when the verb θ -marks its external argument, and a non-structural Accusative which is assigned when the external argument is missing. Psych verbs of the **preoccupare class** which take Accusative Experiencers can only license the inherent Accusative in such configurations since they miss the external argument.

In fact, Belletti & Rizzi (1988) consider the assignment of the Dative as an inherent case on Experiencers to be evidence for the existence of the inherent Accusative which is assigned on Experiencers of the **preoccupare class**.

As far as Dative Experiencers in subject position are concerned, Belletti & Rizzi (1988) propose that just like Accusative Experiencers of the **preoccupare class**, Dative Experiencers of the **piacere class** are assigned an inherent case, the only difference being that the inherent case is the Dative. Psych verbs of the **piacere class** cannot assign structural Accusative since they are unaccusative verbs and miss an external argument, they are not idiosyncratic assigners of inherent Accusative, but the only inherent case they can assign is the Dative.

Moreover, Belletti & Rizzi (1988) give Italian examples to show that Dative Experiencers are quirky subjects, i.e. the subject position, rather than the Topic position, is their unmarked position: in wh-extraction environments, the preverbal Dative Experiencer patterns like any preverbal subject, i.e. wh-extraction across this Experiencer is allowed, but wh-extraction over a topicalized Dative is deviant:

- (7) ??I libri che a Gianni ho dato sono questi.
 The books that to Gianni I gave are these
 (8) I libri che a Gianni sono piaciuti sono questi.
 The books that to Gianni are pleased are these
 (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988: 337)

Romanian examples which support the idea that Dative Experiencers are quirky subjects will be given in section 4.

Dative Experiencers both in Italian and Romanian (see examples (3.a.) (3.b), (6.a) and (6.b)) allow both orderings, i.e. they can occupy both subject and object position. In fact, Experiencers, irrespective of the case they bear, are essentially problematic from this point of view.

2.2. Pesetsky (1995) develops the topic of how to project the argument structure of Experiencer predicates. The problem of how to account for the arbitrary linking of Experiencer predicates is solved by means of a finer-grained semantics proposal. <Experiencer, Theme> is the generally accepted argument structure of Experiencer predicates. Pesetsky's (1995) idea is that what is called Theme as applied to Experiencer predicates lumps together two different theta-roles: Causer (with Object Experiencer predicates) and Subject Matter of Emotion/Target of Emotion (with Subject Experiencer predicates).

As mentioned above, the arbitrary linking of Experiencers presents a problem for the UTAH since Experiencers seem to be projected either as Subjects or as Objects. Some of Pesetsky's (1995) examples are relevant here:

- (9) a. Bill.SUBJ_[EXPERIENCER] fears ghosts.OBJ_[THEME]
 b. Ghosts.SUBJ_[THEME] frighten Bill.OBJ_[EXPERIENCER]
- (10) a. Bill.SUBJ_[EXPERIENCER] disliked John's house.OBJ_[THEME]
 b. John's house.SUBJ_[THEME] displeased Bill.OBJ_[EXPERIENCER]

The following Romanian data shows that Dative Experiencers seem to provide empirical reasons against the UTAH since they can be projected both onto subject and object position:

- (11) a. Băiatului.SUBJ_[EXPERIENCER] nu-i place casa Mariei.OBJ_[THEME]
 To.boy.DAT not cl.DAT house.Nom Maria.GEN
 'The boy doesn't like Maria's house'.
 b. Casa Mariei.SUBJ_[THEME] (îi) displace băiatului.OBJ_[EXPERIENCER]
 House.Nom Mary.GEN (cl.DAT) dislike.PRES.3rd.sg. to.boy.DAT
 'Mary's house displeases the boy'.

The fact that Experiencers can be projected on subject or object position is given an unaccusative solution by Belletti & Rizzi (1988) which Pesetsky (1995) rejects and proposes a finer-grained semantics solution.

Pesetsky (1995) rejects the idea that psych verbs are mere unaccusatives whose subject is an underlying object, since unlike unaccusative verbs, psych verbs allow verbal passivization as in (12):

- (12) In those days, Bill *was often being frightened* by one thing or another when I would come home from work.

Accordingly, Pesetsky (1995) shows that unlike English unaccusatives which ban passivization¹, English Object Experiencer passives may be verbal as in (12) above and proposes the following solution: the object argument with the SubjExp (i.e. the

¹ Consider the following English example of an unaccusative verb: *The window broke*. The passivization of such an example is ungrammatical: **The window was being broken*.

predicates in the a. examples) class always bears one of two entirely distinct roles, i.e. *Target of Emotion* or *Subject Matter of Emotion*; on the other hand, the subject argument with the ObjExp (i.e. the predicates in the b. examples) class always bears the role *Causer*.

Thus, the examples above can be re-written as in:

(13) a. Bill.Subj_[EXPERIENCER] fears ghosts.Obj_[TARGET OF EMOTION OR SUBJECT MATTER OF EMOTION]

b. Ghosts.Subj_[CAUSER] frighten Bill.Obj_[EXPERIENCER].

(14) a. Bill.SUBj_[EXPERIENCER] disliked John's house.Obj_[TARGET OF EMOTION OR SUBJECT MATTER OF EMOTION]

b. John's house.Subj_[CAUSER] displeased Bill.Obj_[EXPERIENCER]

(15) a. Băiatului.Subj_[EXPERIENCER] nu-i place casa Mariei.Obj_[TARGET OF EMOTION OR SUBJECT MATTER OF EMOTION]

To.boy.DAT not cl.DAT house.the Maria.GEN

'The boy doesn't like Maria's house'.

b. Casa Mariei.Subj_[CAUSER] (îi) displace băiatului.Obj_[EXPERIENCER]
House.the Mary.GEN (cl.DAT) dislike.PRES.3rd.sg. to.boy.DAT
'Mary's house displeases the boy'.

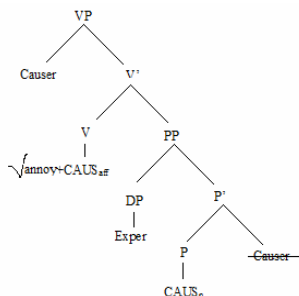
Example (15) is an example in Romanian which shows once again that Dative Experiencers allow both Subject and Object position; in fact, Nominative Experiencers are linked to subject position and Accusative Experiencers are linked to object position. This kind of data takes our discussion to the same question: what syntactic function are Experiencer predicates linked to?

Pesetsky (1995) proposes that ObjExp predicates which have a Causer in subject position and an Experiencer in object position end up with this configuration because of the zero morpheme CAUS whose existence he postulates.

Example (16) shows an Experiencer in object position; Pesetsky (1995) proposes the configuration in (17) which shows that the Causer which is licensed lower than the Experiencer moves to subject position, i.e. it occupies the external argument position of the causative verb (V+CAUS_{aff}), which is the subject position under the VP-subject internal hypothesis and then it moves higher to SpecIP:

(16) The show.Subj_[CAUSER] annoyed Bill.Obj_[EXPERIENCER].

(17)



The starting point of Pesetsky's (1995) analysis is the semantics of Experiencer predicates, which do not take a Theme, but some distinct θ -roles. Moreover, the existence of zero morphemes which he postulates, such as the zero morpheme CAUS, allows for a syntactic analysis such as in (17).

As far as Dative Experiencers are concerned, Pesetsky's (1995) semantic analysis of Experiencer predicates shows that SubjExp predicates take a Dative Experiencer and a Target of Emotion, while ObjExp predicates take a Causer and a Dative Experiencer as in Romanian examples (15.a) and (15.b). Syntactically, just like with Accusative Experiencers in object position, the Causer with Dative Experiencers in object position must raise to a higher position than the Experiencer because of some zero morpheme which triggers movement to a higher position such as in configuration (17).

Romanian examples are brought into discussion since they seem to be strong evidence in favor of such theoretical approaches to Experiencers.

2.3. Landau's (2010) analysis of the locative syntax of Experiencers seems to shed new light on this topic once he postulates that Experiencers are mental locations, i.e. they are locative PPs that undergo either overt or covert locative inversion.

The locative nature of Experiencers accounts for the case assignment restrictions on Experiencers: they can only be assigned an oblique case – often, the Dative (only with psych verbs in Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) **piacere** class). Moreover, because of Locative Inversion, Landau (2010) argues that Experiencers occupy a high A-position at LF.

As far as the obliqueness of Experiencers is concerned, Landau (2010) makes it more obvious with verbs in the **piacere** class where P assigns the Dative, where P can be lexical (such as in English) or null (in languages with rich case morphology such as Romanian).

Landau (2010) assumes that the case that P assigns is universally inherent, which means that the Dative on Experiencers is inherent. The Quirky Subject Parameter which he proposes shows that there are languages (such as Romanian) whose Dative Experiencer can move to subject position, resulting in quirky Dative subject Experiencers.

Moreover, Landau (2010) takes the **piacere** class as evidence for the fact that object Experiencers of the **preoccupare** class are also PPs which bear inherent case. He subdivides the **preoccupare** class in: state verbs (interest, concern), eventive non-agentive verbs (anger), and eventive agentive verbs (startle) and uses tests such as extraction in Italian and resumption in Greek to show that object Experiencers pattern with Dative Experiencers rather than with regular direct objects:

- (18) Extraction in Italian (Landau, 2010: 23) – unlike regular objects, object Experiencers are not transparent for extraction
 *Il candidato di cui questa prospettiva impaurisce i sostenitori.
 the candidate of whom this perspective frightens the supporters

- (19) Resumption in Greek (Landau, 2010: 28) – regular objects do not allow resumption, but it is obligatory with Accusative Experiencers just like with Dative Experiencers
- (a) Simbatho ton anthropo pu (*ton) sinantise o Petros.
like.1SG the man that CL.ACC met.3SG the Peter.NOM
' I like the man that Peter met.'
- (b) Simbatho ton anthropo pu o Petros *(tu) edhose to vivlio.
like.1SG the man that the Peter CL.DAT gave the book
' I like the man that Peter gave the book to. '
- (c) O anthropos pu *(ton) provlimatizun ta nea bike mesa.
the man that CL.ACC puzzles the news came in
'The man that the news puzzles came in. '

It is also important to note that Landau (2010) discusses the passive with the **preoccupare** class. Pesetsky (1995) shows that verbal passivization with this class of psych verbs is possible (see example 12) and uses it as an argument against Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) unaccusative solution.

Psych verbs of the **piacere** class universally fail to passivize because they are unaccusatives; this is also true of the state verbs of the **preoccupare** class as they are also unaccusatives.

On the other hand, agentive eventive verbs of the **preoccupare** class are transitive, which means that they allow passivization.

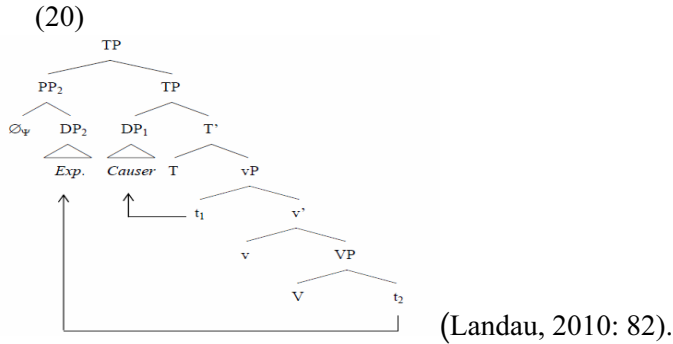
Landau (2010) argues that non-agentive eventive verbs can passivize in a certain language only if that language allows pseudo-passives or quirky passives.

It follows that some psych verbs of the **preoccupare** class can passivize and others cannot.

As far as locative inversion of Experiencers is concerned, Landau (2010) argues that Experiencers occupy a high A-position at LF, he proposes Experiencers to be quirky subjects since movement is allowed on semantic grounds: T is the spatio-temporal anchor of the clause, and Experiencers are locations; thus, locative descriptions such as Experiencers must be related to T semantically and syntactically.

Languages like Romanian allow quirky Experiencers in SpecTP at PF, while languages like English allow quirky Experiencers only at LF. The reason why Experiencers need to raise to SpecTP is the fact that they need to form a relation with T to be properly interpreted.

The conclusion on Landau's approach to Experiencers concerns the PP nature of Experiencers and their Locative Inversion. The configuration in (20) best illustrates the obliqueness of Experiencers and the raising of object Experiencers to quirky subject position:



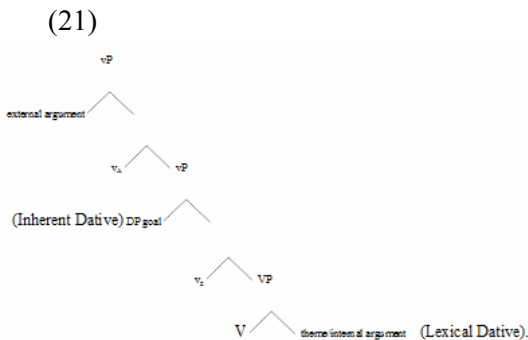
The assignment of the Dative on Experiencers as quirky subjects

Dative Experiencers are a challenging topic both because of the syntactic position they are projected onto and because of the assignment of the Dative.

As noted in section 2, Dative Experiencers occur with verbs of the **piacere** class and they can occupy both subject and object position; this section focuses on Dative Experiencers in quirky subject position.

One first point of view on the assignment of the Dative in such configurations is Landau's (2010). He proposes that the Dative is inherent since it is assigned by P, and P is a universal assigner of inherent case.

Building upon Chomsky (1981, 1995), Woolford (2006) proposes the case typology in (21):



Woolford's (2006) typology shows that the Dative is assigned non-structurally, only that she proposes that the Dative is inherently assigned in DOC, i.e. the more regular, the more predictable Dative configurations.

It follows that the Dative is lexical in the less predictable constructions such as the quirky Dative subject constructions, it is assigned by a lexical head which is V or P.

On the other hand, Pylkkänen (2002) argues for a structural approach to the assignment of the Dative and she proposes that the Dative is assigned by a functional head (High ApplP) on Experiencers in quirky subject constructions.

Pylkkänen (2002) introduces the applicative head as an argument introducing head of non-core arguments. Thus, the Dative on Experiencers is an applied argument which is merged above the VP; the meaning of this relation is to express a thematic relation between the applied argument and the event described by the verb as in the following configuration:

(22)



Examples of high applicative configurations in Romanian will be given in the next section.

This section briefly presents the opposite points of view on the assignment of the Dative on Experiencers in quirky subject constructions, i.e. the Dative is assigned non-structurally by a lexical head, or the Dative is assigned structurally by a functional head.

Some considerations on Dative Experiencers as quirky subjects in Romanian

Experiencers in Romanian pattern alike with their Italian counterparts in the sense that they can occupy both subject and object position and they can bear different cases, i.e. the Nominative, the Accusative and the Dative (see examples (1) – (3) and (4) – (6) in section 1).

This section focuses on Dative Experiencers in subject position since they are a challenging topic of investigation.

First, Romanian examples are needed to support some of the basic theoretical considerations on Experiencers in section 2.

Just like their Italian counterparts, Experiencers in Romanian allow wh-extraction like any other preverbal subjects, as in example (23):

- (23) Cărțile care Mariei îi plac sunt pe raft.
 Book.pl.def which Mary.Dat cl.Dat like.3.pl. are on shelf.
 “The books which Mary likes are on the shelf”.

Resumption is another test which shows that Dative Experiencers in Romanian and other languages (such as Greek) pattern alike, in the sense that resumption is obligatory with Dative Experiencers:

- (24) Mariei îi place persoana căreia i-a dat cărțile.
To Mary.Dat cl.Dat like.3.sg. person.the who.Dat cl.Dat give.past
book.pl.def
“Mary likes the person who she gave the book to”

Romanian examples such as (25) show that psych verbs which take Dative Experiencers fail to passivize because they are unaccusatives; stativity is another property of class III of psych verbs which Landau (2010) uses to show that these verbs have no verbal passives.

- (25) *Oamenii veseli sunt plăcuți de către Maria.
People.pl.def. happy.pl.masc are liked by Mary
*Happy people are being liked by Mary (‘Mary likes happy
people’)

Nevertheless, Pesetsky (1995) and Landau (2010) show that some psych verbs can have verbal passives, but these verbs belong to class II, i.e. psych verbs which take Accusative Experiencers in object position.

This section tries to show that in Romanian as in many other languages that have been mentioned, Dative Experiencers obey standard theoretical assumptions on this topic: Romanian psych verbs with Dative subjects allow wh-extraction, resumption is obligatory and they do not have verbal passives. The reasons why Nominative and Accusative Experiencers are left out and Dative Experiencers in Romanian are the topic of this section are various: Dative Experiencers seem to be where a talk on Experiencers needs to start – Belletti & Rizzi (1988) support the existence of the inherent Accusative on a par with the existence of the inherent Dative on Experiencers; Landau (2010) proposes that Accusative Experiencers are locative descriptions just because Dative Experiencers are such descriptions.

3. Conclusion

This paper focuses on Experiencers and tries to show that they are arguments of psych verbs whose linking seems to be arbitrary, i.e. they can occupy both subject and object position in most languages. Moreover, they can be assigned different cases, such as the Nominative, the Accusative and the Dative.

Section 1 introduces the topic of what Experiencers are and what they are not.

Section 2 is theoretical; it briefly presents some famous approaches to Experiencers, i.e. Belletti & Rizzi (1988), Pesetsky (1995) and Landau (2010) and shows that psych verbs in class II and III are not just mere unaccusatives, because verbal passives are sometimes allowed with psych verbs in class II. In fact, at the end of Section 2, Landau’s (2010) basic ideas on Experiencers are emphasized: Experiencers in class II and III are PPs and they undergo Locative Inversion at LF (and PF in languages such as Romanian).

Section 3 focuses on Dative Experiencers since the assignment of the Dative in such configurations is controversial in the sense that there are two opposite proposals in the literature: the Dative is structural (Pylkkänen, 2002) or the Dative is non-structural (Woolford, 2006, Landau, 2010).

Section 4 looks deeper into the topic of Dative Experiencers and focuses on Dative Experiencers in Romanian. Romanian examples are used to show that Dative quirky subjects allow wh-extraction like any other preverbal subjects, resumption is obligatory in such constructions and passivization is not allowed.

At this point, the only safe conclusion is that further investigation is needed into the fuzzy topic of Experiencers and this investigation can be carried out only through much more data from various languages; this is the reason why we tried to introduce Romanian data under some basic theoretical considerations on Experiencers.

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SOCIAL CLASS OF A SPEAKER THROUGH THE PRISM OF ABSTRACT NOUNS

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Abstract: This article aims at exploring abstract nouns as a means of mapping a worldview of a person or that of society at large. The speech of a literary character is analyzed with the view to establish the main concepts constituting the person's outlook on life and his set of values. The semantic and lexical groups of abstract nouns are considered both as a system of conceptual representation of one person and in comparison with a set of basic concepts of a speaker belonging to a different social class.

Keywords: abstract nouns, abstraction, social class, sociolinguistics

Social class in linguistics

Social class is an important if slightly overlooked characteristic of any personality. Our social class clearly determines the education and up-bringing we receive, the people we socialize with, the interests we may have, and the hobbies we can afford. It also sets certain borders and barriers for our demeanor and speech. The very fact that these effects are understudied does not make them non-existent or, as Helen Meskins Wood puts it: "the absence of explicit class "discourses" does not betoken the absence of class realities and their effects in shaping the life-conditions and consciousness of the people who come within the field of force" (Wood 97).

Nevertheless, once popular with sociologists and researchers working in the framework of sociolinguistics and a few other branches of applied linguistics, the notion of social class as a key construct, a crucial constituent of an identity, has lost its appeal and, seemingly, value. To a large degree, this could be the effect of current political trends when racial, national and religious diversity is promoted, while class differentiation is ignored or denied. In Great Britain, the country where classes are known to have existed since times immemorial and still remain in place, politicians have repeatedly claimed British society to be (or at least to be turning into) a classless one. In 1985 Margaret Thatcher insisted she wanted "to get totally rid of class distinction", a year earlier emphasizing the Conservative party she had been a Head of, had "no truck with outmoded Marxist doctrine about class warfare". Yet, by aiming to get rid of differences between classes she does, in fact, admit that this distinction exists, as does John Major, also a Conservative, when he announced prior to becoming the Prime Minister that his aim was to bring about what he called the "classless society". This having been said in 1990, a few years after the previous Prime Minister's vows to bring the social division down, the British society seems to have been regarded by both heads of government as class-bound. Eight more years later this understanding was reinforced by Tony Blair who

called for the creation and a “new, larger, more meritocratic society” and went as far as declaring the class war over. However, in 2008 and 2011 reporters of the BBC and the *Telegraph* continue the debate about classes, their bottom line being that class division does exist, people can still identify their social standing as well as that of other people, albeit not many describe themselves as upper-class nowadays. Therefore, despite continuous claims from the political arena that social class is an outdated notion in the UK, it remains actual (all citations taken from news reports).

Alongside this political determination to combat social distinction, throughout the 20th century, particularly in its second half, there has been a similar anxiety in society at large to avoid debating the issue of classes for fear that one of those may sound to prevail or seem better than others. This is also true for the scientific society as the research carried out has to comply with the current state of society in general. For instance, a lot of criticism, some fair, was directed at Basil Bernstein whose sociolinguistic theory of restricted codes seemed to be arguing that working class language is deficient compared to that of middle and upper-class’s, which, of course, seemed outrageous against the background of equality rhetoric. However, there is no denial that there is clear difference between classes – social, political, linguistic; and this distinction is to be reckoned with, not ignored.

The research accumulated up to the present day has been carried out mainly in the realm of sociolinguistics (Labov, Bernstein, Bourdieu, Rampton, Eckert, Karasik, Ivushkina), multilingualism studies (Fraser, Williams, Ramanathan) and second language acquisition (Block, Lafford, Brumfit). Among those, only a few deal with semantic or lexical groups of words, focusing more on phonetics, grammar or certain words typical only of one social class. Yet, if we read or hear a text produced by a speaker of the upper-class, we will see that they use abstract nouns, for example, much more often than speakers of working class. To understand this phenomenon, we need to turn to the distinguishing features of this group of words.

Abstraction and abstract nouns

The ability to distinguish between the abstract and the concrete has been studied for many centuries, first, from the point of view of philosophy, later, through the prism of anthropology, and then using the data available to neurolinguistics, cognitive linguistics and clinical psychology. Comparing languages of primitive cultures to the well-studied and well-developed ones, Franz Boas writes that the latter do not discuss abstract notions and concepts. Nevertheless, he and later researchers admit that the lack of necessity and inclination to debate philosophical issues does not imply the absence of abstract words in the language. More recent studies of neurolinguists, carried out mostly to research language acquisition and speech deviations, show that abstraction is an ability that develops with ages (Kormos, Caramelli, Saxton) and may be affected by traumas inflicted to the right side of the brain (Schwanenflugel, Kohn). Without going into particulars of these studies, it

should be pointed out that the ability to understand abstraction and operate with abstract words has to be developed, and to some extent demonstrates the stage of an individual's or a culture's development.

In his book *'The Genius of Language'* Rudolf Steiner provides an interesting example about abstraction deriving from metaphors denoting tangible objects:

When Austrian peasants get up in the morning, they will say something about their *Nachtschlaf* 'night sleep' but not at all as you are apt to speak about it... Austrian peasants are close to nature. To them, all that surrounds them partakes of spirit and soul, and they have a strong awareness of it...A peasant will say, 'I have to wipe the night sleep out of my eyes!' To peasants the substance excreted from the eyes during the night that can be washed away, is the visible expression of sleep; they call it *Nachtschlaf*.

He further points out that peasants are not inclined to arrive at abstractions as their more educated countryman would. Nevertheless, if exposed to city-life and/or education, they start addressing themselves to invisible, intangible facts. Steiner is only one of the authors illustrating the fact that abstraction as an ability developing not only with age but also with education. If we turn to the difference between social classes, we have to remember that differences in class also presuppose differences in education – the higher the status, the better the education. Therefore, the abilities transmitted with education are also more vivid in representatives of upper classes.

The better a brain is trained to analyze, determine characteristics and generalize, the more apt it is to reflect the result of these processes in an abstraction. While some of the abstract words will be used by speakers regardless of their social standing (words of the lower part of abstraction scale, i.e. *action, sound, heat, nature*), speakers of upper-middle of upper class seem to feel a greater necessity to find words to express their feelings precisely (*bafflement, confusion, contempt, indignation*) or the qualities of people or things (*arrogance, curiosity, authority, intelligence, smugness*). This is not to say that working class is not familiar with the words or the notions they represent, but it is more common for them to use adjectives and verbs instead of the abstract nouns, for example, *You don't understand* instead of *There is some confusion*, etc.

Sometimes, the necessity to use abstract words arises from the urge to discuss abstract notions – *humanity, justice*, etc. On the other hand, the selection of abstract nouns from speech of lower classes reveals that in many cases words (whether concrete or abstract) are substituted by pronouns *it, they, this*; therefore, even when more philosophic issues are discussed, abstract words are not used.

All in all, it can be noted that abstract nouns may serve a markers of the social status of the individual in whose speech they appear. It is an interesting phenomenon, which is important to take into consideration when teaching English language as learners need to develop not only their basic linguistic skills but should be trained to distinguish between various social situations and apply these skills

accordingly. If their profession (or future profession) demands conversing with people of higher social status, it is essential that they understand and use abstract words correctly. To a certain degree this is also important for the development of their general cognitive skills as abstraction demands analytical skills.

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THE NEW GROVES OF ACADEME

ACADEMIC FICTION AND ITS FUTURE

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Abstract: Since the 1950s, that is the publication of the iconic *Lucky Jim*, for a few decades a handful of British writers produced similarly acclaimed novels pertaining to the world of academia, to mention, almost obligatory, David Lodge and Malcolm Bradbury. The article published in 1997 by J. Bottum, “The End of the Academic Novel”, seems to view the academic novel as having reached an artistic dead-end. This article examines recently published academic novels in the context of this claim.

Keywords: literature, fiction, academia, novel, future

In the title of the article published in 1997, Joseph Bottum heralded “The End of the Academic Novel”. Since the 1950s, when *Lucky Jim* was published, and the 1970s/1980s, when David Lodge and Malcolm Bradbury wrote their world-famous novels, the reality that fiction encompassing the world of academia can depict has changed immensely. This article tries to take a more up-to-date view of the condition of the academic novel in Britain in order to consider whether it is passé, running out of steam, or whether there is still a new identity it can take on in the new millennium.

When discussing what may generally be referred to as academic fiction, one has to remember that it pertains to the body of literature that is quite broad and, in fact, has many labels, though in general these labels define a common ground. Thus, we have a university/campus/college/professor novel, often used interchangeably, not to mention various sub-genres, such as the distinction proposed by John Schellenberger, in which one of the four types of contemporary British academic fiction is ‘the novel of redbrick disillusionment.’(quoted in Carter 1990: 19). In this terminological confusion, Gruszevska-Blaim’s expression, ‘a literary fact’ (2014: 37), used to label academic fiction, seems to be more than convenient. For the purpose of this article I use *academic fiction* as an umbrella term meaning any fiction relating to the world of academia.

It is general knowledge that academics and their environment has been present in literature for centuries, though, admittedly, as a developed type of fiction only within the frame of contemporary literature. I purposefully refer to the post-war period to establish a benchmark, not forgetting, of course, that the theme of academia appealed to British writers much earlier, not only in novels that belong to the canon of British literature, but also the obscure ones that are only worth mentioning in specific contexts, a good example being *The Senior Commoner* by Julian Hall, a tedious read, but one that gave Kingsley Amis inspiration while

writing his first (unpublished) novel, *The Legacy*, and to which Amis referred as ‘a wonderful marsh-light of a novel’(2004: 55).

If we take a look at the history of the genre, particularly from the twenty-first century vantage point, we cannot escape thinking of the future. Leaving alone both the pre-Amisian, university-oriented literary works, and the post-war icons of the twentieth-century academic fiction in Britain, a critic of literature is bound to contemplate the state of academic fiction now, as well as its prospects for the future. The more so, because the academic reality has changed drastically since Kingsley Amis found inspiration for *Lucky Jim* when visiting Philip Larkin at University College, Leicester (Amis 2004: 56-57).

In this context, it is worth quoting Joseph Bottum again, who concludes that academic fiction of today is ‘utterly worn-out’ (1997: 31). In another article, written sixteen years later, Jonathan Wolff observes that ‘more recent novels on academia have taken a darker turn’. He then asks ‘Are people still writing comedy campus novels and we have just stopped noticing, or has the genre come to a halt?’ (2013). All this seems to remain in contrast to the fact that in the last decades ‘the flow of academic novels has turned into a torrent, written mostly by actual academics’ (Bottum 1997: 31). Although the volume of publication meant by Bottum refers more to American literature, the problem as such may raise serious doubts about the future of academic fiction in Britain, where in the last decade there have been a few novels published within the academic context, to mention the acclaimed *On Beauty* (2005) by Zadie Smith, or Charlotte Greig’s *A Girl’s Guide to Modern European Philosophy* (2007), which Natasha Tripney finds readable, but adds that apart from the value of the book as such, it ‘would otherwise be a rather flimsy entrant into the campus novel genre’ (2007). However, neither of the novels is genuinely of an academic-fiction type, but rather contain traits of academic fiction. A similar situation applies to *Starter for Ten* by David Nicholls (filmed in 2006 by Tom Vaughan), a fairly light and amusing read, set in a student environment, but predominantly a love comedy. All in all, none of the books mentioned can be considered fully-fledged academic novels.

Before embarking on any further analysis of the condition of academic fiction in British literature, one ought to consider at least two basic aspects involving the authors and the readers. Considering the number of academic novels published every year one might ponder why this particular field is of such interest to novelists. In the article ‘The question’s academic’, Adrian Mourby puts forward the following questions:

Why did solicitors never capture the popular imagination? Whatever happened to the dental novel? What’s wrong with accountants? Ask any university lecturer and he’ll tell you that his day is no more exciting than that of the average bookkeeper. So why can’t novelists resist him? (2008)

As an answer Mourby proposes his own theory:

the academic hero is really what the author would ideally like to be. He has intellectual integrity (which we do not), he has security of tenure (which we do not), he is surrounded by youthful members of the opposite sex who find his work a turn on (which is not true in our case, but is certainly what we believe to be our due).

It may be an acceptable justification (except for the tenure incentive, which becomes a thing of the past), though bearing in mind that most academic novels are written by members of the academe, the motivation and the driving force is probably more to do with the need to either censure or lampoon one's own working habitat.

In terms of the audience, the matter seems fairly obvious at least in the case of academics, whose interest in academic novels inevitably stems from the sheer need to see how other members of academia are disparaged and ridiculed (for, incidentally, it is always other academics who deserve such a treatment). Besides, as Elaine Showalter explains, the essential appeal of the genre to academics is based on the fact that they are 'Academic insiders' aware of 'the in-jokes' and 'the real-life figures being caricatured.' (quoted in Scott 2004: 84).

However, what about those who remain outside the academia? What is there for an average reader who does not possess the insight mentioned by Showalter? It seems to me that at least in the cases of Amis, Lodge and Bradbury, the simple answer is that their novels possess literary quality that appeals to a great number of readers, and the thematic area they touch upon is of secondary importance.

Quite conversely, though, it is the thematic area that academic fiction renders that seems an important, if not key factor, in the discussion undertaken in this article. As Begley continues in his article "campus novels always cover the same turf" so "The novelist's perspective shifts, but the place itself remains substantially the same" (40). Much as the first part of the statement is true, meaning that in general there is a limited scope academic fiction may cover, such as conference environment, or sexual adventures of academic staff, the second part is most arguable, at least in the European context. Along with departmental intrigues, petty jealousies and rivalry among academics, all of which are fairly universal, there are issues which were alien to Amis and Lodge – mostly brought about by the Bologna process, or, as many academics refer to it, Bologna Disaster.

The change of academic reality with the sudden flood of issues concerning marketing, admission quotas, or the functioning in a highly competitive world is so deep that it has and inevitably will affect academic fiction. Gombrich's view on the condition of contemporary university reflects British reality, but also symptoms noticeable in a European dimension:

The model for the university is now the factory. The factory mass produces qualified students, thus adding value to the raw material. The academics, the workers on the shop floor, are there merely to operate the mechanical procedures which have been approved by the management and checked by the inspectorate. (2000: 28)

Similar analysis is undertaken by Marek Smoluk, who examines the mechanisms of decay in British higher education of today, concluding that ‘In the battle of survival some “lesser” universities are claimed to ensure smooth passage for their students and do their utmost in order not to fail them. (Smoluk 2014: 22).

The problems discussed by Gombrich and Smoluk are perfectly mirrored in two novels, *University Shambles* (2009) by Christopher Rhodes, and *Crump* (2010) by P.J. Vanston. In the first case, the author is a professor of chemistry who proves that being an insider is not always the key to literary success, for *University Shambles*, in literary terms, is more of what the title implies. Unlike Lodge, Bradbury, or even the German writing professor, Dieter Schwanitz, Rhodes is light years from any level of literary craft. In his case, the academic insight is not a sufficient prerequisite to render a literary picture of the academic reality. The first page offers a hackneyed interpretation of academic quest: ‘He knew it was blind ambition: the Holy Grail.’ (1), a topos employed much earlier and subtler by David Lodge in his *Small World*. The chapters to follow contain predominantly straightforward and clumsy enumerations of problems afflicting British universities of today:

The polys jumped at the chance to become “universities”, not only for snob value, and that the downtrodden bodies of their staff would feel some belated sense of worth, rather than just second rate, but from a genuine belief that the Government, having elevated them to that grander rank, would upgrade all their facilities so they really could become universities ... (15)

All this is done in a descriptive manner, almost devoid of any coherent plot:

Constant mergers and remerges of departments and divisions, rotten management, knife-in-the-back politics, crap academics who are antiresearch, incompetent technicians. (27)

The main pillars of the book, as it were, are lists such as the one quoted above, and dialogues, which reveal very much the same tendency to document the absurdities of academic reality:

“You’ve finished your lecture five minutes early,” Dudley would announce loudly in front of all the students. “You’re not giving them value for money!” (30)

Rhodes’s detailed report on the condition of higher education in Britain is interspersed with stale jokes, partly based on inventing fields of studies offered to students, among which there are ‘Retail Therapeutics’ (35), and ‘Leisurewear Dynamics’ (63). Not that this is entirely in collision with actual tendencies in higher education as, to quote Smoluk again, universities ‘have been compelled by internal and external forces to offer vocational degrees in subjects such as music management, dance management, real estate market, tourism, media studies and so on. (2014: 21), but in Rhodes’s version this is taken too far.

Problems concerning British higher education are also undertaken by P.J. Vanston in *Crump*, the difference being that his literary attempt is a fairly readable one, but again heavily burdened with facts exposing the preposterous academic reality. These facts generally pivot around three aspects, the first one being ‘productivity measures’ (Vanston 2010: 127), which delineate the ‘publish or perish’ aspect of the academe (unlike James Hynes’s *Publish and Perish*, emphasis mine):

Since the introduction of the new RAE – (Research Assessment Exercise) – system, the more articles an academic published the better, irrespective of whether they represented original research or were just rehashed, mediocre pieces of waffle. Better still, academics could publish a lot if they clubbed together, which is why so many pieces of research had multiple authors. It was all about quantity and not quality, and the RAE verdict would determine both funding and ranking for the department... (61)

So, after the RAE was introduced in the 1990s, lecturers began scribbling away with the frantic intensity of battery hens on speed, laying academic paper after paper to make long library shelves groan. These papers were read by very few, but journals in which to publish them flourished, as did conferences at which these academic battery hens could squawk their papers at other squawking battery hen academics. (142)

The second aspect underlines and ridicules the tendency (mentioned earlier in the context of *University Shambles*) to generate courses which, apart from being intended to become cash cows, have little to do with serious academic study:

One of the most exciting and popular modules on all the university courses was the module on celebrity studies which, if a student so chose, could comprise up to forty per cent of a degree in media and TV studies. The internet pornography module was especially popular, apparently. (105)

And lastly, Vanston touches upon issues under the general label of political correctness, namely ethnicity and, vague but in vogue, gender:

The university was also proud that it was one of only three universities in the UK where a majority of senior managers were female, and it also had the largest proportion of ethnic minority staff in the country – it had received an award for each of these achievements too, presented by Prince Charles again, who was quite simply delighted, as usual. (134)

He also noticed how feminists were not very keen to make phrases such as ‘con man’, ‘tax man’, ‘dirty old man’ gender neutral or put pressure of anyone to stop automatically referring to criminals as male. (197)

No culture or political system was better or worse – that was all just Eurocentric racism and imperialism – and no artistic endeavor was superior or inferior to any other either. So the complete works of Beethoven were in no way better or superior to an Aborigine banging two sticks together in the Outback, and European-style liberal

pluralistic democracy was in no way better or superior to any other system, such as that in brutal Islamic or communist dictatorships. (198)

Standing there dressed from head to foot in black burquas, they almost looked like some kind of alien creature as they huddled together – for some reason, Crump thought of Star Trek, and a blob creature that had been in the original series. He couldn't even see their hands, and when they moved, he couldn't see their legs move either. They glided, like nuns – with added value. (118)

Vanston's book contains a number of witty lines and, as has been already mentioned, is a light read. However, one cannot help thinking that apart from ridiculing what deserves to be ridiculed, largely in a cyclical manner, it does not convey anything more momentous except for a few laughs it may cause.

Conclusion

The discussion presented above may suggest that academic fiction is approaching, as it were, its expiry date. There are, however, voices that academic fiction is actually not stagnant or exhausted. Robert Scott claims it is quite the reverse:

One of the reasons why the campus novels are still thriving is the fact, these novels traverse the globe, ranging over all parts of the United States, Canada, Mexico, and England to more exotic locales such as Romania, Uruguay, and Nigeria. Though most works have contemporary settings, others travel as far back in time as the Middle Ages. Moreover, campus novels offer readers a vast array of protagonists as we meet straights, gays, and bisexuals; Caucasians, African Americans, and Hispanics; Quakers, Shakers, Catholics, and Jews; scientists, poets, university presidents, adjunct instructors, librarians, and cafeteria staff. (Scott 2004: 86)

And this is true, there may still be some room in world literatures for a fresh flow of academic fiction, but it is doubtful whether this applies to British literature, unless it will find a dimension that can successfully combine the art of writing with the rendering of academic themes. I very much doubt that much as Lodge could portray with finesse the world of academia in the 1970s/80s, a similar attempt may turn successful in the more and more absurd world of today's universities becoming business enterprises, with dwindling funding and dwindling quality, endlessly merges, and ever-present egalitarianism (a problem discussed by Amis as early as 1969 in his essay "Pernicious Participation" – 'more has meant worse' (1990: 264). The spin-off can turn out to be novels in the type offered by Rhodes or, in a better version, Vanston. The new groves of academe, to apply and slightly modified version of the title of Mary McCarthy's classic novel, risk brooding in overindulgence in the 'university shamble' and futile attempts to face the ever-increasing, commoditization and Eurocratization of higher education. If, of course, academic fiction has anything else to offer beyond a repetitive mode, in which it is all about 'Regurgitate. Regurgitate. Regurgitate' (Vanston 2010: 144).

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A CONSTRUCTIVIST-INSPIRED FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING ORAL PRESENTATIONS

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Abstract: The paper describes a constructivist-inspired framework used for the assessment of the oral presentations that English minor 2nd year students complete in groups as the end-of-term TPL course assignment in the first semester. This kind of integrated evaluation using peer, self, and instructor assessment has great pedagogical value, because it engages students and teachers as responsible partners in learning and assessment.

Keywords: constructivism, oral presentation, portfolio, authentic assessment

Introduction

Although constructivism and the principles that underlie this philosophy of learning¹ are not exactly new (Vygotsky 1962, 1978; Dewey 1897, 1900, 1902, 1916, 1938; Piaget 1923, 1926, 1948; Bruner 1960, 1996; Rorty 1979, 1982; Steffe & Gale 1995), they have not ceased to produce some trendy revolutionary educational tools over the last two decades. In fact, constructivist principles prove especially valuable at university level in Romania where, because of the shift from selective towards mass education which involves large cohorts of students, the actual interaction² between teachers and students has been diminishing. The effect is that managers consider that university graduates are deficient in practical skills,

¹ Constructivism starts from the premise that, by reflecting on our experiences, each of us constructs his/her own understanding of the world and generates our own *rules* and *mental models* used to make sense of our experiences. Subsequently, learning is the process of adjusting our mental models to accommodate new experiences. The major guiding principles of constructivism are: 1. Since learning is a search for meaning, it must start with the issues around which students are actively trying to construct meaning; 2. The learning process focuses on primary concepts, not isolated facts; 3. Good teachers must understand their students' mental models used to perceive the world and the assumptions they make to support those models; 4. The purpose of learning is for an individual to construct his or her own meaning, not just memorize the “right” answers and regurgitate someone else’s meaning. 5. The only valuable way to measure learning is to make the assessment part of the learning process, ensuring it provides students with information on the quality of their learning. (<http://www.funderstanding.com/theory/constructivism/>)

² By *actual interaction* I mean activities such as seminar discussions, oral examinations, follow-up comments, feedback, tutorial classes, etc.

while students and graduates point to a heavily theoretical academic curricula and to classic exams lacking reliability and relevance (Macari 2009: 25).

Rationale

For more than ten years, the constructivist theory has been an inspiration to me for finding feasible ways to improve both my teaching and the assessment methods I employ. Two effects of this attempt are my giving up classical lecturing and exam topics some 8 years ago. Instead of taking dictation or making notes of lectures, my students are expected to study the sections assigned for each session in advance as part of their individual study tasks, according to a schedule they receive at the beginning of the semester, and come up each week with questions, comments or problems they have encountered.

Students are encouraged to spend time at home writing down the questions or comments they might have concerning the assignments and the answers they get to them during class discussions. The questions usually become useful discussion topics for the seminars and this will contribute to their successfully meeting the specific objectives of the course. Apart from building up competence, the immediate result of these tasks is that their own written notes and summaries will build their portfolio. They are advised to keep all such material, as much of it will be useful in the exam sessions. (Macari 2013: 617)

The students' additional motivation for building a complete well-structured portfolio is that, as they are announced during the first meeting, depending on the course type, the materials that make it up will be either evaluated as part of the final mark,¹ or used during the exam.²

Assessment

One way in which I tried to incorporate assessment in the learning process was to ask students to create group presentations and give them during the TPL course³ meetings. In search for appropriate means of fostering authentic assessment,⁴ I also decided to include peer and self-assessment in the final grade each student received at the end of the semester.

¹ In the Morpho-syntax course and the Translation practical course, students' portfolios account for 20% of the final mark.

² In the Morpho-syntax course, students have access to their own portfolios during the exam sessions, for reference purposes.

³ The Theory and practice of language (TPL) course (briefly described in the following section) offers the teacher some freedom in choosing both topic and teaching and assessment methods.

⁴ Jon Mueller defines authentic assessment (AA) as a form of assessment in which students are asked to perform real-world tasks that demonstrate meaningful application of essential knowledge and skills. <http://jfmuller.faculty.noctrl.edu/toolbox/whatisit.htm>

The actual reasons for resorting to oral presentations were my attempts at engaging students in proactive learning and especially at helping them cope with the emotional impact of speaking in front of an audience and receiving comments and marks, since language students often are self-conscious in oral production. Moreover, by involving students in peer and self-assessment, I could avoid (potential impressions of) careless/non-transparent evaluation and feedback, and develop students' skills in critiquing their own work. The resulted approach has shifted the focus from measuring the "quantity of knowledge" the student is able to display in an end-of-term test or essay to the assessment of student performance on a task.

The concepts of authentic learning and assessment have been brought about by the need to better prepare students for real life, a principle promoted, for example, by the Edutopia website.¹ According to Meg Ormiston², "(a)uthentic learning mirrors the tasks and problem solving that are required in the reality outside of school" (2011: 2-3). The teachers who decide to lay the ground for authentic learning will also endeavour to implement into their practice some formative assessments, such as oral group presentations and tests focused on authentic tasks. The effect of such a change is the disappearance of the borderline between learning and assessment, as the constructivist philosophy suggests.

Jon Mueller's *authentic assessment toolbox* (jfmuller.faculty.noctrl.edu) puts the defining attributes of traditional and authentic assessment side by side, thus showing what the latter has in common with real-life circumstances.

Traditional vs. Authentic

Selecting a Response vs. Performing a Task

Contrived vs. Real-life

Recall/Recognition vs. Construction/Application

Teacher-structured vs. Student-structured

Indirect Evidence vs. Direct Evidence

All the five attributes of authentic assessment can actually be traced in the process of creating a group presentation: students perform a group task whose topic they choose from real life; they decide together on the organization of their project and apply prior knowledge and skills in doing that; they work on the oral presentation as a team and submit their performance to be evaluated by their peers and teacher; through self-assessment, they also reflect on their own performance. As I explain in

¹ The website (<http://www.edutopia.org/>) is published by the George Lucas Educational Foundation (GLEF), founded in 1991 with the intention of celebrating and encouraging innovation in K-12 schools.

² Meg Ormiston is a curriculum coach, school board member, keynote speaker, professional development specialist, author and grant facilitation specialist who has been involved in professional development activities focused on changing instructional practice in the classroom for over twenty five years (<http://techteachers.com/>).

a previous article (Macari 2009), my students' oral presentations are scored on self, peer and teacher assessment grids to determine how successfully students have met specific standards.

Description of activity

TPL (Theory and practice of language/literature) is a course¹ that governs and complements the practical courses, so that the tutor may choose, according to what he/she deems necessary, to focus on particular skills or content.

Students form groups of 4 or 5, then identify topics and create Power Point or Prezi presentations which are subsequently brought before the class. They decide how to share roles inside groups and each of them must have an active part in all the stages – topic identification, documentation, writing of presentation, presentation itself. Together they agree on the agenda, participate in selecting contents, in the follow-up discussions and in the self- and peer-assessment.

Participants

The 128 participants are English minor 2nd year BA students, in their early twenties. About 80% are female and 20% male. They have studied English in elementary and secondary school for 4 to 12 years. They are grouped in 23 teams.

Procedures

The idea of the project is discussed during the first meeting, when students learn their responsibilities - choice of topic, configuration of teams and allocation of roles, scheduling of presentation and assessment. At the end of the semester, each team hands in a portfolio containing the PPoint/Prezi presentation and the assessment rubrics². Self and peer-assessment account for 50 per cent of the final grade, and instructor assessment for the other 50%.

Results and Discussion

By bringing a presentation before their tutor and peers, students practise speaking in front of an audience, take responsibility in assessment and learn to argue when critiqued. The focus of the assessment will be on the practical skills (enumerated above) they need after graduation and, through the questions in the assessment and self-assessment rubrics, will consider criteria for judging merits such as: cohesion

¹ The course runs from the 2nd semester to the 5th, 1 h/week, 14 weeks. The Theory and practice of language alternates semesters with the Theory and practice of literature. The present article describes the TPL course in the 3rd semester, October 2012 to January 2013.

² I described the assessment rubrics in “Constructing language assessment – applying a constructivist view: A case study” (Macari 2009: 26-7).

and coherence of presentation, team work, presentation skills, use of computer technology, language skills, and time management. In the self-assessment grid, students also identify the difficulties they have encountered while working on the project, what they have liked and what they have gained from this experience.

All teams seemed satisfied with the choice of topic and with each individual's role in the selection and organization of the materials. In line with their audience, both those who opted for PowerPoint and those who chose Prezi were content with the 'visual' result of their project, as is apparent in the selection of self-assessment and project-description samples below.¹

We didn't use Microsoft PowerPoint, we wanted to use a different program for our presentation so in the end we came to the conclusion that Prezi is a nice and clear way to send our message. Another strong point that led to the originality of our project was represented by our photos, taken in a frosty day in Copou. Because we wanted our colleagues to remember us, we gave them a piece of our project: a mini photo and a significant quote that represented our team.

Mark proposed is 8 because they used another program than Power Point and because the resources and the organisation of material were very well done.

However, the majority were quite critical about their own and the others' oral performance. From their responses, it can be inferred that the major produce of student self-reflection is the connection they make between the level of English (that influences oral performance) and the success of presentation. If by realizing this they are motivated to work harder, students very convincingly illustrate the way in which assessment influences learning.

My strongest point during the presentation was the fact that I represented one of the strongest pieces in my group (I prepared the soundtrack and I helped them to do the Power Point presentation). I think that my weak point is that I must improve on my English and on the pronunciation (because I must be much better than I am now).

My English was not so good. I suppose that this aspect downgraded me.

I think this activity was useful because we need to improve our way of speaking in front of a class and to improve our speech. It is very important to learn how to control our emotions and how to attract the attention of the listeners.

In evaluating their peers, students were very critical especially of the speakers who had chosen to read their roles.

¹For the sake of authenticity, I have chosen to provide the samples in their original form, with no intervention in what regards either content or language structure. The use of italics will highlight them in the text.

They had many weakest points like: reading from the paper, same information from the slide was read by them.

The project was interesting but because they read from clipboard the project has not been so successful.

One student motivated the poor grades she awarded to three of her colleagues as follows: S1 – 5 (*she made many grammatical errors and read from the paper*), S2 – 5 (*she has a defectuous pronunciation and read from the paper*), S3 – 6 (*bad spelling but she tried to make a free presentation.*), thus making it clear that she regards bad pronunciation and reading instead of talking freely as the worst combination in an oral presentation. In fact, only those with a poor level of English are expected to read their roles; to put it differently, by reading one admits to having a poor level of English skills and should only expect a low grade.

S4 (8) - *she has a good English but she read same ideas from the paper*, S5 (7) - *he hasn't a very good English, he read from the paper*, S6 (7) *she hasn't a very good English, she read same ideas from the paper*, S7 (8) - *he has a good English but he read same ideas from the paper*. S10 (9) - *he has a good English, he didn't read, he was relax, he was very good.*

In their self-assessment responses, students usually blame what they call the 'nervousness' generated by having to speak in front of an audience¹.

I found the oral presentation to be the hardest part of this project, as it is difficult for me to speak in front of a large audience. I'd rather express myself in writing, as any mistakes I had in my oral presentation are due to the fact that I am more nervous speaking in public.

The part I found most difficult was the oral presentation in itself. I do not like speaking in front of the classroom, but in this case I had to get over my nervousness and give a good speech.

The most difficult part of the assignment was creating a coherent oral presentation, as I am not a very good public speaker. It took a lot to overcome my nervousness and to speak freely in front of a class full of people judging us solely on a 10 minute presentation.

Thus, even the teams with above average command of technologies¹ seem certain that their presentation skills do not match their computer skills.

¹ The most extreme example is the excerpt in which one female student described her perception of the audience as follows: “[...] I got a chance to practice my English ... in front of numerous angry, judgmental students.”

One student only admitted that she had had troubles with remaining objective during peer-assessment and correctly attributed this to the emotional factor. Her reaction shows remarkable insight about one of the major difficulties encountered by inexperienced teachers.

The most difficult part was to assess the other presentations because I liked most of them and I found it hard to be objective. I tried to assess them by comparison and, also, by my own standards. Both of these methods made this assignment easier for me to do.

Actually, most of the students argued that, beside team-building, the main benefit of such an activity is that it trained their public speaking skills.

Yes, I think this kind of activities are useful cause they gives us the chance to work not only together but individual too. Thus I feel it helps me develop different skills in communication.

It is useful because you get to speak in English with your project colleagues more than usually about a subject. You also get to train your skills in speaking in front of an audience.

I think that this kind of activity is very useful for a future teacher, which I hope I'm gonna become.

I found it very useful, not only because of the challenge to manage a team of grown-ups with different opinions, but for offering us the occasion to speak in public, in English. At that time, seemed to be a repressive action, but now I understand its benefic results. It was a thrill, but only by repeating this action we will be able to speak in front of an audience without being nervous, in future.

Yes, this kind of activity is useful because team work can be an effective method to motivate students, encourage active learning, and develop key critical-thinking, communication, and decision-making skills.

Remarkably, students empirically identified and focused their comments on some 'real life' skills like team work, creativity, sharing responsibility, prioritizing, time management.

I found it useful that we had a deadline which made us manage our time more effectively. Working in a team, where we all had different responsibilities, made me

¹ Two of the teams used video-editing software to create short movies in which they played their parts but also involved passers-by. None of the groups had any technical problems during the presentations. Those who were not very much into computers chose to make a slide show as a background for the presentation.

want to fulfill my tasks in an effective manner, so as to better our final presentation.

The most difficult part of the assignment was finishing the project on time. Because we took a lot of time in deciding the theme of the project and because some of my teammates had some difficulties in overcoming their weaknesses it was hard to meet the deadline. In the end we managed to finish the presentation in time with a little bit of group effort.

They also liked the opportunity to have fun while working and take pride in the result.

I enjoyed it very much because I did all I wanted. I was happy to see that (even for a short period of time), my colleagues made me feel like my opinion counts. Also, I was thrilled to work in this group because all of my colleagues are A-students and this kept me motivated to come at their level.

I enjoyed very much working at this project because it reminded me how it's like to put all your soul into something and, after finishing it, to be proud of what you have done. I like this kind of experience when you start from nothing and you come up with all kind of ideas in order to make something interesting and original. Moreover, we had fun while making a useful thing.

I really enjoyed working on the project, especially because my team consisted of people I knew. I like the fact that the other members of my team were open-minded and we managed to expose our opinions, to argue and then to take a decision together. Another pleasant moment while working on this project, was when we made our own ad. We were all dressed in colourful clothes and we had an umbrella, even though outside it was not raining. While we stood on the stairs of the University, people were staring at us, probably wondering what we were doing there.

Yes, I enjoyed working on the project because it involved my creativity and team spirit. Also I had the chance to talk in front of dozens of students and to exercise my English pronunciation. For me it was like a public speaking and I really enjoyed the role I had in this project.

I enjoyed working on the project because I discovered interesting things while searching the material for the presentation. Another nice thing was working with my colleagues from the team. We met every day for a week and I learnt new things from them. It was useful for me because we had to listen some people talking and each of us should write his part from the presentation. In this way we learnt something about word's pronunciation.

Preparing the décor was also very interesting. We wanted to introduce students in Hawaii's world. We went shopping together and we ate coconuts together while repeating the speech and the strategies to attract the public.

I think this activity is useful because it makes us work in teams, it provides us with the opportunity to teach something to our peers and also to learn something from them and it puts us in the position of assessing others and, of course, assessing ourselves.

I really enjoyed working on this project, because we could demonstrate that through combining work with pleasure, we made a good thing.

Although many of the teams pointed to the enjoyable side of working on such a project, the samples above clearly show that entertainment was not their main focus. The self and peer assessment rubrics I created were intended to guide students' observations and perception so that the portfolio they submitted to the tutor proves their reflective and self-reflective skills together with the record of their progress and achievements. Without being aware, I was following in this way a tip provided by the Edutopia team, which advises teachers to "(a)ssess students based on rubrics rather than relying solely on grades. Student development is often more important than the final outcome" (<http://www.edutopia.org/assessment-tips>).

Conclusions

The oral presentation is not a standard course component, but I introduced it because I thought that by assessing this type of activity I would better engage students in proactive learning and improve my assessment practices. It is also true that, since students know from the beginning that nobody fails this exam if they fulfil their dues, I expected this course to be quite popular and students very willing to get involved. Indeed, students had positive perceptions and enjoyed experimenting with the power of grading, expressing opinions, and proving their aptitudes in front of their colleagues and me. Equally true, students realized soon enough that, exactly like in real life, power comes packed with responsibilities; to my mind, this awareness is a major accomplishment of the activity described here.

In all types of assessment, but especially when implementing authentic assessment forms, the teacher must first develop the list of assessment criteria. For oral presentations, the criteria should appropriately address all the aspects of the assessment process and align closely with the learning outcomes of the module. Moreover, "the criteria should be made available to the students well in advance, and in an ideal world the students should have the opportunity to practise and receive formative feedback before they are summatively assessed" (<http://www.internationalstaff.ac.uk>).

The selection and presentation of assessment criteria is only part of the bigger picture – the need for continuously adapting to what happens after our

students have graduated. As David Jakes notes, “schools and teachers often get stuck in a “Yeah, but...” mindset when thinking about change. Instead of dreaming about what's possible — taking a “What if” stance towards the challenges standing in our way — we're all too ready to trip over the hurdles in front of us without even attempting to jump” (<http://blog.williamferriter.com>).

In the context of the current discussion, “What if” can be translated into the implementation of certain shifts in assessment that will take our practices beyond traditional exams and tests. What is more, the “What if” stance can actually fight back (some of) the effects of the massification of higher education.

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RENDERING IDENTITIES INTO ANOTHER LANGUAGE TRANSLATING PROPER NOUNS IN THE ROMANIAN VERSION OF SALMAN RUSHDIE'S *MIDNIGHT'S CHILDREN*

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Abstract: Taking into account that we are identified first of all by name, the paper explores the way in which the various names in Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* are rendered in the Romanian translation made by Radu Paraschivescu and published by Polirom, Iași, in 2005. We shall refer to: names of (real or fictitious) characters: historical figures, Biblical and literary ones or the names of the characters in the novel; nicknames; names of (real or fictional) places: geographical names (of regions, towns, mountains, valleys, lakes, etc.), but also names of streets, squares, institutions (schools, hospitals); brand names; titles of newspapers; titles of films; names of film studios; names of parties; names of holidays. Reference will also be made to the translation techniques and procedures employed.

Keywords: identity, proper noun, equivalent, repetition, literal translation.

According to Hornby, the first meaning of the word *identity* and the one that interests us here is “who or what sb/sth is” (589). It seems a very simple definition that explains the word, but, as it usually happens, simple things prove to be the most complicated. Because although everybody knows what *identity* means and uses the word correctly, a complete definition of the concept is difficult to give. As James Fearon noticed, in spite of a “vastly increased and broad-ranging interest in ‘identity’, the concept itself remains something of an enigma.” (1) The term is used nowadays in two senses that are connected to each other and that may be termed “social” and “personal”.

In the former sense, an ‘identity’ refers simply to a social category, a set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged) characteristic features or attributes. In the second sense of personal identity, an identity is some distinguishing characteristic (or characteristics) that a person takes a special pride in or views as socially consequential but more-or-less unchangeable. (Fearon 2)

Later on, Fearon defines personal identity as:

a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person thinks distinguish her in socially relevant ways and that (a) the person takes a special pride in; (b) the person takes no special pride in, but so orient her behaviour that she would

be at a loss about how to act and what to do without them; or (c) the person feels she could not change even if she wanted to. (11)

In other words, personal identity is what sets a person apart from others and may include the person's name, gender, ethnicity, family status, occupation, etc.

The name is used to identify not only people, but also objects. A town, a lake, an institution, a newspaper are also denoted by names, which have a localizing and characterizing function as well, placing them in a specific area.

Though the name is an important part of a person's or object's identity, it is given to him/her/it by others. A name is chosen for various reasons: because those who give it like it (the way it sounds); because they like somebody or something that has it; because they like its meaning. Very frequently, the name is associated with somebody's destiny and it is considered likely to determine it. That is why a change of the name is expected to lead to a change in destiny. After a misfortune, for instance, a person may change his/her name or have it changed in the hope that this will bring about a change in luck. In Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, for instance, Mumtaz Aziz becomes Amina Sinai when she marries the second time, at her husband's advice, in the hope that this second marriage will be better than the first.

Generally speaking, names are considered to belong to the source language culture, therefore it is recommended that they should not be translated. However, André Lefevere lists them among the illocutionary language items that pose problems in translation since, in their case,

... translators have to ask themselves what part each instance of illocutionary language use plays within the framework of the text as a whole and what similar or analogous illocutionary devices are at their disposal to match that instance. (19)

Depending on the answers to these questions, the translators can decide to preserve, omit or replace the respective uses.

In a study entitled *Culture-Specific Items in Translation*, Javier Franco Aixelá suggested several procedures that can be used in order to render what he called "culture-specific items", among which he also included proper nouns (in Dimitriu 72-74). These procedures focus on the word level and can actually overlap and/or be combined in texts. Here are some of them:

a) **conservation**, achieved through:

- **repetition (loan transfer or cultural borrowing)**, used especially in the case of toponyms (e.g. *Glasgow*), rendered as such into Romanian;
- **slight orthographic adaptations**, also widely used in the case of toponyms and first names: *London – Londra, Charles – Carol* etc.;
- **linguistic (non-cultural) translation**: *dollar - dolar*; the readers are conscious that the terms, though transparent, belong to the source culture;
- **extratextual gloss** – the use of footnotes, endnotes etc. to explain the term;

- **intratextual gloss**, when the cultural information becomes part of the text, e.g. *Voroneț – the monastery of Voroneț*;
- b) **substitution**, which can take the following forms:
- **(partial) synonymy**, used in order to avoid the repetition of the culture-specific item: *The pub was crowded. – Localul era aglomerat.*
 - **limited universalisation**, which occurs when the cultural meaning is too obscure and can be replaced in the SC as well: *six grand – șase mii de dolari*;
 - **absolute universalisation**, when the translators delete any foreign connotation and choose a neutral reference: *opincă – peasant shoe*;
 - **naturalisation**, which is the replacement of a ST culture-specific item by a target culture-specific item: *dollar – leu*;
 - **deletion**, which occurs when the translator does not know the meaning of a word or when the term is unacceptable on ideological or stylistic grounds;
 - **autonomous creation**, when non-existent cultural reference in the ST is added to the translation.
- c) **compensation** – when the loss of a cultural meaning is compensated for by another one;
- d) **attenuation**, used in the case of taboo source culture-specific items that may be found unacceptable by the TC.

Some of these strategies are used in the Romanian translation of Salman Rushdie's novel *Midnight's Children*, made by Radu Paraschivescu, a well-known contemporary writer and translator, for the Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2005. In what follows, they will be pointed out, without being criticized.

There is a multitude of proper nouns present in the novel *Midnight's Children*, not only anthroponyms and toponyms, but also other cultural referents. Thus, we could identify:

- names of (real or fictitious) characters: historical figures, Biblical and literary ones or the names of the characters in the novel;
- nicknames;
- names of (real or fictional) places: geographical names (of regions, towns, mountains, valleys, lakes, etc.), but also names of streets, squares, institutions (schools, hospitals);
- brand names;
- titles of newspapers;
- titles of films;
- names of film studios;
- names of parties;
- names of holidays.

In the rendering of the nouns within each group, we can notice the use of various translation strategies.

The names of historical, Biblical and literary figures are rendered by their Romanian equivalents, the translator employing slight orthographic adaptations:

Christ – Hristos, Buddha – Buddha, Muhammad – Mahomed, Scheherazade – Șeherezada, Shahryar – Șahriar, the last two adapted to the Romanian spelling.

“and in 1660, Charles II of England was betrothed to Catharine of the Portuguese House of Braganza” (159) – “iar în 1660 Carol al II-lea al Angliei s-a logodit cu Ecaterina din familia portugheză Bragança” (149)

The names of the characters in the novel stay unchanged: *Aadam Aziz, Narlikar, Saleem Sinai, Emerald, Mustapha*, etc., with the exception of *Nadir Khan*, which becomes *Nadir Han*, the originally common noun *khan* being rendered by its Romanian equivalent *han*.

It is interesting to note the case of the names *Mary* and *Joseph*, which become *Maria* and *Iosif* with reference to the characters in the Bible, but stay the same when they refer to the characters in the novel, *Mary Pereira* and *Joseph D’Costa*.

The titles of the characters are rendered by their closest Romanian equivalent. Thus, *Major Zulfikar* becomes *Maiorul Zulfikar*, *Brigadier Dodson – Colonelul Dodson*, (*brigadier* being a rank superior to that of colonel, but inferior to that of general, something which we do not exactly have in Romanian), and *Earl Mountbatten – Lordul Mountbatten* (*earl* – the title of a British nobleman of high rank, a title not so well-known to Romanians, *lord* being more common) (cf. Hornby, 138, 364). *Doctor Sahib* is rendered as *Dom’ doctor sahib*, with the abbreviation specific to the oral variant of the addressing formula.

Nowhere in the novel can the translator’s creativity be seen better than in the rendering of nicknames. Several of them refer to the narrator himself, but the other characters are not left untouched either. There are characters that are referred to only by nickname. Thus, we have Wee Willie Winkie, the only character whose nickname is not translated (though it could be associated with the adjective *wee = mic* and with the verb *to wink = a clipi*). This happens probably because the translator wanted to preserve its musicality, due to alliteration. Wee Willie Winkie is also the only character whose real name is not known. He is identified only by means of his nickname. The other nicknames are generally literally translated: *the Reverend Mother – Maica Stareță, Mian Abdullah, the Hummingbird – Mian Abdullah, Colibriul, The Brass Monkey – Maimuța de Bronz*. Still, in some cases, we can notice changes in comparison with their possible literal translation, changes which render them more poetic (*Piece-of-the-Moon – Țândărel-de-Lună*, as compared to the literal and more prosaic *Bucată-de-Lună*) or simply more picturesque: *Snotnose – Mucea, Stainface – Pocilă, Baldy – Cheliosul, Sniffer – Smârcâici, Glandy Keith Colaco – Keith Colaco Umflatul, Fat Perce Fishwala – Perce Fishwala Grăsanul* (compare with *Grasul*), *Eyeslice – Oache, Hairoil – Briantină, Nussie-the-duck – Nussie-rățușca* (compare with *Nussie-rața*).

The names of geographical places are usually rendered as such, the translator using repetition. Thus, we have: *Kashmir, Bombay, Heidelberg, Mecca*. Still, the following observations can be made:

- the words *lake, valley, mount/mountain* etc. in their name are translated into Romanian by their equivalents: *Lake of Srinagar – Lacul Srinagar*;

- the whole phrase is translated if it contains nouns that were originally common ones or if it has a well-established Romanian equivalent: *Shalimar Gardens – Grădina Shalimar, The King's Spring – Izvorul Regelui, The Cape of Good Hope – Capul Bunei Speranțe*;
- even if they are transferred as in the source language text, the toponyms are sometimes adapted to the norms of the Romanian language. When the Genitive case is used, they form it as the Romanian nouns, sometimes with a different punctuation, sometimes not: *Taj Mahalului*.

In the case of the translation of the names of streets, squares, institutions (schools, hospitals), we notice that:

- names like: *Warden Road, Kemp's Corner, Connaught Place, Flagstaff Road, Marine Drive* stay the same, even if the second word in each name has a Romanian equivalent. This happens because the respective places belong to a foreign city and their names need to be preserved in order to be easily located. A translation of those words by their Romanian counterparts (*colț, șosea*, etc.) would distance them from their location and confuse the reader in this respect.
- on the other hand, though we meet in the Romanian text *St. Thomas's Cathedral*, untranslated, we also have *Plaja Chowpatty* for *Chowpatty Sands*, *Ștrandul Breach Candy*, *Școala Breach Candy* for *Breach Candy Pools*, *Breach Candy School*, and *Fortul Roșu* for *Red Fort*.

But the city grew at breakneck speed, acquiring a cathedral and an equestrian statue of the Mahratta warrior-king Sivaji which (we used to think) came to life at night and galloped awesomely through the city streets – right along Marine Drive! On Chowpatty sands! Past the great houses on Malabar Hill, round Kemp's Corner, giddily along the sea to Scandal Point! And yes, why not, on and on, down my very own Warden Road, right alongside the segregated swimming pools of Breach Candy, right up to huge Mahalaxmi Temple and the old Willingdon Club... (159-160) – Dar orașul a crescut cu o viteză amețitoare, ajungând să aibă o catedrală și o statuie ecvestră a regelui războinic Sivaji din neamul Mahratta, care (cum credeam pe atunci) se trezea la viață noaptea și pornea într-un galop impresionant pe străzile orașului – chiar de-a lungul lui Marine Drive! Pe plaja Chowpatty! Prin fața caselor impunătoare de pe Malabar Hill, evitând Kemp's Corner, gonind amețită pe malul mării până la Scandal Point! Iar de acolo mai departe, da, de ce nu, coborând chiar pe lângă Warden Road unde stăteam eu, razant cu piscinele separate din Breach Candy, până sus la uriașul templu Mahalaxmi și la vechiul club Willingdon... (150)

Brand names are preserved as such: *Cherry Blossom boot-polish – cremă de ghetă Cherry Blossom, Three-In-One oil – lac Three-In-One, Kwaliti ice-cream – înghețata Kwaliti*. Sometimes they are adapted to the Romanian language, like in the case of *My Studebaker – Studebaker-ul meu*, when the name of the brand of the car receives the definite article.

The road to Methwold's Estate (...) turns off Warden Road between a bus-stop and a little row of shops. Chimaker's Toyshop; Reader's Paradise; the Chimanbhoy Fatbhoy jewellery store; and, above all, Bombelli's the Confectioners, with their Marquis cake, their One Yard of Chocolates! (161) – Drumul spre Moșia Methwold (...) se desprinde din Warden Road și e delimitat de o stație de autobuz și de un șir de prăvălii. Magazinul de jucării Chilmaker's, Paradisul Cititorilor, magazinul de bijuterii al lui Chiman Grăsanul și, mai presus de toate, cofetăria Bombelli's, cu prăjiturile Marchiz și Metrul de Ciocolată! (152)

In this quotation, we can notice the repetition of the foreign names proper, the literal translation of the types of shops and of the name of the Marquis cake and the naturalization in the case of *One Yard of Chocolates – Metrul de Ciocolată*.

The titles of newspapers are also rendered by means of repetition: "*Illustrated Weekly (of India)*", "*Times of India*", "*Classics Illustrated*", and so are the names of film studios: *D. W. Rama Studios, Filmistan Talkies, R. K. Films*. The titles of films, on the other hand, are translated into Romanian: *Cobra Woman – Femeia-cobră, Francis the Talking Mule and the Haunted House – Francis catârul vorbitor și casa bântuită*.

The names of parties are translated literally: *Maha Gujarat Parishad – Great Gujarat Party – Marele Partid Gujarat, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti – United Maharashtra Party – Partidul Unit Maharashtra, Free Islam Convocation – Congresul Islamului Liber, The Moslem League – Liga Musulmanilor*.

The names of holidays are either repeated or rendered by their Romanian equivalents (slight orthographic adaptation): *Eid-ul-Fitr – Eid-ul-Fitr, Ramzan – Ramadan*. Both can receive the definite article in Romanian, the difference between them being in the hyphen used between the article and the noun in the former case, when the noun is foreign to the Romanian language and therefore not adapted to it.

There was not much praying in our family (except on Eid-ul-Fitr, when my father took me to the Friday mosque to celebrate the holiday ...) (322) – În familia noastră nu se spuneau multe rugăciuni (cu excepția Eid-ul-Fitr-ului, când tata mă ducea la moscheea Vineri ca să cinstim sărbătoarea ...) (296)

There are cases when an extratextual gloss (a footnote) is used to explain a term that, for various reasons, could not have been translated in the text:

Once, I shyly gave her a necklace of flowers (queen-of-the-night for my lily-of-the-eve), bought with my own pocket-money from a hawker-woman at Scandal Point. 'I don't wear flowers,' Evelyn Lilith said, and tossed the unwanted chain into the air, spearing it before it fell with a pellet from her unerring Daisy air-pistol. (324) – Odată i-am dăruit o ghirlandă de flori (regina-noptii pentru lăcrămioara mea) cumpărată din banii mei de buzunar de la o florăreasă de la Scandal Point. 'Eu nu port flori', a spus Evie Burns și a aruncat ghirlanda nedorită în sus, ciuruind-o înainte de a ateriza cu o rafală a infailibilului ei pistol cu aer comprimat marca Daisy. (footnote at Daisy - Margaretă) (298)

The brand name is left as such, but an explanation of the meaning of the word *daisy* is necessary to make the readers aware of the irony of shooting a necklace of flowers with a pistol whose brand name is the name of a flower. The name of the feminine character is also simplified from *Evelyn Lilith* to *Evie Burns*. The full name of the character is *Evelyn Lilith Burns*, but she is called *Evie*.

And on my tenth birthday, I stole the initials of the Metro Cub Club – which were also the initials of the touring English cricket team – and gave them to the new Midnight Children's Conference, my very own M. C. C. (370) – Și tot la a zecea mea aniversare, am furat inițialele de la Metro Cub Club – aceleași cu cele ale naționalei engleze de cricket aflate în turneu – și le-am transferat la Midnight Children's Conference, M.C.C.-ul meu și numai al meu. (footnote at Midnight Children's Conference – Conferința Copiilor din Mieș de Noapte) (339)

The translator needed to preserve the initials of the organization. In the rest of the book, the name of the organization is translated – Conferința Copiilor din Mieș de Noapte.

When J. P. Narayan announced the dedication of his life to Bhave's work, the headline NARAYAN WALKS IN BHAVE'S WAY gave me my much-sought 'way'. (468) – Când J.P. Narayan a anunțat că-și dedică viața operei lui Bhave, titlul NARAYAN WALKS IN BHAVE'S WAY m-a ajutat să procur mult râvnitul "WAY". [The title of the article is translated in a footnote – "Narayan pășește pe urmele lui Bahve (engl.)"] (424).

Saleem needed the newspaper cuts to make an anonymous letter. Much like him, the translator needed the word *way* in order to spell *Colaba Causeway*, which could not have been replaced by anything else. The rest of the titles used by Saleem to form the words are translated into Romanian directly in the text.

As we can notice, the translation of proper nouns is not as simple a matter as it may seem at first sight. Various strategies can be employed, especially if we are dealing with a text like Rushdie's novel that not only presents multicultural aspects, but is also allusive and ironic. The text exhibits onomastic density, skillfully transferred into Romanian, in spite of the few inconsistencies and even mistranslations. The proper nouns, either repeated or otherwise rendered, contribute to the preservation of cultural specificity.

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**THE SUSPENDED LIVES OF BRITISH BANGLADESHI
IMMIGRANTS**
***THE MAPMAKERS OF SPITALFIELDS* (1997)**
BY SYED MANZURUL ISLAM

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Abstract: This paper will focus on *The Mapmakers of Spitalfields*, a collection of short-stories by Syed Manzurul Islam. Islam was born in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in 1953 and has lived his life between his mother-country and England, where he worked as a racial harassment officer in East London, besides lecturing at the University of Gloucestershire. As it will be shown, the sense of alienation and estrangement of the British Bangladeshi immigrants, the clash between their gloomy existence in London’s Banglatown and the cherished memories of their land of origin are among the most relevant and though-provoking features of his narratives.

Keywords: Syed Manzurul Islam, London’s *Banglatown*, storytelling, immigration, identity, estrangement.

Well before the publication of Monica Ali’s groundbreaking – albeit controversial – novel entitled *Brick Lane* (2003), the immigrants’ life in London’s *Banglatown* had already been explored in *The Mapmakers of Spitalfields* (1997), a short story collection by Syed Manzurul Islam which, up until recent times, has been surprisingly overlooked by many scholars and critics. While the authenticity of Ali’s portrayal has been severely questioned by the British Bangladeshi community itself (given the writer’s mixed background¹ as well as her lack of familiarity with the environment, the cultural traits, and the human landscape she had set herself to describe), Islam’s accurate depiction of the Tower Hamlets area, its dynamics, and its residents is informed with the author’s personal experience of life both in his country of origin and in the East End of London.

Born in a small north-eastern town of current-day Bangladesh, in 1953, Syed Manzurul Islam is the son of Syed Nazrul Islam, who served as acting President of Bangladesh during the War of Independence from Pakistan, started in 1971. After his father’s assassination, in 1975, he moved to England, and pursued philosophical, sociological and literary studies at the University of Essex. Before becoming a lecturer at Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education (specializing in postcolonial literature and creative writing), he settled in London and worked as a racial harassment officer in the East End, during Margaret

¹ Her mother is British. Besides, Ali left East Pakistan when she was three, in 1971, and she remembers only a few words of Bengali. For further information on the protest, visit <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/5229872.stm> (last accessed on January 28, 2014).

Thatcher's early years of premiership, when the National Front was active in campaigning against immigrants of Asian descent, and Paki-bashing¹ was a sadly widespread racist practice. While he was drafting a report, drawing on the interviews he had conducted with the victims of physical and verbal abuse, he realized that the mere collection and analysis of data failed to convey the feelings of terror, precariousness, estrangement, and loneliness daily experienced by the Bangladeshi immigrants in Tower Hamlets. Hence, he decided to complement his sociological examination with poignant storytelling, thus beginning to engage himself in the composition of "The Mapmakers of Spitalfields"², the narrative which gives its title to his first artistic endeavour.

After briefly outlining the characteristics of the Bangladeshi communities across the UK (as an essential theoretical framework for the present literary investigation), this paper will explore the suspended lives of the immigrants featured in *The Mapmakers of Spitalfields*, showing that, in their quest for better prospects and a novel identity, in their desperate yearning for a place to belong, in their vain efforts to face indifference, mistrust, and ruthless rejection, they remained trapped in a vacuum of space and time, incapable of any progress, constantly drifting into reveries, memories, and madness.

As sociologist and anthropologist John Eade has elucidated, Bangladeshi immigrants in Britain have formed closely-knit, "encapsulated communities" (Eade, *Keeping the Options Open* 94) on the British soil, forcefully striving to resist the tendency to "domesticate the foreigner" (Eade, *Placing London* 157) promoted by the political authorities in order to foster assimilation into the mainstream society. This peculiar phenomenon can be easily explained by observing that the first, and even the subsequent waves of Bangladeshi settlers in the UK had bravely left their motherland to pursue a dream of wealth and opportunity, only to eventually return to their native villages, rich and respected: they rarely wished to remain permanently in the host country. Consequently, *Banglatowns* were originally born as nostalgic cultural enclaves, where a familiar atmosphere could be recreated and traditions kept alive (handing them down from one generation to the next), while waiting for the proper time to go back *home*. The escalation of violence and racist attacks in the '70s and the '80s contributed to thicken the invisible walls of the ethnic niches, which underwent a subtle transformation, turning into places of self-protective seclusion as well as areas of stigmatizing confinement and segregation. It should not pass unnoticed that, over the centuries, the site of London's *Banglatown*, developing along Brick Lane, recurrently harboured religious dissidents and refugees: Irish Catholics, French Huguenots, Jews fleeing from Eastern Europe and Russia. Before 1976, the London Great Mosque (Jamme Masjid) had been, in turn, a Huguenot church, a Methodist chapel, and a synagogue (Marino 16). A *paradise of exiles*, Tower

¹ Physical assaults to people of Pakistani descent.

² Spitalfields is an area in the borough of Tower Hamlets, near Brick Lane.

Hamlets is also a ghastly borough filled with interlaced memories, a repository of shattered identities, a hub of individual and collective pain.

In the words of Paul March-Russell, a “sense of atomization” (88) dominates Syed Manzurul Islam’s *The Mapmakers of Spitalfields*, starting from the very structure of the collection, divided into four stories set in the East End of London in the ’70s, and three in Bangladesh, “a separation that reflects on the fractures within the postcolonial experience” (88). The irretrievable loss of the immigrants’ fabled country of origin (existing only in their anachronistic imagination and fond reminiscences) is signified through the grim portrayal of contemporary Bangladesh as a land of starvation, brutality, and intimate corruption, far from the much fantasized *Sonar Bangla*, the “Golden Bengal” celebrated in Tagore’s poems.¹ In “Fragments from the Life of the Nicest Man in Town”, the main character – a would-be reporter who has been commissioned to write an article on ‘the nicest man in town’ – soon finds out that nobody is actually blameless and immune from flaws: whoever can, “sell[s] himself to the government party for promotion” (Islam 50), while many others, “wild with the prospect of a kill” (50), release their anger and frustration by viciously attacking and ruthlessly slaughtering a hungry child, guilty of stealing bread.

Cultural roots are still strong and deep in Bangladesh, as it can be assumed through the reference to *jatra* (an ancient Bengali theatrical form) in the title of one of the stories, “The Fabled Beauty of the Jatra”. Nonetheless, unavoidable changes are clearly affecting the delicate balance of the nation: cherished customs are being replaced with more Westernized practices, the reassuring past is giving way to a doubtful present and an uncertain future. In “The Ultimate Ride in a Palanquin”, therefore, the impending death of the young protagonist’s grandmother epitomizes the end of an era, the disappearance of the rural world and its values. “Is it the last time we will be coming to the country, Mother?” (41) asks the boy, increasingly alarmed, while he is slowly heading towards the old lady’s house, in a remote, rustic district. There is no answer to his question, since his grieving mother is entangled in her heavy thoughts; he can only wish that, like in a dream, the palanquin carriers will take the wrong path, transporting him to “a place beyond all known places” (43), where his grandmother will never pass away, and the gloomy prospect of “say[ing] a final goodbye to the country” (43) will be finally dispelled.

The first narrative set in London’s *Banglatown* (which also opens the volume) is meaningfully entitled “Going Home”, a clear reference to the Bangladeshi immigrants’ innermost aspiration, as well as being indicative of their feelings of uneasiness and displacement in their new land of settlement. “Going Home” tells the story of a group of friends who regularly meet in one of their squalid tenement houses in order to conjure up, through their tales and recollections, the enchanting vision of their “lost place” (11), “that fabulous home” which they try to recreate “almost element by element, paying scrupulous attention to the most minute

¹ Compare Mohit Chakrabarti ed. *Songs Eternal: A Hundred Songs of Rabindranath Tagore*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1992, p. 100.

variations, the infinite odours, and not overlooking even the most transitory of colours, the tactile surfaces of things” (11). During their gatherings, traditional dishes are served, “deceptive simulacra” (14) carefully prepared with English ingredients in such a way as to resemble the well known delicacies that could only be tasted back home. Disappointingly enough, however, like the very artificial existence led in the ethnic niche, the ritual of food is not “quite the same, never quite the same” (14). One evening, when they begin to crack jokes on British colonialism, something unexpected occurs, posing an end to what the author defines as a “spontaneous carnival in front of mirrors” (16): the farcical image of the “iron-lady” (16) is evoked by one of the storytellers, screaming “they’re swamping our Shakespeare in their Argy-Bargy-Paki-Woggy bog. Help! Help! [...] Nuke ‘em, nuke ‘em” (16). Syed Manzurul Islam is obviously hinting at Margaret Thatcher’s 1978 infamous speech, in which she sympathized with those who were “really afraid” that Britain “might be rather swamped by people with a different culture”¹. “Going Home”, therefore, does not only allude to the immigrants’ dream of an *imaginary homeland*, but also to their urge to escape from the “primordial terror” (16) of living in a harsh metropolis where they “[aren’t] safe even behind the bolted doors of [their] flats” (16). In their shared recurrent nightmare, monster-like London seems to devour the new settlers with the purpose of assimilating them; slipping through a manhole, they plunge into the liquid belly of the city, “into the maze of sewers” (22) which by no means looks like the *wonderland* they had envisioned, “because immigrants like [them] don’t fall like Alice” (22).

“The Mapmakers of Spitalfields” is focused on the narrator’s ceaseless search for an eccentric person known as *Brothero-Man*, hunted by “two blond men in white overalls” (61) who want to lock him in a mental institution. Readers gather that *Brothero-Man* has been walking the streets of *Banglatown* for the past twenty years (from the time he decided to “jump ship”), thus earning the reputation of being a madman. He is not the only lunatic living in the enclave: deranged, uprooted, and ghost-like figures apparently abound in the area, starting from Jamir Ali (who pretends to be a policeman, in his vain attempt to restore a sense of order in that “either/neither place” – 80), or the unnamed tramp who, for the sake of a cigarette, may turn himself into a notorious tourist attraction: “the real Jack the Ripper” (71). Nevertheless, it could be argued that Syed Manzurul Islam was inspired by Shakespeare’s fool while moulding the character of *Brothero-Man*: the protagonist of his narrative is both a “mad man” and “a holy man” (72), and “he dares to speak the truth, like the Prophets” (67). His constant walking is actually aimed at “drawing the secret blueprint of a new city” (69), a place British Bangladeshi immigrants can eventually belong, “a strange new city, always at the crossroads, and between the cities of lost times and cities of times yet to come” (69). As Ruth Maxey has emphasized, “the trope of maps and mapmaking [...] suggests a collective territorial claim which goes beyond the individualistic need to own a property” (43). Hence, *Brothero-Man* (a sort of postcolonial *Everyman*)

¹ <<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485>> (last accessed on January 28, 2014).

performs a symbolic act of collective empowerment since, quoting the author's words, his mapping process can powerfully transform "the hostile territory of colonial metropolis into a home"¹. Despite his efforts, however, his mission proves to be unsuccessful: *Brothero-Man* cannot but mark "tiny dots in the sea of *their* strange city" (81). Besides, far from being an independent and thriving quarter, London's *Banglatown* in the late '70s is perpetually under siege, it is "a territory which ha[s] to be defended [...] against an advancing enemy" (Islam 1997, 81). The story ends with an unexpected turn: in truth, *Brothero-Man* and the narrator are the same person; consequently, his emblematic quest only allows him to piece together the fragments of his own faltering identity, mirrored in the faces of all the other misfits he meets along the way.

Similar issues are dealt with in "The Tower of the Orient", a story which features a British Bangladeshi couple who has just been allocated a council flat, on the top floor of a tall building called the "Tower of the Orient". Their dream of having "a home of their own" (94) soon becomes a nightmare; in fact, notwithstanding their initial enthusiasm, they quickly realize that April (the month they move in) "is really the cruellest of the months" (97), and that their aspirations can never be fulfilled in London's "dead land" (99), full of "heartless flowers [...] all pretty pretty without sweet smell" (90). Soraya (the wife) begins to experience claustrophobia and feelings of alienation when she first enters the lift, perceived as "a metallic grave, ready to devour her in its airless, timeless trap" (90). Her hopes of integration into the texture of the host society (she fantasizes polishing up her English and making friends in the neighbourhood) are immediately frustrated when the lift doors open on the thirteenth floor and an elderly lady, staring at the foreign couple with "a sudden glint of horror" (93) in her eyes, refuses to share the narrow space with them, mumbling "*God, what's next!*" (93). The following day, when Soraya tries to take the lift to go out, she is confronted with an insulting message written on its walls, which causes her to rush back to her apartment: "WOGS OUT PAKIS STINK DARKIS GO HOME" (95). In her next attempt to escape from her longed-for nest now turned into a prison she takes the stairs, only to be chased after by a fierce bulldog (possibly a reference to *Bulldog*, the magazine through which the National Front used to spread its racist and xenophobic ideology). The narrative ends focusing on Soraya's mental derangement, on the kaleidoscope of scary figures that haunt the deepest recesses of her mind, first of all the cannibalistic image of the lift as a "chamber of death [that] swallows [her] up" (98).

The last story, "Meeting at the Crossroads", perfectly summarizes the entire collection since, as Debjani Chatterjee has pointed out, "almost all of Islam's characters are at a crossroads"². This time, the writer broadens his perspective to include other immigrants who share the same *suspended* lives as the Bangladeshis

¹ <<http://archive.thedailystar.net/magazine/2008/03/03/interview.htm>> (last accessed, January 28, 2014).

² <http://www.peepaltreepress.com/review_display.asp?rev_id=206> (last accessed, January 28, 2014).

in London. In spite of their feelings for one another, two university students (a boy from Bangladesh and a girl from Latin America) are doomed to remain separate, because the ghosts of their respective past keep claiming them, preventing them from enjoying the present. The final sentence of the narrative, however, uttered when the young man finally comes to terms with the loss of his partner and wishes the best for her, could be interpreted as Syed Manzurul Islam's aspiration for all the inhabitants of *Banglatown*, who are compellingly encouraged to lift themselves from misery, dejection, and isolation: "fly away [...], fly away, I can hear the swish of your wings; you are touching the blue, touch the blue" (144).

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COGNITIVE POETICS AND CULTURAL STUDIES FIGURING AND GROUNDING IN SPANGLISH

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Abstract: This paper constitutes an experiment in the application of cognitive poetics to literary text analysis by combining stylistics with cultural studies in Junot Díaz's novel, *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*. I intend to discern in the author's linguistically hybrid discourse the uncanny character of the Caribbean/Dominican-American authorial voice. The overall purpose is to show that Cognitive Poetics methodology provides a set of interdisciplinary critical instruments useful in recovering both the aesthetic and the cultural prompts of literary production, especially in the case of highly politicized texts.

Keywords: cognitive poetics, Junot Diaz, Caribbean/Dominican-Americans, fictional aesthetics

In her book on twentieth-century Caribbean literature Alison Donnell complains that a “shift has taken place in postcolonial scholarship away from a focus on the unacknowledged talent, agency and identity of the ex-colonized subaltern class and towards the study of globalization, neo-liberalism and the new ‘Empire’... it is easy to understand that these shifts are informed by the demands for social transformation and an understanding that if we are to effect changes, to bring about justice and equality, then maybe the stumbling blocks to such transformation should be the targets of our intellectual energies. However, one consequence of this shift in critical and theoretical agendas has been a downgrading of the ‘singularity of literature’...” (Donnell 3) I would extend Donnell's assertion about neglect of authorial literary specificity to the recent scholarship on Junot Díaz's novel, *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* (2007). The complex, culturally and linguistically multilayered text of the novel invited specialized approaches that partitioned the artistically lively matter of the book into areas of technical expertise. As such critics engaged with: a). the analysis of the bicultural “cross-border dynamics” resulting from the New Jersey/New York – Dominican Republic plot movements (Dix 84); b). the linguistic inquiry of “radical code=switching” demonstrating that the main discourse “mechanisms used by Díaz are insertion and congruent lexicalization, which result in a text where...Spanish becomes part of English,” labeled ‘radical hybridism’ (Casielles-Suárez 475); c). the detection of alternate contexts for “Oscar Wao” as a transgressive, foundational fiction for the Dominican American diaspora, challenging the oppressive structures of the nation-state (Saez); d). a comparative discussion of political and narrative authority (Patteson); and e). the placing of the novel in the domain of transnational American Studies “to illustrate that the use of the transnational as a category of critique leads

to a reconsideration of the accomplishments and the limitations of multiculturalism and its academic manifestation.” (Mermann-Jozwiak 1)¹

The present study will endeavor to approach Díaz’s novel by succinctly using current literary criticism methodology, specifically Cognitive Poetics, in order to spotlight both the aesthetic uniqueness and the ethnic, historical, and political valences of this fiction’s discourse intricacies via language and intertextuality investigations. My contention in this paper is that in order to regain a thorough aesthetic and cultural approach to literary production, especially in the case of politicized texts like the postcolonial artistic output, Cognitive Poetics methodology might prove to be of genuine service by combining interdisciplinary close-reading techniques. Such instruments would include narrative, linguistic and cultural discourse inquiry.

In an introductory Cognitive Poetics text fragment, Peter Stockwell provides a succinct presentation of the major working concepts, by discussing the most obvious correspondence between the phenomenon of *figure* and *ground*, which resides

[...] in the literary critical notion of foregrounding...In this view, one of the main functions of literature is to defamiliarise the subject matter, to estrange the reader from aspects of the world in order to present the world in a creative and newly figured way...Foregrounding within the text can be achieved by a variety of devices, such as repetition, unusual naming, innovative descriptions, creative syntactic ordering, puns, rhyme, alliteration, metrical emphasis, the use of creative metaphor, and so on. All of these can be seen as deviations from the expected or ordinary use of language that draw attention to an element, foregrounding it against the relief of the rest of the features of the text. Deviance has also been seen to be one of the important elements in literariness, or at least in literary value. The feature that is determined to be the organising element, or seems most striking in the text, has been called the dominant. The dominant – though obviously having a subjective aspect – is a formal feature of the text: it could be the fourteen lines and metrical pattern that determine the sonnet form, or the alliteration of Anglo-Saxon poetry, or the imagism evident in the poetry of T.S. Eliot, or the inescapable absurd situations in *Catch-22*, or even the silences in the plays of Harold Pinter. The dominant is a sort of ‘superforegrounded’ figure, around which the rest of the literary text is dynamically organised. The relationship between the formal devices in the text and the part of the experience that strikes you most strongly lies in the description of figure and ground. This is a dynamic process because elements of the text are thrown into relief in the course of reading or ‘actualising’ the text. The devices are available for stylistic description and analysis, so the processes of ‘figuring’ and ‘grounding’ as you read the text can be tracked quite precisely as they emerge. (Stockwell p. 14)²

¹ For a discussion of Junot Díaz’s novel addressed to the general readership see: Allison Amend’s *Hispanic-American Writers* and Roberto Avant-Mier’s *Rock the Nation: Latin/o Identities and the Latin Rock Diaspora*.

² For other scholarly sources on Cognitive Poetics see: Joanna Gavins’ and Gerard Steen’s *Cognitive Poetics in Practice*; Geert Brône, Jeroen Vandaele. Eds. *Cognitive Poetics: Goals, Gains and Gaps*.

Moreover, cognitive poetics practice helps us identify revealing categories that may organize our perception of the novelistic discourse in a two-stage process, involving a holistic perception of each category “as an object (a ‘gestalt’ unit) followed, if necessary, by an analytical decomposition of the object into separate subtypes or attributes. These stages can be seen as analogous to the process of the literary reading experience. The recognition of the literary text in its entirety is an act of interpretation – a holistic understanding of the literary work...” (Stockwell 31)

I approach the major *ground* and *figure* criteria in my text analysis of Diaz’s novel within the lexical, semantic, morphological and syntactic categories. Their totality constitutes the material, linguistic and cultural connotative levels of the literary discourse, wherein the last one includes historical, social, ethnic, national and political hypertexts. Thus I discern within the highly intertextual and lexically, morphologically and syntactically hybrid book matter the uncanny, *dominant* character of the Caribbean/Dominican-American authorial voice:

Respectability so dense in la grande that you’d need a blowtorch to cut it, and a guardedness so Minas Tirith in la pequeña that you’d need the whole of Mordor to overcome it. Theirs was the life of the Good People of Sur. Church twice a week, and on Fridays a stroll through Bani’s parque central, where in those nostalgic Trujillo days stickup kids were nowhere to be seen and the beautiful bands did play. (Díaz 78)¹

The fragment above includes samples of Spanglish like “Respectability so dense in la grande” and “a guardedness so Minas Tirith in la pequeña,” where “la grande” and “la pequeña” stand for the Spanish of “big, large, great,” respectively “little, small, short, modest, humble” inserted as adverbs of place in English sentences. They flavor and inform the text with the ethnic perception of the hyphenated Dominica-American. Intertextuality also pervades the text mainly by means of popular culture references: “Minas Tirith, fortified city, and “Mordor” point to the dwelling place of Sauron, the evil wizard from J. R. R. Tolkien’s fictional Middle-earth writings; and the “Good People of Sur” represents a Biblical allusion, where “Sur” suggests an unidentified gate in Jerusalem (2 Kin. 11:6, Lockyer 1017) as well as it connotes the city of Sur in Oman. At the same time, there are clear references to “Trujillo days” which constitutes the horrendous historical background of the novel embodied by Rafael Trujillo’s 1930 – 1961 dictatorship in the Dominican Republic.

Quantitatively the bedrock linguistic *ground* is provided by the literary mainstream American English. However the aesthetically, cathartically protruding dominant verbal *figure* is provided through the inventive combination of popular argot samples of Spanish and specifically New Jersey blue collar vernacular, both

¹ My highlighting foregrounds Spanglish and intertextuality.

generously strewn all over the text. Salient, intimately human, ethnic and ideological information reaches the reader via this colorful lingo carrier, the *superforegrounding* enactor of an innovative aesthetic strategy. Spanglish, with Junot Díaz, also undermines and invades, in critical revanchist postcolonial fashion, the mainstream standard American English qua representation of historical and political critical assessment:

And what about fucking Kennedy? He was the one who green-lighted the assassination of Trujillo in 1961, who ordered the CIA to deliver arms to the Island. Bad move, cap'n. For what Kennedy's intelligence experts failed to tell him was what every single Dominican, from the richest jabao in Mao to the poorest güey in El Buey, from the oldest anciano sanmacorisano to the littlest carajito in San Francisco, knew: that whoever killed Trujillo, their family would suffer a fukú so dreadful it would make the one that attached itself to the Admiral jofote in comparison. (Díaz 3)

Spanglish per se, in its more comprehensive sense, includes hybrid bilingual syntactical, morphological and playful lexical combinatory litness as *deviance* from regular monolingual discourse. Cognitive poetics offers the necessary analytical tools to make sense of the hybrid text. *Stylistic prototypicality*, one cognitive poetics concept that is appropriate here, expressed in specific grammatical categories, displays basic structures of experience embodied in conceptual patterns embedded in the textual matter. (Stockwell 31) The colorful Díaz Spanglish and intertextuality constitute the writerly manifestations of his Dominica and Newark existence.

Thus we can, as readers of Díaz's text, set up for the perennial textual highly pepped up exoticism of the Afro-Latino Spanish-North American linguistic blend into at least one specific conceptual slot which incorporates the author's ethnically hyphenated condition as a major traumatic life experience which elucidates the obsessive authorial linguistic and narrative combinatory imaginative discourse. The problematic, dynamic mixture of the ethnicity (Dominican) and the nationality (American) of the writer is revealed in Spanglish as a continuous to and fro linguistic crossing between the historical/preterit and contemporary Dominican Republic, located by Díaz in Baní and Santo Domingo, as well as other islands of the familiar Caribbean space (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Saint Lucia) and the North American mainland (Paterson NJ) or Western Europe (specifically Paris). At the complex level of the crossover of lexicality, semantics, morphology and syntax one also meets intertextuality coalescing intercultural myths, legends, vegetation and fauna representations, historical, social and political commentary.

The lexical "ground" consists in the literary mainstream American English and the "figure" in Spanglish, American English authorial lexical literary coinages where lexical inventivity and unorthodoxy lead to the free creation of phrases based on North American popular culture and the Newark tongue-in-cheek jargon detectable within the homodiegetic narrative monologues of Oscar Wao's best friend, Yunior. Examples include: "When the Euros started going Hannibal Lecter

on the Tainos, they killed Anacaona's husband..." (Díaz 244)¹, "to go Hanibal Lecter" (i.e. to kill in horrendous, sadistic manner, as inspired by the popular movie series whose protagonist is the above named serial killer); "Knocked Lola for a loop when I said I'd do it, but it almost killed her dead when I actually did it." (Díaz 169).

Morphological analysis tackles the humorously suggestive Spanglish: "...if the procurement of ass had been any more central to the Trujillato, the regime would have been the world's first culocracy..." (Díaz 217). "Culo," the Spanish for "ass" and "-cracy" as the English suffix signifying rule, government, power, are used to satirize the Dominican dictator Trujillo's erotic impositions. Likewise, there are American English coinages - "kongoblack, shangoblack, kaliblack, zapotoblack, rekhablack," (Díaz 247), where the comparative "as black as..." is replaced by lexical compounds that express different semantic categories (Yoruba and Indian mythology, botany, film industry) that intermingle and thus artistically transform constitutive elements of the parts of speech.

Syntactic analysis applies to Spanglish, especially complemental or attributive constructions where similar bilingual socially determined jargons mix in one syntactic unit which foregrounds the historical linguistic journeying between the Caribbean and the North American cultural spaces: "...the truck held a *perico ripiao conjunto* fresh from playing at a wedding in Ocoa." (Díaz 150). The phrase stands for a merengue group, where "perico ripiao" is a type of merengue (i.e. ballroom dance) music originating in the Dominican Republic, characterized by hip and shoulder movements, and "conjunto" means a "dance band".

Intertextuality, as illustrated above, operates in a similar note with a wealth of Western, British and American, 1950s to 1980s popular culture, political, geographical and historical hypotextual² information. This strategy is most often applied by Díaz in his asides with the reader, leading to the ethical assessment of Rafael Trujillo's private life and regime as well as their impact on the Dominican population:

¹ This sentence concludes Díaz's slangy journey into the past of Hispaniola, the location of the present Dominican Republic: Anacaona, a.k.a. the Golden Flower. One of the Founding Mothers of the New World and the most beautiful Indian in the World. (The Mexicans might have their Malinche, but we Dominicans have our Anacaona.) Anacaona was the wife of Caonabo, one of the five caciques who ruled our Island at the time of the "Discovery." In his accounts, Bartolomé de las Casas described her as "a woman of great prudence and authority, very courtly and gracious in her manner of speaking and her gestures." Other witnesses put it more succinctly: the chick was hot and, it would turn out, warrior-brave." (Díaz 244, n29)

² My referential source here is Gerard Genette's *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, where he defines the *hypotext* in relation to the *hypertext*, a case of "second degree" text: "Hypertextuality refers to any relationship uniting a text B (which I shall call the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary...The *Aeneid* and *Ulysses* are...two hypertexts of the same hypotext: the *Odyssey*, of course." (Genette 5)

At first glance, he [Trujillo] was just your prototypical Latin American *caudillo*, but his power was terminal in ways that few historians or writers have ever truly captured or, I would argue, imagined. He was our Sauron¹, our Arawn², our Darkseid³... (Díaz 2)

Díaz uses popular culture and Welsh mythology (ironically) to make the readers relate to historical facts. J. R. R. Tolkien's and Marvel Comics Saurons as well as DC Comics' Darkseid overlap with the Welsh epic figure of Arawn - the king of the otherworld realm of Annwn, who has also been fictionalized by Lloyd Alexander in his *Chronicles of Prydain*.

As concerns character construction, one special case of *foregrounding* defamiliarization is represented by Oscar de León, alias Oscar Wao, a protagonist dedicated to "the Genres,"⁴ an extreme imaginary exemplification of nerdism as inadequacy to the world. The exceptional nature of the protagonist's existential journey from nerdism to martyrdom is intensely marked, linguistically and narratologically, as a skilful application of the *foregrounding* technique:

It seemed to Oscar that from the moment Maritza dumped him—Shazam!—his life started going down the tubes. Over the next couple of years he grew fatter and fatter. Early adolescence hit him especially hard, scrambling his face into nothing you could call cute, splotching his skin with zits, making him self-conscious; and his interest—in Genres!—which nobody had said boo about before, suddenly became synonymous with being a loser with a capital L. Couldn't make friends for the life of him, too dorky, too shy, and (if the kids from his neighborhood are to be believed) too weird (had a habit of using big words he had memorized only the day before). (Díaz 16 – 17)

The literary discourse colorfully composite lexical, grammatical, and intertextual substance *foregrounds* the weird, *dominant* historical and political referential

¹ Sauron is an evil character in J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*. He is a supervillain comic book character in Marvel Comics' universe. An enemy of the X-Men, Sauron is the alter ego of Karl Lykos, sharing a Jekyll and Hyde relationship with the physician. He is an energy vampire who resembles a humanoid Pteranodon after feeding. He often inhabits the hidden prehistoric jungle of the Savage Land.

² In Welsh mythology, Arawn was the king of the otherworld realm of Annwn. Arawn, is also Death-Lord, a fictional character in *The Chronicles of Prydain* by Lloyd Alexander. He is the main antagonist of the series and is based on the god of death in Welsh mythology of the same name.

³ Darkseid is a fictional villain character that appears in comic books published by DC Comics, one of the largest and most successful companies operating in the market for American comic books and related media. For more information on some of the comics characters Díaz includes in his novel text see Alastair Dougall and Dorling Kindersley, *The Marvel Comics Encyclopedia: The Definitive Guide to the Characters of the Marvel Universe.*, New York: DK Publishing, 2009.

⁴ The term, used by Díaz in his book, defines popular culture productions like comics, graphic novels and role-playing games intensely and extensively used and enjoyed by the protagonist.

component of the novel which presents the Trujillo¹ regime and the immediately post-Trujillo periods of Dominican history (1930 – 1961) in non-chronological, non-sequential and even double-decker overlapping narration. Eerie history, lingo, narrative structure, protagonist and plot constitute the *super-foregrounded* figure, and the *dominance* that promote the literariness of the novel.

As previously illustrated, the possible advantage of using Cognitive Poetics in the discussion of the cultural load of literary texts is proved in achieving analytic efficiency and precision. The linguistic critical strategy succinctly demonstrated here constitutes one component of the more comprehensive interdisciplinary cognitive analysis of the literary text, which includes other aspects like ethnic traditions, mentality, social, economic, philosophical and political specific features embedded in the artistic discourse.

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¹ Dictator Rafael Trujillo was born on October 24, 1891 in San Cristóbal, Dominican Republic. He became president of the Dominican Republic in 1930 through political maneuvering and torture. He officially held the office until 1938, when he chose a puppet predecessor. He resumed his official position from 1942 to 1952, but continued to rule by force until his assassination on May 30, 1961.

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“NO ONE HAS EVER SAID THAT IT IS TO BE EASY” METAPHORS OF NATURE AS METAPHORS OF LIFE IN ALISTAIR MACLEOD’S SHORT FICTION

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Abstract: By paraphrasing a memorable line of one of MacLeod's characters, this paper sets out to examine the various instances through which the sense of place manifests itself in the short prose works of this Canadian author, in an attempt to shed light upon the fine network of relationships between individual and environment, against the background of the broader cultural, historical and technological forces that shaped the existence of the Nova Scotia immigrant communities over the past two centuries.

Keywords: Nova Scotia, immigration, survival, nature, ecomorphism, intersections

1. The land where “resilient young spruce trees [...] scratch against the doors”

Within the gallery of critical efforts devoted to circumscribing the distinctive characteristics of Canadian literature, Margaret Atwood's *Survival* undoubtedly occupies a central position. Since 1972, the year of its first publication, Atwood's work has enjoyed a lot of attention among scholars worldwide and, despite the occasional criticism (received mainly on the basis of the author's broad generalisations, the relatively narrow segment of literature investigated and the heightened subjectivity of the discourse employed), it has managed to provide both the reader and the student of Canadian literature with a vision that still stands. By considering “survival” the driving force of Canadian fiction, Atwood has provided us with a valuable tool for deciphering a formerly neglected body of literature and, subsequently, for understanding it in its uniqueness.

One such author with whom the Atwoodian perspective may prove beneficial is Alistair MacLeod, one of the most acclaimed literary figures of the Nova Scotia province. A rather unprolific writer (author of two volumes of short stories, a novella and only one novel), MacLeod is the creator of a fictional world which convinces not so much through diversity as through the intensity of the characters' experiences and the weight of the beliefs they either stand for or are confronted with. Set against the backdrop of a world of *intersections* and *conflictual forces* (the maritime region of Cape Breton), where past and present, tradition and change, the forces of nature and those of civilisation all complete for a leading role in shaping human destinies, MacLeod's prose bespeaks a vision for which “survival” is at the same time a motive and an effect. It is a world in which, as the author himself has admitted, “things that happen in a generation always

affect the next generation” (Baer 335), where history is often “slippery” (in that knowledge of dates and facts fails to grant access to the minds of people experiencing various events) (Baer 337) and where the culture, traditions and language of one’s forefathers may turn out to be a “beautiful prison”.

MacLeod’s fictional geography is the realm of contending elements and, as such, a small-scale representation of much that is considered definingly Canadian. Starting from this assumption, the present paper sets out to examine a subset of MacLeod’s short stories (more precisely, those anthologised in his second volume, *As Birds Bring Forth the Sun*), in an effort to illustrate an application of the notion of “survival” as well as some essential points about the individual, community and environment, as formulated during the past two decades of ecocritical studies.

It is, however, not only MacLeod’s fictional geography that we believe justifies such an approach. Nova Scotia (and in particular Cape Breton Island) is in itself a concrete space of competing forces. Along its history, it has been reclaimed by various populations and cultures. Believed to be first inhabited in prehistoric times by the ancestors of the Mi’kmaq, it has witnessed an influx of ethnic groups ranging from the Portuguese (in the early 16th century), to French, English and Scottish colonists.¹ Amongst these, the Gaelic component is represents a central element of the region’s past and present. We can see it in the colours and the tartan patterns of the island’s flag, but also in the more recent measures concentrated upon the reintroduction of Gaelic as a subject taught in public schools (in part, justified by the increased promotion of tourism starting with the 1950’s). Additionally, toponyms like *Inverness* or *Cape Breton Highlands* are standing testimonies of the indelible connection between the region and the original homeland of a significant portion of its population.

With a view to these, adopting an ecocritical approach for our investigation, deferential to such key notions as *land*, *landscape*, *environment*, *coercive spaces* or *ecomorphism* and their interplay with several coterminous notions like *cultural inheritance*, *tradition*, *continuity*, *reminiscing*, or *fictionalising*, appears doubly justified. Therefore, we shall preface our reading of MacLeod’s fiction by a survey of a number of key-concepts employed in ecocriticism—some of which we will later exemplify by reference to relevant passages from the author’s oeuvre.

2. On nature and its understanding: theoretical considerations

Summarising the findings and observations of a plethora of other authors, Meisner (1995) suggests an essential distinction between two basic perspectives on nature, responsible for the essential set of images and concepts used in appreciating the notion both in practical situations and in the realm of literature. On the one hand,

¹ Among the landmark moments in Cape Breton’s history we may refer to the establishment of the “New Scotland” settlement at Port Royal, during the Anglo-French War of 1627-29, the first permanent Scottish settlement by Michael Mor MacDonald (at Judique, Cape Breton, 1775), the two mergers with Nova Scotia (1763-84 and 1820), or the massive wave of immigration from Scotland in the wake of the Highland Clearances (during the first half of the 19th century)

the Western subject looks at nature from an anthropocentric standpoint, exemplary of a general dualistic view on the world. Within this framework, nature is usually seen as a hierarchical structure, made up of both disparate and interconnected (yet, well individualised) elements—a repository to be explored and exploited by humans (i.e. a resourcist, reductionistic and reifying attitude towards nature). In contrast to these, the view propounded by most Oriental philosophies is ecocentric, egalitarian / non-domineering, illustrative of a universal holistic appreciation of the universe that neither recognises, nor promotes a dichotomy of the part-whole type. According to this understanding, nature is a relational, process-oriented whole, that can never be (or at least, should not be) appropriated as an external, foreign element, but merely experienced through a continually deferential relationship.

Commensurate with these characteristics, there are the *typical metaphors of nature*. Meisner’s summary (ibid.) points to some of the common images (or stereotypes) through which the Western mind has come to appreciate nature: as a “pyramid” with humans as the pinnacle of evolution, as the anthropomorphic (or sex-typed) image of the “woman” or the “mother”, as a “machine” or “mechanism” functioning by way of mathematically describable laws (sometimes, a “bio-computer”) or a compound of the humansphere and the elemental (as, for instance, in the image of “nature as a farm”). Once again, the Oriental imagery is antithetically opposed to these typical metaphors, as nature is described in this latter spiritual space through a series of non-reductionistic representations: as a “piece of music” / an “orchestra” (thereby revealing a sense of nature as a process of harmony in diversity), a “tree” (an entity where the individual parts belong to, and are justified only as components of a greater, changing and growing whole), as a “web of relations” or a “miraculous complex” (devoid of metaphorical content or potential and impervious to intrusions of subjectivity). Lastly, we may speak (though to a much lesser extent) of a mixed perspective (partly mechanistic-dualistic, partly ecocentric), whose typical repository of metaphors includes such elements as “home” / “home-sphere”, “living entity”, “container” or “partner”.¹

As our exemplification will try to prove at a later point, in MacLeod’s short stories the perspective is by and large a mixed one. Though essentially a product of the Western frame of mind, MacLeod allows for the intrusion and survival of a number of pagan elements, which will bring him closer to the ecocentric perspective. Before delving into such matters, we deem it necessary, however, to continue with further theoretical / terminological clarifications.

¹ Apparently, this latter set is purely holistic in characteristics, but upon closer inspection of any of the elements of the array, we can see the presence of a markedly dualistic component. For instance, describing nature as “home” is indicative, indeed, of a holistic, process-like understanding that gives precedence to collaboration over exploitation; on the other hand, it still regards nature as an object (either appropriated by humans solely for their own use, or specifically “constructed” for such a purpose), and thereby rooted in a reifying vision (as is the case of viewing nature as a “container”—thus as an object). Similarly, approaching nature as a “partner” allows for a process-like, collaborative (thus, non-resourcist) perspective, but it is still one that is rooted in an anthropocentric understanding and, by relating to nature as a form of “the other”, also a dualistic one.

One question arising in the wake of the above observations refers to the use of adequate terminology for the study of the relationship individual – community – nature. We propose in this sense a distinction between “*land*”, “*landscape*” and “*environment*”, from a triple viewpoint: the involvement of the human element, the dynamics of the engagement and the characteristics (as well as the typical manifestations) of the relationship.

Thus, regarding human involvement, an understanding of nature as “land” or “a land” is conducive to appropriation and practical use of it (essentially, what the resourcist perspective stands for). The engagement in this case is an active one, motivated by the pragmatic finality of the act. In this scheme, “disruption”, “severance” and “distancing” (as forms of non-identification) are the main characteristics of the relationship, precluding any true communion with nature. At best, when it is not our enemy, nature is a wilderness to be tamed and subdued. At worst, it is merely a thing to be exploited, to be made one’s own. Robert Frost captures this view perfectly in “The Gift Outright”:

The land was ours before we were the land's.
She was our land more than a hundred years
Before we were her people. (348)

By contrast with this first view, relating to nature as “landscape” involves, above all, contemplation and aesthetic valuation. In this framework, the perspective is essentially passive (if there is active engagement it is not with nature *per se*, but with nature as material for representation—that is, with an already reified element). The relational markers are in this case “detachment” and “artistic transformation”.

Lastly, nature understood as “environment” implies a mixed perspective, at once active and passive. For one thing, the environment is something we are surrounded by (as the etymology of the word suggests), a space that we move in, live in, and in which we perform our activities. Of the aforementioned metaphors, “container” or “home” would be closest to this understanding (thus, we can already see the mixed perspective underpinning the implications of the term). For another thing though, while “contiguity” and “integration” could be considered the typical relational markers of this view, it does allow in part for some degree of reification: after all, being surrounded by something does not necessarily mean being one with it, despite the engagement, cooperation and harmonious co-habitation lying at the foundations of the relationship. As a result, this space may frequently be contemplated and transformed through art, myth-making or spiritual practices, without changing our position as occupants of the space itself).

These last remarks bring us to the question of *interaction in* and *with nature*. Wittbecker (1998) identifies in this sense three possible forms of interaction: *exploitation*, or the limited and regulated use of parts of the environment almost exclusively for purposes of sustenance and survival (perpetuation of the species), *disturbance*, or the unpredictable (though usually natural) change affecting an ecosystem and, finally, *interference*—the large-scale or novel, momentous

disturbances which interfere with ecosystem processes, often to the extent that either an entire ecosystem or a significant part of it is destroyed or irrevocably damaged and resulting, in the most severe cases, in the extinction of whole species. Needless to say, a holistic understanding of nature and a relationship based on co-habitation could never lead to such disastrous effects.

In effect, the two above-enumerated major relational frameworks (i.e., dualistic vs. holistic) can be understood not only as an example of the dichotomy between Western and Eastern spirituality, but also as two distinct evolutionary stages of the former. Such a manner of approaching the problem would, after all, be much more justified when tackling the work of a writer like MacLeod, who is culturally indebted to Western mindset. In this context, we may argue for an essential difference between archaic and modern societies with regard to understanding nature (and the subsequent cultural / metaphorical representations of it). Malette (2012) assigns this to the shift of paradigms / different ontological doctrines, starting with ancient Greek philosophy and science and going through Christianity. Concretely, the author argues, a first rift appeared between paganism and Greek thought. While for the former matter is seen as eternal and not created (thereby contradicting the central tenet of most monotheistic religions), with the ancient Greeks the Logos already rises above contingencies and only the rational part of the soul is eternal, which is conducive to an already dualistic perspective (though, essentially, still an integrative one, since the Greek gods created the world from inside, not outside material) (125-130). With the overwhelming success of Christianity in the Western space, the dualistic and anthropocentric conception of nature eventually prevailed, marking a complete move from the integrative toward the externalist ontological perspective, encompassed between such extremes as the “corruptible” or “corrupted” nature and the “idyllic” or “idealised” portrayal of it. To counteract this, the author goes on, we should work toward the elaboration and imposition of a new paradigm, one which builds on the notion of “relational ontologies” and advocates a view of nature as “an active field of infinite relationships”, a “responsive and dynamic web of infinite relations in sync with the activities of our consciousness” (151). The adoption of such a new paradigm should necessarily be accompanied by the re-evaluation of our linguistic resources –including our metaphors of nature. As Wittbecker explains, this is a mandatory part of the reform, as the metaphors used for describing nature (and for describing our relationship with it) have an undeniable ontological value:

the problems of ignorance and inappropriate images are multicultural, ecological and cosmological, and must be solved on those levels; the entire activity of culture is guided by metaphors. [...] A metaphor furnishes a label and emphasizes similarities. It not only defines and extends new meanings, but redescribes domains seen already through one metaphoric space. (8)

3. Alistair MacLeod and the ecocentric understanding of nature and life: a reading exercise

If we return now to some of MacLeod's confessions regarding his view on history, individual, community and the environment, as exposed in the previously cited interview (Baer, 2005) we may formulate a number of preliminary remarks to guide our interpretive effort.

Firstly, by claiming that "the things that happen in a generation always affect the next generation" (335), MacLeod admits that there is a continuum between past and present—with possible implications for the future too. This is complemented by his view of history not as a static construct, but as an elusive characteristic of all human communities—as much a mental and subjective entity as a factual one (337). The relationship between the individual and his birthplace further supports this dynamic perspective, as when he acknowledges that removal from one's original environment impacts on one's sense of it (but can never exactly lead to a complete severance from it):

I do think it's true that sometimes when you are removed from your home, you start to think about it differently, which certainly happened to me. So I decided to write my own stories and set them in my native landscape. (338)

Finally, with MacLeod, language itself is a space of polarisation. On the one hand, by recognising that the language of one's ancestors (in this case, Gaelic) is frequently no more than a "beautiful prison", he testifies to the coercive force of traditions and culture (i.e., the pre-existing natural conditions). On the other, his insistence on the power of the vernacular, of the ineffable and elusive ("I like to think I am telling a story, rather than writing it", Baer 336-37) is indicative of an underlying ecomorphic view on life that attests to the transformative energies lying hidden behind the walls of such "prisons". In fact, as we find out from the character in one of his earlier texts ("The Road to Rankin's Point"), MacLeod views life as a nexus of forces, often indifferent or insensitive to the fate of the individual, which nonetheless is (or at least should be) *experienced organically*: "No one said that life is to be easy. Only that it is to be lived" (*The Lost Salt Gift* 150).

In light of these, we may claim that the underlying characteristic of MacLeod's fictional spaces is *ambivalence* (or the coexistence and commingling of incompatible, conflictual elements). In the following, we propose an examination of this with regard to three thematic areas of constant presence in author's short stories: (i) humans in their environment, (ii) the question of "clannishness", tradition and culture and (iii) language as a metaphorical space.¹

¹ This division has been chosen solely for the purposes of the present argumentation. In effect, MacLeod's short stories are much more diversified thematically. Among the major recurring themes we may enumerate the following: departures and returns ("The Closing Down of Summer", "The Return", "The Boat", "The Last Salt Gift of Blood", "Clearances"), memory and remembrances

Regarding the first of these, a thing to note is that many of titles of MacLeod’s short stories are evocative of *moments of transition*—the end of summer, the onset of winter, early spring (“The Closing Down of Summer”, “As Birds Bring Forth the Sun”, “Winter Dog”, “Second Spring”). This, we may argue, is not accidental, as in fact *intersections* and *contacts*—both in the literal sense (such as between people or their paths, spatial encroachments or temporal overlaps) and in the metaphorical one (for instance, the merging of reality and myth, or of memory and perception)—are of seminal importance for this Canadian writer. As one of the characters in “Vision” states: “Sometimes there are things within us which we do not know or fully understand and sometimes it is hard to stamp out what you can’t see.” (*As Birds Bring Forth* 150). With MacLeod, the merger of the natural and the man-made is usually not smooth and subtle, like a delicate gesture part of a natural flow, but violent and abrupt, as in “The Closing Down of Summer”, where the narrator is confronted with “resilient spruce trees [that] scrape against the mufflers and oilpans of [...] cars and scratch against the doors” (*As Birds Bring Forth* 11). The result of such intersections is twofold. On the one hand, *isomorphism* becomes a key characteristic of MacLeod’s fictional geography: people take on the characteristics of their environment—they are hardened like the soil of their workplace or change colour to replicate the features of their dwelling places (“The Closing Down of Summer”, “Vision”). On the other, the “dwelling in the realm of fluctuating weather and fickle seasons and aggressive insects and indifferent soil” (*As Birds Bring Forth* 68) forces humans to respond to the pressures of nature with a commensurate effort, expanding their own vital places and, in the effort to achieve this, mimicking the physical characteristics and behaviour of the objects that serve as their tools, as in “The Closing Down of Summer”:

[w]e are always moving downward or inward or forward or in the driving of our raise even upward. We are big men engaged in perhaps the most violent of occupations and we have chosen as our adversary walls and faces of massive stone. It is as if the stone of the spherical earth has challenged us to move its weight and find its treasure and we have accepted the challenge and responded with drill and steel and powder and strength and all our ingenuity. [...] We have sentenced ourselves to enclosures so that we might taste the giddy joy of breaking through. Always hopeful of breaking through though we know we never will break free.” (*As Birds Bring Forth* 25)

It seems, for them, that they have exchanged the possibility of being fallen upon for that of falling itself. And that after years of dodging and fearing falling objects from above, they have become such potential objects themselves. (*As Birds Bring Forth* 27)

(“Winter Dog”, “To Every Thing There Is a Season”, “The Tuning of Perfection”, “As Birds Bring Forth the Sun”, “Vision”), tradition and clannishness (“The Closing Down of Summer”, “Clearances”, “The Tuning of Perfection”, “As Birds Bring Forth the Sun”), bonding and companionship (“The Closing Down of Summer”, “Winter Dog”, “As Birds Bring Forth the Sun”), the death of language (“The Closing Down of Summer”, “The Tuning of Perfection”, “The Road to Rankin’s Point”), growth and initiation (“To Every Thing There Is a Season”, “Second Spring”, “Vision”) or the twining of myth and reality (“As Birds Bring Forth the Sun”, “Vision”).

At other times, *replication* (sometimes dedoubling) might be the signal of the most intense (though usually subliminal) moments of one's existence, which are later recognised as turning points in one's destiny or spiritual development (the case, for example, of the twin dogs in "Vision", appearing right after the twin brothers' encounter with a blind woman—an experience leading to the revelation of some essential truth about their ancestors).

We may argue in fact that the contiguity between people and their environment has the benefit of further supporting the ecocentric view by making it impossible for humans to objectify their vital medium into a landscape, as an effect of the characteristically Western "aestheticising gaze" (Omhovère 55).

In addition to mimicking and replication, the extension of the humans into their environment is sometimes achieved through non-human agencies—typically, through dogs, which become "tokens of permanence" (Omhovère 55). When this process goes beyond the bounds of physicality and becomes expressive of our myth-making drives, the effect achieved is the opposite: distension, increased ambiguity, the making invisible of the visible, the creation of "grey-areas":

The *cù mòr glas* and her six young dogs were seen again, or perhaps I should say they were never seen again in the same way. [...] Seen on a hill in one region or silhouetted on a ridge in another or loping across the valleys or glens in the early morning or shadowy evening. *Always in the area of the half-perceived*. For a while she became *rather like the Loch Ness Monster or the Sasquatch on a smaller scale*. Seen but not recorded. Seen when there were no cameras. Seen but never taken. (*As Birds Bring Forth* 123)

In the deaths of each generation, the grey dog was seen by some – by women who were to die in childbirth; by soldiers who went forth to the many wars but did not return; by those who went forth to feuds or dangerous love affairs; by those who answered mysterious midnight messages; by those who swerved on the highway to avoid the real or imagined grey dog and ended in masses of crumpled steel (*As Birds Bring Forth* 125)

This, we may argue, is conducive to another form of "extension": once the limits imposed by physicality have been surpassed, "the regional" can be made "coterminous with the universal" (Omhovère 50).

"Intersections" in their various manifestations (interactions, encroachments, disturbances, interferences) can also be seen in MacLeod's treatment of *community* and *the communal*. Maser (1998) has identified a number of essential characteristics of "community". Firstly, a community is a *space of interactions* (between the members of the group, between the group and the world outside and between the whole and the environment. Secondly, any community is indicative of a *reciprocal relationship* between people and their places. Thirdly, *trust* in the predictability and the degree of impact of both external and internal forces functions as a regulating agency for any community. As a result, a community can

extend beyond the local, but it can only do so metaphorically. Given this, strong disturbances and interferences (for example, migrations) may shatter the trust in the continuity of the community and, when this “cohesive glue of trust” is lost, the community dissolves, losing its identity in the face of “visionless competition” from inside or outside.

These characteristics are perfectly illustrated in MacLeod’s short stories. In his fictional communities, potential fatal disturbances are prevented by the constant human effort to keep the environment at bay. Thus, whenever necessary, people intervene in the breeding cycles of animals, controlling excessive reproduction and growth, regulating unfair competition, sacrificing the unruly, the weak or the aggressive elements. Sometimes, co-participation in nature’s cycle of growth and reproduction may also have an initiatory and symbolic value:

[p]erhaps *there was also the feeling in the community that he was getting more than his share of breeding*: that he travelled farther than other dogs on his nightly forays and that he fought off and injured the other smaller dogs who might compete with him for female favours. Perhaps there was fear that his dominance and undesirable characteristics did not bode well for future generations. (*As Birds Bring Forth* 48-49, emphasis added)

The selection of those who would remain and those who would 'go' was always a tight and careful process. Like *shrewd or thoughtful managers of athletic teams preparing their lists of protected players*, we would go over the strengths and weaknesses of each individual. (*As Birds Bring Forth* 65, emphasis added)

Analogically, excess is treated with suspicion within the boundaries of the communities themselves: “who knows who might be descended” from those possessing “too much nature”, the narrator of “Vision” admits (*As Birds Bring Forth* 156-57). In many cases though, when strong bonds have already been established between such “misfits” and humans, they trans-substantiate after death into mental imagery (the source of recollections or the seeds of myth) and they are preserved through language, as the dog in “Second Spring” which “persists in [...] memory and in [...] life and [...] physically as well”, despite having been around only for a short while (*As Birds Bring Forth* 49), or the Santa Claus of “To Every Thing There Is a Season”, eventually revealed to children as a mere fabrication but who still “leaves good things behind” (*As Birds Bring Forth* 57).

In fact, isomorphism / ecocentrism can also be seen in the mimicking of human behaviour by non-humans. In MacLeod’s prose, animals become clannish themselves, as is the case of the dogs in “As Birds Bring Forth...”, where the unruly youth are driven away by their elders, once they have violated the sacred code of bonding and allegiance. In effect, the opposite may also be true: in moments of anguish and isolation humans turn atavistic, subconsciously imitating animal behaviour (the boys in the same story who have come after their father’s mangled body and are forced to “huddle” beside it in a manner mirroring the movements of the ferocious dogs themselves).

MacLeod's treatment of tradition and inheritance largely follows the same logic as his approach to the aforementioned aspects, falling under the same light-cone of ambivalence. Clinging to tradition, as is the case of the protagonist of "The Tuning of Perfection" who contemplates "the impossibility of trimming [his] songs and of changing them (*As Birds Bring Forth* 111), leads to displacement, rejection and isolation, proving that tradition itself may have a dubious, rather than straightforward place in today's communities (Byrne, 2008). Metaphorically, "unilingualism" (another form of rigidity) becomes synonymous with "entrapment" or "entrenchment" (Omhovère 56), a form of "rooting" that leaves no possibility for development ("The Closing Down of Summer", "Clearances"):

They will not go to Africa for Renco Development because *they are imprisoned in the depths of their language*. And because they speak no English, they will not move out of Quebec or out of northern or north-eastern Ontario (*As Birds Bring Forth* 26, emphasis added)

Displacement / entrapment may also be conducive to humans' becoming increasingly more insular themselves, to the extent they get reduced to mere names. Such is the case of Archibald in "The Tuning of Perfection", who "in the end seemed neither husband nor brother nor even father but only 'Archibald'" (*As Birds Bring Forth* 92). In this fashion, metaphorical boundaries are set up in order to protect the community from the estranged individual, now become a potential threat, no longer to be trusted. In fact, being a liminal space situated at the intersection of land and ocean, the island becomes a site of exchanges, and so MacLeod's stories abound in inter-regional and intra-regional "pilgrimages". With children and young adults they frequently function as initiatory journeys; with their elders they are recuperatory acts meant to bring to surface some denied memory or to heal hidden wounds of the past.

Eventually, the same ambivalence becomes a marker of language itself—in its turn set between the antipodes of permanence and change. The typical linguistic strategies to signal these antipodes are repetition / reinforcement, respectively, translation. Repetition—of a song or refrain, as in "The Tuning of Perfection", a set phrase or even a name, as in "As Birds Bring Forth the Sun"—is a defence mechanism against transience, as well as a means to maintain trust within the community ("signifiers whose musicality moves speaker and listener alike, hemming them in the voicing of territory"—Omhovère 53). On the other hand, translation—in its turn ambivalent, as it involves both "preservation" of material and its "transformation"—may be regarded as the metaphorical counterpart of "migration". It ensures the cultural survival of the community, just as cross-breeding of animals dilutes the genetic, thereby avoiding bastardisation. Translation may also be viewed as "the overarching analogy on which all narratorial attempts to convey the bond between characters and the land proceed" (Omhovère 58).

“NO ONE HAS EVER SAID THAT IT IS TO BE EASY”

The way language functions in MacLeod’s stories further illustrates at least a significantly ecocentric and ecomorphic perspective. For one thing, exposure to the vernacular and to narratives is often so intense that it is perceived to have lasting physical consequences (“Vision”). At other times though, language is seen as an extension of the individual, a tool to mould the world into shape, even a means to domesticate it.

After a while they begin to sing in Gaelic, singing almost unconsciously the old words that are so worn and so familiar. *They seem to handle them almost as they would familiar tools.* (*As Birds Bring Forth* 30, emphasis added)

On a deeper level, this may also represent a compensatory act, given that on many occasions the “system” and “norms” of language are often felt as being too restrictive for the individual. Consequent on this, the characters struggle to find the right words to express themselves (“The Closing Down of Summer”):

“I would like to tell my wife and children something of the way my years pass by on route to my inevitable death. I would like to explain somehow what it is like to be a gladiator who fights always the impassiveness of water as it drips on darkened stone. (*As Birds Bring Forth* 22, emphasis added)

There is yet another example of ecocentrism in MacLeod’s fiction, associated with the act of story-telling, seen by the writer as indispensable for the survival of communities. The stories to which MacLeod’s characters are exposed emerge, in their turn, as living entities. This is made possible by the role played by humans, who, the writer suggests, are not only the safe-keepers of tradition—rather, they infuse the stories with new energies, ensuring that the old tales will beget new generations of narratives:

This has been the telling of a story about a story but like most stories it has spun off into others and relied on others and perhaps no story ever really stands alone. (*As Birds Bring Forth* 166)

4. Concluding remarks: environment, people, and language— MacLeod’s mixed perspective

In summation, based on the above examples and observations, we may say that the vision underlying MacLeod’s short stories is at the intersection of two distinct understandings of nature and of their corresponding “metaphors”. Without programmatically adhering to either the dualistic or the holistic perspective, in his fictional space MacLeod combines two distinctive sets of coordinates along which the relationship humans – environment unfolds.

On the one hand, his vision is ecocentric, respectful, process-oriented and relational. There is no clear separation between part and whole. Humans are deferential to the forces of nature, being informed that excess may lead to

corruption. There is a continuous exchange between inner and outer realities by means of numerous intersections and transformations, taking place both in the realm of the physical and of the spiritual, and there is also awareness that small scale disturbances may at any point be replicated on higher levels.

On the other hand, his view of nature remains to a large extent resourceist, hierarchical and reifying. MacLeod's maritime communities exploit nature for the sake of subsistence, just as they feed on the past for reasons of cultural survival. In addition, hierarchy is the foundation of both human communities and the animal world, as clannishness describes and regulates almost all of their activities. Finally, the environment is often not just a "container" or "home" but a "landscape" to be contemplated and put to good use, simultaneously as a repository of myths and as the target itself of the myth-making processes.

In other words, MacLeod's fictional space is polarised between the extremes of "rooting" / "stability" and "growth" / "corruption". As Vaughn (2008) aptly observes, his short stories "embody the essential inquiry: *who am I / in relation to you, my family, my group, my cultural history?*" (113-14, emphasis added) Their merit, however, does not stop here. In effect, we may notice at this point one last example of ambivalence. By asking the above question, MacLeod apparently falls out of the defining parameters and preoccupations of Canadian literature. These, as Atwood observed in the same *Survival* should be guided not so much by the questioning of one's own position in relation to others as by answering another central question, "where is here?" And yet, it is precisely by addressing the identity question that MacLeod's short stories become quintessentially Canadian (that is, within the Atwoodian framework). For, as Vaughn explains, questioning the individual's position is the necessary springboard for reviewing the broader spaces around the individual and—we may add—for laying the foundations of a genuinely relational and ecomorphic perspective:

MacLeod's stories catalyze and invite our own stories, *weaving an endless chain link or Celtic knot of narrative. Everything is locational and about locating*, so that in turn we may be compelled to ask in response to MacLeod's narrators .and—who am I then?, and perhaps urged to tell. Like the narrator in—*Vision*, we must go on to tell. [...] One of the most valuable gifts or uses of these stories, then, is their passing on of the insight that, as narrative constitutes identity, *we can revision ourselves as we seek and speak truth through telling*, embodying within ourselves both the tiller and the trader of cultures, actively seeking and listening to each other's stories as *the basis for revisioning culture.*" (111, emphasis added)

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SOME NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION OF NOUN CLUSTERS FROM ENGLISH INTO ROMANIAN

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Abstract: This article presents some ideas related to the translation of large nominal phrases, referred to as *noun clusters*, from English into Romanian. The main idea is that English noun clusters have certain characteristics, which the Romanian translator should take into account when translating them. These characteristics can be analyzed from several perspectives: linguistic, pragmatic, sociocultural. The article suggests that the translation of noun clusters from English into Romanian can be done in two ways: one which reproduces literally the form of the English noun clusters and can therefore be called *literal*, and another one which pays more attention to the norms and expectations of Romanian and can therefore be called *free*. It should also be noted that all the noun clusters analyzed in the article come from the text genre called *instruction manuals*.

Keywords: noun clusters, large nominal phrases, large noun phrases, technical translation, user manuals, instruction manuals.

1. Introduction

This article addresses the issue of English noun clusters and their translation into Romanian. It is based on my PhD thesis, entitled “Dynamics of meaning in specialized translation: A case study of noun clusters” and already successfully defended in July 2013. The issue dealt with in this article is *noun clusters*, defined as groups or strings of words, most of which are nouns, which appear in specialized linguistic contexts. The notion is borrowed from other scholars. Matthews and Matthews, for example, speak about the ability of nouns “to modify or describe” other nouns, the result of which is noun clusters, i.e. “several modifiers stacked up in front of a noun”, a phenomenon which may add “variety and flexibility to writing” or, on the contrary, may take the reader on a semantic journey where he “becomes lost” (121-122). Tredinnick also, while discussing functional writing, says about it that it “focuses on processes; it abstracts then it nominalizes things that people do; and then it leaves the people out”, which “results, among other things, in noun clusters” (133). Tredinnick’s opinion of noun clusters is decidedly not a good one, as he considers them “horrible to behold and hard to unravel” (133).

It should also be mentioned that the linguistic phenomenon referred to by the term “noun cluster” has several other names: complex nominal, nominal compound, noun adjunct, long noun phrase, compound nominal, complex noun phrase, etc. There is no agreed upon terminology. Of all the terms available on the linguistic market I decided on *noun cluster*, because, in my opinion, this term is the

most fortunate expression of the phenomenon. It is a compact term, just like the linguistic reality it refers to. Its two elements suggest the characteristics of these expressions: the fact that they are mostly made of nouns, and the fact that these nouns are grouped into clusters. But perhaps the most important element in my decision to use the term “noun cluster” instead of other terms is a pragmatic one: I prefer “noun cluster” because the others are just extensions of basic grammatical notions like *phrase*, *nominal*, *compound*. The term “noun cluster” stands on its own, and its use emphasizes the fact that it expresses a special kind of nominalization, one that occurs only in specialized contexts. Although noun clusters are essentially a kind of noun phrases, their many special characteristics – syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic – give them the right of having a name of their own, which says about them that they are more than just a kind of noun phrases.

Furthermore, although noun clusters appear in various kinds of specialized fields and genres, this article deals only with those noun clusters that appear in *instruction manuals*, a term into whose sphere I include any kind of technical or user documentation, from the smallest to the largest. But because the structure and characteristics of noun clusters are the same, wherever they are found, the analysis carried out here applies more or less to the whole category of noun clusters.

2. Analysis

As noun clusters are a major issue in the translation of instruction manuals, and in specialized translation in general, a translator should know how to go about translating them. As stated in my doctoral thesis (Movileanu 2013b), noun clusters appear in two types of contexts in instruction manuals: sketchy items, including lists, tables, captions, illustrations, titles, etc., and normal paragraphs. It has also been shown there that English noun clusters are translated into Romanian in two ways:

- a more literal way, which results in Romanian noun clusters very similar in form and wording to the English clusters;
- a freer way, which results in Romanian translations less similar to their English counterparts but more respectful of the norms of Romanian.

I will now take several English noun clusters and analyze them and their possible translations into Romanian. The English noun clusters are the following:

- a. public low-voltage power supply network
- b. distribution system ball valve
- c. pump controller operation LAN/Local control
- d. vacuum plant exhaust discharge
- e. check valve, regeneration/cooling air, tower A (Movileanu 2013a)

a. The first noun cluster is “public low-voltage power supply network”. It contains 6 words, of which 4 nouns and 2 adjectives. It also has a compound adjectival form including the adjective “low” and the noun “voltage”. To understand this cluster, as for the understanding of any nominal form in English, one needs to start the

interpreting process at the end of the cluster, the last word of which is the head. Then moving progressively towards the left of the cluster, one adds modifiers to the meaning of the cluster. It is also important to identify the specialized linguistic expressions, namely terms and collocations, which always appear in such clusters.

This cluster, for instance, refers to a public network which supplies low-voltage power to, unnamed in the cluster but implicit, consumers. It includes two terms: “low voltage” and “power supply”. In this form, the cluster can appear either in a sketchy item or in a paragraph.

Its translation into Romanian can be done in two ways. A literal translation would sound like this: “rețea publică voltaj redus”. This would be a somewhat freer translation: “rețea publică de voltaj redus”. Notice the appearance in Romanian of the preposition “de” (English *of*), whose English equivalent doesn’t appear in the English cluster. Other than that, however, there aren’t other differences between the structure and form of the English cluster and that of the Romanian translation. In this case, a literal translation and a free translation of the cluster are very similar.

b. The second noun cluster is “distribution system ball valve”. It has 4 words, all of which are nouns. Like the previous cluster, it can also appear in a sketchy item or in a paragraph. Literally translated into Romanian, it would sound like this: “robinet bilă sistem distribuție”. A freer translation into Romanian would be “robinetul cu bilă al sistemului de distribuție”. Notice the differences between the literal translation and the free translation. The literal translation has 4 words, which is the same as the English original. The free translation has 7 words. The noun “robinet” (valve), which is the head of the cluster, has no article in the literal translation, whereas it has the definite article in the free translation. The literal translation, like the English original, has no prepositions. In the free translation 2 prepositions appear: “cu” (with), “de” (of). The literal translation, like the English original, has no markers of case, whereas these appear in the free translation, where we can find the article “al” and the suffix “lui” for the noun “sistem”, marking the genitive case.

It should also be noted that the English cluster includes a term, “ball valve”, whose Romanian equivalent is also found in both Romanian translations.

c. Another noun cluster is “pump controller operation LAN/Local control”, which has 6 words, of which 4 nouns, an adjective, and an abbreviation. In addition to the previous clusters, but occasionally seen in noun clusters, this cluster also has a slash mark, which is used as an equivalent of the disjunctive “or”. This occasionally happens in noun clusters because of the tendency towards abbreviation.

This noun cluster is about two different types of control, LAN control and Local control, that can be used in the operation of a pump controller. There are 4 terms, “pump”, “controller”, “LAN control”, “Local control”, in this cluster, two of which are given as options that exclude one another.

A literal translation of this cluster would be “control LAN/local operare controler pompă”. Again, it is very similar in form and structure to the English original. It also has 6 words, it also includes the slash mark, it also lacks any prepositions or other syntactic markers. The only thing changed is the word order, but this is a natural fact when translating from one language to another. If the literal translations of the previous two clusters were still quite comprehensible for an average audience, this literal translation becomes quite hard to grasp because of the higher number of elements (6), to which we can add the slash mark, which can be considered a sort of lexical item. There are also many nouns in this cluster, 4 (5, if including the abbreviation) and many terms (4), which increase the degree of abstraction and thus make it more difficult to understand the cluster correctly. The Romanian literal translation is as difficult to comprehend as the English original and perhaps even more so because, whereas the characteristics of English syntax make such constructions close to ordinary, they are quite out of the ordinary for an average Romanian audience, who would expect things like prepositions and articles in such a construction. When a Romanian native hears or sees a construction such as “control LAN/local operare controler pompă”, he will probably think that the writer responsible for it was in a really bad shape, linguistically speaking, when he wrote it. Alternatively, he might think that it is a new type of language, a type that is used only by experts in specialized settings. However, writers of instruction manuals should not strive to elicit this type of attitudes from their readers.

A free translation of this cluster could go like this: “funcționarea controlerelor de pompă, control LAN/Local”. As compared to the free translations of the previous clusters, this is a much freer translation. To fight the feeling of obscurity that comes from the literal translation, some changes are made to make the cluster more understandable. The word order is changed so that the cluster is divided into 2 groups, “funcționarea controlerelor de pompă” and “control LAN/Local”, separated by a comma. “Operare” has been replaced by “funcționarea”, which incorporates the definite article, the singular, unmarked “controler” leaves place to the plural, marked for genitive “controlerelor”, in a move from abstract to concrete language. The preposition “de” also appears in the translation, making explicit a component-component relation that remains implicit in the literal translation. This free translation is obviously easier to understand for an average reader, as it groups in a convenient manner the meaning of cluster, namely the fact that it refers to the operation of controller pumps and this operation has two types of control.

The abbreviated, highly compact form of this cluster makes it very likely that it was originally used in a sketchy item, probably a list or a table, in which such abbreviation is often necessary.

d. Another noun cluster is “vacuum plant exhaust discharge”. It has 4 words, all of which are nouns. It is also a combination of terms: “vacuum plant”, “exhaust discharge”. The main thing in interpreting this cluster is to recognize the terms. If

the reader recognizes the terms, the meaning of the cluster can be readily understood. If the reader doesn't recognize the terms, he is left to struggle with the possible combinations between the elements.

A literal translation of this cluster would be "evacuare eşapament stație vacuum". 4 Romanian words correspond to 4 English words. There is a one-to-one relationship between the elements of the English cluster and those of the Romanian translation. No other elements appear in the translation.

A less literal translation of this cluster would be "sistemul de evacuare al stației de vacuum". Notice the appearance of the abstract noun "sistem", which replaces the somewhat redundant expression "evacuare eşapament" and makes it clearer that we are dealing with a system of discharging some fluid. The noun "sistem" is joined by the definite article, two prepositions appear now in the translation and the noun "stație" is marked for genitive by the article "al" and the suffix "i". This translation makes clearer the relations between the elements.

e. The last noun cluster analyzed is "check valve, regeneration/cooling air, tower A". It has 7 words, the letter A included: 5 nouns, the letter A, which can be considered a nominal form, and 1 adjective (cooling). It contains 4 terms, "check valve", "regeneration air", "cooling air", "tower". Like one of the previous clusters, it also has a slash mark, giving the possibility of choice between "regeneration air" and "cooling air". Unlike all other previous clusters, it also has 2 commas. Apart from the slash marks, other punctuation marks do not appear very often in noun clusters. Commas were probably used here as a means of fighting the semantic difficulties that a cluster of this size raises in interpretation. The syntactic capacity of English to form noun phrases is not sufficient in this case, a fact indicated by the three punctuation marks used in this cluster, which have the role of setting boundaries between the various elements of the cluster and therefore of pointing out how to understand its meaning. This cluster is about 3 things: a check valve, which is a special kind of valve, air that can be used for either regenerating or cooling, and a tower that, in relation to other towers, is distinguished by the letter A.

A literal translation of this cluster is "supapă reținere, aer regenerare/răcire, turn A". The quantitative equivalence is retained, the form and structure are the same, punctuation marks are replicated. One difference is that, to the English adjective "cooling", there corresponds the Romanian noun "răcire". The Romanian translation has therefore 6 nouns and a semi-noun (letter A). The clusterized character of this construction is perhaps more powerful in Romanian than it is in English. No additions and no changes that the author might consider unnecessary are made to the cluster. The spirit of the English cluster is perfectly transposed in Romanian.

A free translation of this cluster could be "supapă de reținere pentru aerul de regenerare/răcire, turnul A". The same kind of phenomena that were seen in the translation of the previous clusters can be seen here as well. Two "de" prepositions are introduced to romanize the terms. "Supapă reținere", "aer regenerare" sound

less Romanian than “supapă de reținere”, “aer de regenerare”. The preposition “pentru” (English *for*) is used to replace the first comma in the English cluster, in order to make the meaning clearer: the preposition shows that the “supapa de reținere” is meant for the “aerul de regenerare/răcire”. The use of the preposition signals therefore an act of explicitation, a frequently used translation method in less literal types of translation (see Vinay and Darbelnet). The noun “turn”, to which the definite article is added, becomes “turnul” in this translation. The use of the definite article here makes it clearer that this noun refers to a specific tower, in relation to other towers, which bears the cryptic name A.

3. Conclusions

The difference between the literal and the free translation of English noun clusters is relative. For someone not used to specialized translation, or for someone used to how the distinction between literal and free is drawn in literary translation, the differences analyzed in this article might seem trivial. What is important, however, is to be aware of the perspective. From the perspective of specialized translation, it is the seemingly small differences that can make a difference.

English noun clusters can be translated into Romanian in two ways, literally and freely. The differences between these two methods are in the use of prepositions, noun case, articles, lexical choice, word order. Perhaps the most obvious difference concerns the introduction of Romanian prepositions in the free translations. Without prepositions, literal translations have an alien, Anglo-Saxon ring to them. Along the same lines, the introduction of case suffixes for the genitive and genitival articles in Romanian is another clear difference between literal and free translations. Also, at a more complex level, free translations entail more radical changes in the choice and in the order of words used in the cluster.

These differences between literal and free translations can be accounted for by the dialectics between implicitness and explicitness, between compaction and clarification, between wanting to retain the English specialized feel of the original and wanting to normalize its look and feel according to Romanian norms.

Literal translations into Romanian of English noun clusters retain the implicitness of the English originals. The word order is the only indication of how to associate the words. In this view, a reader must read between the lines and provide for himself the missing elements, which are words that are implied by the cluster but do not physically appear in the cluster. Semantic relations are expressed in English noun clusters and in their literal Romanian equivalents in a schematic manner. Free translations take some of these missing elements from underground and expose them to light. When a preposition “de” (of) is used between, say, “supapă” and “reținere”, the Romanian reader is spared the mental effort of realizing that the relation between the two words is one of function, the *supapa* is used for *reținere*, which is expressed implicitly in the literal translation. When the genitive is used in “robinetul sistemului”, as opposed to the mere juxtaposition “robinet sistem”, the Romanian reader is spared the mental effort of realizing that

robinetul is a part of the *system*, which is implied in the literal translation. When the translator chooses to rephrase the literal “operare controler” as the more innovative “funcționarea controlerelor”, a rephrasing that requires changes in the choice, order, and function of words used, the Romanian reader is spared the effort of realizing that the phrase is referring to the way controllers are operated.

Closely related to explicitness is clarification. Generally speaking, implicit things are less clear than explicit things. It is the same with Romanian translations of English noun clusters. Literal translations, which are based on a high degree of implicitness, are not as clear for the average Romanian reader as free translations are. All the above-mentioned differences between the two kinds of translation not only bring to surface elements and relations which are originally kept hidden but also, by the same action, clarify these relations and therefore facilitate the job of the reader. “Supapă de reținere” is clearer than “supapă reținere”, “robinetul sistemului” is clearer than “robinet sistem”, “funcționarea controlerelor” is clearer than “operare controler”.

Finally, the differences between literal and free translations of English noun clusters can be accounted for by the opposition between the literal translator’s goal to keep the schematic, specialized character of the original cluster and the free translator’s intention to tone down the foreign sound of the original and to make it more appealing to a Romanian audience. This requires more thinking about the norms and rules of Romanian as opposed to those of English on the one hand, and about the norms and rules of specialized discourse as opposed to those of ordinary language on the other. There is a tension between the two sets of norms. Literal translations favor the norms of English and those of specialized discourse, whereas free translations favor the norms of Romanian and those of ordinary language. “Supapă reținere”, “robinet sistem”, “operare controler” have a more English, specialized sound, whereas “supapă de reținere”, “robinetul sistemului”, “funcționarea controlerelor” have a more Romanian, normal language sound. The text genre also plays a part in these considerations.

In conclusion, translators have a choice when it comes to translating noun clusters from English into Romanian. The preference of one method over the other depends on several factors, which have been partly analyzed in this article.

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SOME NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION OF NOUN CLUSTERS FROM ENGLISH INTO ROMANIAN

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VIRGIL DUDA AND THE JEWISH–ROMANIAN IDENTITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

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Abstract: This essay analyzes Virgil Duda's writing as a case study for the way in which the twentieth-century Jewish-Romanian minority copes with globalization and a century-old tradition of longing for one's roots. Both the characters and the intellectual beauty of Virgil Duda's style are the author's strong arguments for her thesis.

Keywords: Jewish, Romanian, globalization, immigration, trauma, identity

The diaspora of Romanian-Jewish writers to Israel includes voices that try to give a literary understanding of aliyah¹, an understanding that would be compatible both with Israeli and Romanian cultures. Virgil Duda, Alexandru Sever, Gina Sebastian-Alcalay, Bianca Marcovici are some of these voices that are best known and more aware of the consequence of their cultural, spiritual, and mental deterritorialization.

Virgil Duda, a prose writer of great talent, as already acknowledged by such important literary critics as Dimisianu, Vlad, Moraru or Iorgulescu, was born in România, in 1939 and made aliyah in 1988. In the country of his ancestors, Duda became a librarian in Tel Aviv and also a member of the editorial committees of several Romanian-Jewish publications: *Viața noastră* [*Our Life*] and *Ultima oră* [*The Last Hour*]. Virgil Duda had made his debut while he was still in Romania, with a short story collection entitled *Povestiri din provincie* [*Stories from the Province*], in 1967. Afterwards he published several novels which were very well received by the Romanian critics: *Catedrala* [*The Cathedral*] (1969), *Anchetatorul apatic* [*The Listless Coroner*] (1971), *Cora* (1977), *Hărțuiala* [*The Harassment*] (1984), *România, sfârșit de decembrie* [*Romania, End of December*] (1991), *A trăi în păcat* [*To Live in Sin*] (1996), *Șase femei* [*Six Women*] (2002). Virgil Duda's work has been analyzed by several critics (George Dimisianu, Cornel Moraru, Mircea Iorgulescu, Eugen Simion, Ion Vlad, Florin Manolescu, Andreea Deciu, Tudorel Urian, Dan Cristea-Enache) but they all looked at his work as part of Romanian literature and neglected the way the writer's Jewishness negotiated with his Romanian education and background. He was appreciated as a writer but the complex character of his work straddling two cultures, two countries was overlooked. For instance, Tudorel Urian appreciated that Virgil Duda was "one of the first-class writers" (6)². According to Eugen Simion, "Virgil Duda proves to have remarkable qualities of a prose writer, he is inventive, and ironical,

¹ A Jew's return voyage to Israel, the country of his ancestors.

² "Virgil Duda este unul dintre prozatorii de primă mână" (Urian, 6).

moderately thoughtful in a fluent sentence nuanced by the subtlety of his thought” (11)¹. Cristea-Enache, Dan thinks that Duda is “a writer effectively obsessed with ‘the psychology of man in his relationships’ “ (5)² whereas Andreea Deciu sums up these critical assessments: “critics have agreed that we are dealing with a mature and original writer, completely masterful with his own literary formula, a very interesting representative of his generation” (10)³.

Two commentators only insist on the fact that *Ultimele iubiri* (*The Last Love Affairs*)

is a novel both about Romania and Israel. Bianca Burța-Cernat considers that the Duda’s novel is also a novel of old age and a novel of the Romanian diaspora to Israel which is not depicted as paradise on earth. Gina Sebastian Alcalay makes a detailed presentation of the plot and concludes that this is “[a] dense and rich book which enriches one by its complex texture” (11)⁴.

Our analysis will also focus on Virgil Duda’s novel entitled *Ultimele iubiri*, a text published in Romanian in 2008 and dealing with Duda as a hyphenated writer, a creator who lives and tells stories between two cultures and two traditions. The main narrative thread of this novel is the belated love affair between Radu Glasberg, an economist, and the seductive Marieta, a business woman and an honorable family’s mother from Israel. Both Radu and Marieta’s roots are in Bucharest. They share not only a very ardent love affair that fulfills them both carnally and emotionally but also their memories from their student years in a joyful and idealized Bucharest. Loneliness, the approaching old age, the difficulties of making aliyah from communist Romania give both Radu and Marieta the illusion of having met the great love of their lifetime.

The background of this affair is contemporary Israel. Virgil Duda excels in depicting a charming fresco of contemporary Tel Aviv and its immigrant communities. They constitute the geographical and cultural location of the complex process through which the main protagonists of the novel construct their new Israeli identities. Virgil Duda’s approach to the intercultural and the transcultural components of Radu’s and Marieta’s identities is an interesting exercise in understanding Jewish identity in the Mediterranean world.

The Israel Virgil Duda depicts is an Israel of globalization where workers from third world countries (such as the Philippines) or from other areas try to overcome the limitations of their previous condition as Third World countries (such as China). These people come to Israel which is regarded as a new Eldorado. They all hope to make money and be happy. Duda’s Israel is a Promised Land

¹ “Virgil Duda dovedește calități remarcabile de prozator, inventiv și ironic, reflexiv cu măsură, într-o frază cursivă, nuanțată de subtilitatea gândului” (Simion, 11).

² “un scriitor efectiv obsedat de ‘psihologia omului în relație’ “ (Cristea-Enache, 5).

³ “criticii au căzut de acord că avem de-a face cu un prozator matur și original, cu desăvârșire stăpân pe formula sa literară proprie, un foarte interesant reprezentant al generației sale” (Deciu, 10).

⁴ “O carte densă, bogată și îmbogățitoare, cu o complexă țesătură” (Sebastian Alcalay, 11).

where happiness has very material coordinates. The marginalized, the poor of the world come here hoping they will have the opportunity to make an honest buck.

Here is, for instance, Radu Glasberg commenting an advertisement for a job. Globalization and its impact upon Israel are suggested by the combination of scripts and languages. Hard work and the exploitation of the needy are the other faces of globalization. The employer had already asked that this ad should be written in Chinese because it was meant for the Chinese workers. The Chinese state takes 90% of what these people make in Israel and consequently, they are obliged to work hard in night shifts as well. They cannot survive without this extra-money. The owner of the pub “added the word *jub* written in Latin script for the Europeans from the neighborhood and their beautiful servants from the Philippines whose club is on Herzl Strut. Have you seen the poster with the woman who’s been elected queen of beauty of the Philippino emigrants from Israel? Superb! They would be very devoted customers” (14)¹.

Violent colours, noisy advertisements, these are the realities that shock Virgil Duda. The idealized country is not very much of an ideal but a country struggling hard with the changing circumstances of world economy and politics. Lately, Israel has become a multicultural society where the newcomers try to embrace their new condition while maintaining diasporic roots which cannot be severed that easily. In spite of everything Glasberg tries to feel at home in his new homeland which he had always thought of his country with all the connotations that this sentimental denomination incorporates. He tries to tame the space of his new/old homeland. And “when he got close to home, full of everything, even of patriotic pride, he succeeded in specifying where the ovens of the Iraqis and of the Hungarians were... He had already met most of them, he was their customer and neighbour, his knowledge had grown in time” (45)². There is, however, in this new homeland, in spite of its overwhelming nervous agitation, a kind of effacement of colour and a sort of weakening zest for all its products, which translates into a debilitation not only of the senses but also of the feelings belonging to the most intimate layer of the character’s self. Everything seems shallower, less intense, less provocative, less vital. “In the Romania of his youth when he entered one of the Armenians’ shops on Griviței Street he used to know at once, dizzy as he was, if they had ground Columbian or Arabian coffee and he could evaluate if the proportions of the mixture had

¹ „adaugă braserie cu litere latine pentru europenii din cartier și frumoasele lor servante din Filipine care au clubul de stradă Herzl! Ai văzut afișele cu aia care a fost aleasă regina frumuseții din emigrația filipineză din Israel? Superb. Ar constitui o clientelă grasă (14).

² „iar când ajunge aproape de casă reuși să stabilească plin de mândrie, inclusiv patriotică, unde se aflau cuptoarele irakienilor și cele ale ungurilor; ... îi cunoștea pe cei mai mulți, le era client și vecin, cunoștințele sale se adunaseră în timp” (45).

been rigorously observed, whereas in the Argentinean's warehouse near the old central bus stop, the coffee beans seemed deprived of any zest" (45)¹.

Virgil Duda insists on the amazing trajectories of his characters' lives which are detoured, rerouted by forces that resemble the ancients' *fatum*². The courses of these destinies become inexplicable, overwhelming, impossible to understand or explain. One of the immigrants, whose roots go back to Moldova, can't speak a word of Romanian. He abandons his family and their Orthodox religious convictions and gets involved in trafficking and Mafia dealings.

Radu Glasberg has to accept his own transformations if he wants to integrate into the country so much longed for. He has to abandon film directing and takes up reporting because this is what is required, this is where the jobs lie in his new old homeland. Still this is not enough. In order to make both ends meet, he also has to get another job: he becomes the manager of an apartment complex as well. Glasberg's most important problem is his hesitation between two worlds (Romania and Israel) and the painful respite between these two worlds. This respite is neither imaginary, nor unreal, but a sort of mixture that hurts because we are used to what our mind logically prefers: the clear-cut difference between "here" and "there" instead of the ambiguous structure of "both and". Radu Glasberg has a destiny that very obviously shows the ambiguity constructed by this continuous mobility typical of our age. "He had left Bucharest for ever 20 years ago, he considered himself totally integrated into this new reality, maybe even too integrated, i.e. more than he would have like to be. He felt like being a reporter sent from Prague to Hanoi, married to a superb Vietnamese and having 3 kids, pretty big ones, with obvious Asian features but who continued to receive wages from *Rude Pravo* [the most important daily in Communist Czechoslovakia, translator's note] and who watched with great interest the domestic conflicts from his home editorial committee hoping that someday he would be recalled and appointed head of the international news department, as he deserved to have been a long time ago, but fearing the thought that they would all stare at his boys with almond shaped eyes" (66)³. Radu belongs nowhere. He is the resonant of so many other migrants – the metaphor of the reporter – and he feels estranged even in his family. His son does not look like himself but like his partner.

¹ În România tinereții sale, când intra într-una din prăvăliile armanilor de pe Griviței, știa pe dată, amestec, dacă se macină columbia ori arabică și putea aprecia dacă proporția amestecului cerut fusese respectată, pe când în hala (warehouse) argentinianului, de lângă vechea stație centrală de autobuze, boabele păreau stoarse de vlagă (45).

² Destiny.

³ „Plecase definitive din București de peste douăzeci de ani, se consider aple deplin integrat în noua realitate, poate chiar prea implicat, adică mai mult decât i-ar fi plăcut, rămânând totuși străin, ca un reporter trimis de la Praga la Hanoi, însurat cu o vietnameză superbă, având trei copii mărișori, toți cu trăsături asiatice subliniate, dar care continuă să primească salarii de la *Rude Pravo* și urmărește cu jind luptele intestinale din redacția de bază, sperând că va fi rechemat într-o bună zi și numit șeful secției externe, cum demult s-ar fi convenit, dar îngrozindu-se la gândul că toți ar privi uluiți la băieții lui cu ochi migdalați" (66).

The author insists on the difficulty, even the impossibility to adapt totally to the new country for those who spent their adolescence elsewhere. His life seems to be told by someone else and not lived by himself. The estrangement suggested by the metaphor of the reporter is typical of our globalizing world where you are and are not in a certain location, you belong and you do not belong to a certain community defined firstly by its precise spatial coordinates. It is a respite impossible to get back to. It is like the learning-to-speak process. Once the child is beyond a certain age, he can never turn back to learn what he has not learnt in his early time. It is a blueprint given once and for all. According to the “reporting” metaphor, Radu Glasberg reports his life, he does not live it. There is here a kind of inauthenticity. Reporting is a second degree experience which turns the reporting self into its own object, whereas the subject is an agent that has to perform a certain narrative function to the detriment of the existential experience.

Radu Glasberg “looked estranged, for ever, at those who had been born here [i.e. in Israel, translator’s note] for whom the name and the destiny of the soccer and the basketball team were inscribed in their genetic code... The second sign was in connection with the former tunes that had encouraged the *tofim*, a sort of pioneers whose ties had different shapes and colours [from the pioneers in the communist countries, translator’s note]. The audience of an entire hall ... knew those tunes by heart and the naive words of the national song writer flourished on everyone’s lips. Nice, exciting, but lost in the dark eternity of his point of view, exactly as *Sleepy Birds* [famous Romanian poem for children, translator’s note] or *Maria Tănase* [famous Romanian folklore singer, translator’s note] would have been for them” (108)¹ The irony of the immigrant’s destiny is that he was culturally forged into a certain environment but life brought him somewhere else, another location with different a cultural foundation. The songs and poems that Duda mentions are part of that common knowledge which makes an individual a member of a certain culture or the immigrant can only be a member of second rank as he lacks this constitutive cultural knowledge (songs, poems etc.).

One of the cruelest destinies drawn in this novel is that of Doru (Dror). He makes a bad real estate investment and he finally loses everything: his wife returns to Romania with the kids and he, a former film director, has to do all sorts of odd jobs in order to make both ends meet and be able to send some money to his family from Romania. The new country seems to hold him stuck in a trapping net of contracts and obligations. He can’t sell the property he has acquired in Israel because he has a 15 years’ interdiction and if he did he would lose his home coming gift – the 10,000 US dollars – which would turn into a bank loan with very high interest. Doru seems to be caught in a sly but careful fisherman’s net. “With a

¹ “ ... privea înstrăinat, de-a jururi... spre cei născuți aici – pentru care numele și destinul echipei de fotbal sau baschet erau înscrise în codul genetic... Al doilea semn era legat de cântecele de odinioară ce încălziseră detașamentele de *tofim*, un altfel de pionieri, cu alte forme și culori de cravate. Spectatorii unei săli întregi... știau pe dinafară acele melodii și pe toate buzele înflureau cuvintele naive ale textierului național. Frumos, emoționant, însă pierdut în neagra veșnicie din punctul său de vedere, cum ar fi fost pentru ei *Somnoroase păsărele* ori *Maria Tănase* (108).

heavy heart, and this was not a figure of speech, as Glasberg, Doru's main confidante, knew very well, the wretched man had made up his mind to send his wife and children back to Bucharest, apparently only for some time, until the sky of his Jewish ancestors' country that he had just found again would clear up. Should he return as well? His experiment had failed. Should he send her alimony for the boys? As much as he can, as much as she thinks. For they are not going in court for this, they still loved each other. Only then did the dark sky collapse over him" (114)¹. Life is tough. The new homeland seems to be on the verge of a kind of merciless mercantilism. Its rules are very careful about the expenditure of its public money. The immigrant who had imagined a kind of ideal land where all promises come true is disappointed to find something very different. Adaptation, survival become impossible for some. They are difficult for others.

Radu discovers surprising similarities between himself and the elderly members of the immigration community. A group of Old Bulgarian women have founded a choir and they fight heroically for their rehearsal room. It is a symbolic fight because its aim was the preservation where they could meet and reconstruct – for the time of the rehearsals – a kind of simulacrum of their identities in the country where they were born. "Then he discovered that an invisible thread of communication and identification linked him to these unknown women who did not accept to be defeated by loneliness because the ritual of their rehearsals included more than their love of music, their imperious need to belong to a family-like community where you are acknowledged and recognized, understood, pitied, envied, and assisted, the world where you can share your joys and anxieties, where you try to forget or to laugh when foreshadowing the end (123)². It is significant that Duda chose a group of "Bulgarian" women in order to construct his own reconciliation territory. Had the group been made of Romanian women, the reference would have been too direct, even brutal in its significance. The "Bulgarian" epithet gives the reader a sense of warm and friendly Balkan proximity.

Paradoxically, the author suggests that the beginning of emotional integration, be it still possible, is also the end of the love affair Radu and Marieta have brought to the new country and which they have kept alive as a good old times memoir. The harsh contact with reality happens in Amsterdam. The freedom given by the

¹ "Cu inima strânsă, nu e o figură de stil, după cum prea bine știa Glasberg, principalul confident al lui Doru, năpăstuitul decisese, ca soluție temporară, să-și expedieze nevasta și copiii la București, chipurile în vizită la bunici, până se mai lumina și pentru el cerul din țara regăsită a strămoșilor iudei. Să vină și el înapoi, experimental dăduse greș, ori să-i trimită pensie alimentară pentru băieți, cât poate, cât crede, ea n-o să se ducă pentru asta la tribunal, căci ei doi se iubeau încă. Abia atunci întunecatul cer se prăbușise peste el" (114).

² "Descoperi apoi că un fir nevăzut, de comunicare și identificare îl legau de aceste necunoscute care nu acceptau să se lase învinse de singurătate, căci ritualul repetițiilor includea, mai mult chiar decât dragostea de muzică, nevoia imperioasă de a aparține unei colectivități familiare, unde ești cunoscut și recunoscut, înțeles, compătimit, invidiat și ajutat, lumea în care-ți împărtășești bucuriile și îngrijorările, unde încerci să dai uitării ori să ironizezi presentimentul sfârșitului (123).

new location helps Radu see the truth: their illicit love affair survived only because of the constraints that limited their encounters. “[F]reedom is a burden, flying with one’s wings fully stretched must be learnt, the absence of containment must be allowed to enter every cell, one’s brain and nerves. It is a new game with unsuspected norms, within the couple the two lovers make, and age itself, beyond the length of their relation, is a blocking factor, it is self-censorship, even embarrassment, exactly what it had not been till now, at what they called their home from yesterday and from Bucharest” (128)¹.

An ironical counterpart to this love and identity clarification story is the couple Sorin and Rita. Rita is an Art student who also worked as a cleaner. She used to clean Radu’s apartment on a special day and she loved him in silence and despair. Sorin proposes to Rita and here is what she answers, “I told him that if he still wants a contract, then we should have one for permanent care and have it registered at the Social Welfare. He liked the idea and agreed with it, he offered me a decent salary, and all the benefits including paid holidays and medical insurance. ‘This is how I can check on you better, lest you should go astray for I feel that it is more difficult to guard you than a bee hive’. ‘On Saturday and at nights I am free’, I answered very earnestly” (354)². The satirical identification between a marriage contract and a contract for domestic workers is not only a proof of the well known Jewish humor but it also shows that life in the new country obliges people to this let-go which is laughter.

The similarity between the erotic clarification and the identity elucidation is explained by the author through the mechanism of memory. Both rely on mnemonic strategies. They are “a phenomenon of memory, a sentiment which develops in time by sediments, hardly visible gestures, beginnings, words whispered while hugging, anxieties, fears, sadness, pains of one’s soul” (471)³.

As the narrative unfolds towards its implacable end (Radu’s step further towards integration is suggested by his impending affair with an Israeli woman – a woman of the new country and a widow of an officer who had died while defending Israel), Virgil Duda, a novelist of great creativity, can afford a bird’s eye view of Israeli society that surpasses the limits of the Romanian–Jewish society. Virgil Duda sets his characters’ lives against a wider framework, wider than the

¹ “[I]ibertatea e o povară, zborul cu aripile întinse trebuie învățat, absența constrângerii lasă să pătrundă în fiecare celulă, în creier, în nervi. E un joc nou cu norme nebănuite, în interiorul perechii pe care o alcătuiesc, iar vârsta în sine, dincolo de durata legăturii, e un factor de blocaj, de autocenzură, chiar de jenă, exact ce n-a fost până acum, la acel acasă, de ieri și din București” (228).

² “i-am zis că dacă tot vrea un contract, atunci să facem unul de îngrijitoare permanentă, pe care să-l înregistrăm la Asistența socială. I-a plăcut ideea, a fost de acord, mi-a stabilit un salariu acceptabil, cu toate drepturile, inclusiv concediu de odihnă și asigurare medicală. ‘Așa te voi putea controla mai bine, să n-o iei razna, fiindcă simt că ești mai greu de păzit ca un stup de albine’. ‘Sâmbăta și nopțile sunt liberă’, i-am zis cu toată seriozitatea” (354).

³ “un fenomen al memoriei, un sentiment care se constituie în timp, prin depuneri, abia vizibile gesturi, tresăriri, cuvinte șoptite în timpul îmbrățișărilor, îngrijorări, temeri, tristeți, dureri sufletești!” (471).

Romanian–Jewish community. He is worried about Israel’s future and he foreshadows the economic crisis that will affect the world a few years after the publication of the book. Duda gives a very interesting example of how fiction can foretell reality. The extent of bankruptcy is “a new and disquieting phenomenon. It was more than a crisis, it was rather a structural deterioration of the country which could not be stopped by the one million of Russian immigrants ... ‘Where are we going?’ he had wondered very anxiously and the answer to the apparent rhetorical question came to his mind: towards the Third World. Slowly but surely. Only a miracle can improve the situation!” (490)¹. There is a hidden reproach to the new homeland which does not correspond totally to the immigrants’ expectations. The consequence is the constant comparative relation constructed by the author with Romania. Radu is no longer in Romania, nor has he reached his new identity yet. The past still grapples him and still in-forms his self. Duda uses very deftly the specific chronotope of immigration. Its temporal element is the time of the move from one country to another, from one culture to another. Its spatial element is the movable location that the immigrant tries to call home/homeland. This fluid chronotope makes the self anxious. The tendency to look for a stable definite self is normal and inherent in every human being, but for the immigrant constantly on the move for a better life and better insertion into new social and cultural frames this is an ideal almost as far away as the North Star. Hence the painful instability, the vacillation of all existential coordinates which Duda re-reflects with such wit and plasticity. The beauty of his style is the beauty of intelligence and understanding and compassion. Melancholic but not lacrimose, Duda’s main character realizes that there is no way backward. The only solution is the acceptance of the present and the continuation of the way towards what simplistic sociology thinking calls integration. The character’s destiny is in the character’s way and vice versa, just like in the old Chinese philosophy of Tao. Aliyah is a specific way, not an easy one but a defining one for the Jewish self. The beauty of Duda’s style accompanies the beauty of the meaning of its sentences and helps us understand the problems faced by the contemporary Jew who makes aliyah. Duda’s epistemology relies on his Jewish ethics and on his Romanian roots. He must accept the realities of contemporary Israel in order to integrate and he must use his knowledge of both Jewish and Romanian cultures for a better understanding of a human situation: that of the man between cultures and lands. In this effort to understand the situation of the immigrant Duda also approaches the typically postmodern dialectic of the minority–majority relationship which he defines adding a powerful sociological component. “[E]very individual belonged to a minority demanding their rights, the minorities all together, collaborating with one another, had the real majority, so

¹ “un fenomen nou și îngrijorător. Era mai mult decât o criză, mai curând o deteriorare structurală a țării, pe care milionul de imigranți ruși nu izbutise s-o stăvilească... «Încotro ne îndreptăm?» se întrebese alarmat, iar răspunsul la aparent retorică interogație îi răsări cu putere în minte: spre lumea a treia. Încet, dar sigur. Numai o minune poate îndrepta situația!” (490).

that the former majority became only a concept devoid of content, people who kept their mouth shut and had a hard life” (493)¹.

Although Virgil Duda does not use the postmodern jargon about de-territorialized communities or about extra-territoriality as community extensions of the mother country he offers us a very interesting perspective of the Romanian Jewish aliyah. He surpasses cultural and religious peculiarities and considers this movement within the twentieth century globalization and the whole world's proud march towards planetary inclusion. Humor and irony are the Jewish spices of this intrinsic meditation about Romanian Jews in today's world.

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¹ “[F]iecare ins aparține unei minorități care-și cerea drepturile, minoritățile însumate, colaborând între ele, dețineau majoritatea reală, astfel că fosta majoritate rămânea un concept golit de conținut, oameni care-și țineau gura și duceau greu” (493).

CULTURAL DISTINCTIVENESS IN HIROMI GOTO'S “THE KAPPA CHILD” AND “CHORUS OF MUSHROOMS”

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Abstract: The purpose of my paper is to analyze the way in which Japanese diaspora writer Hiromi Goto's employs the fantastic, Japanese language and other cultural specific elements in her novels *The Kappa Child* and *Chorus of Mushrooms* in order to generate strategies of empowerment for the protagonists and to help them cope with their mainstream super-inscribed Outsider-ness status. My paper also focuses on aspects such as linguistic relativity and the linguistic anxiety experienced by the individual raised as an Outsider-Within/ Marginal of both of his/her cultural constituents. I will also be focusing on the novels' treatment of a variety of characters whose socio-culturally determined interactional patterns generate very specific forms of dialogism and synergy.

Keywords: Japanese-Canadian, Diaspora, Fantastic, Rewriting as Empowerment, Language as Marker of Distinctiveness

Hiromi Goto was born in 1966 and migrated to Canada at the age of three. She lived in British Columbia for 8 years and at the age of 11 moved to Alberta with her family. Her first novel, *Chorus of mushrooms* (1994) received the Commonwealth Writers' Prize Best First Book Canada and Caribbean Region and was the co-winner of the Canada-Japan Book Award. Hiromi Goto's childhood was galvanized by her grandmother's Japanese folktales and by the constant need to compare to a mainstream which condemned her to marginality. In this respect, her works depart in terms of theme and motifs from the typical Japanese Canadian attempt to ply both maintaining alive their Japanese identity and bowing to the homogenizing tendencies of Canada, with often unsatisfying results. *The Kappa Child* (2001) was awarded the James Tiptree Prize the next year for its approach on gender roles. It aims at dismantling some of the stereotypes constructed up to this point in the literature of the Japanese diaspora in North America. The reader is given a glimpse into the life of a Nisei who is not following a fixed set of rules and regulations which gravitate around *giri*¹ and *on*². Nor is the protagonist representative of the calculated and constrained individuality which is often associated with a Japanese woman. Goto's novels center on characters who have undergone a process of cultural displacement and are subjected, according to Homi Bhabha, to the “estranging sense of the relocation of home” (The Location 9). He defines this state as “unhomely” or: “a paradigmatic postcolonial experience, it has

¹ Duty

² Obligation

a resonance that can be heard distinctly, if erratically, in fictions that negotiate the powers of cultural difference in a range of historical conditions and social contradictions” (“The World and the home” 142).

Her works exude their Japanese quality in terms of thematic, writing style and motifs but her development of characters aims to break all Japanese Canadian archetypes and stereotypes. The fantastic also has an important role to play in the lives of the protagonists but its role is that of an instrument of healing or liberation from stifling traditional gender roles. The narratives progress in a non-linear manner, challenging the Eurocentric linear/ chronological plot and showing how events past and present intertwine to imprint a very specific behavioral pattern on characters. In Hiromi Goto’s narratives: “*There isn’t a time line. It’s not a linear equation. You start in the middle and unfold outward from there. It’s not a flat surface that you walk back and forth on. It’s like being inside a ball that isn’t exactly a ball, but is really made up of thousands and thousands of small panels*” (Chorus 132).

The events in *Chorus of Mushrooms* are framed by a love story, which we later discover to be that of the protagonist, Murasaki. The opening imagery: “*we lie in bed¹*” (1) with “*the murmur of blood beneath our surface touch*” (1) and watching:” *a thin thread of dusty cobweb weave forth, back and forth*” (1), places the reader in the comfortable stillness associated with storytelling. One of the themes the novel focuses on is communication, whether it is failed, non-verbal, inter-generational or cross-cultural. The author explores the concept of linguistic barrier and aims to show that there are no artificial factors which can avert the primordial act of communication. *The Kappa Child* is prefaced by preparations for an Easter family meal. The strained interactions between the protagonists are indicative of the emotional baggage which they all carry. As the novel progresses, we find out about the protagonist’s experiences as a child raised in a patriarchal Japanese family in which the father employed every opportunity he had to manifest his aggressive tendencies. The protagonist will have to revise her attitudes towards him, her family and herself while dealing with the bewilderment of an immaculate pregnancy with what she believes to be a *kappa* child.

Chorus of Mushrooms combines the themes and motifs specific to the Volendungsroman for the character of Naoe, who is an *Issei*,² a first generation immigrant to Canada, and those of the Bildungsroman for Murasaki/Muriel³, a *Sansei*,⁴ born and raised in Canada according to Eurocentric standards. The first part of the narrative is delivered by Naoe, who finds herself at a point of change in

¹ The writer uses Italics to indicate when the story shifts from the narrated past to Murasaki/ Muriel’s present.

² A first generation Japanese immigrant.

³ The character has two names, signaling her Japanese Canadian duality. In my paper I will refer to her as Murasaki/Muriel while she is still in the process of exploring her Japanese identity; once she has decided to incorporate, rather than reject, her Japanese heritage, I will refer to her as Murasaki.

⁴ A son or daughter of *Nisei* parents who is born and educated in America

her life. From the chair she obstinately refuses to leave, she goes over the various events which impacted upon her development and assimilation: her childhood and marriage in androcentric environments, the forced relocation, cultural displacement, having a daughter with whom she cannot communicate because of a linguistic barrier and a granddaughter with whom she communicates telepathically. The character is about to set off on a journey to achieve self-definition. Up to this point, she had initiated Murasaki/Muriel in the art of collaborative story-telling, illustrating the relation between telling and listening as a hermeneutics for creating a female subjectivity unaltered by stereotype and exclusionary ideologies of gender, race, culture, etc. Naoe presents her past, puts her granddaughter in contact with her Japanese heritage and makes her aware of her cultural displacement so that she may be able to articulate her own story because: "The way we construct our narratives (fictional and nonfictional) is importantly tied to the way we understand, order, and construct our own reality and our own personal identity" (Worth 54). However, the importance attributed to the placement of Murasaki/Muriel's story has a secondary function, and that is, to create a sufficiently well-contoured individual who will prove ideal to generate what Martha Nussbaum describes as: "Sympathetic emotion that is tethered to the evidence, institutionally constrained in appropriate ways, and free from reference to one's own situation (which) appears to be not only acceptable but actually essential to public judgment" (78).

In the process of swapping the roles of teller and listener, both Murasaki/Muriel and Naoe migrate between diegetic and extradiegetic positions in the narrative, as they switch from telling their own stories to telling the story of the other. The work combines autobiography and fiction as the author tells the story of her grandmother, as the dedication: "For Kiyokawa Naoe. I love you Obachan" (Goto *Chorus* "Acknowledgements") and the acknowledgement of: "Kiyokawa Naoe [s] (...) stories" (ibid.) would suggest. However, Goto admits that she has "taken tremendous liberties with my grandmother's history"(ibid.) and the specific development of the character would emphasize its fictional nature. The development of Naoe Kiyokawa illustrates the way in which, according to Miki Roy, "the assumed wall between an autobiographic 'I' and a fictive 'I' has become permeable to create a textualized 'I'" (Broken Entries 39).

The thematic of the novels focuses on various aspects of communication, such as teller-listener dynamics, the possibility of communication outside a common linguistic code and the particularities of intergenerational storytelling. The author makes a statement of her ethnic Otherness by incorporating a wide variety of words, expressions and linguistic elements specific to the Japanese language, but for which she does not offer an explanation. The relationship between historical event, memory, remembrance and reproduction of memory is explored as the narrators find it difficult to ascertain how much of what they say is real, and how much is fiction. The protagonists have to fight the force of words and stories which change with each retelling and seem to possess a life of their own. Language is

described as a living thing with healing properties and the ability to cure cultural aphasia and compensate for an acutely perceived sense of displacement. The novel also explores the changes in Japanese immigrant families across three generations and the socio-cultural elements which have determined them. Cultural attrition in an environment which focuses on homogenization rather than the integration of the Other has led to the emergence of characters that would go to extreme lengths to integrate into or challenge mainstream society. The way in which different generations of Japanese women negotiate culture in different social contexts highlights the progressivity of their emancipation and how identities are articulated both through individual understanding of the self and through intergenerational dialogism. Legends and elements of Japanese folklore provide a paratext in which the dialogism between reality and fiction is explored in order to break through ethnic and gender stereotypes.

Chorus of mushrooms vividly illustrates the pan-generational conflict between the *Issei*, the *Nisei*, and the *Sansei*, each attempting in their own way to adapt to the larger Canadian social frame, as well as to each other. The different ways in which the three women relate to everyday occurrences, life and memory illustrate: “the way language and culture interact within the local, personal domain of the subject’s experience” (Sturgess 20), but also the “impact of personal histories, (...) socialization experiences and the structural forces of prejudice and discrimination” (Ujimoto 9) on various aspects of identity development. *The Kappa Child* also centers around the protagonist’s attempt to escape her emotional stasis and to integrate successfully both as an adult and as a Canadian citizen. She breaks down emotional trauma and learns of new aspects of her personality with the help of the *kappa* child who provides a much needed psychological crutch when having to face stressful everyday situations associated with a dysfunctional family and lifestyle. In the beginning of the novel she has no sense of direction or purpose. At the same time, she has failed to master basic tasks which would define her as a responsible adult. She never remembers to lock her doors, finds it difficult to interact with others, refuses to change her appearance and lives life in a sort of limbo, on the verge of becoming an adult, but not quite. She has an extremely low self-esteem which becomes increasingly obvious the more she talks about herself. Her occupation is to collect stray shopping carts, an activity from which she derives little or no satisfaction: “So I rode around in a milk van, with no milk. It kind of sums up my life”(Goto *Kappa* 84).

Her potential motherhood provides her with an impulse for change which she had up to then lacked: “years and years of life, nothing I’m proud of, nothing I can hold up and say, here, look, I feel pretty good about this. And unconsciously, my hand slips, cups the unpregnant curve of my wide-waisted belly, as blocky as it was when I was a young and ugly child. A friendly nudge to my palm. I smile in a Mona Lisa way” (Goto *Kappa* 239-240). The intervention of the fantastic into her life therefore aids her to break out of self-destructive and self-minimizing tendencies. Hiromi Goto makes ample use of Japanese mythology in her works, borrowing from it and emulating specific elements in order to generate strategies of

empowerment for her protagonists. A *kappa* is a youkai and a *suijin* specific to Japanese mythology, a creature who must play tricks and keep the bowl on its head filled with water in order to survive: "It is well known that a *kappa* must be near water in order to survive, must always be able to replenish the bowl-shaped head with the vital liquid(...)"(Goto *Kappa* 134). Goto describes them in an interview as: "creatures that exist in the twilight between humans and monsters. Originally they are thought to have been water gods, but their cultural forms have become material for folk legends rather than spiritual entities. They range from monstrous to comical to benign to benevolent, and it's this changeable nature I find so beguiling. And, of course, their appearance is totally astonishing"(<http://www.indiebound.org/author-interviews/gotohiromi> Accessed on 15 August 2013). The rich imagery and the legends associated with the creature make it an adequate subject for Goto's mythological transplant: "A *kappa* lives in a tiny pool of water in a deep, deep forest. No longer youthful, the creature has been lonely for many seasons of rain and light. Seldom has passed another being and the saying is, a *kappa* who cannot play tricks is a *kappa* who loses water"(Goto *Kappa* 134).

Both the narrator of *The Kappa Child* and Naoe, the grandmother in *Chorus of Mushrooms* are pioneers in their encounter with and manifestation of the fantastic. They vividly illustrate an antagonistic proclivity towards pre-conceptions regarding categories such as Japanese immigrant, female and ageist constructs. Unlike other depictions of Japanese women in Japanese Canadian literature, they do not subject to, but rather challenge constructs that would marginalize them for reasons such as: "age composition, residence, marital status, fertility, household composition, religion, immigration and internal migration, language, education, and income" (Ujimoto 15). They start off or become more active-minded and liberal than any of the characters in Japanese Canadian literature becoming representative for the author's choice of "writing about women's lives and women's experiences" (<http://www.jccbulletin-geppo.ca/Dec07/Goto.html>. Accessed on 20 August 2013) and to focus on narratives and identity patterns that are both "not reflected in mainstream culture" (ibid.) and "women-focused" (ibid.).

Naoe is an 85 year old woman who defies being read as a realistic character and is subject to radical changes throughout the novel. Charlotte Sturges proposes that she be read as "a chain of slippery signifiers merging into one another" (25). In her own words, adding to the comic undertones of the narrative, she admits that she is content with what she has achieved: "I wanted to be a scholar once, but I decided to be an old woman when I grew up. You can channel your life in several directions, but I wanted to focus on one thing only. And do it very well. I'm the best old woman you're going to find for many years to come!" (Goto *Chorus* 111) From the very beginning she is presented as challenging *Issei* stereotypes, such as the inability to communicate using English. Whereas she has strived to maintain her Japanese identity intact, Keiko "is a Nutra-sweet woman and doesn't take any cream. She's an Ivory girl with eyebrows plucked and penciled in darker" (Goto *Chorus* 68-69), meaning that she attempts to blend in with the white majority as

much as possible. Upon arriving in Canada she adopts the name of Kay and refuses to speak Japanese for reasons which will be explained only towards the end of the book. Her symbolical aphasia leads to a break in her relationship with her mother, to the point that she is perceived as: “My daughter who has forsaken identity. Forsaken! So biblical, but it suits her, my little convert” (Goto *Chorus* 13).

Naoe admits that her daughter’s demeanor is: “my madness. I could stand on my head and quote Shakespeare until I had a nosebleed, but to no avail, no one hears my language So I sit and say the words and will, until the wind or I shall die. Someone, something must stand against this wind and I will. I am” (Goto *Chorus* 5). It is only Murasaki/ Muriel, her granddaughter, who is able to understand her, although she does not speak Japanese. Their communication relies on a much deeper connection, which will later be shown to transcend physical limitations such as time, space and the linguistic barrier: I call her Murasaki. Purple. She cannot understand the words I speak, but she can read the lines on my brow, the creases beside my mouth. I could speak the other to her, but my lips refuse and my tongue swells with revolt. I want so much for someone to hear, yet it must be in my words. (Goto *Chorus* 15)

As I have mentioned earlier *Chorus of Mushrooms* focuses on the theme of failed communication and on how active participation to the hermeneutics of telling and listening can override linguistic markers of difference which would otherwise make communication impossible. Naoe and Murasaki engage in both nonverbal and telepathic communication (Goto *Chorus* 16) because although “the words are different, (...) in translation they come together” (Goto *Chorus* 174). Murasaki/Muriel cannot understand her grandmother’s Japanese, but they can communicate using a form of pre-symbolic/primitive dialect: “Smack, smack! (Obachan)/ Smack, smack! (Me)” (Chorus 17). When asked to define the specific type of interaction she has with her granddaughter, Naoe defines it as: “‘talk’ might not be the way to describe what we do. We share with each other, even when our bodies are far apart” (Goto *Chorus* 114). Murasaki/Muriel too, admits that: “I couldn’t understand the words she spoke, but this is what I heard: Mukāshi, mukāshi, ōmukāshi...” (Goto *Chorus* 18). She paraphrases the opening sequence she has heard so many times as her grandmother gradually transforms her from a passive listener to stories, to an active teller. Naoe argues that: “There are stranger things in life than two people who are close being able to understand one another” (Goto *Chorus* 130), and gives Murasaki/Muriel an example of ideal communication in the interaction between her brother and his wife: “So lucky for them, they are two. One can begin forming the words, the other listening, and if the one who speaks should tire, the other is there to finish. They tell each other legends, myths. They re-create together.” (Goto *Chorus* 20). However, as long as this perfect level of communication isn’t achieved, they cannot engage in proper storytelling. No matter how many times Murasaki/Muriel attempts to start a story, she is unable to go beyond expressing the initial state of affairs. Her stories cannot progress. They are trapped in a symbolic limbo, and will not progress until the protagonist herself will be able to escape her cultural inertia and start living her own story:

CULTURAL DISTINCTIVENESS IN HIROMI GOTO'S "THE KAPPA CHILD" AND "CHORUS OF MUSHROOMS"

Mukāshi, mukāshi, ōmukāshi, arutokoroni, ojisanto, obāsanga imashita. Kono ojisanto obāsanwa taiso binbodattason-¹

(Naoe: Do you hear what I say or only what you want?)

Mukāshi, mukāshi, chisana murani, ijiwaruna bōzu ga imashita-²

(Naoe: Will you listen with an open ear and close your eyes to thought?)

Mukāshi, watashiwa-³

(Naoe: What are you waiting for?)

Ican't. Ican't. Ican't. Ican't. ican't. ican'tican'tican't

I stop. (Goto *Chorus* 20)

The lines of pause marking each of Murasaki's sentences indicate that she is not yet ready to assume a double role of both teller and listener. However, she has already been able to go beyond linguistic superimposed limitations, as Naoe and Murasaki's polyglossic interactions clearly illustrate (Goto *Chorus* 17). There is a similar development of communicational patterns in *The Kappa Child*. In the beginning, the protagonist and the *kappa* do not share a common code for communication. The *kappa* child, a mere egg in the beginning, is aware of the difficulties of language and the risks of communication: "Eggs can talk, only most of us choose not to. Words are creatures without skin, without living fluid. There are no allegiances in language. Take, for instance, the word love. I may utter "love" and someone may take this very word and use it against me. Words are tricks I seldom want to play"(Goto *Kappa* 30). Because it desires to be heard and to communicate, the first step towards their understanding each other, apparently insurmountable for Keiko and Naoe, is achieved: "I have an inkling then, of someone other than the sisters I have lost. I can sense, with my thin outer membrane, a pulsing and heaving that cushions my being. Maybe even a glimmer of intelligent life. I nourish a small hope in my nucleus that intelligent life can exist outside an egg"(30). Its first intervention is tentative: "I am free to turn my keen green mind to the world outside. I wish to know more. I slide, slide inside my realm of water. Gently nudge with the curve of my buttocks. The moist give of living flesh, the warmth of blood. Hello, I bubble, I am pleased to meet you. There is no answer"(60). This first contact instills terror in the protagonist, habituated with an isolated lifestyle. The realization of another presence comes as a shock to her:

but a growing presence started to creep into my unextraordinary life. An unknowable sensation filled the edges of my awareness. Like a sneeze quivering on the tip of my nose, I could almost realize a presence. Or not.(...) It didn't immediately occur to me that the presence was inside me. I'd been alone in my body for the whole of my life.

¹ Once upon a time, in a place of little importance, lived an old man and an old woman. The old man and old woman were extremely poor-

² Once upon a time, in a small village lived a mean priest-

³ Long ago, I-

But the sensation made me sweat cold drops down my spine, sliding between the healthy mounds of my ass.(Goto *Kappa* 61)

The image depicted is highly somatic and provides comic relief. Her fear is almost grotesque, her reaction disproportionate to the actual nature of the event. The first person narration makes her experience seem even more intense, the fear translated into symptoms which mirror a panic attack. Their relationship develops slowly, the protagonist's affection towards the *kappa* child growing as she is gradually able to sort through the traumas of her childhood and overcome her emotional stiltedness. From being labelled a mere "creature" in the beginning, towards the end of the novel the protagonist refers to it as a child. In her own words, she has become tolerant of it, and not only that, but she is tolerant of her own shortcomings and can view her past from a comfortable distance: "Hard to know what to believe and what not to believe in this world, but I've become tolerant of incredible stories. What with being pregnant for over who knows has long and not showing, no fetal heartbeat, no doctor's confirmation, no nothing, I'd be hard-pressed to be otherwise. Other than tolerant, that is"(Goto *Kappa* 116).

Throughout the novels, the truth-fiction duality is constantly being probed by the narrators. They attempt to define truth on the borderline between memory, personal history, remembrance and telling. In this respect, story-telling acquires a scope that goes beyond the mere intergenerational replication and transmission of information: "(Murasaki: Obāchan, this story. Is this a story you heard when you were little? Naoe: Child, this is not the story I learned, but it's the story I tell. It is the nature of words to change with the telling. They are changing in your mind even as I speak)" (Goto *Chorus* 32). The questions regarding authenticity do not refer to what Daniel L. Schacter defines as "memory's malfunctions" (4) or "fundamental transgressions" (4), i.e. errors inherent to sieve through memories as a consequence of subjective experience and passing of time. They touch upon the practices of conscious alterations and elaboration of the text so as to generate strategies of empowerment. The degree of credibility of the events presented remains to be ascertained by the reader. In the case of *Chorus of Mushrooms*, the narrators are unable to ascertain whether the events they recount are extracted from personal memory or fantasy: "I'm making up the truth as I go along" (Goto *Chorus* 12). Story-telling gradually becomes second nature to Murasaki, to the point that it is done subconsciously and the conscious censor only rarely intervenes: "God! Did I just make that up or is it true? I don't even know anymore. Saying it out loud can make it so. I never kept a diary. I'll make it up now and put in the dates later. I'll write with my left hand and call myself Hank" (Goto *Chorus* 53). She is thus aware that in fiction she can be whomever she chooses. She can even take up a pen-name which would present her as the prototypical white male. In *The Kappa Child* the events presented, ranging from alien abductions, to an immaculate conception and encounters with the mythical *kappa*, test the reader's willing suspension of disbelief and the idea of confabulation can easily be taken into consideration. Confabulation

occurs when someone utters things that are not true without any intention of deceit, or in search for personal gain. In fact, the one who tells the story believes it to be entirely true too. It would not be difficult to assume that, as an echo of her traumatic childhood, the protagonist's mind is deranged to the point that she can no longer distinguish reality from fiction. Her *kappa* pregnancy can be attributed to the stories heard from her father during her impressionable years, and her symptomatology to normal somatic responses to environmental stimuli. The theme is taken up in "*Chorus*" as well, where the notion of truth is presented as highly contextual: "Funny how memory is so selective. How imagination tags along and you don't know where something blurs beyond truth. If I said I was telling the truth, would anyone believe me? Obāchan would, of course. The truth of anything at that particular moment. What more could you ask for?" (Goto *Chorus* 98).

This translates as the possibility of incorporating the fictional into everyday life. Repeated sufficiently, the fictional gradually becomes more plausible and real: "It's funny how you can sift your memories, braid them with other stories. Come up with a single strand and call it truth" (Goto *Chorus* 93). It is in this manner that famous Japanese legends are incorporated as lessons in everyday life. Such are, in "*Chorus*": Uba-Sute Yama¹ (Goto *Chorus* 63-68), Issun boshi² (Goto *Chorus* 70-73), Kama-itachi³ (Goto *Chorus* 74-76), Yuki-Onna⁴ (Goto *Chorus* 82), Yamanba⁵ (Goto *Chorus* 115-119) or the legend about "the rabbits are making mocha on the moon"⁶ (Goto *Chorus* 148), and the legend of the *kappa* in *The Kappa Child*. The stories are incorporated in the everyday lives of the protagonists. Through the process of retelling, they gain an identity of their own: "Words tumble from my mouth and change shape and size. (...) I feed them with stories and they munch and munch. They grow bigger and stronger and walk out the door to wander over this earth" (44). By leaving the endings of the stories open or altering the plotline, the narrators indicate their resistance to the monologist tendencies of the writer-reading relationship and provide an invitation for the reader's manifesto of subjectivity.

This can be interpreted as instantiations of the author's refusal to allow her work to become a mere form of ex-centric writing which confirms the white

¹ The alleged Japanese custom of abandoning old people in remote and isolated places to fend for themselves or die of exposure and starvation. This was done during times of draught and famine in an attempt to preserve the community alive.

² The legend of the one-inch boy.

³ The legend of the scythe weasel. Being cut by the strong winds associated with the *kama-itachi* meant that one was to suffer great misfortune.

⁴ The spirit of a woman who perished in the snow. She still wanders during snowstorms and draws lost travellers to her with her ephemeral and inhuman beauty. Those who go to her are either given a kiss that will instantly freeze them, or are led deeper into the snow storm where they will die of exposure.

⁵ In Japanese Mythology these are mountain witches who look like monstrous hags. They are often portrayed as abducting young children to eat them.

⁶ Legend popular among Japanese children.

majority's presuppositions about the Japanese: "By explicitly adopting and adapting 'impure' myths and legends, Goto refuses to accept the 'fixed tablet of tradition' offered to her by hegemonic groups; she refuses their imperative to reproduce 'Japanese culture'" (Beauregard 48). The ending of *The Kappa Child* in itself signals the beginning of a new story. The protagonist, now emotionally whole and having a different outlook on her prospects, is invited by her friends to see a conjunction. A strong rain brought by a cloudless sky wakes up the dormant *kappa* who are now: "rising from the soil. Like creatures waking from enforced hibernation, they stretch their long, green limbs with gleeful abandon. Skin moist, wet, slick and salamander-soft, kappa and humans dance together, our lives unfurling before us"(Goto *Kappa* 275). The moment is finally opportune so: "the water breaks free with the rain"(275). It is implied that the narrator has finally given birth to the *kappa* child. It presents itself as a fully developed conscience, no longer an egg, but a being with emotions and intelligence: "I am a creature of the water. I am a kappa child. Come, embrace me"(276).

The *kappa* child helps the protagonist regain control over her life and escape stasis. In *Chorus of Mushrooms* too, the stories are adapted in such a way as to empower the central female figures. For example, *Yuki-Onna*, the "woman of the snow", is no longer represented as an instantiation of a fury of nature, but is given human traits. The legend of *Issun-Boshi* is rewritten so as to empower the princess. She does not submit to a cruel fate alongside an abusive man, but defies her karma and changes the story, much like Naoe did herself. The princess is taken out of anonymity, given a name and a sufficiently self-reliant identity to allow her to extricate herself from under her husband's authority. In the legend of *Oba-Sute*, that is, the abandoning of elders in the woods to fend for themselves, the elder sister acknowledges the end of her productive life as an opportunity to have fun. Rather than focusing on the negativity of the event, she attempts a "conscious act of cutting loose and having fun)" (Beauregard 51). In the legend of the *Yamanba*, the giantess is no longer portrayed as an evil *youkai*¹ who catches small children and eats them. In an antithetic construction, she leaves her mountain home to discover that she is the last of her kind, that the world is tarnished and dead, and only death-maggots remains. She eats them and transforms them into humans; she purifies the waters and recreates a world fit for life; her rehabilitation contributes to the author's effort to deny pre-constructed images of the Asian female. However, none of the stories are finished, remaining an open invitation for the reader to change the way they end. The missing "Part 3" of the novel marks the author's attempt to raise public awareness as to the situation of the Japanese Canadians and contribute to the realization of: "An immigrant story with a happy ending" (Goto *Chorus* 159).

Guy Beauregard considers that: "Through her revisions of the folk traditions and *Obasan*, Goto insists on the provisional nature of cultures and identities, and negotiates shifting and evasive Japanese Canadian feminist subject positions" (47).

¹ A class of supernatural monsters in Japanese folklore.

Unlike Murasaki who wishes to discover the truth and fears the language as "living beast" (Goto *Chorus* 99), Naoe accepts the fluidity of language and change as a fait accompli. She has been educated to embrace the principle of *mono no aware*, which translates as an awareness of the impermanence of things and of the impossibility of interrupting the natural process of change, be it physical or linguistic: "Funny thing, Murasaki, how these stories keep changing. But that's the nature of all matter, I suppose. Can't expect the words to come out the same each time my tongue moves to speak. If my tongue were cut from my face, I would surely grow another. No, it is the nature of matter to change, and I feel the change coming from deep within my bones. Time ripens like a fruit and I must hurry, hurry" (Goto *Chorus* 73). This leads Murasaki to wonder where does the line between memory and fiction blur: "but you said they were true stories.'/ 'Listen, they're true if you believe them'" (Goto *Chorus* 55).

In literary practice, this process of blurring allows Murasaki's grandmother to transform, from an ordinary old woman into a legend. The author's youth was deeply influenced by her grandmother. Her age and spirit made her seem almost supernatural. It is not therefore surprising that, throughout the novel, she undergoes through dramatic transformations. She is initially presented as an 85 year old woman bound to her chair for two decades, upholding the Japanese values against the current of forgetfulness and attempting to stifle the howling wind eroding her family's cultural awareness. Through her demeanor, she challenges time and time again Eurocentric ageist constructs which dictate how one is, or is not supposed to act. From the beginning of the novel she toes the line between what is socially acceptable and what is not:" Most unseemly, to be this age and horny, but it is funny after all. This muttering, old, lamb-haired Obāchan(...)"(Goto *Chorus* 39).

Once she has finished initiating Murasaki in the art of story-telling she can begin her own transformation. Before leaving, she undergoes a process of rejuvenation and is given the strength required to successfully start off on her journey and hears the chorus of mushrooms. In the novel, the mushroom is a metaphor for words and communication. Hearing it erupt in her subconscious foreshadows her own break with silence. On her journey she will escape the limitations of her traditionally ascribed role of Japanese wise. It is implied that this allows her to realize her full potential, and in her case, accede to supernatural powers (Goto *Chorus* 144-145). She will take on abilities that will make her parallel a deity: "I will hover on the wind and in the leaves and dwell inside the soil beneath your feet. You will even hold me inside your body every time you breathe the air" (Goto *Chorus* 202). In the beginning, Naoe obstinately tries to emulate the stereotypical *Issei*, with the result being that she is bound to a chair for two decades in a constant quarrel with her daughter. By challenging superimposed constructs and limitations she transcend her Japanese Otherness and conquers the Calgary bull-riding competition. She does not become incarcerated by her Japanese identity like the silkworms she cares for, but consistently breaks all intuitive patterns of development associated with the *Issei* in Japanese Canadian literature.

The beginning of the novel presents her as an elder regretting her excessive compliance to norms and regulations during her youth. Her sexual encounter with Tengu and the sensual depiction of the bull-riding scene indicate a character who refuses to accept pre-defined standards of Japanese and even Eurocentric, femininity (Goto *Chorus* 219). However, she still accepts being presented to the audience in Calgary as a white male. Years of facing stereotypes have made her profoundly aware “the borders into which difference is accepted or ‘tolerable’” (Sasano 40) within Canadian society. Her alias, ‘Purple’ is the opposite of the Japanese name given to Muriel¹. This is the result of what the author refers to as the inability to separate the self from: “the environment; there is a play between self and place. This isn’t to say that there isn’t a core that is solid and present. Only that the social performance of presented identity is like a dance”(http://www.jccbulletin-geppo.ca/Dec07/Goto.html. Accessed on 20 August 2013).

An important aspect of Hiromi Goto’s work represents her choice to include Japanese words and sentences in her texts. While most of these are in a Romanized format, there are also instances when she employs the very specific Japanese syllabaries (Goto *Chorus* 49, 51, 187), without offering any information as to how they are to be read, although fully aware that her “readers are English-speaking and do not understand Japanese”(Goto “Translating” 112). The author thus attempts to draw attention to the presence of multi-cultural voices in Canada and aims to counteract the homogenizing tendencies of the time: “I also integrate Japanese words for my Japanese Canadian characters who are bilingual. (...) Very real differences exist across all spectrums of human interaction. I’m interested in making language “real,” not smoothing over the difficult terrain” (http://www.indiebound.org/author-interviews/gotohiromi_ Accessed on 23 August 2013).

The use of native words becomes one of the most obvious ways of signaling a distinct cultural heritage out of an innate desire to not allow intended meaning to be lost in translation. By employing polyglossia as a stylistic device, the author not only submits the reader to a sense of linguistic anxiety similar to what the protagonists of her novels experienced as Others, but also dictates the characteristics of the ideal reader of the novel. Murasaki considers that her double cultural and linguistic heritage, rather than impinging upon her development, has aided her in developing her communicative skills. She recognizes that there are important differences between English and Japanese, differences which stretch beyond the basic graphical and grammatical systems, and into the realm of attributing signifiers. This creates communicational difficulty when Murasaki wishes to express her feelings. Love is a very different cultural construct in Japan from what it is in Eurocentric Canada. Therefore, she considers it a privilege to be able to manipulate two languages to overcome inherent linguistic limitations:

¹ In Japanese Murasaki means Purple.

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I learned that there's no way to say I love you in Japanese except to a spouse or lover. Not to your sister or brother or daughter or son or aunt or uncle or cousin or mother or father. Or grandmother. All you can say is *Daisuki yo*.¹ A tepid, I like you very much. But I'm glad I learned Japanese because now I can juggle two languages and when there isn't one word in English, it will be there in Japanese and if there's something lacking in your tongue, I'll reach for it in English. So I say to you in English. I love you, Obāchan. (Goto *Chorus* 54)

Goto is aware that her text is written from a position of marginality and that the way her book will be perceived depended on her satisfying a certain degree of Otherness. While refusing the commodification of her work, she understands the stereotypical tropes a white reader will regard a minority text with. If the reader's expectations are not satisfied, if the discourse challenges his Eurocentric way of thinking, then he will reject it, regardless of whether he understands the meanings of all the words. Similarly, although her *Issei* character Naoe knows that: "My words are only noises in this place I call a home" (Goto *Chorus* 11), she refuses to switch her linguistic code. The author doesn't offer translations, leaving it to the readers' discretion to seek answers. However, Naoe warns that more than just a few words are lost when their meaning is not sought. For example, she criticizes the fact that her son in law always asks her about her day, but never really bothers to understand what she has to say: "'Glad to hear it,' he says, no matter what I say. Once, I said I spent the day masturbating with my toes. Another time I said Keiko scrubbed the walls with shit and wiped the floor with piss. But all he says is, 'Glad to hear it'" (Goto *Chorus* 48). Although she understands that a lack of translation will pose difficulties to her readers, however, she has been made aware that: "Text is also a place of colonization. And I wanted to highlight that difference exists, all cannot be understood, language could and can be a barrier. This is based on my assumption that most of my readers are English-speaking and do not understand Japanese" (Goto "Translating" 112).

Her cultural hybridity offers her, as Krygier Martin suggests: "a vantage point, a perspective, and a quite peculiar place to stand. That metaphorical space is simultaneously inside and outside the cultures in which they are raised, in which they live, of which they are parts and which are parts of them" (22) she is appalled when her being racially prejudiced is described not as a social stigma, but as an opportunity for writing:

You're so lucky, I've been told. You have a rich source of culture to draw from, to bring to your writing. And I was stunned. Amazed. That the person was so "white" Canadian, she didn't even have a culture any more. That she was in such a position of privilege, that her own racial/cultural identification became obsolete and my Canadian racialized position of historically reinforced weakness was a thing to be

¹ I like you very much.

envied—it gave me lots to write about. There is something wrong with this equation. (Goto “Translating” 113)

According to Goto, “This results, in the case of writing, in a literary othering which continues to perpetuate non-Caucasian cultural difference as a category that post colonialists may colonize yet again” (“Translating” 112) She argues that the primary characteristic of this type of literature is actually a lack of specificity, a perfect blending with culturally homogenizing tendencies. Furthermore, she is very critical of the reverse of this process of homogenization which translates as a form of dispersal and incorporation of the alien, the Other, the different if it manifests a sufficient degree of Otherness. She, like Hage Ghassan, does not agree with their policy of “tolerance [as] the practice of accepting and positioning the Other in the dominant’s sphere of influence according to their value (for the dominant)” (32). She believes that rather than enforcing the multicultural nature of Canada, this measure actually acts to enforce the center, at the same time transforming the Other writer into a mere product to be exploited in an age in which the different takes precedence over the center: “The commodification of difference promotes paradigms of consumption wherein whatever difference the Other inhabits is eradicated, via exchange, by a consumer cannibalism that not only displaces the Other but denies the significance of that Other’s history through a process of decontextualization” (Bell 31) However, Goto refuses to allow her work to be easily accessed, and although she employs linguistic markers of difference, she does not offer indications as to the cultural and meaningful valences these words have. Resisting having a stereotypical identity pre-inscribed empowers the subject to define itself as the center of its own will, rather than the outsider in a pre-constructed social system in which he was artificially transplanted. However, this does not automatically transform her into the particular type of writer that Linda Hutcheon defines as representative for Canadian diasporas and for the specific *mélange* of attitudes specific to postmodernism: “Canada’s own particular moment of cultural history does seem to make it ripe for the paradoxes of postmodernism, by which I mean those contradictory acts of establishing and then undercutting prevailing values and conventions in order to provoke a questioning, a challenging of ‘what goes without saying’ in our culture” (Canadian Postmodern 3). However, she is still perceivable, from the perspective of the majority, as what Hutcheon goes on to define as: “agents provocateurs”—taking pot-shots at the culture of which they know they are unavoidably a part but that they still wish to criticize. This almost inevitably puts the postmodern writer into a marginal or ‘eccentric’ position with regard to the central or dominant culture” (Canadian Postmodern 3). Goto refuses to write from the perspective of the Outsider-within because:

the minoritized text is allowed to enter the center of national literature as long as it leaves intact the relations of power amongst the different national cultures: In this

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process, the Asian Canadian subjects who produced the works can subsequently be (re)produced in the language of specialization which is pressured to hold allegiance, not to the site-specific conflicts and contradictions of textual production, but to the authority of institution – institutions that are themselves extensions of frameworks in which Asian continues to be a term of outsidership. (Miki, "Can Asian" 74)

Chorus of Mushrooms and *The Kappa Child* depart from the typical Japanese Canadian diasporic writing through their refusal: "to operate within a colonized and inherited formal awareness while investigating [their] individual enactments of internment and migration" (Wah, 1992 100). The books center on exploring various aspects of multicultural identity, cultural amphibians and hyphenated identities in a society which promotes a homogenization of difference towards Eurocentric male-oriented and ageist constructs. The hyphen in the identities of the protagonists, although places them in a cone of marginality, ensures them a specificity which challenges society's homogenizing tendencies.

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FAITH, LANGUAGE, ETHNICITY AND TERRITORY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ENGLISH IDENTITY (6TH-11TH C.)

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Abstract. The present paper explores the dawn of national awareness in Anglo-Saxon England. Although credited to have composed a *Death Song* in English, Bede refers to Caedmon's vernacular as 'sua lingua', rather than 'nostra lingua'. Alfred was styled in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* king of all the English only posthumously. *Widsith* does not give any preference to the English among the other Germanic peoples. All the elements of modern national identity were present during the Anglo-Saxon period, yet no unified notion of the English nation had emerged yet.

Keywords: Anglo-Saxon; Old English; *Angelcynn*; Bede; King Alfred.

As Patrick Geary reminds us, the identity of the European nations is at the same time a Romantic construct, and a reality with deep roots, reaching as far as the Early Middle Ages¹. It took the English several centuries to define their identity, often in opposition to other peoples. By the fourteenth century, all the ingredients of modern nationalism seem to be reunited in the Middle English poem *Cursor Mundi*, which protests vehemently against the domination of the 'Frankis tonge' out of 'love of Inglis lede, Inglis lede of Inland'².

Efter haly kyrc[es] state
Tis ilk bok it es translate,
In to Inglis tong to rede
For te love of Inglis lede,
Inglis lede of Inland,
For te comon at understand.
Frankis rimes here I redd,
Comunlik in ilka sted:
Mast es it wroght for Frankis man.
Quat is for him na Frankis can?
Of Inland te nacion
Es Inglis man tar in communt.
Te speche tat man wit mast may spede,
Must tar-wit to speke war nede.
Selden was for ani chance

¹ P. J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton, 2003.

² *Cursor Mundi* (The Cursur o the World). A Northumbrian poem of the XIVth century in four versions, ed. by R. Morris, London, 3 vols., 1874-93.

Praised Inglis tong in France.
Give we ilkan tare langage,
Me think we do tam non outrage. (ll. 231-48)

According to the positions of the holy Church/ this same book is translated/ to be read in the English tongue/ for the love of English people,/ English people of England/ for common people to understand./ I hear French rhymes/ commonly, in every place:/ they are made mostly for French people./ What about those who know no French?/ In the English nation/ Englishmen are most numerous./ The language that most people can use/ must therefore be spoken most./ Seldom was, by any chance,/ praised the English tongue in France./ If we give everyone his own language,/ I think we do them no outrage.

In the opening of this long poem are reunited the four most important elements of modern national identity: ethnicity ('Inglis lede'), territory ('Inglanð'), language ('Inglis tong'), and faith ('after haly kyrces state').

All of these were nascent issues in Anglo-Saxon England. The earliest references to the *gens Anglorum* appear in the Latin tradition inaugurated by Pope Gregory the Great, and developed by Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (bef. 735). Although there exists a vernacular literary tradition as early as the age of Bede, self-conscious references to English, the English and England in the vernacular appear only in the age of King Alfred the Great (871-899).

In Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the very notion of *gens Anglorum* is controversial. As Stephen J. Harris points out, 'the word *gens* at certain points in Bede's narrative signifies ethnic divisions, and at other points signifies Christian unity.'¹ Moreover, it is hard to say whether it designates only the Northumbrian Angles, or the Anglo-Saxons as a people. According to Harris, *gens Anglorum* is 'sometimes translated 'English people', but 'Anglian people is more accurate'².

Georges Tugène, the author of the most comprehensive monograph on Bede's idea of a nation points out that Bede is referring mostly to *Angli*, but sometimes also uses *Saxones* and *lingua Saxonum* (HE III, 7; III, 22; IV, 14). Thus, according to Tugène, 'Bede does not use *lingua Anglorum* in the passages concerning Wessex, Sussex and Essex, and he spontaneously makes a distinction between an 'English' and a 'Saxon' language'³.

¹ S. J. Harris, *Race and Ethnicity in Anglo-Saxon Literature*, New York, 2003, p. 66.

² Harris, p. 212, n. 6. See also his 'Bede, Social Practice, and the Problem with Foreigners', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 13 (1995), 97-109, and M. Richter, 'Bede's *Angli*: Angles or English?', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 99-114; S. Reynolds, 'What Do We Mean by 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Anglo-Saxons'?', *Journal of British Studies* 24 (1985), 395-414.

³ G. Tugène, *L'idée de nation chez Bède le Vénérable*, Paris, 2001, p. 41: 'Il apparaît, par conséquent, que Bède n'utilise pas *lingua Anglorum* dans les passages concernant le Wessex, le Sussex et l'Essex, et qu'il fait spontanément la différence entre une langue « anglaise » et une langue « saxonne ».'

If Bede's understanding of ethnicity and territory are secondary to his vision of 'one *gens Anglorum* in the sight of God'¹, *quid* about his vernacular awareness? Michael Lapidge finished his Jarrow Lecture entitled 'Bede the Poet' with the following words: 'In English, as also in Latin, Bede has a distinctive poetic voice. It is one which deserves to be better heard'². André Crépin also believed that 'Bede's attitude to the vernacular prompted the writing-down of Old English Christian poetry', and credited the story that 'Latin and English were by turns on the lips of the dying Bede'³. Georges Tugène insisted that Bede displayed a 'taste for the English language and culture', and 'an affirmed interest in the language and poetry of the people'⁴.

However, Bede's alleged connection with the vernacular is based mainly on two highly controversial *loci*, both of apocryphal nature: *Caedmon's Hymn*, transmitted in Old English in the margins of the earliest manuscripts of the *Historia ecclesiastica* (The Moore and St Petersburg MSS, copied during Bede's final years or shortly after his death), and Cuthbert's *Epistola de obitu Bedae* (bef. 770), where a dying Bede is presented reciting hymns and poems in both English and Latin⁵.

If one turns to the evidence of the manuscripts, it becomes obvious that Bede does not quote *Caedmon's Hymn* in English: he merely offers a Latin paraphrase, which is later translated in the margins of the two earliest manuscripts. Indeed, in most subsequent manuscripts of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the vernacular version of *Caedmon's Hymn* will occupy a marginal place as gloss of the Latin paraphrase (**figs. 1-2**)⁶. I therefore tend to disagree with the latest editor of this short poem, Daniel O'Donnell, and with Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, who believe that Bede knew by heart *Caedmon's Hymn*, which was circulating orally⁷. Kevin Kiernan's theory that the vernacular version of the *Hymn* is a mere translation from

¹ S. Foot, 'English people' entry in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, D. Scragg, Oxford, 1999. P. Wormald believed that 'from Theodore's arrival at the latest, all Anglo-Saxons were exposed to a view of themselves as a single people [*gens*] before God' ('Bede, the Bretwaldas and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. Wormald et al., Oxford, 1983, p. 125).

² M. Lapidge, 'Bede the Poet' (The Jarrow Lecture 1993), Jarrow, 1994, reprinted in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600-899*, London, 1996, pp. 313-38; here, p. 338.

³ A. Crépin, 'Bede and the Vernacular', in *Famulus Christi*, ed. by G. Bonner, London, 1976, p. 186.

⁴ Tugène, pp. 38-43.

⁵ For an edition of *Caedmon's Hymn* and *Bede's Death Song*, see *Three Northumbrian Poems. Caedmon's Hymn, Bede's Death Song and The Leiden Riddle*, ed. by A. H. Smith, London, 1968.

⁶ The *Hymn* appears as gloss in the entire Northumbrian tradition; moreover, it appears only in 21 of the 159 complete manuscripts of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.

⁷ D. P. O'Donnell, *Caedmon's Hymn. A Multi-Media Study, Edition and Archive*, Cambridge, 2005, §B.7: 'The inconsistency between the Latin and vernacular versions of the poem is more difficult to explain, however, if we assume that Bede's paraphrase was the original text. There is no obvious reason why a forger, working from Bede's paraphrase, should be prompted to start introducing significant amounts of ornamental variation half-way through his translation.' K. O'Brien O'Keefe, 'Orality and the Developing Text of Caedmon's Hymn', *Speculum* 62 (1987), 1-20.

Latin into Northumbrian is much more convincing¹. Indeed, the poem's undignified place at the end of the Moore Bede, alongside humble glosses and instructions for the rubricator, suggests that it came as an afterthought to one of Bede's disciples. If Bede had known an Old English poem by heart, there is no reason why he should not have quoted the original English text, or at least translated every single word of it into Latin.

Thus, a close translation of the Northumbrian version of *Caedmon's Hymn*, using as many of Bede's words as possible, would be:

Nunc debemus laudare caelestis regni **auctorem** [custodem], creatoris potentiam et illius consilium, facta gloriae patris, quomodo omnium miraculorum ~~ille cum sit~~ aeternus **deus** [dominus] auctor extitit, qui primo creauit filiis hominum caelum pro **culmine tecti** [sanctus creator]; dehinc terram, humani generis custos, [aeternus dominus *postea* parauit, hominibus tellurem, *dominus*] omnipotens.

In this scholastic exercise, the words omitted by Bede are placed within square brackets, although Latin prose presented no metrical or space restraints, and the words which are either redundant or far from the alleged vernacular original are crossed out.

Indeed, if one compares the Old English poem and Bede's Latin text it appears that the Latin prose of the *Historia* was turned into English verse, rather than the other way round:

Nunc debemus laudare caelestis regni auctorem
 Nu scilun herga hefen ricæs **uard**
creatoris potentiam et illius consilium
 metudæs mehti and his mod githanc
facta gloriae patris quomodo omnium miraculorum
 uerc uuldurfadur sue he uundra gihuæs
~~ille cum sit~~ aeternus deus auctor extitit
 eci dryctin or astelidæ
qui primo creauit filiis hominum
 he ærist scop aeldu barnum
caelum pro culmine tecti
 hefen to hrofæ **halig sceppen**
dehinc terram humani generis custos
 tha middingard moncynnæs uard
eci dryctin æfter **tiadæ**
 -----omipotens.
firim foldu frea all mehtig.

Especially the extra words at the end of the poem, which do not correspond to anything in Latin, are required in order to complete the line. In any case, the

¹ K. Kiernan, 'Reading Caedmon's "Hymn" with Someone Else's Glosses', *Representations* 32 (1990), 154-74.

scholar responsible for this game certainly knew how to employ alliteration, formula and the appositive style of Old English verse in order to turn Latin prose into vernacular poetry.

Furthermore, Bede does not display any linguistic solidarity with Caedmon. Writing in Latin, and identifying fully with the learned tradition of the Latin West, Bede refers to Caedmon's English as 'sua, id est Anglorum lingua', rather than 'nostra lingua':

In huius monasterio abbatissae fuit frater quidam diuina gratia specialiter insignis, quia carmina religioni et pietati apta facere solebat; ita ut, quicquid ex diuinis litteris per interpretes disceret, hoc ipse post pusillum uerbis poeticis maxima suauitate et conpunctione compositis, in sua, id est Anglorum, lingua proferret.¹

There was in this abbess's monastery a certain brother, particularly remarkable for the grace of God, who was wont to make pious and religious verses, so that whatever was interpreted to him out of Scripture, he soon after put the same into poetical expressions of much sweetness and humility, in English, which was his native language.

Bede's reference to Caedmon's English as 'sua' rather than 'nostra lingua' is all the more startling if we believe the tradition that Bede composed Old English verse, reported by Cuthbert (bef. 770), and later by Symeon of Durham (c. 1115-30).

Thus, Cuthbert states that Bede composed his *Death Song* 'in nostra quoque lingua, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus' ('in our language, as he was learned in our poetry')². The same inclusive formula is paraphrased in Symeon's account of Cuthbert's *Epistola de obitu Bedae*: 'in nostra quoque lingua, hoc est anglica, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus, nonnulla dixit' – 'he said something in our language, i. e. English, as he was learned in our poetry'³.

Further doubts accompany Cuthbert's account. Thus, Whitney F. Bolton is right to ask why there survive almost fifty manuscripts of Cuthbert's *Epistola* and no copy of the translations from Isidore and the Gospel of John attributed to Bede:

... for if Bede as subject was sufficient to give currency to *Epistola Cuthberti*, Bede as author would have sufficed at least to preserve either the St. John or the Isidore; so,

¹ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford, 1969, IV.24, p. 414.

² Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie*, ed. D. Rollason, Oxford, 2000.

³ 'Cuthbert's Letter on the Death of Bede', in Colgrave and Mynors (eds), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, p. 585.

for the matter, ought the reputations of Isidore and of the Bible, both greater than that of Cuthbert.¹

In view of the doubts concerning Bede's authorship or transmission of vernacular texts, whether lost – like the translations of Isidore and the Gospel of John – or preserved – like *Caedmon's Hymn* and *Bede's Death Song* –, one is left with Bede's monumental work *in Latin*, and with his complex understanding of the *gens Anglorum*. To conclude, Allen Frantzen is probably right to state that

Bede did not think of himself as English, however, and those who admiringly refer to him as English risk the error of implying either that Bede wrote in English or that his sense of the English people corresponds to theirs.²

If one turns to the early vernacular tradition in search of a more distinct patriotic feeling, one will be equally disappointed. The oldest English texts³ do not display many symptoms of national awareness, either; instead, they abound in pan-Germanism. *Beowulf* tells the story of a Geatish hero helping a Danish king, whereas *Deor* and *Widsith* invoke various Germanic rulers, in a mnemonic exercise which suggests that the Anglo-Saxon poets' priority was to preserve the memory of a common Germanic identity rather than to shape a new, purely English one.

Thus, blending a poetic *de casibus* with a Germanic *consolatio* tradition, the bard Deor seeks solace in the fate of the Goths under Theoderic and Eormannic:

Peodric ahte þritig wintra
Mæringa burg; þæt wæs monegum cup.
þæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg!
We geascodan Eormanrices
wylfenne geþoht; ahte wide folc
Gotena rices.⁴

¹ W. F. Bolton, 'Epistola Cuthberti De Obitu Bedae: A Caveat', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 1 (1970), 127-139. See also W. D. McCready, 'Bede, Isidore, and the *Epistola Cuthberti*', *Traditio* 50 (1995), 75-93.

² A. J. Frantzen, 'The Englishness of Bede, from Then to Now', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. by S. DeGregorio, Cambridge UP, 2010, p. 229.

³ Although all these texts survive in manuscripts copied no earlier than the second half of the tenth century, the references to known historical characters in *Beowulf*, *Deor*, and *Widsith* allow for a *terminus post quem* in the sixth century. See A. C. Amos, *Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts*, Cambridge MA, 1980; *The Dating of Beowulf*, ed. by C. Chase, Toronto, 1981; D. Cronan, 'Poetic Words, Conservatism and the Dating of Old English Poetry', in *Anglo-Saxon England* 33 (2004), 23-50; L. Neidorf, 'The Dating of *Widsið* and the Study of Germanic Antiquity', *Neophilologus* 97 (2013), 165-183.

⁴ *Deor* 18-23. Old English poems are quoted from *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ed. by G. P. Krapp and E. van Kirk Dobbie, London/New York, 6 vols, 1931-54.

Theodric ruled for thirty winters / the Mæring stronghold; many knew this./ That passed away; this also may./ We have also heard of Eormanric's/ wolfish ways; he held wide sway/ in the realm of the Goths.

When Widsith refers to the English king Offa in his catalogue of peoples he met during his travels, it is only in a half-line juxtaposing him with the Danish ruler Alewih, and in the overwhelmingly Danish company of characters also found in *Beowulf*, such as Hroþwulf and Hroðgar.

Offa weold Ongle, Alewih Denum;
se wæs þara manna modgast ealra,[...]
Hroþwulf ond Hroðgar heoldon lengest
sibbe ætsomne suhtorfædran,
siþþan hy forwræcon wicinga cynn
ond Ingeldes ord forbigdan,
forheowan æt Heorote Heaðobeardna þrym.¹

Offa ruled the Angles, Alewih the Danes;/ he was the bravest of all men [...]/ Hrothwulf and Hrothgar held the longest/ peace together, uncle and nephew,/ after they defeated the Vikings/ and Ingeld to the spear-point bowed down,/ destroyed at Heorot the Heathobeards' army.

More important than the English identity seems to be the opposition between pagans and Christians:

Mid Englum ic wæs ond mid Swæfum..
Mid Seaxum ic wæs ond Sycgum ond mid Sweordwerum.
mid hæðnum ond mid hælepum ond mid Hundingum.²

I was with the Angles and with the Swabians,/ With the Saxons I was and the Secgan and the Swordsmen./ With heathens and with heroes and with Cynocephali.

In *Widsith*, the poet mentions the earliest Germanic tribes, describing a kind of pan-Germanic *oikoumene*, but proposes, like *Beowulf*, an opposition between heroes (*hæleþas*) and their foes, called pagans (*hæþenas*):

Foran æghwylc wæs,
stiðra gehwylc, style gelicost,
hæþenes handsporu.³

Seen from in front,/ like a spike, most like steel/ looked the heathen's paw.

¹ *Widsith* 35-36, 45-49.

² *Widsith* 61-62; 81.

³ *Beowulf* 984-86. Similarly, in the the Old English *Genesis*, faith also prevails over ethnicity. There exist only two kins: the people of God and the pagans (*hæðencynn*, l. 2547).

The actual territorial and ethnic notions of *Engla land/Englaland* and *Angelcynn* finally appear in the Alfredian age, and are present above all in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. However, they do not always spell the modern concept of Englishness. For example, in the entry for the year 597, the Angles are opposed to the West-Saxons:

Her ongan Ceolwulf rixian on Westseaxum & symble he feaht & wann oþþe wið Angelcynn oððe wyð Wealas oþþe wyð Peohtas oþþe wið Scottas¹.

Here Ceolwulf began to rule over the West-Saxons and fought continuously either with the English, or with the Welsh, the Picts or the Scots.

Another passage from the opening of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to the Anglo-Saxons collectively as *Englisc*, but distinguishes carefully between the various Celtic populations of Britain (British, Welsh, Scottish and Pictish). One version even introduces a sixth race, on linguistic rather than ethnic criteria – the Latin speaking Celts (*Bocleden*):

Britene igland ys ehta hund mila lang & II hund mila brad, & her syndon on þis iglande fif ðeoda: Englisc & Brytisc & Wylisc & Scyttisc & Piltisc. (MS F) ²	Brittene igland is ehta hund mila lang & twa hund brad, & her sind on þis iglande fif geþeode: englisc & brittisc & wilsc & scyttisc & pyhtisc & bocleden. (MS E) ³
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The isle of Britain is eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles broad, and there are five peoples on this island: English, British, Welsh, Scottish and Pictish.	The isle of Britain is eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles broad, and there are five peoples on this island: English, British, Welsh, Scottish, Pictish and Book-Latin.
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King Alfred contributed greatly to the political unity of the Angles and Saxons, yet even his understanding of Englishness is questionable. To begin with, there is disagreement between scholars whether Alfred ever referred to himself as king of all the English. According to Sir Frank Stenton, Alfred ‘gives himself no higher title than King of the West-Saxons’ in his Law Code⁴. Patrick Wormald, however,

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 5 (MS C), ed. K. O’Brien O’Keeffe, Woodbridge, 2001. Translations are mine. For a convenient translation, see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock, London, 1961.

² *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 8 (MS F), ed. P. S. Baker, Woodbridge, 2000.

³ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 7 (MS E), ed. S. Irvine, Cambridge, 2004.

⁴ F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford, 3rd edn, 1971, p. 273.

however, argues that Alfred ‘was the first king whose titles [*rex Angulsaxonum/ Anglorum-Saxonum*] claimed rule over all the English’¹.

As Janet Thormann points out, ‘the *Chronicle* refers to Alfred as a king of England only after his death, in the entry for 900’²:

Se wæs cyning ofer eall Ongelcyn butan ðæm dæle þe under Dena onwalde wæs.³

He was king over all England except for the part that was under Danish domination.

Unfortunately, this tradition was not secured in the century following Alfred’s death. In a chronicle written in the last quarter of the tenth century, Æthelweald refers to Alfred as ‘rex Saxonum’ – ‘king of the Saxons’⁴. Alfred’s friend, advisor and biographer Asser designates him as ‘Angul Saxonum rex’ (§1), but refers to Alfred’s language as ‘Saxon’ in the famous passages where he mentions the young prince’s passion for vernacular poetry:

Sed Saxonica poemata die noctuque solers auditor, relatu aliorum saepissime audiens, docibilis memoriter retinebat’⁵.

But he listened with serious attention to the Saxon poems which he often heard recited, and easily retained them in his docile memory.

In this, Asser differs from Alfred himself, for in his famous preface to the Old English translation of Gregory’s *Pastoral Care* Alfred clearly refers to his people as ‘Angelcynn’ and to his language as ‘Englisc’:

Forðy me ðyncð betre, gif iow swæ ðyncð, ðæt we eac sumæ bec, ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne, ðæt we ða on ðæt geðiode wenden

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Society and Its Literature*, p. 13.

² J. Thormann, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Poems and the Making of the English Nation’, in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. by A. J. Frantzen, J. D. Niles, Gainesville, FL, 1997, p. 63: ‘The idea of an England emerges when Alfred has secured the conditions for West-Saxon hegemony. Thereafter, the *Chronicle* poems celebrate West-Saxon rulers as kings of an English people, Edmund in 942 as *Engla þeoden* (‘lord of the English’), Edgar in 973 as *Engla waldend* (‘ruler of the English’) and in 975 as *Engla cyning* (‘king of the English’)’.

³ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 3 (MS A), ed. J. M. Bately, Cambridge, 1986.

⁴ *The Chronicle of Æthelweald*, ed. A. Campbell, London, 1962, s. a. 899. An accessible English translation in *Alfred the Great. Asser’s Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, ed. and tr. S. Keynes, M. Lapidge, London, 1983, p. 191.

⁵ *Asser’s Life of King Alfred, together with the Annals of Saint Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, Oxford, 1904, p. 20, §22; English translation in *Alfred the Great*, ed. Keynes and Lapidge.

ðe we ealle gecnawan mægen, & gedon swæ we swiðe eaðe magon mid Godes fultume, gif we ða stilnesse habbað, ðæt eall sio gioguð ðe nu is on Angelcynne friora monna, ðara ðe ða speda hæbben ðæt hie ðæm befeolan mægen, sien to liornunga oðfæste, ða hwile ðe hie to nanre oðerre note ne mægen, oð ðone first ðe hie wel cunnen Englisc gewrit arædan: lære mon siððan furður on Lædengeðiode ða ðe mon furðor læran wille & to hieran hade don wille.¹

Therefore it seems better to me, if it seems so to you, that we also translate certain books, which are most needful for all men to know, into that language that we all can understand, and accomplish this, as with God's help we may very easily do if we have peace, so that all the youth of free men now in England who have the means to apply themselves to it, be set to learning, while they are not useful for any other occupation, until they know how to read English writing well. One may then instruct in Latin those whom one wishes to teach further and promote to a higher rank.

In this passage of unprecedented linguistic awareness, Alfred promotes English to the level of a language of instruction, whose knowledge must be acquired by all free men before they can apply themselves to the study of Latin. This new situation, so different to the age of Bede, was due to the decay of Latin learning incriminated by Alfred², but also to the King's fondness of vernacular poetry. In any case, *felix culpa*. The Alfredian age gave raise to an unprecedented literary activity in the vernacular, and created the West-Saxon linguistic standard.

Although Alfred's successors were not able to secure the unity of the English, and to keep out the Danish invaders for long, something of the national idea born in the late-ninth century seems to survive. The entry for 1017, the first year in the reign of the Danish king Cnut, shows a unified ethnic notion of the English. Although in reality the population was a blend of Danes and Anglo-Saxons, and the territory was divided between four rulers, the *Chronicle*'s reference to 'all the realm of the English people' conveys an idea of unity:

Her feng Cnut cing to eallan Angelcynnnes rice & hit todælde on III: him silfum Westsexan & Purcylle Eastenglan & Eadrice Myrcean & Yrice Norðhymbran.³

Here Cnut became king of all the realm of the English people, and divided it into four: Wessex to himself, East Anglia for Thorgill, Mercia to Eadric, and Northumbria to Eric.

It is nonetheless impossible to affirm that at any moment in Anglo-Saxon history the notion of a single English people, occupying a unified territory and speaking the same language dominates over the traditional distinctions between Angles and

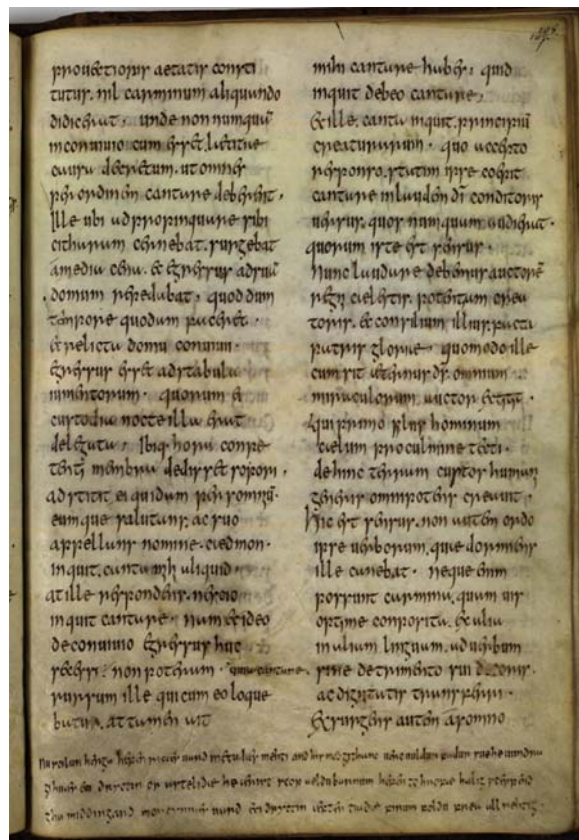
¹ Alfred's preface to the Old English translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* in *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, London, vol. 1, 1958 (1st edn 1871), pp. 5-7.

² See also M. Godden, 'King Alfred's Preface and the Teaching of Latin in Anglo-Saxon England', in *English Historical Review* 117 (2002), 596-604.

³ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition, vol. 8 (MS F).

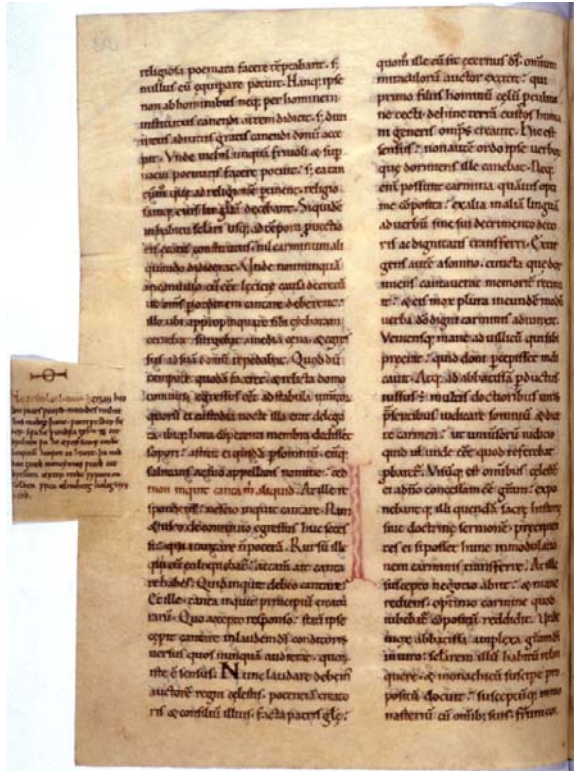
Saxons. A search of the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* yields 143 occurrences of *Englaland* or *Engla land/lond* (mostly in the *Chronicle* and law texts), 176 of *Angelcynn/ Ongelcynn*, but over 500 referring to the West-Saxons alone¹.

To conclude, all the elements of modern national identity were present during the Anglo-Saxon period, yet no unified notion of the English nation had emerged yet. For Bede, what mattered was the common faith of the *gens Anglorum*, rather than their language, political division of territory, or even ethnicity. In the age of Alfred, the shift from a narrow West-Saxon identity to a national and linguistic awareness of *eall Angelcynn* started, but was not completed. Language, ethnicity, territory and faith would be constantly challenged during the subsequent centuries, as the English defined their identity by clashing or melting with the men of the North – pagans or Christians, speaking a Scandinavian or a Romance dialect.



1. St Petersburg, National Library, MS Lat. Q.v.I.18 (c. 732-746), f. 107 (108)^r. The Northumbrian version of Caedmon's Hymn is added in the margin of the Latin account in the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.

¹ Consulted online at <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus> on 22 February 2014.



2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 243 (s. XII¹), f. 82v. Up to the end of the Anglo-Saxon age, the status of the Old English version of *Caedmon's Hymn* in manuscripts of the *Historia ecclesiastica* will remain marginal.

DEVELOPING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE THROUGH SAYINGS

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Abstract: This paper intended to provide some arguments that sustain the intercultural approach in language teaching and the development of an intercultural communicative competence. Students enrolled in a pre-service teaching programme should be aware of the intricate connections that exist between L1 cultural dimension and L2 cultural dimension. A mixed research study was conducted in order to investigate the would-be teachers' attitudes and abilities towards the use of sayings in the foreign language classroom as a means of improving their intercultural communicative competence.

Keywords: culture, foreign language, mother tongue, cultural awareness, sayings, intercultural speaker.

Literature review

Language and culture

Language is according to Kramersch (1993, 1) a social practice and a cultural act in which users co-construct their social roles (Kramersch 1998, 35). From this perspective language represents a complex construct and a medium for negotiating both 'objective and subjective culture' (Deardorff 2009, xiii) depicted on the one hand by literature, history music, art and on the other hand by values, beliefs and worldviews. The teaching and learning of a foreign language might impose some challenges both for the teacher and for the learner if one considers the intricate relation between language and culture.

These challenges regard to a certain extent the development of learners' linguistic and communicative competencies. Accuracy, fluency, pronunciation, knowledge of vocabulary and grammatical structures still represent benchmarks for communicating efficiently in a foreign language. The other challenge is represented by a new paradigm that has developed in the last three decades as a consequence of further understanding the implications that globalization and plurilingualism have for the foreign language speaker. This turning point in foreign language teaching was generated by the acknowledgment of the fact that when different languages interact there are also different cultures that take contact with each other. Byram (1997), Taylor et al. (2013), Risager (2006), Kramersch (2011) suggest that the learner should be encouraged to develop his/her own identity and not have an 'in-between position' (Byram 2008, 57) that is inferior to the native speaker. This new approach to teach a foreign language through cultural lenses was called the 'intercultural approach'. In addition to language development, the

intercultural approach intends to develop “intercultural understanding and mediation” (Corbett 2003, 2).

A new competence, the *intercultural communicative competence* (Byram 1997), has been designed in order to reflect the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for applying this integrative perspective. According to Corbett (2003, 2) this competence targets the ability to understand L2 language and culture and to be more aware of one’s own L1 language and culture. On the one hand, this two-way process encourages the speaker to become more aware of his/her own identity. On the other hand, it enables the speaker to find a common ground between L1 and L2. Being faced with an intercultural contact the speakers reconsider their position in relation to their mother tongue and the target language. It is a matter of identity development as Kramsch (2011, 354-355) suggests by using two metaphors “the third space” and “the third culture” in order to define the changes one undergoes in order to become an intercultural speaker. The development of intercultural communicative competence is a personal endeavour that according to Byram (2003, 13) “requires a change of perspective on self and the other, on the world of one’s socialisation and the worlds one meets through language learning. It involves affective as well as cognitive change, and may be a challenge to one’s identities as a speaker of one (or more) particular languages from childhood.” The image no. 1 below indicates the transition from linguistic competence to intercultural communicative competence:

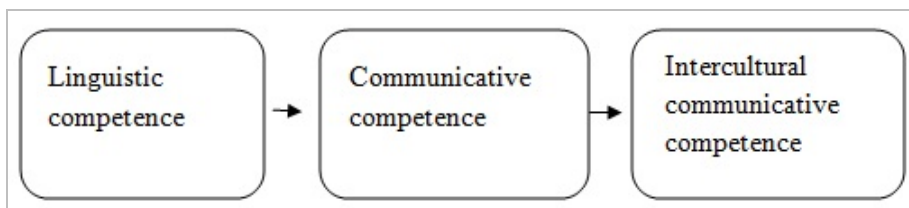


Image no. 1. Shifting competencies in foreign language learning

The relationship between one’s mother tongue and a foreign language that is intended to be acquired is multifaceted. As indicated above, an intercultural approach focuses on identity development and not solely on acquiring a *linguistic competence* “attained through the traditional teaching of grammar, syntax and semantics” (Byram and Adelheid 2013, 47). The concept of *communicative competence* was introduced by Hymes in the early 1970s in opposition to the Chomskyan term of *linguistic competence* (Aguilar 2009, 247). The novelty brought by Hymes referred to the “knowledge of the sociocultural rules of appropriate language use” (Barron 2003, 8). The third competence was coined by Byram (1997). He intended to leave aside the previous two versions of competence because the model to be followed by the learners “was the native speaker” (Byram, Adelheid 2013, 48). As opposed to the other previous models, the intercultural communicative competence takes into consideration the learners’

social roles and the context of exposure to the foreign language. Moreover, it values the understanding of the rapport between L1 culture and L2 culture.

European educational policies

Educational institutions need to constantly adapt their curriculum to current policies and global realities. Several recommendations and language policies (The European Profile for Language Teacher Education, The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, The European Language Portfolio, The Key Competences for Lifelong Learning-European Reference Framework, European Profiling Grid) suggest that it is the teachers' responsibility to incorporate cultural perspectives in the foreign language classroom and to help learners become *intercultural speakers* (term coined by Byram and Zarate in 1997 in Byram 2008, 57). "An intercultural pedagogy takes into account the students' culturally diverse representations, interpretations, expectations, memories and identifications" (Taylor et al. 2013, 236) and places an emphasis on the learners' personal relationship to the foreign language.

The White Paper on Intercultural dialogue (2008, 43) encourages competent public authorities and education institutions to make full use of descriptors of key competences for intercultural communication in designing and implementing curricula and study programmes at all levels of education, including teacher training and adult education programmes. In addition, the European Profiling Grid identifies several responsibilities that a teacher should consider when teaching a foreign language: to expand learners' knowledge of cultural behaviour, to expand own and learners' understanding and appreciation of intercultural issues, to develop learners' ability to analyse and discuss social and cultural similarities and differences (<http://egrid.epg-project.eu/en/egrid>).

According to Lies Sercu (2005, 163) teachers "have to prepare learners for life in an increasingly multicultural world, in which they have to be fluent in more than one language and be interculturally competent". In a globalized world the monolingual person does not any longer represent the standard. Therefore, the language policies mentioned above reflect the need to develop one's intercultural competence. This competence is defined by Beneke (2000: 108-109, in Lazar et al. 2007, 9) as the ability to cope with one's own cultural background in interaction with others.

Two dimensions interact in the foreign language classroom: the mother tongue language and culture and the foreign language and the foreign culture (image no. 2).

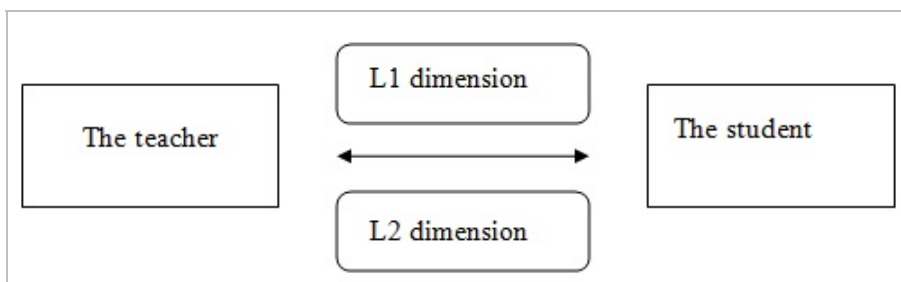


Image no. 2. Cultural dimensions in the foreign language classroom

Even if formal learning usually takes place in a space that is perceived by Dewey (Ryder 2006, 224 in Campbell, Hart 2006) as being an *artificial environment*, the teacher should try to bridge the gap between the world outside the classroom and the one within the classroom. Nonetheless, the classroom space is artificial only in the way the learning sequences are managed by the teacher. Otherwise, the classroom is a heterogeneous environment comprised of individuals who are very different in terms of mother tongue, background experiences, worldviews etc. Therefore when teaching a foreign language there are various dimensions that interact: on the one hand it is the teacher's language and cultural dimension (a native teacher or a non-native teacher) and on the other is the students' language and cultural dimension. In order to become professionals in a globalized world would-be teachers should develop their intercultural communicative competence. This is "a lifelong learning process which is to a great extent personal" (Petruş, Bocoş 2013, 156).

The European Union and the European Commission promote a teaching approach that encourages acceptance of different cultures, motivation for language learning and respect for identity values. In order to raise learners' awareness about cultural perspectives in the foreign language classroom, teachers need to 'acquire intercultural communicative competence to a reasonable level' (Byram 2008, 83). This suggestion represents the starting point of the qualitative research that has been conducted and whose results are presented in this paper.

The didactics of teaching English as a foreign language is an optional course that is offered by the Faculty of Psychology and Sciences of Education (through its Teacher Training Department) to students who are enrolled at the Faculty of Letters in Cluj-Napoca in a three-year pre-service teacher training program. One of the objectives of the course is to make would-be teachers more aware of the authentic documents they could use in order to integrate the target culture in the foreign language classroom. One way of developing one's intercultural communicative competence could be through sayings which are deeply embedded in a country's culture. Longman dictionary provides several definitions for describing sayings, proverbs and maxims: a short well-known statement that gives advice or expresses something that is generally true or a rule for sensible behaviour.

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001, 120) suggests that the teaching of a foreign language should include expressions of folk wisdom because these incorporate and reinforce common attitudes, make a significant contribution to popular culture and represent a salient component of the linguistic aspect of sociocultural competence.

The second part of this paper intends to provide detailed information regarding the research that has been conducted.

Data collection: the data for this study was collected in March 2013.

Participants: second year students enrolled in the course – The Didactics of the English Language.

Research tools: a quiz and a practical task

The aims of the study: to investigate the would-be teachers’ attitudes and abilities towards the use of sayings in the foreign language classroom as a means of improving intercultural communicative competence

The stages of the study:

I.) to provide answers to a quiz

II.) to design a teaching sequence that makes use of sayings, proverbs or maxims

Table no. 1 below indicates the knowledge, attitude and skill that intended to be developed.

Name	Competence
Formative activity: <i>The use of proverbs as authentic resources in order to enhance intercultural communicative competence</i>	Knowledge linguistic competence: to identify appropriate correspondences between L2 and L1 sayings Attitude reflexive attitude towards the existing connections between the mother tongue culture and the foreign language culture Skill the ability to integrate proverbs and sayings in an activity that focuses on foreign language learning

Table no. 1. Targeted knowledge, attitude and skill

The quiz contained the following sayings and maxims: “To eat like a horse”, “Like a cat on hot bricks”, “Cat got your tongue”, “This place is a pigsty”, “Horse of a different colour”, “As harmless as a dove”, “Rain cats and dogs”, “A book worm”, “To put the cat among the pigeons”, “To have butterflies in your stomach”, “Like a bull in a china shop”, “There is no use flogging a dead horse”, “You can’t teach an old dog new tricks”, “You can lead a horse to water, but you can’t make him drink.”

Reasons for choosing these particular sayings:

- A word-for-word translation is unfortunate.
- I motivated students to make use of their L1 cultural dimension

The following results have been obtained:

Saying no.	Response	Frequency	Number of participants
	1	30	42
	1	18	42
	1	41	42
	1	27	42
	1	17	42
	0	17	
	1	25	42
	1	32	42
	1	33	42
	1	20	42
	1	39	42
	1	23	42
	0	24	42
	1	27	42
	1	17	42

Table no. 2. Students’ knowledge of sayings and maxims

* 0 – I am not familiar with the saying, 1 – I am familiar with the saying

An equal number of positive and negative answers have been obtained for saying no. 5. For saying number 12 I have obtained more negative than positive answers. In general, students were familiarized with the sayings and maxims.

Students received 1 point if they were able to find a suitable saying in their L1 and half a point if they just provided an explanation or a translation of it. The following formula was used in order to calculate the data: final grade = (A + B) x (10/14).

The results that were obtained are presented in table no. 3.

Average grade	sd	Min.	Max	N
58,51	15,50	17,80	85,70	43

Table no. 3. Students’ average grade

The average grade obtained is 5,85. The results obtained are unsatisfactory from the perspective of the knowledge that should have been acquired by second year students. On the other hand the results are acceptable if one takes into consideration the limited amount of time students were granted in order to accomplish their tasks.

In the second stage of the study would-be teachers were required to design a teaching sequence that incorporated sayings, proverbs or maxims. The following assessment scale was used:

Elements	Points on a scale from
Providing examples of other sayings	1- 10
Linguistic competence	1- 10
Provide details about the stages of the lesson	1- 10
Reflective practice	1 -10

Table no. 4. Assessment scale

The following results were obtained:

Elements	Points	Frequency	Percentage	N
The use of sayings	10	34	82,93%	41
Linguistic competence	10	25	60,98	41
The stages of the teaching sequence	10	24	58,54	41
Personal reflection	10	24	58,54	41

Table no. 5. Students' ability to incorporate sayings in teaching activities

The average mark obtained was: 8,57. The difference between the minimum value/mark (min. 3, 25) and the maximum one (max. 10,00) is quite surprising. From this point of view the results obtained are unsatisfactory. Moreover, would-be teachers did not provide feedback to the personal reflection stage. This stage intended to develop their reflective attitude. They had to express their opinions as regards the appropriateness of using sayings and proverbs in order to generate tolerance, understanding and respect for the English culture. One possible interpretation for this lack of reflection might be the fact that students have not begun their pre-service teaching practice and do not know what to expect of the teaching profession.

Conclusions

The teaching and learning of a foreign language might impose some challenges both for the teacher and for the learner if one considers the intricate relation between language and culture. The development of an intercultural communicative competence is desirable in the foreign language classroom. This provides a more humanistic perspective on foreign language learning.

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Web resources

http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/white%20paper_final_revised_en.pdf.
Accessed on June 27th, 2013

http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_en.pdf. Accessed on June 28th,
2013

<http://www.ldoconline.com>

AUREATE LANGUAGE: CAUSE AND EFFECT NOTES ON DUNBAR'S DEVOTIONAL POETRY

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Abstract: This study examines the emergence of the aureate terms in the literature of the fifteenth century and its effects as a stylistic artifice on the poetic language of the Poet-Laureate William Dunbar. The investigation traces the use of 'aureate' language inside the English vernacular, focusing on its intended purpose and prospective readership. The close analysis of Dunbar's devotional poems reveals the role that aureate vocabulary plays in enriching the vernacular language as well as in increasing its literary potential.

In a comment upon the value of borrowing and the mingling of the vernacular with Latin or French, Thomas Fuller makes an interesting statement: 'he who mixes wine with water, though he destroys the nature of water, improves the quality thereof.'¹ But is this premise correct? It is evident that the statement alludes to the benefit of linguistic loans, not only in relation to the improvement of the vernacular language, but also in relation to its literary potential. This study examines the emergence of the aureate terms in the literature of the fifteenth century and its stylistic effects on the poetic language of the Poet-Laureate William Dunbar. It begins with an investigation of the notion 'aureate', tracing its usage inside the English vernacular, its intended purpose and the prospective readership. This is followed by a close analysis of one of Dunbar's devotional aureate poems *Ane Ballat of our Lady*.² There is a difficulty inherent in the use of these words which Dunbar and other authors have attempted to adapt, or adopt for that matter, and thus, the careful handling of borrowed terms might illuminate³ the text, but sometimes obscure the meaning for the ordinary reader.

Aureate Language

The first usage of the term "aureate" can be found in the English language as a literary technique in the work of John Lydgate, who used the word as an epithet

¹ C. F. E. Spurgeon, ed., *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion (1357-1900)*, vol. 1 ((London: Chaucer Society, 1914), p. 230.

² It might at first appear strange that this poem is being analysed in this context; however, the conventional form of religious poems in reverence to the Virgin already implies the presence of beautified expressions. Therefore, this peculiar addition of further ornaments to *Ane Ballat of our Lady* leads to rhetorical inflation, which could possibly result in a clogged syntax or incoherence.

³The term is used with reference to its original meaning, derived from 'enlumen'(late 14c)-decorate written material with gold, silver, bright colors, *Online Etymology Dictionary*, s.v. "enlumen".

qualifying an ornate literary style.¹ In the course of literary history, aureate language has been primarily associated with diction and the practice of rhetoric. In the fifteenth century the number of commissioned translations increased significantly. This fact required in turn a corresponding influx of new words. As a result, aureate language became part of the practice of translation, which was highly influenced by the increased authority of the English vernacular. It is no surprise then that Lydgate and many of his contemporaries would use what the poet of *Mankind* called ‘Englysch Latyn’² to render their verse original, as an expression of their poetic imagination.³

These gilded words have a marked influence on the overall effect of a poem both in terms of content and form. Writers strived both for profound meaning and refined expression. Consequently, this poetic ambition could be achieved through a careful handling of the lexical resources. A great emphasis is placed then on the manner in which the writers engage with the Latin or Romance vocabulary, and most importantly, on how they integrate loan words into vernacular languages. Ultimately, it is the harmony between the various linguistic strands that gave rise to the distinguished ‘aureate’ diction so fashionable in the fifteenth century lyrics. The poet’s mission was to render the Latin-based terminology malleable enough to support their stylistic intent, as it happens with Lydgate and his ‘halff chongyd Latyne’⁴, and later on with the polished diction of William Dunbar.

The aureate terms used by Dunbar and other poets preserve an ambivalent reputation in the eyes of the scholars and general readers. Considered either a delight or a nuisance, the golden diction solicits the reader’s response and diverts the attention to the poet and his artistry. This aspect opens new lines of inquiry in relation to the purpose of aureation and its role within the literary and linguistic tradition. What was the main benefit of their employment? How did this influence the status of a writer? To find a satisfactory answer we must look into the nature of these flourished words which became the aesthetic mark of the works compiled between 1350 and 1530. Scholars and editors referred to the aureate terms as ‘long and supposedly elegant words’, Latinate and learned in aspect, which were used to heighten the prosody and the subject-matter of a literary composition.⁵ Simple ideas were often expressed via circumlocutions derived from classical languages.

¹ John Cooper Mendenhall, *Aureate Terms: A Study in the Literary Diction of the Fifteenth Century* (Lancaster, PA.: Wickersham Printing Company, 1919), p.7. Mendenhall’s work remains the seminal study for the notion the aureate terms and their reception.

² ‘Mankind,’ in *From Stage to Page - Medieval and Renaissance Drama*, ed. G. NeCastro,(2007). Available online at the following address:
<http://machias.edu/faculty/necastro/drama/comedy/mankind.html>.

³ Matthew Boyd Goldie, ‘Audiences for Language Play in Middle English Drama’ in *Traditions and Transformations in Late Medieval England*, ed. Douglas Biggs, Sharon D. Michalove, and Albert Compton Reeves (Leiden: Brill, 2002) p.208.

⁴ John Metham, *The Works of John Metham: Including the Romanace of Amornus and Cleopes*, ed. Hardin Craig (London: Early English Text Society, 1916), p. 80, stanza 317.

⁵ Mendenhall, p.9.

One illustrative example in this sense is Dunbar's periphrastic description of the Sun in *The Goldyn Targe* – 'Up sprang the goldyn candill matutyne' (4).¹ Such expressions could be construed as mere displays of erudition anticipated by the courtly readership or they could otherwise be viewed as an effective means of displacing the prestige of one language/tradition onto another. In other words, the aureate diction became an instrument of acquiring legitimacy, which is one of the main reasons behind its popularity. Regardless of the rationale which animates their usage, the gilded lexical items were first and foremost decorative in function. However, the ornamentations are not confined to the surface of the poem and the aesthetic effect they generate. The choice of an aureate expression is also motivated by what Alcuin labelled as 'fitness'- or adequacy. One of the dialogues between Alcuin and Charlemagne explains 'Fitness' as a term that refers to the competence of the words in lending eloquence to ideas²: '*lam nunc nos ordo disputationis ad elocutionis deduxit inquisitionem quae magnam causae adfert vetustatem et rhetori dignitatem.*'³

Dunbar's Sources

The sources Dunbar used to derive his imagery are extensive and varied drawing on the Old Testament, scriptural passages and patristic commentary, and often intertwined with secular materials.⁴ These references are not easily discernible for the untrained eye. Even those with a basic understanding of these traditions might face some difficulty determining the original sources due to Dunbar's complex structure of associations. Many of these traditional concepts have been developed since their creation by numerous authors and the question is—from which of these did Dunbar draw his imagery. For instance, line 72 mentions the 'gloryus grayne' in reference to the figure of Jesus Christ as it appears in the Gospel of St John:⁵

Jesus autem respondit eis, dicens: Venit hora, ut clarificetur Filius hominis. Amen, amen dico vobis, nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram, mortuum fuerit, ipsum solur manet; si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert.⁶

However, the association between the figure of Christ and the grain was later developed in the commentary of St Ambrose:

¹ William Dunbar, *The Goldyn Targe*, in *The Life and Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. James Paterson (Edinburgh: Ballantyne & Company, Printers, 1860).

² Mendenhall, p.21.

³ Alcuin, *Disputatio De Rhetorica et De Virtutibus Sapientissimi Regis Karli et Albini Magistri*, 37.

⁴ Isabel Hyde, 'Primary Sources and Associations of Dunbar's Aureate Imagery,' *The Modern Language Review* 51, no. 4 (Oct., 1956), p.483.

⁵ *Ibid.* p.487.

⁶ *Gospel of St. John*, XI, 23-5.

Vis scire granum Christum, et seminatam Christum? Nisi granum tritici cadens in terram moriatur, ipsum solum manet: si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum afferet

(Joan. xii, 24). Ergo non erravimus, quia diximus quod ipse jam dixerat. Est autem et granum tritici; quia confirmat cor hominis: et granum sinapis: quia cor hominis accendit.

Et licet ad omnia utrumque conveniat, videtur tamen granum tritici; cum de ejus resurrectione tractatur: panis enim Dei est qui de coeli descendit (Joan. vi. 33).¹

Both sources and both adaptations of the concept would have been available for Dunbar's use; therefore, for a complete understanding of the imagery, one must fully engage the work in its context. As a brief example, in verse 53, we come across an address to the Virgin who is depicted as 'memore of sore, stern in aurore'. The figure of Mary might be gilded with the warm light of the Morning Star; however, the 'Morning Star' might also stand for an appellative of Christ. In this regard, Isabel Hyde makes mention of 'Aurora' as a figurative expression of Christ rather than the Virgin:

Sprungin is Aurora radius and bricht,
On loft is gone the glorious Appollo,
The blisful day depairtit fro the nycht:
Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro²

Hyde also connects Aurora to a common representation of the Virgin featured in the works of the Latin Church Fathers.³ The context of the poem clarifies Dunbar's use of the image of the star in the conventional sense;⁴ however, this reference would be vague outside the context provided by the stanza.

Apart from the wide range of possible sources mentioned previously, William Dunbar exhibits his mastery in handling complex analogies which quite often derive from the mainstream rhetorical stock. One such example is Dunbar's extensive use of floral imagery. The metaphor 'fresche flour femynyne' (10) appears recursively throughout the text with slight variation in form: 'benyng fresche flurising' (13), 'fair fresche flour-de-lyce'(42), 'flour delice of paradys' (71). Dunbar also employs a more specific floral metaphor in his representation of the Virgin, namely, the rose. He addresses the 'moder and maide'(23) with the appellatives: 'ros of paradys' (40) and 'rois virginall' (79). This analogy is in fact a medieval commonplace inspired by the classical association between flowers and

¹ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844), xv (S. Ambrosius), 17471.

² On the Resurrection of Christ, 11. 21-4.

³ Hyde, p. 487. For the representation of Virgin as Aurora see J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844), cccix, 504, Index Marianus.

⁴ The term 'aurore', the word for dawn, derived from Latin via French.

godly figures, i.e. Venus. The metaphor was later transmitted into the medieval Christian tradition, and ultimately, the image of Mary as a *rosa sine spina* became a standard appellative in the Marian Hymns.

Usage of Gilded Vocabulary

In his article 'William Dunbar as a Scottish Lydgatian', Pierrepont H. Nichols describes the devotional poems of William Dunbar's as 'glorified catalogues of laudatory epithets.'¹ In the same article Nichols acknowledges the direct influence of Lydgate on Dunbar, especially in regard to the composition of *Ane Ballat of Our Lady*.² Based on the correspondence between the words employed, it is clear that Dunbar draws upon Lydgate's *Ballade at the Reverence of Our Lady*. Moreover, *Ane Ballat of Our Lady* is illustrative of the blending of traditions which surfaced the fifteenth century literature of the Scottish Makars. First and foremost, Dunbar is working inside the tradition of the Marian hymns, a genre which shares a special place inside the medieval religious lyrics. The act of composing devotional hymns provided the poet an opportunity to exhibit his rhetorical skill. As suggested in the introduction, the poems in commendation of the Virgin are conventionally accompanied by ornate elements and strong visuals. The addition of aureate terms often leads to a cluster of elegant signifiers but often without a tangible attachment to a signified.

It is interesting then to observe the manner in which the Scottish poet handles the conventional material. More precisely, the way he blends the English and French traditions with his earlier poetic inheritance is influenced to a large extent by the northern alliterative poetry.³ In this regard, James Kingsley argues that Dunbar's decisive influence in matters of style and content does not derive strictly from Chaucer and Lydgate, whom he refers to as the "English agents for the import of continental literature."⁴ On the contrary, Dunbar's poetic expression is rather attributed to his educational background and the constant interaction he had with Latin, but also with Gaelic vernacular tradition. Furthermore, Kingsley indicates that Dunbar's artistry, his 'vitality and freshness, as well as his confident handling of themes uncommon in Middle English' indicate the poet's indebtedness to a flourishing Scottish tradition.⁵

¹ Pierrepont H. Nichols, 'William Dunbar as a Scottish Lydgatian,' *PMLA* 46, no. 1 (Mar., 1931), p.219.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Edwin Morgan, 'Dunbar and the Language of Poetry,' *Essays in Criticism* (April, 1952 II), p.139. Morgan gives an account of the Scottish cultural background which supposedly favoured Dunbar's aureate style.

⁴ James Kingsley, *Scottish Poetry: A Critical Survey* (London: Cassell, 1955), p.xiii.

⁵ *Ibidem*. Dunbar's Scottish literary inheritance and his indebtedness to the English Chaucerian tradition is still a subject of controversy among scholars. Academics like Edwin Morgan and James Kingsley attribute Dunbar's aureate style to the Neo-classicist revolution in Scotland and to his classical education

The similarities between Lydgate and Dunbar do not reside only in the shared vocabulary or pure textual features. Both poets invoke the presence of the muses in order that they might inspire their poetic imagination and add the desired lustre to their verse. Dunbar expresses his reliance on the muses in *Thrissill and the Rois*,¹ a poem written in 1503 which reads:

Yit nocht incressis thy curage to indyt,
 Quhois hairt sum tyme hes glaid and blisfull bene,
 Sangis to mak undir the levis grene. (26-28)²

The invocation of the muses may also be related to the modesty topos: 'Alias ! unworthi I am both and unable' (15), which generally accounts for two things. On the one hand, it might allude to the poet's inadequacy when it comes to adapting his words to the subject matter. Or on the contrary, the statement of the poet anticipates the use of the rhetorical mastery he previously denies. In *Ballade at the Reverence of Our Lady*, Lydgate expresses his desire to 'redresse' (8) his style in virtue of the golden liqueur poured into his 'penne' (14) by the muse of poetry:

O wynd of grace, now blows in to my saile !
 O auriat licour of Cloy, for to wryte
 Mi penne enspire, if that I wold endyte ! (12-14)

Nevertheless, the image of the muse was not restricted by classical notions and both Lydgate and Dunbar reassigned the role of inspiration to the Virgin. In the third stanza of the poem, Lydgate conjures the mercy of the revered lady to warrant his success of 'in laude and in preysing' (19) and to bestow her blessing on his rhetorical endeavour (20-21). Starting from the fourth stanza the poet moves to the actual description of the Virgin as he portrays her as the star of stars:

Sterne of sternys with thi stremys clere,
 Sterne of the see, [on]-to shipmen lyght and gyde,
 lusty lemand, moost plesaunt to appere (22-24)

The same celestial image of the Virgin is found the introductory stanza of Dunbar's *Ballat*:¹

¹ David Laing, ed., *The Poems of William Dunbar: Now First Collected with Notes, and a Memoir of His Life*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Laing and Forbes, 1834).

² James Paterson, ed., *The Life and Poems of William Dunbar* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne & Company, Printers, 1860), pp.26-27.

Haile, steme superne ! Haile, in eterne,
In Godis sicht to schyne !
Lucerne in defne, for to discerne
Be glory and grace devyne ;
Hodiem, modern, sempitem,
Angelicall Regyne !
Our tern infeme for to dispersn,
Helpe rialest rosyne.
Ave Maria, gratia plena !
Haile, fresche flour femynyne !
Yeme us, gubeme. Virgin matern,
Of reuth baith rute and ryne. (1-12)

As this extract above has hinted at Dunbar's *Ballat* reflects a careful handling of aureate diction in an arguably different approach than that taken by Lydgate. Although the lyrics of the poem present evident traces of Lydgatian imitation, they reveal the different stylistic effect developed by Dunbar. It seems that the string of epithets—'sterne,' 'superne,' 'lucerne,' 'hodiern,' 'modern,' and 'sempitem'—coupled with alliteration—'sterne superne,' 'derne' - 'discerne,' 'glory' - 'grace,' and 'fresche flour femynyne'—results in a rich internal rhyme which furnishes the distinguished sonority of the stanza.

The first lines of the *Ballat* are a paragon of aureate diction since the lyrics adhere to both the purpose and application of the aureate concept. In view of the example above, the verse and vocabulary of William Dunbar seem to accommodate Mendenhall's definition of aureate terms: 'words designed to achieve sententiousness and sonorous ornamentation of style principally through their being new, rare, or uncommon, and approved by the critical opinion of their time.'² The lyrics betray the poet's concern for both phonetic harmony and ornamentation. A lexical analysis of the stanza shows that it contains fifteen words which can be deemed aureate: 'superne,' 'eterne,' 'lucerne,' 'discerne,' 'hodiern,' 'modern,' 'sempitem,' 'inferne,' 'dispersn,' 'femynyne,' 'guberne,' and 'matern.'³ In his investigation of William Dunbar's diction, Ellenberger calls attention to the high frequency of Latinate items in *Ane Ballat of Our Lady* in contrast to the other works of the Scottish poet. For instance, the average recurrence of Latinism in the whole body of works is 12.9 percent, while the devotional poem achieves an

¹ All the quotation for *Ane Ballat of Our Lady* are taken from James Paterson, ed., *The Life and Poems of William Dunbar* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne & Company, Printers, 1860).

² Mendenhall, p.18.

³ John Corbett, *Language and Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997). p. 216. The list of Latin words is based on the study of Ellenberger (1977) and Zettersten (1979).

average of 31.1 percent. In the lexical economy of the poem this implies that one in every three words is either Latin or Latinized.¹

This is not to say that Aureation as a stylistic technique is entirely conditioned by the presence of classical vocabulary. Other words can acquire golden overtones by proximity and semantic association. For instance, a vernacular word such as 'sterne' might be considered part of the aureate diction given the mental image that it generates. Within the poem, 'sterne' appears initially in a cluster of Latin terms and later on it features three times in specific references to the celestial heavens : 'sterne orientale' (26), 'sterne in aurore' (53), and 'sterne meridiane' (70). The emphasis on the position of the stars alludes to planet Venus (the Morning Star and the Evening Star) which is visible throughout the day. In the figurative sense, the analogy between the star and the Virgin suggests the perpetual brightness of Mary, 'qwene of hevyn' (53) and 'our licht most richt in clud of nycht' (26). The positive attributes related to the celestial light will be transferred to the signifier in the text (i.e. the star), which by extension will be integrated into the gilded vocabulary.

One of the main merits ascribed to William Dunbar is the melody derived from his aureate versification. It is interesting to note how the Scottish Makar achieves the harmonious phonetic pattern. First, the formal structure of the religious poem relies primarily on the tight-rhyme and on Dunbar's mastery in word-choice. Secondly, the rhythmic delight is conditioned by the position of the words inside the line. In this regard *Ane Ballat of Our Lady* comprises seven stanzas of twelve lines arranged *abababxbab*, where *a* marks a line of four feet with three-rhymes in each line : 'haile, *bricht* be *sicht* in hevyn on *hicht*'² (25) etc., and where *b* marks a three feet line: 'Our dirkness for to scale' (26)³ and *x* stands for the refrain.⁴ The biblical refrain of the Annunciation '*Ave Maria, gratia plena*' appears in each stanza in the ninth line and constitutes a basic element of formal and phonetic cohesion. The reiterative salutation 'Haile' or 'Hale' plays a similar role inside the stanza:

Haile, Quene serene ! Haile, most amene !
 Haile, hevinlie hie Empryss !
 Haile, schene, unseyne with carnale eyne !
 Haile, Rois of Paradyss !
 Haile, clene, bedene, ay till conteyne !
 Haile, fair fresche flour-de-lyce !
 Haile, grene daseyne ! Haile, fro the splene,
 Of Jhesu genetrice

¹ Corbett, p.217.

² My emphasis.

³ Other examples for *a*: 'Our licht most richt in clud of nycht' (27); 'Haile, wicht in ficht,puttar to flicht' (29) and other examples for *b*: 'Of fendis in battale' (30); 'Haile, glorious virgin, hale'(32) etc.

⁴ Joseph T. Shipley, ed., *Dictionary Of World Literature: Criticism, Forms, Technique* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1943). p.210.

Ave Maria, gratia plena !
Thow hair the Prince of Pryss ;
Our tryne to meyne, and go betweyne,
As humile Oratrice. (37-48)

Dunbar makes use of the angelical greetings to anticipate the praising appellations of the ‘Angelicall regyne’ (6) who cannot be perceived ‘with carnale eyne’ (39) in spite of the resplendence described in the previous stanzas: ‘Haile, bricht be sicht../our licht most richt’ (25-26); ‘ Haile, plicht but sicht; hale’ (31). In this vein, Edwin Morgan remarks the presence of the consonant pattern which leads to what he calls ‘a very makar-like onomatopoeia’.¹ Furthermore, the combination rhyme-alliteration, complemented with the internal rhyme and vocalic alliteration amounts to the brisk movement of the stanzas. Morgan argues that this ‘dance of the verse’ contributes to the heightened perception of the poetic object – the ‘qwene serene’ (36).² The sonorous quality of the verse becomes a side-effect of the lexical permutation. However, the sounds draw attention to the word choice, just as the word-choice generates tone and melodic effects – with both stylistic techniques serving as means of ornamentation.

At times the emphasis placed on the rhyme may lead to peculiar constructions such as ‘Alaphais habitakle’ (14)³ which appears in the second stanza as a reference to Mary’s womb and the physical Incarnation of Christ. The stress falls on the word ‘habitakle’ which sets the rhyme of the *b* lines. The rest of the stanza stands as a proof of Dunbar’s artistry in balancing form and content:

Haile, yyng, benyng, fresche flurising
Haile, Alphais habitakle
Thy dyng of spring maid us to syng
Before his tabernakle,
AH thing maling we doune thring.
Be sicht of his signakle ;
Quhilk King us bring unto his ryng,
Fro dethis dirk umbrakle.
Ave Maria, gratia plena !
Haile Modir and Maid but makle !
Bricht sygn, gladyng our languissing,
Be nicht of the mirakle. (13-24)

¹ Morgan, p. 144.

² Morgan, p. 148.

³ See ‘I am the Alpha and the Omega’ - Apocalypse 1:8 and 22:13.

Dunbar rhymes ‘habitable’ (14) - the ‘dwelling’ of Christ, with ‘his tabernacle’ (16) which stands for another common representation of the womb of the Virgin. As the lyrics flow, Dunbar preserves this main imagery by suggesting the Immaculate Conception: ‘Modir and Maid but *makele*’ [...] / ‘Be nicht of the mirakle’ (22-24).¹ Moreover, the Scottish poet seems to be particularly inventive in adopting Romance cognates such as ‘imperatrice’ (61), genitrice (63), salvatrice (67) and thus assimilating the feminine suffixes ‘-ice’ into the main rhyme of the stanza. Dunbar reveals an extensive understanding of the classical language which allows him to corrupt Latin words in order to maintain a rhyming sequence. This latter aspect is exemplified by the poet in the first stanza when Dunbar uses ‘rosyne’ (6) as an improvised alteration of the Latin *rosa*, for the benefit of the overall rhyme. Moreover, the simultaneous presence of Latin and Romance words, and most significantly, Dunbar’s ease of lexical adaptations is also indicative of his relationship with the combined literary tradition of Scotland and England.²

Thus far, we have seen that the Latin loans manifest to a large extent their literary potential, but in terms of the common language this statement is no longer valid. The export of Latinate coinages outside the literary context often resulted in forceful affectation. This perception was also common among the detractors of the aureate style who charged against the artificial flavour of the gilded poetry. In his *Essay on English Poetry*, Thomas Campbell points out the flaws of aureation and therefore accuses the aureate poets of artificiality: ‘when they meant to be more eloquent [they] tore up words from the Latin which never took root in the language, like children making a mock garden with flowers and branches stuck in the ground, which speedily wither’.³ It may be that Campbell’s claim holds some truth in relation to the actual language, but it does not belittle Dunbar’s rhetorical flair. Nevertheless, the poetry of the Scottish Makar does raise several comprehension difficulties which can be attributed entirely to pretentiousness. At times the highly decorated lyrics reach incomprehensibility or even more so they conflict with the poet’s intention. The last stanza of the *Ballat* is a case in point for this argument insofar as the lyrics collapse into English at the end of the poem:

Imperial wall, place palestrall,
 Of peirless pulcritude ;
 Tryumphal hall, hie trone regall
 Of Godis celsitude ;
 Hospitall riall, the Lord of all
 Thy closset did include
 Bricht hall, cristall, rois virginall,
 Fulfillit of angell fude.

¹ See the fifteenth century ME poem *I syng of a mayden* which describes the Virgin as being ‘makeles’, flawless, immaculate .

² C.I. Macafee, ‘Older Scots Lexis’ in *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, ed. Charles Jones (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p. 197.

³ Thomas Campbell, *Essay on English Poetry* (London, 1848), p. 39.

Ave Maria, gratia plena
Thy birth has with His blude,
Fra fall mortall, originall,
Us raunsound on the rude. (73-84)

Dunbar refers back to the image of the Virgin from the second stanza as the figurative space inhabited by Christ. The Virgin embodies the ‘hall’, the palace comprising the proper throne to accommodate the Lord’s ‘magnificence- ‘celsitud’ (76). The bright crystal and the untouched rose are both suggestive of Mary’s physical purity.¹ The lyrics follow the same lexical pattern up to the final refrain - with the emphasis placed on the aureate items. However, the message of the final verses is rendered solely in English, in contrast to the profusion of golden words employed throughout the poem. The poet concludes his Marian hymn by underling the vital role of the Virgin without whom the ransoming of the souls would not be possible.

Concluding remarks

The reception of the aureate diction is a matter of taste and education background – an aspect easily certified by its many admirers and detractors. Regardless of the audience’s predilection the use of golden expressions holds a set of advantages which cannot be denied. The fusion of aureate terms into literary texts opened new opportunities of exploring and rewriting well-entrenched traditions. There were linguistic limitations due to the transference of ideas between languages; however, the emphasis on word-choice flared up the poetic creativity, thus forcing the writers to strive for refined versification. It was the actual limitation which resulted in the opportunity for originality. The aureate diction enlarged the rhetorical range of the poets and allowed them to integrate more figurative references inside their work.

While it may not affect the main body of a language, the Latinized style presents a great deal of literary potential. This decorative feature furthered the dissemination of the aureate diction among the fifteenth century poets, reaching the apogee in the lyrics of William Dunbar. At first glance Dunbar’s devotional poem is both difficult and challenging for the general reader. Yet, despite the seeming veil of pretentiousness, the close analysis of the *Ballat* reveals the Dunbar’s excellent command over a wide lexical spectrum. Dunbar made the golden vocabulary a marked feature of his lyrics by using the aureate words to reinforce his poetic individuality. The strong visuals and expanding conventional imagery attest to his mastery in the handling the aureate diction. His poem may seem less

¹ See notes 73-84 in John Conlee, ed., *William Dunbar: The Complete Works* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004) Available online: <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/dunint.htm>

intelligible to the average reader but they still remain appealing in form; and even more so, they may be quite sonorous to the ears of an educated readership.

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PREVERBAL SUBJECTS AND EPP IN ROMANIAN

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Abstract: Against straightforward assumptions holding that Romanian preverbal subjects have either an argumental (Motapanyane 1994, Hill 2004) or a non-argumental status (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Cornilescu 2000, Alboiu 2002), we opt for a conciliatory approach endorsed by syntax uniformity. Interestingly enough, the apparent paradox around the mixed A- and A'-properties of preverbal subjects, sheds light on the mechanisms employed by the computational system, as well as on the syntax-Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interface. Although subtypes of quantificational phrases (QPs) have led to contradictory conclusions, in this paper, we argue that such phrases only differ in interpretation (i.e. at the C-I interface), while they behave alike within narrow syntax. Focusing on the syntax-relevant features of QPs we highlight the futility of [topic] features at Numeration. Moreover, ever since Case is checked in situ (Chomsky 2000 et seq., Alboiu 2002 on Romanian) we believe that the A-properties of lexical preverbal subjects in Romanian must point to Internal Merge EPP, relying on Alboiu (2007, 2009) for External Merge EPP.

Key words: preverbal subjects, A/A'-properties, quantificational phrases, null expletive, EPP

1. Introduction

The generative literature on the status of the preverbal subject in Romanian registers two opposing views: one in which the preverbal subject is topical (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Cornilescu 2000, Alboiu 2002), and another which argues for the argumental status of the preverbal subject in this language (Motapanyane 1994, Hill 2004). Here, we will show that seemingly contradictory views can find common ground in a computational system defined by unbounded Merge whose quasi-universal edge features (Chomsky 2008) proliferating indiscriminate specs do not have a pre-defined A/A'-status.

The paper is organized as follows. After relying on the generative literature in Section 2 for two contradictory pieces of evidence centred around QPs, in Section 3 we transfer Cecchetto's (2000) findings to Romanian data providing new evidence for the A-status of non-quantificational subjects. Arguing that both quantificational and non-quantificational subjects sit in an A-position from a narrow syntax viewpoint, in Section 4 we reject a computational system that derives preverbal subjects and CLLD by means of [topic] features, claiming that the A'-properties/topic(-like) interpretations are read off the syntactic derivation at the C-I interface. Lastly, in Section 5 our belief that the A-properties of lexical subjects are indicative of EPP is strengthened by Gallego (2004, 2010) on Internal Merge EPP, and by Alboiu (2007, 2009) on External Merge EPP.

2. Previous Data

In this section, we present a selection of previous arguments centred around quantificational phrases admitting to the relevance of both.

On the argumental side, strong evidence for the argumental status of preverbal subjects comes from BQs. Thus, according to Hill (2004), when the subject BQ co-occurs with a focused phrase, the quantifier must occupy an argumental position by exclusion for the following reasons:

- (i) Since Cinque (1990) it is known that BQs cannot be Topics. (ii) The BQ co-occurs with preverbal Focus, so it cannot have a Focus reading. (iii) The Focus movement creates an operator-variable chain which would compete with the BQ chain if the latter was in an A' position¹ (Hill 2004: 343).

The examples below (Hill 2004: 342-343, (5a) and (6)). suggest that topics, subjects and foci reside in the left periphery of TP². Paradoxically, though, focus disrupts subject-verb adjacency only to prove that the subject sits in an A-spec (see also Motapanyane 1994).

- (1) a. *Mariei cineva numai FLORI îi trimitea,*
 Mary.DAT somebody only Flowers CL.3SG.DAT sent.3SG
nu bomboane.
 not sweets
 'As for Mary, somebody was sending her only flowers, not sweets.'
- b. *Spunea că, Mariei, cineva numai FLORI*
 said.3SG that Mary.DAT somebody only flowers
îi trimitea, nu bomboane.
 CL.3SG.DAT sent.3SG not sweets
 'As for Mary, (s)he said that somebody was sending her only flowers, not sweets.'

In a following section it will be shown that a BQ subject preceding a moved wh-phrase gives rise to ungrammaticality, perhaps indicating that they both sit in an A'-position.

On the other hand, the most conspicuous A'-property of preverbal subjects in Romanian (see especially Alboiu 2002) concerns their specific interpretation. Following von Heusinger (2002, quoted in López 2009), specific phrases must be

¹ That contrastive focus is quantificational in Romanian was demonstrated by Alboiu (2002), who resorted to parasitic gaps and weak cross over effects.

² Unlike BQ subjects, topics and foci can also be found in the CP area (Hill 2004: 352 fn. 3), underscoring the privileged status of the former.

“anchored”¹, namely, they are either speaker-known or else their anchor must be found in the same sentence. By extension, specific nominal phrases defined by a “strong” non-existential reading, include definites and indefinites with a referential, a partitive or a generic collective reading. The examples adduced by Alboiu (34-35, her (3a-d)) are illustrative of this point:

(2) a. definite NP:

Prietenă mea a obținut o bursă în Franța.
 friend-the my has obtained a fellowship in France
 “My friend got a fellowship in France.”

b. referential indefinite NP:

O prietenă de-a mea e lingvistă
 a friend of- my is linguist
 GEN.F
 “A friend of mine is a linguist.”

c. partitive indefinite NP:

Doi pești sunt negri (, al treilea e roșu).
 two fish are black (, the third is red)
 “Two fish are black (the third is red).”

d. generic collective NP:

Trei pești sunt mai scumpi decât doi.
 three fish are more expensive than two
decât doi.
 than two

Leaning on the aforementioned evidence we can conclude that Romanian preverbal subjects prompt a specific interpretation, whence their natural assimilation to topical constituents.

In sum, (subtypes of) quantificational phrases point in opposite directions: BQs argue for an argumental position, whereas the exclusively specific interpretation of preverbal indefinites is a short term for topicality. As will become clear shortly, such phrase types behave alike within narrow syntax by virtue of their quantificational head (i.e. they are QPs), indicating a division of labour between narrow syntax and interpretation.

3. New Evidence

Although preverbal subjects in Romance null subject languages resemble Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), interpretive arguments have been employed to demonstrate that, to the extent that preverbal subjects are topics, they should not be

¹ Since specific phrases can be part of focus, López (2009: 187) claims that specificity involves no discourse connectedness (against Diesing 1992).

mixed up with CLLD topics (Rizzi 2006, López 2009, among others). In this section, we argue that the distinction can be captured by a syntactic system devoid of [topic] features. In particular, starting from Cecchetto's (2000) discovery that CLLD objects reconstruct to a TP-internal site, the preverbal subject and the CLLD position are approached by means of the more primitive (syntax-relevant) A/A'-distinction. Our Romanian informants have highly corroborated a reconstruction hypothesis.

If preverbal subjects are topics, one is inclined to subsume them under CLLD¹ as proposed in Barbosa (1995), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), Ordóñez and Treviño (1999). Recast in recent Minimalist terms (Chomsky 2000 et seq.) this assumption predicts that pro drop languages are "bare" VSO languages devoid of a SpecTP that could account for the privileged status of subjects vs. CLLD objects, i.e. T's A'-specs are uniformly assigned [topic] features. This move is far from correct not only from an interpretive point of view, but also from a syntactic perspective.

For starter, in Rizzi (2006) topics and preverbal subjects share [+aboutness], while topics are necessarily D-linked, or [+anaphoric, +contrastive] (López 2009).

On the syntactic side, we follow Cecchetto (2000) who noticed that CLLD objects can be successfully bound by the preverbal subject located in SpecTP, concluding that they must reconstruct to a TP-internal site, plausibly a higher Specv*P² c-commanding the external argument position (see also Gallego 2010).

- (3) a. *[Articolele pe care i_i le-*
 articles-the PE which CL.3SG.DAT CL.3PL.ACC
ai dat]_j Ion_i nu le-
 have given Ion not CL.3PL.ACC
*a citit. [_{v*P} t_i t_j ieri]*
 has read yesterday
- b. **[Articolele pe care i_i le-*
 articles-the PE which CL.3SG.DAT CL.3PL.ACC
ai dat]_j nu le-
 have given not CL.3PL.ACC has
*citit [_{v*P} Ion_i t_j ieri]*
 read Ion yesterday
 "John hasn't read the articles that you gave him."

If the preverbal subject reconstructed back to Specv*P, a Condition C effect would have ensued as in (3b). The speakers that we consulted highly excluded the co-

¹ Base-generation of CLLD in the left periphery of the sentence cannot be seriously entertained in Minimalism since External Merge is primarily related to edge semantics (as pointed out in Gallego 2004).

² That CLLD objects cannot occupy an A-position in the left periphery of the sentence is a logical consequence of the fact that the A-domain of the object is confined to the v*P phase: the object cannot check Case or engage in A-chains beyond the v*P phase (Chomsky 2000 et seq.).

reference between *Ion* and the clitic. Reconstruction was strengthened by indefinites, referential expressions which preclude accidental co-reference (Cecchetto 2000):

- (4) a. **[Primul articol al unui ziarist]_j el_i*
 first-the article of a journalist he
*îl scrie întotdeauna [v*P t_i t_j cu*
 CL.3SG.ACC write.3SG always with
entuziasm]
 enthusiasm
- b. *[Primul articol al unui ziarist]_j*
 first-the article of a journalist
*îl scrie întotdeauna [v*P el_i t_j cu*
 CL.3SG.ACC write.3SG always with
entuziasm]
 enthusiasm
 “The first article of a journalist, he always writes it with enthusiasm.”

Assuming that the CLLD object and the preverbal subject are simply topics/A'-moved, it is impossible to predict that the former reconstructs while the latter does not. A finer-grained syntactic architecture underlies fine-grained interpretation.

4. Approaching the Paradox

Following Chomsky (1995), Lasnik (1999), Boeckx (2008), among others, we are guided by the crucial assumption that, unlike A'-positions, A-positions do not reconstruct. Thus, from a syntactic perspective, the CLLD object above sits in a genuine A'-position, whereas the preverbal subject occupies an A-position. Given that, roughly, Romanian preverbal subjects display both A- and A' properties, the A/A' distinction deserves some clarification.

Within earlier stages of the generative framework, A-positions were potential theta-role positions (Chomsky 1981), or Case positions (Chomsky 1995). More recently, the A vs. A' distinction has been recast in terms of the feature-type of the Probe triggering movement:

Indirect feature-driven movement (IFM) subdivides into types depending on the attracting head H in the final stage: (a) A-movement when H has phi-features (yielding the Case/agreement system), or (b) A'-movement when H has P-features of the peripheral system (force, topic, focus, etc.) (Chomsky 2000: 108).

As is well-known, SpecTP in Romance null subject languages has been attributed both A- and A'-properties as apart from being a species of A-movement (e.g. Suñer 2003, Rizzi 2006), it also has topic-like properties. Taken literally, if SpecTP is both A and A'-moved from a narrow syntax viewpoint, then SpecTP appears to be a paradoxical spec. Specifically, if A'-movement reconstructs, whereas A-movement does not, SpecTP reconstructs and stays put at the same time. Even if

one entertains a combo probe, i.e. phi-edge probe or A-A' probe (e.g. Gallego 2004, 2010), it is the A side of the probe that bears syntactic import. As syntax interprets the preverbal subjects in Romance null subject languages as A-moved, one must accept the presence of the EPP probe.

We also dismiss the derivation of preverbal subjects by means of discourse features that interfere in syntax even though this is apparently permitted by the A'-side of the putative combo probe and the potentially ambiguous quote above where A'-movement is the result of P-features like [topic] or [focus]. That this move is inaccurate can be more clearly perceived by recourse to QPs.

Any approach that aims at putting preverbal bare quantifiers (BQs), indefinites and definite phrases together, by virtue of their sitting in T' s unique A-spec, faces both a terminological and a derivational problem.

From a terminological point of view, preverbal subjects in Romance have received a "topic or categorical-like" interpretation (Gallego 2004), which is empirically supported by the Romanian preverbal indefinites and definites. As it is counterintuitive to claim that preverbal subject BQs front for [topic] feature checking purposes (cf. the derivational issue), the extension of the topic interpretation to BQs is questionable as well (as pointed out in Cornilescu 2000, Hill 2004). On the other hand, although the [focus] feature is in principle available to quantificational elements like BQs, Hill (2004) convincingly rejected this possibility, meaning that preverbal BQ subjects do not front for discourse purposes/do not check discourse features, so they must be triggered by an A-probe (recall (1a,b) above). Thus, it is safer to conclude that preverbal subjects in Romanian *can* have a topic or categorical-like interpretation at the C-I interface depending upon the phrase type undergoing displacement.

Another piece of evidence regards indefinites. On the featural hypothesis, indefinites and definites are assigned [topic] features at Numeration by virtue of their specific interpretation, while BQ subjects receive [focus] features. Contrary to predictions, preverbal indefinites, though [topic] bearers, pattern with BQs, not with definites, when preceding wh-phrases in the left periphery of the sentence (cf. (5b)). Their behaviour corroborates our previous observation and supports a division of labour between syntax and the C-I interface: indefinites can be quantificational elements in syntax, and topics at C-I.

- (5) a. **Cineva_i* *ce_j* *a* *spart* *t_i t_j?*¹
 somebody what has broken
 "What did somebody break?"
- b. **Un* *copil_i* *ce_j* *a* *spart* *t_i t_j?*
 a child what has broken
 "What did a child break?"

¹ Note that the BQ interferes with the chain of the wh-phrase, whereas it did not in pre-focal position endorsing the A status of the subject in sentences (1a,b).

A featural approach to CLLD topics can be deemed uneconomic for the same reasons: the assignment of [topic] features to indefinites at Numeration is superfluous precisely because the computational system rules out sentence (6) below for syntactic reasons prioritizing syntax-relevant quantificational features over [topic] features.

- (6) **Pe un elev_i ce_j l- ai întrebă t_i t_j?*
 PE a student what CL.3SG.ACC have asked
 “What did you ask a student?”

Our observation that the inherent quantificational properties of lexical items (i.e. BQs and indefinites) are only revealed in certain syntactic positions in contact with a certain category of phrases corroborate Chomsky’s (2001 et seq.) assumption that discourse interpretation is a follow-up of the syntactic derivation.

A “dumb” computational system shouldn’t have access to considerations [...] typically involving discourse situations and the like. These are best understood as properties of the resulting configuration, as in the case of the semantic properties associated with raising of subject to [Spec,T] (Chomsky 2001: 32).

If we are on track, under the quasi-universal edge features that underlie unbounded Merge (Chomsky 2008), edge features should not be seen as discourse features per se (e.g. [topic], [focus]) interfering in the syntactic derivation. In the case of QP and non-QP preverbal subjects, where syntax “interprets” SpecTP as an A position, the optional “edge” characteristics of this spec are plausibly a consequence of T’s phasal status in Romance null subject languages (Gallego 2004, 2010).

Nonetheless, the configurational assignment of interpretation has the advantage of loosening the requirement for a strict interpretation to SpecTP subjects. The A-properties of lexical preverbal subjects that account for the discrepancies between subjects and CLLD will be transferred to the second part of the paper dedicated to the EPP.

5. The EPP: Evidence Against Implicitness

The EPP has been interpreted in various ways in the literature, from the GB Extended Projection Principle requiring a filled SpecTP (Chomsky 1981) to a feature creating non-s-selected specs (Chomsky 2000, 2001) in functional heads: “for C a raised wh-phrase, for T the surface subject, for v the phrase raised by object shift” (Chomsky 2000: 102). Focusing on the EPP of T, we argue that the presence of this argumental feature in Romanian is tied to the A-properties of preverbal subjects in this language.

Before Chomsky (2000), movement to SpecTP had a Case motivation, serving a requirement of the syntax-morphology interface (Rizzi 2006). Once Case is assigned in situ, the EPP of T, though dispatched to the class of mysteries

(Boeckx 2008), is part and parcel of the Case-agreement system which consists of the following features:

- (7) i. features on the probe (T, v) (with T tensed and complete, i.e., really C-T)
 ii. Structural Case on the goal (N or D)
 iii. EPP-feature (OCC) on the probe (Chomsky 2004: 116).

Although the A-properties of SpecTP are well established (at least) for languages of the English type (see Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998 for details), efforts have been made to pin down the morphological trigger behind EPP so as to legitimate its inclusion in the Case-agreement system: “raising of α from XP is always restricted to some category of constituents of XP, hence some feature F of α (or complex of features)” (Chomsky 2004: 114).

For instance, Chomsky (2000) suggested that the EPP should be regarded as a [person] feature, as in *there*-constructions the 3rd [person] of the expletive suffices to satisfy T’s requirement. The shift in feature coding is partly motivated by a desire to dispel the confusion around the former D feature which, due to its referential meaning, seemed unable to accommodate non-referential elements (e.g. quantifiers) in SpecTP.

In a similar vein, Boeckx (2008) divorces [number] from [person] checking in Icelandic, holding that the latter cannot be checked by long-distance Agree alone, requiring displacement to SpecTP. For Boeckx the EPP is not an additional feature, but rather a requirement associated with the checking of a feature (see also Chomsky 2004).

Although a theory-internal issue (i.e. the EPP after Chomsky 2000) promises to solve a theory-neutral problem, i.e. the trigger and guise of preverbal (subject) phrases, the ambitious inquiry of the EPP trigger is left aside in this paper where we will merely focus on the evidence for its presence.

5.1. Internal Merge EPP

It is worth mentioning that the EPP is doubly challenged in Romance null subject languages, Romanian included, as (i) subjects fail to raise to SpecTP, and (ii) they are sometimes null. Even though Romanian lexical preverbal subjects show the A-properties that we noted in the first part of the paper, one may wonder whether they lend strong enough support for a default EPP of T.

Following Gallego (2004, 2010), conclusive evidence for Internal Merge EPP comes precisely from null referential subjects. Exploring Cecchetto’s (2000) notorious observation that dislocated objects reconstruct below the subject in SpecTP, this author attributes the ungrammaticality of the Spanish sentence (8a) below to a Principle C effect which indicates that the covert subject resides/is deleted (Roberts 2010) in SpecTP. This is also true of its Romanian counterpart (8b).

- (8) a. **[Los libros de María]_j pro_i los_j*
the books of Maria CL.3PL.ACC
ha leído.
has read
- b. **[Cărțile Mariei]_j pro_i le_j- a citit.*
books-the Maria.GEN CL.3PL.ACC has read
“Maria’s books, she has read them.”

Advisably though, evidence for the EPP of T should stem both from the properties of (lexical) preverbal subjects (Internal Merge EPP) and from expletives (External Merge EPP). On the expletive side, we will discuss Alboiu’s (2007, 2009) notable proposal holding that binding occurs from the preverbal area in this language through a null expletive.

5.2. External Merge EPP: A Null Expletive (Alboiu 2007, 2009)

The replacement of the spec-head primitive (e.g. Chomsky 1995) by head-complement/Probe-Goal in Chomsky (2000) renders the EPP of T a theoretical outsider. Since the Minimalist Program is defined by a conceptual desire for good design/symmetry, the EPP of T is an “anti-symmetric” relation whose satisfaction does not conform to the definition of minimal search space¹. As a result, an externally Merged spec is only allowed if it can act as a Probe (Chomsky 2004, 2008).

This line of reasoning can be found in Alboiu (2007, 2009) who, extending her analysis from non-finite² to finite clauses, proposes that T’s nominal deficiency (i.e. [uD]/EPP) be checked by an expletive Probe featurally specified as [D, uφ]. Focusing on the relevant feature checking segment in a finite clause, after inheriting [iT, uD, uφ] from C, T values its phi-features against those of the lexical DP subject; the expletive probes and Agrees with the valued phi-features in T checking off T’s [uD] as well, thus becoming indistinguishable from a fully specified referential pronoun.

According to this author it is the expletive that enables Romanian to encode information structure in any derivation, thus its postulation does not bear on putative A-properties of preverbal subjects as commonly assumed³. On the contrary, evidence for the EPP of T comes from binding: example (9)⁴ is rescued by means of an expletive merged in SpecTP from whence it can c-command and bind the possessive pronoun via its valued phi-features.

¹ A spec-head relation is “anti-symmetric” in our terms because the spec does not fall within the c-command domain of the T probe. Furthermore, spec-head (as opposed to Internal Merge “head-spec”) has no place in label-free views due to its reliance on m-command, command by a maximal projection (Chomsky 2000 et seq.).

² Alboiu (2007) initially proposed the expletive for nominative Case checking in non-finite clauses.

³ Unsurprisingly, a separate path emerged around the EPP of T out of its implicit universality.

⁴ The example and the binding description are from Alboiu (2009: 10), her (9) and (10).

- (9) *După expoziție (i-) a fost înapoiat [pictorului*
 after exhibition CL.3SG.DAT has been returned painter.DAT
său]_k [fiecare tablou]_j
 his each painting
 “After the exhibition, each painting was returned to its own artist.”

- (10) [TP proj T [DP-DAT POSS j]k DPj]
 [D, uφ] [iT, uD, uφ] [D, iφ, uCase:NOM]

Claiming that binding occurs from SpecTP is acknowledging that the expletive has a semantic outcome, a welcome conclusion in a Minimalist context. Whereas Chomsky’s (1981) null expletive was tied to the projection of the subject in SpecIP along with the Structure Preserving Principle, the MP expletive has the difficult task of defining its purpose.

Before proceeding we should point out the empirical similarity that this EPP analysis shares with Gallego’s (2010) “strong pronoun doubling”. The latter follows Belletti (2005) in assuming that with postverbal subjects, EPP is satisfied by a referential *pro* initially merged together with the lexical phrase in a big DP. This would be a natural generalization of the strong pronoun doubling (SPD) phenomenon present in Italian (Belletti 2005: 6, (6a)).illustrated in (11).

- (11) *Gianni_i verrà lui_i.*
 Gianni come.FUT.3SG he
 “Gianni himself will come.”

In non-SPD languages like Spanish or Romanian, the referential *pro* is the covert counterpart of *lui*¹, merged in SpecTP for A-related purposes. Since Gallego’s referential *pro* is identical to Alboiu’s expletive after valuation, the potential step-back that we discuss next applies to both analyses.

In the examples below, one can notice that binding differs with preverbal and postverbal subjects.

- (12) a. *[Il padre di Gianni] lo_i*
 the father of Gianni CL.3SG.ACC.M
castigò.²
 punished
- b. **Lo_i castigò [il padre di Gianni]*
 CL.3SG.ACC.M punished the father of Gianni
 “Gianni’s father punished him.”

¹ On the model of the Italian strong pronoun doubling, the two constituents of the big DP do not fall under the principles of the Binding Theory.

² The Italian examples (12a,b) are due to Cecchetto (2000: 98, fn. 7).

- (13) a. *[Mama* *lui* *Dragoș]* *l_i-* *a*
 mother-the.F of Dragoș CL.3SG.ACC.M has
pedepsit. *ieri.*
 punished yesterday
- b. **L_i-* *a* *pedepsit* *[mama* *lui*
 CL.3SG.ACC.M has punished mother-the.F of
Dragoș] *ieri.*
 Dragoș yesterday
 “Dragoș’s mother punished him yesterday.”

At first sight, one may hasten to conclude that if a referential pro or its “expletive” counterpart occupied SpecTP (12b) and (13b) should be well-formed. A fully specified subject is supposed to bind the object pronoun, lack of binding means lack of a preverbal referential pro/expletive.

Still, a non-defective SpecTP filler cannot be a priori excluded from the preverbal area. For starter, we point out that the pronoun cannot represent a faithful copy of the complex lexical phrase by nature, in that the relevant features of such lexical phrases can hardly be taken over by pronouns. Note that it is the features of the head that are passed on to the referential pronoun/expletive (i.e. 3rd person, singular, feminine), consequently, the features of the masculine possessor are overlooked. Furthermore, irrespective of the gender incongruence exhibited by the Romanian example, a subject pronoun (or a simple lexical subject) cannot bind an object clitic pronoun¹:

- (14) a. **Ea_i* *l_i-* *a* *pedepsit.*
 she CL.3SG.ACC.M has punished
- b. **El_i* *l_i-* *a* *pedepsit.*
 he CL.3SG.ACC.M has punished

In short, a preverbal referential pronoun, be it overt or null, is unable to bind in the examples above, meaning that, in principle, Gallego’s referential pro EPP stands. More importantly, if binding from preverbal positions is not possible for the reasons pointed out above then Alboiu’s EPP implementation also stands. That the expletive is unable to bind does not mean that it is not present; the expletive may bind, but perhaps its binding leads to ungrammaticality.

To be entirely precise, a more serious problem is raised by examples of the following type, which, though conforming to the VOS pattern of sentence (9), disallows a co-referential reading:

¹ Of course, this is the defining property of reflexives.

- (15) **Li* *s- a adresat* [*părinților* *lui_i*] [*fiecare*
 CL.3PL.DAT SE has addressed parents-DAT his each
profesor]_i
 teacher
 “Each teacher talked to his parents.”

Expectedly, binding does not apply uniformly from SpecTP in Romanian, meaning that either such an expletive cannot be postulated or else its operation is sometimes overridden. On the hypothesis that a quantifier only binds under c-command, we conclude that the quantifier does bind in Alboiu’s notable example via its “delegated” expletive.

On our view, usually, lack of binding in VOS has a discourse motivation. As is well-known, the VOS word order in Romance null subject languages (derived by p-movement in Spanish or Italian cf. Zubizarreta 1998) bears an old-new discourse organization leading to a clash between the presuppositional/old information object and the newly introduced subject. In other words, a postverbal subject cannot bind because of its focal nature highly favoured by a sentence-final position.

A question worth asking at this point is: Are lexical preverbal subjects and null expletives in complementary distribution? We have reasons to believe that they are otherwise a lexical preverbal subject must occupy an A’ spec on a par with CLLD topics because the expletive is already in T’s unique A-spec. This would miss the differences between preverbal subjects and CLLD phrases that we pointed out above. Thus, Alboiu’s (2009: 10) claim that the “SpecTP grammatical subject is exclusively realized as the null expletive in Romanian” cannot be correct.

To recap, two paths have emerged around the EPP of the Merge XP type, both prompted by an implicit universality: (i) the EPP bears on the A-properties of preverbal subjects (the traditional path); (ii) the EPP bears on the binding (and Case-valuation) properties of an expletive merged in SpecTP (Alboiu 2007, 2009). Advisably, the EPP should bear on evidence from both sides. Taking into account the A-properties of lexical preverbal subjects discussed in the first part of the paper, Gallego’s findings, together with Alboiu’s proposal, apparently, Romanian does show evidence both for Internal Merge EPP and External Merge EPP.

6. Conclusions

Throughout this paper we were guided by the assumption that the syntax -C-I interface can be successfully attended by means of the A/A’ distinction that captures binding and renders finer-grained interpretation. Such syntactic primitives are an optimal solution to the thought system only if one entertains a division of labour between syntax and the C-I interface with core syntactic issues taking precedence over interface issues: syntax interprets SpecTP as an A position, whereas the C-I interface as potentially A’ assigning it a discourse interpretation. As a language lacking overt expletives is likely to raise doubts on EPP’s universality, an approach that brings independent evidence from lexical preverbal subjects and from expletives departs from a disturbing implicitness paving the way for universality.

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NAMES AS IDENTITY INDICATORS IN DOCUMENTS

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Abstract: This author aims to point out that the information carried by personal names can be significant not only for onomastic studies proper, but also for approaches to issues of personal, social and ethnic identity. Two medieval documents will be analyzed, of the ones that foreshadow the bipartite name system that was to be eventually adopted by most European officialdoms.

Onomastics, linguistics and sociology

The first illustrative example given under *name* in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (ed. 2003) is the following: *Her name is Mandy Wilson*. The conclusion one can draw from that example is that – at least for English speakers – *name* rather automatically implies a combination of *first name* + *last name*, that is, a reflection of a bipartite system. In ancient Rome, a “complete name” for a male citizen comprised three parts (*tria nomina*): usually a *praenomen* (given name), a *nomen* (or *gentilicium*, that is, the name of the *gens* ‘kin, sib’) and a *cognomen* (a name of a family line within the *gens*, or a nickname that could become hereditary).

In regard to the loss of the Roman tripartite system and the establishment of a Romanian bipartite system, see Iordan 1983: 9-10. As for Europe in general, it is important to note that the bipartite name system was, with few exceptions, adopted all over the continent, at various times; the system under discussion can be said to be currently used by most European officialdoms. After the disappearance of the Roman system, the common use of family names started quite early in some areas (France in the 13th century, Germany in the 16th century), but much later in areas in which the patronymic naming custom lasted longer, as happened in Scandinavian countries, Wales, some areas of Germany, as well as in Eastern European countries such as Russia and Ukraine.¹

So, in general, personal names, as individual identifiers, have come to appear as bipartite designations, that is, *given name* + *family name*. Worth mentioning at this point is that *family name* is sometimes referred to as *surname*, the pair thus appearing as *name* + *surname*. Sociologically, *family* can be defined as “a primary social group consisting of parents and their offspring, the principal function of which is provision for its members” (Collins English Dictionary, HarperCollins Publishers, 2003). Such a definition may make the relationship between *surname* and *family name* become rather confusing, as surnames were originally designated as identifiers of *individuals*, whereas family names primarily imply reference to

¹ The general European data above are from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Personal_name

minimal social groups. Sociolinguistic criteria can be helpful in approaches such as this, although sociolinguists rather rarely tackle specific problems of proper names (see Hudson 1980: 50).

Personal names in texts

For a clearer view of the evolution of the naming system we use today and of the social and administrative conventions it involves, I will first illustrate one of the earliest attested stages in the development of the English bipartite system, by presenting a document known to specialists as *A Family Dispute in Herefordshire*. The document reports a cause disputed before a judicial assembly at the beginning of the 11th century, a period in which England was ruled by the Danish king Canute. Here are, in translation and in the original, the most important sentences of first part of the eleventh-century document, that is, the part that contains most onomastic elements of interest for this discussion:

Let it be known by this writ that a judicial assembly of the shire sat at Aylstone in the days of King Canute: There sat Bishop Æthelstan and Ranig the alderman and Edwine the alderman's [son] and Leofwine Wulsig's son and Thurkil the White; and Tofig the Proud came there as envoy of the king; and there was Bryning the sheriff and Ægelgeard of Frome and Leofwine of Frome and Godric of Stoke and all the notables of Herefordshire. And there traveled to the meeting Edwin, Enneawn's son, and spoke there about his own mother in regard to a piece of land [...]. Then the bishop asked who should answer for his [Edwin's] mother. Then Thurkil the White answered and said he should be the one, if he knew the story [...]. As he did not know the story, they inquired it of three notables of the assembly [...] – that is, Leofwine of Frome and Ægelsig the Red and Wynsige the shipman.

[Her swutelað on ðissum gewrite þæt an scirgemot sæt æt Ægelnoðesstane be Cnutes dæge cinges: Ðær sæton Æþelstan bisceop and Ranig ealdorman and Edwine þæs ealdormannes [sunu] and Leofwine Wulsiges sunu and Þurcill Hwita; and Tofig Pruda com þær on ðæs cinges ærende; and þær wæs Bryning scirgerefa and Ægelgeard æt Frome and Leofwine æt Frome and Godric æt Stoco and ealle þa þegnas on Herefordscire. Þa com þær farende to þam gemote Edwine Enneawnes sunu and spæc þær on his agene modor æfter sumon dæle landes [...]. Þa acsode se bisceop hwa sceolde andswerian for his modor. Þa andsweorode Þurcill Hwita and sæde þæt he sceolde , gif he ða talu cuðe. Þa he ða talu na ne cuðe, þa sceawode man þreo þegnas of ðam gemote [...] – ðæt wæs Leofwine æt Frome and Ægelsig þe Reada and Wynsige scægðman.]¹

I consider that all the designative clusters that occur in the Hereford document represent a primary stage in the development of the pan-European bipartite name system – that is, individual first name + inherited surname or family name. Besides onomastic-linguistic data proper, the text under discussion also provides an

¹ After Whitelock 1990: 57.

important amount of sociological data in regard not only to the 11th century Hereford community, but also to the Old English judicial system and social structure in general. We can observe, for instance, that Tofig (who bore a Scandinavian name)¹ was the representative of the then Danish king of England; and that a certain Enneawn, who bore a Welsh name,² was mentioned as father of a son with an Anglo-Saxon name (Edwine). Such facts reveal a society within which interethnic marriages were not uncommon.³

In regard to early documents such as the one above, the Romanians were not as lucky as the English. Throughout many centuries, in territories of what is today's Romania, official documents were not written in Romanian, but in a variety of Old Church Slavonic (in Moldavia and Wallachia), and in Medieval Latin (in Transylvania). It was only in late medieval times that Romanian, written in Slavonic letters, began to be used more and more frequently in documents. The following text is my translation (plus the original) of a fragment from a Wallachian chronicle (Radu Popescu's), which describes events of the final decades of the 17th century:

In these troubled times Prince Constantin sent a servant and took from their homes Cârstea Scordoc, who had been a great seneshal for Prince Șerban, and Oprea the captain and Vlaicu the provost marshal and detained some of them at Căldărușani and others at Snagov; and he sent Cârstea the seneshal to be killed right away and the other two remained in jail for a long time and then they were released. The cause of Cârstea was only that he had had a quarrel with Brâncoveanu [...]. Also in these times Prince Constantin sent Văcărescu, the pages' overseer, to Craiova to arrest Ștefan Cioran, who had been a purveyor, and they brought him to Bucharest, charging him with having conjured with police prefect Constantin Bălăceanu ...⁴

[Întru aceste vremi tulburate ce erau au trimis Constantin vodă slujitor și au luat după la casele lor pe Cârstea Scordoc ce fusese postelnic mare la Șerban vodă și pe Oprea căpitanu și pe Vlaicu armașul și i-au închis la Căldărușani pe unii, iar pe alții la Snagov, ci pe Cârstea postelnicul au trimis fără zăbavă de l-au omorât, iar cei doi au șezut multă vreme la închisoare și i-au slobozit. Pricina morții Cârsteii alta n-au fost fără decât numai că s-au certat cu Brâncoveanul [...]. Iarăși într-aceste vremi au trimis Constantin vodă pe Văcărescul, vătaful de copii, la Craiova de au prins pe

¹ See the series of personal names under *Tófa*, in de Vries's Old Norse dictionary (1961).

² I trust O. von Feilitzen's assumption (as mentioned in Whitelock 1990: 247, note 8) according to which *Enneawn* "is not a corruption of an English feminine name *Ēanwēn*, but is Welsh *Enniaun* (from Latin *Annianus*), a masculine name" – such a fact indicating that Edwin (Enneawn's son) "seems to have been of mixed ancestry."

³ The phenomenon of "interbreeding" is discussed in Horton and Hunt 1976: 343, under the subtitle "Amalgamation".

⁴ It was rather hard for me to find English homologues of the Latin, Byzantine and Slavonic terms that designated various medieval Romanian titles.

Ștefan Cioran, ce au fost sluger, și l-au adus la București, învinuindu-l precum s-ar fi unit cu aga Constantin Bălăceanul...]¹

The text above indicates that single-name designation was still at home in the 17th century principality of Wallachia, as manifest in cases such as those of *Brâncoveanul* and *Cârstea*. Combinations such as *Constantin vodă*, *Oprea căpitanu*, *Vlaicul armașul*, or *Cârstea postelnicul* represent a system (name + title) that perfectly corresponds (even in word order) to the Old English one manifest in the Hereford document of the 11th century. But, as pieces of novelty, combinations such as *Cârstea Scordoc*, *Ștefan Cioran* and *Constantin Bălăceanul* prove that the Romanian seventeenth-century bipartite system, that is, *first name + surname* (be it individual nickname or family name proper) was already common, at least among the Romanian upper-class contemporaries of Prince Constantin.

A process of turning titles into surnames proper obviously took place in both England and Romania. In that respect, just as the Old English titles of *cing*, *bisceop* and *gerefa* are now reflected in English family names such as *King*, *Bishop* and *Reeve* (as well as *Grieve* and *Greaves*), respectively, all the titles mentioned in the Romanian document above survived not only as common nouns (some of them now sounding obsolete), but also as transformed into family names: see the entries *Vodă*, *Căpitanu*, *Armașu*, *Postelnicu*, *Vătafu* and *Aga* in Jordan's dictionary of Romanian family names (1983). Certainly, both onomastically and sociologically, we should observe that – before becoming hereditary surnames – names such as *King* and *Bishop* must originally have functioned as nicknames of certain individuals (as observed by Reany 1967: 168-169). Quite many such title-based family names are to be found in the onomastic appendix of *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary*, 1969.²

Conclusion

The comments and the illustrative examples suggest that it took Europeans quite a long time to invent a functional bipartite system and to fix it as an official instrument. In our age of internationalization and globalization the bipartite name system proves to be an effective means of identification. Also, it appears that in order to identify a historical individual all one needs is an onomastic designation of that individual in a well-formulated document. Naming and identity are clearly more than just sociological and/or onomatological issues, and all theoretical approaches to names and naming eventually have to return to the age-old debate on the “real” meaning of names and on the mechanisms of naming. No doubt, psychologists, anthropologists, historians and philosophers could, from their own angles, shed more light on the intricacies of names as indicators.

¹ After Murgescu 2001: 91.

² More observations on the English name system are to be found in one of my earlier articles (Poruciu 2003).

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AMERICAN MANHOOD REINVENTED SCHLEMIELHOOD AND THE PREDICAMENTS OF MODERN MAN IN WOODY ALLEN'S SHORT FICTION

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Abstract: The central characters of Woody Allen's short fiction are easily identifiable as Jewish, especially because of the visible lineage to the *schlemiel* stereotype born within the Jewish cultural tradition. This paper explores how this stereotype moved from representing the quotidian realities and hardships of the Jewish *shtetl* to incarnating the tribulations and the fears of the modern world man in Woody Allen's short fiction. The corpus of texts I have selected illustrates the transformation of the Jewish folklore character into the embodiment of a new type of American cultural hero, which reflects the convulsive realities of the second half of the twentieth-century better than the rough-and-ready hero stemming from an obsolete sense of American exceptionalism.

Keywords: Woody Allen, *schlemiel*, American hero, manhood, predicaments of modern man.

On screen, Woody Allen created a persona that is easily identifiable as Jewish, especially because of the visible lineage to the *schlemiel* stereotype born within the Jewish cultural tradition and developed through the work of countless Jewish artists and writers. The central character in Woody Allen's short fiction draws on the same stereotype; he borrowed the main coordinates of the *schlemiel* and reprocessed them in such a way as to create a new type of hero that responds to and represents the effects of the contemporary urban American experience better than the prowess and exceptionalism used by the American literary tradition to define manhood.

The figure of the *schlemiel*, "the man who unwittingly sets comic disaster into motion" (Pinsker, *The Schlemiel* 170), is deeply rooted into the Jewish oral tradition and plays a crucial role in relation to the Jewish cultural identity. Although most cultures have their own fools and jesters, the *schlemiel* gained a degree of notoriety unknown to others. Some scholars traced the origins of the character back to the biblical text, others consider that such figures "sprang out into being with the first dramatic economic discriminations against Jews by the Byzantine emperors beginning with Justinian (530-56 C.E.);" (Ausubel qtd. in Pinsker 10), while others argue that the *schlemiel* originates in medieval folk tales.

Although the exact origins of the character are difficult to pinpoint, the *schlemiel* became the central figure of the *shtetl* humorous tradition, together with his 'cousin', the *schlimazel*. Apparently the two folk figures have been assigned specific complementary roles and "the cliché would have it that the *schlemiel* is the

poor soul who spills his bowl of soup, while the *schlimazl* is the poor soul he spills it on” (Boyer 5). While the *schlemiel* is the simpleton, incapable of assimilating and processing information, the *schlimazel*, “[p]ossessing a keener, more rational mind, ... tries to integrate more information than he should” (6). The *schlemiel* lacks the skills to fit in and is always perceived as the outsider, but the *schlimazel* “learns all the rules, obeys all the laws, lives by all the orders . . . and yet, somehow, for some reason, he never quite prospers” (6). In time, the figure of the *schlemiel* gained more notoriety and was assigned a series of characteristics that have originally been attributed to the *schlimazel*.

Although the *schlemiel* is always the center of comic failure, the attributes and traits assigned to this character type are often contradictory. If, for instance, some anecdotes and folktales portray him as henpecked, ignorant of worldly matters, and the subject of cuckoldry, others turn him into the cuckold. As Sanford Pinsker noted, these cuckoldry stories have a strong negative impact also on the image of the Jewish wife, since she “becomes a grotesque of all that the *shtetl*’s male population unconsciously feared” (*The Schlemiel* 12). In some situations the *schlemiel* appears a luckless simpleton, whilst in others he surprises with the wittiness behind his strong sense of self-deprecation.

The evolution of this elusive cultural character brings along a series of ambiguities and contradictions which makes its confinement within the framework of a single definition a fairly difficult task. As Ruth Wise pointed out,

Since Jewry’s attitudes toward its own frailty were complex and contradictory, the *schlemiel* was sometimes berated for his foolish weakness, and elsewhere exalted for his hard inner strength. For the reformers who sought ways of strengthening and improving Jewish life and laws, the *schlemiel* embodied those negative qualities of weakness that had to be ridiculed to be overcome. Conversely, to the degree that Jews looked upon their disabilities as external afflictions, sustained through no fault of their own, they used the *schlemiel* as the model of endurance, his innocence a shield against corruption, his absolute defenselessness the only guaranteed defense against the brutalizing potential of might. (5)

Regardless of the stereotype’s representational instability which brings along a wide array of configurations, the figure of the *schlemiel* is essential to the Jewish tradition because it represents “the central link among the major work in this literary and comic tradition” (Hirsch 131).

It was the German writer Adelbert von Chamisso who first introduced the *schlemiel* in literature, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, through his work, *Peter Schlemihl’s Miraculous Story*. However, the Jewish folk figure escaped Chamisso’s dark, Faustic portrayal. It preserved the characteristics it had been assigned as the central mock-pathetic figure of Jewish folk anecdotes and has been processed as such in the work of great many Jewish writers, from Mendele Mocher Sforim and Sholom Aleichem, to Saul Bellow and Philip Roth. The legacy of Hershel Ostropolier, Motke Chabad (or Habad), Shelumiel, or the sages of Chelm

of Eastern European Jewish folk tradition was preserved and reprocessed in literary characters like Sholom Alechem's Tevye, Isaac Bashevis Singer's Gimpel the Fool, Saul Bellow's Herzog, Bernard Malamud's Fidelman, Philip Roth's Portnoy, Joseph Heller's Yossarian, and Woody Allen's persona. They all share the peculiar allure of the fool-as-hero; they are all disillusioned lovers, tormented by anxiety, extremely self-aware, and treat their *tsuris* with irony, self-deprecation, and bitterness.

If the "*schlemiel* of Yiddish literature suggested the continual shifting between ambition and defeat that characterized the experiences of East European Jewry" (Pinsker, *The Schlemiel* 15), when the character crossed the ocean, it became the antithetic figure of the macho type; it gained popularity through the work of Jewish-American writers, and it infiltrated the mainstream literary tradition. Most scholars explain the success and the popularity of the *schlemiel* in America by comparison with the condition of the individual living in the Western society of the twentieth century. Ezra Greenspan argues that the *schlemiels* of Daniel Fuchs and Nathanael West are quintessential representations of the modern man, confronted with the gloom and anxiety of the Depression. However, the success of these characters has been belated, in Greenspan's opinion, because of the American cult for prowess and manliness translated as physical power and determination to control the situation (95-97). Nevertheless, the decades that followed reinforced the imperative of a paradigm shift.

The bitter legacy of World War II, followed by the harshness of the Cold War, the Vietnam War, and the effervescence of "the long Sixties" configured an unstable reality in which things got beyond the individual's control. The American society of the second half of the twentieth century was confronted with confusing change, with the alteration of life-style, and with the rearranging of the hierarchy of values and systems of beliefs, which called for a radical change in literary and artistic representation. As J. C. Levinson pointed out, "after Buchenwald and Hiroshima, fiction can hardly remain the same, and in the most interesting of our postwar novelists, it has indeed changed" (qtd. in Pinsker, *The Schlemiel* 77). The conditions under which literature was written underwent dramatic change; the mythology of the American Dream and the exceptionalism of the self-reliant hero have been shattered by the harshness of post-war realities. Thus, the narratives called for a different type of hero, a new figure that would represent the post-war sensibility better than the macho type, for what Stephanie Halldorson calls the "non-hero" and what Jay Boyer associates with the *schlemiel*, the figure of the anti-hero. This explains, to a large extent, the popularity of Jewish-American writers who used the figure of the *schlemiel* to epitomize the experience of the twentieth century angst-driven individual.

The internal functioning mechanism of the *schlemiel* turns him into a metaphorical character which can easily move from representing the quotidian realities and hardships of the Jewish community, to incarnating the tribulations and fears of the modern world man. As Robert Charles Edgar noted, "the *schlemiel* exists in reaction to certain socio-cultural conditions, mainly different types of

oppression” (2), and he interacts with the outer world by his “own structures of logic, faith, and belief and it is this that makes [the schlemiel] the most applicable character for the contemporary” (5). Ezra Greenspan also insists on the universalizing potential embedded into the *schlemiel* by claiming that “[w]hoever suffered injustice, poverty, humiliation, and persecution and responded with endurance, bittersweet humor, and irony might readily play the schlemiel” (6). Thus, the *schlemiel* became a central figure in the work of post-World War II Jewish-American writers. Moreover, the *schlemiel* became the favorite character type of the black humorists. As Jay Boyer noted, “a literature we associate with Barth, William Burroughs, Pynchon, James Purdy, a rather WASPish group, really, may owe a significant debt to the fools of Eastern European *shtetl* tradition, the *schlemiel* and *the schlimazel*” (5). In Jay Boyer’s opinion, these writers needed to create “a new notion of American manhood, American man as *Homo incapacitus*, one might say, where man is defined by his incapacities — a notion offering us in place of the fool and his goodness only the sense of man’s loss” (12). Sanford Pinsker also observed a paradigm shift in the image of the American hero when he wrote that,

[i]n short, things changed. But in certain ways they also remained the same. By that I mean, the itch to brag was still a recognizable feature of American humor, but it had moved to the other side of the stick. Urban versions of the ring-tailed roarer tended to put the emphasis on ineptitude rather than accomplishment, on deep-seated inferiorities rather than swaggering confidence. The result is a heroic *schlemiel*hood, one which substitutes the *nebbish* for the backwoodsman, the man who can do nothing right for the one who could do nothing wrong. (“Jumping on Hollywood’s Bones” 170)

Besides the in-depth exploration of the psychosocial implications of this import of elements belonging to the *shtetl* tradition into the American literary mainstream, Jay Boyer also tackles the impact this process had on the classical folk figures which underwent considerable transmutation, both through the work of Jewish-American writers and through that of the black humorists. Boyer argues that the crossing of the ocean blurred the differences between the *schlemiel* and the *schlimazel* and that a new typological figure was born, a “peculiarly modern, American protagonist, the *schlemiezel*” (4). Jay Boyer defines the *schlemiezel* as a paradigmatic figure for the East Coast urban individual, who lives as an outsider in a fragmented world he cannot control. In Jay Boyer’s words, “I mean by *schlemiezel* a protagonist who has only lately come to our novels, one who is a loser, a failure, a man out of control, a city dweller living most often on the East Coast, and, matters of proper geography aside, an ‘immigrant’ who feels he lives among ‘natives’” (4-5).

The use of the *schlemiezel* also contributes to the shift towards a more ‘urban’ culture. American oral and literary tradition cultivated the figure of the macho hero who is always in control of his destiny, who conquers the wilderness and pushes

the frontier. On the other hand, the *schlemiezel* is too weak to tame the wilderness, and therefore is “more likely to be city-bound than at home on the range” (11).

Woody Allen’s work had a remarkable impact on this paradigm shift. The character he created, the deeply neurotic, urban to the bone persona, completely devoid of traditional heroic and macho attributes, contributed to the transformation of the angst-ridden weakling into a national cultural hero. As Sanford Pinsker points out, “[n]o figure epitomizes this radical shift from the exaggerations of the rough-and-ready to those of the neurotic whiner quite like Woody Allen. He is the Little Man incarnate” (“Jumping on Hollywood’s Bones” 171).

Woody Allen’s comic persona, which was born during the ‘night club years’ and later developed in his films and short stories, draws on the stereotypes of the *schlemiel* and the *schlimazel* and fits perfectly the definition Jay Boyer gave to this newly invented category, the *schlemiezel*. Although my contention is that *schlemiezel* would be a more appropriate name in the discussion about the persona Woody Allen created on stage and screen and the self he constructed in his short stories, I will keep on referring to it as the *schlemiel* because this is the term used by most critics and theorists who investigate Woody Allen’s work and, keeping the same term would, in my opinion, prevent any possible confusion.

According to Graham McCann, the Allen persona closely resembles the Pantheon of literary *schlemiels* created by the most famous Jewish-American writers, from Gimpel to Herzog, Fidelman, Yossarian, and Portnoy. McCann contends that this lineage is based on their intellectual abilities, their emotional instability, and their powerlessness. In McCann’s words,

[t]hey have been through ‘civilizing process’, and they *still*, on occasion, find themselves moved by primitive lust; they understand Plato, Kant, Hegel, and Heidegger, they have a strong sense of moral urgency, yet they still tumble and fail and fall in love and hurt themselves and their hopes and their lovers. Intellect and lust fight each other to the death inside these characters, and they convey us their terrible sense of helplessness as they experience the battle. (54)

While this appreciation might be true to a certain extent, it also contains a few misattributions, caused mainly by the attempt to contain all the characters within the same phrase. David Biale also insists on the sexual dimension of Woody Allen’s *schlemiel* by claiming that it represents “the Jew as Sexual Schlemiel ... the little man with the big libido and the even bigger sexual neurosis, a character comically unable to consummate his desire” (qtd. in Bial 93). While lust and impotence might be the focus of some of Woody Allen’s early gags and films, when it comes to his short stories, things are considerably different. Although sexual woes come up in Allen’s short stories, especially when they tackle marriage, the main struggle which consumes the *schlemiel* of Woody Allen’s short stories is with God, with the fundamentally hostile and absurd reality he lives in, and with his own mortality, rather than with lust and sexual problems. The main concerns of the Allen *schlemiel* mirror what Sanford Pinsker calls the “nagging questions that

are characteristic of great writers: Why were we born? Why do we suffer? What does Life mean? What constitutes truth?" (*The Schlemiel* 56).

Foster Hirsch also elaborates on the same association between Woody Allen's *schlemiel* persona and the large family of canonized schlemiels, represented by Gimpel, Herzog, Fidelman, Yossarian, and Portnoy. Hirsch builds a stronger and more consistent argument, focusing on certain essential coordinates which prove valid for the entire family of Jewish-American *schlemiels*. He founded his argument on their being all "outsiders and victims, the butt of jokes both local and cosmic" and their sharing a similar fate: "failure is their lot, ironic complaint their response" (132). These core features are preserved and make the origin of the character easily recognizable, although each writer adds to the classical folk figure or emphasizes a specific trait. Thus we encounter the *schlemiel* as the intellectual misfit, the wise fool, the sexually challenged individual, or the urban neurotic.

Although the credit for the notoriety of Woody Allen's *schlemiel* persona goes to his films, Woody Allen's short stories proved to be a favorable environment for experimenting with the figure of the *schlemiel*. As explained by Robert Alter, the short story is the most appropriate genre for this stereotypical character because the inherent constraints and the economy of the genre help preserve much of the classical folk character's essential traits. In Alter's words,

The *schlemiel*, it should be said, lends himself much more readily to revelation in a short story than to development in a novel, perhaps because his comic victimhood invites the suddenness and externality of slapstick; when that technique is merely multiplied in being transformed to a novel where we expect more subtlety and innerness, a more discursive and analytic treatment of character the comedy becomes a little tedious. (qtd. in Pinsker, *The Schlemiel* 89)

In Woody Allen's short fiction, *schlemielhood* dates back to biblical times. In "The Scrolls", he retold the stories of Abraham and Job in sheer parody. Abraham is presented as God's fool. When getting ready to sacrifice his son, Abraham finds out that the Lord took advantage of his willingness to believe. Abraham's blind faith is translated as gullibility and the moral of the story turns out to be extremely different from the traditional biblical interpretations. The entire affair is presented as an attempt to strengthen his character and make him less confident in the goodness of higher powers:

"Never mind what I said," the Lord spake. "Doth thou listen to every crazy idea that comes thy way?" And Abraham grew ashamed. "Er-not really . . . no."
"I jokingly suggest thou sacrifice Isaac and thou immediately runs out to do it."
And Abraham fell to his knees, "See, I never know when you're kidding."
And the Lord thundered, "No sense of humor. I can't believe it."
"But doth this not prove I love thee, that I was willing to donate mine only son on thy whim?"
And the Lord said, "It proves that some men will follow any order no matter how asinine as long as it comes from a resonant, well-modulated voice." (36)

Woody Allen's Abraham has been taught a lesson that can be construed as a reaction to those *schlemiel* figures which draw their wisdom and strength from religion, like Gimpel, who endures and accepts deception as a sign of faith.

Job, on the other hand, has a different experience with God and reacts differently to the supernal misfortunes that swooped down upon him. Unlike the biblical text, after the bet with Satan, it is God who begins to bullyrag Job, not Satan. The Lord "smote him on the head and again on the ear and pushed him into an [sic.] thick sauce so as to make Job sticky and vile and then He slew a tenth part of Job's kine," (34) and then continued to wreak havoc over his pastures. Job, however, is not the weak simpleton the Lord expects him to be; he grabs God around the neck and starts questioning him about his erratic behavior. When God refuses to answer, invoking his almightiness, Job reacts: "'That's no answer,' Job said. 'And for someone who's supposed to be omnipotent, let me tell you, 'tabernacle' has only one l.' Then Job fell to his knees and cried to the Lord, 'Thine is the kingdom and the power and glory. Thou hast a good job. Don't blow it'" (35). The confronting attitude adopted by Woody Allen's Job can be easily connected to the Talmudic and Mishnaic interpretations in which several rabbis agree that Job was, in fact, a sinner. The medieval Spanish philosopher, Maimonides, also interpreted the book of Job as an act of divine punishment by presenting "Job as an evolving philosopher who hurled baseless accusations at God because he simply did not understand the true nature of the universe" (Kalman 183). Destroying the presumption of righteousness and innocence in the case of Job was crucial, for otherwise the sages of the sacred texts would not be able to offer any explanation for the apparently gratuitous actions of a sadistic God. Nevertheless, from Woody Allen's perspective, the boldness of Job's actions is not in the least to be considered sinful, but just a reminder that "[g]iven divine power, there must be divine responsibility" (184).

In "The Scrolls", Woody Allen presents two opposite attitudes to religion: submissive foolishness and transactional awareness. While Abraham fits the *schlemiel* prototype and falls for the "resonant, well-modulated voice" (36), Job is aware that gods are only as powerful as the faith of their subjects. If, at first, God seems to have Job under his almighty thumb, Job ends up questioning the righteousness of God's actions. Job's incisive reaction removes him from the *schlemiel* lineage and stands for Woody Allen's general skeptical attitude towards organized religions and the image of God they promote. Through the reinvention of the biblical parables in "The Scrolls," Woody Allen stirs a provocative debate over faith, religion, power, and justice.

Woody Allen's main characters often struggle with God, searching for him, contesting his existence, justifying their agnosticism, or attempting to justify God's ways to man. Confined to bed because of a domestic accident which lines him up with the image of the *schlimazel*, the narrator of "My Philosophy" ventures to create his own philosophical doctrine which challenges the idea of higher power. Woody Allen reinforces his opinion on the matter by trivialization through comic misattribution and parody. Woody Allen writes: "The causal relationship between

the first principle (i.e., God, or a strong wind) and any teleological concept of being (Being) is, according to Pascal, ‘so ludicrous that it’s not even funny (Funny)’” (171). The misfortunes of the individual, corresponding to the classical ill luck of the *schlemiel*, are also attributed to God. In “Hassidic Tales, with a Guide to Their Interpretation by the Noted Scholar” Woody Allen writes: “Man does not bring on his own unhappiness, and suffering is really God’s will, although why He gets such a kick out of it is beyond me” (210-211).

The typical protagonist of Woody Allen’s short stories strives to survive in anguished doubt, ceaselessly bemoaning his essentially loveless condition and his own biological determinism, which make everything meaningless in a de-centered, potentially godless world. When the narrator of “Retribution” describes himself as “cautious, guilt-ridden, worrier-victim that I am” (450), he catches the essence of the entire panoply of main characters and narrators in Woody Allen’s short fiction, that carry on vacillating between the need to find a metaphysical meaning and the incapability of adjusting to the small challenges of quotidian life. For example, in “Selections from the Allen Notebooks” Woody Allen writes: “Still obsessed by thoughts of death, I brood constantly. I keep wondering if there is an afterlife, and if there is will they be able to break a twenty?” (8). Here, the foibles and frailties of the ‘Allen self’ are most visible. The narrator’s psychological misbalance is connected with his physical impairment and the thought of death is equated with the inconvenience of running out of napkins. Woody Allen writes:

I believe my consumption has grown worse. Also my asthma. The wheezing comes and goes, and I get dizzy more and more frequently. I have taken to violent choking and fainting. My room is damp and I have perpetual chills and palpitations of the heart. I noticed, too, that I am out of napkins. Will it never stop? (7).

Written as a pastiche of a writer’s private journal, the text is a collage of scattered lamentations about death, romantic relationships, family ties, interrupted by ideas for plays and stories and possible scenarios for suicide. The narrator’s voice is that of the neurotic, the misfit, incapable of controlling the immediate reality and of mastering social interactions. Even committing suicide is a task beyond his capabilities, as he confessed: “[o]nce again I tried committing suicide-this time by wetting my nose and inserting it into the light socket. Unfortunately, there was a short in the wiring, and I merely caromed off the icebox” (8).

The Yiddish tradition portrays the *schlemiel* as followed by ill luck and often having a hand in his misfortune. Woody Allen’s main characters are almost always the authors of their own tragedies. Although there is no premeditation to their unhappiness and misery, their very nature, translated into the incapability to accept mortality and adjust to what they perceive as a meaningless existence, convicts them to alienation and everlasting psychological turmoil. Thus, they contribute to their own failure by becoming the slaves of their own existential obsessions, which confines them to a vicious circle (like in “The Lunatic’s Tale”) or prevent them

from having a regular, though dull, family life (like in “No Kaddish for Weinstein”).

When in the same perimeter with the macho type, Woody Allen’s weak *schlemiel* is, as expected, physically aggressed. The reader witnesses the instantaneous exhaustion of any trace of self-respect. This type of situation is well illustrated in “A Twenties Memory”, where the dynamics of the relationship between the narrator and Ernest Hemingway revolves around unidirectional punches. Woody Allen writes: “I kidded Hemingway about his forthcoming novel and we laughed a lot and had fun and then we put on some boxing gloves and he broke my nose” (233). The broken nose becomes a leitmotif of their encounters, and reappears later in the story as follows: “I kidded him about his new beard and we laughed and sipped cognac and then we put on some boxing gloves and he broke my nose” (235). The superficial textual level tells a typical story of a *schlemiel* who contributes directly to his misfortune. Nonetheless, these scenes bear a series of deeper connotations; they tackle the confrontation between Ernest Hemingway, the author who codified prowess as the essence of American maleness, and the anti-hero, the weakling, who embodies the greatest fear of the macho hero: impotence, both as sexual dysfunction and as powerlessness. The breaking of the nose is also rich in connotations. The nose is endowed with synecdochical value and refers to a Jewish stereotypical physical trait. The Jewish nose was used by the Nazi propaganda to tell Jews from Gentiles. Thus, the recurrent breaking of the nose also exposes Hemingway’s discriminatory attitude towards the Jews, as it unveils in *The Sun Also Rises*.

Woody Allen’s short stories also feature more innovative variations on the *schlemiel/ schlimazel* figure. He takes some of the most frightening characters in literature and turns them into clumsy, luckless, physically weak, and ineffectual characters. For example, the most famous vampire of all times, the frightening, blood-thirsty Count Dracula is transformed into a comically doomed character, into the luckless *schlemiel*, by being put in a situation which goes comically awry. Count Dracula brings incredible misfortune upon himself by mistaking a solar eclipse for night. He goes out for ‘dinner’ at the baker’s house, but, when he realizes what a fatal mistake he had made, Count Dracula panics, starts acting erratically, “fumbles for the door knob,” and tries to escape his host’s hospitality by coming up with the funniest excuses. Woody Allen writes:

“Come. Sit down. We’ll have a drink.”

“Drink? No, I must run. Er – you’re stepping on my cape.”

“Sure. Relax. Some wine.”

“Wine? Oh no, gave it up-liver and all that, you know. And now I really must buzz off. I just remembered, I left the lights on at my castle-bills’ll be enormous . . .”

“Please,” the baker says, his arm around the Count in firm friendship. “You’re not intruding. Don’t be so polite. So you’re early.”

“Really, I’d like to stay but there’s a meeting of old Roumanian Counts across town and I’m responsible for the cold cuts.”

“Rush, rush, rush. It’s a wonder you don’t get a heart attack.” (241)

In his attempt to avoid his archenemy, the sun, Count Dracula ends up in the closet and behaves like a spoiled child who continuously refuses to get out, despite everyone's insinuations. Understandably, not even the arrival of the mayor can get him out. The Count's desperate struggle for survival is perceived by everyone as amusing extravagance:

"Oh, Count. Come out of the closet. Stop being a big silly." From inside the closet comes the muffled voice of Dracula.

"Can't-please-take my word for it. Just let me stay here. I'm fine. Really."

"Count Dracula, stop the fooling. We're already helpless with laughter."

"Can I tell you, I love this closet." (242)

The story has a tragic ending for the Count. As the mayor could no longer put up with the Count's whimsical behavior, he opened the door of the closet and exposed the vampire to the sun. Those were the last moments of Count Dracula, who turned into ashes, leaving the other characters startled. Thus, by means of boisterous comedy, Woody Allen transforms a much feared vampire into the town fool. Apparently, this is the sole objective of the short story since the author does not put much effort into reproducing an accurate Transylvanian village atmosphere. Woody Allen uses Count Dracula as a ready-made character and places his stake on the reader's ability to fill the gaps. Moreover, the story is also poorly documented and this shortcoming is visible in the choice of the character's names, which might sound exotic to the American reader, but do not sound familiar to the Transylvanian reader (the baker is Jarslov Hess, the mayor's wife is Katia), and in the choice of a less common spelling of 'Roumanian'.

Besides the monstrous vampire, slapstick humor and zany comedy also turned Death into a *schlemiel*. "Death Knocks" is a short one-act play in which Death comes to get Nat Ackerman. The text can be seen as a postmodernist treatment and reenactment of Ingmar Bergman's "The Seventh Seal", devoid of all Bergman's symbolism and concerns. In "Death Knocks", the gravitas of Bergman's Death is replaced by clumsiness and gaucherie. Thus, Death fails to make the dramatic entrance typically expected in such a crucial moment. Death confessed to Nat Ackerman:

DEATH: I climbed up the drainpipe. I was trying to make a dramatic entrance. I see the big windows and you're awake reading. I figure it's worth a shot. I'll climb up and enter with a little-you know ... (*Snaps fingers*) Meanwhile, I get my heel caught on some vines, the drainpipe breaks, and I'm hanging by a thread. Then my cape begins to tear. Look, let's just go. It's been a rough night. (187)

The knight in "The Seventh Seal" lured death into a game of chess, as in Albertus Pictor's painting, and took the opportunity to ask existential questions. Although the search for answers about life, death, and God is generally the main preoccupation of Woody Allen's protagonists, it appears that a direct confrontation with Death caused Nat Ackerman to focus his entire energy on gaining more time, so he left

aside all metaphysical concerns. After making it clear that he is not prepared to die, Nat Ackerman convinced Death to accept a bargain and decide over a game of cards whether he gets one more day among the living. As expected, Ackerman wins the game and Death has to grant him one more day. Nat Ackerman is distrustful of the entire affair, mainly because of Death's *schlemielish* behavior. When he calls his friend, Moe Lefkowitz to find out whether everything was but a practical joke, he calls Death a *schlep*, a word of Yiddish origin which used to designate a clumsy and foolish person. In "Death Knocks" Woody Allen uses the attributes of the classical *schlemiel* in a successful attempt to undermine the gruesomeness of death. Both Death's frantic behavior and Nat Ackerman's suspicious attitude turn what should have been the last moments of Nat's life into situational comedy. By personifying Death as an ungainly, easy to fool character, the author considerably belittles the magnitude of the last moments in one's life and diminishes the anxiety which the thought of death usually causes in his characters. By confining the fear of death to a protected comic realm, Woody Allen renders it more manageable.

The ill luck of *schlemielhood* touches many of Woody Allen's characters. One such case is Flossie, the madam from "The Whore of Mensa" who coordinates the entire intellectual call-girl affair and orchestrates the blackmail against Word Babcock. Flossie turns out to be a man who underwent an unsuccessful aesthetic surgery procedure. As Flossie explains to detective Lupowitz,

"I devised a complicated scheme to take over *The New York Review of Books*, but it meant I had to pass for Lionel Trilling. I went to Mexico for an operation. There's a doctor in Juarez who gives people Trilling's features-for a price. Something went wrong. I came out looking like Auden, with Mary McCarthy's voice. That's when I started working the other side of the law." (57)

Woody Allen uses Flossie's explanation as a pretext for mocking intellectual imposture and for introducing, by means of undercutting irony, references to the *New York Intellectuals* into the short story, thus making the navigation of the erudite minefield of the text even more complex.

In "On a Bad Day You Can See Forever", the ill luck of the *schlemiel* begins with physical impairment and continues with an ordeal caused by lies and deceit. The narrator has a typically *schlemielish* accident at a New York health club. He is distracted by an "almond-eye fox" who was doing push-ups next to him and causes him to supererogate:

"Eager to catch her eye, I had attempted to clean and jerk a barbell equal in weight to two Steinways when my spine suddenly assumed the shape of a Möbius strip, and the lion's share of my cartilage parted audibly. Emitting the identical sound a man makes when he is thrown from the top of the Chrysler Building, I was carried out in a crouch and rendered housebound for all July." (107)

The ordeals of the main character do not end with his being confined to bed, but get worse because his wife decides to renovate the house, while living in it. The excuses the contractor uses for postponing the completion date of the work and for the ever-increasing costs, which “abound to rival the Arabian Nights” (113), culminate with the poor results of the work which cause the ceiling to collapse on the narrator’s wife. In the end, the family decides to sell the house for a song, but it is not certain whether it was “Am I Blue” or “Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?”. The story’s title is a variation of *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever*, a 1929 musical which tells the story of Daisy, a woman with extrasensory perception powers. Woody Allen’s short story does not have much in common with the musical, but the two songs mentioned as the payment for the house have been written during the same period as the musical.

The *schlemielish* attitude of Woody Allen’s characters is often meant to expose the shortcomings of the contemporary society. His favorite fictional mechanism for social criticism is to create a *schlemiel* character which is to fall victim to a series of misfortunes, beginning with the troubles and disasters he brings upon himself and the unfortunate circumstances of fate, and continuing with the trickery and sham schemes of others. This idea is more prominent in his most recent short stories, collected in *Mere Anarchy*. If the texts written until the 1980s and collected in *The Complete Prose of Woody Allen* focus mainly on the metaphysical dimension of failure, the stories in *Mere Anarchy* feature “men ... struggling to be someone in a frantic, competitive, ruthless New York, while systematically confronting all sorts of threats, risks and pressures” (Ermida, 338). The ‘Allen self’ no longer complains about the bitterness of transcendental delusion, but is most often presented as the subject of earthly deceit and fraudulence.

In “Sam, You Made the Pants Too Fragrant”, the narrator, Benno Duckworth, a poetry editor, ran into a former coworker, Reg Milliepede, who advised him about the latest fashion trends and insisted that he should refresh his wardrobe. Following Milliepede’s recommendations, Duckworth paid a visit to Bandersnatch and Bushelman British tailoring company, a fashion house that made clothes using “postmodern fabrics,” which had a hydration system incorporated or dispersed a wide range of fragrances, from “patchouli to twice-cooked pork” (29), never got soiled, could recharge one’s cell phone, and had a series of other astonishing properties. The fashion specialist from Bandersnatch and Bushelman immediately catalogued Mr. Duckworth as clumsy and graceless. He remarked: “Yes. I’m sure, even knowing so little as I do, you’re a man who deposits a vast amount of ichor on your clothing. You know, butterfat, Elmer’s glue, chocolate creams, cheap red wine, ketchup. Have I captured you accurately?” (29). By the end of the short story, the high tech suits business turned out to be a con. Mr. Duckworth, vain and gullible at the beginning of the short story, smelled the danger, fled the scene, and learnt a valuable lesson about snobbery. The story ends with the moralizing conclusions of a man who was about to literally become a fashion victim: “Let him try and find me. High voltage in a pair of pants is exactly the kind of thing that sends me ricocheting directly to Barneys, where I bought a marked-down three

button job off the peg, and it doesn't do anything postmodern unless you count picking up lint" (34). For this short story, Woody Allen drew inspiration from "The Year in Ideas; Enhanced Clothing," an article published by Ginia Bellafante on December 15, 2002 in *The New York Times*. Woody Allen made a jest of technology enabled fabrics as a pretext to express his skepticism regarding the excessive and reckless practice of contemporary consumerist society.

"Glory Hallelujah, Sold" follows a similar pattern. It features an individual trying to adjust to a disturbingly shallow society, but, when confronted with a potentially dangerous situation, he fled the scene to save his skin. "Glory Hallelujah, Sold" tells the story of a writer who has to take a job as a "psalm scrivener" and write prayers to be auctioned on eBay. Things went wrong when one prayer he had written did not come true. Afraid of what the "two swarthy gentlemen, heavily invested in Sicilian cement" (78) might have done to his kneecaps in case the prayer would still not work, he fled the city.

As Isabel Ermida argues, the short stories in *Mere Anarchy* can be read as "variations on failure" (335). Most texts are constructed around people with high artistic aspirations, be they writers ("This Nib for Hire", "Glory Hallelujah, Sold"), actors ("Tandoori Ransom"), movie-makers ("Calisthenics, Poison Ivy, Final Cut"), or composers ("Attention Geniuses: Cash Only"). All of them have their hopes and illusions crushed, and they fail to adjust to the contemporary society which is depicted as bereft of any trace of humanism and completely lacking a solid hierarchy of values. Nonetheless, the tragic dimension of their sad experiences is attenuated by the comical tone of the stories and by the parodical moralizing endings.

The experiences recounted in Woody Allen's short stories are symbolic for the betrayals of modern life and are meant to demonstrate how rotten contemporary society can be. Nonetheless, the variations on the figure of the *schlemiel* contribute greatly to softening the harshness of the reality he presents. As Sanford Pinsker points out, "the very charm of the Yiddish *schlemiel* depends on his ability to absorb defeat with equal measure of humorous acceptance and bittersweet disappointment" (*The Schlemiel* 130).

The importance of Woody Allen's contribution to the American cultural landscape through the use and revision of the *schlemiel* figure gained visibility from the beginning of his career. As Sanford Pinsker wrote in his 1971 book, *The Schlemiel as Metaphor. Studies in the Yiddish and American Jewish Novel* "while I don't count Allen among our philosophers or significant social critics, I do think that his genius for parody and the systematic care and feeding he has given to his schlemielish persona are important additions to our cultural scene" (166). Pinsker's book was published at a time when Woody Allen's artistic and writerly crafts were still immature, when his philosophy was not as articulate as it is today and his skills for social criticism were not as evolved as they prove to be in the short stories collected in *Mere Anarchy*. In a more recent book on Woody Allen's films, another of Woody Allen's exegetes, Sam B. Girgus underlines the social relevance of Woody Allen's work and speaks about the social impetus behind his use of the *schlemiel* in constructing the persona which became the hallmark of his entire work. In Girgus' words,

In a time of democratic upheaval that touched all aspects of life from the sexual and social to the cultural and political, Allen's looks and offbeat style seemed to speak for and represent the involvement of Everyman in the transformations of life-styles and values. His persona as a loser, the classic underdog *schlemiel* figure, was perfect for a period of participatory democracy and confusing change, but also allowed for a process of distancing from developments and events that contained frightening potential within them. One could look at and listen to Woody Allen and identify with him, while also feeling somewhat estranged from him. (122)

Undoubtedly, Woody Allen's work brought a remarkable contribution to the evolution of the figure of the *schlemiel*. The use of this character goes beyond gratuitous experimentation with a Jewish traditional folk figure which was gaining popularity at the time he began his career. While the traditional *schlemiel* of Jewish folk tales and anecdotes is blissfully ignorant of his own limitations, in the case of Woody Allen's characters, it is their rationality, their knowledge about the world, and their acute self-awareness that cause their misfortunes. Woody Allen's *schlemiel* translates each misfortune into a comical, self-deprecating account through gestures and insights which combine *schlemielhood* with admirable insight and penetrating intelligence. As seen above, Woody Allen uses the *schlemiel* figure to explore both metaphysical and social, quotidian aspects of existence. The cultural legacy and the richness of connotations associated with this stereotype, makes Woody Allen's task easier when he tries to avoid pathos and present the predicaments of his characters' lives in a lighter, comic manner.

Woody Allen's *schlemiel* is the intellectual, the philosopher, defined by his existential jeremiad, by the struggle with his neurotic, obsessive existential doubt, overwhelmed by angst and by the absurdity of the outer world. His alienation comes from his refusal, or even incapability to surrender to the burdens of existence. At times, the gnawing angst and assorted existential concerns are replaced by equally tormenting worldly affairs which point to the individual's alienation and to his inability to cope with a de-centered, corrupt society. When confronted with existentialist concerns, there is no way Woody Allen's characters can escape the thrall of biological determinism which renders everything meaningless; on the contrary, they surrender to anxiety and doubt. Still, they are able to survive social failure, although their mechanisms of coping are only variations of surrender. Rather than confront and try to control a distressing situation, they give up and run away. Regardless of the nature of their problems, Woody Allen's characters always seem to be inherently incompatible with the reality they find themselves in. Always presented through the main character's perspective, this reality is, of course, absurd¹.

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THE SOUND, THE IMAGE AND THE LETTER ON THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION

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Abstract: By tracking the dramatic transformations that sound recording and reproduction, picture-making and distribution, as well as the print and publishing culture, have been forced to undergo, this paper explores the changes that the incessant technological advances have been fostering. The music industry, the movie industry and the publishing industry have clearly been forced to adapt and develop newer production techniques and more modern distribution channels to cater for the growing immediacy demands of today's generation of Digital Natives.

Keywords: technological innovation, music culture, cinematography, print culture, computer industry.

The aim of the present study is to explore the far-reaching and long-lasting effects fuelled by the advent of technology as revealed through a historical analysis of the dramatic transformations that sound reproduction, picture-making and print culture have been forced to undergo. The challenges brought forth by the incessant technological advances have constantly marked the evolution of music industry, film industry and publishing industry, forcing all three to adapt and develop newer production techniques and novel distribution channels, befitting the digital age.

The Sound

The varying dimensions of sound can be traced from Léon Scott's phonautograph to Edison's phonograph cylinder, Bell's wax cylinder graphophone and Berliner's disk record gramophone, to De Forest's Phonofilm and Pflüemer's magnetophon, to Chrétien's four-track magnetic sound system and his CinemaScope, to Eash's eight-track stereo sound system. Once the Compact Cassette-Player was created by Philips, and Russell's digital-to-optical recording and playback system was patented as early as 1970, there remained only a small step to the creation of the Compact Disc made available by Philips and Sony in 1982. The CD-ROM (read-only memory) and the CD-Recordable eventually lead to the advent of the file-compressing technology called MP3. This ultimately enabled the invention of media players such as iTunes and iPods, considered the highest pinnacle of achievement in the evolution of mechanically reproduced sound to date (Read 18-39).

The status quo of the music industry has constantly been under attack, but before the MP3 piracy phenomenon it had somehow managed to incorporate the newly developed technologies and stay afloat. That was possible because, on the

one hand, high-quality yet low-memory music files had not been created, and, on the other hand, file-sharing websites had not come into existence. WAV files were difficult to store and transfer, as they occupied a lot of space and required too much time to download, but after the Moving Picture Experts Group managed to develop the new MP3 format, in 1998, Shawn Fanning, was able to create the first peer-to-peer (P2P) file sharing platform, which enabled its users to directly transfer countless songs in a very short span of time as long as they allowed other users access to their own music collections (Stevens 88). As Alderman explains, this was a process of decentralisation and democratisation of music distribution, since there was no need for a central server to store all the files, and the music library grew richer with every new user of the programme (50-55). Shawn Fanning called this file-sharing programme *Napster*, which actually was his nickname at the time, but the service was in operation only between June 1999 and July 2001, being shut down for copyright infringement. Several music companies began the fight against what they viewed as piracy in the music distribution business but, despite the legal action, the music industry had to admit that the advent of the MP3 had altered the production, reproduction and distribution of music by putting to the test the very principles on which the current system was built (Wakelin 84-89). Such a change in the dynamics at work between the consumers and the music industry is tantamount to a crisis, since it is bound to take by storm the concept of ownership and the traditional legal notion of intellectual property (Karasas Ch.1).

MP3 has also triggered a change in the ways that consumers experience musical products nowadays. As Karasas points out, fans seem to enjoy a significantly “different ‘first approach’ to musical expression”. Due to the “lack of physical contact with an ‘original’ copy” novel ways of understanding music are developed and new kinds of relationships between the consumers and the products are created (Ch. 2). In conclusion, we can state that *the inhabitants of the 21st century Music Culture* can be called *Generation Download!*

The Image

Although *the pinhole effect* was noticed as early as the 5th century BC, once, according to Burns, the Chinese philosopher Mo-Ti (470 - 391 BC) first recorded seeing *an inverted image* when light rays passed through a small hole into a dark room that he called “the locked treasure room” and, by drawing an analogy to the movement of an oar in the rowlock, he managed to explain why the image was inverted (<http://www.precinemahistory.net/1700.htm>), the Dutch painter Jan (Johannes) Vermeer van Delft (1632 - 1675) is believed to have been among the first artists to use the *camera obscura* in the process of painting (Hammond 13-14). Thus, at the 2003 exploratory workshop organised in Ghent, Philip Steadman of University College London stated the following:

The artist’s two townscapes, the “View of Delft” and “The Little Street” can be shown, I believe – contrary to the opinions of some Vermeer scholars – to be

slavishly faithful in detail to the appearances of the actual scenes in question. In all these respects then, Vermeer was a realist, who achieved this truth to appearances through his systematic employment of the camera obscura. [...] For Vermeer the camera obscura was a 'composition machine' with which, working like a 19th century studio photographer, he was able to design idealised, highly-considered, in some instances even richly allegorical compositions, by the arrangement of real objects in real rooms. (qtd. in Burns <http://www.precinemahistory.net/1700.htm>)

Moreover, as Peter Greenaway, the experimental British movie director, stated, "Vermeer was the world's first cinematographer because he dealt in a world completely manifest by light" and knew how to increase the sharpness and the vividness of the image, which explains why in the 2005 BBC Wales production, "The Private Life of a Masterpiece: The Art of Painting", it is argued that "the painting still speaks to modern filmmakers" (qtd. in Burns <http://www.precinemahistory.net/1700.htm>).

Then, in the 18th century, with the help of a *Phantascope* – a magic lantern placed on wheels and hidden from the audience, Etienne Gaspard Robertson (1764 - 1837) projected illusory images onto a translucent screen; the size and shape of these images changed quickly whenever the lantern was moved forward or backward, yet their clarity, sharpness and brightness was always preserved. Burns explains that Robertson's idea of motion-projectors "precedes the concept of dollying and panning, which was born of the cinematographer in the early 20th century" (<http://www.precinemahistory.net/1700.htm>). Arguably the forerunner of horror movies, this fright-inducing show enjoyed great popularity in Europe and quickly spread to North America as well. In the 19th century the range of topics grew to accommodate moral anecdotes, biblical narratives, children's stories, realistic or parodic renderings of current events, etc.

Beginning with the year 1888 and throughout the 1900s we witness the further development of motion picture films endowed with fluidity of motion in the hands of Louis Aimé Augustin Le Prince (1841 - 1890), Marie Georges Jean Méliès (1861 - 1938), Thomas Alva Edison (1847-1931), William Kennedy Laurie Dickson (1869 - 1935), Eadweard James Muybridge (1830 - 1904), Leon Guillaume Bouly (1872 - 1932), Auguste Lumière (1862 - 1954) and Louis Lumière (1864 - 1948). However, people slowly became disenchanted with the simple reconstructions of everyday events so, starting with 1905, actualities and documentaries finally gave way to the rise of narrative film. Although more expensive to make, story-films began to be mass produced and shown in nickelodeons – movie theatres such as the Warner Brothers' 1905 Cascade Movie Palace, in New Castle, Pennsylvania and later in real theatres, called movie palaces, which started being built in 1912 (Burns <http://www.precinemahistory.net/1700.htm>).

Television, the future rival to film, was officially introduced to the public in 1939 by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), at the New York *World's Fair* in Queens. Ten years later, in the early 1950s, several attempts had to be made in

order to stop film-theatre attendance from plummeting: Hollywood increased the use of colour and pioneered widescreen processes, for instance 20th Century Fox's anamorphic CinemaScope, as well as impressive gimmicks such as feature-length stereoscopic 3D films that required the viewers to put on cardboard glasses.

The first reel-to-reel videotape recorder offered for sale to the general public was developed by Ampex and could be bought in 1963 for \$300,000, then followed Sony's videotape recorder in 1964, and the videocassette recorder especially designed for home-use in 1969 and said to have marked the modern age of video. Philips's 1978 video laserdisc and their 1980 LaserDisc player reached the market and enabled cinephiles to gain access to a variety of features such as language options and additional materials providing an insight into the making of documentaries, a chance to view original interviews with members of the cast and even to witness the commentaries made by the film directors, an opportunity to view galleries of photographs and posters, etc. Of course, in 1999 the DVD format took over and such features were viewed as commonplace, rather than revolutionary. By 2003 the DVD had clearly become one of the best-sold consumer electronics products ever and by 2005 the VHS videotape cassette format had plummeted to its death. Blu-Ray, a new optical disc format began to make its way to the top (<http://www.filmsite.org/filmh.html>).

Once the first video was uploaded on YouTube.com, in April 2005, the trend for self-made videos was set and in 2007 the future epidemic of HD-DVD pirating started with BitTorrent making available for download the first pirated HD film. Consequently, from 2010 onwards, ticket sales continually declined due to various factors, such as the economic crisis, DVD bootlegging and the illegal downloads of movies, an increase in HomeCinema systems sales, the astounding popularity of the new interactive computer games, as well as the wide array of competing leisure entertainment choices available to the public. In an attempt to end the bootlegging and illegal downloads cutting deep into their pockets by billions of dollars each year, Hollywood tried to pass through Congress two anti-piracy bills, in 2012, namely the Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Protect Intellectual Property Act (PIPA) in the U.S. Senate. The audiences seem to be growing rather impatient and expect more up-to-date release strategies to be implemented: pay-per-view cable channels, HD Net and DVD releases, they demand, should preferably be made at the same time. So far, only Netflix has yielded by releasing the entire drama series *House of Cards* at once, indulging the viewers' propensity towards binge-watching, giving them both freedom and control. The star of this series, the acclaimed actor Kevin Spacey, declared:

And through this new form of distribution we have demonstrated that we have learned the lesson that the music industry didn't learn: give people what they want! When they want it! In the form they want it in, at a reasonable price, and they'll more likely pay for it rather than steal it. Well, some will still steal it, but I think we can take a bite out of piracy. (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9pgCrYU-Cds>, 2'9'' - 4'10'').

Once the newest trend designed to offer consumers the opportunity to store in cloud purchased material by using the online storage service known as Ultraviolet grew stronger, business is reported to have picked up again in 2013, at least in the case of companies such as Netflix Inc., Apple Inc.'s iTunes, Amazon.com Inc., Google Play, Best Buy's CinemaNow, and Wal-Mart's Vudu, which resolved to make full use of the new technology (<http://www.filmsite.org/filmh.html>). In conclusion, *the inhabitants of the 21st century Movie Culture* can be called *Generation Upload!*

The Letter

From the Diamond Sutra, produced in China in 868 AD, to Johannes Gutenberg's *Bible* printed in 1440 with the new movable metal-type hand-press, further improved in the 1800s first by Stanhope and then by Koenig and Bauer, who thus inaugurated the age of mass media, we can trace the evolution of the book to the new methods of mass production, based on linotype and monotype, which facilitated the reach of a more numerous reading public and brought about a revolution in the world of literature. Thus, the Western world became, as Derrida put it, "the civilisation of the book". Kernan shows how, by the end of the 18th century, print technology had not only caused social and political changes, but had also transformed the literary landscape: "An older system of polite or courtly letters – primarily oral, aristocratic, amateur, authoritarian, court-centered – was swept away at this time and gradually replaced by a new print-based, market-centered, democratic literary system" (4).

Thus, Gutenberg's invention brought forth *The Printing Age*, or, in Derrida's words, "The Civilisation of the Book" whose inhabitants form The Print Society. The invention of the Kinetoscope marked the transition to what Denzin called *The Cinematic Age* and the beginning of The Crisis of the Book, the practice of book-reading being slowly abandoned by the inhabitants of The Cinematic Society: our era "prefers the sign to the thing signified, the copy to the original, fancy to reality, the appearance to the essence" (Feuerbach Par.6). Soon, the invention of the Television, with new facilities such as Cable TV and the VCR, brought about The Crisis of the Movie-Theatre: "[t]elevision turned the cinematic society inward, making the home a new version of the movie theatre" (Denzin 39). The advent of the Internet ushered in The Crisis of Communication and Culture despite contributing to the creation of The Information Society that we are living in. Percy inquired in "The Delta Factor": "Why do we [twenty-first century citizens] feel so deeply, if unconsciously, disconnected?" and offered a possible answer to his question: "...the price of adaptation is habit, and that habit – of perception as well as behavior – distances the self from the primary things that give meaning and purpose to life" (qtd. in Lewis-Wallace Par. 8). Barglow also noticed that "once the technological spectacles have been put on, and one becomes accustomed to seeing the world through them, they can hardly be removed. Those who work closely with abstract systems may come to view themselves abstractly as well" (26-27).

As Lewis-Wallace pertinently points out, we are being deprived of something precious, so “[s]houldn’t this loss be contemplated, at least, before we sign a contract with the technological stock brokers of our future?” (Par. 8). Virtual communication is already a constitutive characteristic of (post)modern societies, as the expansion of the Internet has led to *impersonal* relationships being privileged over interpersonal relationships and thus, has “drastically transformed the structure of social interaction. And the one and only solution to this crisis of the self is the return to The Book, be it even in ... electronic form” (Preda 16). Enter the E-Book Devices: introduced by NuvoMedia in 1998, the Rocket eBook was one of the first handheld e-book readers. Then followed the Sony Reader in 2006, Amazon’s Kindle in 2007, Barnes & Noble’s the NOOK in 2009, Apple’s iPad, Kobo Inc.’s Kobo eReader and BeBook’s BeBook Neo in 2010 and then their constantly improved versions, Barnes & Noble’s the NOOK Simple Touch e-reader and NOOK Tablet as well as Amazon’s Kindle Fire and Kindle Touch in 2011, Amazon’s Kindle Paperwhite in 2012 and Barnes & Noble’s 7 and 8.9 inch NOOK HD in 2013.

Unfortunately, piracy issues seem to be ever-present. Thus, in 2005 Google was sued for scanning books still in copyright; in 2012 Library.nu also known as ebooksclub.org or gigapedia.com, a popular website for downloading e-books was accused of copyright infringement and shut down by court order. Surprisingly, in August 2013, Van Camp explained that since purchased e-books might come with “a digital watermark” linking them to your account that shall most likely be preserved for “a minimum of two years”, the mere action of “legally purchasing an e-book may soon make you responsible for anything that happens to it” (Par. 6). This actually makes it safer to pirate or steal e-books than to actually buy them, as the victim of theft or hacking is easier to track down than the perpetrators in question.

The Book’s Future in the Information Society

If we make an attempt to predict what the future might bring for the print culture, although, as Gomez explains, “there are plenty of people who feel [...] that words have ‘no business to be’ anywhere other than on the printed page, [...] that reading on any kind of electronic device is blasphemy, and that books are sacred”, we must take into account the alternative, which is “silence” (203). If upcoming generations are not offered the chance to read digitally, then they will probably refuse to read at all. In conclusion, since *the inhabitants of the 21st century e-Book Culture* are a *Generation of Digital Natives*, the wisest thing to state at this point might be: The Book is dead! Long live the E-Book!

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THE FORTUNES OF THE NOVEL IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

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Abstract: This article starts from the fact that the novel dominated the Victorian age as the literary genre the best met the expectations of the existing reading public – to be cultivated and entertained at the same time while reading about people like them, in situations in which they were very likely to find themselves, in surroundings that were very familiar to them. Consequently, this article's main aim is to discuss a few aspects of composition and organisation of such compositions, as well as the placement of the novel at the crossroads between tradition and modernity.

Keywords: serial publication, chronological presentation, narrative technique, condition of England novels, sensation novels, tradition, modernity.

The nineteenth century was the age of the novel which prospered like never before during the Victorian period when, between 1837 and 1901, about 60,000 novels were published (Sutherland 3). As pointed out in Flint (17-34), there are many reasons which led to this popularity; the few which follow are only the most significant ones. The Industrial Revolution led to the development of cities with concentrated markets; middle-classes rose in power and importance and the novel was the literary genre that best represented these classes; more and more people became educated and capable of reading; the costs of printing and distribution became lower due to productivity; the new system of advertising and promotion of books yielded good results. Then, public reading increased and the number of lending libraries grew in parallel with the modernisation and development of book publishing in the modern sense of the word. Another factor that increased the popularity of the novels was the practice of having fragments of them read aloud at home or in public in workplaces and concert halls, sometimes by their authors themselves. Charles Dickens was such a writer whose public appearances added a lot to his fame.

The public merely wished to be entertained with what was familiar, to pretend that what was found in books did really happen, that literature was journalism and fiction was history. The readers wanted to read about easily identifiable situations populated with ordinary people like themselves but liberated from the dullness of daily routine. In consequence, the literary trend that such expectations generated was realism, filtered though through the writer's critical eye and conceived as representation of truth – social, economic or individual – of the typical and familiar in real life, rather than an idealised, formalised or romantic interpretation of it.

The socio-economic conditions of the epoch, but also the development of sciences whose influence was ever increasing associated realism with the necessity

to represent truth with as much accuracy as possible. This made great writers like Charles Dickens, Charlotte Brontë or Elizabeth Gaskell undertake rigorous documentation before starting to write their novels. Even in the cases when reality was fictionalised, the writers of the age knew how to create the illusion that what they spoke about was directly related to real life, that their books were a transcript of what really happened.

As James remarks (2), the Victorian novel was not so formally delineated, it did not have a theory behind it, as it happens today. It was a mere work of fiction, a narrative written in prose, opposed to 'romance', whose main aim was to reflect everyday life realistically so as to fulfil thus the requirements of contemporary readers and their horizons of expectation.

When it came to publishing the Victorian novels in volume form, the form of the 'three-deckers' was adopted and soon became common practice, as found in James (205-6) This implied publishing the novels in three volumes, especially in the case of new fiction, although some writers resented publishing in specific length and dividing the narrative into three parts. But the format had its advantages and proved to be commercially efficient for the writers and publishers. Although not any people could afford buying such books, it allowed print runs of 700 to 500 copies, the writers got their pay and the readers could borrow them from lending libraries.

The cheaper alternative to the 'three-deckers' was their serial publication, which soon became the affordable standard of the day – the novels were published initially in part-issue form and later in weekly papers. This became common practice with many great novelists such as Charles Dickens, W. M. Thackeray or George Eliot. The method of serialization affected the structure of the novel and had advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand it enhanced the role of the suspense from one episode to another to keep the readers' interest awake – the so-called 'cliff-hanger' technique commonly used in TV serials today (Delaney 130) – and provided closer contact between writer and his readership, which enabled the writer to test the readers' reaction to the narrated events. On the other hand, there were incongruities, inconsistencies in character treatment or damages to the unity and harmony of the whole novel.

The Victorian novel is essentially based on the chronological presentation of events where the hero emerges with the plot and the readers know him as the story unfolds or in which the writer gives his hero an initial descriptive portrait. The novel often makes the writer feel the necessity to teach a moral lesson, to improve the morals and manners of his readers, to make generalisations about human nature, or even to discuss the hero's actions with the readers in an attempt to please them or to attend to their desires (Flint 24) – as it happens in the case of W. M. Thackeray.

If before many novels finished with happy-endings, this ceased to be common practice throughout the nineteenth century (Flint 29) and even if there was a happy-ending, it was often contrived or suggested (as in Dickens's *Great Expectations*).

The narrative technique is also traditional. The most frequently used is the third person narration with the writer emerging as an omniscient author – this is the case of W. M. Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë (in *Shirley*) or George Eliot. Another perspective is that offered by the first person narration. In Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* it has pseudo-autobiographical overtones. Anne Brontë's novel *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* is a more complex combination of two first person narrations. An interesting case is found in *Bleak House* by Ch. Dickens where the subjective narration in the 1st person of a participant in the story is made to alternate with the authorial voice materialised in the more objective third person narration of a nameless onlooker and outsider. Noteworthy is also George Eliot's use of the narrating 'I', the authorial 'second self' (Ebbatson 35) meant to signal the presence of an omniscient author, create a link between the past and present and propose the readers a sort of a 'secret contract' between them and the author (39). Innovative for the age is Emily Brontë's use of narrators in *Wuthering Heights*, where the two narrators – actually, character narrators – have a minor implication in the story being mainly used to narrate the events. Here Mr Lockwood, one of the narrators, is assigned a double role: that of a narratee, a sort of an implied reader recipient of Nelly Dean's story, and narrator of facts heard-of or directly witnessed. To certain extent, certain events reported by Mrs Dean are also the result of hear-say from other characters.

Many novels of the age were published with illustrations in the text as a result of the development of the wood-engraving technique. Indeed, the popularity of not few novels is due to this practice of the age, which also made certain book illustrators quite famous. This was the case of Millais, the Dalziel Brothers, Arthur Hughes or Frederick Walker (Flint 200). Charles Dickens's novel *The Pickwick Papers* started as a collection of caricatures to which Dickens had to add the explanatory text. But soon Dickens's contribution became dominant and the public placed his chapters on the first plan. Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* appeared illustrated by the writer himself, whereas Lewis Carroll's books *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass* benefitted from the cartoons of John Tenniel which were so inspired that contemporary editions still preserve them. George du Maurier was another well-known book illustrator who collaborated with Wilkie Collins, Thomas Hardy or George Meredith (Flint 200).

If judged from the point of view of the topic around which they are constructed, the Victorian novels fall into several types detailed below.

One of them is the condition of England novels (named so by Carlyle in his essay 'Chartism') or industrial novels (as Raymond Williams calls them in *Culture and Society*), which treat the problems arising out of the Industrial Revolution and discuss the state of the nation, as for instance: Charles Dickens's *Hard Times*, Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*, Mrs Gaskell's *Mary Barton* and *North and South*, or Benjamin Disraeli's *Sybil*.

A similar documentary evocation but on a lesser scale is offered by the regional novels associated with the depiction of life on a more limited territory – a

province, district or local community. This is the case of George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, Elizabeth Gaskell's *Cranford* or Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*.

No less enjoyed were the historical novels. Dickens, though more committed to the present than to the past, still wrote two such novels: *Barnaby Rudge* or *A Tale of Two Cities*. Better appreciated is W. M. Thackeray's novel *Henry Esmond*, actually a pastiche of eighteenth century prose and one of the best evocations of the atmosphere of English society in the early eighteenth century.

A more gendered orientation, though it is too early to speak about feminism, is found in certain novels that discuss the statute, position and problems of the Victorian woman facing prejudices, conventions and hostile conventions and her need for emancipation and assertion. This happens in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* or *Jane Eyre*, George Eliot's *Mill on the Floss* or *Middlemarch* or in Elizabeth's Gaskell's *Mary Barton* or *North and South*.

Other well-liked novels of the day not only among children or adolescents, but also among adults, were either books for children or young readers or whose theme is childhood or enchanted adventure. Charles Dickens's is the incontestable author of children's stories such as *A Christmas Carol* or depicter of children in novels like *Oliver Twist*, *Little Dorrit*, *David Copperfield* or *Great Expectations*. Lewis Carroll in his novels *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass* created the memorable character of Alice in a narrative full of paradoxes, riddles and puns and in an often pastiche atmosphere of fairy-tale. Robert Louis Stephenson's novel *Treasure Ireland* has young readers as its target audience while Louisa May Alcott's book *Little Women* is a classic for girls (Flint 192).

A popular type of novels was that which continued the Gothic tradition – the sensation novels in which the contexts of traditional social relations, homes and families are recycled to furnish settings for mystery, murder, seduction or blackmail. As James points out (216), during the age the story of sensation which drew heavily on melodrama came as an outlet for the strict Victorian morals, repressed sexuality and way of life. By the suspense it created, the genre sold very well and offered good sales figures to writers and editors. Although marred by ordinary and valueless creations, it was given a touch of maturity and professionalism in the hands of William Wilkie Collins and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in creations such as *The Moonstone* or *The Woman in White* of the former or the character Sherlock Holmes of the latter's. In *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* Charles Dickens was also tempted to write a similar kind of novel. An interesting case of popular reading material was offered by the so-called 'Penny Dreadfuls' (*Wikipedia*), the low-priced serial novels, published in instalments as a form of escapist reading, available to ordinary youth and low classes, named for both their cheap nature, and poor, sensational quality. Such serial novels were overdramatic and sensational, and resulted in increasingly literate youth in the Industrial period. The wide circulation of this sensationalist literature, however, contributed to an ever greater fear of crime in mid-Victorian Britain. Some of the most famous of these penny part-stories were *The String of Pearls: A Romance* (introducing the

character Sweeney Todd), *The Mysteries of London* (inspired by French serial *The Mysteries of Paris*) and *Varney the Vampire. Black Bess or the Knight of the Road*, became very popular outlining in 254 episodes the exploits of the real-life English highwayman Dick Turpin.

The novelists of the Victorian age are not grouped around theoretical principles. In general, their creations deal with social, political and philosophical topics. However, there are two quite distinctive generations of writers that cover this period. The first one is represented by such writers as Charles Dickens, W. M. Thackeray, Elizabeth Gaskell, Anthony Trollope, the Brontës and George Eliot, who were very popular at that time. They are a sort of spokespersons of the epoch, critical of the age but confident in sciences and progress and moral improvement of the individual. The second generation – represented by Samuel Butler, George Meredith and Thomas Hardy, who were less popular then – is more pessimistic and less confident in Victorian values, hence certain satirical overtones and insistence on the inner and darker sides of human personality.

As this articles delineates, the Victorian novel has a strong personality of its own, offering the great realistic tradition for many modern prose creations (Stanciu 195) associated with what is called the modern British novel but also exhibiting traces of modernity, offering creative alternatives and foreshadowing the fictional creations of modernism and postmodernism of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

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WHY YOU DO NOT ADORE YOU IN HUNGARIAN

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Abstract: This paper provides an overview of the pronominal coding of local coreference relations in Hungarian. In Hungarian, unlike in English, personal pronouns do not normally take local antecedents even if favourable pragmatic conditions are available. The paper argues that complex forms of the reflexive anaphor are used for the coding of local coreference, and they outcompete, as it were, personal pronouns in this function.

Keywords: Hungarian, binding, coreference, pronoun, anaphor

Introduction

The classical Binding Theory of Chomsky (1981) predicts a strict complementarity between anaphors and pronouns proper in local contexts: only anaphors can have local antecedents:

- (1) a. **Bill adores him*.
 [Bill=him]
 b. *Bill adores himself*.

(1a) is ungrammatical with neutral prosody if the noun phrase *Bill* is referentially identical with the pronoun *him*. Or, to be more precise, (1a) is ungrammatical if the pronoun is interpreted as a variable bound to the subject noun phrase *Bill*, that is, when (1a) has the same purported meaning as (1b).

It was recognized quite early on in the generative research on pronominals that (1a) has a distinct, coreference-based interpretation, and the sentence is grammatical in this interpretation. Bach and Partee (1980) and, especially Reinhart (1983), argued that coreference and binding construals must strictly be distinguished as they are radically different forms of coding referential dependencies. The following example from Reinhart (1983: 169) illustrates the phenomenon:

- (2) I know what Bill and Mary have in common.
 Mary adores Bill, and *Bill adores him, too*.

Bill adores him is grammatical in this sentence in the intended coreference reading, in which Bill adores someone who happens to be he himself. This is a property that Bill shares with Mary in this context, inasmuch as Mary also happens to adore the same individual Bill.

The recognition that binding and coreference need to be distinguished as such has made a profound impact on the development of binding theory. One particular issue that has recently received considerable attention is the role that the morphology of the pronominal forms play in the distribution and the licensing of binding and coreference interpretations. My aim in this paper is to add to this discussion by a study of pronominal strategies that are applied to local coreference marking in Hungarian. Hungarian contrasts with English in dispreferring personal pronouns even in contexts where they are allowed in English (2). I argue below that this is so because Hungarian has a set of complex reflexive anaphors besides the basic reflexive anaphor, which serve as primary markers of local coreference relations. English does not have this strategy, and therefore it resorts to personal pronouns in these constructions.

The paper is structured as follows. I first provide a more detailed overview of the binding coreference distinction and its role in grammar on the basis of Reinhart (2006). Then I make a thorough survey of the Hungarian data, building on the results of my earlier work in Rákosi (2011, 2013). Finally, I close the paper with a brief summary and an outlook on future directions of research.

Reinhart (1983, 2006) on binding and coreference

One of the best-known contexts where the binding coreference distinction manifests itself is represented by VP-ellipsis (see Hankamer and Sag 1976, and subsequent literature). Consider (3) for illustration:

- (3) *John likes his mother, and Bill does, too.*
- binding** (“sloppy reading”)
- (i) ‘John likes self’s mother, and Bill likes self’s mother.’
- coreference** (“strict reading”)
- (ii) ‘John likes John’s mother, and Bill likes John’s mother.’

In the so-called sloppy reading (i), the possessive *his* does not have independent reference in the first, non-elliptical clause. Its interpretation is bound to the subject noun phrase, which is *John*. What is elided in the second clause in this case is a VP that contains an open variable, which is bound to the local subject - *Bill* in the second clause. In the so-called strict reading (ii), the possessive *his* refers to the individual named *John* in its own right, and thus it is *coreferential* with the subject argument. The elided VP contains this referential pronoun, and the interpretation paraphrased in (ii) results.

The possessive construction represents a context in which there is no competition between pronouns and anaphors in the coding of anaphoric relations linked to antecedents outside of the possessive construction itself. Only *his* and other items in the possessive determiner paradigm can play this function. The key

observation that Reinhart (1983) makes is that when both an anaphor and a pronoun are grammatically possible in the same local configuration, then there is a competition of a sort between the two that determines the share of labour in coding binding and coreference interpretations.

- (4) a. *Only Bill voted for himself.*
binding: ‘Nobody else voted for self, only Bill.’
- b. *Only Bill voted for him.*
 [Bill=him]
coreference: ‘Nobody else voted for Bill, only Bill.’

The anaphor encodes the binding relation (4a), and the pronoun can host a coreference based-interpretation (6).

Reinhart (2006: 185) formulates the following rule to capture the distribution of the two readings:

- (5) Rule I (*an interface rule*)
 α and β cannot be covalued in a derivation D, if
- a. α is in a configuration to A-bind β , and
 - b. α cannot A-bind β in D, and
 - c. the covaluation interpretation is indistinguishable from what would be obtained if α A-binds β .

The term *covaluation* is used in the rule instead of *coreference* for reasons that are not relevant for the purposes of this paper (see Heim 1998 for why coreference should be viewed as an instance of a more general covaluation strategy). A-bind is a relation of structurally conditioned (anaphoric) binding based on c-command, where α is the antecedent, and β is the c-commanded anaphoric pronominal (anaphor proper or pronoun). The major driving force behind the rule is to disallow coreference in contexts where it is not-attested, compare (6a) and (6b):

- (6) a. **Bill voted for him.*
 b. *Only Bill voted for him.*

Only (6b) has the coreference reading, (6a) is ungrammatical with neutral prosody and with no supporting context. This is predicted by the rule as follows. In (6a), α (*Bill*) is in a configuration to A-bind β (*him*) because α c-commands β (5a). However, the noun phrase *Bill* cannot A-bind the pronoun *him*, because bound local anaphoric pronouns are only grammatical in English if they are *self*-marked (5b). That is, only *himself* can code local coreference, *him* cannot. The coreference (or covaluation) reading is ruled out by the condition in (5c): there is no truth-

conditional difference between the purported binding and the coreference readings of (6a). This, however, is not true of (6b), since in this case the coreference reading is truth-conditionally different from the binding reading (cf. 4). Hence, (6b) is grammatical.

In Reinhart's own words (2006: 185), "if there is a broader principle behind [(5)], it seems to be that if a certain interpretation is blocked by the computational system, you would not sneak in precisely the same interpretation for the given derivation, by using machinery available for the systems of use". In other words, (6a) is ruled out above because as it is, it can only be an expression of a binding relation, but there is an alternative, less costly construction available in English which outcompetes (6a) for this reading (*Bill voted for himself*). That is, the ungrammaticality of (6a) is derivable from general economy considerations, and so is the grammaticality of (6b).

Rule I does not say anything about the morphology of β . In particular, it does not specify what kind of pronominal forms can code coreference in English or in other languages. It has been pointed out, for example, that the English *himself* often does not license the so-called strict or coreference reading in elliptical contexts (see Buring 2005: 138-141 for an overview). Compare (7) and (8) in this respect:

- (7) *John defended himself well, and Bill did, too.*
binding ("sloppy reading")
 (i) 'John defended self, and Bill also defended self.'
coreference ("strict reading")
 (ii) *'John defended John, and Bill also defended John.'
- (8) *John defends himself better than Peter.*
binding ("sloppy reading")
 (i) 'John defends self better than Bill defends self.'
coreference ("strict reading")
 (ii) 'John defends John better than Bill defends John.'

Coreference is acceptable for most speakers in the case of subordinate ellipsis (8), whereas they reject it in the co-ordinate construction in (7). English personal pronouns, as we have seen, are not subject to such restrictions and they allow for coreference in compliance with (5).

The coding of local binding and coreference in Hungarian

The pronominal system of Hungarian seems to be similar to the English system at first sight, inasmuch as it has a dedicated personal pronoun paradigm and a distinct reflexive anaphor paradigm (and thus it is unlike many Germanic and Romance languages, where a single form plays two functions in first and second persons, see

Rooryck and vanden Wyngaerd (2011: 18-20) for an overview). (9) and (10) below list the singular accusative forms in the two paradigms:

- (9) a. *engem(-et)*
me-acc
b. *téged(-et)*
you-acc
c. *ő-t*
he-acc
- (10) a. *magam(-at)*
myself-acc
b. *magad(-at)*
yourself-acc
c. *magá-t*
he-acc

The accusative case suffix is $-(V)t$, and it is optional with first and second person personal and reflexive pronouns. I will use the suffixless variants in the examples below, since the bare forms of the pronouns are the more frequent variants in standard colloquial Hungarian.

Despite the apparent similarities between the Hungarian and the English pronominal systems, native speakers essentially reject locally coreferring personal pronouns even in contexts where they are expected to be acceptable on the basis of what we have seen in English. Compare the following two sentences.

- (11) *Csak én láttam magam a tükör-ben.*
only I.nom saw.1sg myself.acc the mirror-in

(i) ‘Only I saw self in the mirror.’

binding

(ii) */?‘Only I saw me in the mirror.’

coreference

- (12) **Csak én láttam engem a tükör-ben.*
only I.nom saw.1sg me.acc the mirror-in
intended: ‘Only I saw me in the mirror.’

coreference

The reflexive object anaphor (11) licenses the binding interpretation, as expected. The coreference reading of the reflexive is out for some speakers, and it is marginally available for others. In (12), the object is a personal pronoun, and the construction parallels the corresponding English construction. However, while

English speakers accept these sentences under the coreference reading, as we have seen, Hungarian speakers uniformly reject the sentence in (12). Even favourable discourse conditions cannot override this rejection.

This is a surprising fact, and it is especially unexpected in the light of the English data. The Hungarian data, however, do not contradict Reinhart's Rule I. Rule I constrains the occurrence of coreference by not allowing it in certain contexts. Coreference is not acceptable in (12), but this is not the result of the operation of Rule I. Rule I would allow the coreferential reading here, but it is still out – presumably for reasons that are independent of Rule I. What could these reasons be?

The key to an answer lies in the difference between the two reflexives *himself* and *maga* 'himself'. Historically, *maga* is a possessive body part reflexive with the reconstructed meaning 'his body'. While this etymology is not transparent any more, *maga* still has retained some reflexes of its possessive origin even in the synchronic system (see Rákosi 2011 and 2013 for more details). This grammatically active morphological structure may be one reason why some Hungarian native speakers can marginally accept coreference readings of *maga* even in local contexts, unlike in English (cf. (11) and (7)).

But *maga* is still a well-behaving anaphor on the whole, with a distribution very similar to the English *himself*. Nevertheless, it has several more complex varieties, of which I discuss two in this article. One is *önmaga* 'himself', with the prefix *ön-* 'self-' attached to the reflexive stem. The other is *jómaga* 'himself', where the morpheme in front of the stem is the adjective *jó* 'good'. I discuss these two complex reflexives in Rákosi (2011, 2013) in more detail, where I argue that *önmaga* is preferred in contexts in which there is a referential shift between the antecedent and the denotation of the reflexive. *Jómaga*, on the other hand, is a logophoric pronominal element, licensed mainly by discourse factors. I refer the reader to Rákosi (2011) and (2013) for more details, because what I want to focus on here is how these complex reflexive license coreference readings in the presence of local antecedents.

Consider (13) for an illustration of the distribution of the two readings across the pronominal elements discussed in this paper.

(13)

	binding	coreference
<i>Csak én</i>	<i>láttam a tükörben</i>	<i>*engem</i>
*	*	
me.acc		
<i>*/?</i>	<i>magam</i> √	
	<i>önmagam</i> √	√

√	<i>jómagam</i>	*			
	only	I.nom	saw	the mirror.in	myself.acc
	'Only I saw me/myself in the mirror.'				

The pronoun *engem* 'me', as we have already seen in (12) is ungrammatical in the transitive construction in the presence of a local antecedent. Each of the three reflexives are grammatical, but their interpretational properties are distinct. *Magam* 'myself' acts as a bound variable, and some speakers can also accept it marginally as coreferential with the subject. The relation between the complex reflexives *önmagam* 'myself' and the subject argument can either be interpreted as a relation of binding, or as a relation of coreference. Native speakers can accept either construal as grammatical. Interestingly, the other complex reflexive, *jómagam*, can only be coreferential, but it cannot be bound. The emerging picture is that the two complex reflexives represent the primary local coreference marking strategy in Hungarian.

This view is further strengthened by the behaviour of psychological predicates that allow for anaphoric pronominals as their subject. I illustrate the phenomenon with the stative object experiencer verb *aggaszt* 'worries'. As I argue in Rákosi (2006), this verb is a two-place unaccusative predicate with two internal arguments (the surface subject and the surface object). Consider (14) as an illustration:

(14)

		binding		coreference	
*	a.	* <i>Én</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>engem aggasztom</i>	
		I.nom	only	me.acc worry.1sg	
		<i>intended: 'I only worry me.'</i>			
*	b.	* <i>Magam</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>engem aggaszt.</i>	
		<i>önmagam</i>	*/??		√
		<i>jómagam</i>	*		√
		myself.nom	only	me.acc worry.3sg	
		<i>literally: 'Myself only worries me.'</i>			

The 'antecedent' is the object pronoun in this construction, and it is preceded by a pronominal subject in the surface order in the construction. As expected, the subject cannot be a coreferential personal pronoun, and thus (14a) is ungrammatical. The basic reflexive *magam* 'myself' is also ungrammatical under

both readings, because this reflexive cannot be a finite subject in Hungarian. The two complex reflexives, *önmagam* and *jómagam*, are both grammatical though (14b), and both have the coreference reading (with *önmagam* marginally allowing for a bound variable reading for some speakers).

These data highlight the peculiar character of the two complex reflexives in Hungarian. Unlike the English *myself/himself*, they can act as finite subjects, and they only allow the coreference reading in this use. These uses clearly do not fall under the domain of Binding Theory. Furthermore, they are not strictly governed by Reinhart's Rule I either, for these sentences represent contexts where the binding reading is not available to start with. So Rule I simply does not cover these constructions, and the coreference reading is licensed because nothing rules it out. And it is licensed only with the special complex reflexives *önmaga* and *jómaga* 'himself', neither of which behaves like a prototypical reflexive anaphor.

Summary and outlook

I have shown in this paper that Hungarian differs from English in the licensing of local coreference relations in a way that seems surprising at first sight. Despite the fact that Hungarian, just like English, also has a full paradigm of personal pronouns and it has a full paradigm of reflexive anaphors, native speakers of Hungarian cannot accept personal pronouns with local antecedents even in contexts that otherwise favour such constructions in English. I have shown, however, that Hungarian has two complex reflexive elements, *önmaga* and *jómaga*, which can function as local markers of coreference.

Thus we have, on the one hand, the English system, with a primary division between personal pronouns and reflexive anaphors. And we have the Hungarian pronominal system on the other hand, which contains an additional group of complex reflexive forms. These complex reflexives behave in certain ways as pronouns, and as anaphors in certain other ways, as I show elsewhere (Rákosi 2011, 2013). They seem to be specialised for the task of local coreference marking. And because they are better suited for this purpose, they outcompete personal pronouns for this function. This is the reason why personal pronouns are unacceptable as local coreference markers – unlike in English, where they represent the only pronominal option for local coreference marking.

My primary objective in this paper has been to establish and describe this difference between the two pronominal systems. One challenging aspect of this area of grammar are the data themselves, because native speakers are often uncertain about their judgements. It is an important task for future research to employ more sophisticated ways of data collection and analysis, which, I hope, will further strengthen the view that I have presented in this paper.

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METAPHORS AND FRAMING TECHNIQUES IN THE 2012 AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

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Abstract: The paper is an attempt at disclosing some of the important and recurrent frames used both by the Republican and the Democrat nominees in the 2012 presidential campaign, more precisely, in their first interaction broadcast on TV. It displays the richness of framing techniques meant to convince the audience of the ideologically-based evidence which appeals to core values and underlying principles, to their moral worldview. The two candidates try to evoke a suggestive imagery of facts by developing in people’s minds a variety of frames, being well aware that facts are unable to speak for themselves, and therefore they need value-based frames in order to become moral imperatives. An obvious mark of framing is the repetition of more or less different structures or words, usually key words, which have a significant argumentative force and which the two competitors use in order to convince or manipulate people onto the desired path. The most important thing in the creation of their rhetoric is for each of them to remain faithful to the key words they have chosen and not to copy, by mistake, the opponent’s frames, as this would imbalance their chances of success. The framing technique has an incredible impact upon people’s minds, as it deals with ideas and the logical connections the brain makes when in face of powerful and meaningful stimuli. If wrapped in a frame, usually appealing to morality and values, messages about particular programs and policies are more likely to be successful than if transmitted under the form of a list of tasks.

Keywords: frame, path, opportunity, middle-class, burden, jobs

I. Introduction

Over the last two or three decades, politicians, governments as well as institutions have lost much of their authority and credibility. This major crisis of legitimacy is partly due to political discourses’ apprehension. Politicians can shape and reshape the political public in their discourses; they can construct and reconstruct the people and consequently, a great amount of their success is based on how the public reacts to their message, on how they accept and make real these constructions which are often products crossing the threshold of reality onto that of imagination. Audiences can, on numerous occasions, draw out meanings which are often left implicit. It is exactly this combination of implicit meanings (or what is left unsaid) with explicit meanings (or what is actually said) that adds significance to a text.

When we refer to presences or absences in texts, to what is made explicit or, on the contrary, left implicit, or to what is foregrounded or backgrounded, we actually deal with presuppositions. Any textual analysis focuses on what is *there* in the text, on linguistic analysis which is descriptive in nature, but much attention

should also be paid to things that might have been *there* in the text but are not, thus to absences. They leave place to presuppositions which play an important role in anchoring the unknown in the known (which is the implicit in the explicit) or the new representations in the old ones. These valences make it possible for someone who hears or reads a text to have a certain opinion formed as a consequence of the common-sense assumptions the text attributed to the person in case. The moment people presuppose something, they can assume that there are other representations considered as common ground for them, where the actual presuppositions are explicitly present, that is, they are part of what is being said. This is where we start dealing with the diverse techniques of analysis, including that of framing.

Regarding the framing technique, there is much to be said of the impact it has upon people's minds. Jeffrey Feldman has successfully exemplified very important frames used in American discourses from George Washington onward in his book "Framing the Debate", some of which I have also found when analyzing the present debate. It is noteworthy that frames are the "mental structures that characterize ideas. Since we think with our brains, any new idea that we learn to think in terms of, is represented physically in our brains." (qtd. in Feldman xi-xii) Being often unspoken in discourses, these frames are largely unconscious, but, as Lakoff says, "they are what politics is fundamentally about." (qtd. in Feldman xii) People are able to conceptualize and understand principles by means of metaphors which make up a mental image of our world. Without these "congealed forms" of thinking" (qtd. in Mey 303) which are relevant to and also supportive of mutual understanding, the context may not always be determined. Thus, the metaphors which animate the frames in the present debate analysis respect their own context and contribute to creating the intended expression.

II. Analysis of the American presidential debate: October 3, 2012

Out of the three presidential confrontations that took place in October 2012, the first one, on October the 3rd, stands out from among the others. As most analysts say, it was Governor Romney who won the debate, though he won it on style, and not on substance, as reality checks showed immediately after the first debate was over. His oratory skills tremendously surpassed President Obama's lack of assuredness and confidence in presenting a problem and offering solutions to it. The Governor sounded more convincing. He either was himself convinced that the facts he presented were true, even if they were not, or else it was a piece of brilliant acting.

The president's incursion into the period of crisis extant at the beginning of his mandate four years ago and the Americans' "resilience and determination"¹ to restore things to normal make use of the "*We the people*" frame, so much used before him by Abraham Lincoln, George Washington and its original craftsman

¹ This and all the following quotations which make no reference to a source are extracted from the transcript of the first Obama –Romney presidential debate which the present paper discusses

Thomas Jefferson who, from the very first words of the Declaration of Independence, referred to this group of people as a nation founded on the fundamental principles of unity and equality. "*We the people*" represents the ideal of a good government, one that fosters justice for everyone without discrimination and that ever since George Washington's time, has been preoccupied by ruling with the people and not over the people. Abraham Lincoln articulates it best in his famous democratic reference of "government of the people, by the people, for the people" (Lincoln, Gettysburg Address) which persists to this day.

Barack Obama sets out to portray the economic state of the country he was chosen to lead four years ago, comparing it to the period of The Great Depression, when all sectors of economy and industry were in collapse and unemployment was high. He focused attention on seemingly insurmountable problems in order to render the great and devastating "*Depression*" of our days only to then show how the government put people to work and gave them a sense of direction for their future, thus amplifying its contribution to restoring people's confidence, and the role "*We the people*" has in the Americans' lives: "Over the last 30 months, we've seen 5 million jobs in the private sector created. The auto industry has come roaring back and housing has begun to rise. But we all know that we've still got a lot of work to do. And so the question here tonight is not where we've been but where we're going."

The president uses the personal pronoun "*we*" to create the atmosphere of unity, of a group he is a part of, thus of his leadership merits. Thinking in these terms, he incites people to action, as "we've still got a lot of work to do" while trying to make them concentrate upon the future and ignore the present situation he would not feel confident speaking too much about. By using an indirect question and the contrastive structure "*not...but...*": "*the question ...is not where we've been but where we're going*", Obama reminds us of John F. Kennedy's famous lines from the 1961's Inaugural Address: "*ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.*" (Kennedy, Inaugural Address) The framing technique of repetition is meant to introduce the idea of service, of the citizen who asks a question to his country, personified as it is in this case, a question that would sound like: "*What can I do for you?*"

"*What you can do for your country*" is a phrase that Americans are very familiar with; at least since John F. Kennedy has inspired the nation with this commitment to everything that calls for unity of purpose and even imagination. Having created in the minds of the audience the feeling that they all belong to the same team and have the same goals they should all work hard to achieve, Obama can now direct the people towards accepting the program he has for them because, more than anything, it has a "different view" than that of his opponent. Speaking of "new economic patriotism", the President depicts in several words the measures he intends to take in order to favour the middle- class people and small businesses whose support he expects to have. He then addresses them a question which is introduced by a very suggestive metaphor – *path* - : "Now, it ultimately is going to be up to the voters, to you, which path we should take. Are we going to double

down on the top-down economic policies that helped to get us into this mess, or do we embrace a new economic patriotism that says, America does best when the middle class does best?"

Here, by means of another frame, "*the Path frame*", Obama's progressive intention of suiting American's framing needs is based on the same reality on the ground. Speaking in spatial terms, Obama introduces the idea of alternative: they can follow the path of "top-down economic policies" or they can "embrace a new economic patriotism". This sounds like the choice in Robert Frost's poem "The Road not Taken". The president expects the voters to make up their minds at once, because they cannot take both paths. When proposing people the two options, Obama probably had in mind one of the famous speeches of his predecessors that had to face similar times of crisis and distress. Using Jimmy Carter's speech as a model for invoking "*the Path frame*", Obama added power to his speech and made it sound more confident and logical since he attributed the crisis a different meaning or perspective: that of "*path*". Jimmy Carter had a similar approach and he used the same term "path" in order for the audience to situate themselves in the position of a traveler who has to make the right choice, to opt for the correct path to get to a safe destination:

We are at a turning point in our history. There are two paths to choose. One is a path I've warned about tonight, the path that leads to fragmentation and self-interest. Down that road lies a mistaken idea of freedom, the right to grasp for ourselves some advantage over others. That path would be one of constant conflict between narrow interests ending in chaos and immobility. It is a certain route to failure.

All the traditions of our past, all the lessons of our heritage, all the promises of our future point to another path, the path of common purpose and the restoration of American values. That path leads to true freedom for our nation and ourselves. (Carter, Televised Address to the Nation)

When president Obama repeats the adverb "*down*" twice in the same line, he certainly wants to draw our attention to something that is definitely connected to the phrases previously used in the speech: "*collapse*", "*deficit*" and "*mess*". By means of these words and by repeating the adverb "*down*", it is easier for us to distinguish another frame which equals the notion of crisis to something that sends us to the idea of a deep *hole*. Though a mundane metaphor, the "*hole*" has a clear logic for the audience. The frame is extremely suggestive and it allows room for the next interpretation that would come out as a conclusion. The solution to the *crisis = hole* is exactly *the path out of that hole*, the one Obama referred to under the form of a question that gave people an opportunity of choice.

Framing his introduction by a set of accounts by people in need and desperate for a change, Romney appeals to the connections and representations that the audience can mentally perform when hearing the reports, which will enable them to characterize the ideas the brain has structured. Thus, the story of an unemployed woman who grabbed his arm asking for help or that of another woman carrying a

baby in her arms and crying out that her husband has lost his job and they have no place to live is more likely to touch people's hearts than a set of policy programs that need to be implemented. People who experience similar conditions feel the governor is addressing *them*; this is the reason for his recounting such situations.

Convinced that his accounts have paved the way to his five-part program, Romney does not hesitate to describe his own path by criticizing the President for having considered it "top-down" when, as the last four years have proved, the President's path has been "unsuccessful".

To create the impression of closeness and devotion to his country, Mr. Romney personifies America, speaking of it as if it were a person who expects an answer, to whom he should not delay service. By the program he has proposed, which strengthens all fields of economy, the personified America will regain vitality and will have the power to strive and work again. Romney has full confidence in his program; the other "*path*" is "not the right answer for America."

Displaying a good organization of ideas, the Governor takes them one by one and gives counter arguments to most of Obama's statements. "*First of all*", "*first*", "*the second area*", "*the third area*", "*finally*" are transitional words meant to create textual cohesion and to show force and confidence. The same attributes are obvious when the Governor uses the first person singular pronoun in order to speak about the measures he intends to take or to exculpate himself: "First of all, I don't have a \$5 trillion tax cut. I don't have a tax cut of a scale that you're talking about. My view is that we ought to provide tax relief to people in the middle class. But I'm not going to reduce the share of taxes paid by high-income people. High-income people are doing just fine in this economy. They'll do fine whether you're president or I am."

The last sentence proves modesty and composure in the sense that his utmost concern is for people of all categories to be fine, and when they are, whether he or somebody else is the president is of minor importance. Having achieved this state of tranquility, the Governor finds it very easy now to start attacking again, in a calm and natural manner, this time making reference to the category of people the President asserted he cared so much about: the middle-income families. These are the ones who have been actually "*crushed*" and "*buried*" "*under the president's policies*", in Mr. Romney's opinion, and the list continues with other powerful verbs that suggest the "*hole*" frame by the mere use of the adverb "*down*" in opposition with "*up*" repeated thrice in the same line.

The people who are having the hard time right now are middle-income Americans. Under the president's policies, middle-income Americans have been buried. They're ... they're just being crushed. Middle-income Americans have seen their income come down by \$4,300. This is a ... this is a tax in and of itself. I'll call it the economy tax. It's been crushing. The same time, gasoline prices have doubled under the president, electric rates are up, food prices are up, health care costs have gone up by \$2,500 a family.

Middle-income families are being crushed. And so the question is how to get them going again, and I've described it.

The repetition of the verb “*crush*”/”*crushed*” three times along with its referent “*middle-income Americans*”, used even more often, is extremely suggestive for this category of people. Mr. Romney is well aware of the power of repeated words and he continues his speech by dismissing the points the President has made about three important topics: education, taxation, energy. Concluding by “So any ... any language to the contrary is simply not accurate”, the Governor seems to be happy that he has made his point and justified everything that had to be clarified, but he also intends to draw the President’s attention to the fact that any distortion of ideas from now on is simply useless and inaccurate. Maybe he envisaged that the president was going to reiterate the same ideas, giving them another form, and he simply wanted to avoid this. Presupposition is what characterizes Governor Romney’s thoughts at this point, and he will later be confirmed to have been right.

In response, President Obama insists that the debate should focus a little more on taxes, where he stresses the idea that middle-class people enjoyed a \$3,600 tax cut and this is his basic concern: “I believe we do best when the middle class is doing well.” He expresses this in the form of a narrative that started four years ago when he stood on the same stage and promised people he would give them tax cuts, and he proudly confirms that he has kept his promise. He uses a familiar tone when speaking of middle-class families who were able to buy a car or a computer for their children in times of recession, but then he swiftly passes to a totally different tone, a professorial one, to express numbers and sums of money. The President doubts his opponent’s method of reducing the deficit he has spoken about in the last 18 months, and in doing so he returns to numbers and percentages that, he says, are warranted by independent studies. The combat seems to take up a sharp and mathematical shape as the two are going to engage in contradictory discussions. The middle-class family with children and its monthly expenditures are at the center of attention and the whole debate revolves around them.

In defending himself, Governor Romney becomes very personal, the first person singular pronoun is used together with other sequence markers to make the speech clear and easy to follow: “*that’s part one*”, “*number two*”, “*And number three*”. He stresses the statement “I will not reduce the share paid by high-income individuals” and repeats it, vehemently explaining that Obama has no chance of misleading the people by repeating the same piece of information, hoping to make everyone believe it, including the Governor. A few moments ago, Romney presupposed the President would do so. In saying this, he presses a serious charge on Obama, though in a humorous tone, that of employing the tactics of spin in order to misdirect the citizens. He continues to contradict him by invoking “*not a study*”, as the President has brought into discussion, but “*six other studies*” that contradict his: “There are six other studies that looked at the study you describe and say it’s completely wrong.”

Not seeming too much affected by the accusations Mr. Romney brought against him, the President keeps his balance, and only responds by the same idea, that the Governor has had a different program for eighteen months and it is only five weeks ago that he adopted a new vision regarding the tax cuts, somehow redirecting the spin accusation to Mr. Romney. It appears that the President does not have the same joy of using the first person pronoun in the singular form when speaking of his achievements. He only does that at the beginning of an answer and at the end of it, for the sake of impact. Throughout the exposition of his ideas, he favours the first person pronoun in the plural, as it better invokes the idea of unity with the audience and the “*We the People*” frame:

...we should go back to the rates that we had when Bill Clinton was president, when we created 23 million new jobs, went from deficit to surplus and created a whole lot of millionaires to boot.

And the reason this is important is because by doing that, we can not only reduce the deficit, we can not only encourage job growth through small businesses, but we're also able to make the investments that are necessary in education or in energy.

The frame brings up the unity of shared sacrifice that Obama invites people to adhere to, as the model of his predecessor has proved to be successful. This leads to another frame, that of progress, which Americans could achieve by joining efforts with the government. Progress is depicted as going “*from deficit to surplus*”, creating “*millionaires*”, or as “*job growth*” and investment making.

If Romney has previously spoken of America as if it were a person who expected an answer, Obama does not hesitate to continue in this vein, and he speaks of it as if it were a person in need of education, who should benefit of more investment in “*basic science and research*” in order to “*grow*”: “And that kind of approach, I believe, will not grow our economy because the only way to pay for it without either burdening the middle class or blowing up our deficit is to make drastic cuts in things like education, making sure that we are continuing to invest in basic science and research, all the things that are helping America grow. And I think that would be a mistake.”

Personifying America enables the President to show more empathy, as if it were a human being, to feel more concerned about the middle class and the youth for whom education is essential and who would have to suffer deep wounds because of Mr. Romney's measures. These wounds are rendered by the phrase “*to make drastic cuts*”. The power of the word “*cut*” is so forcefully taken over by the listener that he is likely to *feel* the injury or the hole that such a drastic measure can produce. Here we are again sent to the “*hole*” frame, this time in conjunction with the “*path*” frame, as by means of them both, the listener is sure to make a mental picture of the “*path*” that leads through “burdening the middle class or blowing up ... deficit” into the “*hole*” where the catastrophe has already been produced and there is no coming out safe and sound. The image of the “*hole*” and blood rendered by “*cut*” is reinforced by the verb “*burden*”, which has been mentioned several

times before, and by the use of another very suggestive verb “*to blow up*”, which leads us to the idea of an imminent disaster. Obama has proved his rhetorical skills in this phrase, as he has managed to convey a clear message through a short number of condensed, but meaningful, words which connect and communicate ideas in a chain:

wrong path-> “burdening” + “blowing up” ->hole = “drastic cuts” -> “pay for it”

In case we may want to rephrase this, it could sound as follows: “*If you choose the wrong path, which only burdens you and leads to disaster, you will have to suffer the consequences of the crisis you fall into, and thus pay for your choice.*” Obama has already framed the crisis as a “*hole*” at the beginning of his speech, so there is no other way for the listeners to interpret this paragraph but in a way similar to that suggested above. Just like Jimmy Carter who ends the description of the wrong path with the sentence “It is a certain route to failure” (Carter, Televised Address to the Nation), Obama concludes in a powerful way, saying: “*And I think that would be a mistake.*” His remark would have sounded even more powerful if he had replaced the present conditional “*would be*” with the present simple “*is*”.

The turn taking moment that follows is like a mouth of fresh air for Romney, which gives him the chance to organize his ideas and reconsider his strategy of argumentation. If it had not been for that, the Governor would have swiftly replied, as he might have intended, with the statement “These small businesses we’re talking about –” and would have continued in the same way to criticize Obama’s assertions. All of a sudden, he becomes mature and does not employ the tactics of contradicting Obama at once, but, using a powerful argumentative strategy, that of concession and rebuttal, he acknowledges the President’s point and even praises it before proving it is wrong: “Well, President, you’re -- Mr. President, you’re absolutely right...” Shortly after that, there follows the contrastive marker “*but*” which clarifies everything: “But those businesses that are in the last 3 percent of businesses happen to employ half -- half -- of all of the people who work in small business. Those are the businesses that employ one quarter of all the workers in America. And your plan is take their tax rate from 35 percent to 40 percent.”

By acknowledging Obama’s evidence, Romney proves how well informed he is, how well he knows what has caused the controversy. Concession helps him establish a credible stance and even appear more mature in thinking. When used alone, it gives the impression of a balanced and more objective point of view, as if seen or analyzed from different angles, necessary before exposing a conflicting argument. When it is followed by a rebuttal, as in this case, concession acts to discredit the interlocutor by attacking exactly the point that the author concedes to the opposition. The strategy of concession and rebuttal shows the weakness of the President’s point of view and it also creates an inductive development of thinking before reaching the conclusion. It is like in a chain of arguments that Governor

Romney prepares his evidence which will then be supported by other stories and further elaborated before leading the people to the final conclusion.

Romney is obviously dismissive towards Obama's measures which he only considers a "*plan*" that "*will cost 700,000 jobs*", implying that this is not something of an emergency and desirability for Americans, since it brings about costs, compared to his "*priority*", that is, "*to lower*" and "*bring down*" expenditures. Unaware, we enter the realm of another frame, the "*wealth frame*", successfully constructed by Romney to deny the President's assumptions. If we take a look at the words he uses, they all acquire, more or less, a financial meaning: "*tax rate*", "*businesses*", "*percent*", "*cost*", "*jobs*", "*deductions*", "*exemptions*", "*balanced budget*", "*working*", "*earning*", "*money*", "*paying*". The short sentence "*My priority is jobs.*" is in constructive opposition with the preceding one "*I don't want to cost jobs*".

In order to deny the Governor's assertions, the President chooses to address the people under the form of a conditional clause starting with "If you believe", so as to suggest that everything Romney has stated is inaccurate, and consequently, if people believe that, they are going to "end up picking up the tab". He refers to the Governor's false implications by making a sum of the taxes that would reach incredible amounts of money exceeding even the defense budget, as he says: "that's more than our entire defense budget". Employing the term "*defense*" to awaken in people's minds the feeling of security which could not be provided by what Romney has stated, the President supposes that the Americans' confidence in the integrity of their nation and of the American values is shattered if they become citizens of a country which does not respect the principles of freedom and liberty upon which their nation was founded. Americans are all tied to a common set of principles and ideas to which their forefathers have dedicated their lives and whose integrity they should defend and not jeopardize. Thus, in the event of a weak defense system, the people's trust in the government's ability to protect the citizens will considerably diminish.

The repetition of more or less different structures or words, usually key words, is an obvious mark of framing. For a listener, within the first 10 or 15 minutes of this debate each candidate has successfully managed to introduce one into the specific communication of particular policies, into a deep frame of values and principles, a frame which is largely unconscious or all too often unspoken. The listener has time enough to create a mental picture of each of the presidential contenders' programs and intentions, so everything that follows and is repeated over and over again represents the candidate's training package of memorized basic words and constructions, which have a significant argumentative force and which the two competitors use in order to convince or manipulate people onto the desired path. The most important thing in the creation of their rhetoric is for each of them to remain faithful to the key words they have chosen and not to copy, by mistake, the opponent's frames, as this would imbalance their chances of success. Even if, at times, Obama's almost identical repetition of strategic words and metaphors can be annoying, it is used for a better reinforcement of that particular

idea or frame, so that it finally becomes accepted and even adopted by the mind as if it had always been there. Some of the words or structures he convincingly repeats are:

- the ones referring to the condition of the middle-class families, where the construction starts with a statement of belief (“*I believe that...*”) and it is followed by the subject of the action (which is the particular category he intends to emphasise), a verb (“*to do*”) and an adjective in the superlative degree of comparison or an adverb linked by “*when*” to a similar construction, as if it were in a mirror:

I believe that “*X does best/ well when Y does / is doing /is getting well*”.

- the word “*deficit*” and sometimes its opposite “*surplus*” with action verbs like: *go, reduce, blow up*: “we reduce our deficit in a balanced way”, “reducing spending in a responsible way,... reduce the deficit and make the investments”, “not reducing the deficit ... or not adding to the deficit”, “to avoid either raising the deficit or burdening the middle class”, “went from deficit to surplus”, “to make sure we’re not blowing up the deficit”, “We ended up moving from surplus to deficits”, “We went from deficit to surplus, and businesses did very well”;

- the word “*recipe*” in “*a recipe for job growth*” or “*for economic growth*”, preceded again by a verb of inert cognition (“to believe”: “that’s not what I believe is a recipe for economic growth”) and followed, as “verbs with this type of meaning frequently are, by a noun clause” (Zdrengea, 151);

- in order to strengthen his arguments and make them sound even more convincing, he also uses undeniable evidence or evidence coming from the exact sciences: “It’s -- it’s math. It’s arithmetic” or “But I think math, common sense and our history shows us that’s not a recipe for job growth”. Similarly, he looks for active approval or backing of other “*studies*” to confirm his statements: “And that’s why independent studies looking at this said...”, “that’s the analysis of economists who have looked at this”, “six other studies that looked at the study...”;

- the need to show conviction after exposing his principles or even when concluding a paragraph is rendered by a statement of belief starting with “*And I think*”, “*I believe*”: “... I think is one of the central questions of this campaign.”, “And I want to make sure that we keep tuition low for our young people.”, “And I think that would be a mistake.”

As far as Romney is concerned, the need to display self-confidence and a good organization of ideas is obvious when he enumerates points or issues by numbering them: “My plan has five basic parts. One... Number two ... Number three ... Number four ... Number five”, “first, education ... The second area: taxation ... The third area: energy”, “That’s part one ... Number two ... And number three”, “But let’s get to the bottom line.”

The idea that the country needs an “*answer*” as if it were a person to whom we can communicate things is repeated by Romney several times: “That’s not the right answer for America. I’ll restore the vitality that gets America working again.”

At other times, the word “*answer*” is replaced with a similar one in meaning (e.g. “*policy*”, “*course*”): “this is not the kind of policy you want to have if you want to get America energy-secure.”, “whisking aside the 10th Amendment, which gives states the rights for these kinds of things, is not the course for America to have a stronger, more vibrant economy.”

The old technique of using a “*guest star citizen*” in a presidential debate to render the evidence more credible seems to be favored even by contemporary candidates running for presidency, as it makes their speech more personal and easy to focus upon. Although everybody knows that the guest star citizen is not a friend of the president’s, this character’s story brings important details related to the topic of discussion. Romney often invokes the story of an unemployed person or that of a small business owner to raise a point about jobs or other areas where these stories illustrate the issue.

In repeating the same idea about the decreasing number of jobs, Romney has passed from financial matters to life and death matters, from the verb “*to cost*” to a more powerful and final one: “*to kill*”, which is further on supported by the adverb “*never*” used twice by Romney in the same line, so as to show there is no coming back: “...you’ll never get there. You never balance the budget by raising taxes.” The doomsday scenario that the Governor introduced with the verb “*to kill*” is included in the same “*Path frame*” he then continues speaking about when he makes a comparison with Spain’s percentage of expenditures similar to their country’s at present. Going “*down the path*” sends us to the same frame he invoked at the beginning, when he spoke of the “*President’s policies*”, under which “middle-income Americans have been buried. They’re -- they’re just being crushed.”

The President does not respond to Mr. Romney by insulting him. Instead, he addresses him twice when making a distinction between what he intends to do and what the Governor wrongly suggested doing, and keeps speaking on various issues to which Romney finds himself obliged to reply: tax breaks, education, companies overseas, Medicaid, energy. All through his speech he makes proof of composure and wisdom, inviting his interlocutor to tackle the subjects in “a balanced, responsible approach”. Debating on how to deal with certain issues, Obama swiftly passes from one topic to another in such a way that it is impossible for Romney to get everything clear. He even states this fact at a certain moment: “Look, I’ve been in business for 25 years. I have no idea what you’re talking about. I maybe need to get a new accountant.”

The anti-government rhetoric which has been used by many American presidents for the last thirty years is not something new for the listeners, therefore the Governor does not intend to draw their attention by this approach as much as by the frame that the metaphors of “laboratories of democracy” and “the brilliance” of the states and the people open onto. Speaking of values and visions makes Romney more preoccupied with enriching people’s characters and belief in the moral purpose of the activities they can perform for the general good and in a democratic environment. Therefore, the frame of “*a place*” where people can build

something, just like in a laboratory, evokes a similar vision, which Lyndon Johnson had about sixty years ago:

Your imagination, your initiative, and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled growth... The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. ...The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness... You can help build a society where the demands of morality, and the needs of the spirit, can be realized in the life of the Nation.... We have the power to shape the civilization that we want. But we need your will, your labor, your hearts, if we are to build that kind of society. (Johnson, Commencement Address)

It is the same faith in “*the power to shape the civilization*” that Romney thinks possible to achieve in the “*laboratories of democracy*” represented by the States, whose “*brilliance*” can help building the same “Great Society” that Lyndon Johnson was talking about, a society which, in the Americans’ minds, relies on the very principle of democracy their whole country was founded upon. Even though this fundamental frame of society seen as a *building* or a *place* is part of the progressives’ vision, Romney knows that by appealing to it, he actually awakens the desire of Americans to become once again the builders of the “Great Society”, to rely less on government and more on the character of their nation, which they should strengthen. The way he addresses the President, by using the imperative, sounds more like an order than an invitation for Obama to encourage such an approach: “So let states... Don’t have the federal government tell everybody ... Let states do this.”

When they come to speak about segment three, the economy, namely the Social Security and Medicaid, the structure of their presentations is quite the same. A pertinent story is always at the foundation of the President’s beginning of a discourse. How he links this story to the next part of his presentation on the topic required by the moderator is by using a phrase which introduces his vision based on the general idea reflected by the story: “And that’s the perspective I bring when I think about what’s called entitlements.” This story frame appeals to a large number of people, and knowing this, the President insists on explicitly stating this idea again, so as to stir people’s interest: “These are folks who’ve worked hard, like my grandmother. And there are millions of people out there who are counting on this.” The next step is for Obama to illustrate the measures that have been taken for the improvement of that sector, so that he may point out the suggested solution. He carefully presents the advantages and disadvantages of supporting Medicare and private insurance companies, bringing external evidence to confirm his opinions (e.g.: “And this is not my own -- only my opinion. AARP thinks that...”). He finally closes his statements on this topic with an opinionated sentence, as usual: “And I -- I don’t think that’s the right approach when it comes to making sure that Medicare is stronger over the long term.”

Governor Romney always uses numbers and percentages to support his affirmations, and in order to create a logical sequence of the points presented he is fond of transitional words or sequence markers. As in all his discourses, Mr. Romney insists on showing that the need to rely on the government should be reduced as much as possible and that people should be given the chance to decide for themselves the costs and efficiency of important matters such as health.

Although the Governor tries to strike a point, bringing in financial arguments and underlining the fact that “people can get the choice of different plans at lower cost, better quality”, the President provides counter arguments by opening an important frame in the Americans’ minds, which carries along their century-old legacy, that of “*opportunity for all*”. Focusing only on the unaffordable price that Americans have to pay for their health insurance, therefore on a financial frame that never puts an end to a healthcare discussion is not the most appropriate approach in Obama’s opinion. In this sense, he focuses on the principle that American citizens should benefit equally and irrespective of age from a healthcare system that is not “putting seniors at the mercy of those insurance companies” Mr. Romney was talking favorably about. The term “*seniors*” brings about the notion of respect for a higher status person and it is in an unpleasant opposition with the following term Obama chooses to represent: “*mercy*”. The frame is fully evocative of poverty combined with shame, as for somebody to be at the mercy of somebody else is demeaning, especially when the case in point is or deserves to be honored for various reasons - age being one of them. The feeling of poverty is sustained by the next three past participles that Obama uses in the sentence to follow: “And over time, if traditional Medicare has decayed or fallen apart, then they’re stuck.” As if it was not enough for the seniors to be at the mercy of the insurance companies, they also run the risk of being “*stuck*” in case of a doomsday scenario as represented by Obama’s vision of a “*decayed*” or “*fallen apart*” Medicare. The three past participles above make reference to the “*hole frame*” used before by both protagonists. Thus, joining to this well-known frame another one, no less known to the Americans, namely “*opportunity for all*”, relocates the focus on expensive healthcare from the perspective that Romney attributed it onto a less material one, that of restoring the American principle of opportunity. This frame is both less dangerous and less treacherous than an unending debate on finding the most convenient means of healthcare insurance. It gives the President the chance to expand on it and give people a vision of their future.

The President is aware of the endless discussions that an approach to new healthcare possibilities can rekindle, so he shifts the topic of healthcare costs to healthcare opportunities, suggesting in this way that all the measures that Mr. Romney brings into discussion are not worthy taking into consideration if they put a certain category of people, the elderly, at a disadvantage, thus breaking one of the most important principles of American democracy: the opportunity for all. Maybe framing the debate in this way, as many of the Republican presidents before him have, though a Democrat, Obama could ensure his success more easily. The same frame is clearly expressed in Bill Clinton’s Second Inaugural Address where he

states: “The preeminent mission of our new Government is to give all Americans an opportunity, not a guarantee but a real opportunity, to build better lives.” (Clinton, Second Inaugural Address)

Speaking about performances accomplished in Massachusetts, Obama apparently praises Romney’s contribution when he says: “Governor Romney did a good thing, working with Democrats” but this is, in fact, an emphatic acknowledgement of a false implication because immediately afterwards he actually denies Romney’s contribution and states that he has just “set up what is essentially the identical model”, thus subtly replacing his opponent’s abilities of creation with those of imitation. The President speaks of Romney using the third person singular pronoun, as if he were avoiding confronting him directly. His accusations do not have the same immediate impact on people as the ones where the second person pronoun is used and which Romney prefers using, as if to show his authority.

The last part of the presidential debate is probably the densest in symbols, metaphors and framing techniques. Wanting to leave a good impression on the audience and consequently, to obtain the greatest number of votes, both presidential candidates make an appeal to famous frames, well imprinted on their culture, addressing the people with outstanding phrases that bring up memories of their remarkable presidents and their powerful governments. The topic of the last segment of the debate being the role of the government, it is only natural that the President should make reference to the words of Abraham Lincoln, the forefather of the principle of equality, whose idea of the “*government of the people, by the people, for the people*” will always picture the fundamental American values as they were first defined in the Declaration of Independence. Obama has used the “*We the People frame*” in this debate before, so emphasizing it now through Lincoln’s words helps reinforcing Americans’ participation in building up a country that would have the core values of equality, unity, representation: “But as Abraham Lincoln understood, there are also some things we do better together.”

Doing things “*together*” “doesn’t restrict people’s freedom; that enhances it” in Obama’s opinion. “*We the People*” frame refers both to the idea that cooperation is important for Americans, that together they form not only a group of people, but a nation, a government, a country, (so it is this unity in action that Obama wants to inspire his people with), and to the other idea that freedom is achieved in action, it is enhanced by the common desire to build America. Obama is able to create a broader frame when he mentions the encompassing term “*freedom*”, which stirs people’s souls to service for a country that was conceived in liberty.

The focus is placed upon the government as being the most capable agent for redeeming people and resurrecting the opportunities their forefathers have fought for, for opening “*gateways of opportunity*” and creating frameworks and “*ladders of opportunity*”. Speaking like that, Obama clearly refers to a frame deeply rooted in the history of American values and visions: that of *opportunity for everyone*. In this sense, the role of the government is to use its “*capacity*” to craft effective alternatives for all people to have equal opportunities. The president expresses his

utmost belief in the power of the government to serve people: “But I also believe that government has the capacity -- the federal government has the capacity to help open up opportunity and create ladders of opportunity and to create frameworks where the American people can succeed.”

As in other presidential discourses, the government is personified here as well, due to its mission of serving people, just like a faithful servant. Obama speaks of it using the verbs “*to open*”, “*to create*”, “*to give*” attributed to human capacities. This personification of the government reminds us of George Washington’s frame of “*humble servant*” represented by the President who was called by his country to serve. In his First Inaugural Address, America had a “*voice*” that “*called*” the President to service. “I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love...the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me...” (Washington, First Inaugural Address). In order to respond, Washington describes himself as a “*humble servant to the vocal master that is his country.*” The notion of a “*humble servant*” appears in Jeffrey Feldman’s book “Framing the Debate”, where he suggests that the personification of America “is the core metaphor of the “*humble servant*” frame, which ultimately defines the relationship between President and People along the lines of servant and master.” (19) It is most probable that Obama employed the same symbols in his debate to refer to the fact that American people can rely on government and they are invited to do so, because the government is always at their disposal, ready to create all those opportunities President Obama spoke about. More than that, he admitted that those principles had already been at the foundation of his ideology: “And so what I’ve tried to do as president is to apply those same principles.”

As for Governor Romney, the answer to the moderator’s question on the role of the government comes in very clear and simple terms: “The role of government - - look behind us: the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.” The fact that he uses the same words as the ones in the Declaration of Independence: “*life and liberty*”, “*the pursuit of happiness*” brings about the frame of unalienable rights known by all American citizens. It is, thus, suffice for Romney to say these words that all Americans’ thoughts go back to the times when the Declaration of Independence was issued and when they all became a nation guided by the same principles of democracy and human rights which guide their thinking nowadays.

Romney believes in the Americans’ power of “discovery and innovation”, capacities which will enable them to engage in activities for the benefit of their country without relying on government help. In a sense, he is very close to a frame that Roosevelt created when he referred to the fact that happiness can be achieved through work: “Happiness lies... in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort” (First Inaugural Address). Jeffrey Feldman considers that by reframing happiness, “Roosevelt reconnected the American people with the most basic of constitutional principles: life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. If ever there was a speech that refuted the basic principles of “trickle-down” economics, it was Roosevelt’s first inaugural address.” (67) Romney’s reframing of happiness in

looking for “*discovery and innovation, all these things desired out of the American heart*” is similar to that of Roosevelt’s <*happiness is achievement*>.

In his closing statement, just like in a circle technique, the President restates the same values he opened his speech with. If he spoke about the Americans’ “*resilience and determination*” at the beginning of the debate, he now uses almost the same terms –“*grit*” and “*determination*”, to express the “faith and confidence” he has in the American people. He brings illustrative examples of people in different areas and with different occupations that have had the “opportunity to succeed”. The frame he used at the beginning with reference to the car manufacturing that was “*on the brink of collapse*” and that he has managed to rebuild is now given an extended meaning, that of “*pride*” that the workers experienced while “building the best cars in the world”. Obama wanted to suggest the idea of economic growth that was possible thanks to the people, to their character and dedication to serve their country, “to build America.” The “*building*” metaphor reminds Americans of Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society where people had the “welcome chance to build and reflect” (Commencement Address), a poetic and moral image Obama tried to display. By building America, the President implied building a stronger character for the nation. In the act of constructing or building a place, the unity in action and determination to accomplish the work strengthens the people’s character and engagement. Framing his vision in such terms, it was easy for everybody to understand why Obama preferred to speak of “*pride*” as a characteristic feature for Americans, more precisely, the pride they feel when building their nation.

The president concludes in a similar manner, expressing his efforts to fight for the same cause, referring again to the middle-class families he has always shown great sympathy for: “...But I also promised that I’d fight every single day on behalf of the American people and the middle class and all those who are striving to get in the middle class.”

III. Conclusions

Both Mr. Romney and the President make use of a diversity of argumentative techniques in this debate, corroborated with instances of framing meant to appeal to previous presidential speeches. Some of the frames are specific to President Obama, some others are used by Governor Romney as well. The “*Path frame*” occurs with both, as it is easily interpretable in its basic sense as well, the metaphor of the path not being a very complicated one. The representation of the economic crisis as a “*hole*”, that is, “*the hole frame*”, is made reference to by Obama, and in fewer occasions by Romney, in almost similar terms. “*We the People*” frame is the most reiterated as it is linked, especially towards the end of the debate, to the approach of “*opportunity for all*”. Still, there are specific frames which are characteristic only to one or the other of the two presidential contenders and which direct the listeners’ attention to particular details they intend to emphasize.

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THE EFFECTS OF EMOTIONS ON ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

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Abstract: This paper discusses contributions to the ELT literature which examine emotions and the way emotional experiences impact second language acquisition. This qualitative research also reports on a study that explores the effect of emotions upon university English language learning and teaching. The results evidence that Romanian English learners and teachers experience both negative and positive emotions during the teaching/ learning process. The study also suggests that effects of emotions depend on the interplay of different elements, but positive emotions lead to positive outcomes in most cases, whereas effects of negative emotions may be ambivalent.

Introduction

The dictionary defines the term emotion as "a mental state that arises spontaneously rather than through conscious effort and is often accompanied by physiological changes; a feeling; the part of the consciousness that involves feeling; sensibility"

In psychology, emotion is often defined as a complex state of feeling that results in physical and psychological changes that influence thought and behavior. Sensitivity to emotions is generally related to a range of psychological phenomena including temperament, personality, mood and motivation. Throughout the study, the term 'emotion' is used as an umbrella term, to refer to emotional experiences, feelings, attitudes, reactions, behavior.

The emotional or affective side of learning should not be regarded in opposition to the rational or cognitive side, but rather used together in the learning/teaching process in order to construct firmer foundations and erect solid language proficiency. An understanding of emotions in language learning/teaching is important for several reasons. First of all, comprehending emotional reactions can improve language learning/teaching. Analysis of emotions of language learners/teachers can point to solutions in overcoming problems created by negative emotions as well as using positive, facilitative emotions. Negative emotions such as anxiety, fear, stress, anger, depression can diminish or even compromise learning/teaching potential. In such cases, optimal teaching/learning techniques, innovative, attractive materials may become insufficient or pointless. On the other hand, looking at things from the opposing point of view, positive emotions, such as enthusiasm, self-esteem, empathy, motivation, joy, or happiness can improve the language learning/teaching process.

A second aspect recommending the understanding and use of emotions in language learning/teaching refers to the English classroom, not necessarily as a place for reaching language goals, or conveying content, but rather a place for meaningful emotional interaction. Daniel Goleman (1995) speaks about ‘emotional illiteracy’ as a result of focusing on the cognitive functions of the mind, while neglecting the realm of emotions or non-rational.

‘These are times when the fabric of society seems to unravel at ever-greater speed, when selfishness, violence, and a meanness of spirit seem to be rotting the goodness of our communal lives... There is evidence that fundamental ethical stances in life stem from underlying emotional capabilities.’ (xi)

While teaching the English language, teachers can also educate learners to obtain satisfaction from their everyday activities and become responsible, fulfilled participants of society. Thus, attention to emotions can improve language teaching/learning and can educate learners from an emotional point of view. An example of educating emotional literacy is collaborative language learning, which refers to the ability to understand and respond effectively to others, and results in increased linguistic performance but also develops interpersonal intelligence by teaching peace and understanding in an increasingly aggressive world.

Emotions and ESL learning/teaching can be looked at from two main points of view: one which deals with the English language learner as an individual, and one that tackles the learner as an active participant in socio-cultural interaction, where it is inevitably found in a relation with others.

The importance of emotions in language learning should be acknowledged and used particularly due to the fact that experiences that occur during learning, endure long after the emotional reaction has ended. That is, the acquisition of English language resources facilitated by positive emotions lasts long after the English class has finished.

Review of teacher emotions literature

The attempt to review and investigate teacher emotions literature highlighted a relative lack of consideration for this topic. Nias (1996) emphasizes this lack of concern about the emotions of teachers:

‘Despite the passion with which teachers have always talked about their jobs, there is relatively little recent research into the part played by or the significance of affectivity in teachers’ lives, careers and classroom behavior. Since the 1960s teachers’ feelings have received scant attention in professional writing. At present, they are seldom systematically considered pre- or in-service education. By implication and omission teachers’ emotions are not a topic deemed worthy of serious academic or professional consideration.’ (293)

One of the reasons underlying the scarcity of research on teacher emotion could be the traditional René Descartes’ dichotomy of reason and emotion, with its

separation of mind and body, rationality and emotion. Another reason could be that researchers feel suspicious about something that appears so elusive, and is difficult to measure objectively.

However, educational research started to tacitly acknowledge the importance of emotions in teaching and learning, although they were not named as such, by investigating stress and burnout, with a central focus on emotional exhaustion. (Farber, 1991; Cherniss, 1995; Vandenberghe and Huberman, 1999) These studies are mostly concerned with describing the role of teachers' emotions in teaching and learning. More recent research view teaching as an emotional experience and start from the premise that teachers' emotional responses take place in a context that is primarily social. Thus, a teacher's emotions are triggered not only by internal individual characteristics, but mostly by social relationships in the classroom and school context. Emotions are governed by social interactions. Many studies focus more on emotions in the context of shifting career contours, educational reforms, administrative or policy measures (van Veen, 2003; Kelchtermans, 1999) and less or even ignore teachers, emotions in the actual teaching process. Research suggests that career discontinuity or career risk generate heightened emotional instability, emotional distress and even isolate teachers, in other words, they lead to negative emotions. Most studies revealed that administrative pressure creates professional uncertainty which in turn determines feelings of anxiety, confusion or doubt about their professional competence. There are traumatic emotional experiences that should be avoided, but on the other hand there are emotions that are desirable because they generate positive outcomes and affect the way teachers do their work. For example, both intrapersonal and interpersonal emotions can become significant factors in student and teacher development, student learning. Furthermore, the existence of an emotional bond between teachers and students goes beyond the teaching and learning that takes place in the classroom, affecting and energizing other educational aspects such as curriculum planning, lesson plans, out of the classroom practice and assignments, class structure, etc.

However, it is relatively recently that research has begun to acknowledge the importance and power of positive emotions. Barbara Fredrickson (2001, 2003, 2006) proposed the broaden and build theory of positive emotions, which makes a clear distinction between the functions and consequences of positive and negative emotions. Fredrickson (2003) suggests that negative emotions determine individuals, English learners and teachers, to act in a specific way, whereas positive emotions have a different implication for teaching and learning activities:

‘[The broaden and build] theory states that certain discrete positive emotions - including joy, interest, contentment, pride, and love- although phenomenologically distinct, all share the ability to broaden people's momentary thought-action repertoires and build their enduring personal resources, ranging from physical and intellectual resources to social and psychological resources.’ (219)

Inevitably, English language learning and teaching involves both positive and negative emotions simultaneously. The potentially disturbing effects of negative

emotions can be categorized as negative-narrowing, while the powerfully beneficial effects of positive emotions are positive-broadening. Research in the field of emotions and FLA tends to focus more on negative emotions, particularly anxiety, closing off, self-protective tendencies, withdrawal, embarrassment (Ely, 1986; Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986), despite the fact that positive emotions, as suggested in the broaden and build theory (Fredrickson, 2006) broaden individuals' attention and thinking, guiding language learners towards exploration and play, new experiences and new learning; positive emotions also promote resilience by generating creative reactions, such as feelings of joy and interest, to stressful situations; positive emotions can also interfere with building personal resources, such as social bonds created through smiles, positive gestures or body movements.

Twenty-first century research draws attention to teachers' emotions seen as having a central role in curriculum and teaching by contributing to the constitution of teacher subjectivity. Zembylas (2005) explores the role of emotions in teaching and suggests the need for a more wholistic approach. He argues that emotions play an important role in the construction of teacher identity and subjectivity, exploring emotions performatively, as an inextricable aspect of teaching.

This study is based on qualitative research conducted through the use of semi-structured interviews and completion of questionnaires. To this purpose 9 high school and higher education English teachers from Cluj-Napoca and Tîrgu Mureş (2 males and 7 females, aged 30 to 47) were interviewed to provide insight on the investigated theme. It was of interest to find out, through conversation, discussion, as well as questioning, in what way a participant's voice might problematize assumptions, from the teachers' perspective, on how and why emotional experiences occur, are used and dealt with during English classes.

Semi-structured interviewing was chosen for the current research project for the following reasons: it provides the opportunity to generate rich data; language used by participants was considered essential in gaining insight into their perceptions and values of emotions and English language teaching; contextual as well as relational aspects were seen as significant to understanding their perceptions; the data generated in interviews can be analyzed in different ways.

The research interests framing the semi-structured interviews reviewed here are perceptual relationships between the role and effects of emotional experiences, the personal subjective component of English classes, and ideas of successful teaching and learning. These are considered in relation to the Romanian education system, and the general expectations and outcomes of an EFL class, on the one hand, and with respect to the range of personal contributions, involvement and teacher identity, teachers bring, on the other hand.

The questionnaire population sample included 48 English language teachers from secondary, high school and higher education teaching in schools, high schools and universities in Ploieşti, Cluj-Napoca and Tîrgu Mureş, aged between 26 and 59, of which 9 were males and 39 females. All questionnaire respondents had been working in the teaching profession for at least 4 years with classes or groups of

students of different ages, backgrounds and different levels of English proficiency. Since the research explored emotions, feelings, types of behavior, the questionnaire included open-ended questions and identification of positive and negative emotions (respondents were able to choose from a 16-items list of basic emotions or add emotions that were not included in the list), which respondents experienced while teaching or in teaching-related circumstances.

Results and findings

At a first glance the data provided by interviews and questionnaires revealed and re-confirmed the idea that both negative and positive emotions are an inherent part of the teaching profession, and they inevitably make their way into the teaching process. The main question here is the role they play in teachers’ proficiency and professional development, and in the effectiveness of language learning. (Table 1.)

Table 1. Results of questionnaires on teachers’ emotions

Positive emotions		Negative emotions	
Happiness/ joy	40	Frustration	7
Fascination	3	Disappointment	19
Caring	27	Anger/Irritation	3
Pride	18	Loss	2
Love	5	Powerlessness	5
Wonder/ awe	4	Sadness/grief	1
Enthusiasm	43	Disillusion	0
Intimacy	5	Boredom	0
Eagerness	14	Tension	13
Compassion	5	Anxiety	10
Self-confidence	37		
Alertness	24		
Commitment	26		

More detailed analysis of the results of the research also suggested that teachers’ professional development is enhanced by positive emotions. “I feel enthusiastic because I manage to make my students comprehend and apply the new concepts.” (Ionela, university teacher) When teachers analyze their students’ learning they come to see that if they want to improve their teaching and become more aware of students’ learning, what they need to do is to work on their personal development.

By coming to know themselves better they will be able to understand their students' needs better, work more effectively and connect at a deeper level with themselves as well as with others. "It is difficult to keep the students alert all the time but it is rewarding to see them being enthusiastic and involved." (Anișoara, university teacher) In addition to this, those English teachers who feel commitment to their students gain significant emotional comfort and security from their students. "I feel caring when I see my students working hard and striving to reach the level of expectations, which is usually high in my case. I know their effort helps them to develop and to grow up as knowledgeable adults." (Cristina, university teacher)

Emotional pleasure or distress affect both students' and teachers' performance, consequently positive emotions such as enthusiasm, self-confidence, caring, happiness, joy, empathy, motivation are to be encouraged while negative emotions such as anger, anxiety, disappointment, disillusion, once identified should be investigated, and ways to be handled should be found. Almost half of the questionnaire respondents (22 respondent, 45%) identified students' discontentment, negative or absence of feedback to, lack of interest and of motivation, and low self-esteem as the main source of negative emotions experienced by English teachers. In such cases, strategies to tackle situations that create negative emotions include examining potentially demotivating assumptions about students, fostering a supportive classroom climate, striving to make course content inclusive. "If the reaction of students is not always the one I expected, I usually feel disappointed and find it difficult to carry on with the rest of the class activities planned for that day, but I try to I say to myself that bad days happen to all of us and hope to have a better experience next time." (Brîndușa, secondary school teacher)

It was neither surprising nor unanticipated that both questionnaires and interviews revealed that negative emotions inevitably occur in the English classroom, since it is a socio-cultural environment where teachers and students work together under the rules and constraints imposed to them by their society and culture. However, what was unforeseen was that research disclosed that 12,2 % (6 Ts) of the respondents, view emotions as signs of weakness, flaw or lack of professionalism, which makes us conclude that emotional reactions can be seen as indicators of status or power differences. "There is no place for emotions in the classroom, I as a teacher know exactly what I have to do, what teaching methods to use and what topics to cover, and I strive to make my pupils understand the importance of learning English for their future development and career." (Delia, secondary school teacher)

On the one hand, these ideas demonstrate that emotions are embedded in culture, ideology and power relations. On the other hand they make us question the way these respondents perceive the English language classroom and themselves as emotional and social beings. If teachers see emotional reactions as "inappropriate" or "unbalanced", they might have in mind a set of emotional rules that guide them in the way they should or should not feel about teaching, curriculum, about the

emotions that are permitted or not permitted. Nevertheless, when teachers deny and are denied emotional input in their personal and professional development, it is to be expected that they become cynical and grow increasingly detached from improvement efforts, eventually rejecting the learning/teaching experience, which they see as imposition. The solution at hand is to raise awareness on the power of emotions and the ways emotional experiences can be channeled toward successful English language teaching and learning.

Conclusions

Understanding and using emotions in English language learning is of great significance for at least two reasons. Firstly, focus on emotional aspects can lead to more effective language learning and teaching; and secondly, by giving attention and considering emotions, teachers can understand and take the necessary steps for overcoming problems created by negative emotions and at the same time generate and use positive, facilitative emotions.

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EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE ON THE ACQUISITION OF THE ENGLISH PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION BY L1 SPEAKERS OF HUNGARIAN

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Abstract: The aim of the paper is to investigate parameter setting in L2 English by L1 speakers of Hungarian, also to provide empirical evidence in favour of the partial access hypothesis regarding the parameters of the passive. The main question to be investigated is to what extent native speakers of Hungarian understand and acquire the English passive voice, as there is no generalized syntactic passive construction in Hungarian. As we will show, native speakers of Hungarian tend to use the predicative verbal adverbial construction when translating English passive sentences, as this construction is the closest syntactic equivalent of the English passive voice.

Keywords: passive construction, SLA, parameter setting, L2/L3 influence

1. Introduction

The central issue in this paper is the role of prior linguistic knowledge and formal similarity or dissimilarity during SLA. More exactly, it explores the acquisition of the English passive voice by native speakers of Hungarian. Furthermore it investigates the question whether L2 Romanian has any influence on the acquisition of the English passive voice. More specifically, the paper compares L2 or L3 English passive acquisition by learners who have contact with Romanian, a language which has a well-developed passive voice, and by learners from Hungary, who know no other language with a generalized passive voice.

The outline of the paper is as follows: after introducing the topic, the second section throws light upon the problems of expressing the passive meaning in Hungarian. The third part enunciates the main hypotheses, followed by the research methodology and the results of the experiment on the acquisition of the English passive voice by L1 speakers of Hungarian. The paper ends with the conclusions based on the data of the empirical research.

2. The problem

2.1. The PVAC and the grammars of Hungarian

The problem is that there is no generalized syntactic passive construction in Hungarian, even if there are several well-established equivalents¹ of the English

¹We use the term 'equivalent' for the structures which capture at least one (possibly all) of the properties of the English passive voice:

(i) the external argument is internalized, becoming a focused VP adjunct;

passive which (partly) capture certain syntactic or discourse function properties of the English passive.

(i) The first equivalent is the third person plural form of the verb in Present Tense which captures one of the main properties of the English passive construction. Namely, it has a generic reading, in which the agent is not expressed. Thus, in this respect, it resembles the English short passives.

(1)

Megvizsgálják a gyermeket.

PRT_{meg}.examine:3rd.pl the child.Acc

‘They examine the child. / The child is examined.’

The example in (1) literally means ‘They examine the child.’, but it is more commonly meant like ‘The child is examined.’ This is shown by the fact that the above (third person plural) form can be used even when only one agent is meant (i.e. ‘The child is examined by one doctor.’).

(ii) The next Hungarian equivalent to be observed is the active sentence with the direct object in topic position in which the internal argument occupies sentence initial position.

(2)

A könyvet becsomagoltam.

the book.ACC PRT_{in}.pack:1sg.past

‘I have packed the book.’

As shown in example (2), the active verbal form is not altered, and the external object is kept as the subject. Only the internal object moves in topic position. However, it retains the accusative case, as opposed to the passive voice in English. Thus, the active sentence with the direct object in topic position is an equivalent which resembles the English long passives.

(iii) The other active structure which corresponds to the English passive from an informational point of view is the active sentence with the direct object in topic- and the subject in focus position in which the internal argument occupies the sentences initial position, followed by the focused external argument.

(3)

Ezt az autót ÉDESAPÁM vásárolta.

this the car.ACC father.my buy.3sg.past

(ii) the internal argument is externalized;

(iii) the passive construction uses a special verb form (the proper Tense/Aspect form of the auxiliary and the past participle form of the main verb);

(iv) the passive is (almost) fully grammaticalized in English.

‘This car has been bought by my father.’

Again, the active verbal form is not altered, and the external object is kept as the focused subject. Thus, the active sentence with the direct object in topic and the subject in focus position is an equivalent which resembles the English long passives where the agent is focused on, since it brings new information.

(iv) The Hungarian PVAC¹ is the closest structure, in characteristics, to the English or Romanian passive voice. It is formed with the auxiliary *van* 'to be' or *lett/lesz* 'become' and the adverbial participle form of the verb (ending in *-vA*²).

(4)

Az ajtó le van fest-ve.

the door_{Nom} PERF_{down} is paint-VA

'The door has been painted.'

(5)

Az ajtó le lett fest-ve tegnap.

the door_{Nom} PERF_{down} became paint-VA yesterday

'The door got painted yesterday.'

Though the English passive voice is (almost) fully grammaticalized, the Hungarian PVAC has several constraints. First of all, there are certain lexical constraints, related to the class of verbs which can appear in the construction: only transitive verbs and unaccusatives are compatible with the PVAC (see (6.a,b)), but not unergatives (as illustrated in (6.c,d)).

(6)

a. *A kávé meg van őrlve.*

the coffee PRT be:3sg grind.adv.part

‘The coffee has been ground.’

b. *A tó be van fagyva.*

the lake PRT_{in} be:3sg freeze.adv.part

‘The lake is frozen.’

¹ See Groot, 1987, 1989; Komlósy, 1994; Alberti, 1996, 1998; Laczkó, 1994, 1995, 2000, 2005; Tóth, 2000; Bene, 2005; Kertész, 2005; Németh, 2007; Bartos, 2009; Márkus, 2008, Tankó, 2011.

² The capital letters of the vowels signal that they have variable forms according to the vowel harmony: *-va/-ve* and *-ván/ -vén*, the choice depends on the phonological properties of the vowels of the stem (Bartos, 2009: 75).

- c. * *Mari énekelve van.*
 Mary sing.adv.part be:3sg
 *‘Mary is sung.’ (Kertész, 2005: 2)

Furthermore, there are certain aspectual constraints on the PVAC: only telic verbs are compatible with the PVAC (see (7.c,d)), but not unergatives (as in (7.a,b)).

(7)

- a. * *Mari szeretve van.*
 Mary love.adv.part be:3sg
 ‘Mary is loved.’

- b. * *Az eső zuhogva van.*
 the rain pour.adv.part be:3sg
 ‘The rain is pouring.’

- c. *A levél meg van írva.*
 the letter PRT be:3sg write.adv.part
 ‘The letter has been written.’

- d. *Az üveg el van pattanva.*
 the glass PRT_{away} be:3sg crack.adv.part
 ‘The glass is cracked.’ (Kertész, 2005: 16-17)

Thirdly, there are also syntactic constraints, connected with the presence/absence of an overtly expressed agent-phrase. Only the *be*-PVAC allows an overtly expressed agent (as illustrated in (8.b)). Consequently, only the *be*-PVAC allows event-related manner adverbs (as shown in (9.b)).

(8)

- a. * *A fal le van fest-ve a fiú által.*
 the wall PRT_{down} is paint-VA the boy by
 ‘The wall is painted by the boy.’

- b. *A fal a fiú által lett lefestve.*
 the wall.Nom the boy by become:3.sg.past PRT_{down}.paint.vA
 ‘The wall has been painted by the boy.’

(9)

- a. * *A levél gyorsan van meg-ír-va.*
 the letter quickly is PRT -write-VA
 ‘The letter is written quickly.’

b. *A levél gyorsan lett meg-ír-va.*

the letter quickly become PRT -write-VA

‘The letter got written in a hurry.’ (Tóth, 2000: 241-242)

Since the PVAC is not described as a generalized passive-like construction in Hungarian, when translating an English passive sentence, Hungarian learners of English have to choose from several equivalents of the passive which retain the characteristics of certain parameters, observing the discourse functions of the passive. Passive might be difficult on several levels: there might occur comprehension problems or problems in the formation of the passive (selection of appropriate auxiliaries, participial form, tense and aspect), but also problems related to the syntactic equivalent, namely which pattern is the closest structural equivalent of the English passive.

2.2. The status of L2 Romanian with the tested subjects

For Hungarians living in Romania and possessing Romanian to various degrees, it became interesting to ascertain to what extent (active or passive) knowledge of Romanian could represent a facilitating factor in the acquisition of the passive given that Romanian, like English, has a well-developed, explicitly taught passive construction. Given this complex picture, we have selected and compared three groups of speakers with respect to the manner in which they acquire the English passive: (i) Hungarian speakers from Budapest, Hungary, with no knowledge of a third language with a passive construction; (ii) Hungarian speakers living in Miercurea Ciuc (*Csikszereda* in Hungarian, *Seklerburg* in German), Romania, with limited knowledge of Romanian and (iii) bilingual Hungarian-Romanian speakers living in Braşov (*Kronstadt* in German, *Brassó* in Hungarian), Romania¹.

In spite of the fact that L1 speakers of Hungarian from Transylvania learn Romanian passive structures (or at least learn about them) which are functionally and structurally very similar to the English passive constructions, students seem to make mistakes when using the passive, while in essays and other freely composed texts they tend to avoid using it. In an account for the facts one must check to what extent the respective Hungarian learners of English are indeed bilingual. One assumption is that Hungarians from Romania are bilingual, and as such, their knowledge of Romanian would be a facilitating factor in acquiring the English passive construction. Another hypothesis is that very few subjects of the mentioned group of speakers can be considered bilingual speakers of Hungarian and Romanian. In order to decide on the Romanian influence on native speakers of Hungarian from Miercurea Ciuc, we need to analyze the issue by looking first of all at the characteristics of the area of Miercurea Ciuc (where our research was

¹Note that English is actually the third language of most of the participants (i.e., subjects from Romania). However, for reasons of convenience, the term ‘second language’ (L2) is used throughout this paper.

carried out) from a linguistic perspective, furthermore we need to have a glimpse at the educational system.

In the Romanian education system Hungarian children start learning Romanian quite early, at the age of 3, in kindergartens. They have about four-five Romanian activities every week. Later, in elementary school the situation is similar, children have three to five Romanian classes weekly. This would be fairly reasonable, however in Romania there are certain geographic areas where Hungarians are in majority, and as such, Hungarian children from these regions do not speak Romanian in their homes, furthermore, they have limited contact with Romanian. This is the case of Miercurea Ciuc, where over 80% of the population is Hungarian¹. The majority of the subjects from Miercurea Ciuc do not have ‘*native-like control*’ of Romanian (Bloomfield, 1933) and they cannot ‘*interchangeably use*’ Romanian and Hungarian (Mey, 2009). As such, children with L1 Hungarian from the area above described can be considered, at most, *receptive* bilinguals (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2006).

Nevertheless, we must point out that subjects need not be bilingual in order to be influenced by Romanian to some extent. More exactly, even if students do not speak the language fluently, when they learn about the passive voice in Romanian, they become aware of the passive, as a grammatical category, in any case. This knowledge, no matter how poor or rich, might influence them later in the acquisition of the English passive voice.

Giving all that has been mentioned so far, it is interesting to see how do L1 speakers of Hungarian deal with the acquisition of the English passive construction, considering that their more or less developed knowledge of Romanian might facilitate the access to learning and using the English passive.

2.3. The PVAC and the explicit language instruction

In L2 or L3 acquisition of the English passive students have neither positive, nor negative evidence for considering the PVAC the Hungarian counterpart of the English or Romanian passive, given on the one hand the direct method approach towards teaching ESL, on the other hand the lack of contrastive linguistics knowledge during English classes. Consequently, students must have some innate device (i.e., UG) which suggests them that the English passive and the Hungarian PVAC have similarities in structure and function. Furthermore, if they find that the Hungarian PVAC and the English passive share certain features, in the first phase they most probably will think that the same constraints apply for both structures, that is they will apply the parameters of L1 for the use of the English passive, as well. In our case it could be difficult to illustrate the issue, since there are far more constraints on the Hungarian PVAC than on the English passive which is highly productive. So,

¹ According to the last census (2011), the population of Miercurea Ciuc was of 37,980 inhabitants: 81,39% Hungarian, 17,4% Romanian, 0,9% Romani and 0,33% other nationalities. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miercurea_Ciuc#Demographics, last visited on 31st January 2014.

Hungarian students learning the English passive might simply avoid using the structure in certain contexts where they would not use the PVAC either.

3. The hypotheses

If the mother tongue indeed has influence on second or third language acquisition, and this is true in the case of passive or passive-like constructions, L1 speakers of Hungarian are expected to make mistakes, at least in the initial stages of learning English. At a more advanced level, the learners acquire the correct passive constructions as a result of general learning mechanisms and use well-formed English passive sentences. However, sometimes even advanced students have difficulties in using the passive voice (Hinkel, 2004).

In the experiment we were interested to what extent the Hungarian PVAC was given any preference by learners of English. We hypothesize that even without consciously being aware of the similarities between the Hungarian PVAC and the English passive, students will associate the two structures in translation tasks. Consequently, this would prove the role of UG in SLA. The issue is even more interesting since, on the one hand, this construction is not described as a ‘passive’ form in Hungarian grammar, at least not in the textbooks currently employed in high schools (e.g., Keszler, 1999; Kálmán, 2001; A. Jászó, 2000). On the other hand, it appears that there are significant dialectal differences in the use of this form by different communities of Hungarian speakers (see Kádár and Németh, 2009, 2010¹).

Another point of interest represents seeing whether the subjects who know Romanian more or less will use the same structures as the subjects from Hungary who have no contact with Romanian or there will be important differences. Comparing the result of the groups having different degrees of contact with Romanian will lead us to establish whether knowledge of Romanian really facilitates learning the English passive. Our hypothesis is that subjects from Romania will have better results in the tests involving the English passive voice, as we believe there is transfer from L2 Romanian. As such, we expect that the group of subjects from Budapest, Hungary will make more mistakes when using the English passive.

4. Research methodology

4.1. Subjects

Although we have administered several, more elaborate tests, involving a number of 357 subjects altogether, in this paper we will present only the data of the

¹The PVAC is much more frequent in the corpus of the Csángó dialect than in the database of standard Hungarian (Kádár, Németh, 2010: 201). Furthermore in standard Hungarian the PVAC has more constraints, e.g., constraints on the class of the input verb, on its telic/atelic nature and affected/non-affected DO, and on the appearance of an oblique agent (for a more detailed description on these constraints, see Kertész (2005) for standard Hungarian, and Kádár and Németh (2009, 2010) for the Csángó dialect).

translation tasks provided by a number of 90 subjects grouped according to the three types of linguistic backgrounds. One group consisted 50 eleventh-grader respondents from Miercurea Ciuc, aged 17-18 (mean age: 17,8). Another group included 22 eleventh-grader subjects from Braşov, aged 17-19 (mean age: 18,1). In the third group there were 18 twelfth-grader students from Budapest, aged 17-18 (mean age: 18,8). All the subjects were native speakers of Hungarian.

Respondents from Budapest and those from Braşov formed the control groups, as the former group lacked Romanian influence, the latter had unlimited contact with Romanian in everyday life¹. The group of students from Hungary had learnt only English as a foreign language, and as such could not be influenced by knowledge of any other languages regarding the passive structures. The two groups of respondents from Romania had learnt English two hours per week since third grade; the subjects from Hungary had learnt English since first grade.

4.2. The data

4.2.1. Translation from English into Hungarian

Among the sentences to be translated, there were English passive sentences with and without an overtly expressed agent in the *by*-phrase, containing both progressive and non-progressive passive forms. In this task we wanted to find out which structures L1 speakers of Hungarian found to be the equivalents of the English passive. We expected respondents to use the PVAC whenever possible, though several other structures were available, each with certain constraints. We wanted to register the virtually possible constructions and establish an order regarding their frequency.

The results (see Table 1) show that 75,56% of the respondents from Braşov and 41,75% of those from Miercurea Ciuc chose the PVAC, while only 2,08% of the students from Hungary did the same. In certain cases, subjects from Romania used the PVAC with the existential verb with an overtly expressed agent, though standard Hungarian does not allow it.

Sentence		No transl.	Active transl., DO in topic	Transl. with the PVAC	Transl., regular active sent.	Transl. with generic	Transl. with middle	'Under constr.' transl.
Group								
A	IM	---	16,0%	50,0%	34,0%	---	---	---
	IH	---	38,9%	---	61,1%	---	---	---
	IB	---	9,0%	90,9%	---	---	---	---
	IM	---	12,0%	44,0%	38,0%	2,0%	4,0%	---

¹ According to the last Romanian census (2011), the population of Braşov was of 253,200 inhabitants: 91.3% Romanian, 7.1% Hungarian, 0.5% German, 0.4% Romani and 0.7% other ethnicities. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bra%C8%99ov#Demographics>, last visited on 31st January 2014.

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Sentence		No transl.	Active transl., DO topic	in	Transl. with the PVAC	Transl., regular active sent.	Transl. with generic	Transl. with middle	'Under constr.' transl.
Group									
B	IH	---	27,8%	---	55,6%	---	---	---	
	IB	4,54%	9,0%	81,8%	4,54%	---	---	---	
C	IM	2,0%	30,0%	42,0%	20,0%	---	6,0%	---	
	IH	---	44,4%	---	55,6%	---	---	---	
	IB	---	9,0%	86,3%	4,54%	---	---	---	
D	IM	4,0%	4,0%	44,0%	44,0%	4,0%	---	---	
	IH	5,6%	11,1%	5,6%	72,2%	---	---	5,6%	
	IB	4,54%	9,0%	77,2%	9,0%	---	---	---	
E	IM	---	36,0%	30,0%	---	---	20,0%	14,0%	
	IH	---	88,9%	---	---	---	---	11,1%	
	IB	---	18,1%	54,5%	---	---	9,0%	18,1%	
F	IM	---	34,0%	46,0%	16,0%	---	4,0%	---	
	IH	---	33,3%	---	55,6%	11,1%	---	---	
	IB	---	13,6%	81,8%	4,54%	---	---	---	
G	IM	2,0%	30,0%	40,0%	18,0%	2,0%	8,0%	---	
	IH	---	66,7%	---	33,3%	---	---	---	
	IB	---	18,1%	77,2%	4,54%	---	---	---	
H	IM	---	30,0%	38,0%	---	---	10,0%	22,0%	
	IH	---	77,8%	11,1%	---	11,1%	---	---	
	IB	---	31,8%	54,5%	---	---	13,6%	---	
Total	IM	1,0%	15,75%	41,75%	21,25%	9,25%	6,5%	4,5%	
	IH	0,69%	48,61%	2,08%	43,75%	4,16%	---	0,69%	
	IB	1,13%	8,52%	75,56%	3,4%	6,25%	2,84%	2,27%	

Table 1. Results of the first translation task

In contrast, the majority of the students from Budapest (48,61%) chose active sentences with the direct object in topic position when translating the same sentences (vs. 8,52% (IB) and 15,75% (IM)). More exactly, there is a clear tendency in choosing from the available equivalents of the English passives: respondents from Romania tend to choose the PVAC, while subjects from Hungary tend to use an active verb with the direct object in the topic position.

Sentence (10), which proved to be problematic because of the present progressive form, since in Hungarian only the perfective verbs can appear in the PVAC, the progressive cannot be expressed using the same structure. Still, about 30% of the IM respondents and 54,5% of those from IB resorted to the Hungarian translation with the PVAC, leaving aside the aspectual information (i.e., progressivity) and using the perfective form (10.b). The majority of respondents from Hungary (almost 89% altogether), again, used active sentences with the direct object in topic (10.a) when translating the given English passive sentence, as compared to 36% (IM) and 18% (IB). An ANOVA test on these data reveals that the difference between IM, IB and IH subjects is statistically significant, $p=0.00$.

One of the most interesting solutions was the ‘*under construction*’ translation (10.c), which is a word-for-word translation from English, quite frequent on the Internet (e.g., *The site is under construction*). This type of translation occurred in case of other present progressive verbs, as well (see (13)). It seems that L1 speakers of Hungarian felt necessary to use a structure which could express the on-going nature of the event expressed by the main verb, in contrast with the result state reading of the PVAC. Another strategy was using the middle form (as in (10.d)).

(10)

The computer is being repaired.

a. *A számítógépet javítják.* (active sentence with the DO in topic)
the computer.Acc repair.pres.3.pl

b. *A számítógép meg lett/van javítva.* (PVAC)
the computer.Nom prt_{meg} become/be.past.3.sg repair.vA

c. *A számítógép javítás alatt van/áll.* (‘under construction’ translation)
the computer.Nom repairing under be/stand.pres.3.sg

d. *?A számítógép javítódik.* (middle verb form)
the computer.Nom repair.middle.pres.3.sg

In sentences (11) and (12), we had long passives with transitive verbs. The problem with translating long passives into Hungarian using the PVAC is that *által* ‘by’ agent-phrases are compatible only with the auxiliary *lett/lesz* ‘become’ which is less frequent than its counterpart formed with the existential auxiliary *van* ‘be’. Thus, we expected respondents to provide active sentences when translating the given English passive sentences.

However, the great majority of the subjects from Braşov (81,8% and 77,2%) and a considerable number of students from Miercurea Ciuc (46% and 40%) still resorted to the translation with the PVAC (see (11.c) and (12.c)). Unexpectedly, they used the PVAC with the auxiliary *lett/lesz* ‘become’.

Respondents from Budapest exclusively used active sentences in translating these two sentences: mostly neutral active sentences in (11) (55,6%) and mostly active sentences with the direct object in topic position in (12) (66,7%). Approximately half of the subjects from Miercurea Ciuc resorted to active translations, as well; about a third of them choosing active sentences with the direct object in topic position in both (11) and (12) (34% and 30%). Yet, it must be mentioned that an ANOVA test on these data reveals that the difference between IM, IB and IH subjects is not statistically significant, $p > 0.05$.

(11)

The children were visited by their parents.

a. *A szülők meglátogatták a gyerekeiket.* (neutral active sentence)
the parents.Nom prt_{meg}.visit.past.3.pl the children.their.Acc

b. *A gyerekeket meglátogatták a szüleik.* (active sentence, DO in topic)
the children.Acc prt_{meg}.visit.past.3.pl the parents.their

c. *?A gyerekek meg lettek látogatva a szüleik által.* (PVAC)
the children.Nom prt_{meg} become.past.3.pl visit.vA the parents.their by
(12)

John was bitten by a dog.

a. *Jánost megharapta a kutya.* (active sentence with the DO in topic)
John.Acc prt_{meg}.bite.past.3.sg the dog.Nom

b. *A kutya megharapta Jánost.* (neutral active sentence)
the dog.Nom prt_{meg}.bite.past.3.sg John.Acc

c. *?János meg lett harapva egy kutya által.* (PVAC)
John prt_{meg} become.past.3.sg bite.vA a dog by

The sentence in (13), was again a present progressive form (see (10)). About 55% of the respondents from Braşov and 38% of those from Miercurea Ciuc resorted to the translation with the PVAC, leaving aside the aspectual information (i.e., progressivity) and using the perfective form (13.b). Approximately a third of both groups from Romania (30% (IM) and 31,8% (IB)) used active sentences with the direct object in topic position when translating the given English passive sentence (13.a). Again, students from Hungary chose mostly the active sentence with the direct object in topic (77,8%). An ANOVA test on these data reveals that the difference between IM, IB and IH subjects is statistically significant, $p = 0.000$.

The sentence in (13) was another present progressive form. In this case, too, respondents used the ‘*under construction*’ translation (as in (13.c). 22% of the students from Miercurea Ciuc resorted to that solution. Another strategy was using the middle form (as in (13.d)).

(13)

The room is being washed up.

a. *A szobát éppen felmossák.* (active sentence with the DO in topic position)
the room.Nom just prt_{UP}.wash.pres.3.pl

b. *A szoba fel van/lett mosva.* (PVAC)
the room.Nom prt_{UP} be/become.past.3.sg wash.vA

c. *A szoba felmosás alatt van.* ('under construction' translation)
the room.Nom prt_{UP}.washing under be.pres.3.sg

d. *?A szoba felmosódik.* (middle verb form)
the room.Nom prt_{UP}.wash.middle.pres.3.sg

Based on these results, we can say that the majority of subjects from Romania used the PVAC when translating English passive sentences. In certain cases the translation with the PVAC was extended, as compared to standard Hungarian (i.e., verbs which were not compatible with the PVAC due to aspectual constraints have been still used). In the case of present progressive forms, they ignored aspectual information and used perfective forms. Students from Hungary mostly used active translations, most frequently with the direct object in topic position.

4.4.2. Translation from Hungarian into English

Among the Hungarian sentences to be translated into English some contained the PVAC with the auxiliary *lesz* 'become' which imply more dynamicity, others with the auxiliary *van* 'be' with stative reading. There were also active sentences with the direct object in topic, also with the direct object in topic and the subject in focus position.

In this task we wanted to check whether L1 Hungarian subjects identify that the Hungarian sentences provided capture certain syntactic or discourse function properties of the English passive, consequently they should be translated using the passive voice. We also wanted to see whether the presence of the agent will **influence subjects in choosing short- or long passives.**

Sentence	No transl.	Active transl.	Passive transl.	Passive, probl. with part.	Passive, probl. with tense/aspect	Passive, missing auxiliary	Passive, multiple mistakes	
Group								
A	IM	---	---	60,0	18,0%	18,0%	---	4,0%
	IH	---	---	100,0%	27,8%	---	---	---
	IB	---	---	54,5%	18,1%	22,7%	---	---
	IM	8,0%	2,0%	38,0%	6,0%	2,0%	36,0%	8,0%

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Sentence		No transl.	Active transl.	Passive transl.	Passive, probl. with part.	Passive, probl. with tense/aspect	Passive, missing auxiliary	Passive, multiple mistakes
Group								
B	IH	---	---	72,2%	27,8%	---	---	---
	IB	---	---	63,6%	13,6%	22,7%	---	---
C	IM	6,0%	62,0%	4,0%	20,0%	---	---	8,0%
	IH	---	33,3%	33,3%	33,3%	---	---	---
	IB	---	63,6%	4,54%	18,1%	9,0%	---	4,54%
D	IM	10,0%	46,0%	16,0%	6,0%	---	---	22,0%
	IH	---	66,7%	33,3%	---	---	---	---
	IB	---	40,9%	22,7%	9,0%	18,1%	---	9,0%
E	IM	4,0%	---	72,0%	4,0%	8,0%	6,0%	6,0%
	IH	---	11,1%	88,9%	---	---	---	---
	IB	---	4,54%	68,1%	4,54%	22,7%	---	---
F	IM	4,0%	4,0%	68,0%	14,0%	---	2,0%	8,0%
	IH	---	---	100,0%	---	---	---	---
	IB	---	18,1%	50,0%	13,6%	18,1%	---	---
G	IM	8,0%	12,0%	66,0%	2,0%	---	10,0%	2,0%
	IH	---	16,7%	72,2%	11,1%	---	---	---
	IB	---	9,0%	68,1%	4,54%	13,6%	4,54%	---
H	IM	4,0%	---	84,0%	8,0%	---	4,0%	---
	IH	---	---	100,0%	---	---	---	---
	IB	---	---	77,2%	18,1%	4,54%	---	---
Total	IM	5,5%	15,75%	51,0%	9,75%	3,5%	7,25%	7,25%
	IH	---	15,97%	75,0%	9,02%	---	---	---
	IB	---	17,04%	51,13%	12,5%	17,04%	0,56%	1,7%

Table 2. Results of the second translation task

As Table 2 shows, the great majority of the respondents from all three groups (79,75%(IM), 84,02% (IH) and 82,94% (IB) used the English passive when translating the given Hungarian sentences. Among the most frequent problems which occurred, some related to the past participle form of the lexical verb, others to maintaining the proper tense and aspect, as the examples in (14-15 and 18) below show.

In sentence (14), we had a PVAC with the auxiliary *lett/lesz* ‘become’ and an overtly expressed agent. As the closest equivalent of the Hungarian PVAC is the

passive voice in English, it was expected that the majority of respondents would use the passive voice when translating this sentence. Only 11,1% (IH) and 4,54% (IB) provided translations in the active, while 90% (IM), and 65,4%, 88,9% (IH) and 95,34% (IB), used the passive voice. Of course, there were minor mistakes with the participial form (4% (IM) and 4,54% (IB); e.g., in (14.b)) and with maintaining the proper tense and aspect (8% (IM) and 22,7% (IB); e.g., in (14.b-c)).

Yet, it must be mentioned that an ANOVA test on these data reveals that the difference between IM, IB and IH subjects is not statistically significant, $p > 0.05$.

(14)

A fal a fiú által lett lefestve. (PVAC with *lesz* ‘become’)

the wall.Nom the boy by become:3sg.past prt_{DOWN}.paint.adv.part

‘The wall got painted by the boy.’

- a. *The wall was/has been painted by the boy.*
- b. **The wall is painted by the boy.*
- c. **The wall had been painting by the boy.*

The sentence in (15), was an active sentence with the direct object in topic position. When translating it, the majority of the respondents (100% (IH), 84% (IM) and 81,7% (IB)) used a passive equivalent, though a lower percentage managed to do it without mistakes (68% (IM) and 50% (IB)). About 18% of the respondents from Braşov and 4% of those from Miercurea Ciuc provided an active translation (15.b). As expected, the main problems of translation were connected, again, to providing the correct participial form (14% (IM) and 13,6% (IB); as in (18.c-e)); others with maintaining the tense and aspect of the original sentence (18,1% (IB)); while some of the respondents made more mistakes in the same sentence (8% (IM)). An ANOVA test on these data reveals that the difference between IM, IB and IH subjects is statistically significant, $p = 0.009$.

(15)

Az ajándékot megvásárolták. (active sentence with DO in topic)

the gift.Acc prt_{meg}.buy:3pl.past

‘The gift has been bought.’

- a. *The gift/present has been/was bought.*
- b. *They bought the present.*
- c. **The gift was bought.*
- d. **The present was buy.*
- e. **The present was boughted.*

Given that sentences (15) is an active sentence with the direct object in topic, we would have expected it to be translated with the corresponding structure in English, that is with an active sentence in which the direct object is topicalized, as illustrated in (16).

(16)

The present, they have bought.

Still, not one subject resorted to this translation strategy. It seems that they assume that the only acceptable word order in English is the word order of the active sentences (i.e., SVO). The existence of periphery structures in English, where the DO is topicalized is probably not accessed at that stage. Consequently, subjects involved in the test do not use English sentences with the DO in topic, as illustrated in (17) below. Instead they chose passive sentences as translation equivalents.

(17)

a. *Roses, I like.*

b. *Beans, I hate.*

In sentence (18), we had an active sentence with the direct object in topic and the subject in focus position. Due to the presence of the overtly expressed agent, more subjects chose an active translation for this sentence (18.b), as compared to the example in (15), where the agent was not overtly expressed (compare 18% (IB), 4% (IM) and 0% (IH) in (18) with 16,7% (IH), 12% (IM) and 9% (IB) in (18)). Still, the majority of subjects from all three groups provided correct English translations using the passive voice (72,2% (IH), 68,1% (IB) and 66% (IM); as in (21.a)). Again, some students had problems with providing the correct participial form (11,1% (IH), 4,54% (IB) and 2% (IM); as in (18.d)); others with maintaining the tense and aspect of the original sentence (13,6% (IB), as in (18.c)). Yet it must be mentioned that an ANOVA test on these data reveals that the difference between IM, IB and IH subjects is statistically significant, $p > 0.05$.

(18)

g) *Az inget anyám mosta ki.* (active sentence, DO in topic, SBJ in focus)

the shirt.Acc mother.my.Nom wash.3sg.past prt_{OUT}

‘The shirt was washed by my mother.’

a. *The shirt was washed by my mother.*

b. *My mother washed the shirt.*

c. **The shirt is washed by mother.*

d. **The shirt was wash by mother.*

Concluding on the results of this translation task, the great majority of the subjects involved in the experiment used the passive voice when translating both the Hungarian PVAC and the active sentence with the direct object in topic into English in all three groups. The most common mistake was connected to the morphological form, more exactly to providing the correct participial form. Many

of the respondents used the *-ed* verb form even in case of irregular verbs. Still, this type of mistake is not characteristic for Hungarian learners, but is also noticeable in L1 acquisition of the passive by small children (e.g., Pinker, Lebeaux and Frost, 1987).

4.5. Discussions

If we compare the sentences provided by the three groups of subjects (i.e., IH, IM and IB) in the translation tasks, we notice that respondents from Hungary tend to use active sentences with the direct object in topic, as counterparts of English passive sentences, while respondents from Romania (both from Miercurea Ciuc and Braşov) use the Hungarian PVAC more frequently when translating an English passive sentence.

A possible solution could be connected to differences between standard Hungarian and its dialects. This hypothesis implies that the PVAC is more frequent and has fewer constraints in the dialect spoken in Miercurea Ciuc (i.e., the Székely dialect), as compared to the dialect spoken in Budapest. In this way, we could explain why a considerable number of respondents from Miercurea Ciuc used the PVAC with input verbs that, according to standard Hungarian, are not compatible with the structure, furthermore, why the PVAC is more frequently used as a translation equivalent of the English passive sentences by Hungarian students from Romania, as opposed to those from Hungary.

In a study regarding the differences between the PVAC in contemporary standard Hungarian vs. in the Csángó dialect¹, Kádár and Németh (2010) notice that the number of occurrences of the structure differ significantly:

The database of approx. 160 million words of the HNC [Hungarian National Corpus] gives a hit list of 13674 entries for VAN + V-vA (date of query: spring 2005). This means that while in the Csángó texts [a corpus of 537061 words – our remark] we find a PCC for every 365 word, in the HNC it is only for every 11700 word that a PPC occurs. This frequency index supports the conclusion that the use and function of the PPC in the Csángó dialect is wider than it is in standard Hungarian (Kádár & Németh, 2010: 201).

It seems that the PVAC is not just more frequent in the Csángó dialect, but it is less constrained, as compared to standard Hungarian. The most important differences concern the type of verbs which enter the structure, as well as the their aspectual class. While in standard Hungarian unergative verbs cannot enter the PVAC, the Csángó dialect is more permissive (as illustrated in (19) below). Furthermore, in

¹ The Csángó people (Romanian: ceangăi, Hungarian: csángók) are a Hungarian ethnographic group of Roman Catholic faith living mostly in the Romanian region of Moldavia, especially in Bacău county. Their traditional language, Csángó, an old Hungarian dialect is still in use, though the larger part of them speak Romanian. For further information see also <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Csangos>, last visited on 31th January 2014.

standard Hungarian only telic verbs with affected object can be used in the PVAC, yet in the Csángó dialect atelic verbs are acceptable, as well (as illustrated in the (20) below).

(19)

...a férje el volt futva hazulnét.

the husband-Poss.3SG PV_{away} was run-vA from.home

'...her husband was (=has) run away from home.'

(20)

...megkérdték merrefelé vagyunk utazva...

PV_{meg}-asked-3PL whereabouts are-1PL travel-vA

'...they've asked where we were travelling to...' (Kádár & Németh, 2010: 204, 206)

Another difference concerns the presence of an oblique agent. In standard Hungarian, the presence of an overt agent is not allowed in constructions with the auxiliary *van* 'be' (as opposed to the *lett/lesz* 'become' auxiliary). The Csángó dialect is more permissive in this respect, too, allowing the agent-phrase with the *be*-PVAC (as in (21)).

(21)

Akár hogy es tőlem nincsen soha elfelejtve.

any how also from.1SG is.not never PV_{away}.forget-vA

'Anyway, I never forget that (lit. It is never forgotten by me).' (Ibid., 206)

Finally, the eventive reading of the PVAC is only possible with the auxiliary *lett/lesz* 'become' in standard Hungarian. Yet, Csángós use the PVAC with the auxiliary *van* 'be' for eventive reading (as in (22)).

(22)

Mikor meg volt halva Magda, erős szépen álmodtam akkor.

when part_{meg} was die-vA Magda strong beautifully dreamed.1SG then

'When Magda died I had a very beautiful dream.' (Ibid., 209)

Returning to the data of our experiment, we could assume that there are some differences between standard Hungarian and the dialect spoken by Hungarians from Miercurea Ciuc and, just like in the Csángó dialect, the PVAC is more frequent and less constrained, as compared to the dialect spoken in Budapest. This could explain why respondents from Miercurea Ciuc, mostly resorted to PVAC even in cases when they were not expected to, according to contemporary standard Hungarian. Since IM speakers are closer to the Csángó dialect, as compared to IH speakers, the same differences occurred in their production data. Namely, IM learners extended the domain of the PVAC to unergatives, furthermore, they used

the *by*-phrase in sentences exhibiting the *be*-PVAC. In what follows, let us have a look at the Hungarian sentences provided by the three groups of respondents.

As already mentioned, there is a tendency in choosing from the available equivalents for the English passives; namely respondents from Braşov and Miercurea Ciuc tend to choose the PVAC (see (23.c), (24.c) and (25.b)), though in most of the cases erroneously, while subjects from Hungary tend to use a translation with a sentence containing an active verb (see (23.a) and (24.a)), in the majority of the cases with the direct object in the topic position (see (23.b), (24.b) and (25.a)).

(23)

The boy was visited by the doctor.

a. *Az orvos meglátogatta a fiút.* (neutral active sentence)

the doctor.Nom prt_{meg}.visit.past.3.sg the boy.Acc

b. *A fiút meglátogatta az orvos.* (active sentence with the DO in topic)

the boy.Acc prt_{meg}.visit.past.3.sg the doctor.Nom

c. **A fiú meg volt látogatva az orvos által.* (PVAC)

the boy.Nom prt_{meg} be/become.past.3.sg visit.vA the doctor by

(24)

The cat is called out by the little girl.

a. *A kislány kihívta a macskát.* (neutral active sentence)

the little.girl.Nom prt_{OUT}.call.past.3.sg the cat.Acc

b. *A macskát hívta ki a kislány.* (active sentence with the DO in topic)

the cat.Acc call.past.3.sg prt_{OUT} the little.girl.Nom

c. *%A macska a kislány által lett/?van kihívva.* (PVAC)

the cat.Nom the little.girl by become/be.past.3.sg prt_{OUT}.call.vA

(25)

The cat has been bitten by the dog.

a. *A macskát megharapta a kutya.* (active sentence with the DO in topic)

the cat.Acc prt_{meg}.bite.past.3.sg the dog.Nom

b. *???A cica meg lett harapva a kutya által.* (PVAC)

the cat.Nom prt_{meg} become.past.3.sg bite.vA the dog by

Additionally, we must take Romanian influence into account, as a facilitating factor in the acquisition of the English passive voice by native speakers of Hungarian from Braşov. Being bilingual speakers of Hungarian-Romanian, they more easily identify the Hungarian equivalent which fits best the English passive

construction. Namely, they resort to the PVAC when translating a passive construction, since the PVAC is the closest syntactic equivalent of the passive in English or Romanian.

Though the majority of students from Miercurea Ciuc cannot be considered bilingual speakers (they have limited contact with native speakers of Romanian), it seems that Romanian still influences them to some extent. In other words, even if students do not speak fluent Romanian, they become aware of the passive, as a grammatical category, once they learn about the passive voice in Romanian. Consequently, they get some idea about how passive structures function and this influences them later, in the acquisition of the English passive voice. This is why the majority of respondents from Miercurea Ciuc resorted to the PVAC when looking for an equivalent of the English passive. In contrast, when learning about the English passive, students from Hungary, first of all, have to deal with understanding the grammatical category of (passive) voice. This is why the majority of respondents from Budapest chose an active sentence with the direct object in topic when looking for an equivalent of the English passive.

5. Conclusions

Comparing the production data of respondents with different language background (i.e., Hungarian speakers from Budapest; Hungarian speakers from Miercurea Ciuc, with limited knowledge of Romanian and bilingual Hungarian-Romanian speakers living in Braşov), we saw that respondents from Hungary mostly used active sentences with the direct object in topic, as counterparts of English passive sentences, while respondents from Romania (both from Miercurea Ciuc and Braşov) used the Hungarian PVAC more frequently when translating an English passive sentence.

The explanation is connected to differences between standard Hungarian and its dialects. It seems that in the Székely dialect spoken in Miercurea Ciuc the PVAC is more frequent and has fewer constraints than in the dialect spoken in Budapest. As such, respondents from Romania feel more free in using it as the equivalent of the English passive. Furthermore, as shown in the study, Romanian influence works as a facilitating factor in the acquisition of the English passive voice by Hungarian students from Romania. Being bilingual speakers of Hungarian-Romanian, subjects from Braşov identified more easily the Hungarian equivalent which fitted best the English passive construction. Namely, they resorted to the PVAC when translating a passive construction, since the PVAC is the closest syntactic equivalent of the passive in English or Romanian. In contrast, the majority of respondents from Budapest chose an active sentence with the direct object in topic when looking for an equivalent of the English passive.

As shown in examples (10-13), aspectual properties seem to play an important role. An English passive construction in the progressive will not be translated with a PVAC, but rather with some other equivalent. If respondents still decide on using

the PVAC, they perfectivize the progressive verb forms. However, when translating a sentence in a progressive verb form, those who wanted to preserve the ongoing nature of the verb resorted to an active sentence with the direct object in topic position or the ‘under construction’ solution.

Similarly, the presence of an overtly expressed agent was an important operator in the process of providing Hungarian equivalents for the English passive sentences. The majority of the subjects used active sentences with the direct object in topic position when translating long passives, in contrast, they resorted to the PVAC when it came to translating short passives. Consequently, the presence of an overt agent does not make native speakers of Hungarian use the second type of PVAC with the auxiliary *lett/lesz* ‘become’ which would allow the agent-phrase, as we would have expected.

Knowledge of Romanian seems to have some influence on the acquisition of the English passive. Though subjects, most probably, do not speak Romanian fluently, it seems that their L2 Romanian still influences their acquisition of the L3 English passive. Comparing the result of the three groups having different contact with Romanian leads us to acknowledge that respondents from Romania recognized the similarities between the Hungarian PVAC and the English passive, even if not aware of it, and used the PVAC when translating a passive sentence, while their colleagues from Hungary resorted mostly to active sentences when translating the same sentences.

We have analysed the results of each test using the SPSS 14 software for checking statistical significance. As mentioned in the case of each task, we have compared the results in function of the language background. In other words, our variable was the language background, in function of the residence of the respondents. In most of the case of the cases, the differences between the groups of learners were statistically fully/marginally significant. However, not in each case we got statistically significant results.

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DIVIDED WE STAND IDENTITY AT A CROSSROADS IN NADINE GORDIMER'S *A WORLD OF STRANGERS*

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Abstract: Identity has always featured prominently in the works of Nadine Gordimer; whether it's about national identity, ethnic, social or personal one, Gordimer has always brought to the fore the intricacies and complexities of the South African social setting and presented their impact on the shaping of the human mind and character. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the construction of individual identity in her second novel, *A World of Strangers* (1958).

Keywords: apartheid, history, identity, South Africa

Gordimer's second novel, published in 1958, presents a sociological study of the effects of apartheid on personal relations across the color bar. Toby Hood, the first person narrator, is a 27 year old English agent of a London publishing company who comes to South Africa to replace, temporarily, one of his colleagues. His discovery of the intricacies and complexities of the South African social setting and their impact on his life will constitute the focus of the novel.

From a historical point of view, the novel is anchored in the political philosophy of the movements against anti-apartheid in the 1950s, with an emphasis on Johannesburg as the main location. The dominant ideology of the decade was that of multi-racialism and it was proposed by the Congress Alliance, a multi-racial movement itself. In short, the idea of multi-racialism encompassed the belief that a violent segregationist system, such as apartheid, could only be fought against, with utmost efficiency, by a cross-racial or multi-racial front. The seeds of this movement are to be found in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 which embodied a multi-racial aspect by bringing together blacks, Coloureds, Indians and whites to defy the unjust laws. If apartheid demanded social division, claiming that the races could never combine, the Congress movement would prove otherwise and, to go even further, insist on total integration as the ultimate goal (Clingman 46).

In one of his essays, Lewis Nkosi refers to the 1950 as the "fabulous decade", a time when for one golden moment the 'normal' social restraints that apartheid imposed were shattered. However, not all the social classes were touched by this short-lived wind of change; it was the black intellectual and cultural elite, who set up their base in Sophiatown, that started mingling with the white elite in various living rooms across Johannesburg. Sophiatown itself saw its heyday as it became a vital symbol of the decade: "an ethnically mixed and vibrant black township on the borders of, *now multi-racial*, Johannesburg" (Clingman 49, our addition).

Formally considered, *A World of Strangers* should be seen as an example of what Roland Barthes would have called 'classical realism'. Its fundamental goal is "to undertake a reading of social reality in apparently as objective a manner as possible" (Clingman 60). This is why it revolves around the events that happened in the 1950s. But how can one see and narrate objectively the things that happen around him/her? The solution is to have an outsider tell the story, an Englishman who would, for the main part of the novel, be considered socially neutral. In this way, bothered by no preconception, the reader supposes, "on account of a cultural disposition to detachment suggested within the text that Toby's observation is the epitome of disinterested objectivity" (Clingman 60).

It is in the midst of the 1950s historical stir that Toby makes his appearance and starts to explore the in-between area of contact in which black and white engaged. In this respect, the novel stresses the mood of discovery that the whites experience when they connect to the black social world around them. As an outsider, and first timer in Africa, Toby owes all his knowledge about South Africa to the books he has read:

What about all the books I had read before I left England, all those books about Africa I had been reading for the past three or more years? The bluebooks, the leaflets, the surveys, the studies – the thick ones by professors of anthropology and sociology, the thin ones by economists and agronomists, the sensational ones by journalists (Gordimer 18-19)

Clearly, life in the 'real' Africa was very different than the one presented in books and Toby starts to realize this aspect as soon as he sets foot for the first time on African soil; it is then that he feels "the icicles of his European-ness melt" (Clingman 53). Noteworthy to bring into discussion at this point is Van der Waal and Wilcox's statement that "identity should be considered as a shifting process, rather than a fixed essence, and this process is profoundly influenced by individual experience, which itself is situated in a particular historical context" (8). Toby's European identity starts to melt because he has been immersed into a new world that fascinates him and this will establish a new type of identity for him: a frontier one.

Despite Toby's adventurous attitude that in his mind takes the guise of a 'Sinbad the Sailor' story, not all of Toby's fellow European passengers have the same eagerness and openness to accept the changes that come along with travelling and/or moving to such a country, as South Africa. The other passengers' approach to explore South Africa "as we go" (Gordimer 9) irritates the protagonist and makes him distance himself, at least ideologically, from them:

I felt a sickening at them all. A spoilt woman who got ill from the idea that she had put her foot back in Africa again. So that was the reason for the life of romantic, genteel exile in Italy: inability to face the husband, marriage, reality, inability to face even the fact of this inability, so that husband, marriage, reality took the discreet disguise of 'Africa'. (...) And the other one, the diplomatic gentleman with his

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queenly dowager, dragging shamefully from country to country the suffering and insuffering 'mistake' he had made in one of them. *Were these the sort of people Africa gets? Christ, poor continent.* (Gordimer 26-27, our emphasis)

Toby is embarrassed at the arrogance and detachment of his white companions on the ship; as a result, the blacks become the focus of his attention. Despite the fact that others (and himself) think of him as a man with "no colour prejudice" (Gordimer 216), Toby perceives, at first, the natives in animal imagery: "What happens to faces like these, if finally, goaded and pricked as slow beasts must be before anger rises through their turgid patience, they are roused" (Gordimer 7). In a teashop in Mombasa, Toby cannot take his look from an African waiter whose face, in his mind, resembles that of a "sweaty monkey" (Gordimer 18). There is, however, a difference in perception later, when Toby finally arrives to Johannesburg. As he settles in a hotel, Toby decides to go for a walk and see the surroundings; on his way, he encounters a group of natives queuing at a bus stop, on which he reflects:

I knew at once what the difference was. Those (in Mombasa) were peasants; the vacant, brutish-faced peasant, if you like, or the fine, unspoiled natural man – depends how you see it. These faces in the Johannesburg bus queue bore all the marks of initiation into western civilization: they were tired by city noise, distasteful jobs, worries about money, desires for things they couldn't afford (Gordimer: 43).

His perception about blacks will develop even more through his friendship with the educated Steven Sitole, as we will see further on.

Most of the action in *A World of Strangers* is set against the backdrop of Johannesburg where Toby acquires and develops his frontier identity. He makes friends on both sides of the racial bar: he first establishes contact with fellow-whites and, later on, he is introduced to the entirely different world of Sophiatown, where the natives are bound to live. This in-betweenness allows Toby to move freely between the two worlds, although he is never able to belong, in the real sense, to any of them; his posture remains, throughout the entire novel, similar to that of a spectator who, although can see everything around him, has very little power to do or change anything.

It is through one of his mother's friends, Marion Alexander, a resident of the High House, that Toby is granted access to the world of the white South African upper class. The Alexanders are wealthy industrialists involved in the diamonds and gold sector. Their favourite pastime is organizing and hosting lunches and dinners for their friends; it is at one of these lunches that Toby makes his appearance and is introduced in this environment. The protagonist is struck at the excesses and lavish spending that occur in the High House; for its residents and guests, "luxury was one of the most important things in life" (Gordimer 21) although theirs was "a privileged life based on exploitation" (Gordimer 35).

At the other side of the spectrum, Toby discovers the 'black world', through the help of Ana Louw, an Afrikaner lawyer and activist. If in the High House all the people had, more or less, the same social rank, in the 'Low House' people get together and make friendships across the racial divide. Such gatherings enable Toby to overcome his feelings of strangeness about the black world to such a degree that he becomes fascinated with it:

Their joy was something wonderful and formidable, a weapon I didn't have. And, moving feebly among them, I felt the attraction of this capacity for joy (...) I understood, for the first time, the fear, the sense of loss there can be under a white skin. I suppose, it was the point of no return for me, as it is for so many others: from there, you either hate what you have not got, or are fascinated by it. For myself, I was drawn to the light of a fire at which I had never been warmed. (Gordimer 129)

His visits to different parties with mixed races allow him to see how much colour and social barriers count for keeping both the white and the black people far away from really knowing each other. On his very first visit, Toby is touched by "the ordinary pattern" of the people gathered and thinks of it as remarkable in its "composition like an Oriental rug: the scrolls and flowers that you expected to see, were also found to be people, animals, jokes and legends, things that, in real life, are not found together" (Gordimer 84). The great variety of people - whites, blacks, Indians - congregated under one roof in an attempt to cross over the racial divide apartheid had installed, makes Toby realize that, in fact, they were all strangers united by their desire for the same thing: human interaction and free speech.

It is through such meetings that Toby is given the chance to make acquaintances amongst blacks like Steven Sitole and Sam, a struggling musician. Steven is a very intelligent and popular person among the black community living in Sophiatown. As "a new man – the product of two societies in friction" (Gordimer 134) Steven does not belong anywhere, although he is clearly attracted by the world of whites which rejects him. Toby is struck by Steven's ease in conversing with him: "It was the first word a black man spoke to me that wasn't between master and servant" (Gordimer 85). He goes to illicit bars and clubs with Steven and gets happiness from their private adventures in each other's world.

There is certain arrogance in Steven's character that he might have acquired during his stay in England. For instance, Steven is infuriated at finding out that Sam is working in collaboration with a white man:

(...) it was also more of a white men's idea of what a black man would write, and a black man's idea of what a white men would expect him to write, than the fusion of a black man's and a white man's world of imagination (Gordimer 212)

This quote may also stand for Gordimer's personal view on her work as a writer. As a white South African writer, Nadine Gordimer's detached observation of her South African world is symbolic of a colonial vision; to be colonial means living in

an alien land. Although it is a place of profound cultural differences for the colonizer, his followers go beyond this foreignness and become part of the land. Thus, for Gordimer there are two Africas; on the one hand there is the country which has always belonged to African communities, and on the other there is the 'foreign' culture that the white colonial has imposed upon it. She belongs to neither in any real sense. This marginality enables her to act as an observer, in the same way as Toby.

Also, the quote echoes Said's *Orientalism* in which the postcolonial theorist argues that the East (colonial societies) was created by the West and in doing so it suppressed the former's (i.e. Orient) ability to express itself. Much in the same way, but in reverse, Sam is now creating a piece of work based on his own idea of what the white man might expect. It is important to point out that, in doing so, white domination is further enforced, which provides Steven with all the right reasons for his anger.

Sam does not rush into taking the ideas of a white man for granted; he is aware of his ability to make a place of his own in the white man's world whereas Steven would rather Sam didn't get in contact with it. Sam's perception that he should thank the whites for "giving him a chance to work" (Gordimer 213) with them further irritates Steven to such an extent that he calls Sam a fool: "All they want to do is pick his brains and pinch his music" (Gordimer 213). Although, at times, Steven gives his friends the impression that he is "a white man in a black man's skin" (Gordimer 161), Steven has a deep mistrust for the white community of South Africa that Sam shares, too.

Van Gennep's model of "rites of passage" is fruitful to understand the development of the plot, identity and mental processes in characterization in Gordimer's fiction. According to Gennep, there are two types of initiation rites; the first one is physical puberty that leads to physical maturity whereas the second is social puberty that leads to social maturity (qtd. in Mazhar 65). A similar process is at work in the character's lives in Gordimer's early novels; they go through rites of passage to find a 'sense of place' for themselves. Each novel depicts the protagonist's transition from one stage of maturity to another. Thus, if in the case of *The Lying Days*, Gordimer's first novel, Helen Shaw is the embodiment of the first type of rite of passage (physical puberty – physical maturity), in *A World of Strangers*, Toby Hood experiences the second type (social puberty – social maturity).

The inner torment that Toby experiences at his inability to reconcile both worlds that he inhabits is the catalyst for his personal and psychological development. The fact that there is a world of difference between the black people living in the townships and the white people at the High House disturbs every fiber in Toby's body as he realizes that such disparities are man-made. In their conversations, his white friends "hardly seemed to be concerned with the same country or spoken by people in the same situation as the talk I heard in Sophiatown or in houses where black and white people met. The people at Alexander's were almost entirely preoccupied with the struggle between the Afrikaner and the

Englishmen” (Gordimer 209); in opposition “the other people I knew (i.e. black), dwarfed by the towering bout between black and white” (Gordimer 209).

It becomes very difficult for Toby not to be ‘moved’ by his experiences (night raids, poverty) in the location where Sam and Steven live. In spite of the difference between “what is well-paid for black and what is well-paid for whites” (Gordimer 132), Toby admires Sam’s effort to keep a high living standard for his family. Nevertheless, his attempts to live an ordinary life are futile as there comes a time when Sam has to sell the car to meet the family financial requirements. Sam is aware of the black man’s position and he explains it to Toby, too: “Toby, man, the black skin’s not the thing. If you know anybody who wants to know what it’s like to be a black man, this is it. No matter how much you manage to do for yourself, it’s not enough” (Gordimer 255).

In the light of such harsh realities, Toby finds his white friend’s, Cecil Rowe, complaint about the scarcity of her financial situation hypocritical and lacking any foundation, whatsoever: “She began to talk what she would do if she had money, if she didn’t have the child, if she lived in Europe” (Gordimer 202). Toby strives to hide his ‘black life’ away from his white friends, as they would not understand his attraction for such an environment. His fears materialize when Cecil and some other friends finally find out about his ‘doubtful’ whereabouts; Cecil cannot overpass her racial prejudice about communicating with a black person on an equal footing: “You mean you can actually sit down to dinner with them and it doesn’t seem any different to you? (...) And they seem like other people to you?” (Gordimer 263). Ironically, at hearing this Toby feels embarrassed of himself as if he “were trying to make comprehensible a liking for the company of snakes, or chimpanzees” (Gordimer 263). The racial divide is so deep and profound that, in the whites’ mind, socializing with black people is as unnatural and offensive as mating with animals. Cecil shudders at the thought of touching a black skin: “her hand came out in the imaginary experiment and hesitated, wavered back” (Gordimer 263). It is now that Toby realizes his position in South Africa: “It was the perspective of the frontier, the black-and-white society between white and black, and *I was only a visitor there, however much I had made myself at home*” (Gordimer: 175, our emphasis).

This experience and sense of fear that white people, like Cecil, live with, in their South African homeland, makes Toby aware of the “resulting sense of alienation that exists across the colour divide” (Mazhar 93). A scene that further enforces this idea is the one in which Toby goes guinea-fowls shooting with some of his white friends; at one point, he gets separated from the group with a black servant accompanying him in the bush:

He did not look at me or anything; his isolation came to me silently; I was aware of it then, but it must have existed all the time, while we ate and we drank and we sang and we cursed, in our camp. I offered him a cigarette but he would not take it from the packet and he cupped his hands and I had to drop the cigarette into them (...) he and I

were in the hands of each other, like people standing close, and unaware of it, in a fog. (Gordimer 245).

Although Toby tries hard to make conversation with the African servant, the latter prefers to stay silent, unless “what he was asked was a direct question” (Gordimer 244). Thus, this marks the second moment in which Toby realizes, again, the void that exists between the two worlds: “I passed from one world to another – but neither was real to me. For in each, what sign was there that the other existed?” (Gordimer 193). As a stranger and an outsider, Toby is denied full access to both worlds, emphasizing the idea of him being a spectator.

The events that he witnessed affect Toby as a strong sense of alienation from the people living in the High House overcomes him; he reflects: “I had not been to the Alexander’s for weeks. I couldn’t go there anymore, that was all.” (Gordimer 257). He is hurt by the fact that the taboos of the white society leave no room to accommodate relationships with blacks of the intellectual elite such as Steven and Sam. Under apartheid legislation, both the natives and the whites needed a permit to visit each other’s worlds; if, for Toby, the process of getting such an item was relatively easy and without infringements, for the blacks, things were different and it was not seldom that they had to break the law in order to attend various gatherings organized in the flats of white Johannesburg residents. At one point in the novel, Toby is the host of such a multi-racial gathering which is interrupted by his caretaker’s objection at entertaining kaffirs in his rented flat. Toby becomes very sad after this blunt encounter with apartheid that makes him understand that “private livers”, like Steven and himself, become hunted people (Mazhar 95).

Going back to the scene in which Toby is off hunting with his friends we must make another important remark as it encapsulates a sad irony. While Toby is hunting and shooting guinea-fowls, Steven himself is killed like a hunted animal, in a car crash after a police raid in a club. To the policemen who gives the tragic news to Toby, Steven is still nothing more than a kaffir, his social identity fixed in this way by others, if never by him (Clingman 55). Furthermore, Steven’s death brings along some inescapable truths to Toby. The latter realizes that, in their common egocentrism and social indifference, he and Steven had been, in fact, only one: “he was me, and I was him” (Gordimer 252). Against the South African backdrop, however, their common identity could never have been celebrated. Although they have been so close and their friendship so powerful and intense, they were, ultimately, strangers:

What had I known of Steven, a stranger, living and dying a life *I could at best only observe; my brother*. A meaningless life, without hope, without dignity, the life of the spiritual eunuch, fixed by the white man (...) he was in the bond of his skin, and I was free; the world was open to me, and closed to him; how could I recognize my situation in his? (Gordimer 252, our emphasis)

It is this scene of self-awareness that marks the climax of the novel. The title of the novel, *A World of Strangers*, sums up Toby's physical and psychological experiences of the South African world: although both white and black people live together in South Africa, yet they are strangers in each other's world. The rite of passage from social puberty to social maturity is now complete and the veil from Toby's eyes disappears. What he sees now is the real South Africa: a "place without memory" (Gordimer 64), governed by an unfair and discriminatory legislation that provides fixed identities one cannot escape from, irrespective of how much one would try. The protagonist's oscillation between the white and the black South African society, followed by the failure of personal relationships across the racial divide, reveal to Toby his obligation to commit towards the struggle against apartheid; he is transformed from an "armchair strategist" (Gordimer 84) into one who enters the fray and is now able to resonate with "the loneliness of a powerful minority" (Gordimer 80). In this respect, the epigraph of the novel acts as a prolepsis, foreshadowing the rise of a revolutionary spirit among the anti-apartheid supporters which will materialize in the following novels:

I want the strong air of the most profound night
To remove flowers and letters from the arch where you sleep,
And a black boy to announce to the gold-minded whites
The arrival of the reign of the ear of corn (Gordimer 1)

Toby's frontier identity is now complete and it transfers onto the text itself which, as Stephen Clingman suggested, can be considered a 'frontier text' (71). Ironically, in Sophiatown, the street that marked the frontier between the black township and the white world of Johannesburg was called Toby Street, after the son of the township's original owner. Toby Hood, therefore, lives in a state of Toby-hood in the novel, or perhaps, to-be-hood (Clingman 71). By the time *A World of Strangers* was being written the destruction of Sophiatown had already begun, under the Group Areas Act and the street where the demolitions first began was none other than Toby Street.

In his book on Nadine Gordimer, Dominic Head refers to *A World of Strangers* as a "novel of learning" (48), for both characters and novelist we might add. The protagonist goes through a process of breaking down after the experience of apartheid. Consequently, this leads to change and transformation in his perception of both his individual self and the world around him. In an interview with Terkel, Gordimer reveals:

People like myself have two births, and the second one comes when you break out of the colour bar. It's a real birth when you break out of your background, the taboos of your background, and you realize that the colour bar is not valid and is meaningless to you. (16)

Indeed, by writing *A World of Strangers*, Gordimer does not only enable her characters to develop a racial conscience but she also acquires one, herself. By

fictionalizing the world around her and challenging the “divided we stand” state of affairs, she is able to break free of the South African colour bar and join the fight for the freedom and liberation of blacks. This constituted the starting point of her literary identity and creed: the understanding that fiction is not made out of books, but out of life; and in South Africa, life had a lot to offer.

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**MIS-/SHAPING IDENTITIES IN
SELF-REFLEXIVE FICTION
IAN MCEWAN'S *ATONEMENT* AND
ITS CINEMATIC ADAPTATION**

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Abstract: Ian McEwan's *Atonement* (2001) is most notable for its metafictional framework: it explores the quest for redemption through literature and the god-like position an author has in relation to his/her creation. Briony, the protagonist, is a writer and, as such, it is within her power to construct fictional identities. The cinematic adaptation of the novel (2007) follows quite faithfully the plotline of the book, foregrounding metafictional elements to a similar extent. Our investigation focuses on identifying the strategies the book and the film employ so that they blur the line between factuality and fictionality and construct false identities.

Keywords: cinematic adaptation, identity, metafiction

Published in 2001, Ian McEwan's *Atonement* is widely regarded as one of the author's best achievements, if not "McEwan's best novel so far, his masterpiece" (*Evening Standard*), "his most powerful novel to date" (*Sunday Times*), "utterly satisfying, complete" (*Scotsman*). A family saga, a war novel, a novel of initiation into adulthood, a metafictional novel, *Atonement* brilliantly presents the reader with a narrative that is "art of the highest kind" (*Scotland on Sunday*), so intricately crafted that it demands attention from the opening sentences and remains a page-turner until the very end. It was a finalist for the prestigious Man Booker Prize and, among others, won the National Book Critics Circle Award and the Los Angeles Times Book Prize. In 2007, the book was adapted into an Academy Award nominated film with the same title, starring James McAvoy and Keira Knightley, and directed by Joe Wright.

The novel is, perhaps, most notable for its metafictional framework, since, above all, it explores the nature of writing, the power and importance of imagination, the quest for redemption through literature and the god-like position an author has in relation to his/her creation. We deal with multiple framed narratives presumably written by Briony Tallis, the protagonist, introduced as a writer from the very beginning. The novel brings to the fore Briony's struggle and inner turmoil of atoning for her "crime" by means of writing; the result is a novel within a novel, but the boundary between the two is so fragile that, by the end of the book, we can no longer tell the difference between what is "real" and what is fictitious in Briony's account. The reader is now able to understand how easily perceptions can be misconstrued and manipulated. The cinematic adaptation of the

novel follows quite faithfully the plotline of the book, foregrounding metafictional elements to a similar extent and showing how the writer can trick the reader into believing. In what follows, we are going to investigate the metafictional strategies employed by both the book and the film, to see how the two media construct and at the same time blur the line between factuality and fictionality within the fictional universe itself, laying bare the dangers of literal interpretation. Our analysis will also focus on how Briony mis-/shapes identities as a way of redeeming herself.

The novel is divided into four sections: while the first – and the longest – part details the events that led to Briony’s “crime”, Part Two, Part Three and the “epilogue” present the reader with both the long-term effects of that crime and, highly significantly, with the protagonist’s lifelong plight for atonement. Part One tells the story of one day and night in the summer of 1935 at the Tallis family estate north of London. The protagonist is thirteen-year-old Briony Tallis who aspires to become a writer and whose imagination is so rich that, as we are going to see, she often misinterprets – almost willingly – what she sees. Her plan for the evening is to put on *The Trials of Arabella*, a play she herself has written for the homecoming of her brother, Leon. In order to do this, she needs her three cousins, who are living with the Tallises for the summer because of their parents’ divorce. Although “the novel opens on a situation of great expectations” (Ascari 84), there are enough impediments that act against the realization of Briony’s plan and, needless to say, the play is never staged, at least not at this point in the narrative. The irony is that a great deal of what happens in the fictitious, imaginary universe of the play will take place in the “reality” of the novel, with the play thus foreshadowing the events that will later come to pass. One of the occurrences that will offset Briony’s plans for the afternoon and evening is a scene that she witnesses between her elder sister Cecilia and the son of the family charwoman, Robbie Turner. Her limited view of what actually happens at the fountain feeds her imagination, a highly fertile ground for her misreading of the event. Tragically for everyone involved, this will lead to Briony’s crime and will ultimately change the lives of the protagonists forever.

A few hours after the fountain scene, in a great Freudian slip, Robbie hands Briony his letter for Cecilia, without realizing that it is one of his drafts he did not intend anybody to see and in which he allowed himself to write his innermost thoughts and feelings. Briony’s curiosity and “passion for secrets” (McEwan 6) determine her to read the letter, whose content naturally shocks her and sets her out to protect her sister from this “maniac”, as Lola, her cousin, so manipulatively puts it. What is more, Briony further witnesses Robbie and Cecilia in the library and again mistakes what she sees, deepening her assumption that Robbie intends to harm Cecilia. At this point, it is very clear in her mind that she has to save her sister from the “imminent danger” she is exposed to (Ascari 88). At dinnertime, in an attempt to draw attention upon themselves, her twin cousins run away and everybody goes out to search for them in the dark. While searching alone, Briony is once again the observer of something she is almost eager to misconstrue: the alleged rape of her cousin, Lola. Briony convinces everyone, including the

authorities, that she has seen the attacker and is, therefore, sure of his identity, accusing Robbie of assailing Lola. At times, she doubts what she has seen and thoughts of changing her statement cross her mind, but she decides not to act upon them.

Of course, the effects of her “not speaking her mind” are minimalized here, as Briony does not yet understand the nature and extent of her crime. She even manages to convince herself that “certain events have indeed taken place before her eyes, when in fact only bits and pieces are true and the blanks in-between have been filled with a fictional reality she has created herself” (Dahlback). For highly imaginative Briony, “[e]verything connected. It was her discovery. It was her story, the one that was writing itself around her” (McEwan 166). Part One ends as Robbie is taken to face the charges, not before saying goodbye to Cecilia who, much to Briony’s surprise believes in Robbie’s innocence.

Set five years later, Part Two centers on Robbie’s retreat to Dunkirk as a war soldier, after having served three years in prison for his supposed crime. We are presented with Robbie’s first-hand experience of the atrocities of war as he marches through the countryside with two other corporals. Although the three men manage to finally get to Dunkirk, evacuation needs to be postponed as the place is in complete chaos and there are no boats to take the soldiers to the other side of the Channel. The end of Part Two does not render Robbie’s evacuation as certain: although his determination to go back to Cecilia is great, he is badly wounded and has fever-induced hallucinations in what only seems to be his last night in Dunkirk.

In Part Three, eighteen-year-old Briony who now works as a nurse in London, has finally understood the extent of her crime. Away from her family and only scarcely keeping in touch with them, she is now conscious of her guilt and tries to make amends for the past. Unsurprisingly, she has kept writing and has even submitted a story to a London journal; even though the story is rejected, its high potential is readily acknowledged and Briony is encouraged to develop its plot. As a nurse, she is able to experience the horrors of war first-hand, as she takes care of the wounded soldiers that have returned from France.

The seemingly realistic narrative the reader has dealt with so far is completely questioned by the final section of the novel, a letter written by Briony, the “author”, to the reader. We learn now that both Robbie and Cecilia died in the war and that they never got together again. In her final attempt at atonement, Briony, now a seventy-seven-year-old successful writer, had made up her visit to Cecilia and Robbie in London, so as to allow their love to last forever in the pages of her book. It is actually her last novel, in which the two lovers live happily ever after, that constitutes Briony’s attempt at redemption, but this realization makes the reader uncertain about everything s/he has read so in the novel. The answer Briony herself provides for the question “[b]ut what *really* happened?”, namely, “the lovers survive and flourish”, further increases our doubts. Her justification is not of much help, either: “I like to think that it [her novel, together with its fictitious events] isn’t weakness or evasion, but a final act of kindness, a stand against oblivion and despair” (McEwan 371-372). At this point, we are forced to

reconsider everything we have read so far and can't help but think of the possibility of being drawn into a trap from the very beginning. The warning was there all along, but, as Briony predicted, we wouldn't give it much attention:

In a story you only had to wish, you only had to write it down and you could have the world...It seemed so obvious now that it was too late. A story was a form of telepathy. By means of inking symbols onto a page, she was able to send thoughts and feelings from her mind to her reader's. It was a magical process, so commonplace that no one stopped to wonder at it. (McEwan 37)

It was when she was a child that Briony became aware of her powers as a writer; what she has actually been doing is put her awareness into practice:

[W]riting stories not only involved secrecy, it also gave her all the pleasures of miniaturization. A world could be made in five pages...The childhood of a spoiled prince could be framed within half a page, a moonlit dash through sleepy villages was one rhythmically empathic sentence, falling in love would be achieved in a single word - a glance. (McEwan 7)

Like God, she had the ability to create a world in which anything and everything was possible and it seems that she eventually manages to do so since, as it is revealed at the end of the novel, the artful narrative is nothing but the result of her imaginative powers brilliantly at work in the realistic rendering of fictitious events. Seen in retrospective, after the epiphanic reading of the epilogue, *Atonement* is nothing more than “a novel within a novel, supposedly written by its protagonist, Briony Tallis” (Hunter 67), and it is by means of this understanding that we see the manipulative power of the narrative and the dangers of our “suspension of disbelief”. This suspension of disbelief, however, is not done as willingly as we might think: we are cleverly drawn into it because of the authorial masterful use of fictional and metafictional strategies that obliterate our view of “reality” and actually make us think that what we read is true in the fictional universe of the novel. In Laura Marcus' terms, “[t]he shock of this knowledge, when it comes, exposes the extent of our investment as readers in ‘the illusion of fiction’” (qtd. in Groes 92). Nevertheless, although “the blunt ‘postmodern’ ending” might seem “a betrayal of the novel’s earlier subtleties”, it is necessary in order to “preserve the balance McEwan seeks between the self-reflective fiction and the illusion of reality” (qtd. in Groes 94). The novel thus “ends with a short circuit between facts and fiction”, making the reader aware of “the performative power of words, which are capable of making things happen in the real world” (Ascari 92-94).

For Briony, atonement, “the ostensible purpose behind writing the novel and the reason for the title” (Ellam 9), is not possible because, “with her absolute power of deciding outcomes, she is also God. (...) There is nothing outside her... No atonement for God, or novelists” (Ellam 9). In fact, her supposed wrongdoing as a child (of which we are never sure, since she presents herself as the writer of the entire framed narrative) is never called a sin, but a crime, although one usually

atonement for the sins one has committed. Moreover, she never actually confesses it to anyone, except to the reader, who will only find out everything after her death, when her novel will finally be published. But it will not matter any longer; in Briony's own words, "[n]o one will care what events and which individuals were misrepresented to make a novel" (Ellam 9). This way, "Ian McEwan's novel *Atonement* resembles a whodunit, or at least a psychological thriller" (Ingersoll 148) only up to a certain point, when Briony, the writer, decides to add the first-person narrative epilogue in which she explains the reader how she deliberately changed the outcome of the events. Kim Worthington argues that what McEwan actually emphasizes here is "the impossibility of attaining either truth or self-forgiveness via acts of (confessional) self-writing" (qtd. in Holler; Klepper 147). Briony ultimately recognizes her inability of writing the forgiveness she so strongly desires: "I gave them happiness, but I was not so self-serving as to let them forgive me" (McEwan 372). It is "the [writing] self who tells and hears its own confession" (McEwan 372), but the self cannot forgive itself; the possibility of redemption can only come from the reader, who partakes in the confessional act and who, therefore, is expected to have an empathetic attitude.

It can be argued that *Atonement* represents a dual-success: both the novel and its cinematic adaptation have been highly regarded by critics and considered to be great achievements. Christopher Hampton's screenplay was nominated for an Academy Award, which does say a lot about the movie: the story it relies on is rich and intriguing, it deals with romance and war and the possibility of redemption, but more importantly, it focuses on fiction and the act of writing it. The film is very similar to the novel in this respect and this ensures part of its success: the task of foreground the literary medium in cinema is quite a difficult, not to mention the compromises of the filmmaker when it comes to the filmic devices and techniques that need to be employed in order to achieve this effect. And yet, as we are going to see in what follows, in *Atonement*, Joe Wright manages to foreground not only literature and fiction writing, but also cinema (and television). Indeed, he resorts to strategies that constantly remind the viewer of the fact that it is cinema s/he deals with, although the emphasis of the film is on meta-/fiction. Our investigation in what follows is meant to explore these strategies and to offer an explanation as to how their specificity enhances the movie's metafictionality.

The film follows quite faithfully the plotline of the book. It begins by introducing its title, typed as if it were the title of a book. As we see the letters appear on screen, we also listen to the sound of the typewriter that is probably producing them; we therefore understand that this is diegetic sound, although the diegesis has not even begun. While the typing sound continues, it acts as a bridge towards the first shot of the movie: we now have in front of our eyes a doll's house that resembles the stage of a puppet show. Together with the sound of the typewriter, it makes us understand that what we are about to see is purely fictitious, the result of the imaginative powers of the God-like creator of the story. This first shot rapidly becomes an establishing shot, as the camera zooms out and pans towards the right to show us Briony's tidy room and Briony herself, typing at her

desk. Highly significant is the fact that we can only see her back, so we have no access to what she is actually typing; in fact, we know nothing up to this point and the low-angle shot that introduces Briony places her in a position of knowledge and power. Shortly afterwards, we finally get to see what she has been typing by means of an extreme close-up of her fingers and the page in front of her: “The End” of *The Trials of Arabella*, “by Briony Tallis”. Seen in retrospective, the entire scene is meant to introduce Briony as a writer - one obsessed with order and control – who, like a puppeteer, will control the world that is in her power to create, manipulating characters and events to her own-liking.

The pace of the actions soon accelerates as Briony is followed throughout the house in search of her mother; the tracking shot used in this respect is accompanied by increasingly louder non-diegetic music whose purpose is that of creating suspense. The typing sound is reintroduced when the scene reaches a climactic point: Briony is almost running through the house and we are able to follow her by means of a multitude of cuts. We witness many alternate medium shots, close-ups and long-shots and the intensity becomes almost unbearable, when the pace of the action finally slows down. Briony has a brief encounter with Robbie and then she finds her mom; surprisingly, she closes the door on the viewer, denying him/her access to what is about to happen. So far, we only have limited knowledge and it is ultimately Briony who controls the amount of information we receive. As it fades out, the camera provides us with a limited point of view, similar to what we are able to find in Ian McEwan’s novel. Nonetheless, the non-diegetic music continues, functioning as a sound bridge to the next scene: Emily Tallis, Briony’s mother has read the playlet and is congratulating Briony as the music ends triumphantly.

Everything happens faster than in the novel; as there isn’t enough time, we will only present a few scenes, relevant to our discussion here. By means of ellipsis, all unnecessary action is omitted. Almost immediately after the introductory scene, the film cuts to an establishing shot of the house seen from the outside and then the camera zooms out to an aerial shot meant to show us Briony and her sister, Cecilia. The effect of this shot is that the two appear to be very small; again, this sends us back to the novel, in which we find out about Briony’s love of miniaturization and about her awareness of the writer’s ability to create miniature worlds. The film can achieve by means of only one image what the novelist needs to explain in many words: this is the filmmaker’s way of pointing to the fact that his adaptation, although based on a book he reveres, is at least as good and powerful as the novel. Images can be symbolic as well, they show, but also tell, and they can be as subtle as words. The novelist’s viewpoint, represented by Briony’s words as she is speaking to Cecilia, seems to be quite the opposite though: a written story is preferable to a play (and for that matter, a film, as they are both performative arts), since words are sufficient in themselves, but the success of a performance depends on many people. By allowing both standpoints to be present in the movie and by constantly referring to the fiction-writing process, Joe Wright ensures the meta-fictionality of his adaptation, a film on (the writing of) books.

The equivalent in the movie of the so-called “fountain scene” in the book is highly significant. As the rehearsal of the *Trials of Arabella* ends abruptly and Briony is left alone, she hears a bee buzzing by the window; this inevitably draws her attention so she decides to go to the window, when she sees something happening outside, by the fountain. It is the same scene that will eventually lead her into committing her “crime”. As Briony witnesses what is happening between Robbie and Cecilia, we see her reactions by means of shots-counter-shots. No word is being uttered and we therefore have to rely solely on Briony’s mimic to get a glimpse of what she might think with respect to what she sees. Robbie and Cecilia are presented in a long shot, Cee with her face, Robbie with his back. This is highly suggestive of what Briony feels: on the one hand, she knows her sister, she trusts her and she could never accuse her of anything; on the other hand, Robbie is only an intruder, the charlady’s son there is still much to learn about. His intentions are hidden from her. However, it is Briony whose secretive nature is likely to represent some sort of danger for the others. The lighting used for this scene is relevant in this respect: there is brightness and openness outside (high-key lighting) and much less light inside (low-key lighting). Moreover, nobody can see Briony at the window, but she can see her sister with Robbie and this confers her plenty of power. She is also situated above the two and filmed by means of low-angle shots, which is meant to emphasize the same thing: the leverage belongs to her. The scene ends with her sister leaving and the buzzing suddenly reappears.

It is this circularity that makes us wonder whether the incident Briony sees is not actually “Two Figures by a Fountain”, the story she writes in the novel and sends to *Horizon*; the way the scene begins and ends is likely to be a means of cinematically emphasizing this, although in the film we are never shown (or told, by means of voice-over narration) what the story is about. After watching what happens by the fountain, Briony goes to the typewriter and, suggestively, watches it for a few seconds. We don’t know what her thoughts are, but we can only imagine that she is probably thinking of writing about the scene she has just witnessed, of “fictionalizing” the event (as if it were real in the first place); after all, this is how she has been introduced to us from the very beginning: as a passionate and enthusiastic writer that is fully aware of her creative powers.

Highly revealing of Briony’s limited knowledge and of her predilection to misconstrue reality is the episode in which she is searching for the twins alone, holding a flashlight that only provides her with insufficient light. We realize that she is frightened when seeing her mimic and listening to her heavy breathing, but we do not have access to her thoughts; as opposed to the novel, in a typically cinematic way, images are prevalent: we only see her reactions to different stimuli and are tempted to draw conclusions that are probably false. This is, in fact, what the reader does, too, when interpreting the words of the novel; both the reader and the viewer tend to forget that what we are told or shown is not enough for a full glimpse of “reality”. In this respect, the book and the movie are highly self-reflexive in their attempt to make the receiver aware of the danger of literal interpretation. Briony was definitely not aware of it, as she so quickly jumps to

conclusions. Although the information she provides is not accurate, she confidently testifies to the police: “I saw him, I saw him with my own eyes”. And yet, the filmmaker warns us again, for the sound of the typewriter is reintroduced; as Julie Ellam puts it, “[t]he clue remains that this is her story” (73).

What follows is actually the equivalent of the second section of the novel: the camera jump cuts to the war. Letters play a very important part all throughout the war scenes; Cecilia’s words comfort Robbie and motivate him to fight for his life. Moreover, when Robbie finds out that Briony plans to confess the truth, he writes back to Cecilia: “the *story* can resume” (our emphasis). The choice of words is considerably important here: what we deal with is only part of a story, it is not real. By means of condensation, the film solely presents the war scenes that are most dramatic. The emphasis is on Robbie’s injury; by the end of this rather short section, he feels increasingly bad, but, as it happens in the book, the fact that he does not survive and is not evacuated to London is not revealed yet. The section ends with a cut to Briony in the hospital where she is a trainee nurse, a shot that is again accompanied by the sound of the typewriter: we must not forget that Briony is a writer, perhaps *the* writer and creator of the story we have in front of our eyes (our emphasis).

The ending of the film is epiphanic for the viewer: in an interview Briony gives on television on the occasion of her latest – and last – novel being published, she confesses that *Atonement* is the result of her decision “to write the absolute truth”, “no rhymes, no embellishments, no adjectives”. In fact, it is Robbie who asked her to do this (during their – imaginary – meeting), “and then leave us be”. Briony’s answer is: “I will, I promise”, which makes us wonder if this is not exactly what she has done in her novel, as a means of justifying her lack of honesty. “Leave us be” might mean “allow us to live happily ever after”; furthermore, the 77-year-old novelist rhetorically asks: “But what purpose could be served by honesty... or reality?” Our revelation is that the characters of her novel “are little more than figments of her imagination” (de Groot 214). The movie then suggestively ends with Robbie and Cecilia finally together, but the cinematic devices employed make us realize this never happened: the entire scene is filmed by using a color filter and the lovers’ voices sound as if (too) distant. But the couple is at a cottage by the sea, with water taking up a lot of the screen space, which is probably not accidental, as “water washes away the sins” (Ellam 73). Perhaps this is the filmmaker’s way of suggesting that atonement was eventually possible. McEwan’s novel proves to what extent fiction can be deceptive by means of words; Wright’s film successfully uses images to the same effect. After all, the latter is ultimately a movie “concerned with the way a writer manipulates narratives” (Ellam 71).

In spite of the novel and the film’s title, nothing quite fitting the notion of atonement seems to occur; perhaps, atonement is not even possible in the context of the two works of art under discussion here. In fact, Briony “doubles the crime by imagining (again) the lovers’ interiority and their togetherness – an act of imagining that is inescapably appropriative” (Worthington 161). To put it

differently, “the self-confessional ‘truth’ at the end ‘cohabits’ with, or is perhaps constituted in, ‘lies’” (Worthington 160). And yet, as 13-year-old Briony puts it in the novel, “[s]he was under no obligation to tell the truth. She had promised no one a chronicle” (McEwan 280). In its dual form, *Atonement* proves how, in spite of the young girl’s warning, (Briony’s) fiction still has the power to convince us of its veracity, even if and especially when it mis-/shapes identities.

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DOUBLE-SCOPE IDENTITY BLENDS

BLENDING AND DE-BLENDING THE COUNTERFACTUAL SELF

– ERNEST HEMINGWAY’S SHORT STORIES AS CASE STUDIES

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Abstract: My claim is that the theory of conceptual integration providing the paper’s theoretical framework can play a substantial role in the dynamics of character identity across narrative worlds and fictional counterfactuals. Endowed with the capacity for blending, E. Hemingway’s protagonists fuse fictionally real and fanciful elements to build their new blended self. They create meaning in their lives out of opposed and seemingly incompatible input frames, and hence the concept of ‘double-scope identities’. In a word, the question of identity in E. Hemingway’s short stories (*The Sea Change* and *Cat in the Rain*) is related to the characters’ capacity for de-blending and afterwards the possibility to live outside the blend.

Keywords: conceptual integration, double-scope identity blends, short story, Hemingway

Windows to the mind: the theory of conceptual integration (blending)

In the 1990s, cognitive researchers Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner launched a joint project of conceptual integration or blending that offered a convincing view of how the mind establishes mental spaces (two or more input spaces), blends them, and creates new emergent meanings. The extremely influential Theory of Blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2006, 2002, 1998; Fauconnier 1997, 1994; Turner 1996) has rapidly gained ground in explicating many cognitive operations and mental phenomena, and has made the firm promise to shed light on *the way we think*, as the title of Fauconnier and Turner’s 2002 seminal study has it.

The following example can demonstrate the essential point made by the theory of blending (Evans & Green 401-406): “The surgeon is a butcher”. The difficulty posed by such an example is that it implies a negative assessment that cannot be immediately explained if we just take the two input spaces separately (the inputs of ‘surgery’ and ‘butchery’). Neither of these spaces contains the negative evaluation. Even if butchery is a highly skilled profession, the conceptualization of a surgeon as a butcher involves a negative assessment of the work done by the surgeon. So, we would assess the surgeon as incompetent. But where exactly does this negative assessment arise from, as it doesn’t seem to be contained in either of the input spaces? Blending theory gives the answer to questions like these – meaning does not come by adding the elements in the inputs (meaning construction is not ‘additive’), but it crucially involves the emergence of new structure. From the perspective of the blending theory, in the example with “the surgeon is a butcher”, the idea of ‘incompetence’ represents the additional structure emerging from the

new blend ('emergent structure'). The contrasting characteristics of the two input spaces are evident: surgeons save the lives of human patients – butchers perform work on dead animals; surgeons' activity focuses on repair and reconstruction – butchers perform dismembering activities, etc. In the blend, the contrasts result in the new idea of incompetence: a surgeon who is assessed as a butcher seems to have inadequate skills and capacities to perform operations on human patients.

As in this example of an ordinary blend, it seems that we make no cognitive effort to understand the emergent meaning. This is due to the fact that such mental operations occur in the nervous system at lightning speed, therefore making it more difficult for our conscious mind to represent the ongoing mental work. If most of our mental life goes unnoticed¹, the phenomenon of conceptual blending is an extraordinary example of invisible and unconscious mental activity, with a tremendous impact on the meaning construction.

Blending and the study of short literary stories

Conceptual blending has proven prolific for literary theorizing of larger units of language or larger units of discourse (texts) to show how they may become meaningful. The theory of blending opens the door to address the complexities and particularities central to the issue of meaning in short fictional narratives.

Short stories are attested examples of written discourse of a fragmented nature. The very fact that such texts are limited in narrative space challenges writers of short fiction to employ particular narrative devices (for instance, *deletion* and *substitutions*), and, on the other hand, they become increasingly challenging in this respect for readers. I argue that fragmented short stories are indeed powerful cognitive exercises, as they stretch our sense-making abilities to the limits. In order to make mental representations of short texts, readers have come to bear on an absolute minimum of necessary information, which only pushes our cognitive ability to its furthest limits. Cognitive analyses of short fiction exercise our major abilities of sense-making, by making explicit the range of mental operations at play while reading. In other less challenging types of reading, these strategies often remain only obliquely discovered, or rather implicitly embedded in the text.

The concept of blending and its flexible tools seem particularly useful for the analysis of texts of a fragmented nature. As reading involves the construction of short-term interrelated mental spaces, an accurate description of the interplay between different types of mental spaces will account for the literary effects of stories. Second, the representation of mental spaces do not only emerge from 'real'/factual information in the storyworld, but they can also be generated by what is 'not real' in the story – for instance, the number of mental spaces created by the characters' wishes, dreams, unrealized hypotheses, or alternatives that are only considered but never actualized. Equally plausible, therefore, the research on short

¹ Mark Turner (1991) argues that "the unconscious, automatic, unoriginal aspects of thought are where the action really is"(43)

prose narratives with the cognitive framework of blending theory leads us to the deepest sources of our representations and imagination.

Double-Scope Identity Blends in E. Hemingway's 'The Sea Change' and 'Cat in the Rain'

Cognitive blending regulates our general mechanisms of creativity and resources of imagination but it also mediates our interaction with (short) narratives. In this paper, blending has been chosen for very pragmatic reasons: it provides the analysis with technical tools and adequate vocabulary to explain parts and processes of E. Hemingway's model of the mind (and, by extrapolation, a model of the mind advanced by short fiction). Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) concept of 'conceptual integration network' or 'conceptual blending' can provide a useful account of the sort of cognitive process Hemingway's readers need to attribute to his characters, and therefore go through themselves, in order to make sense of the wide array of mental functioning within his short stories. One cannot ignore the issue of the cognitive force of blending theory, particularly as an adequate account of fictional mental functioning.

The application of the conceptual integration model to Hemingway's complex discourse is a valid method to reveal the intricacies of his underrepresented discourse for which mental mappings are more difficult to establish, but nonetheless, it is an increasingly more challenging discourse for literary creativity and for the reader's imaginative powers. Another advantage of the application of blending theory is that it will enable us to attribute cognitive processes and representations to fictional characters that are central to the mental lives of human and human-like beings. More specifically, readers have to construct the blend in order to assess mental lives within the storyworld, and this will lead them to inferences regarding each character's identity, emotional states, and relations with other story participants.

With the benefit of earlier discussion, I propose to investigate the blend as a double-scope story for identity in two canonical short stories by Ernest Hemingway: *The Sea Change* (1931) and *Cat in the Rain* (1925).

Cognitive scientist Mark Turner (2008) defines double-scope networks in the following terms:

A conceptual integration network is *double-scope* if different input frames are blended into a blended frame whose organizing frame-level structure includes at least some organizing structure from each of the two input frames that is not shared by the other. (Turner 15, italics in original)

Endowed with the capacity for blending, the protagonists of these two stories fuse fictionally real and fanciful elements to build their new blended self. They create meaning in their lives out of opposed and seemingly incompatible input frames, and hence the concept of 'double-scope identities'. Therefore, the study of the

protagonists' blending activity is meant to have significant implications for their identity. In both narratives, Hemingway uses an arresting type of 'mirror imagery' presenting readers with the most dramatic moment of identification of the self with the blended image in the mirror. The female character in *Cat in the Rain* will prove unable to live outside the 'blend in the mirror', which means that she does not have the capacity of de-blending her identity. In the end, she will be trapped in the blend: the girl is a naïve believer in the force of the blend. In contrast, the male character in *The Sea Change* manages successfully to de-blend his newly acquired identity and to live freely outside the blend. In a word, the question of identity in these two short stories is related to the characters' capacity for de-blending and afterwards the possibility to live outside the blend.

Blending and de-blending the counterfactual self in 'The Sea Change'

The male character in *The Sea Change*, Phil, undergoes a series of changes in the course of a very short narrative. The storyline of this very short narrative of *Winner Take Nothing* is supposedly based on a true conversation Hemingway once overheard in a bar between a man and a woman that was leaving the man for another woman:

In a story called 'The Sea Change,' everything is left out. I had seen the couple in the Bar Basque in St. Jean-de-Luz and I knew the story too well, which is the squared root of well, and use my well you like except mine. So I left the story out. But it is all there. It is not visible but it is there. (Hemingway qtd. in Bennett 228)

Supposedly as in the true story, the two 'tanned' partners, looking 'out of place' in Paris, sit together at a table in an almost empty café and talk openly about the woman's decision to separate. The man goes from the desire to kill his competitor to the sudden realization that the woman has already made a choice and her decision is not under his control. Therefore, at the end of the story, Phil takes the decision to let his partner go, and plainly sends her off to her new lover, while they both know that one day they will conceivably be reunited. As agreed, the woman leaves quickly without looking back while the man watches her go.

At first sight, it may appear that the woman's changed sexuality will be focused on by the narrator, but as the woman leaves the scene, the reader is made to realize that the change in 'the girl' (consistent denomination used by the narrator here and in other stories, e.g. *Hills Like White Elephants*) is probably less dramatic than the man's inner metamorphosis. Immediately after the woman exits the scene, we read the narrator's omniscient comments: "He was not the same-looking man as he had been before he had told her to go" (Hemingway 309). As it happens in very dramatic changes, Phil's psychological metamorphosis can be also seen in the obvious transformation of his physical features: he *feels* different and he *knows* he is a different man now: "His voice sounded very strange. He did not recognize it. [...] His voice was not the same, and his mouth was very dry" (Hemingway 309).

Consequently, Phil feels the urge to share the news of his sudden transformation, so he readily goes to the bar in shock and says to the barman that he is a different man, and then he reinforces this by repetition: “You see in me quite a different man” (Hemingway 309). At this point in the story, it becomes clear that the rapid metamorphosis of the character challenges the reader to build and connect separate mental spaces that have one central male character who is one and the same but, interestingly enough, who appears to be different in each mental space.

Clearly, the male character in one mental space is ‘identical’ to the character in another input, despite the manifest differences involved by the construction of a new mental space. More exactly, readers connect the mental space that has the man in a relationship, accepted and shared by both partners, to another mental space in which their love affair is ruined, followed by the couple’s parting. Despite the apparently straightforward mental connection performed to link the two mental spaces, readers are able to establish identity connections across mental spaces that attribute highly different roles to the same character. Identity connections can link elements that refer to the different roles humans or human-like figures may have at one specific time. In *The Sea Change*, the male character plays distinct roles at particular times in the story: first, he takes on the role of the partner in an accomplished love affair, with supposedly settled attributes regarding their sexuality and emotional life, and later he needs to change and adjust to the new role of a singled man, befuddled by the change in the woman’s sexual orientation and troubled by the very few options that are left for him now. Even if it is clear that the man in the first mental input is ‘identical’ to the man in the second input, the identity connections involve clashing differences – in *The Sea Change* the particular differences are triggered by the change of roles for the male character.

Readers will notice that the man’s attributes in the two mental spaces are remarkably different, but they will nevertheless establish identity connections across inputs. That is why even in markedly different situations, it is possible to identify the man by using the personal pronoun ‘he’. In addition, the fact that the character obsessively draws attention to his visible physical changes (‘I’m a different man, James,’ he said to the barman. ‘You see in me quite a different man’ Hemingway 309) has much to say about the type of mental connection manufactured by the reader. While linking distinct mental spaces, readers do not use the mental tools of objective resemblance, and still the connection seems straightforwardly simple. This specific form of mental work looks uncomplicated for formal analysis, but it turns out to be an extremely refined mechanism of the imagination and the outcome of intensely creative and imaginative work.

In the rapidly unfolding storyline, Phil’s psychic change is completely realized in the mirror imagery and confirmed in actuality in his image in the mirror at the bar; a similar scene in *Big Two-Hearted River* where Nick Adams also looks in the reflecting surfaces of the stream suggests that the ambiguous image they both glimpse is a psychic self-image with altered physical manifestations. They both see in their reflections a different inner ‘reality’ that makes each ‘a different man’. In the very last part of *The Sea Change*, the main character’s realization (in the form

of indirect thought report) that he has undergone a radical change (his symbolic 'sea-change') sets up another mental space: "As he looked in the glass, he saw he was really quite a different-looking man" (Hemingway 309). This space is also acknowledged by the bartender, James, who immediately confirms: "You're right there, sir" (Hemingway 309). Nevertheless, if the function of the barman were simply an ornamental one, there would be no reason for the earlier switch of the centre of consciousness to James, as revealed in the following digression:

The barman was at the far end of the bar. His face was white and so was his jacket. He knew these two and thought them a handsome young couple. He had seen many young handsome couples break up and new couples form that were never so handsome long. He was not thinking about this, but about a horse. In half an hour he could send across the street to find if the horse had won. (Hemingway 307)

Critic Warren Bennett (1992) convincingly argues that Hemingway gives an indirect introspection into the barman's thoughts because he attributes "some artistic function [to James] in relation to Phil". In the same vein, the figure of James is "a further development of the mirror imagery and reflects, in an ironic *dédoublément*, the sea-changed Phil" (Bennett 241). Therefore, the sea-changed self-image that Phil fully acknowledges is double reflected in the mirror behind the bar and in the extended mirror developed by James: "Looking into the mirror he saw that this was *quite true*" (Hemingway 309, emphasis mine).

It is precisely this reinforced realization that creates the need to set up another mental space – a mental space that can ideally accommodate the psychic violence occurring in the depths of Phil's identity. Readers need to blend the man's counterpart selves - the fulfilled partner engaged in a love relationship and the dejected single man abandoned by his partner - in a new counterfactual blended space that can be metaphorically glimpsed in the reflecting surfaces of the mirror. However, more imaginative work is needed: given the two distinct roles of the character, readers need to manufacture identity connectors between the two spaces and then compress them in one blended space. The blend has some characteristics of the two spaces, but also some particularities of its own.

The highly spontaneous reactions of the character, now a 'different-looking man', are triggered by the rapid and unexpected turn of the situation with effects emerging in the new blended space. In order to run effectively, the blend makes possible a series of matches that correspond to no prior experience of the character. In the imaginative blended space, the different-looking man already hates the woman, and therefore he will try to stop her from coming back to him, despite the fact that in the first input space, their reunion seems to be only a matter of time. The new meaning emerging in the blend has to do with the man's new developing feelings for the woman who has just left him – bitterness, disillusionment, or dejection. In making sense of the male character's speech and thoughts, we need to observe the paradox in his emergent state of mind that strikingly contradicts his previous effort for understanding and reconciliation.

What is really at stake here is the man's capacity to perform and control blending that only becomes effective if followed subsequently by the process of deblending or decompression. Without deblending or running 'backward projection' from the blend into the input spaces, the emergent structure in the blend cannot affect the counterpart elements of the two input spaces. Fauconnier and Turner (2002) explain the importance of decompression:

The effect of blending and deblending, compressing and decompressing, is to create much richer networks, with the greater flexibility of going from outer space to inner space and back; but this does not incapacitate or overwhelm the mind because we can still work in one blend at a time. (Fauconnier and Turner 392)

In *The Sea Change*, Phil is able to manipulate the imaginative scenario of the blend, and equally important, he is aware of its connections to the outer mental spaces (real and counterfactual). In blending terminology, he is able to project back to the two input spaces with great flexibility. This process is essential for outlining his identity, finally proving that he can distinguish between himself in the blend and himself outside the blend. The female character in *Cat in the Rain* has no such ability and cannot recognize the identity connectors that link the subject to the various versions of her split self. The following example of a double-scope identity blend in *Cat in the Rain* will explicate and prove the failure of the protagonist to decompress.

Fleshing out the blend and the female character's newly acquired identity in 'Cat in the Rain'

As in many other short stories, in *Cat in the Rain*, E. Hemingway keeps the narrative storyline extremely short and simple. Nothing much seems to happen in the storyworld: an American couple spends their holiday in an Italian hotel. In the hotel room the husband keeps himself busy reading while the wife stands at the window and seeks more excitement in the square opposite their room. The wife, also called 'the American girl', sees a cat wandering about in the dripping rain and suddenly decides to fetch the cat and protect it. In the reception lounge, she meets the receptionist, they exchange a few words, and then she goes out into the courtyard, but the cat has already gone. While still looking for the missing cat, an umbrella opens behind her. The hotel keeper sends a maid to attend the wife; his gesture may be triggered by the official standard of the hotel, that one of assisting clients, but it may also be a sign of implicit friendship. In the short exchange between the wife the hotel's maid, the American girl stresses by repetition what she really desires right there and right then:

'Ha perduto qualche cosa, Signora?'
 'There was a cat,' said the American girl.
 'A cat?'
 'Sì, il gatto.'

'A cat?' the maid laughed. 'A cat in the rain?'
'Yes,' she said, 'under the table.' Then, 'Oh, I wanted it so much. I wanted a kitty.'
(Hemingway108)

First the wife uses the word *cat* and then *kitty*, normally used by children, what could lead to the assumption that she needs more protection and attention, as a child would need. When both the wife and the maid return to the hotel lounge, 'the padrone bowed from his desk'. There is a switch to the representation of the American girl, and indirect thought presentation is used to reveal how she feels when the hotel's owner bows 'from his desk':

Something felt very small and tight inside the girl. The padrone made her feel very small and at the same time really important. She had a momentary feeling of being of supreme importance. (Hemingway 108)

The girl starts indulging in momentary fantasies, imagining herself an important figure for someone, which triggers a search for an alternative identity for herself. It is this contradictory feeling - a mix of pettiness and importance - that suddenly changes her perspective on her identity, in the way a child would behave in the circumstances. She is no longer the wife but 'the American girl' who apparently feels attached to the hotel keeper that seems to be the only one to offer her some comfort. Back in the hotel room, the wife finds her husband engrossed in reading. She tells him how much she wants to have a cat and several other things: 'I wanted it so much,' she said. 'I don't know why I wanted it so much. I wanted that poor kitty. It isn't any fun to be a poor kitty out in the rain,' (Hemingway 108) but the husband doesn't reply and readily resumes his reading. The description of the wife's and the husband's behaviour is indicative of their emotional involvement and manages to emphasise the contrast in their reactions to the actual state of their marriage. In the brief dialogue with the husband, the intense tension builds up gradually, indicating that the woman's desire to have 'that poor kitty' is not altogether a whim.

There is a perceived similarity between the male character of *The Sea Change* and the wife of *Cat in the Rain*, introduced especially by means of the 'mirror scene'. Subsequently, this resemblance is developed when the wife engages in a one-sided dialogue with herself in front of the mirror. At some points in her increasingly idiosyncratic monologue, she stops to ask for confirmation from her husband that he shares her fantasy, but she doesn't really listen to his brief and uninteresting answers. Afterwards, she wilfully resumes her rather absurd one-sided dialogue by making suggestions, as to herself, of changes in her life: a series of apparently futile transformations (a change in her hairstyle, dinner by candles and silverware, new clothes, a kitty to look after) that eventually reveal distinct clashing mental spaces in her private world.

This scenario detailedly constructed by the female protagonist persists throughout the storyworld as a private mental space shared by the wife and the

reader. The girl's own awareness of the incongruity of the comparison between the input space with herself experiencing the sterility and boredom of her married life and her husband, George, refusing to respond sympathetically and satisfactorily, and the second input space with the American girl, now demoted from 'wife', who is longing for radical changes in her emotional life. It is important to notice that the first input space is causal for the second one. In other words, the first input is the actual mental image of an unsatisfactory marriage that triggers changes in the wife's behaviour and language, and eventually leads to the construction of a counterfactual space in which the seemingly unengaged American girl uses the language of a child, feels attached to the *padrone*, and seeks protection from adults.

In this very case, cause-effect and change are the Vital outer-space relations¹ connecting one input to another: the unsatisfactory development of their marriage is causal to the wife's demoting transformation into 'the American girl'. These types of mental links show that mental inputs are highly dynamic, even in the case of mental spaces that are connected by an outer-space identity link. In *Cat in the Rain*, for example, the wife who changes into a girl remains the same identical person, but the reader is required to recognize features of sameness or identity across individual mental spaces that illustrate contrasting differences in the evolution of the character. In one input space, the main character is the adult wife whose marriage has reached a standstill and also a point where questions cannot be answered by either of the two partners. It is in this space that the wife realizes that her marriage has deteriorated to the point of irreversible disintegration. Therefore, the second input space proposes a complete change: the wife is now 'the American girl' who cannot cope with the demands and standards of her married life. In her new role of an immature 'girl', the wife refuses to become involved in a marriage that forces her to take responsibilities and be committed at an age that is normally suitable for another lifestyle. The schematic structure of this mental space develops by recruiting relevant background knowledge regarding conventional features of marital life.

The notion of conceptual integration is apt at capturing the dynamic cross-mappings in *Cat in the Rain* that connect adult and child; more specifically, several distinct features of the input spaces of adult and child are projected onto the blend by compression. Readers ought to creatively extend the blend by projecting to the blended space the frame of marriage that comes from the space with the adult wife. In the blend, the wife is a girl engaged in a dysfunctional marriage - a mental scenario that is normally unacceptable by social and moral standards. Thus, the blended mental space introduces the American girl speaking the language of a child (e.g. the use of 'poor kitty' instead of 'cat') and expressing wishes that normally

¹ Mental mappings, known also as 'matchings' (Evans and Green 419) or 'vital relations' (Fauconnier and Turner 340) connect counterpart elements in distinct input spaces, giving thus rise to 'outer-space relations' (they are *vital* relations based on the frequency with which they appear in conceptual integration networks).

make the difference in a child's life (e.g. a new hairstyle that she hasn't tried yet, the first dinner at candlelight):

And I want to eat at a table with my own silver and I want candles. And I want it to be spring and I want to brush my hair out in front of a mirror and I want a kitty and I want some new clothes. (Hemingway 109)

The woman's new blended identity is constructed as a fusion of two input spaces, regarded as counterparts of each other. In this fashion, the features of the female character and those of a child are fused and compressed into a unique being: the appearances of a child match her desires, but she still has the body and mind of an adult. The new meaning emerging in the blend arises from the uncommon marriage of a male adult to a child, which becomes only possible in the imaginary blend. The result of the integration of the two input spaces is a 'double-scope' identity blend, since the two input spaces have different structures both in terms of personality and activities performed by the wife vs. the 'American girl'. This genuine double-scope blended story, like many double-scope blended stories, achieves meaningful use by inheriting some structure from them both.

By living out her impossible blended marriage, the female character starts to experiment feelings that are not clearly attached to any other previous mental spaces: the fear and anxiety aroused by the mismatch in her marriage. The story ends with a knock on the hotel door, a maid is sent by the hotel keeper to offer the wife a cat. The wife accepts the offering, aware that she will not be able to get the cat she saw outside. It is not accidental that Hemingway places the offering at the very end of his story – the maid is sent to the wife after she has fully experienced the blended space and has juggled with its emergent meaning.

Since the narration focusedly develops the wife's 'intramental thinking'¹, the conceptual integration network becomes entrenched only in her mind, and not in the mind of her husband, which reveals the wife's isolation and the husband's apparent act of emotional aloofness and his lack of involvement. The wife's deep sense of alienation leads to her inability to perceive herself outside the reflecting surfaces of intersecting mirrors (the window's and the mirror's glass) – a place parabolically inhabited by her blended identity. Her discomfort is expressed via the metaphoric transfer triggered by projecting the woman's act of bodily movement toward the window and her physical manipulation of the mirror: "She laid the mirror down on the dresser and went over to the window and looked out" (Hemingway 109) onto the following lengthier scene in which the wife longs for changes in her life (Hemingway stresses the female character's desires by persistently using the verb 'want').

The story of literal movement, physical grasping and manipulation of objects is projected onto an abstract story of manipulation. In her highly imaginative

¹ A. Palmer (2004) distinguishes between 'intramental' and 'intermental' thinking. On his view, the difference is between joint, socially shared thoughts as opposed to individual thinking (218-230).

blended story, the wife has taken over the new role of the ACTOR MANIPULATOR who is adept at manipulating her mental states. In Mark Turner's terms, "an actor in a nonspatial story of thinking is understood by projection from a spatial action-story of moving and manipulating" (Turner 1996: 43).

By becoming a self-empowered manipulator, the wife seems to be able to activate and run the blend effectively until the end of the story. That is, the reader perceives the events in the story exclusively through the female protagonist's eyes and consciousness, as she is presented as only slightly interacting with George, and no access is given to his mind.

In his illuminating remarks on double-scope stories, cognitive scholar M. Turner (2003) argues that human beings are able to simultaneously imagine conflicting scenarios that run counter to our present/ actual story without possibilities for confusion. The scholar further explains:

We might have expected evolution to build our brains in such a way as to prevent us from activating stories that run counter to our present circumstances, since calling these stories to mind risks confusion, distraction, disaster. Yet we do so all the time. A human being trapped inescapably in an actual story of suffering or pain may wilfully imagine some other, quite different story, as a mental escape from the present. (Turner 118)

Hemingway's female character resorts to this essential mental activity all the time and to such a great extent that she is on the point of annihilating the other 'real' story and decides (surely, not very resolutely) to live within the imaginary confines of her fantasy world. As the wife progressively and laboriously develops her blend, she is at all times mentally aware of her private blended space. Her husband is only part of the fictionally real space – a space his wife progressively loses touch with. The possibility of their coming apart increases as the husband is not involved in his wife's imaginary mental spaces, and perhaps more importantly, as we notice the blend to occupy a central place in the wife's private life. To put the same question still otherwise, the wife proves unable to decompress her identification of self with the 'girl in the mirror', which eventually leads to her increased inability to experience life 'outside the blend in the mirror'. She is the naïve believer in the force of living in the blend.

Conclusions

To conclude, in the analysis of *The Sea Change* and of *Cat in the Rain* with the cognitive framework of blending, it seems evident that a complex recovery of meaning in literary texts is neither a linear process, nor a combination of *all* elements and aspects contained in the input spaces. On this view, the reception of character emerges primarily from the new structure in the blend that is not the sum of *all* aspects concerning the character in the story, but results from a *partial* and

relevant projection of the input spaces¹. Understanding the thinking in Hemingway's short stories means reconstructing his fictional minds along with the characters' inner inclination to fantasize and imagine alternative mental spaces counter to fictional reality. Their complicated narrative realm becomes thus meaningful.

In an attempt to define narrative identity in Hemingway's underrepresented texts, I have proposed a theoretical framework that allows a detailed examination of the deepest levels of the text where mental spaces undergo constant transformations and enter in conflict with each other. Particularly, the approach to double-scope identity blends has shown that blending operates effectively over the clash produced by the disanalogy between the inputs so as to activate the blended space.

In the end, I do admit that a close analysis of the bends and turns of the reader's imagination involved in acts of reading short fiction with the tools of conceptual integration may not be available for many readers. It may be regarded as "an idealized version of comprehension" (Riddle Harding 2012: 249) that happens off-line rather than in real time. On closer inspection, however, it is a worthwhile enterprise and one of the most promising ones in the 'post-classical age' of narratology.

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¹"The input spaces give rise to **selective projection**. In other words, not all the structure from the inputs is projected to the blend, but only the matched information, which is required for purposes of local understanding. [...] much of the structure in the inputs is irrelevant to, or even inconsistent with, the emergent meaning under construction. This type of information is therefore not projected into the blend. Selective projection is one reason why different language users, or even the same language user on different occasions, can produce different blends from the same inputs." (Evans & Green 409)

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ECONOMY-BASED LANGUAGE CHANGE

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Abstract: Language change is everybody's nemesis, as well as achievement. Of the several major principles governing change ('economy', 'expressiveness', 'analogy' – see Deutscher, *The Unfolding of Language*), economy is most naturally associated with our hasty existence. Economy-based changes occur in various guises for reasons such as practicality, indirectness, stylistic effect, or the emergence of new media. Consequences are vast: for speakers, they may imply the re-shaping of speech communities; for language, they go far beyond mere word change. Can economy be weighed synchronically (against expressiveness, analogy) and diachronically (now vs several generations ago)? Do language changes occur in relation to certain cultural paradigms? And, finally: how could any conclusions on these issues help society?

Keywords: language change; “economy – expressiveness – analogy”; CMC; speech community

1. Language change: organized chaos

What is our language like, compared with that of previous generations – richer? More complex? Less stable? Many linguists agree that it changes now at a much faster pace than it used to do in the past. In present-day communication, change seems to be most prominent, on account of its close association with the ever widespread *computer-mediated communication* (CMC). Dizzied and confused, as it were, by those fast-paced changes, people of many speech communities are concerned that current language changes in a globalizing world is strongly indicative of loss of individual (all the way up to national) *identity*, ergo a deplorable state of cultural involution for entire layers of society, and the crumbling of “civilization as we know it”.

In (the back of) people's minds, language consists of “words, words, words”... (and maybe only then, of principles for their usage), so it is easy to see how change is first visible on that level. But language *is* much more than its vocabulary; and changes are possible in all departments – phonetic, morphological, syntactical, stylistic, semantic, or pragmatic. Language change comprises in general the following: *economy*, *analogy*, *expressiveness* (Deutscher: 62); *borrowings*; *new media* (bring about a need/a void to be (ful)filled with new forms); or simply *reality modification* (or perception modification) leading to speakers' adaptation to new contexts by creating new lexical forms via a full range of means.

Any actual alteration of language comes from sources that are more or less objective; depends, to a degree, on chance; is often hard to document with precision, as a recording of “absolute-first” occurrences is rarely possible (at least

in spoken expression). Social vectors turn linguistic in direct/indirect (overt/covert) ways, and the life of society is translated into the linguistic life of a community. Linguistic awareness makes understanding of change possible, but to record *all* the details of change would imply something of ...an effective *quantum-mechanics machine* for language. Most unfortunately – at least for inquiring linguists – such devices are not yet available (that is, most fortunately for the liberty of the people, Big Brother is not *so* big).

In many areas of linguistics it makes sense to study the mental grammar of the individual in isolation. Language change, however, cannot be understood solely as something that happens within an individual (even if individuals' grammars do change over their lifetimes), but rather must be understood as something that happens in a speech community, through the accumulation of interactions between individuals over time. Each of these interactions has a probabilistic character: which individuals will interact, which variant the speaker will produce, and how the listener's mental grammar and lexicon will be affected.
(Zuraw: 349)

Why do such changes take place? They serve people's needs "to save effort" in expression ('economy'; see Deutscher: 62), "to achieve greater effect . . . and extend their range of meaning" ('expressiveness'; *ibid*), and "to find regularity in language", which "is shorthand for the mind's craving for order" ('analogy'; *ibid*). In Deutscher's theory of language change, these are the triad of principal factors responsible for language change; they are naturally present, in active state, in all of us, and so of course nobody in particular is changing language – *everybody* is, rather.

Economy, analogy, and expressiveness are potentially, in a diversity of social contexts, *antagonistic* (e.g. economical-based shortening vs expressiveness-based lengthening of expression), and *complementary* (in the sense that obviously and objectively these three and their effects must be somehow balanced, otherwise change would have taken language "elsewhere"). Yet sometimes there is some *compatibility* among the three – the workings and the effects of one tendency assist, or are related in some way, to another's, e.g.

- expressiveness achieved by means of economy, as in texting and instant messaging – a variety of abbreviations including, most notably, *emoticons*: two-to-half-a-dozen-character-long structures made of alpha-numeric and punctuation signs, whose full expression of the idea would take a sentence – such as "I am smiling/frowning at what you're saying.", :-)/ :-(; or "I am [pretending to be] rolling on the floor laughing because of the mixup created.", =)) etc. (Find for instance a list of emoticons with respective character combinations online at Yahoo Singapore.) Some acronyms turn into words, and are used alternately in abbreviated/coded expression in certain (less formal) virtual environments (e.g. "to lol", "lollod", "lolling").

- effecting regularity via simplification (which is the usual vehicle of economy), e.g. very young children's construction of 'regular' past forms of irregular English verbs at the time of early acquisition¹. (Albeit a common experience, it is ephemeral and soon forgotten in the life of the individual).

NB. It should be noticed from the absence of the third possible combination that expressiveness and regularity are contradictory, therefore not so easily combined: while one basically relies on creativity and “disorder”, the other aims at rectifying irregularity, at giving familiar shape to language, by “trimming” any unusual or 'unaccountable-for' growth (cf. the massive reduction of '-en' plurals, to the advantage of '-s' plurals).

As the three means of language change are combined simultaneously by permanent practice within the speech community, the mission of assessing their weight in detail and with precision in society is an extremely difficult one. Although certain trends stand out at a given time (see developments in CMC), there is on the whole always a form of equilibrium, or of linguistic “checks and balances” that assists in preserving the general character of a natural language (or makes it possible for language to change fundamentally over *very* long stretches of time, such as for instance Old *synthetic* into Modern *analytic* English). In time, equilibrium prevails over one exacerbated “motive” or another; but that does not at all mean *immutability* – a living language is by definition a *changing* one.

To monitor language change is possible, and it actually happens via *corpus-linguistics* methods. Research groups endowed with adequate logistics – super-machines of exceptional computing power, huge storing capacity, and competent applications and work methodologies, – create pictures of the living language that are more comprehensive, more detailed, and more objective than whatever was possible in the past. We are not quite aware, though, if their insight in current developments is paired by accomplishments to match, either for the past (by using efficient *reconstruction*, – see Yule: 184ff) or for the future (say, by making a competent prognosis of the status of one language or another a century from now).

2. Economy: the least effort

Economy is in the most general sense a universal principle for all species, and in particular one regulating human behavior. To achieve the most by making the least effort possible is a universal feature in human behavior because *efficiency* (input measured against output) is paramount for people in achieving their goals (irrespective of size); moreover, by repeated practice, it becomes more and more so in the life of both the individual and the group, being improved and developed into routines, knowledge, expertise.

For the strict case of human communication, the relevance of economy (in all its particular forms) for successful exchange of information was acknowledged by semioticians, in particular in theories of redundancy that delve into 'real-life'

¹ Except for cases explicitly describing other languages in the text, all examples illustrate English.

aspects of how “a semiotic code . . . form[s] an infinite number of meaningful combinations using a small number of low-level units (offering economy and power). The infinite use of finite elements is a feature which in relation to media in general has been referred to as 'semiotic economy'.” (Chandler: 'Articulation')

In the philosophy of language, analysis of efficiency has been given organization since the middle of the 20th century. Vicentini, in a search for the origins of linguists' interest in economy, points out the contributions of George Kingsley Zipf (*Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort*, 1949) and, under his influence, André Martinet (*Économie des changements phonétiques*, 1955), – who “provided a coherent definition of linguistic economy . . . as the unstable balance between the needs of communication – which are always changing – and natural human inertia, two essential forces contributing to the optimization of the linguistic system” (Vicentini: 40).

For language in general, but in particular for language use (cf. in quotation below: “exchange”), of interest are approaches that analyze *amount of signs used* in direct relation to *amount of information retrieved*; it was Paul Grice who implicitly included economy among the guidelines known as the *Cooperative Principle – the Quantity Maxim* (1975):

. . . The category of Quantity relates to the quantity of information to be provided, and under it fall the following maxims:

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
 2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
- (The second maxim is disputable; it might be said that to be over-informative is not a transgression of the Cooperative Principle but merely a waste of time. . .)
(Grice: 26)

The apparent redundancy found in statements 1 and 2 in Grice – contribution “as informative as is required”/“not . . . more informative than is required” – may be taken at its face value as a manner of stressing the importance of quantity, i.e. that of ['non-anti'-]economical expression.

A certain *versatility* of economy, presumably in connection with its universal character, makes it necessary to clarify variations between several different aspects it assumes: the concept of economy, inscribed in people's minds as a valuable and immutable *modus operandi*, to be refined with aging; its practical side, visible in changing *discourse (langue)*, such as frequent ellipsis in everyday verbal expression; and finally actual language-changing economy (*langue*, and then consequently *parole*), e.g. the historical implementation of any given form of economy (after that transition, there is a discernible new feature generalized in the practices of the speech community).

The reasons for effecting economy are fundamentally practical in nature: in contexts where there are space limitations (such as, in CMC, the 140/160-character size limitation of messages); limited availability for an open channel, or other time

limitations; cost per message/discourse unit transmission (or cost per time unit of access to channel); or – on the stylistic side of things – brevity as an expectation or a requirement in certain forms of communication.

A more recent reason is the successive creation and ever-spreading availability of new communication channels (particularly via *e-communication/CMC*). In all its guises, and for all languages used in channels functioning under virtual/digital reality, new technology creates new media instantly awaiting/inviting users to fill the 'void' space (rather than the classic pattern of new socially-motivated needs of communication for which new media used to be developed over longer periods). New relationships are thus established.

In virtual environments, as hierarchies dissipate and become irrelevant (social, cultural, or geographic eccentricity diminishes), human interaction benefits from a certain democratization based on anonymity. The intrinsic nature of the new medium is favorable to the building of a new level of society: “This can create a sense of being close to one another. Since sending messages via computer is generally less expensive than using long distance telephone (let alone travel), computer mediation can greatly increase the opportunities people have to use language with those far away.” (Baym: 524)

Any direct help given to economical expression may come in the sense in which the latter (i) turns colloquial and (ii) allows for in-group behavior; both stances are fertile grounds for shortened forms of expression, most significantly *abbreviations* (at least in some media or along some channels):

The reasons for using abbreviated forms are obvious enough. One is the desire for linguistic economy. . . . Succinctness and precision are highly valued, and abbreviations can contribute greatly to a concise style. Technological constraints may be important, as with text-messaging. . . . Abbreviations also help to convey a sense of social identity: to use an abbreviated form is to be 'in the know' – part of the social group to which the abbreviation belongs.

(Crystal 2012: 120)

Forms and examples of economy-oriented language change should be taken into account from several different perspectives, possible trends in this respect seen against previously established standards: *lexical* (significant variation of length both for in-language word-formation and for borrowings); *grammatical* (syntactic and other reductions); *phonetic* (various contractions etc); *discursive* (quantitative assessment and shortening of both individual and group contribution in exchanges); and *global* (what reductions or simplifications occur in speech communities in synchronicity, for two or more languages in interaction – most notably now: English plus any other).

Language being considered diachronically, economy serves as one natural explanation for certain distinctions between recent and older phenomena. If recent observations pointing at major shifts occurring in our experience of language are at all correct (see theories of *language death/extinction*), the arguments in the

paragraphs below aim to assist in distinguishing between the *then* and the *now* of language:

‘Classic’ economy-based change includes...

cases of languages changing fundamentally, e.g. Old English as a highly-inflected language, a *synthetic* one, turning into analytic Modern English: more words are needed after the change, comparatively, to express the same message, and *shorter* ones too – morphemes are separated and most of them work either as 'meaning-carriers' or as 'instruments'. (See Glatthorn et al: 85ff) On the whole, the two opposite phenomena – economy and expansion – more or less *compensate* each other.

smaller-scale changes, e.g. the case of late-seventeenth-century English loss of second-person singular T-forms *thou*, *thee*, *thine*, and *thy*, to be replaced by previously-V, later-on T/V-*plus*-singular/plural forms *you*, *you*, *yours*, and *your*, a more 'compact', simplified set. (The T/V distinction underwent later on modifications in its use.)

In Modern Romanian, in contrast, many words that have survived from Vulgar Latin display shortenings, e.g.: Lat. *caballus* > Rom. *cal*, but such shortened words are in their turn lengthened in use (cf. *calului*, the Dative/Genitive singular form with a definite article) so that Romanian is synthetic (*fewer*, and longer words per sentence), much like Latin itself, or French. (In conclusion, these tendencies – in a relationship reversed from the OE-to-ME case cited above – are also 'compensated' on the whole.)

ellipsis, a device for dropping any expendable elements of discourse; according to Abbas and Mugair, it is *situational*, “where it is required from the listener to think backwards or forwards and to look around him for the most obvious referent”; *structural*, whereby “the full form is recoverable not through knowledge of context but simply through knowledge of grammatical structure”; and *textual*, – “either anaphoric or cataphoric since it is a relation within the text”. Furthermore, the two authors consider this form of eliminating redundancy “common to all styles of speaking and writing”. (see Abbas and Mugair)

Wordplay based on drastic reduction in expression has a long tradition. In a famous case from 1750, Frederick II of Prussia, at Sans Souci Palace in Potsdam, wrote a mysterious, succinct message to his good friend Voltaire: *P/6 heures a 6/100* (Frederick's invitation varies in wording from one source to another); Voltaire's answer was even more laconic: *G a*. The exchange reads, in standard wording, “Six heures souper à Sans Souci.” – “J'ai grand appetit.” (see Desto)

Liberalization of discourse is obvious in the drastic shortening of opening and closing formulas, in correspondence and in similar or related forms of communication, in English and in other languages. In Romania in particular, even in the brief span across the year 1989, the official title of the president of the Romania is reduced in an official context to a mere five

words (“Domnul, Prenume, Nume, Președintele României” i.e. *Mr, [First Name], [Surname], the President of Romania*) – from, previously, about *twenty* or even more. Similar, if not so drastic, are cases of liberalization or just 'relaxation' in a variety of cases where some formality or another is expected.

Electrical telegraphy (since 1837) was for a century and a half the principal means of asynchronous transmission of text anywhere in the network being available. Cable messages were famously short, as well as composed of shortened words. Toward the end of the 20th century, prior to the implementation of electronic mail, telex was an improvement – but it did not last very long.

Finally, actual changes based on economy: they occur mainly on the *phonetic* level (examples can be supplied from most basic contractions to forms of drifting away from initially-established corresponding written forms: ['misiz], ['sevrɪ], or ['wenzdi]) and in *lexis* (abbreviations: “Rt Hon.”, “Dr”, “Rev.”; acronyms: “radar”, “USA”; clippings: “coon”, “phone”, “varsity”; portmanteaux: “motel”, “smog”). It should be said that such changes remain in practice in the present.

'Contemporary' economy consists for the most part of...

- thousands of computer-related abbreviations and several hundred *emoticons* in texting and other messaging, matched by more and more resources spent on editing, transmitting, and storing such communications. Yet, mentioning people's “dislike” for *texting*, Crystal comments “I am fascinated by it, for it is the latest manifestation of the human ability to be linguistically creative and to adapt language to suit the demands of diverse settings. In texting we are seeing, in a small way, language in evolution.” (Crystal 2008: 175).
- International communication among native and non-native speakers of English, most prominently but not only CMC, integrates English into local codes, so that the two languages 'assimilate' each other: the two given vocabularies, pronunciation systems, grammars, even semantics, undergo reciprocal 'morphing'. In the particular case of 'English Romanian', massive borrowing occurs on the more technical or formal levels of language (this in spite of equivalent native terms extant), while dropping diacritics (using 'English' characters instead of the local set) is generalized; in 'Romanian English' (the use of English by Romanians as the expected code in their interaction with foreigners), the local phonetic system is often preferred (English diphthongs reduced to vowel sounds; /æ/, /θ/, /ð/ etc pronounced as the nearest native sound, and so on), along with an assortment of deceptive cognates, as well as other Romanian features, linguistic or not. In one manner of speaking or another, such phenomena may count as forms of economy, especially in the sense of a 'simplification-by-standardization' taking place.

- fewer *and* shorter words in discourse units (in media of restricted space as cell-phone texting, Twitter, Internet Messenger and so on): MS's *IE*, Yahoo's *omg!*, IM's *ro(t)fl*, or e-mail's *spam*,... while computer file ('.odt', '.pdf', '.rtf'), or URL ('.com', '.info', '.org' etc) extensions are objectively restricted in length (objective factor), as well as other cases of economy being objective on technological grounds. All shortened forms we encounter daily (in CMC or elsewhere) being given, few can imagine the extent reached by this phenomenon: “The *Acronyms, Initialisms & Abbreviations Dictionary* published by the Dale Research Company contained over 586,000 entries in its 29th edition (2001).” (Crystal 2012: 121)
- Written CMC is often analyzed following the distinction *synchronous* (e.g. texting, instant messaging, chatrooms, MUD/multi-user domains) vs *asynchronous* communication (e-mail, weblogs, online newspapers, newsagencies, webboards, bulletin boards, news-groups). It is obviously the synchronous forms that favor – because of the time restrictions – economical forms.
- Although the success of economical forms is somewhat limited because they are not usually accepted as prestige variants (whether contractions 'gonna', or 'ain't', or the IT&C jargon in general), in categories of speakers for whom prestige is temporarily irrelevant (younger individuals prior to their 'absorption' by the establishment), such forms are assumed 'for the time being', linguistic behavior usually delayed, intended for change at a later time.
- On the contrary, smooth manipulation of the massive IT jargon relies heavily on thousands of acronyms and other economical devices, rather than using the corresponding full forms, highly impractical (e.g., in contrast, DSSSL – “Document Style Semantics and Specification Language”; SDRAM – “Synchronous Dynamic Random Access Memory”; WYSIWYG – “What You See Is What You Get” etc). In the same vein, several-hundred-character long URL are often found on complex-structure, 'arborescent' websites, but they are, as a rule, automatically generated; whereas “good” URL (home pages) are easily keyed in (e.g. *eol.org*) – and web browsers will remember previous experience and suggest URL syntax.
- Finally, economy of a different kind – doing much more via a minimalist behavior based on the principles of ergonomics raised to a higher level: vocal input of written text, text editors anticipating (from most powerful desktop machines to simplest phones) the author's intentions based on previous behavior, as well as many other forms of user-friendly, fool-proof technical endowment dedicated to the well-being of the client: from features that allow an integrated set of functions between different applications, the automatic application of a myriad functions via a minimum of commands, to the so-called (in 'English Romanian')

Copy/Paste(/Print) approach to creativity (and originality) in the Romanian establishment of researchers and scientists, now in full swing.

Counter-economical are politeness and/or indirectness, which lengthen discourse (or, as an alternative, conformity with style and register established as custom in the community, conceded to out of inertia or due to reasons other than politeness); and formality is another factor. These are often encountered as “political correctness” (PC), particularly in the linguistic environments of the Anglosphere and in contact areas where other languages of the Global West are in use.

In relation to one another, economy, analogy, and expressiveness behave as follows:

- economy and analogy are highly compatible: making order in language compartments *does* mean, in principle, acting economically (see T/V shift; the dropping of “-en” in infinitives and plurals mentioned above).
- expressiveness is quite selectively compatible with economy and analogy; stylistic effect has ever been popular, but expressiveness being practiced via simplification is and remains a rare thing.

3. Conclusions: languages (and people) changing

Altogether, Deutscher's triad is a powerful set of factors in language change. Their productivity is higher than in other cases – which is also because the terms are more general than, and include other means for linguistic evolution. The social vectors for these are the most liberal groups: comparatively younger, more connected, and more educated. For languages such as Romanian, it is English that comes with prestige, due to spectacular developments in IT, economic might, and cultural influence (the music and film industry in particular).

Other consequences of economy include re-assembling the speech communities alongside lines of change that are inspired by the new globalizing (first of all, electronically-wise) developments. Consequently, in ways that carry more and more social significance, society is divided into (now, electronically) literates and illiterates. Finer divisions apply here – between the Highly Connected (active denizens of Those Social Networks) and those who are less so (say, using just e-mail and a cellphone with basic functions).

Although connectivity significantly helps promote multiculturalism and diversity, the effects are to a considerable extent in the opposite direction – the more powerful cultures assimilate those less so, while possibly adopting some traits of those assimilated in the process (which entitles Roger Fischer, author of *A History of Language*, to state the possibility that within a few centuries, the total number of languages will decrease from ca 4,000 to... 1: “. . . perhaps in the late twenty-fourth century, only English could well be left as the world's sole survivor language, together with its sign language counterpart. However, history has taught that such predictions are usually invalid.” (Fischer: 219).

Language awareness is about the special case when speakers develop “explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use” (ALA), and it may have a greater impact in language change than non-LA-driven change – PC is a good example of speakers acting with a purpose while aiming at language change; their relative success is also an exceptional instance of expressiveness gaining against economy and analogy.

Given the direct relationship between language and identity, thinking, culture, and finally social organization and political life, the implications of those language-change phenomena tend to gain high relevance in our lives. One can wonder what an English-speaking world would really be like in the smaller aspects of individual and group existence – would the best parts, i.e. representative democracy, successful individualism and initiative (of the Protestant mind frame) be assimilated along with the language? Or would those things contributed by the assimilated prevail, and the 'winner' stand unrecognized in the ancestor of our time? Given all proven adaptability of the human race and all imperious calls to globalization, people of the 24th century seem unlikely to be united under one language, one culture (or a unique form of thinking).

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