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I CULTURAL STUDIES

**BLACKS IN THE AMERICAN NATION?
TESTIMONIES OF 19th-CENTURY GENRE PAINTINGS**

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1. Introduction

Postmodern theorists, including Benedict Anderson (1991), Werner Sollors (1989), Terry Pickett (1996), and Julia Kristeva (1991), regard modern nations as ideologically framed, artificial constructions. Many scholars, such as Louis Althusser (1971), Pierre Bourdieu (1977), Michel Foucault (1980) and Stuart Hall (1996), position culture as central to the process of nation formation. As the United States is a young country that represents so-called official (Kellas, 1991: 52), religious-ideological (Eisenstadt, 2002: 56) or geo-political (Smith, 1995: 135) nationhood, a nation that developed not out of an ethnic group – which was often the claim presented in Europe – but of a group’s geographical unity and political/ideological identification, it may prove an exciting example for the study of nationhood and its construction.

Nation construction is an ongoing process with significant elements tied to particular historical moments. One of these in the context of American nationhood regarded the treatment of the Black population in the middle of the 19th century, on the eve of the Civil War, the conflict which ended slavery in the US and established a legal framework for the integration of the former slave society into the American nation. This essay looks at the ways this new challenge was captured in a tiny segment of American culture, namely genre painting of the mid-19th century, and maps the ways genre painters depicted Blacks in relation to other people and thus imagined their position in the American nation.

2. The Jacksonian era and genre painting

The period in question was part of a new cultural, economic and political era, usually referred to as the Jacksonian period, starting with the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828. The era witnessed the North shifting from commerce to major industrialization, with the South participating in this growth

by satisfying the increasing demand for cotton in the textile industry, which in turn strengthened slavocracy in the South. Moreover, the West, offering unlimited land and absorbing an ever-increasing flow of immigrants, expressed the concepts of manifest destiny and American progress, which represented elemental forces that shaped American society. In this historical context, the election of Jackson to the presidency as what Brown et al. calls “the champion of the common man” (1987: 160) bore the promise of cooperation and harmony between these regions, ultimately contributing to the constitution of American national unity and identity.

Genre painting came to prominence during this time. Drawing primarily on the Düsseldorf tradition, genre painters depicted common scenes, typical, daily activities of the ordinary men, thus were “concerned with man’s common social relations and activities in a general sense” (Brown et al., 1987: 220). If it is indeed the case, it may be of interest to see how these artists represented one segment of the common people, Blacks, in a period of political maneuvering aimed at economic and social harmonization, which, as the Civil War later signified, was ultimately unsuccessful.

An effort of this endeavor is especially captivating as John Michael Vlach in his *The Planter’s Prospect: Privilege and Slavery in Plantation Paintings* found that, unlike expected, slaves were excluded from antebellum plantation paintings. He concluded that these paintings served the privileged white Southern population in claiming power over the region. He contended that, based on the plantation paintings, “white people, by default, would have to be recognized as the primary occupants” (Vlach, 2002: 4). These works offered the “visual confirmation of their claims to power and authority ... [and] offered a soothing propaganda that both confirmed and justified the social dominance of the planter class” (Vlach, 2002: 4).

3. Black figures in genre paintings

And, although Hugh Honour was right when he concluded that during the first half of the 19th century “the whole Black presence was understated in paintings of the American scene” (quoted in Vlach, 2002: 4), genre painting emerged as a style which depicted Black figures in a number of works. In fact, this was the very first style to integrate Blacks frequently in the composition in American painting. This section offers a theme-based iconological reading of a representative selection of paintings, also introducing the highly simplistic

typology of the age, reflective of contemporary social typification regarding Blacks.

3.1. Music and Blacks

William Sidney Mount (1807-1868) was the first master of genre painting. He was from Long Island and painted life as he saw it in the rural northeast. He traveled around in his mobile studio and each time he caught a glimpse of something noteworthy, he stopped his horse and immediately made a sketch of what he saw. His paintings present a cast of American characters, men and women, adults and children, whites and blacks. A series of his paintings depict Blacks either playing or listening to music, already signifying an elemental cultural association between African Americans and this art form. Two single portraits, *The Banjo Player* (1830) and *The Bone Player* (1856) depict African Americans playing music. Both representations convey an image in which the musicians are just like any white man in terms of their clothing and pose. However, on closer observation, the banjo player is more reminiscent of an entertainer (see his funny, childish hat) while the bone player may evoke an image of a mulatto playing the castanets. Both are romanticized portraits, depicting Blacks as fitting into mainstream society through their outward appearance, but not by their actions – both are engaged in playing instruments specifically associated with Blacks.

The third picture, *The Power of Music* (1847), captures two very separate realms: on the left, inside the barn, protected by its wall and roof, as if on an elevated platform, we can see a group of three white men, probably farm laborers, who have gathered in their free time to play music. Separate from them is a Black man standing by himself: although he is invisible for them, he is the central figure of the composition. His separate sphere is accentuated by his position in a number of ways: he is standing alone, on the lower ground level, outside, in the heat of the sun, leaning against the barn door, longingly listening to the music filtering from the inside. This image shows how he is dissociated from, if not deprived of, the cultural capital his people tend to be associated with. Instead, symbolically, he is marked by his worn coat – old, already patched, but still clean – and his hat, doffed, as well as by the liquor bottle and the axe both carelessly placed on the ground next to him. His marked difference becomes more apparent when compared to the figure standing on the other side of the door: although his body is exactly in the same position, he is

visually signified as different in many, essentially superficial ways regarding appearance.

Ambivalence has been associated with these paintings. Some, such as Deborah J. Johnson et al., interpreted Mount's depictions of Blacks as allegorical commentaries of a painter, a Democrat at heart, on slavery. Others disagree. For example, in his criticism of Johnson, Alan Moore makes the argument that "these paintings suggest a nostalgia for a time before abolition ended ...in the North in the early 1800s" (1999). He contended that Mount's "sentimental recollection of African-Americans must come from his experience" (Moore, 1999), growing up in a slaveholding family on Long Island. While I agree that Mount painted idealized images of Blacks, I regard these as expressive of a transitory phase and thus reflective of Jacksonian efforts: on the one hand, the whitening of the Blacks had begun in these portraits, in a highly superficial way, as marked by their clothing and pose, while their difference was also marked. However, this difference was represented as evocative of a deeply rooted cultural distinction symbolized by the cultural capital of music. The longing face of the Black man in *The Power of Music*, I would argue, is not expressive of his fully grown self-awareness and subsequent desire to reclaim this cultural capital, nor of his longing for the past and some antebellum mistreatment; it rather signifies his desire to join the white group, in concrete as well as in symbolic terms, and to share in their joy of music—and of life.

3.2. Blacks resting

Another popular Mount piece is *Farmers Noonning* (1836). This is a group composition, with two distinct vignettes, to use Nona Martin's term. One is on the left side, comprised of a group of three farmers taking their noon break, with one of them reading and the others simply lolling about. The second vignette is on the right, constructed around the heystack, where a Black man is lying with a child just about to tickle him. The group of three men are yet again protected, not by a barn, but by the shade of the tree, leaving no place for the Black man who is lying a bit further away, in the sun, with arms apart and with his whole front exposed to the viewer, with the handle of a pitch fork sticking diagonally out of the haystack – though it could almost be sticking into him. This Black man shares his sphere with the white boy, also wearing a strikingly white shirt, who is completely at liberty to play a trick on him. This depiction

induces the shared social standing and treatment of Blacks and children, but on closer inspection, it in fact even positions white boys above Black men. Theodore Stebbins et al. also interpreted the portrayal as non-sympathetic of the Black man, claiming that he “is posed like the Barberini Faun, a life-sized marble statue of the second century ... its pose, suggesting sleep or a drunken stupor, was considered undignified, indecent, even immoral” (1983: 257).

A very similar image appears in a less finely executed painting by another genre painter, James Clonney, entitled *Waking Up* (1851). It depicts a Black man having fallen asleep while fishing, in a vulnerable position, with his front exposed to us, and with a white boy putting a feather up to the man’s nose to amuse himself and his friend, another little boy. The Black man is signified by his position: by the act of sleeping in the sun, totally unaware of anything around him; by being absolutely unprotected, with his hands down and his full chest exposed; by the basket on the right, with the bottleneck and the handle of some tool sticking out; and by being a plaything for the two boys. The overall positioning and vulnerability of the Black person express a broader social taxonomy in quite simple visual terms, which is the same as the one conveyed in the previous painting.

3.3. Blacks and politics

Political participation in general was an area of definite concern: the system which operated through the exclusive participation of Protestant white males of firm financial standing was obviously corrupt as well as exclusivist, also of Blacks and women. The Missourian George Bingham (1811-79) is quite interesting as he was a successful painter as well as a politician – a member of the Whig Party, which existed between 1834-54 and represented the joint interests of northern fiscal conservatives and Southern abolitionists. Although he considered himself primarily a painter, he is the only genrist who also painted a series of narrative paintings on political participation. One of these is a work entitled the *Verdict of the People* (1855).

A fascinating painting, it features a lone Black man in the composition: the man on the left, pushing a barrel of liquor, an incentive frequently used to influence voters’ behavior and to celebrate the winner, across the scene. He is the only person working. His social standing is also marked by his clothing: worn, a bit dirty, with a pirate’s scarf covering his head. The improper appearance of the wheelbarrow, a symbol of hard physical labor, at the election

scene also positions the appearance of the Black man as inappropriate. Interestingly, while the image of the Black man frames the painting on the left, coming from the dark area below, some women, also excluded from voting, follow the events on the right, from high above, standing on a balcony, looking down at the scene as if the guardian angels of the family, and by extension of society, as claimed by the ideology of Victorian domesticity and genteel womanhood.

The interpretation of this painting is yet again, quite ambiguous. On the one hand, critics such as Nancy Rush and Angela Miller argue for a single ambition in Bingham's two careers, claiming that his painterly ambition supported his political conviction and vice versa. On the other hand, Jonathan Weinberg, among others, claims that his visual political narratives are primarily proof of his artistic profession, expressive much more of his frustration with and criticism of the voting process than its idealization and propagation. Proof to this claim, it seems to me, would be the inclusion of representatives of the two major disenfranchised groups from suffrage: women and people of color.

Two other paintings, James Clonney, *Politicians in a Country Bar* (1844) and Richard Woodville, *War News from Mexico* (1848) are further examples of visual marginalization, both of Blacks and women, in the realm of politics. In Clonney's painting, the central composition of the active white men involved in a heated political debate is framed by two standing figures. The Black man on the left watches the central group in a distanced manner, comfortably leaning back, as if being a non-interested observer, while the woman on the right is involved – at least at the level of providing booze for the men. Woodville's painting also marginalizes both Blacks and women: an elderly woman can be seen at the far right, with an expression of worry and concern on her face while listening to the war news being read, while the Black man with a child, placed below everyone, as if located on the social ladder, attentively listens to the reading. Their clothes, ragged and dirty, signify their separate status from the others, but their deep interest, marked by their body posture and facial expression, indicate their involvement.

3.4. Black life

There are very few paintings from the antebellum era that convey images of Black life. Thus, Eastman Johnson's *Old Kentucky Home (Negro Life at the South)* (1859) is indeed a ground-breaking piece, depicting a moment of

relaxation in the life of a slave Black family. The painting is dominated by an old, shabby-looking house, the family home, whose members are depicted as involved in various activities that, I would propose, were regarded as typical for Black life. “Six isolated vignettes are incorporated into this slave scene – a courting couple, a woman with a baby protruding from the second-floor window, a banjo player and a young boy, a woman and her dancing children, two girls at play and a richly attired, light-skinned woman and her companion” (Martin, 2006).

This is another painting of dubious reception and interpretation, as marked by its extreme popularity. To abolitionist viewers, the decaying surroundings and the crumbling house signified the institution of slavery, its state conveying the approach of its inevitable end, presenting the family members, most of whom are already outside of the building, as being aware of an institution about to collapse and coming through as definite survivors. Supporters of slavery, however, rather focused on the romanticizing and nostalgic tone of the painting: the narrative they mapped was that of a large slave family, members of which stayed together in a big home and, although they lived a life of hard labor, they still enjoyed times of rest and pleasure together. The figure of the young white woman strengthened this notion of innocence and harmonious co-existence of slaves and masters further, in an idealized world in which Black slaves did not pose a threat to white society, but lived together in a state of harmony. And, although interpretations long allowed for the latter view, I consider this painting rather as a criticism of the pro-slavery view – after all, the rooster on the roof is generally used to signify the wake-up call, thus symbolizing dawn, the beginning of a new era. And should anyone have any doubt, another painting by Eastman, *A Ride for Liberty – The Fugitive Slaves* (1862), clearly reveals that Eastman’s sympathy lay with the slaves, and not their holders.

4. The constitution of a new nationhood

The previous images proved the variety of ways in which Blacks were depicted in antebellum genre paintings. Often, the integration of the Black figure in the composition was informed by the political convictions of the painters, who were able to enter into the public discourse on slavery and the nature of Blacks via their visual depictions. As the art market was most prominent in the Northeast, one might say that these depictions were much

more framed by the ideological expectations of the Northern audience and expressed their need for social containment and political support in cultural terms. If this is the case, these were more the products of painterly ambitions than political convictions. It seems to me, however, that they were in fact both.

But, more importantly, the paintings above were conceived in the desire to normalize: to draw urban and rural closer, to bring East, South and West into harmony, to integrate the marginal into the mainstream. The strategies of style adopted in genre painting promoted a series of images that were also marketable. Because of the romanticizing style applied as well as the ambiguity of the depictions, these images often became sought-after commodities not only in the North, but in the South as well. As a result, they appeared in the emerging inter-regional, in other words, national art market circulation, as materialized by the extremely successful operation of the American Art Union, an organization that, in fact, helped popularize many of these paintings.

Interestingly, while genre painting has been regarded as a style committed to establishing national integrity, the rendering of Blacks in this endeavor also had a set of diverse geo- and socio-political implications. Therefore, while the desire might initially have been to achieve an artistic visual integration of the physical and social landscapes, these paintings in fact contributed as much to the division between them by allowing for a multiplicity of interpretations, resultant of the romanticizing strategies applied which concealed particular problems and catered to national sentiments. However, the plurality of these preferred cultural products that matched individual regional readings and therefore the Black experience – as conceptualized by the white painterly gaze – was transformed into a cultural product suitable for the wide national consumption.

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VOYAGING WITH CALEDONIAN SCHOLARS AND TRADERS

MAGDA DANCIU

University of Oradea

Motto: "Scotland?"

A poor province

A neglected province. A despised province

But four hundreds of years back we conceived

Ourselves to be a chosen people. We had a leader then"

(A. Gray, *The Fall of Kelvin Walker*)

A close examination of contemporary Scottish writing might reveal the authors' constant concern for foregrounding traditional Scotland, either in its bare genuine dimensions or as an imaginary combination of the historical past and the present experimental trend meant to create that postmodern topos so much celebrated for its unicity and difference, separateness in a permanent attempt to contest the centralisation of culture through the valuing of local and peripheral.

The challenge to negotiate the space between the margin and the center is rendered both by the landscapes, that is, the local topography, and the language, used to define a different subjectivity and to contextualize an eccentricity, thus constructing a narrative that reflects liminality on the one hand, and on the other hand, an ambiguity of the frontier in terms of geographical and historical spaces.

Authorising Scottishness as an element included in a greater picture of cultural hybridities, emerging in certain moments of historical transformations (e.g. the victory of the Scottish Parliament in 1999) remains one of the dominant criteria in the permanent strife to define the ethos of a nation with a long history of despair and deprivation of the national identity, marked by a sense of deracination and spiritual homelessness.

The validation of Scottish experience is being granted by contemporary writers, much aware of the vernacular energies emerging from class, political and national issues, as well as from the freedom of imagination nowadays encouraged by the postmodern attempt to subvert any "supposedly monolithic culture" (Hutcheon, 1988: 198).

City of Anger and Frustration. Picturing Glasgow

In 1981, Alasdair Gray published *Lanark: A Life in Four Books* and the book caused a radical change in Scottish literature because it couched a vision of the Scottish urban wasteland in the postmodernist idiom, highly innovative in terms of its narrative, descriptions and corporality of the book, pointing towards “a new emancipation from the restrictions of the past” (Wallace, 1993: 228). Combining elements of science fiction and fantasy, Gray describes Glasgow as the site where the Scotsmen’s powerful myth-making faculty can create a panoramic vision of modern industrialized life that has led to the collapse of the city into “poverty, anarchy, disaster” (Gray, 1981: 545), thus turning Glasgow into a victim of those “destructive forces which prey upon the life of modern industrial cities” (Stevenson, 1991: 46).

The exploration of the city reveals the image of a strange world, gone into prostration and deterioration:

“Buildings burned in the city below. The glossy walls of the tower blocks reflected flickering glares upon a small knot of people between the monuments and the summit (...) The ground is level again ... and the fire is spreading (...) First the fire, then the flood (...) A blast of cold wind freshened the air. The rushing grew to surges and gurglings and up the low road between Necropolis and cathedral sped a white foam followed by ripples and plunging waves with gulls swooping and crying over them” (Gray, 1981: 556-557).

In *Mavis Belfrage. A Romantic Novel* (1996, Bloomsbury, London), Glasgow is tenderly minimized and then aggressively maximized, to symbolize victimization. “It began as a city with a castle inside. I was so keen to make a really safe city that now most of the castle goes round the edge. It’s not finished – I’m still working on it” (Gray, 1996: 28). Then it turns into a symbol of Scotland’s exploitation by the empire, “this is an evil city which has grown great by conquering weaker people outside. But now it has sunk into decadence and corruption” (1996: 49); it finishes by being destroyed and engulfed by the decaying forces that “exploited outsiders” (1996: 49).

James Kelman’s *Busconductor Hines* (1984) shares the dynamic of “this grey but old city” by a fabricated existential duplicity: he lives partly in his imaginary world, and partly in the real world of the simultaneously boring and loathing Glasgow, concealing mixed feelings of both hope and anger:

“How d’you fancy a potted history of this grey but gold city, a once mighty bastion of the Imperial Mejisteh(...) a centre of Wordly Enterprise. (...). Into the libraries you shall go (...) then the art galleries and museums, (...) the palaces of the people, the subways and the graveyards and the fucking necropolises, the football parks then the barrows on Sunday morning” (Kelman, 1984:90).

In spite of its glorious long history there is a complete lack of cinic interest for the prosperity of the place.

“Glasgow’s a big city, all the life etc. The scraggy mongrels, they go moseying along near the inside of the pavement then to the outside and maybe off across the street to sniff other pastures. Hereabouts the district is a matter of sniffs. A myriad of things at your nostrils. The decayed this and the decayed that. A patch of tenements set for the chop” (1984: 167-168).

In *A Chancer* (1985), Kelman defines the landscape of the text by using the local topography, a world of home, populated with hopeless characters, ordinary people against an ordinary background:

“Out on the pavement they ran to the left side of the building down a lane of cobbled stones, their footsteps echoing round the tenement buildings” (Kelman, 1985: 135).

“Outside in the lane the frost glinted on the brickwork and close in at the foot of the walls white showed on the tips of some weeds” (1985: 138).

”The Clyde was not too far distant now and wide gap-sides had appeared. On one of them stood a pub, its brickwork showing it was once the ground level of an ordinary sized tenement building” (1985: 232).

Edwin Muir’s “Hell of unbearable mechanical repetition” (Craig, 1999: 110) can hardly be recognized by Gray’s Lanarkian hero Duncan Thaw, inheritor of Glaswegian Scottish culture after a process of erasure due to the effects of political and social changes:

“ ‘Glasgow is a magnificent city (...). Why do we hardly ever notice that?’ ‘ Because nobody imagines living here (...). They think of Florence, Paris, London, New York. Nobody visiting them for the first time is a stranger because he’s already visited them in paintings, novels, history books and films. But if a city hasn’t been used by an artist not even the inhabitants live there imaginatively. What is Glasgow to most of us? A house, the place we work, a football park or golf course, some pubs and connecting streets. That’s all. No, I’m wrong, there’s also the cinema and library. And when our imagination needs exercise we use these to visit London, Paris, Rome under the Caesars, the American West at the turn of the century, anywhere but here and now. Imaginatively Glasgow exists as a music-hall song and a few bad novels. That’s all

we've given to the world outside. It's all we've given to ourselves. (...) Glasgow never got into the history books except as a statistic" (Gray, 1981: 243-244).

Seen as a social environment lacking imagination and happenings, Glasgow needs transfiguring mostly because in 1990 that city "was the official capital of Europe - culturally speaking" (Gray, 1990: 251) as it displays late-capitalist life in Scotland in terms of poverty, revolt, dissatisfaction, industrial squalor, unemployment – consequences of modern world technology implementation process in a place which exists "in denial of connection with the past or with an alternative future" (Craig, 1999: 131). What William McIlvanney called a cancerous city, in Alasdair Gray's *Something Leather* becomes "a mastapiece of Victorian and Edwardian architectcha", it is "in Scotland and from our point of view Scotland is slightly like Rhodesia in the early years of the century (...). Glasgow once had the strongest local government that was outside London (...). Glasgow had set an example of independent action which should be followed by every local authority in the United Kingdom" (Gray, 1990: 171-173).

The decaying city also embodies the spirit and the history of Scotland taken over by the effects of contemporary technologization and progress:

"Glasgow now means nothing to the rest of Britain but unemployment, drunkenness and out-of-date radical militancy. Her nuclear destruction will logically conclude a steady peacetime process. It is a pity about Edinburgh. It has almost nothing to do with Glasgow but stands too near to go unscathed. Let us hope that only the people die and the buildings and monuments are undamaged, then in a few years the festival can resume as merrily as ever"(Gray, 1985: 136).

Angry People in the City of Anger

"Glasgow needs a working class novel written from the inside" – Neil Gunn wrote in *Glasgow Herald* as early as in 1930s; his wish came true about fifty years later with the texts of Alasdair Gray, James Kelman or William McIlvanney, to name only the well known novelists whose Glaswegian voice was both a formal and a technical breakthrough that suited the intentions of the authors "to help ordinary people to become aware that books and writers are not sacred and unapproachable" (Kravitz, 1997: XVI). They focused on these people inhabiting a country in which you would rather "leave or die than stay or arrive" (XXIV) helping them achieve a special status through facts, deeds,

language while resisting the dehumanizing effects of the society, that is, loss of meaning, direction and authenticity.

William McIlvanney's "Hard man", the carrier and enactor of a working class experience, is angry, quick-tempered, sometimes violent both physically and verbally, permanently fighting to solve his problems, dissolved in an unfair battle between "a preempted position in the society and the personal aspiration between socialism and existentialism" (Danciu, 2003: 9) that best describes the tendencies of McIlvanneyan fiction. In any attempt to portray a Glaswegian hero, one might think in juxtaposing the urban realities of the West of Scotland and the reflections on the historical experience of the individual born and living in the bleak depressing industrial city. In *The Big Man* (1987), this hero is embodied in Eddie Foley, Billy Fleming and Mat Mason who are never ready to socialize, and Dan Scouler the fighter against "all the changes he felt coming, the loss of crucial principles", trying to affirm his humanity in spite of the absurdity of the systems, sharing the Camusian spirit of revolt, that means

"the certainty of a crushing fate, without the resignation that ought to accompany it (...) The revolt gives life its value (...) it restores its majesty to that life... It is essential to die reconciled and not of one's own free will... and in that day-to-day revolt that gives proof of his only truth which is defiance" (Craig, 1993: 101).

In Kelman's books, The Doyles and the Hines in *A Disaffection* (1989), respectively *The Busconductor Hines* (1984) represent those ordinary people who inhabit a fragmented linguistic community – the demotic Scots and the standard unitary language – who are in search of defining their own subjectivity affected by realities they experience throughout their ordinary days which Kelman tries to express by recording their thoughts and speech:

"Mr. Doyle shook his head and turned from him a moment. Then he said : Aye well it never done anybody any bloody harm!
Da, it never done anybody any bloody good either!(...)
Less of the argy-bargy, said Mrs. Doyle.
It's no argy-bargy maw it's conversation.(...)
Your maw doesni like noisy conversation. Dont ye no Kate?
That's right.
See! His da gave Pat a false smile.
Mrs. Doyle sniffed slightly: Yous'll end up arguing" (Kelman, 1989: 113).

Praising ordinariness through an authentic Scottish voice, rendered most often by constantly truncated dialogues, jerky syntax revealing the way

characters feel experiences, becomes a resourceful enterprise in Kelman's vital depiction of Tammas' life in *A Chancer* (1985), a character stigmatized by the contemporary stagnation of Scottish environment as a result of complex socio-economic and psychological pressures which define and debase his and his nationals' conscious and subconscious lives:

"The foreman looked at him when he entered the office. About Friday afternoon, said Tammas; okay if I get it off? I saw the chargehand at tea-break and he says to ask you. What is it for?
I'm going away for the weekend.
So am I. So's a lot of folk. It's always the same at this time of the year.
Tammas sniffed and stared at him.
What is it you want the afternoon for?
Well the bus, it leaves at half past three.
Aye. And I'll need to get home and changed and that" (Kelman, 1985: 52).

Jack Laidlaw, the eponymous hero of McIlvanney's book, symbolizes the resistance to this process of dehumanization within the environment of the West of Scotland, somehow arresting the gradual degradation of urban life in this bleak depressing industrial city. He is like those American lonely rangers whom "the city hated" (McIlvanney, 1977: 3), misread by his co-citizens: "Admit yourself, the just hatred of every other person. Nowhere in the entire city, could there be anyone to understand what you had done, to share it with you. No one, no one"(4). His being a Detective Inspector posits him to acknowledge the paradox of his true nature:

"He felt his nature anew as a wrack of paradox. He was potentially a violent man who hated violence, a believer in fidelity who was unfaithful, an active man who longed for understanding. He was tempted to unlock the drawer in his desk where he kept Kierkegaard, Camus and Unamuno, like caches of alcohol. Instead, he breathed out loudly and tidied the papers on his desk. he knew nothing to do but inhabit the paradoxes" (4).

Investigating missing persons, dead people, "the raw materials of justice, corpses that are precipitates of strange experience, alloys of fear and hate and anger and love and viciousness and bewilderment" (39-40) most often means sensing the Evil as a struggle against the powers of darkness, that is, ignorance, fear, threat, as components of turbulent, insecure world which provides a context for moral dilemmas, for frequent slips to insanity, ethic disorder, eventually revealing the human fallibility.

Like other hard men, Laidlaw gradually becomes aware of the fact that life has lost its meaning, direction and authenticity:

”He was drinking too much - not for pleasure, just sipping it systematically, like low proof of hemlock. His marriage was a maze nobody had ever mapped, an infinity of habit and hurt and betrayal down which Ena and he wandered separately, meeting occasionally in the children(...). Guilt was the heart of this kind of mood, he reflected, and it surprised him again to realise it. The need to be constantly sifting the ashes of his past certainly hadn't been inculcated in him by his parents. They had done what they could to give him himself as a present. Perhaps it was just that, born in Scotland, you were hanelled with remorse, set up with shares in Calvin against your coming of age, so that much of the energy you expended came back quilt” (6).

It's a demonstration of the way in which contemporary subjectivity gets agitated by a “semi-permanent paralysis, a retreat from the world into selfhood” (Bewes, 1997: 56), the subject, the agent becomes a cynic, living in a condition of “inertia and consuming anxiety, fuelled by enduring frustration” (1997: 56).

Profiled as constantly angry and outraged, trying to find “somebody else to blame” when his anger, this primeval feeling, “didn't stop at people” (McIlvanney, 1977: 8), Laidlaw belongs to the large Glaswegian family of dissolute selves, living in a society which locates evil among capitalist individuals and structures, marked by a frustration emerging from poverty and lack of freedom, historylessness and isolationism. He is an “abrasive man” (1977: 55) who thinks that “criminals are underprivileged” (1977: 61), he may be a good man, “Even kind to animals, probably. But he's not a good polis-man” as he “doesn't know which side he's on. He's pig in the middle. Not clever” (1977: 62), vacillating between Them and Us, he is a “slow developer. His ideas haven't shaved yet” (1977: 62), he was “so hard to live with. It was the demands he put on people that she (Ena) found most difficult. Moral aggression (...) He worried everything into bone and then moved on” (1977: 77-78), he has a tough face, “Curling the Upperlip” (1977: 99), he belongs to the kind of professionals who create “a commitment so intense that the earning of a living happens by the way” (1977: 172); his dynamism shows his “determination to do something as well as it can be done” (1977: 172), his capacity to bring constant doubt to what he was doing and still try to do it. He is the image moulded by the coarseness of Glasgow “this gray but old city” “gloomy and near sunless”, he lives in Glaswegian violence and easily Glasgowfies whatever happens in the life of the town or of his own, that is he

improvises “every situation into a crisis” (1977: 254), an exhausting trait that emerges from his antagonistic nature, from his serendipity.

Alasdair Gray’s hero, Duncan Thaw, is conceived as fleeing from the real world of Glasgow, gloomy, sunless, Calvinist, Protestant, crumbling city and re-emerging as Lanark in the alternative world of Unthank, a fantasy world chosen as an escape route, a Wellsian underworld preferred by the individual as a potential framework of freedom. Gray’s hero turns into an adventurer, an explorer of paradoxical spaces, of hidden meaning in his attempt to find answers for ultimate questions regarding Glasgow and Glaswegians immersed in a process of alienation due to uncontrolled outer forces (the English, the Americans).

Glasgow and Glaswegians seem to stand for the syndrome of marginalization and exclusion a nation governed by the threat of external enemies and by the internal enemy lying within the Scottish character itself:

“Who spread the story that the Scots are an INDEPENDENT people ? Robert Burns (...) The truth is that we are a nation of arselickers, though we disguise it with surfaces: a surface of generous, openhanded manliness, a surface of dour practical integrity, a surface of futile maudlin defiance like when we break goalposts and windows after football matches on foreign soil and commit suicide on Hogmanay by leaping from fountains in Trafalgar Square. Which is why, when England allowed us a referendum on the subject, I voted for the Scottish self-government. Not for one minute did I think it would make us more prosperous, we are a poor little country, always have been, always will be, but it would be a luxury to blame ourselves for the mess we are instead of the bloody old Westminster parliament”(Gray, 1985: 65-66).

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***ICE AGE AND ICE AGE-THE MELTDOWN –
THE RECIPE FOR SUCCESS***

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In 2002, the eighth Hollywood-financed computer animated production of Twentieth Century Fox, *Ice Age*, followed in the wake of 2001 DreamWorks' *Shrek* and Disney/ Pixar's *Monster Inc.*, two of the highest grossing movies of the year. Work on it had begun before 2001, which invalidates likely assumptions that the character patterns have been borrowed from these two blockbusters. *Ice Age* touches on a few heavy issues – specifically, tolerance and racism. In terms of narrative, like *Monsters, Inc.*, the film concerns a group of creatures who try to return a baby to its rightful owners, but in this case, the baby's owners pose a threat to those very same creatures. Things get more complicated, as the human threat is responsible for the baby's abandonment in the first place, since Diego the tiger's comrades drove the humans away out of revenge for what the humans did to them. Fortunately, the movie tackles these issues in a subtle way without actually showing anything that might be too scary for children.

Ice Age is a movie rated G, falling under the children and family oriented productions, suitable for all age groups and covering a wide range of genre categories. A large target audience could guarantee commercial success for such movies, given certain guidelines are respected: the movie should not be overly sentimental or have too much child-level humour. There ought to be an imaginative plot, helpful and friendly creatures and positive moral messages.

‘Many recent successful Family films copy Walt Disney’s formula and even the Pixar movies obey the classic Disney model but with a dash more grown-up wit. The formula seems to boil down to this: 1) Wish fulfilment. 2) Friends. 3) Family or a pseudo-family. 4) Comedy characterisation; the comedy relief character types are usually animals. 5) Slapstick humour. 6) Brevity. Family films do not drag on; they observe a classic movie structure, reach the finale and stop. 7) Happy endings’ (Palmer, 2003).

Ice Age and its sequel *Ice Age-The Meltdown* combine these conventions with those of the road movie subgenre and those of slapstick

comedy, spiced with some satirical overtones, that usually escape young viewers. The structural conventions of the former include a quest in search of escape or other goals, such as freedom, love, or redemption, while the latter, with its hey day in the films of Laurel and Hardy, features 'primitive comedy, harmless cruelty, vulgar gags' (Giannetti, 2001: 358). Cartoons represent the quintessential form of slapstick and the inspiration for the favourite character in *Ice Age*, Scrat, was Wil. E. Coyote of the classic Warner Bros. cartoons, whose similar obsession with the Road Runner also led to some painful hilarity. *Ice Age* is the ultimate tribute to Road Runner creator Chuck Jones, who passed away at the age of 89, a few weeks before the movie was released.

'Chuck Jones can be plausibly described as the most influential individual in the history of animated film' admitted that each of the characters invented by him embodied either some despicable neurosis or some impossibly noble aspiration extracted from his own experience' (Shaffer, 2002).

Scrat, a prehistoric squirrel, is faced with a predicament in the cold times of 2000 years ago, how and where to bury an acorn, as the ground is frozen. His compulsive attempts to fix it in set off an avalanche and represent one in-point of the story. The fissure in the ground is a witty attention grabber, shot in medium close up, ending with Scrat's landing and happy recapture of the acorn just to be crashed by the huge feet of the creatures heading South in search of warmer places.

Repetition is employed to produce comic relief and introduce the protagonists of the main plot. Manfred the grumpy individualistic mammoth, Sid, the annoying, cowardly sloth who misses the moment of migration due to oversleeping, and Diego, the sly and hungry tiger. Sid seeks protection from two hippos whose last meal, the last dandelion, he has squashed, so he desperately tries to befriend the mammoth. They unwillingly come to take care of a human baby whom the tigers want to eat and have sent Diego to bring back to them.

The appealing bit relies on this threesome of mismatched characters finding themselves on a quest they cannot complete unless they work together. Manfred and Sid decide to take the baby to his father, so they have to catch up with the cave people, but Diego is the only one who knows the shortcuts. The ambiguity of Diego's goal, to steal the baby and take him to his pack to eat or to help Manfred and Sid, along with his motivation keep adults interested and laughing at the exaggeration of Sid's struggle to produce fire or at the visual

humour achieved by the use of background and foreground actions placed in contrast.

The plot of the journey is interrupted at times by short sequences of the squirrel Scrat who chases the elusive acorn and is struck by lightning, hit by the other characters sliding, in a rescue scene or asked for directions in a grotesque game of mime, for he never speaks.

The characters display emotions, humour and personality traits. Comedy relies heavily on the viewers' prior knowledge so recognisable human behaviour is used at its best to produce our laughter: Sid is snoring, two tigers are Laurel and Hardy look-alikes, Manfred blames his fur for making him look "puffy", not "fat", Sid charms two hippo ladies while holding the human baby, Manfred gets sentimental after a flashback of his lost family, presented in an overly emotional scene.

There is quite a difference between the animal characters and the 'early' humans in this children's film. Animated features often give the power of speech to animals to allow them to tell a story. The big difference in *Ice Age* is that while the animals have a nicely developed vocabulary, the humans (shown with the large protruding foreheads as not much above) have no speech capabilities whatsoever. They just grunt and make non-verbal sounds. Later in the film, the humans' lack of speech is even pointed out by Diego, 'You know humans can't talk.' This is confusing to a child familiar with the true Biblical account of the perfectly created Adam and Eve having speech capabilities from the very beginning.

Verbal humour, character-oriented works nicely thanks to the witty script, full of one-liners. There are lots of anachronistic jokes, giving us an ice-age version of sights and sounds familiar to 21st century viewers. Characters use puns to mock at one another and expose their weaknesses:

Sid: For a second there, I actually thought you were gonna eat me.

Diego: I don't eat junk food.

Manfred: So, still think she's the girl for me?

Sid: Sure. She's tons of fun, and you're no fun at all. She completes you.

Ellie: Hey, do we do any special tricks like roll over, or do we just throw our weight around?

Sid: Then why are you trying so hard to convince her she's a mammoth?

Manfred: Because that's what she is! I don't care if she thinks she's a possum. You

can't be two things.

Sid: Au contraire, mon "fered". Tell that to the bullfrog, the chicken-hawk, and the turtledove.

Each character is lovable in his/her attempt to centre the action around him/herself. Their remarks ring true when related to their shifting perspective, now that of pre-historic animals, now the one we, the audience, hold. We laugh at their contemporary language and limited knowledge, recognising our own habits, flaws and obsessions.

Dung Beetle Dad: [*pushing up ball of dung*] Do we have to bring this crap along? I'm sure there's crap where we're going!

Dung Beetle Mom: [*Offended*] Uh! This was a gift from my mother.

Lone Gunslinger Vulture: There is some good news, though. The more of you die, the better I eat. I didn't say it was good news for you.

Stonehenge – Ah, modern architecture! It'll never last.

[*on Sid's clumsy attempts to scale a cliff*]

Manfred : you are an embarrassment to nature.

Sid: [*about the baby*] I bet he's hungry.

Manny: How 'bout some milk?

Sid: Ooh, I'd love some!

Diego: Not you. The baby.

Ironic contrast between the verbal and the visual levels occurs frequently. The latter represents an exaggeration of the former, sometimes bearing implications of physical violence which passes unnoticed by children, since it is an animated movie. Adults enjoy the ironical replies the underdog Sid has to fence, children find verbal repetitions and non-verbal sounds amusing. The drawback of a script targeted at age groups of so different tastes is that half the quality is sacrificed. We can only imagine how much subtler verbal humour could have been:

Sid: From now on, you'll have to refer to me as 'Sid - Lord of the Flame'.

Manfred: Hey, Lord of the Flame, your tail's on fire.

Diego: [*playing peek-a-boo*] Where's the baby... there he is. Where's the baby... there he is.

Manny: Stop it. You're scaring him.

Sid: [*showing the baby cave paintings*] Look, the tigers are just playing tag with the antelope...

[*pause*]

Sid: with their teeth.

Diego: Come on Sid, let's play tag. You're it.

[*Diego makes a huge jump*]

Sid: I wish I could jump like that.

Manfred: [*kicking Sid*] Wish granted.

Mr. Start: Oy, this global warming is killing me!

Mrs. Start: This is too hot, the Ice Age was too cold, what will it take to make you happy? Aah!

[*the ice that she is sitting on cracks and she falls into the water*]

Mr. Start: This I like!

Another gripping feature are the action movie sequences shot in close up, adding a faster pace and some tension in the scene when Diego the tiger is rescued from falling in a volcano, or in the slow motion part when Sid imitates an American football player and squashes the melon, the baby's sole source of food. Ironically enough, after hitting two stones for half the movie, Sid invents fire and dubs himself 'Lord of the Flames' before falling asleep. Scrat shows up for a brief moment and uses the invention to make some pop-corn. The journey ends successfully, the baby is returned to his 'herd' and the three friends walk away with the chatter-box Sid voicing his boredom at the cliché that Ice Age has become:

Sid: This ice age stuff is getting old. D'you know what I'd like to go for? Global warming.

His wish is granted on screen in the narrative with Scrat cracking the ice with a coconut and causing the eruption of a volcano, while off screen it has taken four years. The director of *Ice Age*, Chris Wedge acts as co-executive producer and gives voice to Scrat's squeaks, so the sequel is the result of the efforts of a different director, Carlos Saldanha, and of different writers. In 2006 the predictable sequel was released, with *The Meltdown* tagged to the title of the first movie. What did they do to ensure the sequel would enjoy the same success?

Firstly, they improved the computer aided effects. *Ice Age* was rougher in terms of the characters' facial expressions. High key lighting diminished the

presence of shadows, whereas the sequel employs low key and has dropped humans altogether. We are left with an animal cast facing the threat of drowning, voiced by a nagging hippo: ‘This global warming is killing me.’

As *Ice Age: The Meltdown* opens, it is Scrat who notices the first danger signal of global change. He climbs a vertical ice wall with his claws, almost falls, is saved when his tongue freezes to the ice, and he has to pull himself up by his tongue, paw by paw. A jet of water springs from the ice face, followed by another, and another.

Secondly, this largely acclaimed hero of *Ice Age*, is given more screen time and appears even on the movie poster fighting piranhas. The brief intervals in which he features may be predictable in terms of action, but remain vibrant for the extraordinary lengths and means by which his best efforts are defeated by lack of foresight and dumb luck.

‘Scrat is still going after the nut, but his attitudes and expressions of frustration change. He becomes more integrated into the story – a big step forward for him’ (www.imdb.com - Christopher Meledandri, executive producer).

Scrat engages in a chase with birds, is faced with dilemmas about how to both keep the acorn and stay alive, sneaks upon the acorn as if it was alive and bumps into the animal kids in the water-park in the second sequence of the sequel.

Thirdly, more action sequences have been included, prehistoric predatory alligator creatures lurk in the water threatening the characters – reference to *Jaws* –, geysers burst, the heroes run through minefields and point of view shots heighten suspense.

However, the plot is weaker in the sequel and the target audience does not include adults this time. Everyone is in danger of drowning when the water level rises and floods the valley they inhabit. Scoping them out and taunting them all the while is a vindictive and hungry vulture, and from his bird’s eye view he is able to approximate three days before the ice melts and washes out every living creature below. Faced with the threat of the thaw, all the animals have to head for the boat that could save them, as instructed by the hungry vultures:

‘You live in a bowl and the bowl is filling with water.’

Diego the tiger is more of a pussycat here, facing a deep fear of water, which he never manifested in *Ice Age* while chasing the humans through water, Manfred is depressed by the possibility of him being the last survivor of the species while Sid reinforces his fame as annoying and incapable, and handles his inferiority complex in an unusually godlike way.

Low angle and high angle shots induce the perception of authority, enclosure or danger, horror clichés are exposed and fighting scenes are parodied, starting with kung-fu, ending with spectacular rescues, culminating with the crossing of a melting ice bridge, reminding of the collapsing bridge in *Lord of the Rings*.

The funniest moments in *Ice Age* appear in the sequel: the excuse of the ‘puffy’ Manny that he is not fat, the sentimental episode there becomes a romantic challenge for Manny to convince Ellie the she-mammoth that she is not an opossum as she believes, Sid’s narrow escape from a group of she-sloths trying to burn him, ‘The King of Fire’, as a sign of respect, in their logical assumption that he must survive the ritual, since he is a god.

There are less verbal exchanges adults would find funny in comparison to the previous movie. There is some insistence on Manny’s task to ‘save the species’ and verbal puns that children do not read into. The discourse of food and survival is hidden behind the slapstick, as greedy vultures sing of ‘Glorious food’ that is nothing but the flesh of the protagonists. The scene is a tribute to the classic tune from the ‘60s Broadway musical *Oliver*.

Exaggeration and repetition are the techniques mostly relied on because the reinforcement of images or ideas is suitable for the age group targeted at. This idea is self-reflexively hinted at in the sequence when Sid hums the tune of ‘glorious food’, forgetting he is a potential victim to the greedy vultures, on the grounds that the song ‘is catchy’.

The music mimics or anticipates action, so everything becomes too predictable for adults. The she-mammoth Ellie is extremely stupid at the beginning but changes abruptly and is worth the effort all the others put into saving her. A scene of suspense, Ellie and Manny’s balance on rocks turns into a screwball comedy type of dispute only to be repeated later in a scene as one wants to go back, the other forward. The music of victory celebrates Manny’s heroic defence against the water predator, while thrilling sounds introduce the bus effect of the monster’s darting to the surface to eat the protagonists.

The simple conflicts are resolved as expected, Diego overcomes his fear of water and can be his own sarcastic self, Ellie and Manny stay with the herd, that is their family and friends and Sid manages to ruin Scrat’s dream of a heaven of acorns, engaging thus in a fight with the starving Sisyphus in the closing scene.

Ice Age 2 – The Meltdown did not fulfil the expectations of *Ice Age* fans. Technologically the difference between the two benefits the sequel. There were

60 animators on *Ice Age – The Meltdown*, 35 on the first film. The increased staffing reflected the new film's more sophisticated effects, increased scale, and sheer volume of work.

'We preserved the characters from 'Ice Age', putting them onto a new model, with more advanced technical controls, which could articulate the characters in exciting new ways. This film's definitely on another level from the first one' (www.imdb.com- Galen Tan Chu, animation supervisor).

For *Ice Age – The Meltdown*, Blue Sky Blue Sky Studios, the home of *Ice Age*, *Robots*, *Bunny*, and now *Ice Age – The Meltdown*, have taken their groundbreaking technology to new levels, specifically in the rendering of fur and water, because the characters exist in a melting world. The team had to create myriad looks for the fur, for various degrees of wetness – from a light splash to total immersion.

'The fur becomes a character within a character. It looks like real fur. Not only does it have a richness and sheen, it's completely self-shadowing, which let us detail that little dark area between the hairs' (www.imdb.com-Carl Ludwig, research and development director).

'The big improvement is in Scrat's his tail. In *Ice Age* it looked like a big balloon; now, it looks real, like a squirrel's tail' (www.imdb.com-Eric Mauer, fur and feathers supervisor).

'Seeing the fine hairs on Scrat's tail, and his nose quivering, adds a realistic feel to the character. You know, intellectually, that his character doesn't exist. But you see this kind of detail and realism, your disbelief is suspended' www.imdb.com- Chris Meledandri, executive producer).

Despite the visible advance in technology, the story lacks suspense and does not keep the adult viewer alert and laughing. Movies need more than effects to appeal to both children and adults, and the degree of complexity is higher when it comes to sequels. Creating something new out of something old, while preserving the best, without boring audiences, is a difficult process. Self-reflexive and metatextual references are an essential ingredient for the recipe of success, one that *Ice Age – The Meltdown* lacks. Predictability works as regards the final out-point of the plot, not its entire development, as is the case of both productions. Intertextual cues season both movies to the taste of more delicate audiences who laugh at effects and clichés they have had so much of in other blockbusters, but there were not enough allusions in either.

A pinch of our weaknesses or irritating habits harmlessly exposed in cartoon characters works wonders. The reason Scrat is so likable might be that he illustrates so simply our race against time to grasp success, family harmony, money or whatever else. The sentimental flavour cannot be neglected, thus soapy scenes are necessary to fulfil the cathartic function movies are designed to produce.

Finally, all these ingredients need spicing up with witty verbal humour, visual puns, twists of the plot and a famous, talented cast of voices. It remains to be seen whether the already predictable *Ice Age 3* can find the right balance and persuade us to watch it along with the children, for a louder laugh than both *Ice Age* and *Ice Age – The Meltdown*. That would really be a success!

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**THE PATTERN OF COUNTER PASSAGE IN FICTION OF BIRACIAL
MARITAL RELATIONS—FROM COLONIAL TO
CONTEMPORARY NORTH-AMERICAN LITERATURE**

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Multicultural societies essentially experience countless encounters, clashes, mutual enrichment and transformation of the cultures involved in their ever-changing facet. The present paper aims at calling attention to the distinct North-American literary scenario and the dynamics of inter-racial character metamorphosis. It focuses on biracial counter-passage rites, and the contextual and textual markers of the clash of cultures, the so-called *zebra aesthetics* in particular. Catchwords that signify this kind of literature are: gone colored stories, trauma or passing narratives and satires on race. One of the most significant features is the post-colonial challenge to the physical, spiritual, attitudinal and behavioral consequences of colonization. Further significant shared features in the literary texts are the subversion of identity aesthetically marked by fictional boundary breaking that is based on the dynamic concept of identity, i.e. orbiting (referring to the title of a short story by Bharati Mukherjee), and the formulation of a cross-cultural identity. Related broader questions are: how does the construction of identity change in the context of literature on biracial relations by U.S. and Canadian authors of different ages? To what extent is the gender (family/ marital) setup specific, i.e. to what extent does the aesthetic discourse differ in the macro versus the micro social environment? Last but not least: what is the gift we can obtain studying the patter of counter passage (going colored) stories?

Passage and counter passage stories have developed along with the early settlement of the North-American continent, through the periods of nation making up to contemporary times. However, in more recent times, with the creation of the two multicultural societies, there is ethnic minority writers have contributed more and more to the coloring of the palette of American and Canadian literature and added their distinct approach to the various forms of encounter and exchange of different cultures and the patterns of (counter) passage in particular. In her anthology of multicultural Canadian literature (*Making a Difference: Canadian Multicultural Literature*) Smaro Kamboureli

(1996) underlines the relevance of discussing literary works by ethnic minority writers in terms of aesthetic merits and general human concerns, in stead of appreciating merely the ethnic background of the author and/ or the cultural context of the text. Her idea is evoked by other leading literary critics, such as Emory Elliott, in his *Aesthetics in a Multicultural Age*, too. Kamboureli introduces the notion of racialization as the process of “construct[ing] images of ourselves or of others, relying on the loaded and biased ideological definitions of racial categories” (Kamboureli, 1996: 15). This process works in the characters, the author as well as in the reader of literature of “fluid identities”, regarding both gender and racial identifications. The texts highlight the constructed nature of the notion of race, the fluidity and dynamics of the notion of identity as process, moreover, they focus on various aspects of the integration, socialization and acculturation involved, for instance imaginary identity projection; border cross-over/ pass over; or becoming mediators, in other words: bridging persons. In addition, they point at the departure, arrival and displacement of the character. The identification of the appropriate social register, the adjustment and/or repression of the original culture as well as the selection and refusal of values, attitudes and identifiers of the new one are relevant issues problematized in the text. In fact, these characters seem to enter the “floating shores of identity”, referring to Sally Ito’s short story title *Floating Shore*. Emigration, moving, marriage or re-settlement experiences often end up in real arrivals to an open, constantly reformulated concept of identity and micro-social attitude.

The socio-cultural context of “going Indian” is to be indicated briefly with reference to early examples of the so-called *gone colored narratives* that in Rebecca Blevins Faery’s view contribute to the so-called “Janus-faced narrative of American national identity (Faery, 1999: 181)”, and then a few recent literary texts provide us a new concept of the complexity of biracial gender relations and the textual markers of cultural difference and interethnic shifting.

Taking a glance at Colonial Period society and culture, William Brandon (1961: 253) claims that “During the colonial Indian wars Dutch, French, and English captives often refused to part from their captors and return to civilization when they had the chance. This was the subject of indignant remark by generations of uncaptured Europeans”. It was Gonzalo Guerrero who in 1519, refused to be repatriated by Hernando Cortes. He was the first person to leave the supposedly superior white culture behind (Lemay, 1991: 519), the latter is reflected by Freneau’s poem *The Indian Student*. For another mention,

in the 1764 Ohio Valley Indian campaign white captives had to be forcibly repatriated. Brendon (1961: 253) argues that “Indian life may have had an edge in the pursuit of happiness precisely because it would not race”. The liaison or common law marriage of white and minority culture individuals has always been a practice in North-America, resulting in offsprings taken as mixed blood people, for instance “citizens of Hudson Bay (Brown, 1987: 84)”, or “people of Indian-European extraction (Brown, 1987: 99)”, Métis, Creole and so on. Nevertheless, any form of biracial cohabitation has been considered as miscegenation.

Historically people going Other, Indian in particular, were called “white savages”, in other words “vicious, untrustworthy, disloyal Tory frontier renegades” (Clifton, 1989: 38) who voluntarily maintained affiliation and identity bound to the culture of the Other. Some of them were temporary converts, like Joe True, a Texan turned spiritually Kiowan (Clifton, 1989: 276), while others never returned, like George Girty in the 18th Century (Clifton, 1989: 38). They all risked to be taken as misfits or outlaws in their former community, at the same time they have been accepted to various extents in their new homes.

Among the captivity narratives a well-known 17th century text, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (1682) introduces with absolute fidelity of the writer the theme of biracial gender relations, almost escaping any racist point of view. However, further texts do not seem to depart successfully from the predominantly racist position. *The Narrative ... of Mrs. Clarissa Plummer* (1838) and *The History of... Mrs. Caroline Harris* (1838) both incite popular support for the policies of Indian removal. James W. Eastburn’s epic poem: *Yamoyden: A Tale of Wars of King Philip* (1820) presents the marriage of Nora Fitzgerald and Yamoyden. For instance in Lydia Maria Child’s *Hobomok* (1868) Mary Conant takes Hobomok as her husband against her father’s will. Her half-Indian son’s identity is overwritten by white English culture, erasing his Indian identity compound (Faery, 1999: 186). The former text gathers all the major popular discourses about Indians and their relations with Anglo-Americans, such as: Indian men desiring white women; the proximity of the forest posing a threat to the integrity of whiteness and Anglo civilization; Indians fated to die or disappear in order to make way for the culture of the superior race; and the essential absorption of the remnant traces of Indian life or blood (here: their son) into white society (Faery, 1999: 182). Catharine Maria Sedgewick’s *Hope Leslie*

(1827) Magawisca, a protofeminist character, develops attachment to Everell Fletcher, an Englishman. Hope's sister, Faith becomes a "white Indian", wife of Oneco and remains so. For another mention, besides his *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), James F. Cooper's *The Wept of Wish-Ton-Wish* (1829) also presents a partly racist perspective of the biracial relations, for the central shape shifting character, Ruth, is taken captive, then restored and becomes Narramattah, wife of Canonchet, sachem of the Narragansetts. In Cooper's explanation simple-mindedness explains Ruth/ Narramattah's cohab and the fate of their son, while in this dramaturgy her death restores the racial boundaries.

Novels by Seaver, Child, Sedgewick present some degree of mutual respect. Successful marriage between white women and Indian men "suggest terms for an alternative, female, frontier fantasy" (Faery, 1999: 185). Illuminating the relevance of such early cross-cultural texts, Faery concludes:

"Those early representations and the many that followed in their wake make clear how important it was for the project of white colonialization and nation building that Native as well as Black women be seen as, and assumed or made to be, sexually open to Euro-American men, and how correspondingly important the obverse of the assumption was, that white women be closed to sexual connections with men racialized as 'dark ones' and 'protected' from their presumed sexual aggressiveness. The guarding of those cultural and racial dividing lines, with the eroticized bodies of white women and dark women positioned at their borders, became increasingly pronounced, and increasingly visible, with the developing racial crises of slavery and Indian removal in the mid-nineteenth century" (Faery, 1999: 190).

Besides Faery (1999), further literary critics and sociologists also discuss the specific nature and significance of the (counter) passage narratives in American and Canadian culture. Philip Deloria calls attention to the similar nature of going Indian and going Afro, to going Other in general, with special regards to the question of race as a "characteristic American obsession" (1998: 5) and the self-creative power of such "occasional episodes of going native" (1998: 185). He argues that there is a "series of dialectical tensions at the heart of American identities: open meaning and essential reality, interior and exterior Otherness, subjectivity and objectivity, desire and repulsion, nobility and savagery, individualism and nationalism. When white Americans played Indian, they brought such oppositions into the world and performed them in equal and balanced measure" (Deloria, 1998: 185). Furthermore, in his seminal treatise entitled *The White Man's Indian*, Robert Berkhofer highlights those virtues that

for centuries white people have attributed to the Indian. They are especially prevalent in literary works implying European Primitivism and longing for obtaining virtues that “so many commentators found lacking in their own times: sexual innocence, equality of condition and status, peaceful simplicity, healthful and handsome bodies, and vigorous minds unsullied by the wiles, complexities, and sophistication of modern civilization” (Berkhofer, 1979: 72). Here one can understand why the socio-cultural context of such literature, both early and more recent writings, is so tangibly interwoven in the texture of the various literary works.

Regarding our original point of investigation, i.e. the question: to what extent does the aesthetic discourse differ in the macro versus the micro social environment, it seems tangible that in early Canadian and American writing the macro structure and its values dominantly affect the microscopic universe of biracial gender relations and do not allow for significant individual digression from the general pattern according to which such trans-cultural relationship is mostly considered as some kind of an exotic longing for the Other, while such “miscegenation” is doomed to fail in different ways, for literature appears as a powerful means to express, challenge and finally re-enforce the difference and segregation of races. As Feary explains, “The possibility of voluntary, successful, and loving sexual connections across racial boundaries seems to have been sufficiently threatening to the ideal of a white America to elicit dramatic contradiction from a number of writers, especially at the westward sweep to consolidate control of the continent from sea to shining sea” (1999: 184).

Departing from such a foundation in early U.S. and Canadian literature, in the following a glance at some recent prose texts is provided in order to present the common pattern of biracial shape shifting and to address the question: to what extent is the gender (family/ marital) setup specific. Tennessee Williams’s *The Streetcar Named Desire* (1947) is a well-known example. Here the love/ hate dichotomy of Blanche’s attitude towards Stella’s marriage with Stanley reveals a racial tension and Stella’s counter passage makes her a successful shape shifter in her new home. The psychoanalytical investigation of Stanley’s acculturation passage, Stella’s counter passage and Blanche’s inability to successfully adjust to the social changes is to be discussed in another paper.

I would like to indicate briefly the textual markers, the identification of the proper social register, appropriation, adjustment, repression of the original

culture and the selection and refusal of values, attitudes and identifiers of the new one in various recent U.S. and Canadian works of literature. While exploring these textual markers, one minor focal point is to be mentioned in particular here, and that is: body politics, power relations expressed by the characters' attitude towards their own skin color.

Zora Neale Hurston (1989) refers to body politics already in the title of her short story: *How It Feels to Be Colored Me* and later on her heroine claims: "I am not tragically colored" (Hurston, 1989: 1942). For her, identification of the proper social register is problematic, appropriation seems to fail and adjustment is incomplete:

"I feel like a brown bag of miscellany propped against a wall. Against a wall in company with other bags, white, red and yellow. Poor worthless. A first-water diamond, an empty spool, bits of broken glass, lengths shoes shaved for a road that never was and never will be, a nail bent under the weight of things too heavy for any nail, a dried flower or two still a little fragrant. In your hand is the brown bag. On the ground before you is the jumble it held—so much like the jumble in the bags, could they be emptied, that all might be dumped in a single heap and the bags refilled without altering the content of any greatly. A bit of colored glass more or less would not matter. Perhaps that is how the Great Stuffer of Bags filled them in the first place—who knows?" (Hurston, 1989: 1944).

The second person singular Other functions as a mirror to her worthlessness and underlines her inferiority. All the words and verbal images indicate the subordination, violence, emptiness and worthlessness the colored person perceives in the particular biracial contact situation, for example "miscellany", "propped against a wall", "empty", "heavy for any nail". The brown container image implies the double minority status (ethnic and gender) of the heroine that is almost indissoluble in the context of the particular biracial relationship.

A similar lack of harmonious understanding is visible in another short story that evokes "the red and yellow bags" besides the brown one, all having major challenges in trying to fit their color (here: a general reference to racial and gender Otherness) to the social expectations as well as their own desires to obtain an altered, more convenient identity: The Asian-American Evelyn Lau's short story entitled *Marriage* presents a cheater, Dr Martin, who is obviously "proud to be seen with" the Asian girlfriend but the latter's "odd pairing with this man" (Kamboureli, 1996: 535) fails to end up in a real loving relationship, for her racial otherness is an obstacle he is unwilling to defeat. In stead, they

both “cultivate fantasies” (Kamboureli, 1996: 537) and stay separate. These stories, besides the “normal” process of a minority person’s attempt to assimilate or acculturate, present the less well-studied process of counter passing, i.e. the white middle-class partner’s shape shifting to various extents or their inability to change for the sake of a successful relationship, the unwillingness or lack of ability to shift into a bridging role between the two cultures involved.

The Philippino-Canadian Tomas Santos interrelates the problem of new home versus the lost ground of the self with the problem of biracial marriage in his *Changing Neighborhood*. The identification of the new social register is unavoidable to the visible minority wife, Elle, who is considered as a subject of her white middle-class husband, Jerry Sweek’s longing for an exotic jewel. Her human features, desires, opinion and own way to construct her identity and their marriage are completely repressed. The neighborhood with the newcomers, the Manalos, challenge Jerry’s self-assuring myth of ethnic and gender superiority and force him to move Ellen out of her peers’ proximity to “safer”, less colored location. Jerry presents an example of the inflexible majority position mentioned above, as well as the rigidity of ethnic demarcation lines even in the family context.

Further stories provide us a delicate presentation of the complexity of such racial and gender relations, where attempts to bridge cultures with the help of affection and respect often tend to fail. Mukherjee’s telling title of her story entitled *Orbiting* presents us the stage of appropriation to a supposedly proper social register, where adjustment within the love relationship denotes a seemingly balanced, tolerant interracial tie based on strong affection. However, the emotional attachment turns out to be inseparable from the deeply rooted ethnic foundations of the couple’s perceptions, attitudes and desires. In stead of a successfully established trans-cultural relationship that both partners could enjoy, the end of the story rather signifies the vacuum of cultures in which the shape shifters attempt but do not really succeed in establishing a trans-racial emotional tie:

“The turkey is reduced to a dying, whitened skeleton. On our plates, the slices are symmetrical, elegant. I realize in a rush how much I love this man with his blemished, tortured body. I will give him citizenship, if he asks. Vic was beautiful, but Vic was self-sufficient. Ro’s my chance to heal the world.

I shall teach him how to walk like an American, how to dress like Brent but better, how to fill up a room as Dad does instead of melting and blending but sticking out in

the Afghan way. In spite of the funny way he holds himself and the funny way he moves his head from side to side when he wants to say yes, Ro is Clint Eastwood, scarred hero and survivor. Dad and Brent are children. I realize Ro's the only circumcised man I've slept with. Mom asks, 'Why are you grinning like that, Renata?'" (Mukherjee, 1991: 252).

Ro functions as an exotic jewel for Renata, someone to be proud of but also to *civilize*, to *tame*, obviously implying the paradox of such relationships. The verbal images of the central character's basically positive intentions to honor and love the Afghani man re-enforce her being different and separate from him, a proof for the latter could be that she still would love to alter him to fit more to the Clint Eastwood image one can identify as typically WASP American.

In the Afro-American Jacqueline Woodson's story entitled *Autobiography of a Family Photo* the 13 year-old girl seems to fall in love with her boyfriend's complexion and not the man himself.

"I am kissing Dennis Victor inside my vestibule when the lights go out. 'The fuse,' I say, pushing him away from me. But Dennis pulls me close to him again, and sucks my lips into his own. He is so beautiful he is almost white and that is so beautiful because I am almost thirteen and there is only white that's so beautiful anymore. The day before my mother tells me the more coffee you drink, the blacker you get, and I push my coffee cup away from me, afraid that I will get darker than I already am..." (Woodson, 1994: 356).

Her ethnic sensibility enforces her double minority perspective. She longs for being accepted and considers the skin color the magic key that could enable her to identify with the proper social register, no matter if it also signifies the repression of the original culture and the uncertain selection and confusion values. In this sense she is the predecessor of for instance the contemporary Western-Canadian Suzette Mayr's heroine Carmen, in *Moon Honey* (1995).

In the latter Carmen and Griffin began dating back when she was still white. They have sex under a picture of three happy black people, a souvenir his mother picked up on one of her business trips, implying a colonial discourse (1995: 2). Carmen suffers from the xenophobia her complex micro-social environment implies, for instance her white middle-class would-be mother-in-law, Fran clearly lets her know that she is "not the kind of girl Fran wants included in the family bloodline" (1995: 2). Moreover, Fran declares that "No Trespassing, No Ingrate Sons Allowed", while Griffin believes that "it's cool.

I've always wanted to have a black woman. Black women are sexy (1995: 49) ... Sleep with a black, change your luck" (1995: 51). Carmen's reply reflects her outrage: "Have a black woman... You can have leprosy, shit-head, but you can't have people" (1995: 49). Throughout a gradual, mostly magic transformation, Carmen shifts into a different shape/ identity: "The colour of Carmen's pink and freckled fingers and forearms deepens, darkens to be freckled chocolate brown and beige pink on the palms of her hands. Her hair curls and frizzes, shortens. ... Her history is etched out in negative" (1995: 23). ... "Her white-girl self is a memory she still wants to keep near, immediate, since every day she's remembering less and less of who she once was. She sometimes even forgets why she should remember" (1995: 61). As one can easily see here, Mayr's text provides a counter example of the relationship between the aesthetic and the social-contextual discourses of the early literary texts, for the central character's former attempts to adjust to and identify with the supposedly proper social register cannot repress in the long run her quest for a complete and honest image of her/self.

All in all, the original questions, i.e. how does the construction of identity change in the context of literature on biracial relations from early to contemporary times and to what extent is the gender (here: family/ marital) setup specific, can be thoroughly answered only in the course of a more comprehensive treatise. However, I hope to have introduced the nutshell of this field of investigation and share a glance at the markers of social adjustment to a social register that one considers appropriate for obtaining his/her desired social prestige as well as for creating a trans-cultural hybrid identity that is anticipated to bring more happiness for the individual.

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IMMIGRANT IDENTITIES AND GENERATION GAP

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Canada's official policy of multiculturalism has promoted cross-cultural understanding among the country's population and encouraged newly arriving immigrants to retain their ethnic identities. However, being a nation of immigrants, Canada is still in the process of coming to terms with what bicultural identities encompass. The issue of identity has, therefore, become a major topic in Canadian literature: writers have had their own share in representing the conflicts and traumas experienced by the various generations of immigrants. Among others, Italian-Canadian novelist, Frank G. Paci has addressed the issue of Italian-Canadian identity in a series of novels. His second published novel, *Black Madonna* (1982), the story of the Barone family, living in an Italian neighbourhood in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, focuses on the conflict between what first and second-generation Italian-Canadians identify with. In this paper, I shall read the novel as a narrative of identity formation, showing how the younger generation's identity develops towards the understanding of the older generation's experience, and therefore toward a better understanding of their own selves.

It is not by chance that Paci employs a family setting for the representation of the Italian-Canadian identity crisis, since 'famiglia' is a fundamental issue in Italian society, especially in the South, where the Barones come from. The family and the neighbourhood were the spaces of survival for first-generation immigrant Italians in Canada, as they tended to settle down in the same neighbourhoods, creating what we call "Little Italies". Paci (1985: 49) claims he was not "so much writing novels on the immigrant themes as novels about certain families who happened to be of Italian descent. The family was the major focus".

The family Paci created in his novel is an archetypal two-generation nuclear family, made up of mother, father, daughter and son, allowing for more universal patterns beyond the immigrant experience. In this family both generations become displaced. The original departure of the first generation, the parents' leaving their homeland, becomes accomplished in the second generation's experience by choosing to occupy dissimilar identity positions, by wanting to assimilate within Canadian society. This, then, entails another

departure in the daughter's life, who leaves the Italian community in Ontario, heading for Toronto to study and work. The last, reverse, departure in the novel occurs when the daughter leaves for Italy to find out about her Italian heritage.

The characters, who are trying to negotiate a space for their identities in a bicultural environment, a smaller Italian community and a larger Canadian society, are subject to everyday conflicts. In the process of individuation, the younger generation attempts to separate itself from the parents. The conflicts predominantly take place along two distinctly identifiable axes: the father-son and the mother-daughter axes.

The simplest identity position is taken by the father. Adamo Barone arrives alone in Canada, settles down in an Italian environment, establishes his life as a steel worker at the local factory, and marries an Italian woman mediated by his relatives in Italy. He never becomes estranged from his work or from his home land. His work tools originate from Italy and he never gets rid of old things that still work. He identifies as a worker, a brick-layer, and encourages his son to find a job which suits him best to identify with. His role in the family is that of a mediator between the children and the mother, and between two lifestyles. Adamo's death invalidates the lifestyle of the mother, who insists on "via vecchia", the old way. The novel starts with the mourning of the dead father, and the opening scene already expresses the lack of understanding of the children towards the mother's Italian-style of mourning her husband.

Joey, the son, is very close to his father in sensibility, and as C. D. Minni (1985: 10) contends, "no amount of cultural differences will sever that bond". His only real revolt manifests itself in his obsession to become an ice-hockey player, through which he wishes to establish his identity as Canadian. His father's death makes Joey ponder about life and death, and he establishes that "[d]eath levelled a man to nothingness [...]. When things died they stayed dead. The neighbourhood. His father. His dreams. They had surely all ceased to exist... The membrane between being and not-being was so thin he could feel the cold wind blow through it and chill his spine" (Paci, 1982: 63). However, he soon realises that something remains after death, a legacy that he is now ready to accept. He realizes that there is a larger pattern he fits, a pattern inherited from the ancestors. He acts upon his father's legacy and reconsiders his life, identifying with a carefully chosen job and establishing a family.

More significant identity conflicts are inherent in the mother/daughter axis.

Assunta Barone is an enigmatic figure, whose archetypal character is reinforced in the metaphoric title: *Black Madonna*, referring to her as a Catholic, an Italian, a mother and a widow, wearing a black mourning dress. Critics have noticed that “Assunta remains an unknown person although the focus of considerable attention. We always see Assunta from the outside, through the eyes of either Joey or Marie. We are never permitted inside the complex mind of this mother” (Pivato, 1985: 172). As Joseph Pivato establishes, “[t]o her children she remains a puzzle to the end” (Pivato, 1985: 172). As her subjectivity is only disclosed from the perspective of her children, we do not know more about her inner thoughts, feelings, her self, other than what becomes apparent in her acts. Although Assunta, a mail-order bride, accepts her self-imposed exile, and her new country, she sticks to the old ways, the Italian traditions, causing her to live in Canada as if she lived in Italy, having no intention for or capability of integrating into Canadian society. As a traditional Italian wife and mother, her existence is confined in her domesticity, living – from a Canadian perspective – in socio-cultural marginality. She never learns to speak proper English, goes to church every morning, cooks Italian dishes and forces the family to eat a lot. She insists on keeping their home in the Italian neighbourhood, even after it has become depopulated as Italian families have sold their houses to the city council for building development. Being illiterate, with the only function of providing for her family, girls’ education does not represent a high value, as in her view girls should stay at home and be mothers and wives.

Assunta and Adamo were never seen as a couple getting along well. But Adamo was the only mediator between Assunta and the children, between the two ways of life. His adaptation to the circumstances and his simple world view made it possible for him to get along with his children. With Adamo’s death the two worlds remained without a bridge, communication becomes totally impossible. Assunta starts to deteriorate mentally and physically, starts to abandon herself, and virtually ceases to function. Joseph Pivato explains: “Italian immigrant women have been a function and an extension of the male world with no voice of their own... In many senses Italian-Canadian women have been the people of silence, a group that has been robbed of a history, because it is one of men without women” (Pivato, 1994: 169). Adamo being dead, her children being estranged from her, Assunta has remained in a land where she does not belong, and develops the idea of going back to Italy, which is taken literally by her children. Finally Assunta becomes a silent subject,

signifying the voiceless first-generation immigrant female experience, muted by her estrangement from her children and foreignness to Canada. When the last point where she can anchor her presence is lost, when her home is sold to the local council for building development, she dies on the rail tracks either in an accident or by suicide. Assunta's tragedy signifies the impossibility of a life not capable of adapting to the changing circumstances.

The daughter, Marie's identity is pinned down by her act of rejection of her mother's model. This rejection, entailing physical separation, is fuelled by their mutual inability to understand each other and to get on well. "She and her mother were as different as night and day" (Paci, 1982: 40). Marie even develops a disgust towards her Italian origin: "Sometimes she felt there was no end to the indignities she had to suffer being a daughter of Italian parents" (Paci, 1982: 27). The fissure happens along the values that were imported by her parents from Italy, such as family, community, household and religion, all denied by her. She goes to a non-Italian high school and as an able student of mathematics, goes on to university in Toronto where she obtains a master's degree, and starts to work towards her PhD. She refuses to go to church, later to eat Italian food, especially her mother's food, and only returns home for Christmas. Marie's disgust with her mother's food and Italian ways is shown in the carnivalesque scene when she stuffs food down her throat hysterically at the Christmas table.

The emblematic communication breakdown between Assunta and Marie highlights the nature of the mother/daughter relationship. Their communication is restricted to some basic utterances without being able to express any complex ideas, therefore making them unable to understand each other's identity positions. Assunta has never learnt to speak and understand English properly, while Marie has never learnt to speak proper Italian. This language barrier is unresolvable: "The words would start deep down in [Marie's] stomach as convincing English and pop out of her mouth like marbles in childish Italian" (Paci, 1982: 68). At some point Marie shouts at her mother: "This is an English-speaking country", and expresses her refusal to talk to her unless she learns the language of the country where she lives and where her daughter belongs, to which Assunta only answers: "This is an Italian-speaking house" (Paci, 1982: 69).

No matter how much she denies her mother, Marie has more heritage coming down from her mother than she thinks. She not only takes after her mother, which she is not aware of until she wears her dress, but she actually

repeats some of what she rejects in her mother. This repetition compulsion, however, shows that she is subject to an unconscious heritage. As Jacqueline Rose claims, “[t]he unconscious constantly reveals the failure of identity” (In Eagleton, 1996: 354). Repetition is the failure of subjectivity desiring total separation and self-reliance. Marie’s subjectivity pushes her towards separation, but finally she has to recognise that she is also part of a pattern.

The repetitive heritage manifests itself in Marie’s relation to her body. As an adolescent, she is self-conscious about her plump body, the result of her mother’s insisting that she should eat substantially. Later, her refusal of her mother’s traditional values goes to the extreme where she develops anorexia. Therefore, her anorexia is an extreme form of refusing her mother. What she does not realise is that by refusing to eat she actually becomes more alike to her mother, who only forces food into the children, while she herself refuses to eat. Interestingly enough, Marie also ends up in forcing food into her own son. Marie’s rebel backfires in this unconscious repetition of her mother’s attitude to eating, and her extreme wish to control her body brings about a total loss of control.

Symbolic to the mother/daughter relationship is Assunta’s trousseau, which Marie calls the Hope Chest, taken from Italy to the new land. It stands in the parents’ room, locked, with its mysterious content, as enigmatic as Assunta’s inner world for the children and for the reader. The child Marie senses that the chest could provide information or explanation on her mother metaphorically. She especially takes interest in opening the chest when she finds out that her mother was a “mail-order bride”, as she identifies the unknown content of the chest with the value of her mother. Her inability to find the key to the chest represents her inability to find a clue to understand her mother. She finds it appalling that a woman could be equated with the contents of a trunk. She loses interest in the chest parallel to her total alienation from her mother, when she loses the last bit of interest in her mother: “As the value of the mother decreased in her eyes so did the value of the Hope Chest” (Paci, 1982: 39). She only returns to the idea of opening the chest after her mother’s death, when it turns out that it is not locked. What she finally finds in the chest as an adult causes her to revalue her mother, and to accept her Italian heritage. The Hope Chest becomes the symbol of this unknown heritage in the form of some old photos, a black dress and some candles, from which she creates a small sanctuary to pray for her dead mother, dressed in her mother’s black

dress. These are the first steps towards understanding Assunta, generated by the realisation of her close physical resemblance to her mother.

She does not learn to appreciate her Italian heritage until her mother dies, which means, death is the originary moment of her search for identity, and this is the moment she decides to travel. Joseph Pivato (1985: 171) establishes that death is part of the immigrant journey because “ [m]editerranean customs [...] link any form of departure with death”. But death here involves rebirth: realising her heritage, Marie travels to Italy to meet her relatives, see the old country, try to understand her mother, and come to terms with her own self. At the end she is the black Madonna, in her mother’s black dress. “Assunta Barone returns to Italy in the person of her daughter; this Italian immigrant lives on in the Canadian woman wearing the black dress from the old trousseau trunk” (Pivato, 1985: 173).

The novel ends with Marie’s journey, or reverse migration to the ancestral home in quest of her identity, entailing an internal journey as well. The conclusion of the novel may be summarised in F. G. Paci’s comments on the Italian-Canadian identity quests:

“It goes without saying that Canadians of Italian descent should look overseas to get a more complete sense of their identities. Everyone is a historical creature and must look for his identity in the events that have shaped him. It’s not only a question of identity. It’s an ontological question... The past, no matter how hard one tries to deny it intellectually, constitutes the emotional fabric of one’s being” (Minni, 1985: 7).

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**REVIEWING VALLEY OF THE WOLVES, IRAQ:THE RISE OF
ANTI-AMERICANISM IN TURKEY**

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Let's pray, lets struggle, let's be one, let's be free

Valley of the Wolves: Iraq (2006) created remarkable impact in abroad and became a box office success in Turkey. The movie, with its ten million dollar budget, got the reputation of being the most anti-American Turkish movie that made use of Hollywood techniques. *Valley of the Wolves: Iraq* mainly received popularity in Turkey for its nationalist and anti-American point of view. The aim of this paper is to review the movie within the frame of Turkish-American relations and Turkish politics. In that perspective, I will try to argue that the reason why *Valley of the Wolves: Iraq* find great support in Turkey very much coincides with Turkey's foreign policy and the rising Anti-American phenomena in all sects of Turkish society.

The main theme of the movie was derived from a real incident that occurred between Turkish and United States military on July 2003 in Suleymaniye, Iraq. The detention and treatment of Turkish soldiers by American soldiers in Suleymaniye created great resentment on Turkish side and it was taken as an insult against Turkish military and against the Nation. Turkish media constantly questioned the event and searched for the reasons behind this incident but even today the reality seems blurred.

Valley of the Wolves: Iraq tells about the revenge story of a Turkish secret service agent to preserve not only the honor of Turkish military and the nation but also the honor of the Iraqis. Polat Alemdar (Necati Sasmaz) goes to Northern Iraq with his two friends to take revenge from Sam Marshall (Billy Zane), the American commander. Threatening Sam Marshall, Polat tries to make him wear a sack just as he has previously done to Turkish soldiers. Although they fail to make Marshall wear the sack, all of a sudden Polat and his friends find themselves struggling for a more important and humanitarian mission: to kill Marshall and to save Iraqis from his tyrannical rule.

The narrative juxtaposes reality into fiction and this cliché trick helps the director create a sense of certainty on the screen. Spectator identification

process occurs even before the film since Polat Alemdar (Necati Sasmaz) is a well known popular TV series star (*Valley of the Wolves*, 2003). The first thing that movie aims to give is an overall violent depiction of the current situation in Northern Iraq which puts all the blame on American presence which fails to stabilize the region. Moreover, under the leadership of Sam Marshall who thinks that he has a God given mission to establish peace in the region, America is presented as a troublemaker rather than a negotiator in the region. Throughout the movie, American stereotypes like fanatic, violent American soldiers or Hitler like evangelical capitalist Sam Marshall are presented as the source of all hatred. There is a great emphasis on the violent consequences of Marshall's fanatic religious beliefs. The spectator suffers with each wounded, killed or beaten Iraqis. Throughout the movie the spectator is given no choice but to hate the Americans.

Valley of the Wolves: Iraq can not escape becoming a Hollywood replica since it creates powerful stereotypes like Sam Marshall. From the very first moments, it is clear that Turkish secret service agent, nationalist Polat Alemdar will face Sam Marshall and beat him. Sam looks like a modern colonial leader rather than an army commander because he never wears uniforms but safari clothes. Sam Marshall represents evil with his a fanatic, money oriented and brutal character whereas Polat Alemdar stands for the good.

The two important issues that are emphasized in the movie to justify anti-American point of view are Turkish nationalism and Christianity. In his own words, Polat defines himself as "neither a political party leader nor a diplomat, nor a soldier but as a Turk". (*Valley of the Wolves*, 2006). Getting rid of all the social or political titles, Polat's 'Turkishness', which is above all other titles, is presented as an honorable, decent and brave identity against Sam Marshall's money-oriented, 'corrupt' American identity. It is not only Sam who receives the spectator's hatred, nearly all the American characters -except a soldier who resists against massacring the Iraqis in the truck- are presented as killers. Polat Alemdar as a Turk can not alienate himself to the treatment of both innocent Turcoman and Iraqis in Iraq by the Kurdish and American powers. Interestingly, Kurdish leader is shown as coordinating with Americans as opposed to the Arab and Turkmen leader

The second issue that is presented as the cause of trouble in the region is Christianity which directly coincides with American values. Throughout the film, moralistic religious propaganda is constantly asserting in the minds of the

spectator that Islam is a peaceful religion. Thus, Sam Marshall's religion Christianity is presented inferior to Islam. Islam is a common culture or value that binds Turks, Arabs and Kurds in that region. So it is emphasized that Islam is another means that serves to verify Turkish presence in Northern Iraq more than the U.S. presence. There are long preaching scenes of Abdurrahman Haris Kerkuki, the Muslim Sheikh praising the virtues of Islam and calling all the Muslims for a union. The movie conveys the thought that American presence deliberately makes things unsolvable in Iraq. There is a direct attack to the US since it sets people at odds, brings the interests of Kurds, Turks and Arabs in conflict. For instance Sam Marshall while talking to the Jewish doctor clearly admits that he played both ends against the middle. So, Turkish Islamic synthesis with a heavy emphasis on anti-Americanism becomes the main theme of the movie.

Movie's popularity goes hand in hand with the rise of Turkish nationalism and rise of anti-Americanism in Turkey. Turkish nationalism is a multifaceted phenomenon which had different implications throughout Turkish History. In 1960s struggling against imperialism and Americanism became a leftist tendency; in 1980s Turkish nationalism was united with Islam and it began to be defined by some scholars as "an amorphous concept of Turkish Islamic synthesis..." (Criss, 2002: 472-484). This political emphasis on Islamic identity after 1980s shaped itself through Islamic nationalism in 1990s (Yavuz and Ozcan, 2006: 109). Since Turkey is an American ally, that conflict makes U.S.-Turkish foreign relations very complex.

The situation today clearly demonstrates that anti-American attitudes in foreign policy making were mainly fueled by the unanswered Kurdish question. After the invasion of Iraq; the US support for Kurdish self determination and the presence of PKK camps in Iraq became the main cause of opposition to American policies on Turkish side (Yavuz and Ozcan, 2006: 110). The rise of Turkish nationalism is due to a more broadened influence of PKK in Turkey. Their continuing terrorist activities thus coincided with U.S. sphere of influence in Northern Iraq which clearly refused Turkish existence in the region. Turks believe that the United States is supporting the formation of an independent Kurdish state in Northern Iraq with future irredentist aspirations in Turkish territory and thus are using the PKK against Ankara (Yavuz and Ozcan, 2006: 115). In relation to this situation, another important point must be emphasized. In the movie, there is an alliance between American and Kurdish leaders that excludes Arabs and Turks from the future plans of the region. In one of the

moments when Arab, Kurdish and Turcoman leaders come together and convey their problems to Sam Marshall, Turcoman leader demands their share from the oil which is the source of their land while he complains about Kurdish treatment of Turks as minorities. This is also a reflection of resentment on Turkish side which can be linked to nationalism and anti-Americanism.

The movie came out at a time when Turkish American relations were going through a serious test. Rising anti-American phenomena in Turkey was already in the agenda of U.S. foreign policy makers after Turkish Parliament's refusal to allow the U.S. to move the troops through Turkey into Iraq during the 2003 Iraq War. Turkish public *Valley of the Wolves: Iraq* is an outcome of this anti-American phenomenon that is fueled up by media and press. Despite the contradictions like employing Hollywood cinema techniques but at the same time condemning the United States, the movie is highly praised by Turkish mass media and also applauded by politicians as well. As politician Cem Ozdemir stated "the movie created a mass hysteria in the country that everyone feels they have to see it" (Ozdemir, 2006). However, although the movie found great support in public there were some journalists and film critics who were raising their voices against 'the prejudiced', 'unfair' and 'provoking' messages of the film such as the call for a Muslim unity against Christians. Some other journalists and politicians also criticized the attitude of Turkish government for not distancing itself from this film to demonstrate its opposition to anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism (Ozdemir, 2006).

In short the movie, through the emphasis on Turkish Islamic synthesis and by adopting the ongoing debates and problems of U.S. Turkish relations into the narrative, aims to find scapegoats for the current situation in Iraq. The stereotypical presentation fits into the American image -that is being shaped by the popular culture, mass media- in the minds of the spectator. This movie is an outcome of anti-American sentiments in Turkey. It is debatable whether it will contribute to the rise of Anti-Americanism in Turkey or not but its clear that the popularity of the movie reflects that it is anti-Americanism as well as an anti-Christianity that redefines Turkish nationalism.

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THE DREARY AFFAIR OF DEATH

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MOTTO: *Dying is a very dull, dreary affair.*
(W. Somerset Maugham)

Criminal sentences can take a number of forms, including fines, probation, and incarceration in prisons or penitentiaries. And once again, as paradoxical as it may seem, the death penalty is being used in some countries around the world.

All sentences – from the smallest fine to the longest prison term – have different goals. The basis for these goals lies deep in the philosophy underlying the whole criminal justice system. Any criminal justice process is meant to accomplish something, to achieve some social utility beyond merely solving crimes and catching criminals. The process is used to reduce the crime rate by stopping the criminal activities of apprehended offenders and deterring others from committing crimes.

Sentencing is designed to achieve at least four goals:

Incapacitation, which refers to preventing the individual from committing further criminal acts. Sanctions imposed to incapacitate are not intended to diminish an offender's inclinations to future criminal acts (this involves treatment to change the offender's attitudes or personality), but to preclude opportunities for criminal behavior at least while under state control. The death penalty is obviously totally incapacitating. Long prison terms also illustrate the incapacitation goal, but so do lesser sanctions, including the rules and conditions of probation and the surveillance of persons serving sentences in the community.

Deterrence is generally about the prevention of criminal acts in the population at large by offering examples of persons convicted of crimes. Thus, even if there is no need to restrain a particular offender by imprisonment, a long prison term might still be given as a message to potential offenders who might otherwise commit similar crimes.

Rehabilitation involves a sentence designed to provide treatment for conditions in the offender's attitudes, personality or general personal history that may have led the offender to commit crimes. Sentencing a person to prison

for rehabilitation is often compared to sending a sick person to a hospital to receive treatment for an illness.

Punishment is a goal different from the other three, though an intrinsic component of each. Incapacitation, deterrence and rehabilitation are *future-oriented*, in that they are destined to prevent additional crimes by an offender or others. Punishment, however, is focused on the *past* criminal behavior of the offender and is imposed to express condemnation of that behavior. Today the punishment goal is sometimes called “just deserts” or “commensurate deserts”, implying that it is an appropriate goal of the criminal justice system to make a criminal pay for a crime in proportion to the harm done.

All of these goals coexist in any sentence. However, one or the other may prevail, so that a prison sentence may be primarily for treatment or primarily for incapacitation. Which goal, if any, predominates varies from case to case, yet over time different sentence goals tend to become the most important. But what about the goal of a sentence such as the death penalty? What exactly are the reasons beyond the process leading to such extreme, irrevocable “conclusion”?

One answer could be the increasing disillusionment with the rehabilitative ideal. The result has been the drafting of new provisions stressing the punitive and incapacitory purposes of sentences rather than their treatment value.

The French writer Montesquieu, in *De l'esprit des lois (The Spirit of the Laws, 1748)*, wrote that the death penalty is a sort of retaliation. An individual deserves to die, he said, when he has violated security to such extent that he suppressed life or when he has engaged in suppressing it.

The arguments in favour and against the death penalty are like a long litany that has crossed time and space. Such a ticklish topic was debated as early as the Roman Empire, by the famous orator Cicero and others, by the parliaments of the 20th century great democracies and by well-known writers, starting with Cesare Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene (On Crimes and Punishments, 1764)*, continuing with Koestler and Camus (1957) or with the American criminologist Thorsten Sellin (1896-1993), who has added the outcome of scientific research to the classical religious, philosophical, political and legal arguments.

Modern law and practice on capital punishment are more the result of historical evolution than of compelling logic. Therefore, knowledge of the

historical context is necessary to understand the current implications of the death penalty.

Any history of the world devotes substantial attention to the more prominent executions punctuating events over the centuries. A moment's reflection reveals that one of the most important and a well-known event in the history of mankind was at base an execution. The crucifixion of Jesus launched a worldwide religious movement.

However, the first established death penalty laws date as far back as the 18th century B.C. in the Code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, which codified the death penalty for 25 different crimes. The first recorded death sentence was in the 16th century B.C. Egypt. A member of nobility was accused of magic and ordered to take his own life. Non-nobility were usually killed with an axe. The death penalty was also part of the 14th century B.C.'s Hittite Code; in the 7th century B.C.'s Draconian Code of Athens, which made death the only punishment for all crimes; and in the 5th century B.C.'s Roman Law of the Twelve Tablets. Death sentences were carried out by such means as crucifixion, drowning, beating to death, burning alive and impalement.

In the 10th century A.D., hanging became the usual method of execution in Britain. In the following century, William the Conqueror would not allow persons to be hanged or otherwise executed for any crime, except in times of war. This trend would not last, for in the 16th century, under the reign of Henry VIII, as many as 72,000 people are estimated to have been executed. Some common methods of execution at that time were boiling, burning at the stake, hanging, beheading and drawing and quartering. Executions were carried out for such capital offences as marrying a Jew, not confessing to a crime and treason. The number of capital crimes in Britain continued to rise throughout the next two centuries. By the 1700s, 222 crimes were punishable by death in Britain, including stealing, cutting down a tree and robbing a rabbit warren. In 18th century London, the spectacle of a hanging served the purpose of forcing the poor population of the town to accept the criminalization of customary rights and new forms of private property.

Returning to the present, it may be noticed that the conditions calling for the death sentence have changed dramatically (mainly under the influence of capital punishment reforms), there are less painful means to take a man's life and yet, the terrible outcome is the same.

Here is what Albert Camus wrote on the death penalty and the immense psychological pressure it creates on those on death row:

“An execution is not simply death. It is just as different from the privation of life as a concentration camp is from prison. It adds to death a rule, a public premeditation known to the future victim, an organization which is itself a source of moral sufferings more terrible than death. *Capital punishment is the most premeditated of murders*, to which no criminal’s deed, however calculated, can be compared. For there to be an equivalency, the death penalty would have to punish a criminal who had warned his victim of the date at which he would inflict a terrible death on him and who, from that moment onward, had confined him at his mercy for months. Such a monster is not encountered in private life” (Camus, 1966: 8).

On the international scene, the United States, considered to be one of the world’s greatest democracies, which has risen upon the principles of freedom, the rule of law and respect for human rights, still condemns people to death. Although some US states began abolishing the death penalty (e.g. Alaska, Hawaii, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia and Wisconsin), most states held onto the capital punishment (the remaining 38). As of July 1st, 2005, the death penalty was authorized by 38 states, the Federal Government and the US Military.

Recent statistics show that 60 people were executed in the US last year (the actual figures are as follows: China occupies the first position of a top of world’s “most murdering” countries – at least 1770 executions; Iran – 94; Saudi Arabia -86; US – 60; Pakistan – 31; Yemen – 24; Vietnam – 21; Jordan – 11; Mongolia -8; Singapore – 6).

At the dawn of the 3rd millennium, the administration of the death penalty in the United States is a crying injustice that any civilized nation would bend its efforts and lend its best legal talent to correct or terminate.

It is true that after the tragic events of September 11th and the ongoing war against terrorism, the US is not ready to “give up” the capital punishment, at least not for terrorism crimes. In addition to the execution of foreign nationals, there are numerous instances where people wanted for crime in the US are arrested in other countries. The question of extradition and the possible use of the death penalty have raised major concerns throughout Europe, Canada, Mexico and parts of Africa. Suspected terrorists not only may face the death penalty in the US if extradited, but they may also be tried in a military tribunal that lacks the normal due process afforded by defendants in the civilian courts. While the US sorely want to bring such suspects to justice, many countries just as strongly believe that the death penalty is a human rights issue

and extradition in such circumstances would be a violation of deeply held principles.

The problem is that most US states still feel that inescapable urge to condemn at all costs. Anthony Amsterdam, a professor of law at New York University explained the nature and context of capital prosecutions themselves. "The crimes", he said "are usually ugly, terror-arousing, often so incomprehensible as to seem monstrous, so that with communities upset and citizens frightened, the police begin what has been called *the often competitive work ferreting out crime*" (Amsterdam, 1998: 1). The competition is of course "to catch the guy", which usually means to confirm the guilt of the first plausible culprit on whom police suspicions alight. Assiduity in proving the suspect's guilt by any means is accounted good police work. Police never get points for being sceptical, for checking reasons that might lead to doubt.

If police work is competitive, prosecutors' work in capital cases is compared to the Olympic finale of all prosecution. The most common prosecutorial attitude in capital cases is a sort of monomaniacal alarmism, which makes prosecutors to go as far as disregarding or even concealing exculpatory evidence. On the other hand, in many American states, defence counsels are grossly ill-equipped or simply too incompetent to make any real use of the defendant's theoretical rights. A more ordinary situation is actually that of conscripted lawyers, paid so little for their services that they would be receiving less than the federal minimum wage if they devoted to their cases anything remotely approaching the number of hours that the case requires. In real life, few lawyers want to cripple their practices and impoverish themselves for the dubious satisfaction of attracting local hostility as the defender of some notorious, obnoxious, public enemy.

These are fortunately considered egregious extremes that will most certainly disappear, since legal practice in the US will hopefully abandon prosecution and charges so serious as to call for the capital punishment.

Global attitudes towards the death penalty have grown more sceptical after recent revelations, aided by modern DNA analysis, according to which some innocent people were sentenced to death. Illinois has observed a moratorium on executions since the year 2000, largely because of a scandal over death sentences issued to 12 people who were later exonerated.

Moreover, slowly, but impressively, international law and opinion are beginning to have an impact on law in the US, and particularly on the death penalty.

Although much of the world is still grounded in vigilant justice and retribution, Liberia and Mexico have recently abolished the death penalty. In fact, the world oscillates between two poles, two mainstream tendencies: the conservative tendency, which sees the perpetrator only as a criminal and ignores their victimhood and humanity, and the liberal tendency, which sees the perpetrator purely as a victimized human and learns to ignore their crimes.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights definitely illustrates the second tendency. Each year since 1997, the UN Commission on Human Rights has passed a resolution calling on countries that have not yet abolished the death penalty to establish a moratorium on executions. The latest resolution, adopted in April 2005, was co-sponsored by 81 UN member states, the highest number ever.

As far as the European Union is concerned, it is strongly opposed to the death penalty in all cases and has consistently espoused its universal abolition, working towards this goal. In countries which maintain the death penalty, the EU aims at the progressive restriction of its scope and respect for the strict conditions, set forth in several international human rights instruments, under which the capital punishment may be used, as well as the establishment of moratoriums on executions as to completely eliminate the death penalty.

In Europe the questioning of the legitimacy of the death penalty had a stronger impact at the beginning of the 19th century. Some countries not only restricted the scope of capital punishment, but went even further as to permanently abolish the death penalty in their laws for ordinary crimes. Portugal led the way in 1867, immediately followed by the Netherlands. Sweden and Denmark joined this abolitionist movement after the First World War. After the Second World War, Italy, Finland and Austria did likewise. The mid-century was also the time for Germany to outlaw capital punishment, encompassing abolition for all crimes. In the 1960s and 1970s, the United Kingdom and Spain also became legally abolitionist for civil crimes. Romania abolished the death penalty in 1990, shortly after the Revolution against communism, replacing it by life imprisonment.

Although these states' experiences in abolition varied in time, they shared common ground – that of the inhumane, unnecessary and irreversible character of capital punishment, no matter how cruel the crime committed by the offender.

Besides, this justification now seems to be shared by the international community as a whole, insofar as both the Rome Statute of the International

Criminal Court and the United Nations Security Council Resolutions establishing the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda do not provide the death penalty among the range of sanctions, even when the most serious crimes, including genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes are to be tried.

Humanistic values, ethical views and human rights reasons weighed in favour of the abolition of the death penalty. Effectively, for European governments the death penalty as a means of state punishment rapidly revealed itself as a denial of human dignity, a fundamental constituent of the common heritage of the European Union.

At the same time, there is insufficient justification on either criminal or criminological grounds for maintaining such a punishment.

First of all, it is scientifically demonstrated that the death penalty and its application does not deter criminality any more effectively than other forms of punishment. Indeed crime rate and the death penalty are independent realities, capital punishment and its execution failing to have a dissuasive effect and thus to produce less violent societies.

Also, maintaining capital punishment would not fit the *philosophy of rehabilitation* pursued in the criminal justice systems of all EU member states and according to which one of the penological aims of penalties is that of resocialising the offender.

Furthermore, emphasis is placed as well upon the penological goal of prevention, understood as a process *ante delictum* (before trial) and *post delictum* (post crime), implying the rejection of any form of brutality, be it physical or psychological, with a view to promoting respect for human rights and preventing the development of an even more crime-ridden society.

Last but not least, capital punishment should not be seen as an appropriate way of compensating the suffering of crime victims' families, as this perspective turns the justice system into a mere tool of illegitimate private vengeance. This does not mean that European criminal systems are utterly insensitive to victims' rights and interests. Quite the contrary, legislation safeguarding those rights, as well as victims' assistance agencies and programmes are provided.

It is not only the victims' families that suffer an irremediable loss, the offenders' families stand in need of rehabilitation. That is why it is essential that the emotion and trauma caused by the loss in both cases be surmounted, and this requires the availability of financial and psychological support.

In the realm of judicial practice, the irreversible nature of capital punishment has also to be taken into account. The most disturbing fact is perhaps that even highly advanced legal systems, which rest upon the principle of the rule of law, including the principle of the due process, are not immune to miscarriages of justice. Or, that irreversibility removes any possibility and does away with any chance of correcting such miscarriages of justice, allowing for the execution of innocent people.

Unpardonable judicial error, different interpretations of the law, conviction based on unclear, non-convincing or sparse evidence, as well as lack of adequate legal assistance at all stages of the proceedings, particularly when the accused is indigent, are just some of the circumstances which may result in the innocent being executed.

As a result, criminal policy programmes were intentionally humanised in order to pursue the view under which the state's actions should not have human beings as victims.

Maintaining the death penalty would, instead, bring to light undesirable expiatory features of criminal law. Accordingly, major reform initiatives were carried out at European level, restructuring criminal sanctions as to make them more conducive mainly to the rationale of social rehabilitation and reintegration of the offender in the community, while taking into consideration the need to ensure the protection of society and to prevent crime, rather than punish it.

Opting for a more humane, but also more effective, criminal justice system opened the way for envisaging adequate alternative criminal sanctions to the death penalty. Thus, European lawmakers assumed that crime could be equally punishable by means of non-lethal penalties, such as long-term or life imprisonment. In practice, even when the death penalty was still contemplated by the law, and even mandatory, either the judge would decide upon an alternative penalty by reason of mitigating circumstances or the sentence would be systematically the object of a pardon and consequently commuted.

Life imprisonment remains the usual alternative for very serious crimes. In any case, although nearly all member states provide for this type of punishment in their respective penal codes, either as a possibility or mandatorily, it is perceived rather as a principle than as a common practice.

In some countries, life imprisonment can indeed be replaced by temporary incarceration, once there are explicit mitigating circumstances. Additionally, in practically all member states parole can be granted to those sentenced to life after having served a certain term in prison and depending on

other factors, such as good behaviour, signs of readaptation or illness. In Romania, people aged 60 by the time the sentence of life imprisonment was delivered, will serve other prison sentences instead. Commutation of the penalty by way of pardon is just one possible alternative. In some countries imprisonment for life simply can not be applied to juveniles or to the mentally ill.

As to long-term imprisonment, the present criminal policy in the EU member states clearly shows a decreasing trust in the resocialising effect of long prison sentences and is moving towards keeping imprisonment to an absolute minimum.

It is well established that long-term imprisonment, and above all life imprisonment fails to achieve its criminal policy's goals, unless relevant measures are adopted in order to enable the return of the prisoner to social life at the right moment. In this context, the possibility of parole is of paramount importance. In fact, a crime prevention policy which admits maintaining imprisoned for life a convicted person who has served in prison a term corresponding to the gravity of the crime and is no longer a danger to society, would fail to meet either recognised minimum standards for the treatment of prisoners or the goal of social rehabilitation which is attained in view of the willingness and ability of the offender to lead a law-abiding and self-supporting life. Moreover, it must be accentuated that the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child expressly deals with the issue of life imprisonment imposed on minors, stating that such a harsh sentence without the possibility of release shall not be imposed for offences committed by persons below 18 years of age.

The EU is equally concerned about the imposition of the death penalty on persons below 18 years of age. All the EU member states reject the idea of incorrigibility of juveniles. These states hold the view that the issue of juvenile delinquency should be addressed bearing in mind that young offenders are in the process of full development, facing several difficulties of adaptation. In addition, poor backgrounds, lack of success at school and dependence on drugs are just some of the social problems affecting them and fostering their criminal behaviour. As a result, they are less mature and thus less culpable, and should not be treated as adults, deserving a more lenient criminal sanctions system. This implies, among other things, absolute rejection of the death penalty for juveniles.

Not only Europe, but the whole world should base its legal action on the inherent dignity of all human beings and on the inviolability of the human person.

Offenders are human beings who committed crimes – sometimes abominable ones – but who also enjoy an inherent and inalienable dignity, the very same dignity claimed by rationalist philosophy, all relevant religions, and by law, the death penalty being a denial of human honour.

Long ago, European countries, either in practice or in law, made a choice for humanity, abolishing the death penalty and thus applying a legal and moral principle that reads *No peace without justice, no justice without forgiveness*. And this is the ultimate principle that the EU wishes to share with all countries, as it shares other common values such as freedom, democracy, the rule of law and the safeguard of human rights.

Cesare Beccaria, the great Italian reformer, once said that if he could prove that punishment was neither useful nor necessary, he would have furthered the cause of humanity.

If the EU succeeds in reaching its goal, both the EU and other countries will have furthered the cause of humanity, as Beccaria foretold.

The EU has on many occasions invited the USA to equally adhere to this noble cause.

International concerns about the death penalty would probably never be enough alone to make the US abandon this revolting practice. The truth is, capital punishment is unlikely to be undone for any one reason. Like snow on a branch, it is not any single flake that makes the branch break, but rather the collective and massive weight of many flakes accumulating over time.

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II LANGUAGE STUDIES

THE META-MODEL IN TRANSLATION

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1. The Meta-Model, “a tool for analysing perception and meaning” (Katan, 2004: 119), was the result of an interesting project (Bandler and Grinder, 1975) achieved to explain how therapists used language to enlarge their clients’ perception of reality, on the one hand, and how their clients used language to limit perception, on the other. In his introduction to R. Bandler’s and J. Grinder book, Bateson (1975: IX-XI) qtd in Katan, 120) says that multi-cultural communication requires a wider perception of reality, and that “Those who require the services of translators and interpreters will need mediators, who can, like therapists, assist them in assimilating discourse, spoken or written, from within another context of situation and culture”.

1.1. The Meta-Model, based on Chomsky’s formalist model of surface and deep structures, according to which for every surface structure there is a more complete deep structure, “identifies those language patterns which are generalizations, distortions and deletions, i.e. simplistic models of meaning, and clarifies the shorthand we use to communicate”(Katan, 2004: 126). It is also used to check for “where simplistic communication obscures meaning, and includes specific questions to clarify and challenge imprecise language”(ibid.). The Meta-Model is also related to well-formedness, this being the basic principle used to investigate meaning.

This approach is similar to the one used by E. Nida (1976: 72-73) in investigating meaning.

Moreover, E. Nida simplifies Chomsky’s model, being in favour of a “deep structure approach [...] to fully identify the extent of equivalence and the need for supplementation or redistribution of semantic components” (ibid.). He includes the context (excluded by Chomsky), considering it essential in translation (Nida, 2001).

1.2. According to D. Katan (2004: 127), the function of the Meta-Model is to bring to the surface what is hidden “and clarify complete representations”. This model is closely related to the unconscious “choices” which reflect the individual’s patterns of thought and “are influenced or constrained by the meaning potential of the grammatical system, the particular context of situation, and the context of culture” (ibid.).

The Meta-Model focuses on explicitness. The result is that it raises awareness of ambiguity and vagueness. Thus, it makes intelligible the linguistic choices expressed in the message (see Appendix).

Therefore we consider that the Meta-Model i translation can be represented as follows:

- bringing to the surface what is hidden
- well-formedness
- accessing a relevant frame of interpretation
- making a mental representation
- the translator's ability to give a full linguistic representation of the text
- generalization
- distortion
- deletion
- explicitation
- clarifying
 - vagueness;
 - imprecise language;
 - differences between well-formedness and shared information;
 - semantically incomplete and unshared utterances;
 - miscommunication;
- contextualizing translation
- translation environment → mapping (transformation from ST to TT)
→ equivalence
- covert and overt translations
- de-automatization
- agnation
- meta-function
- the translator's final choices influenced and constrained by:
 - lexico- grammar
 - style

The Meta-Model in Translation

2. In our opinion if we look at the representation of the Meta-Model in

translation, it is obvious that the relationship between linguistics and translation should be paid greater attention .

2.1. Further linguistic insight into translation can only be gained by *contextualizing* translation, not by isolating it. Contextualizing translation consists in exploring the limits of translation (one of the limits referring to where translation is no longer re-construal of meaning), and in establishing its position in relation with other fields concerned with multilingualism such as contrastive analysis, comparative linguistics and typological linguistics. This will be all the more necessary, as “linguistics can learn a good deal from translation” (Gregory, 2001: 19).

Thus, more attention should be paid to how the facts, processes and consequences of translation can be useful to linguists.

One way of contextualizing translation suggested by Matthiessen (2001) is to contextualize it in the lexico-grammar of English.

Venuti (1995) also considers that the translator is anchored in the lexico-grammatical construction of translation. This is one of his striking arguments in favour of the translator’s invisibility.

In Matthiessen’s opinion, in order to make translation very effective, it should be *maximally contextualized*. According to his principle of contextualization, “the wider the context, the more information is available to guide the translation” (Matthiessen, 2001: 74). Furthermore, a wider environment implies a higher level of equivalence between languages, or to put it differently, the wider the environment of translation, the lower the translation differences. Thus, the widest stratal environment of translation is the context. As a matter of fact, Matthiessen (2001: 115) also considers translation equivalence “a matter of degree where the degree depends on the nature of the systems involved in the translation”. He places translation in a comprehensive typology of systems, which is the widest environment. This view proves to be useful in exploring translation as a semiotic process (of transformation and mapping).

2.2. Considering that translation is mapping (a transformation from the ST to the TT), “it takes place in the environment of more general patterns located closer to the potential pole of the cline of instantiation” (ibid.).

As far as the aspects of equivalence and shifts in translation are concerned, the wider the environment of translation, the higher the degree of translation equivalence, and the narrower the environment the higher the degree

of translation shift (Matthiessen, 2001: 78). Therefore, the highest degree of equivalence is closely related to the widest environment, i.e. the context. Even if there are no exact equivalents at the lexico-grammatical or at the semantic levels, there is *contextual equivalence*, which is very important. Moreover, there is also ideational equivalence, i.e. in terms of *meta-function* (see Appendix).

The traditional difference between “free” and “literal” translation is thus discussed in terms of the environment: the narrower the environment, the more “literal” the translation, i.e. word for word translation rather than the translation of meaning. Therefore, the wider the environment of translation, the “freer” the translation.

2.3. M. A. K. Halliday’ s idea that narrower environments are “*automatized*” is worth mentioning about “the words and structures and sounds being there in their automatic function of realizing the semantic selections in an unmarked way – getting on with expressing meanings, without parading themselves in patterns of their own” (Halliday, 2001: 135).

However, he speaks about the *de-automatization* considering it more suitable than *foregrounding*, as “the partial freeing of the lower level systems from the control of semantics” (ibid.). Thus, through the de-automatization of grammar, grammatical choices are not determined automatically, but a selection is made. For example, selection at the grammatical level is obvious with the distinction between ‘*operative*’ (process realized by an active verbal group – unmarked) and ‘*receptive*’ clauses (process realized by a passive verbal group-marked). With ‘receptive’ clauses, the distinction between *agentive* (agent represented by a *by* phrase) and *non-agentive* (agent missing) clauses should be considered (see Appendix).

Translation must bring out the meanings created by de-automatization, and special attention has to be paid to the lower levels in order to bring out the significance of the lower-level resources in making meaning. This holds valid for literary translation, especially for translating poetry, where two words, expressions, collocations may be very closely related within a system of options, or within a particular environment. Therefore, the environment is decisive. M. Baker (1992: 47-63) also considers that an aspect of utmost importance is that translation of lexical items in their collocational environment (see Appendix).

This is also an aspect of *agnation* whose relevance to translation lies in the fact that “any expression in the ST will be agnate to innumerable alternative

expressions defined by the systemic potential of the SL and all these agnates are candidates in the SL for translation into the TL, and by the same token, there will also be a set of agnate candidates in the target language” (Matthiessen, 2001: 83).

Agnation can be considered in relation to translation as the “*search space*” in finding possible solutions in translation. Sometimes, one of the agnates may be the best solution in translation, rather than the actual expression. The agnates make up the ST’s *shadow texts*, which are texts that “might have been because they fall within the potential of the language – and these shadow texts are also relevant to translation. Likewise, an actual translation exists against the background of shadow translations – possible alternative translations defined by the systemic potential of the target language” (ibid.). Most often in comparing two parallel corpora (ST and TT), agnation is a critical part of the environment of translation.

2.4. Given the fact that the translation competence is a process of choosing between alternatives, the translators are “conscious of themselves as choosers of alternatives” (Bennett, 1993: 62). Thus it can be said that they are in a *meta-position*. In Katan and Straniero’s opinion “A translator is not only able to mindshift and associate with both the ST and the virtual TT but is also able to take a third perceptual position (the meta-position) which is dissociated from both cultures” (Katan and Straniero, 2001 a: 220-221, Katan, 2001b).

3. In judging the quality of a translation, to know if a translation is good or effective, the central concept is that of a typology of equivalencies. In this respect, Halliday considers three vectors to be the most relevant: *stratification* (the organization of a language in ordered strata: phonetic, phonological, lexico-grammatical, semantic and contextual), *metafunction* (the organization of content strata, i.e. lexico-grammar and semantics, in functional components: ideational, interpersonal and textual), and *rank* (the organization of the formal strata, i.e. phonology and lexico-grammar, in a compositional hierarchy: clauses, phrases, groups, words and morphemes) (Halliday, 2001: 15).

Considering these vectors, one should mention that the equivalence at different strata has different values: within a sort of a scale, equivalence goes upwards from lexico-grammatical, to semantic and to contextual equivalence. Therefore, contextual equivalence is the highest of all. This does not mean that equivalence at the lowest rank, i. e. the morpheme, can be ignored. The same

holds valid for equivalence up the rank scale in the context of the next higher unit.

Consequently, equivalence at different ranks carries different values: the higher the rank, the higher the value. However, there may be situations where a lower rank equivalence acquires a higher value.

3.1. Halliday (2001: 15) refers to *meta-function* as “the organization of the content strata (lexico-grammar and semantics) in functional components: ideational, interpersonal and textual, roughly, the parts of the system that have to do with construing human experience, enacting social relationships, and creating discourse”.

The ideational function is the most important of all. As a matter of fact, translation equivalence is generally defined on the basis of the ideational function. A TT has to match its ST ideationally.

However, there are contexts in which the requirement for ideational equivalence is overridden. Situations of overriding equivalence at one stratum (e.g. semantic) occur when contextual equivalence is given the highest value, i.e. the translator’s task is considered to be that of producing a TT with a function equivalent to that of the original in the context of situation.

The meta-function of the ST has to be preserved as much as possible in spite of the differences between the two languages. Sometimes there is underrepresentation or overrepresentation of the TL specific features or there may be extension of the SL influence as regards patterning and collocability (see Appendix).

The word *value* is essential in defining a “good” translation. Thus, a “good” translation in Halliday’s opinion is “a text which is a translation (i.e. equivalent) in respect of those linguistic features which are most valued in the given translation context” (Halliday, 2001: 17). He considers that the word *value* has to be attached to equivalence at different ranks, different strata, different meta-functions. In ranks, it is higher with the lexico-grammatical units; in strata it is most important at the levels of semantics and context, whereas in meta-function, equivalence has the highest value at the interpersonal and textual levels.

3.2. In evaluating the quality of a translation, it is not only the translator’s knowledge, intuitions and experience that should be taken into consideration. According to the neo-hermeneutic approach, translation is “an individual creative act depending exclusively on subjective interpretation and

transfer decisions” (Stolze, 1992). Thus, the translator’s interpretation of the original is based on his intuitions, knowledge and interpretive abilities.

Nevertheless, other translation theorists, J. House included, do not agree to this approach. J. House considers that it “only sheds light on what happens between the translator and features of the original text. The superordinate question of how one can tell when a translation is good cannot be answered in any satisfactory manner” (House, 2001: 128).

As a conclusion, it can be said that the equivalence of the TT to the ST needs to be examined from the point of view of multiple potential equivalencies.

Consequently, the typology of equivalencies is closely related to the Meta-Model which focuses on well-formedness, language patterns, explicitness, clarifying complete representations, ambiguity and vagueness. It also points out the role of the context and translation environment. Other important conclusions to draw are that translation equivalence is generally defined on the basis of the meta-function, which requires the translator’s meta-position, i.e. dissociation from both language cultures involved.

APPENDIX

Pride and Prejudice
Chapter 6
by Jane Austen (1775-1817)

The ladies of Longbourn soon waited on those of Netherfield. The visit was returned¹ in due form. Miss Bennet’s pleasing manners grew on the good will of Mrs. Hurst and Miss Bingley; and though the mother was found to be intolerable and the younger sisters not worth speaking to, a wish of being better acquainted with them, was expressed towards the two eldest. By Jane this attention was received with the greatest pleasure; but Elizabeth still saw superciliousness in their treatment of everybody, hardly excepting even her sister, and could not like them; though their kindness to Jane, such as it was, had a value as

Mândrie și prejudecată
Capitolul 6
de Jane Austen (1775-1817)

Curând doamnele de la Longbourn le vizitară pe cele de la Netherfield. Au răspuns, după cum se cuvenea, la vizita¹ ce li se făcuse. Manierele încântătoare ale domnișoarei Bennet câștigă bunăvoința doamnei Hurst și a domnișoarei Bingley și, cu toate că pe mamă o considerau insuportabilă, iar pe surorile mai mici nedemne de a li se adresa vreun cuvânt, și-au exprimat față cele două surori mai mari dorința de a le cunoaște mai bine. Jane a fost plăcut impresionată de acest lucru; însă Elizabeth simțea aerul de superioritate cu care tratau pe toată lumea, nefăcând excepție nici măcar cu sora ei, și nu le agreea, deși i se părea că amabilitatea lor

arising in all probability from the influence of their brother's admiration.

față de Jane, atâta câtă era, se datora după toate probabilitățile influenței exercitate de admirația fratelui lor pentru ea.

¹The passives at the beginning of the excerpt, viz. **the visit was returned ... ; [...] a wish [...] was expressed** were translated by active structures into Romanian, i.e. **au răspuns la vizita...; și-au exprimat dorința...**, as they are more specific to Romanian, whereas passive is far more frequently used in English; as a matter of fact, there are a lot of passive verbal forms all over the fragment: **the mother was found to be intolerable and the younger sisters not worth speaking to; a wish of being better acquainted with them was expressed this attention was received ... it was not likely to be discovered by the world ...** a.s.o. The successful translation of the published version (*Mândrie și prejudecată*, trad. Al. Petrea) is a communicative translation, a reader-oriented one, taking into consideration the common reader's needs. Thus, the first two sentences are rendered by only one sentence: **the ladies of Longbourn soon waited on those of Netherfield. The visit was returned in due form.** → *vizita doamnelor din Longbourn la Netherfield nu s-a lăsat mult așteptată, conform uzanțelor*. For the same communicative purposes, the sentence **Miss Bennett's pleasing manners grew on the good will of Mrs. Hurst and Miss Bingley** was translated by *Domnișoara Bennett devenea din ce în ce mai mult o fată din înalta societate sub privirea atentă a doamnei Hurst și a domnișoarei Bingley*. We should mention that there is a slight change of meaning as compared to the ST. Moreover, the meaning of the next syntagm is changed: **and though the mother was found to be intolerable** → *prezența mamei a fost respinsă categoric*. The localization of the action in time would be different (cf. John Lyons).

It was generally evident whenever they met, that he *did* admire her; and to *her* it was equally evident that Jane was **yielding to the preference**² which she had begun to entertain for him from the first, and was in a way to be very much in love; but she considered with pleasure that **it was not likely to be discovered**³ by the world in general, since Jane united with great strength of feeling, a composure of temper and a uniform cheerfulness of manner, which would guard her from the suspicions of the **impertinent**⁴. She mentioned this to her friend Miss Lucas.

Era evident pentru toți că, ori de câte ori se întâlneau, el o privea într-adevăr cu admirație; iar pentru ea era la fel de evident faptul că Jane ceda sentimentului de simpatie² pe care începuse să-l nutrească pentru el încă din prima clipă și că era pe punctul de a se îndrăgosti cu adevărat; însă ea se gândea cu plăcere că era puțin probabil să se afle³ acest lucru, întrucât, pe lângă o mare putere de simțire, în firea lui Jane se reuneau o stăpânire de sine și o vioiciune permanentă care o fereau de bănuielile celor indiscreți⁴. Îi împărtăși toate acestea prietenei sale, domnișoara Lucas.

² **was yielding to the preference** → **ceda sentimentului de simpatie**; the words in bold were introduced in order to collocate with the antecedent **to yield**; **preference** was rendered by **simpatie**, not **înclinație / pornire / preferință** so as to form a collocation with the ensuing verb “**to entertain**”, **a nutri**.

³ **to be discovered by the world in general** → **să se afle**. The Romanian reflexive-passive used as an equivalent for the English passive is a verbal form with a much higher frequency in Romanian; and from the semantics and reference point of view, **a se descoperi** does not match **she was to be very much in love**. Besides, rendering both the adverb **in general** and the agent **by the world** by **de către cei din jur/ oamenii** would be redundant.

⁴ **of the impertinent** → **celor indiscreți**. **Impertinent** was not used in its primary meaning, viz *impertinent / obraznic / necuviincios / insolent*. The meaning of the substantivized adjective is derived from its secondary meaning given in the dictionary, i.e. *nepotrivit*, since the direct equivalence **celor impertinenți** would match another semantic and pragmatic dimension of the context; moreover, it would not be common usage in Romanian. The use of **curioși** in the published version is another good choice.

- It may perhaps be pleasant, replied Charlotte, to be able **to impose on the public in such a case**⁵; but it is sometimes a disadvantage to be so very **guarded**⁶.

- Poate că este plăcut, spuse Charlotte, să fii în stare **să-ți ascunzi sentimentele față de cei din jur**⁵ într-o astfel de situație; dar uneori nu e bine să fii atât de **precaut**⁶.

⁵ **to impose on the public** → **să-ți ascunzi sentimentele față de cei din jur**. The English phrasal verb is a false friend here, since it does not mean *a se impune în fața cuiva*, but it is a synonym of *to take in / cheat / deceive*. Consequently, it is a case of non-equivalence, the phrasal verb being rendered by a very long syntagm in the TL. Besides, **a păcăli / a induce în eroare** have a different contextual distribution in Romanian.

In the published version, the phrasal verb **to impose on** as well as the syntagm **to be so very guarded** were not rendered faithfully, and the latter was even skipped over; for communicative purposes, the two isolated sentences **It may perhaps be pleasant to be able to impose on the public in such a case; but it is sometimes a disadvantage to be very guarded** were rendered by one complex sentence *Recunosc că este grozav să-ți poți înfrânge atât de bine pornirile, deși cred că nu este bine să procedezi așa întotdeauna*. However, the translator considered here that it was the objective dimension of **to impose on** that had to be emphasized, not the subjective one; moreover, **to be very guarded** was not well rendered by *nu e bine să procedezi așa întotdeauna* or *dar nu este uneori o greșeală să fii atât de reținută* (see the published version translated by Ana Almăgeanu, Editura Eminescu, București, 1970). Therefore it can be considered a semantic loss.

⁶ **guarded** → **precaut**. This translation tallies in with the co-text referring to Jane's **imposing on the public** and **composure of temper ... which would guard her from the suspicions of the impertinent**. Possible equivalents such as *reținut / rezervat / stăpânit / calculat / introvertit* match different contexts and have different connotations.

If a woman **conceals her affection with the same skill from the object of it**⁷, she may lose **the opportunity of fixing him**⁸; and it will then be but poor consolation **to believe the world equally in the dark**.⁹

Dacă o femeie **își tănuiește dragostea cu aceeași iscusință și față de obiectul afecțiunii sale**⁷, poate pierde **prilejul de a-l cuceri**⁸; și atunci nu avea decât slaba consolare **să creadă că nici ceilalți nu știu nimic**⁹.

⁷ **if a woman conceals her affection with the same skill from the object of it** → **își tănuiește dragostea cu aceeași iscusință și față de obiectul afecțiunii sale**; the meaning of **to conceal** had to be preserved in collocation with the noun **skill**. In the published version the whole of it was translated by *când o femeie se poartă la fel de indiferent și cu omul iubit* (Al. Petrea), which could be considered a translation ambiguity; it would not be clear if it is a real or an apparent indifference. Moreover, **skill** does not mean *indifference*. The collocation **to conceal one's affection** does not necessarily mean *a se purta indiferent*.

⁸ **the opportunity of fixing him** → **prilejul de a-l cuceri**. The verb **to fix** is used in its connotative meaning; it is not a synonym of *to win over* which matches a different context, but partially, of *to catch somebody under one's net*. A. Almăgeanu rendered it by *a-l captiva*, whereas Al. Petrea's choice was *poate risca să-l piardă până la urmă(...)*.

⁹ **to believe the world equally in the dark** → **să crezi că nici ceilalți nu știu nimic**. If **nici** were not used to render **equally**, there would be a semantic loss; moreover, the use of **nici** entails the use of **ceilalți** and rejects the use of the noun *lumea*; the phrase **in the dark** is used in its connotation. It could not possibly be translated by *în întuneric / în ceață*, which have fully different connotations; *în ceață* has a slangy use as well.

We can all begin freely – **a slight preference**¹⁰ is natural enough; but there are very few of us who have heart enough to be really in love without encouragement. In nine cases out of ten, a woman had better show more affection than she feels. Bingley likes your sister undoubtedly; but he may never do more than like her, if she does not **help**¹¹ him on.

Cu toții putem face primul pas nestingheriți – **o ușoară preferință pentru cineva anume**¹⁰ e destul de firească; dar foarte puțini dintre noi sunt în stare să se îndrăgostească cu adevărat, fără încurajare. În nouă cazuri din zece, ar fi mai bine ca o femeie să arate mai multă afecțiune decât simte. Nu încapă îndoială că lui Bingley îi place sora ta; dar s-ar putea ca el să nu simtă niciodată ceva mai mult decât simpatie, dacă ea nu îl **încurajează**¹¹ puțin.

¹⁰ **a slight preference** → **o ușoară preferință pentru cineva anume**. The last words are not a real semantic gain, but they are necessary for completion and disambiguation from the Romanian language point of view.

¹¹ **help** → **a încuraja**, not *a ajuta*. The lexical selection is due to the co-text and to the fact that the Romanian context of *a ajuta* is different.

- But she does help him on, as much as her nature will allow. If I can perceive her regard for him, he must be a **simpleton**¹² indeed not to discover it too.
 - Remember, Eliza, that he does not know Jane's disposition as you do.
 - But if a woman is partial to a man, and does not endeavour to conceal it, he must find it out.

- Dar ea îl încurajează într-adevăr, atât cât îi permite firea. Dacă eu îmi pot da seama de admirația ei pentru el, el trebuie să fie chiar **nerod**¹² să nu observe acest lucru.

- Nu uita Eliza, că el nu cunoaște firea lui Jane așa cum o cunoști tu.

- Dacă unei femei îi place un bărbat și nu încearcă să ascundă acest lucru, el ar trebui să își dea seama.

¹² **simpleton** → **nerod**. The term *nătărău* was not favoured, although according to a semantic translation, it would render the meaning of the original better (cf. V. Breban, *nătărău = care pricepe greu*, 1980:375). However, *nătărău / prost / bleg / imbecil* have a different contextual distribution in Romanian. In the published version the choice was *doar un orb sau tont* (trad. Al. Petrea).

(translated and commented by G. Colipca, C. Maftai, A. Marton, D. Croitoru in Croitoru E. – coord. - 2004, pp. 28-31)

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**PATTERNS OF IDIOMACITY IN ENGLISH, ITALIAN AND
ROMANIAN**

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Starting from the idea that patterns of idiomacity are closely related to the ‘national character’ of a language, to its stylistic peculiarities, the present paper aims at proving that there are quite numerous instances when the patterns of idiomacity in different languages are similar or even identical.

To begin with, it should be pointed out that the meaning of the words used in patterns of idiomacity is different from their individual meanings. Words are delexicalized and this is the necessary correlate of co-selection. Moreover, the selections operated at the semantic level are not independent, one selection depending on another. Consequently, there is a result and effect of the idiomatic patterns meaning as a whole.

However, “a view of idiomacity which does full justice to the rich diversity of word combinations must recognize that the meaning of a combination may be related to those of its components in various ways and must also take into account the possibility of internal variation, or substitution of part for part” (Cowie, Mackin, McCaig, 1993: XII).

The term *idiomacity* is used to refer to the semantic property of an idiom, whereas the term ‘*idiomatology*’ (Hartman 1981) roughly corresponds to phraseology, i.e. to the linguistic description of set expressions whose meaning cannot be derived from the meaning of their constituent elements. The lexical family is completed by the term ‘*idiomatic*’ which refers to “the use of expressions that mean something different from the literal meanings of the words making up the respective expressions” (Lombardo, Haarman, Morley, Taylor, 1999: 298).

In an attempt to describe idiomacity, linguists referred to this phenomenon in terms of ‘transferred’, ‘isolated’ or ‘anomalous’ meaning.

Mention should be made of the fact that the idiomacity of a word group is the result of a diachronic process of idiomatization, interpretation of context meanings and of the communicative functions of a set phrase compared to its possible variants. For example, the denotational idiomatic meaning of *wet blanket* (informal) is “a person whose low spirits or lack of enthusiasm have a

depressing effect on the others". It also has an expressive connotation which implies a negative value judgement as derogatory and a stylistic connotation at the informal, colloquial level.

According to Fernando and Flavell (1981: 19) there are 'varying degrees' of idiomacity correlating with different types of categories of idioms. Their classification of idioms is based on the degree of motivation, therefore on *semantic intelligibility*. A distinction is made among four categories of idioms:

1. **Transparent expressions**, such as *to cut the wood, to break the eggs*, which are not idioms, but free collocations with a literal meaning derived from the meanings of the constituent words;

2. **Semi-transparent idioms**, such as *to skate on thin ice, to add fuel to the fire*, which can be regarded as metaphors having a counterpart with a literal meaning;

3. **Semi-opaque phrases**, such as *to burn one's boats, tarred with the same brush*, metaphor idioms which are not completely intelligible;

4. **Opaque phrases**, such as *to pull somebody's leg, to pass the buck* which are full idioms whose meaning cannot be derived from the meanings of the component words.

This scale of idiomacity is not very useful and rather vague in that metaphors can hardly be separated from idioms (in classes 2 and 3), considering that metaphorization (along with metonymy) is a general property of idiomacity (Gläser, 1988: 270).

The ODEI (1993) uses the term idiom with reference to all kinds of set expressions and provides a 'top-down' approach to idioms distinguishing four classes of such word groups:

1. **Pure idioms** - 'petrified' or 'congealed' phrases resulting from the process of idiomatization of a fixed word group: e.g. *kick the bucket, blow the gaff, carry coals to Newcastle*;

2. **Figurative idioms**, which are on the border of idioms, hardly allowing any variation: e.g. *to burn one's boats, to beat one's breast, to go to the dogs, to burn the candle at both ends*;

3. **Restricted collocations** (semi-idioms), combining one constituent with a transferred meaning and one with a literal meaning. Such collocations are possible variants of noun idioms with a certain collocational range: e.g. *a cardinal error/sin/virtue*;

4. **Open collocations**, which are free or loose syntactic structures with each constituent used in a common literal sense.

The grading of idiomacity according to the semantic relationship of those constituents of a group which have a transferred, idiomatic meaning and those which have a literal meaning allows a different classification of idioms into three classes:

1. **Unilateral idioms**, which are made up of one self-explanatory constituent, e.g. cold war, black market;

2. **Bilateral idioms**, which are made up of two constituents having both transferred meanings, so that the meaning of the idiom cannot be derived from the meanings of its constituents, e.g. *early bird*, *white lie*;

3. **Multilateral idioms**, which cover such nominations and propositions as: *once in a blue moon*, *a bird in the hand* or *beggars cannot be choosers*.

The classifications provided cover only some of the most important aspects involved in the complex phenomenon of idiomacity. However, they have been chosen due to their usefulness for the purpose of the paper.

The impressive number and variety of domain-related idioms are factors which have conditioned and determined the selection of only one class of idioms, namely that of colour idioms, to serve my intention of pointing out similarities and dissimilarities between patterns of idiomacity in English, Italian and Romanian. However, such an approach can be extended to any other domain-related idioms as well.

Colours are part and parcel of human life. People are surrounded by colours and not few are the instances when colours influence people's state of mind and heart. Colours are also important to people from the perspective of the things they symbolize. There are numerous situations when different cultures share the same view with respect to colour symbols. For instance, red is the colour commonly accepted as a symbol of love, white is the mark of purity and yellow is the colour symbolizing jealousy.

Common views on colours and on their significance are traceable not only at the level of human experience, but also at the linguistic level, and idioms are perfect illustrations of the similar or identical way in which colour terms are integrated and used in different language systems.

It should be mentioned here that, although the three languages under discussion, i.e. English, Italian and Romanian, have a series of colour idioms in common, the number of such word groups corresponding to the each of the colour terms analysed varies substantially from one language to another. (see appendix 1).

With respect to the integration of these idioms in the different classes suggested by the classifications provided, it should be pointed out that there are situations when the three languages under discussion share the same pattern of idiomacity, others in which only two languages have common idiomatic structures, and instances when certain idioms are singularly used in one of the three languages, proving thus the ‘national character’ of the respective patterns.

Transparent expressions and *semi-transparent phrases* are the most representative classes for the cases of shared patterns of idiomacity between English, Italian and Romanian. Idiomatic word groups such as: *a white night, to be as red as a (boiled) lobster, to be the black sheep of the family, to give green light, to have blue blood*, have the same representation and meaning in Italian and Romanian: *a white night* → *una notte bianca* → *noapte albă*, *to be as red as a (boiled) lobster* → *essere rosso come un gambero* → *a fi roșu ca un rac (fiert)*, *to be the black sheep of the family* → *essere la pecora nera della famiglia* → *a fi oaia neagră a familiei*, *to give green light* → *dare onda verde* → *a da undă verde*, *to have blue blood* → *avere il sangue blu* → *a avea sânge albastru/nobil*.

It is interesting to notice that the idiomatic pattern *to be as red as a lobster* and the corresponding Romanian structure may have the additional semantic feature [+ boiled]. Moreover, it also has variants in the three languages, such as: *as red as a beetroot/rose/ turkey-cock* → *rosso come un peperone/ pomodoro* → *roșu ca sângele/ focul/ para focului*, which are also frequently used by the speakers of the three languages.

Non-native speakers of one of these languages are unlikely to misuse such idiomatic structures because their structure is very similar or identical and the meaning can be derived from the meanings of their constituents.

There are also cases when *transparent phrases* are represented in a similar way only in two of the three languages. For instance, *to be as black as thunder* has a different representation and a rather limited collocational range in comparison with the Italian *essere nero come l'inchiostro/ il carbone* and the Romanian *a fi negru ca cerneala/catranul/ abanosul/ cărbunele/ fundul ceaunului/ noaptea/ păcatul/ corbul/ pana corbului/ smoala/ tăciunele*.

Furthermore, mention should be made of the fact that *semi-opaque phrases*, i.e. those metaphor idioms which are not completely unintelligible, are in most cases culture specific. Idiomatic structures such as: *a white lie, a white/blue-collar worker/job, to be in the red, to see pink elephants*, have a totally different representation in Italian or Romanian. The same situation can be

traceable when metaphor idioms such as: *il pericolo giallo, essere vivo e verde, accettazione in bianco* or *a aduna bani albi pentru zile negre* have to be rendered into English. However, the semi-opaque English idiom *black list* which means ‘list of suspects’ has formally and semantically equivalent structures both in Italian and Romanian: *la lista nera* → *lista neagră*.

There are instances when the semantic content of a word group is preserved in two of the three languages, but with a change in the colour term used. For example, the semi-opaque phrase *a blue film* may be translated into Italian by using a semantically equivalent structure, *un film a luci rosse*, but the colour terms used in the two languages are obviously different.

Opaque phrases, i.e. the full idioms whose meaning cannot be derived from the meanings of the component words, represent a challenge when different language cultures are brought into contact. The fact that the words making up such phrases are never used with the literal meaning makes their semantic decoding impossible for the non-native speakers. The number of colour-related opaque phrases used in English is quite high, but Italian and Romanian are also well represented:

E: *a white elephant, to bleed somebody white, a red neck, a red tape/tapist, blue chip, blue funk, a bolt from the blue, once in a blue moon, to have the blue devils, a true blue, black dog, in someone’s black books.*

I: *arte bianca, di punto in bianco, prendere il bianco per il nero, andare in rosso, essere al verde.*

R: *a merge/căuta până în pânzele albe, burtă-verde, a avea o bilă neagră.*

Given the reduced semantic intelligibility of such idiomatic structures, special attention should be paid when transferring them from one language into another.

As suggested by Croitoru & Dumitrașcu (2006), colour idioms such as: *to be in the red, to be worth a red cent, to draw a red herring, to go into the red, to see red, green as grass, black and blue, to be in the black*, etc. have to be translated by using the **modulation strategy**, which makes of different structures, patterns or strings specific to Italian and Romanian. This differs from the translation of *transparent* and *semi-transparent phrases*, which has nothing to do with **modulation** due to the (partial) formal and semantic equivalence between the three languages.

Moreover, mention should be made that, irrespective of the types of idioms taken into consideration, translators need to have a well-developed phraseological competence.

“They have to know the ready made phrases used in various registers in the LCs brought into contact, as well as to match them and to evaluate them from a socio-linguistic point of view” (Croitoru, Dumitraşcu, 2005).

The classification of idioms into *pure, figurative, restricted collocations and open collocations* is also worth taking into consideration, as it is a means of raising the speakers’ awareness with respect to the degree of formal and semantic flexibility in the case of such word groups.

Considering the class of colour idioms, one should mention that idiomatic word groups such as: *to be caught red-handed, to have the blue devils, once in a blue moon, to be the pink of politeness/perfection, to see pink elephants, to show the white feather* are ‘petrified’ structures which allow no variation in English. Similarly, idiomatic word groups such as the Italian: *essere vivo e verde, essere al verde*, and the Romanian *a aduna bani albi pentru zile negre, a merge/căuta până în pânzele albe*, display the same rigidity, being considered *pure idioms*.

Figurative colour *idioms* are situated on the border of pure idioms, being structures which hardly allow any variation: e.g. *to have red ideas, to see the red light, to be blue with cold, to be a green hand*, etc., or *vedere tutto rosa, essere verde d’invidia, essere nella verde eta, a fi galben de invidie, vânăt de frig, negru de mânie*, etc.

In opposition with the first two classes, *restricted* and *open collocations* are more accessible to the speakers due to the fact that they have at least one constituent used with the literal meaning: *a red neck, a blue book, a blue-eyed boy, a blue film, the yellow press, a black list, the black sheep of the family*. From this point of view a parallel can be drawn between *restricted collocations* and *semi-transparent phrases* on the one hand, and between *open collocations* and *transparent phrases*, on the other.

To conclude, I should say that the existence of common patterns of idiomacity in English Italian and Romanian, i.e. languages of different origins, proves that idioms cannot always be regarded as strictly culture-bound elements. Moreover, they seem to be the result of a commonly shared human experience.

Although idioms' accessibility is hindered in many cases by formal and semantic restrictions, they represent an extremely interesting and valuable resource, equally challenging for non-native linguists and common speakers.

Appendix 1 – Colour idioms in English, Italian and Romanian

English	Italian	Romanian
<p>a white Christmas, a white coffee, a white- collar work(er)/job, the white flag, a (little) white lie, a white night, a white paper, the white of the egg, white sale, white sauce, a white slaver, as white as a sheet/ghost/ snow, to bleed somebody white, to go white, to show the white feather, to stand in a white sheet;</p>	<p>il bianco dell'uovo, il bianco dell'occhio, la fiera del bianco, una pagina bianca, arte bianca, una settimana bianca, uno spazio bianco, di punto in bianco, accettazione in bianco, cucitrice in bianco, un matrimonio in bianco, una notte in bianco, pesce in bianco, andare in bianco, dare il bianco a una casa, diventare bianco per la paura, essere bianco come un panno lavato, far venire i capelli bianchi, lasciare in bianco una parola, mangiare in bianco, prendere il bianco per il nero;</p>	<p>albul ochiului, alb ca varul/zăpada/hârtia, noapte albă, steagul alb, zile albe, a aduna bani albi pentru zile negre, a merge/căuta până în pânzele albe, nici albă nici neagră;</p>
<p>yellow gum, the yellow of an egg, the yellow press;</p>	<p>un film/libro giallo, il giallo dell'uovo, la febbre gialla, il pericolo giallo, un giallo irrisolto;</p>	<p>a se face galben ca ceara/făclia de ceară/ lămâia/ turta de ceară, galben de frică, mânie/ spaimă, galbeni venetici/ friguri galbene</p>
<p>the pink of politeness/perfection, to be in the pink of condition, to be in the pink of health, to see pink elephants;</p>	<p>giallo rosa, romanzo rosa, il mistero si è tinto di rosa, vedere tutto rosa;</p>	<p>a vedea totul în roz;</p>
<p>a red - brick university, the red carpet, a red herring, a red letter day, a red neck, a red rag, red, tape, a red tapist, not to be worth a red cent, to be red with anger, to be/turn as red as a beet/beetroot/(boiled) lobster/rose/turkey-cock, to be in the red,</p>	<p>il rosso dell'uovo, un pesce rosso, un film a luci rosse, andare in rosso, essere rosso come un gambero/ peperone/pomodoro, essere rosso di rabbia, vedere rosso, rosso di sera buon tempo si spera;</p>	<p>roșu ca un rac fiert/ sângele/focul/ para focului, Gărzile Roși, Armata Roșie, ouă roșii, roșu cum e gotca</p>

<p>to catch someone/ be caught red –handed, to draw a red herring, to go into the red, to have red ideas, to see red, to see the red light;</p>		
<p>a blue book, a blue chip, a blue - collar work(er)/ job, a blue-eyed boy, a blue film/ movie, a blue jacket, a true blue, a in a blue funk, once in a blue moon, a bolt from the blue, out of the blue, to be blue with cold, till one is blue in the face, to disappear/ vanish/ go off in the blue, to have blue blood, to have the blue devils to scream/cry blue murder;</p>	<p>avere il sangue blu;</p>	<p>inimă albastră, a avea sânge albastru; tristețea albastră, a fi cam albastră</p>
<p>a green belt, green hand, a green Christmas, green years, green as grass, to be green, to be green about the gills, to be green with envy, to give someone/get the green light, to have green fingers;</p>	<p>anni verdi, legna verde nella verde età, essere al verde, essere verde d'invidia, essere vivo e verde;</p>	<p>valet de verde, burtă-verde. a da undă verde, a vedea stele verzi, a visa cai verzi pe pereti.</p>
<p>grey matter, to go/turn grey</p>	<p>cielo grigio, materia grigia, una vita grigia;</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>black economy, black ice, a black leg, a black list, a black look, black magic, a black mark, black market, the black sheep of the family, a blackout, a blackspot, as black as thunder, not as/so black as one/it is painted, in black and white, in someone's black books, to be black and blue, to be in the black, to swear black is white;</p>	<p>disperazione nera, giornata nera pensieri neri, periodo nero, vedere tutto nero, assumere dipendenti in nero, essere nero come l'inchiostro/ carbone, essere di umore nero, mettere nero sul bianco;</p>	<p>bursa neagră, lista neagră, magie neagră, a avea o bilă neagră, a fi oaia neagră a familiei, a fi negru ca cerneala/ catranul/ abanosul/ cărbunele/ fundul ceaunului/ noaptea/ păcatul/ corbul/ pana corbului/ smoala/ tăciunele, a vedea, ai se face negru în fața ochilor, a vedea totul in negru, negru pe alb, nici cât negru sub unghie;</p>

Glossary of colour idioms in Italian

B

bianco - **white**

il bianco dell'occhio – **the white of the eye**

il bianco dell'uovo- the **white** of the egg

un' accettazione in bianco – an acceptance

arte bianca – bakery

un assegno in bianco – a blank cheque

una cucitrice in bianco - seamstress

la fiera del bianco – the sale of household linen

un matrimonio in bianco–non consummate marriage

una notte in bianco – a sleepless night

una pagina bianca - an unwritten page

pesce in bianco – boiled fish

di punto in bianco - all of a sudden

una settimana bianca – weeklong skiing holiday

uno spazio bianco – a blank space

andare in bianco – to come to nothing

dare il bianco a una casa – to **whitewash** a house

diventare bianco per la paura- turn pale/**white** with fear

essere bianco come un panno lavato – to be as **white** as a sheet

far venire i capelli bianchi – to turn smb's hair **white**/grey

lasciare in bianco una parola – to leave an empty space, to make a pause

mangiare in bianco - to eat following a light diet

prendere il bianco per il nero – to misunderstand

blu - blue

avere il sangue blu – to have **blue** blood

G

giallo - yellow

la febbre gialla – the **yellow** gum

un film/libro giallo – a thriller

il pericolo giallo – political danger

il giallo dell'uovo the yolk

un giallo irrisolto – an unsolved mystery

grigio - grey

cielo grigio – grey/dull sky

*materia **grigia*** – grey matter
*una vita **grigia*** – a dull life

N

nero - black

*disperazione **nera*** – **black** despair

*giornata **nera*** – *giornata **nera**/ sfortunata*

*pensieri **neri*** – gloomy thoughts

*periodo **nero*** - troubled period

*assumere dipendenti in **nero*** - to hire workers illegally

*essere **nero** come l'inchiostro/ carbone* – to be as black as ink/coal

*essere di umore **nero*** – to be in a black/bad mood

*mettere **nero** sul bianco* – to put down in writing

*vedere tutto **nero*** – to see the dark side of things

R

rosa - pink

*giallo **rosa*** – romantic thriller

*il mistero si è tinto di **rosa*** – the mystery has taken a romantic turn

*romanzo **rosa*** – romantic novel

*vedere tutto **rosa*** – to see the world through rose –coloured glasses

rosso – red

*il **rosso** dell'uovo* – the yolk

*un film a luci **rosse*** - a **blue** film

*un pesce **rosso*** – golden fish

*andare in **rosso*** – to remain without any money

*essere **rosso** come un gambero/peperone/pomodoro* – to be as red as a boiled lobster

*essere **rosso** di rabbia* - to be **red** with anger

*vedere **rosso*** – to see red/ to be angry

***rosso** di sera buon tempo si spera* – red sky at night, shepherds delight

V

verde - green

*anni **verdi*** – the early years

*nella **verde** età* – in the earliest youth

*legna **verde*** – unseasoned wood

*essere al **verde*** – to be broke

*essere **verde** d'invidia* – to be **green** with envy

*essere vivo e **verde*** – to be alive and kicking

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IS SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE PURELY OBJECTIVE?

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It has been claimed by numerous linguists that writing in the sciences requires objectivity - no trace of emotion or subjectivity of any kind should surface from scientists' words. The myth of objectivity is immanent in many of the peculiarities of scientific discourse such as the extensive use of the passive voice or of subjects functioning semantically as causers. However, at a closer look, one may discover devices that may shatter this myth in that they covertly express a peculiar communicative intention or attitude of the writer towards what s/he is writing about and thus give a subjective dimension to a supposedly entirely objective type of discourse. From among these devices, the present article focuses on hedges, expressions that deal with degrees of probability, as selected from the articles in number 9, January 2007, of the online *New Journal of Physics*.

1. Types of hedges

The most widely used types of hedges in this corpus are the following strategic stereotypes:

- modal auxiliary verbs:

- (1) These energetically distinct dots *may* be addresses by laser pulses of different origin.
- (2) The biexcitonic shift *can* be enhanced by applying an in-plane electric field to the structure and can be tailored up to several meV.
- (3) For practical quantum processing and a scalable processing architecture, very high fidelity entanglement is desirable. This *could* be achieved by purification.
- (4) Our QD-based entanglement distributor *should* integrate with and thus enhance many of the current QD-based quantum proposals.
- (5) ...taking into account the dependence on v , u *would* introduce higher-order partial wave scattering.

- modal lexical verbs:

- (6) ... the QDs *tend* to be noticeably different in size due to the strain propagation.

- (7) ... an architecture is needed in which stacked registers of practical size are connected together - ... and this is what we *propose* in this paper.
- (8) We consider a gas of bosonic atoms in an optical lattice and *assume* that there is little tunneling between the lattice cells...We further *assume* that the interaction potential U scatters only s-waves.
- (9) They *suggested* that this difference comes from the fact that the confinement-induced resonance in 1D results from a Feshbach resonance...
- (10) ... the stack effect ... *seems* not to be applicable to RF discharges.
- nominal modal phrases :
- (11) "... the key feature of QD hardware is *the possibility* of optically driven quantum evolution."
- (12) "The basic *approximation* is to assume that the components l are proportional to those of the free-space solution."
- (13) "With *the assumption* that only the s-waves component is scattered by the potential, we set..."
- adjectival modal phrases:
- (14) "When the sensitivity of the detection system at the fluorescence wavelength is sufficient, it is *possible* to add krypton in relatively small amounts."
- approximators of degree, quantity, frequency and time:
- (15) "In mesoscopic solid state physics... we are *often* interested in the noise rather than the average signal."
- (16) "Our proposal is *sufficiently* general, so we expect that it can be applicable to all magnetic systems."
- (17) "*In general*, the distribution function for M alone will not distinguish all possible types of magnetic ordering."
- (18) "Single atom sensitivity is *usually* required to resolve the splitting in the distribution function."
- introductory phrases:
- (19) "*We believe* that this technique can be extended to manipulate highly light sensitive objects."
- (20) "*It is our view* that the presence of a defect in the lattice can help to control the interactions of two lattice solutions."

2. Hedges as threat-to-face minimizers

In one of the first writings dedicated to phrases such as (1) – (20) above, Lakoff (1973: 475) remarked that the authors' purpose in using them is to make things fuzzy or less fuzzy, implying that they thus appear less than fully committed to the truthfulness and certainty of the information they convey. Instead of presenting the information as facts, they use hedges to distance themselves from their statements and thus to reduce the risk of opposition and minimize the threat to face that may be part of any act of communication. This view of hedges is the most widely accepted. Kubui (1988, qtd. in Salager-Meyer, 1997) for example, suggests that these linguistic devices are used to signal distance and to avoid absolute statements which, if subsequent contradictory evidence occurs, may put both the scientists themselves and the institutions they work for in an unpleasant, embarrassing position. Seeing hedges as threat-to-face minimizers is a point of view accepted by the Salager-Meyers, too. They say that this position "associates hedges with scientific imprecision and defines them as linguistic cues of bias which avoid personal accountability for statements, i.e., as understatements used to convey evasiveness, tentativeness, fuzziness, mitigation of responsibility and/or mitigation of certainty to the truth value of a proposition (1997:109)" in order to place their users in a secure corner, in case other people have different opinions of the same issue and to somehow negotiate some degree of flexibility for their claims.

The potential of hedges to forestall criticism is also implied in a number of style manuals for the writers of scientific texts. One of these is Williams' (1989), who suggests that the use of hedges is a linguistic strategy that "let us sound small notes of civilized diffidence. They give us room to backpedal and to make exceptions" (Williams, 1989: 95). Maher (1992: 35) also emphasizes the protective potential of hedges in his manual for authors of medical texts, where he states that "a conclusion may be hedged in which the author carefully avoids giving a direct and strong commitment to a position or point of view but without seeming too vague... An author may not want to state something too definitely or concretely. The writer might simply wish to suggest an interpretation or point to a likelihood. This is a strategy for writing about data which not only allows for the possibility of alternative interpretations, but also partly shelters the author from strong criticism."

Obviously, this approach to hedges considers them elements that contribute to the hidden subjective side of scientific writing.

3. Hedges as politeness strategies

Along the same line of viewing hedges in connection with the concern for the possibility of confrontation between the writers and the readers of scientific articles, other researchers understand these linguistic devices as positive or negative politeness strategies, in Brown and Levinson's (1987) acceptance. From among these, Myers (1989) considers that the idea that hedges may be employed to protect the negative face of the authors of scientific writings springs from the fact that, due to the supposedly objective, polite and formal nature of communication between the writers and readers of scientific articles, the former may feel a need to assure the latter that the opinions expressed are not intended to exclude alternative views. By hedging information that might be objected to, authors can mark "a claim, or any other statement, as being provisional, pending acceptance in the literature, acceptance by the community – in other words, acceptance by the readers" (Myers, 1989: 12). In other words, "the authors are presenting a claim to the scientific community while trying to convince their readers of the relevance of their findings. But, in doing so, they remain somewhat vague because they cannot claim to have the final word on the subject. In the social interaction involved in all scientific publishing, hedges permit academics to present their claims while simultaneously presenting themselves as the humble servants of the scientific community" (Myers, 1989: 14). Indeed, on the one hand, hedging is an insurance against overstating an assertion and, on the other hand, it is a strategy that helps to build a politeness-based relationship between the writer and the reader, since making hedged statements prevents writers from sounding too imposing when presenting their opinion and, at the same time, softens their disagreement with others' points of view, in case it needs to be expressed.

Being polite in expressing one's opinions thus gains importance from a social point of view. Those writing in the sciences can successfully integrate in the scientific community only if they abide by its rules. Consequently, if to be polite is one of the guiding principles of communication in a scientific community, those who do not adopt a respectful attitude towards his/her fellows will be most probably excluded from the group. The use of hedging may thus be seen as a way of obeying the stipulations of an "interactional

contract” (Hyland, 1994: 240) whereby the authors of scientific writings observe “limits on self-assurance and norms concerning the deference due to the views of other researchers” (Hyland, 1994: 241).

The approach of hedges from the politeness point of view usefully demonstrates that scientific discourse abides by principles of social interaction akin to those of all linguistic communication, authors involved in scientific writing paying attention to the effects of the way in which they address their readers, i.e., considering questions of social distance, power relations and the seriousness of the impositions that unqualified statements may create. According to Vartala (2001: 71), “given the goals of those publishing research articles, providing information for the scientific community and especially attempting to achieve recognition as scientists, it is of the utmost importance that the social features of scientific communication receive due attention when producing research articles.” Politeness is surely one such social feature.

4. Conclusions

Whether hedges such as those quoted in section 1 are interpreted as devices that may minimize the threat to face or as politeness strategies, they are certainly linguistic strategies that demonstrate that it is virtually impossible to separate the authors of scientific articles from their writing. The subjective human nature manifests itself in the scientists’ words proving that conveying scientific facts cannot remain a sterile and purely objective act of communication. Thus, the answer to the question in the title of this paper “Is scientific discourse purely objective?” is negative, at least as far as hedging as a subjectivity supporting linguistic strategy is concerned.

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AMERICAN POP LANGUAGE

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What do such words, terms and expressions as *bring it on, slam dunk, no-brainer, excuse me, end of story, get a life, you owe me, yesss!, Hey, You're goood,, wake-up call, Bob, stuff, just shoot me, bad hair day, toast, clueless, whatever?, duh, I don't think so, not!, no way, Jose, and hel-lo?* have in common? Leslie Savan sees these words working as punchlines which, if inflected properly, are used to command attention, shift opinion, or assume consensus (Borzoi Reader, 2005). They are served up to us by the commercial mass media, tools of advertisers, eager to catch our attention (Pitt, 2005; Press, 2005; Savan, 2005; Savan and Random House; Savan and Stay Free!, 2005).

What does this mean in terms of the American English language, of the American culture? How does it influence the EFL/ESL processes world-wide and what should the non-native speakers of English do about it? Do translators have to worry about it?

Downsizing, thinking outside the box, cutting edge, stepping up to the plate, empowerment, axis of evil, culture wars, politically correct, even community (Savan, 1998) are terms and expressions which have taken on special meanings in contemporary dialogue, in business and in public life. These terms are not the catch-phrases of teens or minorities, professions, associations or small cliques. They may have been so once, but today are part of the shared language of Americans. Again Savan examines these words and sees something new in them.

Leslie Savan is an American columnist and contributor to *The Village Voice, Time, The New Yorker, The New York Times, and Salon*. She also has been featured on National Public Radio (Borzoi Reader, 2005), first as a commentator and later, in November 2005, as a featured writer. That NPR interview inquired about the book she wrote, *Slam Dunks and No-Brainers* (2005). In the radio interview, in the book, and in other interviews (Savan and Random House, 2005; Savan and Stay Free!, 2005) she was expressing the proposition that much of modern popular speech in the United States is not slang and not jargon, but something quite distinct.

The co-authors examine that argument critically, offering their views from American and European perspectives, and applying linguistic theory in

this duet presentation. "Is there something profoundly different in the pop English" of early 21st century America? If so, what? If not, why not? Why would Savan argue that there is?

Savan postulates that much of the communication falling under her examination is original in structure, differing from slang and from jargon in several ways. She will concede that slang also is a variety of pop speech," but most slang employs new words and does not enter the language main stream as have the exemplars she identifies. As she explains it (Borzoi Reader, 2005), slang "is usually defined as non-standard" and probably transient language. But most pop speech today is made up of perfectly ordinary and permanent words, like *Who's your daddy* or *Don't go there.*" It is true, however, that slang does not exclude the use of literary words per se.

Again some of the terms on which she reports can be considered jargon, but that is understood as language of closed linguistic communities, such as professional groups, and thus not available to the broader public (Savan, 2005: 14-15). The terms Savan discusses are widely employed in the American vernacular.

Apparently, the most striking feature of the current trend is the scope to which the catch-phrases are used wide and large. All of them presuppose common knowledge of the cultural context, the situation when and where this or that unit was used first.

In intercultural communication terms, it seems that there is more unspoken context that is needed while communicating within the American culture. Does it really mean that America is becoming a high-context culture, where more is to be read between the lines than in the lines themselves? In Leslie Savan terms, we - I Don't Think So. The context needed to understand the units is rather easy to explain and far too universal to make it difficult for an outsider to grasp and use it. It is totally deprived of momentous situational meaning. It rather looks like America tends to further simplify language use. 'Make as little effort as possible' is the law of human psychology, and this law works for language too.

Savan (2005) is not so bold as to claim that there were no earlier precedents for such expressions in American English. Popular entertainment programs, first on radio, then on TV, contributed some of these expressions.

She even mentions some from long ago now rarely heard: e.g. "T'aint funny, McGee," from Fibber McGee and Mollie and "Say good night, Gracie" from the George Burns and Gracie Allen radio and TV shows (106), or "To the

moon, Alice!” from *The Honeymooners*. More recent versions of the same put-down appeared as “Stifle yourself, Edith” from *All in the Family*. In a quite different vane, “dy-no-mite” from *Good Times* and “aaaaay” from *Happy Days*, terms of reinforcement, which were taken from TV into the popular language of America for a short time (106-107).

Sports terms often make the cross-over: *stepping up to the plate*, *hitting a home-run*, *a slam dunk*, and some Savan missed, e.g. *pitching a ball or a strike*, or just *pitching*, terms so established in marketing and advertising speech, she seems to have overlooked their origins entirely, even though those are her fields.

Businessmen are major consumers of these genre, and their jargon has reached beyond the office and boardroom to find acceptance in broader American English: e.g. *thinking outside the box*, *cutting edge*, *history*, *state-of-the-art*, *a wake-up call*, *a no-brainer*, *a dead horse*, and the colorful, if wordy, *stick a fork in him*, *he’s done*.

Savan identifies Afro-English as another major source of such crossovers from slang to popular English. We think she gives too much credit to the black vernacular for the origin of these expressions (2005: 45), and most of the examples she gives are still just Afro-English slang, abettedly copied by Afro-wannabe teens, jazz and pop-musicians, and some counter-culture types, (e.g. *bro*, *chill*, *dawg*, *dis*, *funky*, *get-go*, *gig*, *groovy*, *heavy*, *hip*, *my bad*, *riff*, *rip-off* or *whassup*), while some clearly had other or parallel origins, e.g.: *24/7*, *righteous*, *lame*, *old school*, and *when the shit hits the fan*.

So, are these new terms really something original and exceptional in the American language? Probably not. As she gives some examples from the 1930s and 1940s; there were similar terms in earlier times. *Yard birds* has been with us at least since the 1940s, borrowed by the musicians of the same name in the 1960s because of its pop meaning as ‘outcasts’ and ‘petty criminals’. *Go, baby, go!* was ‘hot’ in the beat-hippie 50s jargon and passed into common speech in the 1960s. SNAFU and FUBU entered common American English via the soldiers, sailors and airmen of World War Two. Some 1920s jazz-age terms are still known to us, for example, *cool* for example. *OK* has survived from early in the 19th century. We are sure others can think of still more. What is different is that nowadays there are more persons inclined to write, record, read and hear American English vernacular, whereas in earlier times, only ‘proper English’ would have been set down in print or recorded.

If the existence of pop words and expressions is not a new phenomenon in American vernacular, then Savan's other point is, that these words are employed differently, to control thought, to presuppose consensus, or to put down other ideas. But here too there are precedents. S. I. Hayakawa wrote of the language of social control in his *Language in Thought and Action* (1972: 88).

Nor has Savan made her case of the novelty of the contemporary patterns in pop language to all of her readers. P. J. O'Rourke (2005) faults her thesis, as does the review in *Publishers Weekly* (2005). Yet she finds an avid supporter in Todd Gitlin, the prominent media scholar and critic, who wrote (2005):

"A culture saturated with fake hipness is a culture that doesn't know what it needs to know, or even that it needs to know anything besides putdowns. The fabricated phrases that leap from everyone's lips add up to managed idiocy, and I've waited for years for Leslie Savan's artful dismantling job."

While she may fail in making her case for the total originality of this sort of pop language, she does succeed in identifying patterns in the contemporary American vernacular which should be of interest to linguists, translators and students of American pop culture.

For an outsider, the concern Leslie Savan expresses in her book can probably be translated into a simple WASP recipe wait till it (the unit) settles down in the LANGUAGE rather than speech and does not need a half-hour explanation before you learn and use it.

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***DON'T GIVE IT UP, LOOK IT UP – SPOTLIGHTING DICTIONARIES
OF ENGLISH PHRASAL VERBS***

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1. Introduction

Phrasal verbs or multi-word verbs like *turn down (an invitation)*, *make up (a story)*, *put up with (the noise)*, *run down (one's neighbour)* are a notoriously difficult and challenging aspect of the English language and they are generally wrongly assumed to be used mainly in the spoken language. Since the majority have idiomatic meanings, they cause a lot of problems for the learners of English. No wonder that students tend to use their single word equivalents instead, which often makes their speech/ writing sound stilted and clumsy. For example, *make up (a story)* is more informal than *invent (a story)*, or *turn down (an invitation)* is more informal than *reject (an invitation)*. *Tolerate (the noise)* is more formal than *put up with (the noise)* or *disparage (one's neighbour)* is more formal than *run down (one's neighbour)*.

These verb + particle combinations have always been present in English, but their number started to increase enormously from the beginning of the Modern English period and new forms tend to constantly appear. Let's just think of the combinations that have become a matter of common knowledge as a result of the development of computer science and the internet, such as *get bumped off the net*, *back up a document*, *boot one's computer up*, etc. Dictionaries, however, cannot follow such a quick change of the vocabulary.

It is a common misconception that phrasal verbs are mainly used in the spoken language as a great number occur in the written style as well, such as *refer to (a particular subject)*, *enlarge upon (a problem)*, *put forward (a suggestion)*, *sum up (the main points discussed)*, *account for (why something happened)*, *draw up (a plan)*, etc.

On the basis of all the above mentioned difficulties it must be true that familiarity with a wide range of phrasal verbs and the ability to use them appropriately in context are among the distinguishing marks of a native-like command of English. Thus, a good dictionary of phrasal verbs is an indispensable source for learners of English. The present study aims to examine

how dictionaries of phrasal verbs can contribute to a better and more successful mastering of phrasal verbs. But before that let us have a brief look at the historic development of the dictionaries of phrasal verbs.

2. The diachronic development of dictionaries of English phrasal verbs

Phrasal verbs were a kind of Cinderella for lexicographers until the 1970s. Samuel Johnson was, however, the first to become aware of the difficulties related to them, which is revealed by the following apt remark he made on them in the Preface to his *Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755:

“There is another kind of composition, more frequent in our own language than perhaps in any other, from which arises to foreigners the greatest difficulty. We modify the signification of many words by a particle subjoined as *to come off*, to escape by a fetch; *to fall onto*, to apostatize; *to break off*, to stop abruptly [...] with innumerable expressions of the same kind, of which some appear wildly irregular, being so far distant from the sense of the simple words that no sagacity will be able to trace the steps by which they arrived at the present use” (Johnson 1775: Preface).

Nevertheless, the first dictionary of phrasal verbs appeared only in 1974 with the title *Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs and Their Idioms* edited by Tom McArthur and Beryl Atkins. Since then, the most important publishers have had their own dictionaries of phrasal verbs published. Let us mention only some of them:

- 1975 Cowie, A. P. & Mackin R. *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English Volume 1: Verbs with Prepositions & Particles*. London: Oxford University Press.
- 1982 Davidson, George. W. *Chambers Phrasal Verbs*. Edinburgh: Chambers.
- 1983 Courtney, Rosemary *Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. Harlow: Longman.
- 1989 Sinclair, John *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. Glasgow: Harper Collins Publisher.
- 1993 Cowie, A. P. & Mackin R. *Oxford Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. Oxford University Press.
- 1996 Cullen K. & Sargeant H. *Chambers Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. Edinburgh: Chambers Harrap Publishers Ltd.
- 1997 Pye, Glennis *Cambridge International Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2001 Cowie A. P. & Mackin R. *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary for Learners of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2002 Sinclair, John *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. Glasgow: Harper Collins Publisher.

- 2005 Rundell, Michael *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus*. Oxford: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.
2006 Pye, Glennis *Cambridge Phrasal Verbs Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

As it is evident from the above list, the most up-to-date dictionary of phrasal verbs titled *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* appeared on the market in 2005 and Cambridge University Press brought out an updated version of the *Cambridge Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* at the beginning of 2006.

The last four dictionaries in the list above reflect the widespread usage of phrasal verbs in present-day English very well. In addition, all of them are of high quality and user-friendly satisfying every demand. Their sources are their computer databases which are continuously expanding with over several hundred million words from contemporary British, American, Australian newspapers, magazines, books, TV, radio and real life conversations, i.e. the language as it is written and spoken today. (*The Bank of English, World English Corpus, Oxford Corpus of the English Language, Cambridge International Corpus (800-million words)*). The rapid increase of the number of phrasal verbs is shown by the fact that while the 1997 edition of the *Cambridge Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* contained 4500 phrasal verbs, the new updated 2006 edition contains 6000, just like the updated version of the *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001).

3. How can dictionaries of phrasal verbs help students to master phrasal verbs in English?

A key feature of the updated editions of all the above dictionaries is that they are easy to use. Their user-friendly approach is reflected by the fact that, for example, in *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005) the most frequent 1000 phrasal verbs are highlighted in red and are marked with one, two or three stars referring to their frequency.

What is a good dictionary of phrasal verbs like and how can it help students? First of all, it should deal with all the syntactic, semantic and stylistic difficulties that cause learners problems in mastering them. No doubt most difficulties are caused by their **semantics**. Thus the most important requirement is that it give clear explanations for the meanings, as the majority of phrasal verbs are not compositional in their meaning. All of these up-to-date dictionaries use easy-to-understand definitions, thousands of real examples, hundreds of synonyms and antonyms to make meaning clear. What is more, as

a novelty, the *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* dictionary uses ‘menus’ for polysemous phrasal verbs, making it easy to find the meaning you are looking for. Let us take the ‘menu’ of one of the most polysemous phrasal verbs *pick up****:

1. lift sy/sg (*pick up the phone/the baby*)
2. take sy in a vehicle (*pick sb up after the party*)
3. learn/do sth new (*pick up a few German phrases*)
4. notice sth (*pick up his scent*)
5. start sth after a pause (*pick up the conversation*)
6. improve (*Business was beginning to pick up. His health has picked up.*)
7. take sth in your hands (*pick up a leaflet from sb or for sb*)
8. put things in a tidy place (*pick the toys up*)
9. take sy in your vehicle (*pick up a hitchhiker on the way*)
10. get an illness (*pick up a nasty stomach bug, infections*)
11. buy sth (*pick up some amazing bargains*)
12. receive an electronic signal (*pick up foreign stations*)
13. wind: become stronger (*A stiff breeze picked up.*)
14. earn money (*pick up huge salaries*)
15. win a prize (*pick up another Oscar*)
16. arrest sy (*The police picked him up at the airport.*)
17. try to start a sexual relationship (*pick up a man/a woman*)
18. (AE.) make a place tidy (*pick up his room*)

Besides, *pick up* also occurs in several idiomatic expressions, such as *pick up the ball and run with it* (take responsibility for getting something done), *pick up the bill/tab* (pay for something), *pick up the pieces* (try to return to a normal life), *pick up speed* (start to move faster), *pick up the threads* (of sth) (return to a situation that existed before).

Earlier, traditional grammarians assumed that phrasal verbs are just arbitrary combinations of a verb and a particle and learners have just to learn them. In contrast, the editors of the *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001) and that of the *Collins COBUILD Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2002) took the view that particles contribute to the meanings of phrasal verbs. Accordingly, at the end of these dictionaries there is an index to the particles explaining the common meanings that particles contribute to phrasal verb combinations. This is one of the features that sets these up-to-date dictionaries apart from previous ones. Let us take the particle *up*, which is the commonest of the particles used in phrasal verbs. It occurs in 15% of all phrasal verbs in the *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001), in 482 phrasal verbs in the *Collins COBUILD Phrasal*

Verbs Dictionary (2002). The *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001: 368-370) refers to 14 different categories of meanings for *up*.

1. moving upwards from a lower to a higher position
(*climb up, jump up, lift up, pick up*)
2. increasing in volume, speed, price, strength and reputation
(*build up, speed up, grow up, flare up, play up*)
3. improving such as economy, your health, or your health
(*look up, brush up, smarten up, clear up, cheer up*)
4. supporting
(*back up, stand up for, bolster up, speak up for*)
5. preparing
(*draw up, set up, warm up, butter up, tune up*)
6. creating and constructing
(*make up, dream up, come up with, conjure up, think up*)
7. completing and finishing
(*end up, use up, wind up, dry up, sum up, wake up*)
8. damaging and destroying
(*tear up, blow up, beat up, slip up, smash up*)
9. stopping, delaying and disrupting
(*break up, give up, pull up, hold up, slow up*)
10. things happening
(*turn up, come up, bring up, crop up, pop up*)
11. approaching and getting closer for comfort
(*creep up, loom up, snuggle up, curl up, sneak up, steal up*)
12. dividing and separating
(*slice up, divide up, split up, break up, chop up, cut up*)
13. gathering and collecting
(*match up, stock up, team up, join up, meet up, pair up, pile up*)
14. fastening
(*do up, zip up, parcel up, tie up, chain up, lace up, brick up*)

The semantic approach of *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005) goes even further. As evident from the above examples, in these dictionaries the classifications are based on the meanings of the combinations as a whole, i.e. phrasal verb combinations that have similar meanings are grouped together in a list. In contrast, *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005) uses diagrams and tables to reveal the relationship between the literal and figurative meanings of particles. From these networks of meanings illustrated in diagrams it becomes clear that in most cases the idiomatic meanings are the metaphorical extensions of the literal ones. This approach reflects the integration of the results of research done by cognitive linguists who took up the challenge of the alleged

arbitrariness of particle, prepositional usage and demonstrated that their meanings are highly structured. As a result, we can find a detailed semantic analysis of the most common particles (*around, away, back, down, in, into, off, on, out, over, through* and *up*) in this dictionary. Let us take *up* mentioned above as an example, which has the following 5 main meanings in *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005: 488):

1. moving upwards
2. doing something completely
3. fastening, preventing or restricting
4. beginning to happen, exist, appear
5. moving closer to someone or something

The diagrams and the tables clearly illustrate that the diverse meanings of *up* are nonetheless unified in a network of semantic extensions. Consider meaning 4 in e.g. *turn up, spring up, crop up = appear suddenly, unexpectedly*. The meaning of *up* in these examples is closely related to *take up (a hobby), start up (a new business)* where its meaning is 'to start happening or existing or make something start'. The same connection can be discovered between the above mentioned prototypical meaning and the meaning of *up* in *make up (a story), cook up (a plan)* where *up* means creating or imagining something that did not exist before.

A lot of phrasal verbs have one or more **single-word equivalents**, which are, however, very often more formal in style. Another novelty of *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005) is that it has a list of over 1000 words that express roughly the same as the phrasal verbs, for example: *investigate ~ dig into, look into, emerge ~ come out, leak out*. Dictionaries of phrasal verbs contain 5000-6000 phrasal verbs on average. Comparing this number and that of the single-word equivalent, we can see that most phrasal verbs have no single-word equivalent at all. Thus there are a lot of things that cannot be expressed in English in any other way but by phrasal verbs. Besides, as mentioned above, the single word equivalents are used mainly in formal contexts. e.g. *violate* is more formal than *go against*, *disintegrate* is more formal than *fall apart* or *imitate* is more formal than *take off*.

Besides **synonyms**, all up-to-date dictionaries use **antonyms** as well. The *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001) contains about 1200 synonyms (SYN) and antonyms (OPP) to help build learner's vocabulary:

pull in, pull into sth. If a train or bus *pulls in* it arrives somewhere and stops.

SYN draw in, draw into sth
OPP draw out, draw out of sth

Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus (2005) uses the following symbols:

come to ~ to become conscious after being unconscious=COME ROUND≠BLACK OUT
take apart ~ to separate an object into pieces=DISMANTLE≠PUT TOGETHER

One unique feature of both editions of the *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001) is that learners will find in them about 2000 **typical subjects (SUBJ) and objects (OBJ)** that can combine with a particular phrasal verb, which are their collocates. Thus learners will be able to use them in an appropriate context:

break sth off
OBJ: diplomatic relations, engagement, talks/negotiations drag on
SUBJ: months, time, meeting, negotiations

Making learners aware of the **syntactic properties** of phrasal verbs is also of great importance. Special attention should be paid to the position of the object, i.e. whether it should go before or after the particle. The majority of dictionaries such as *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005) use the pronoun *somebody/something* in their patterns in the following way:

<i>pick up sth/sb</i>	I need to <i>pick up</i> my bags before we leave.
<i>pick sth/sb up</i>	He <i>picked</i> the phone <i>up</i> and dialled. Will you <i>pick me up</i> after the party?
<i>look after sb/sth</i>	Sophie will <i>look after</i> the visitors.
<i>run up against sth/sb</i>	We <i>ran up against</i> a few problems finding the money.
<i>take sth out on sb/sth</i>	You shouldn't <i>take</i> your frustration <i>out on</i> the kids.

A unique feature of the *Collins COBUILD Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2002) is that it uses an 'Extra Column' on the margin of the dictionary in which the commonest patterns are given in frequency order, that is the commonest pattern appears first:

<i>pick up</i>	V+N+ADV V+ADV+N V+PRON+ADV
<i>look after</i>	V+PREP

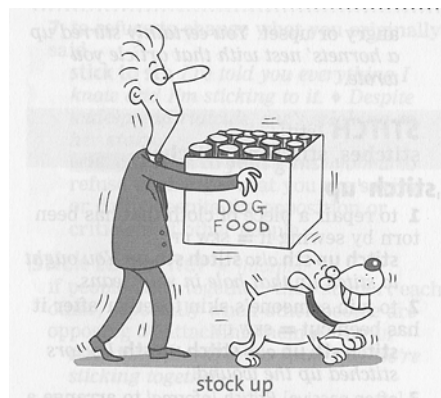
<i>run up against</i>	V+ADV+PREP
<i>take out on</i>	V+N+ADV+PREP
	V+ PRON +ADV+PREP
	V+it+ADV+PREP

The *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001) uses the combination of the two:

<i>pick sy up, pick up sy</i>	v+n/pron+adv	v+adv+n
<i>look after sy/sth</i>	v+prep	
<i>run up against sth/sy</i>	v+adv+prep	
<i>take sth out on sy</i>	v+n/pron+adv+prep	v+it+adv+prep

Mention must be made of the section ‘Language Study’ in *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005) and ‘Study pages’ in the *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001), which give learners a lot of useful information about how phrasal verbs behave. The aim of these pages is to help students to understand and use phrasal verbs correctly. The topics discussed include all the aspects of phrasal verbs that make them difficult to master, such as their syntactic behaviour, the importance of metaphor in understanding their meanings, nouns derived from phrasal verbs, the pronunciation of phrasal verbs and new phrasal verbs. Besides, the *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001) includes not only some useful tips on learning phrasal verbs but also some exercises for practising phrasal verbs commonly used in sports, computers, environment protection, newspapers, business, informal language and writing.

Last but not least, *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005) has one more additional feature, which makes it really attractive: it contains over 100 striking two-colour cartoons, which also help reinforce the meanings of phrasal verbs making them more memorable.



4. Conclusion

In sum, all the dictionaries mentioned above (*Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2001), *Collins COBUILD Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2002), *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005)) satisfy the requirements of a good dictionary of phrasal verbs. With their natural examples taken from a wide range of contemporary sources, they provide a comprehensive and systematic survey of phrasal verbs in English. Having a clear, user-friendly layout, they are easy to use as well. Hundreds of example sentences, clear definitions, information on grammar patterns, collocations, inclusion of single word equivalents, synonyms and antonyms – these are the features that make them an invaluable aid to any learner who wants to understand and use this difficult yet essential aspect of the English language with confidence. Their users will surely get everything that can be expected from an up-to-date dictionary.

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DEVELOPING NEW POLYMORPHEMIC LEXEMES IN SERBIAN IN THE PROCESS OF TRANSLATING ENGLISH SPORTS TERMS

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Introduction

A large number of papers dealing with English and Serbian as languages in contact reveal the great number of unnecessary and uncontrolled lexical and syntactic borrowings in Serbian. In the light of this information, it is noteworthy to draw attention to a positive tendency in word formation in Serbian in the process of translating English sports terms. The paper analyses 29 non-standard polymorphemic lexemes in Serbian functioning as sports terms in sports aerobics and gymnastics; they will be further referred to as 'terms'. The first section of the paper points out the differences between English and Serbian as far as word formation processes are concerned, while the second one deals with morpho-semantic analysis of the terms. Eventually, the concluding section is about the reasons for developing new polymorphemic lexemes in Serbian when translating English terms.

The 29 selected terms are related to the movements of the arms, the legs and the trunk. They are presented in the table "Word formation processes in terminology of sports aerobics and gymnastics", which is attached. The Table is made up of four headings: 1. *foot/leg* > STOPALO/NOGA, 2. *arm* > RUKA, 3. *trunk* > TRUP, and 4. *step* > KORAK. The English terms and their translation equivalents in Serbian are presented in four grammatical word classes given in columns (verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs). To mark the difference between the two thematic registers, gymnastic terms are shaded while sports aerobics terms are not shaded. In addition, English terms are given in italics, whereas the translation equivalents in Serbian are written in small capitals. When referring to a particular example in the text, the following abbreviations and symbols are used: Adj (adjective), Adv (adverb), N (noun), Num (number), Prep (preposition), V (verb), Ø (zero correspondent), > (symbol between English term and its translation equivalent), < (symbol between translation equivalent and English term).

The linguistic terms used in the discussion, i.e. *compounding*, *derivation*, *phrasal lexeme*, *polymorphemic lexeme*, *stem*, and *thematizing signpost* comply with the relevant definitions by Lyons (1977 - 2), Matthews (1991) and Prčić (1997).

1. Comparative analysis of the selected terms in sports aerobics and gymnastics

As mentioned above, this section deals with differences between the terms in English and Serbian from the aspect of word formation processes and derivation potential.

1.1 Word formation processes

Taking word formation processes as formal correspondents, it turns out that only four selected terms in English and Serbian are formed by derivation and conversion, even though not by identical word formation processes. They are: *pike*_v > PREDNOŽITI_v, *pike*_{adj} > PREDNOŽNI_{adj}, *straddle*_{adj} > RAZNOŽNI_{adj}, and *chassé*_n > DOKORAK_n. The remaining English terms are formed by compounding, with two-word terms being the most frequent ones. For this reason, they will be referred to as phrasal lexemes. Each of these lexemes consists of a noun denoting a part of body (*leg*, *arm*, and *trunk*) or the noun denoting a leg movement (*step*), which is combined with an adjective, an adverb, a number, a preposition or a verb.

The translation equivalents in Serbian are single-worded units formed by derivation and conversion, except *prone*_{adj} > S PRETKLONOM_{adj}, and *pike*_v > DOVESTI U PREDNOŽNI POLOŽAJ_v, which are phrasal lexemes (phrasal adjective and phrasal verb).

The translation equivalents formed by derivation and conversion consist of the stem of a noun denoting an extremity (RUKA < *arm*, NOGA < *leg*), leg movement (KORAK < *step*), or the stem of a formant -KLON when referring to the *trunk* (> TRUP). (This morpheme is referred to as formant, as it is debatable whether it is to be treated as a bound or an unbound morpheme, due to the fact that there is a sports term KLONOVI (Sedlaček, 1966: 17), which is not included in the standard dictionary of Serbian). Nouns functioning as stems are derived by class-maintaining prefixes and class-changing suffixes (as defined by Lyons, 1977 – 2: 521). All prefixes denote spatial relations (*apart*, *backward*, *forward*,

near and *up*). On the other hand, the suffixes determine the four discussed grammatical classes of the terms (verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs). All the Serbian terms comply with standard rules of word formation (Klajn: 2002, 2003).

This matter will be dealt with in more detail in section 2 of this paper.

1.2 Derivation potential

In view of the derivation potential of the selected terms, the derived forms of the discussed grammatical classes in Serbian outnumber those in English. However, it must be pointed out that there are other possible derivations of the terms in the table, which have not been included because these forms were not found in the corpus of examined terms.

The terms under the heading *leg* > NOGA, have zero verbal correspondents in English for the following Serbian terms: ODNOŽITI, PREDNOŽITI and ZANOŽITI (gymnastics). The same refers to the terms under the heading *arm* > RUKA, which do not have verbal correspondents in English for the Serbian terms ODRUČITI, PREDRUČITI, UZRUČITI, and ZARUČITI.

After checking whether the terms comply with the lexical standards of both languages, the following conclusion may be drawn. All English terms (either as units or as separate words) exist as lexical entries in English dictionaries (e.g. *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary*, 1997), but in contrast the standard lexicon of Serbian does not include any of the translation equivalents from the Table (*Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*, 1-6, (1982)). Consequently, all the Serbian terms must be treated as non-standard words.

2. Morpho-semantic analysis of the terms

From what has been said earlier, it is clear that sports terms in Serbian formed by the process of adaptation by translation from English may be products of both standard and non-standard ways of word formation. Assuming the standard lexical entries are used, all the Serbian terms could only be translated by a word-for-word procedure. As an example, *straddle legs_v* could be translated as RAŠIRITI NOGE_v, which makes the translation equivalent unnecessarily longer than RAZNOŽITI_v.

As the stems of translation equivalents are essentially nouns, this discussion will deal with noun formation first, followed by an analysis of the formation of verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

2.1 Nouns

All English nouns, with the exception of *chassé_n* > DOKORAK_n, occur in collocations consisting of a head noun denoting a part of body (*leg, arm* or *trunk*) or a leg movement (*step*), which is combined with a noun, a preposition or a verb (“N+N”, “N+Prep”, “N+V”).

The translation equivalents in Serbian are nouns formed by derivation according to the pattern "prefix+stem+suffix". As said in the previous section, the stem of a noun denoting an extremity, and the formant -KLON, are combined with the prefixes PRED-, PRI-, RAZ-, UZ- and ZA- to express the spatial relation with the meaning of *forward, near, apart, up* and *backward* respectively, and SU- with the meaning of *together*. This is illustrated by the following examples: OD+NOŽE+NJE < *leg abduction*, OD+RUČE+NJE < *arms sideward*, PRED+NOŽE+NJE < *leg forward*, PRED+RUČE+NJE < *arms forward*, PRET+KLON < *forward lean*, PRI+NOŽE+NJE < *leg adduction*, RAZ+NOŽE+NJE < *legs straddled*, UZ+RUČE+NJE < *arms up*, ZA+KLON < *backward lean*, ZA+KLON < *back bend*, ZA+NOŽE+NJE < *leg backward*, ZA+RUČE+NJE < *arms backward*.

The stem of the noun KORAK is derived with prefixes DO-, IS-, and OT-, with the meaning of *up to, out* and *laterally* respectively, as illustrated by examples: DO+KORAK < *chassé*, IS+KORAK < *step out*, OT+KORAK < *step laterally*.

Speaking of suffixes, it may be seen that most nouns have the suffix -NJE, which is added to verbal stems to form gerunds. Exceptions are the following:

- One polymorphemic lexeme with the stem of the noun NOGA < *leg*, i.e. RAZ+NOŽJE < *legs straddled* might have been formed by analogy with PODNOŽJE, which means *the foot of a mountain*. Thus the prefix RAZ-, which means *apart*, is added to the stem -NOŽJE (from NOGA < *leg*).
- Three polymorphemic lexemes with the stem of the formant -KLON and the stem of the noun -KORAK are derived with prefixes alone, to form non-gerund nominal lexemes: DO+KORAK < *chassé*, PRET+KLON < *forward lean*, ZA+KLON < *back bend*.

2.2 Verbs

Most verbal terms in English are phrasal lexemes consisting of a verb and a noun denoting a part of the body or a leg movement, whereas the rest consist of a verb and an adverb. Consequently, these lexemes have the following collocational patterns: "N+V", "V+N" and "V+Adv".

The corresponding translation equivalents in Serbian are formed by derivation, each consisting of the stem of a noun denoting an extremity (NOGA < *leg* and RUKA < *arm*), a prefix denoting spatial relation and the infinitive suffix -ITI, according to the pattern "prefix+stem+suffix". The prefixes are PRED-, PRI-RAZ-, SU- and ZA- with the meaning of *forward*, *near*, *apart*, *together* and *backward* respectively, as shown on the following examples: OD+NOŽ+ITI < *lift leg laterally/ leg abducts*, OD+RUČ+ITI < \emptyset , PRED+NOŽ+ITI < \emptyset , PRED+RUČ+ITI < \emptyset , UZ+RUČ+ITI < \emptyset , ZA+NOŽ+ITI < \emptyset /*leg lifts upward*, ZA+RUČ+ITI \emptyset .

The stem of the noun KORAK < *step*, is derived with prefixes OT- (allomorph of OD-) and IS- with the meaning of *laterally* and *out* respectively, whereas the formant -KLON does not have derived forms for verbs (IS+KORAC+ITI < *step out*, OT+KORAC+ITI < *step laterally*).

As a result of palatalization, the final consonants of the stems NOGA and RUKA < *leg* and *arm*, [g] and [k] are changed to [Z] and [tʃ] in front of the suffix -ITI.

2.3 Adjectives

The analyzed terms in English consist of five adjectives under the heading *leg* > NOGA. As said earlier, English adjectives *pike*, *prone*, and *straddled* are formed by derivation and conversion, whereas the remaining two (*(jump) from 1 leg/from 2 feet*) and *one foot (take off)* are compound forms i.e. phrasal lexemes with the collocations of "Prep+Num+N" and "Num+N" respectively.

In Serbian, adjectives are formed by derivation from the stem of a noun *leg* > NOGA, the prefixes PRED-, RAZ-, and SU- with the meaning of *forward*, *apart* and *together* and an adjectival suffix for masculine gender -NI (allomorph of -(A)N); PRED+NOŽ+NI < *pike*, RAZ+NOŽ+NI < *straddled*, SU+NOŽ+NI < *from 2 feet*).

Exceptions are the terms JEDNONOŽNI (ODSKOK) < (*jump*) *from one leg*, and *prone* > S PRETKLONOM. The former consists of the stem formed by compounding a number and a noun (JEDAN+O+NOGA-), with an infix -O- in between, to which the suffix for adjective -NI is added. The latter is a lexical link of a preposition S and a noun PRETKLONOM in oblique case.

2.4 Adverbs

Two English adverbs ((*to jump*) *from 1 leg* and ((*to jump*) *from 2 feet*) are phrasal lexemes with the collocation pattern "Prep+Num+N". Unlike most of the above translation equivalents in Serbian formed by affixation, adverbs are formed by conversion of the corresponding adjectives for neutral gender. Thus they have the same derivational pattern of the adjectives in section (2.3), except that the suffix -NO is that of a neutral gender (JEDNONOŽ+NO< *from 1 leg*, SUNOŽ+NO< *from 2 feet*).

As mentioned earlier, derivation with suffixes implies phonological change of the consonant [g] into [Z], as a result of palatalization.

Conclusion

The above discussion indicates that the process of adaptation by translation of English terms in Serbian may result in coining new polymorphemic lexemes using productive prefixal morphemes rather than the already lexicalized ones, which can only be welcomed from the aspect of the standard lexicon. There are at least two reasons for this. One is to be found in certain standards governing the terminology formation, such as systematicity and word economy. The other is the type of language, since English is an analytical language whereas Serbian is a highly inflectional one, which provides more possibilities for Serbian to make single-worded terms than in English.

In the end, it is worthwhile to note that, this positive tendency of applying derivation potential of the Serbian lexicon in the process of adaptation of sports terms from English by translation can counteract numerous instances of multi-worded translation equivalents, which are not welcome in terminology.

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ON GRAMMATICAL METAPHOR

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1. Preliminary remarks

1.1. The present paper aims to analyse the concept of grammatical metaphor, considered an important feature of academic writing. I have focused my attention on the functions of grammatical metaphors represented by forms of nominalised processes, in the light of M. A. K. Halliday's theory of Functional Linguistics.

For the purpose of this study some texts have been selected from different genres of academic writing, in particular socio-political texts.

1.2. Since the publication of "*The Grammar of English Nominalizations*" by Robert B. Lees in 1960 and "*Remarks on Nominalizations*" by N. Chomsky in 1970, nominalization has been the object of numerous research papers.

In the 1980s, Functional Linguistics produced two markedly different directions in the study of nominalizations: one, more theoretical, represented by Talmy Givón (1984: 216), who focused his analysis on the study of nominalizing transformations; and the other, a less formalist direction, which leads towards M. A. K. Halliday's general theory of the concept of nominalization, referred to as grammatical metaphor. The term *grammatical metaphor* was first introduced by Halliday in his monograph "*An Introduction to Functional Grammar*", published first in 1985 and reprinted in 1994, the reference book of his Systemic Functional linguistics. Other prominent representatives of functional linguistics who have been dealing with the concept of grammatical metaphor are J. R. Martin (1993), G. Thompson (1996), S. Eggins (1994), A. Downing and Ph. Locke (1992).

1.3. Before embarking on the analysis of the concept and functions of grammatical metaphor, we should point out that there is a close relationship between grammatical metaphor and lexical metaphor:

Lexical metaphor is a process in which one semantic field of reference is carried over, or transferred, to another. Thus, in lexical metaphor, the grammatical form is the same, but the meaning is somehow different, e.g., *the*

rosy fingers of the dawn is used for *the sun's rays at dawn*. Or, in *the ship ploughed the ocean*, the verb *ploughed* has the transferred sense of 'sailed'.

In grammatical metaphor, on the other hand, it is the grammatical form which changes while the meaning stays the same.

2. Congruent vs. non-congruent / metaphorical expressions

According to the representatives of functionalist linguistics (Halliday, 1994, Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, Ravelli 1988), the sentence functions as a grammatical device for describing a situation, which typically consists of three components: processes, participants and circumstances. Sentences which encode this type of information can be of two types: semantically congruent and semantically non-congruent.

2.1. The *congruent* construction is a prototypical, unmarked construction/ expression. It is referred to as *congruent* as it is the most typical and straightforward way in which we construe experience (Halliday, 1985: 343). Congruent implies 'literal', 'transparent', 'non-metaphorical', it implies the congruence between semantics and lexico-grammar.

In semantically congruent sentences, the semantic functions play primary syntactic roles. Meanings and the ways we word them have unmarked correlations which evolve first in our culture, which we develop first as children, and which tend to unfold first in texts. Some of the most important of these unmarked correlations are as follows:

- i. 'entities', 'participants' are congruently encoded as nouns (people, places, things...);
- ii. 'processes' are encoded as verbs (actions, thoughts, feelings...);
- iii. 'qualities' are encoded as adjectives (size, shape, colour...);
- iv. 'logical relations' are encoded as conjunctions (time, cause, contrast...).

2.2. *Non-congruent/ non-literal/metaphorical* expressions ('grammatical metaphors') imply a discrepancy between semantics and lexico-grammar. In semantically non-congruent sentences, meanings and their wordings can be encoded differently, for instance:

- i. 'processes' are encoded as nouns, instead of verbs (e.g. 'transform' as *transformation*, 'can / could' as *possibility/potential*);
- ii. 'qualities' are encoded as nouns, instead of adjectives (e.g. 'unstable' as *instability*);

iii. 'logical relations' are encoded as nouns, instead of conjunctions ('so' as *cause / proof*, 'if' as *condition*).

Non-congruent ways of encoding language are referred to as *grammatical metaphor*. It subsumes a number of non-congruent structures which result from paradigmatic and / or syntagmatic shifts between functional categories in the lexico-grammar, by which, for instance, qualities / properties (congruently worded as adjectives) are reworded as nouns, or processes (congruently worded as verbs) are metaphorically coded as participants (nouns).

In a grammatical metaphor, the meaning is construed in a different way by means of a different grammatical construction. The sentences under (1) illustrate the fact that any situation can be expressed in more than one way: a congruent or a non-congruent, metaphorical one.

Thus, example (1a.) illustrates a congruent non-metaphorical expression, while (1b.) illustrates the process of nominalization or grammatical metaphor:

- (1) a. *We walked in the evening along the river to Henley.*
b. *Our evening walk along the river took us to Henley.*

Sentence (1a.) is a typical or congruent version, where *We*, the subject is the agent, realized by means of a noun phrase (in this case, a pronoun); *walked*, the predicate is a (material) process realized by means of a verb; *in the evening*, the adjunct is the circumstantial element of time realized by means of a prepositional phrase; *along the river*, the adjunct is the circumstantial element of place realized by means of a prepositional phrase; *to Henley*, the adjunct is the circumstantial element of direction realized by means of a prepositional phrase.

There is another way of expressing this situation, as we can see in (1b.). In this non-congruent, metaphorical interpretation, the semantic functions are transferred in relation to the syntactic functions. The (material) process *walk* has now become Agent, and the circumstances of time (*in the evening*) and place (*along the river*) have become classifier/premodifier and qualifier/postmodifier, respectively, of the new Agent realized at Subject (*evening walk along the river*). The original Agent *we* is now divided into two: one part functions as possessor of the Subject entity (*our evening walk along the river*), the other as Affected (*us*) of a new (material) process expressed by the verb *took*.

This second interpretation, or alternative realization of semantic functions, is an instance of 'grammatical metaphor' (this type of change of

semantic function is called *grammatical metaphorization*), and is a phenomenon which occurs in different degrees, in adult language, especially in certain written genres, such as academic writing.

Grammatical metaphor, represented by non-congruent ways of encoding language, subsumes a number of non-congruent structures which result from paradigmatic and / or syntagmatic shifts between functional categories in the lexico-grammar, by which, for instance, qualities / properties (congruently worded as adjectives) are reworded as nouns, or processes (congruently worded as verbs) are metaphorically coded as participants (nouns).

In other words, the function of the majority of grammatical metaphors of this kind in English is to turn verbs, adjectives, conjunctions into nouns.

Halliday interprets marked, non-congruent realizations as metaphors because they have to be read on two levels: (i) literally, in terms of the actual grammatical class of the item under question; and, (ii) figuratively, in terms of the 'underlying' meaning that is being encoded. The linguist illustrates these two levels of interpretation with the following examples:

- (2) a. *There is need for more land due to the growth of population.*
b. *Population grew and so people needed more land*

In order to fully understand a nominal group like that in (2a.), we have to interpret *need* as a noun linked to the noun *growth* by the preposition *due to*, and in addition to interpret *need* as a process which is causally related to the process behind *growth*. So, when we unpacked (2a.) as (2b.) we were focusing attention on these two levels of interpretation.

A grammatical metaphor is, therefore, the result of a shift between grammatical categories, e.g. where a nominal group is used for the contents of a verbal group, as in the example below:

- (3) a. *The driver drove the bus too rapidly down the hill. The brakes failed.*
b. *The driver's over-rapid downhill driving of the bus caused brake failure.*

Example (3a.) is an illustration of a congruent, non-metaphorical realization, where: *the driver* = Actor (Subject); *drove* = Process (Verb); *the bus* = Goal (Direct object); *too rapidly down the hill* = Circumstances of manner and direction (Adverbials of manner and direction) (conventional grammatical designations are given in brackets)

Example (3b.) shows shifts between grammatical categories resulting in grammatical metaphor. In the metaphorical realization, shifts have taken place by which the categories Process, Goal and Circumstance have been mapped onto Actor to form a complex nominal group: *The driver's over-rapid downhill driving of the bus.*

A clause which applies the grammatical metaphor, i.e., which undergoes the nominalization of processes is referred to as *packaging*; Rewriting a clause in a form which removes the grammatical metaphor is referred to as *unpackaging* (Ventola, 1996: 153).

3. The Function of Nominalizations

In what follows, I shall discuss some basic functions of grammatical metaphor, or nominalizations which occur in academic texts. Consider the examples under (4):

- (4) a. *First, he reviewed how the dorsal fin evolved.*
b. *There was a first review of the evolution of the dorsal fin.*

Once again, sentence (4a.) provides an example of congruent non-metaphorical realization of meanings, whereby verbs encode actions (*reviewed, evolved*), while (4b.) provides a metaphorical / non-congruent realization of meaning due to the fact that the actions of *reviewing* and *evolving* are now nominalized. The grammatical metaphor in (4b.) – *review, evolution* - has three functions:

- i. First, it can turn a dynamic process (*review, evolved*) into a static entity through recategorization and thus provides us with a different way of construing the world, or of conceptualizing experiences from a different angle.
- ii. Second, it can increase the information load of the nominal group, by nominalizing the dynamic process and putting several modifiers (premodifiers) (*first*) before the head of the nominal group, and thus succeeds in condensing the information of the clause;
- iii. Third, it can blur, or cover up the actor/agent (*he*) by using nominalizations.

We shall enlarge on the second and third functions:

- ii. – Grammatical metaphor expressed by nominalization can increase the information load of the nominal group. The pragmatic usefulness of the process of metaphorization can be accounted for by the fact that it allows us to make more participants. The use of such participants has the effect of *condensing*,

compacting information within the sentence; nominalized language improves the *conciseness* and *informational richness* of a text. The *packing of information* into a noun group, which assists the *condensation* of a piece of text, leaves the rest of the clause available for providing new information.

It thus contributes to language *economy*, serving as a means of *cohesion*, of improving *text coherence*.

We shall illustrate the fact that nominalization can increase the information load of the nominal group with some examples taken from Halliday (1985):

- (5) a. *The government has proposed changes to motoring laws.*
- b. *The government's proposal for changes to motoring laws.*
- c. *The public have derided the government's proposal for changes to motoring laws.*
- d. *The public's derision of the government's proposal for changes to motoring laws.*
- e. *The public's derision of the government's proposal for changes to Motoring laws has been widely reported in the press.*
- f. *The public's justifiable derision of the government's badly thought-out proposal for radical changes to motoring laws has been widely reported in the press.*

In (5a.) the process is congruently expressed as a verb (*proposed*), whereas in the rest of the sentences - (5b.) to (5f) - the process is non-congruently expressed as a noun (*proposal*). Once the process is expressed as a noun, it can function as a noun, and hence become the subject or complement of a further clause. (5b) shows that if the process (*propose*) of the clause is nominalized, it becomes *proposal* and the other constituents of the clause can be expressed as modifiers or qualifiers of the head of the new noun group. (5c) illustrates the fact that this noun phrase (*the government's proposal for changes to motoring laws*) can now become a constituent in a further clause. (5d) shows that the process of this clause can also be nominalized: *derided* > *derision*. (5e) illustrates the fact that this second noun group (*The public's derision of the...*) can now be used as a constituent in a further clause. The final sentence, (5f), points out another advantage of the nominalization of processes: since the processes are now in a nominal form, we can add modifiers (*justifiable, badly thought-out, radical*).

Thus, an attempt to unpack the grammatical metaphor of the final sentence (5f) shows just how useful grammatical metaphor is. In fact, anybody who attempts it will find out that it is impossible to do so in a single sentence,

so that several sentences are necessary, and even then maintaining any sort of elegance is far from easy.

This difference in wording (nominalization as a form of grammatical metaphor vs. a non-metaphorical construction) is associated with a number of differences in interpretation: the nominal constructions, in (5b-5f) become long and heavy, being usually considered to be more abstract, with stylistic effects (impersonal, increased lexical density) and with discourse effects.

iii. *Absence of human agency*

Nominalization allows the writer to avoid making attributions to any particular person by *agent deletion*. Actually, nominalizations are used alongside other “impersonalization strategies”, such as impersonal constructions, impersonal pronouns (*one, they, someone*), the (agentless) passive, to express a variety of linguistic means which allow for varying degrees of what has been referred to as the ‘mystification’ of the role of agency. The reasons for omission of the agent in the passive may be based on relevance criteria. As Biber et al. (1999: 477) note, the agent is omitted because it “may be easy to infer, uninteresting, or already mentioned”. But the exclusion of agent may also be the result of “possible ideologically obfuscation of agency, causality and responsibility”, (Fairclough 1989: 124). In this way, the passive allows not only for mystification of agency, but also for claiming ignorance about the identity of the agent, thus obscuring responsibility for negative action. Nominalizations represent a step further in impersonalization, since the event is presented as fact, as a kind of abstract setting.

Consider the sentences in (6):

- (6) a. *Fears of disruption to oil supplies from the Gulf helped push crude oil prices above \$20 a barrel.*
b. *Because people feared that oil would not be supplied as usual from the Gulf, the price of crude oil rose to above \$20 a barrel.*

According to Downing and Locke (1992: 151), the main difference between (6a) and (6b) consists in the absence of agency. Sentence (6b.) provides an example of congruent non-metaphorical realization of meanings, realised as a subordinate clause (*Because people feared...*).

In the journalistic example in (6a.), the long Noun Phrase as Subject (*Fears of disruption to oil supplies from the Gulf*) is the Agent in a new process *helped push*. This process would normally be associated with a human agent, while the Affected would typically be a concrete entity, followed by a locative

denoting the place where the Object was pushed, as in *He pushed me through the door*. The introduction of a verb such as *helped push* has the effect of presenting the situation as more dynamic, while the long nominal (*Fears of disruption to oil supplies...*) silences the true Agent, drawing the reader's attention instead to the emotionally charged word *fears* (Downing & Locke, 1992: 152).

Some linguists, such as Inger Lassen (2003) suggest an extension of the grammatical metaphor range: they suggest including also the passive voice under the umbrella of grammatical metaphor.

As we have seen, in the surface structure of the sentence, *processes* which cover the central part of a situation can function in two modes: (a.) congruent, i.e. expressed by the finite form of the verb; (b.) non-congruent, or metaphorical, i.e. expressed by the nominalized form of the verb.

The use of one or the other mode is determined by *pragmatic* factors and language economy requirements: the speaker or writer, depending on his/her intentions, in referring to a complex situation (a situation based on more than one proposition) can use either the congruent form of the realization of the situation or the non-congruent one. As already pointed out, in the congruent form, the process is mapped onto the Predicate; in the non-congruent form, it is turned into a participant and, consequently, it can perform other semantic functions.

4. Conclusions

An important aspect in achieving clarity in communication involves the choice and appropriate use of forms of linguistic constructions. A meaning may be realized by (i) a prototypical, unmarked, congruent construction, or by (ii) a non-congruent construction, a grammatical metaphor in the form of a nominalization.

The predominant lexico-grammatical feature in academic writing is the extensive and elaborate use of the nominal group, represented, in particular, by nominalization. Considered an important characteristic of written English, grammatical metaphors are created through the grammatical process of 'derivation' by which a verb or an adjective is converted into a noun, often by adding an ending to the verb or adjective.

Nominalization, as a form of grammatical metaphor, has several important functions in academic writing: It allows a large amount of

information to be packed into a comparatively small space (such as, a noun group). This has the effect of *condensing* information within the sentence; it contributes to *language economy* and often serves as a means of *cohesion*; it also contributes to improving text coherence and cohesion, conciseness. Nominalization, usually considered to be more abstract, with stylistic and discourse effects (impersonal, increased lexical density), lends a certain formality to written work.

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SPORTS AND GAMES IN BUSINESS ENGLISH METAPHORS

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For well over a decade, Cognitive Linguistics has been paying a great deal of attention to the study of metaphor (see, for example, the seminal work in Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Lakoff, 1987). From the cognitive perspective, metaphor is seen as the partial mapping of a source domain onto a target domain, with a set of correspondences between the donor and recipient domains. As a result of this transfer, we talk and reason about the target in terms of the conceptual (and inferential) structure of the source.

Various metaphors are usually available to conceive a single abstract domain. In general, the likelihood of a given source domain being used for metaphorical mapping may be enhanced when it becomes more salient in everyday experience. One such domain is that of sports and games, which manifest a strong tendency towards being a fronted and highlighted experiential domain nowadays. On the one hand, physical exercise such as running or sports in general are biologically and culturally salient. On the other hand, games as experiences rooted in early childhood are also a heterogeneous category to be exploited in other abstract concepts.

In what follows, I will exemplify some of these mappings, making an attempt at demonstrating the pervasive character and the nature of the sports and games metaphors in the business discourse. The examples have been extracted from *Business Source Premier*, one of the most prestigious and most comprehensive databases, which, being daily updated, gathers full-text articles from 8,500 scholarly journals dating back to 1922.

1. Business Is A Game

The mappings below illustrate the richness of the imports of elements, processes and relationships from the source domains sports and games, respectively, into the target domain, business. The mappings are both ontological and epistemic (inferences imported from the source domain):

Ontological correspondences:

Agents:	business entities	→	players
Activity type:	doing business	→	playing

Conditions: economic laws → rules (of the game)
Circumstances: favourable economic contexts → luck
Plans: business plan → game plan

Epistemic correspondences

Playing by the rules is OK → Doing business according to laws and regulations is OK
There are different types of players → There are different types of business people/agents
Luck changes → Circumstances in the economic environment can change

Here are some illustrative examples from the linguistic database:

- 'The information and communications technology sector dominates Finland's economy. Nokia is the biggest *player* in this sector.'
- 'City banks plan to create "megabanks", partly promoted by government attempts to create large world-class *players* in the sector.'
- 'Aggressively pursuing U.S. companies and businesses is just an outgrowth of the Confucian philosophy. That's because the Chinese are learning to *play* by Western *rules*'
- 'Legal issues in multinational business strategy: To *play* the *game*, you have to know the rules.'
- 'When it comes to creating innovative growth businesses -- which is at least as complicated as professional football -- most companies have not developed detailed *game plans*.'
- 'Japan is not the only country that *plays games* with its accounting.'
- 'China offers unprecedented opportunity in both manufacturing and distribution for the aftermarket. But playing by their rules places a company in an entirely different *business game*.'
- 'Wine marketing: player endorsements have a *sporting chance*.'

The selection of the game category as donor domain is apparently difficult to explain. Wittgenstein pointed out that the category does not fit the classical mold of categories with common properties shared by all members (Lakoff, 1987: 16). Some games involve mere amusement, some involve luck, or skill, or competition, or combinations of such features. Though there is no single collection of properties that all games share, the category of games is united by what Wittgenstein calls 'family resemblances'. Games, like family members, are similar to one another in a wide variety of ways. It is precisely

this patchwork of features that makes the game category qualify for the source of the heterogeneous business domain.

Within the category of games, one of the best represented member that has yielded the most frequent metaphorical expressions is the game of cards, associated or not with gambling. Managers, investors, clients, companies, countries are the players in the game:

- 'Buyers Seek To *Play Cards* Right'
- 'MSC has *another card to play*'
- 'All bets are off as key players *lay* pensions *cards* on the *table*'
- 'Masco finally *puts* its *cards* on the *table*.'
- 'Shy list owners: *show your hand*.'
- 'Product sales *trump* rates in F&I pay plans'
- 'Lucent *trumps* Ericsson's bid for Riverstone'
- 'Ace Toolmakers *comes up trumps*'
- 'Kepcher Plays Her *Trump Card*.'
- 'Wall Street is increasingly encouraging individual investors to *bet* on foreign currencies, and money managers are rolling out a host of new funds to allow them to do this.'
- 'Cash-rich investors frustrated with stock market returns see community banks as good *bets*.'
- 'Pay it forward: Invest in employee satisfaction and *hit the jackpot* of a loyal, committed staff.'
- 'Trafalgar *jackpot* for Cardiff traders'
- 'Even recently, there are still annual contracts, but with a small number of *deals*.'
- 'Chinese oil companies have sought to acquire *stakes* in an array of foreign oil companies.'
- '*ACE* Insurance Co. Holds an *Ace Up Its Sleeve*.'
- 'But Mexico had an *ace up its sleeve*: the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which had come into effect on January 1st 1994.'
- 'Industry Comment: Golden Wonder: when the *chips* are *down*, rivals swoop in.'
- 'Waterstone's Booksellers Ltd. put its *chips* firmly *down* on Gloria Hunniford's "Next to You," cutting the price of the £17.99 book to just £6.99.'
- 'BA should *call* Branson's *bluff*.'
- 'Unlike the U.S. where business people run venture capital funds and often take a calculated *gamble* on an entrepreneur or an idea, British funds are mainly operated by bankers.'
- 'Microsoft and founders *bet money* on PCS network.'
- 'Ethanol companies are to *take chances* in the public domain, while the hunger of investors for assets has increased.'
- 'STATE GUARANTY FUNDS---THE *LUCK OF THE DRAW*'
- 'Public services face marketing *against all odds*'
- 'Auction Index Rises *Against All Odds* in First Quarter'

There is a massive amount of uncertainty and almost boundless variety in terms of the moves you can make in both chess and business. Chess is then just another provider of central mappings:

- 'LEARNING THE NEW *GAME* OF CURRENCY *CHESS*.'
- 'Extreme Constraints? Maybe an ASIC Isn't the *Right Move*'
- 'Who is sacrificed in global *chess game*?'
- 'The implications of the foreign exchange '*chess game*' are several'
- 'Over the past few weeks, a couple of Canadian companies--PetroKazakhstan and Nelson Resources Ltd.--became *pawns* in what appears to be a tussle between world powers over access to oil.'
- 'The Associated General Contractors of America is achieving its mission which led to an end to the 16-year *stalemate* between the Mexican and U.S. governments.'
- '*Checkmate*: Comcast Wins Incentives, Signs Lease'
- 'Evolution of this move as Ellison's *checkmate* move against Microsoft into Microsoft's tightening of its grasp on computing.'

The internal structure of the game category accommodates less prototypical and less conventionalized members of the category into the metaphorical pattern:

- 'Emerging markets *play game of leapfrog*: potential of banks in the emerging market to jump ahead of the competition by avoiding intermediate technology developments.'
- 'Fed may *play waiting game* on rate cut, economists say'.

2. Business Is A Sport

Uniformity does not characterize the sports category either. Therefore, business elements, relations and activities have metaphorical counterparts in individual sports such as football, skating, athletics, sailing, parachuting, baseball. The choice of the most frequently activated schemata seems to be also linked to the relative high salience of sports like football, baseball, athletics in today's world.

2.1. Business Is Football

- 'In 1991 China, Hong Kong and Taiwan became members of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation forum which promotes open trade and practical economic co-

operation in the region, with the *goal* of advancing Asia-Pacific economic dynamism and sense of community.'

- 'Fuel protest turned into an *own goal*'
- '*Goalposts* moved, claims GNER.'
- 'Setting a new *goalpost*: 100 percent voter registration'
- 'The risk of outright nationalization is very small, but creeping nationalization, in which the *goalposts* are changed to the benefit of domestic companies, has caused foreign companies to withdraw from India.'
- 'The Food and Drink Federation has been lobbying government and the energy regulator Ofgem for a more *level playing field* on gas pricing.'

2.2. Business Is Athletics / A Race

- 'McDonald's races past *marathon* sponsor to top of chart'
- 'Investment pace becoming investment *race* for suppliers.'
- 'Tim Sloane, the director for debit advisory service for Mercator Advisory Group Inc., said that Debitman faces *hurdles* in persuading merchants to issue its cards and consumers to use them.'
- 'Keep the sales incentive department *running*.'
- 'Retail *makes* the *running*'
- 'Boeing May Be *Out of Running* for British Contract'
- 'This article reports that Sage Software Inc. and Microsoft Corp. are *neck* and *neck* for the hearts and minds of companies with 20 to 999 employees. SAGE VS. MICROSOFT: PHOTO FINISH'
- 'F&P Wholesale get *first past* the *post*.'
- 'From *Also-Ran* to a Top Target: Why Ga. M&A Market Changed'
- 'Diller made one of his boldest bets in July, when IAC paid \$1.9 billion in stock to buy an *also-ran* search site, Ask Jeeves.'

2.3. Business Is Skating

- 'Treasury *skates over* the limit.'
- 'CBC ad cuts *skate around* hockey'

2.4. Business Is Sailing

- 'Greece *sails through* volatile markets with Eu2bn linker tap'
- 'This Trade Pact Won't *Sail Through*'

- ‘McDonalds marketing chief Giorgio Minardi focuses on getting customers more emotionally attached to the brand, enabling McDonald’s to *sail through* poor economies.’
- ‘*Plain sailing* for Turkey with \$1.5bn 30 year flat to curve’
- ‘Suture prices *stay the course* in 2005’
- ‘GM can’t be expected to *stay the course* if sales of its redesigned SUVs fail to catch fire.
- ‘How successful growing companies *stay on course*.’

2.5. Business Is Hunting And Angling

- ‘Recruiters’ *Hunt* For Resumes Is Nocturnal Game’
- ‘The networks offer various things, such as means to pay taxes, check school records, or *hunt* for jobs.’
- ‘CIB Bank looking to *headhunt* Jaksity’
- ‘Channel 5 *headhunts* top Channel 4 bosses’
- ‘Wachovia has been sending recruiting posters to financial advisers and executive *headhunters* around the U.S. that name the new hires and the firms and offices from which they came.’
- ‘Legal advisor *angles* for promotion’

2.6. Business Is Baseball

- ‘The American Family Association-along with 40-plus other organizations-is way *off base* in trying to intimidate Ford.’
- ‘We asked the vendors that offer all components and have at least one installation in North America to provide a *ballpark figure* for a mid-sized library of 200,000 items.’
- ‘*Grab the ball* and *run with it*; sports find niche at C-Stores.’
- ‘MLB can *play hardball* if record ratings hold up’

2.7. Business Is Parachuting

- ‘González is eligible for a € 60 million *golden parachute* if he is forced to leave BBVA.’
 - ‘We show that shareholders may use a manager in combination with a *golden parachute* (managerial severance payments) as a commitment device not to renegotiate ex post.’
- It is not uncommon to use the resources of metaphors to achieve stylistic effects, especially in titles:

- 'Play your cards close to the Vest'
- 'All bets are off as key players lay pension cards on the table.'

The proximity of the metaphorical templates that license the above metaphorical expressions support the idea that both BUSINESS IS A GAME and BUSINESS IS A SPORT are structural metaphors. This means that the business concept is elaborated in considerable detail by finding appropriate means in the donor domains SPORT and GAMES for highlighting some of its aspects while hiding out others. These two structural metaphors are grounded in systematic correlations within our experience. They too can be said to have a strong cultural basis. They emerged naturally in the western/ Anglo-Saxon culture because their highlighted aspects correspond closely to what is experienced collectively, just as their hidden aspects are related to physical and cultural experience. And, most importantly, they have the power to influence the people's actions and experience.

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SOLICITUDES IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

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This article presents the category of politeness formulas named *solicitudes* from a contrastive point of view in English and Romanian. *Solicitudes* are separated from other specialized politeness formulas through the time reference projected by them and are classified according to the situational context in which they appear. This research is based on a number of 427 *solicitudes* encountered in oral communication over a period of 14 months. In order to give a complete perspective of phenomenon, *solicitudes* are presented in association with their corresponding replies. The semantic and structural parallel between the English and the Romanian sets of *solicitudes* is illustrative for the equivalencies and discrepancies existing between the two languages.

Together with congratulations and wish-greeting, *solicitudes* form the category of specialized politeness formulas. *Solicitudes* are polite formulas, usually projected on the short term future, which express caring thoughts for the addressee's well-being in various situational contexts, like an exam, a sneeze, a disease, a party, a work assignments, etc. The most significant differences between *solicitudes* and the other two types of polite formulas mentioned above are firstly the time reference and secondly the situational context in which a *solicitude* is uttered. If congratulations have a past time reference since they are used after the occurrence of a certain event and wish-greetings have a present time reference as they refer to specific and clearly dated special events or holidays (their frequency being relatively restricted to the time span of a year), *solicitudes* have a future time reference refer to daily activities, hence having a greater frequency.

Solicitudes are part of everyday communication, and more than wish-greeting and congratulations, they permanently reaffirm the existence of a cordial relationship between the speakers. Everyday there is a risk to fail in doing something or a risk to suffer an injury, thus becoming unable to do something, so speakers state their concern for their interlocutor's well-being by uttering certain formulas appropriate for the given context. In most contexts, people cannot share the risk that their human fellows undergo, but they can at least offer their verbal *solicitude* on their ventures. *Solicitudes* may refer to events occurring in the absence of the addresser, like a journey, an exam, and

these are the most numerous, or they may refer to something occurring in the presence of the addresser, as a sneeze, a meal in progress, but these are scarcer.

Solicitudes are exchanged between people who have a well-established social relationship. There are different opinions on the type of social relationships that bring about a more frequent use of solicitudes: Albert and Kessler (1978: 541) state that these formulas are more frequent in closings between socially distant speakers, while Clark and French (1981:1-19) claim the opposite by finding a greater number of such formulas between people who are closely acquainted. Burt's (2003: 88) findings support Albert and Kessler's theory, namely that it is social distance rather than social closeness that favors the use of solicitudes.

This research points out that solicitudes may be uttered both in formal and in informal situations, but most frequent exchanges occur in informal circumstances, mainly between friends and acquaintances. By definition the idea of solicitude implies a cordial relationship between people who care for each other, who want the best for the other and who know each other well enough to socially have the opportunity to express this in words. But is this enough to say that the frequency of solicitude formulas goes along with the increase in familiarity? It is interesting that total familiarity, as present between family members, calls for a moderate use of solicitudes and not for a maximum use. If distant social relationships determine little use of such formulas, intimacy has the same effect. The mechanism is simple: social distance means a rigid relationship, ultimately implying little interest in the other person's life, while solicitudes imply great interest for the other. By contrast, close family relations mean a constant interest for a relative, more than that, even participation to the main events of his/her life. Consequently, if one is a participant, there is no opportunity to utter solicitudes, which cover the period of time in which the persons are separated. In this case solicitudes best serve close social relationships in which people interact often enough and are aware of the important events taking place in the friend's or the acquaintance's life, they however are not always participants in these special occasions (like exams, journeys, parties, performances, illnesses, etc.).

As far as a classification of solicitude formulas is concerned, Burt (2003: 80-81) divides them into conventionalized and non-conventionalized. She considers conventionalized solicitudes as entirely fixed, short elements that occur in easily defined situations, the formulas learners of a foreign language are instructed to memorize, while non-conventionalized solicitudes as elements

strongly tied with specific situations, though rather applicable to situation types than being entirely custom-made. However, the distinction between these two types of solicitudes is not easy to make: sometimes classifying one formula as a conventionalized or a non-conventionalized solicitude may be difficult. Consequently, this research finds organization according to situational contexts more effective and illustrative, especially in a contrastive analysis as this.

In English and in Romanian, solicitudes are the most frequent polite formulas, both languages possessing a considerable inventory. A common characteristic is that in both languages solicitudes are conforming to a syntactic formula, there being several typologies for these elements. Both English and Romanian solicitudes have mainly an imperative form, lacking directive force. Since solicitudes are culturally determined, there are situations in which there is no equivalent formula in one of the languages for the formula used in the other language. Speakers of English and of Romanian use solicitudes both for close friends and for socially distant interlocutors, these formulas being mostly contextually determined.

In a period of 14 months a total of 201 solicitudes in English and 226 in Romanian were recorded in oral communication, both in real life conversation and in fictional interaction in movies. As illustrated in the table below, some formulas are more frequently used than others. Solicitudes are strongly linked to the situational context. The parallel between the solicitudes used in English and those used in Romanian is made below according to the situation in which such solicitudes appear. In order to create a complete image of the phenomenon, solicitudes have been associated with their replies, as they appeared in interaction. (*Note. The figure to the right side of the solicitude indicates how many times the formula was uttered in interaction.*)

Solicitudes in English and Romanian

#	Situation	English solicitude		Reply	Romanian solicitude		Reply	
1.	before driving	Drive safely / carefully!	10	(Don't worry!) I will!	Ai grijă cum conduci!	2	-	
2.	before a journey	Have a nice / safe trip / flight.	6	Thanks!	Drum bun!	9	Mulțumesc.	
							Să fie!	
							Să dea Domnu'!	
					Să ajunși cu bine!	1	-	
3.	before an exam	Good luck!	9	Thanks!	Success!	3	Să fie!	
			5			Baftă!	10	Să dea Domnu'!
			3			Noroc!	4	Mulțumesc.
						I'll keep my fingers crossed (for you)!	Îți țin pumnii!	
4.	before a performance	Break a leg!	4	-	Baftă!	7	Să fie!	
					Success!	3	Mulțumesc.	
5.	before eating	-	-	-	Poftă bună!	16	Mulțumesc (ascmenea).	
6.	after eating	-	-	-	Să ne / vă fie de bine!	15	Mulțumesc (ascmenea).	
7.	before sleeping	Get some rest!	9	I will. Thanks!	Odihnă plăcută!	7	Mulțumesc.	
		Sweet dreams!	10	Thanks.	Somn ușor!	5		
		Sleep well!	11	Thanks.	Vise plăcute / frumoase!	5		
8.	after stating age	-			Mulți 'nainte!	11	Mulțumesc.	
9.	when sick	Get well soon!	18	Thanks!	Însănătoșire grabnică!	9	Mulțumesc.	
				God willing!			Să dea Domnu'!	
10.	a sneeze	God bless (you)!	27	Thank you!	Noroc!	6	Mulțumesc.	
					Sănătate!	9		
					Doamne ajută!	3		
11.	to a pregnant woman	-	-	-	Naștere ușoară!	2	Mulțumesc.	
12.	for buying something	-	-	-	Să-l/o porți sănatos (oasă)!	7	Mulțumesc.	
					Să-l/o porți cu plăcere!	4		
					Să-l/o folosești sănatos (oasă)!	5		
					Să-l/o folosești cu plăcere!	2		
13.	before difficulties	God bless!	15	Thank you, God!	Doamne ajută!	6	Doamne mulțumescu-ți!	
14.	mentioning a mishap	God forbid!	6	-	Doamne ferește!	3	-	
15.	before work	Take it easy!	5	-	Spor la treabă!	11	Mulțumesc.	
					Serviciu ușor!	5		
16.	before a party	Have fun!	15	Thanks!	Distrație (plăcută)!	10	Mulțumesc.	
17.	at weddings	May all your dreams come true!	5	Thanks!	Casă de piatră!	2	Mulțumim.	
		(A) Lot of happiness!	1		Să fiți fericiți!	3		
					Să trăiți fericiți (până la adânci bătrâneți)!	1		
18.	when taking leave	Take care!	21	I will!	Ai grijă de tine!	5	Și tu.	
		Watch yourself!	8		Sănătate!	4	Mulțumesc, la fel.	
					Numai bine.	3		
19.	before a final separation	Have a nice/good life!	3	Thanks, (all the same)!	Sănătate!	2	Mulțumesc, la fel.	
				Thanks! You, too!	Numai bine!	3		
					Toate cele bune!	3		
20.	Last solicitude	Rest in peace!	10	-	Odihnească-se în pace!	7	-	
					Să-i fie țărâna ușoară!	6	-	

For the 20 situations presented in the table above, Romanian has 31 solitudes while English has 20 solitudes. This indicates that Romanian has a greater number of solitudes in comparison with the English language, but does not imply that English has a lower rate in the use of solitudes. At a closer analysis, the Romanian corpus is more diversified and more specific than the English. However there are a few situations in which English is more specific. As far as the replays are concerned, there is great similarity between English and Romanian. The majority of solitudes (86% in Romanian and 82 % in English) have a matching reply. However not all solitudes that have a reply appear in use as a pair solitude – reply; there are situations in which the reply is not uttered, this fact not having a negative effect on the relationship between the speakers. Another similarity between English and Romanian is that the main reply strategy is thanking: either simple or reciprocating thanking is an important element.

Solitudes can be organized according to certain events that have greater or smaller prominence in a person's life. These events may have an intrinsic risk whether expressed directly or indirectly: the risk of being involved in an accident (1, 2, 13, 14, 18), risk of becoming ill (5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11), the risk of failure (3, 4, 15, 16, 17, 19). Health is an important element, generating many types of solitudes; all the series above are directly or indirectly related to one's physical or mental comfort.

Since staying or being healthy physically and mentally is such an important issue, all the situations in which this well-being may be threatened have been provided with a formula to offer protection and solitude; for example driving a car for a longer or a shorter distance, just like undertaking a journey with various other means of transportation puts the subject in a potentially dangerous situation. The solitudes existing in English and Romanian record several differences in meaning, use and structure. In this case the English solitudes are more specialized than the Romanian ones: there is one formula for driving a car (*Drive safely!*) and another for traveling by plane (*Have a safe flight!*), both being means of transportation with relatively high risk of accidents, plus a third one with a more general reference (*Have a nice/safe trip!*). Semantically, the three formulas have in common the root *safe*, which makes reference to the person's physical well-being. The reply to this solitude is one of the few that does not contain a thanking formula; *I will*, alone or in association with *Don't worry*, is meant to assure the solitude

addresser that his/her recommendation has been recorded and will be taken into consideration.

The Romanian formulas of this series are more general, there being no corresponding solicitudes for the English items containing reference to certain means of transportation. *Drum bun!* is the only commonly used formula in this area, however it may appear associated with solicitudes specific to short or long term separation (see situations 19 and 20). Occasionally there are present more focused solicitudes like *Ai grijă cum conduci!* or *Să ajungeți cum bine!*, these varieties do not have a reply formula. The frequency of use of the English and the Romanian formulas is similar, with the observation that the English specialized solicitude is preferred to the general one.

A public performance or an examination creates a stressful environment in which the risk of failure is high, subsequently producing mental discomfort; similarly working too much or having poor results gives the same result. In this case both English and Romanian formulas refer to providential luck, *Good luck!* and *Noroc!, Baftă!, Succes!*. The Romanian formulas appear either separately or in a sequence, the repetition creating emphasis regarding the speaker's support of the addressee. This series is doubled in both languages by formulas which have superstitions as their origin; the equivalent expressions are surprisingly similar, both involving gestures with hands: *I'll keep my fingers crossed for you!* and *Îți țin pumnii!*. The replies to these solicitudes are thanks both in English and in Romanian. The Romanian series *Noroc!, Baftă!, Success!* is also responded with formulas like *Să dea Dumnezeu!* or *Să fie!*, which emphasize the semantic meaning of the solicitude.

Eating healthy food and sleeping well are also important actions for a person's well-being. Several solicitudes have been created to cover eating in Romanian, but there is no corresponding expression in English. Romanian culture marks the importance of eating by two expressions: one customary before eating, *Poftă bună!* and one after eating, *Să-ți fie de bine!*. English does not have an equivalent expression for the first, but occasionally (in the right social and cultural environment) the very formal French expression *Bon appetite!* is used.

A particularity of formulas referring to eating is the moment of their uttering. Usually solicitudes have a near future projection, targeted to the moment in which the addresser and addressee are separated. *Poftă bună!* is used with a near future projection, but also with an instant effect. For example, *Poftă bună!* is uttered at the end of a conversation, when the addresser anticipates

that, once separated, the addressee will have lunch or dinner (frequent use around mealtimes); but it is also used when the two are sitting at the table just before starting to eat. By contrast, *Să-ți fie de bine!* is limited in use to the moment marking the end of the meal, as a ritual and not for the moment of finishing the eating process. The formula has two variants: *Să vă fie de bine!*, which does not include the addresser (it can be the host(ess) or the waiter), and *Să ne fie de bine!*, which includes the addresser. The former is used by the person who serves the food, but does not eat with the rest, while the latter is used when the host(ess) sits and eats at the table.

The matching reply for solicitudes 5 and 6 is invariably a thanking formula. A special thanking formula for *Poftă bună!* is *Mulțumim și la masă nu vorbim*. This rhyming formula has an educational purpose, that of teaching young children table manners. It is important to point out that thanking as table manners is a repeated strategy, firstly thanks are expressed as reply to *Poftă bună!* just before eating, but after eating, thanks are given for the meal to the cook. At this point, the cook may use formula *Să vă fie de bine!* or *Să ne fie de bine!* as a reply, however the two may be uttered without being preceded by thanks.

In addition to eating, sleeping is also a basic human need. In contrast with meal rituals for which there is no English formula, sleeping has solicitudes both in English and in Romanian. Equivalent expressions in use for context 7 are *Sweet dreams!* and *Vise plăcute/ frumoase!*, just as *Sleep well!* and *Somn ușor!*. The Romanian expression *Odihnă plăcută* is a more general term, which includes any type of rest, not necessarily implying sleep. A particularity of the series is that solicitudes in context 7 are more frequently used by family members and not by friends and acquaintances as the majority of the formulas. This characteristic is given by the fact that going to sleep is something done in the privacy of one's home, in the absence of friends and acquaintances. However there are occasions, like separating after a party or arriving home from a long trip, in which friends may anticipate sleeping or resting; on such occasions the formulas may be uttered by other persons than the family. Such phrases sound like recommendations *Get some rest/ sleep!* or like wishes *Sleep well!*, *Somn ușor!*.

Sickness, or signs of it, as well as physiologically dangerous events, like giving birth, determines another set of solicitudes. When somebody is sick, it is common sense to wish him/ her quick recovery. The English *Get well soon!* and the Romanian *Însănătoșire grabnică!* are equivalent expressions from a

semantic point of view. In oral usage the two formulas are recorded in similar circumstances, however only the English formula is used in writing on special card. In English speaking countries a sick person, while in hospital, may receive cards from friends and acquaintances containing such a solicitude. As far as the replies to situation 9 are concerned, both in English and in Romanian, they are either thanking formulas or/and phrases that mention the ability of divine power to heal and call for it.

If in context 9, God is mentioned in the replying phrases, in situation 10 the Almighty is present in the first part: the English *God bless!* and the Romanian *Doamne ajută!*. One may wonder how a minor occurrence, like the common sneeze, has developed a linguistic element with a protective role. In past times, when medical science was in its incipient stage, it was commonly believed that the sneeze was a sign of the plague. The dreaded disease was serious enough to motivate the appearance of a phrase asking for God's help. The difference in context 10 between English and Romanian is that the latter has not one, but three formulas with parallel usage. Occasionally the Romanian formulas are not used separately, but in association, and in this way special emphasis is conferred to the solicitudes. The English solicitude *God bless!* or the longer form *God bless you!* is used in other contexts (see 14) that do not involve health issues; similarly the Romanian formulas used when sneezing, *Doamne ajută, Sănătate!* and *Noroc!* uttered in context 10, appear in other situations as well (see 13 and 18).

Indirectly linked to health problems is context 11, as giving birth is a delicate moment in which physiological processes may negatively influence one's health. This is an event in which the risk of suffering or becoming ill is high. Romanian culture has a special formula *Naștere ușoară!*, restricted to this particular context and used especially in the last month of pregnancy. The replay consists of a thanking phrase. English does not have an equivalent expression for context 11.

Purchasing something is a cause for excitement both for the new owner and for his/ her friends. Buying something is an event that is marked linguistically by different strategies in the English and the Romanian cultures; the former uses complimenting, while the latter prefers solicitudes; consequently, situation 12 does not have an English equivalent to the Romanian formulas. Buying clothes is often followed by the special phrase *Să-l/o porți sănătos(oasă)!*, while for other purchased objects a more general solicitude is used *Să-l/o folosești sănătos(oasă)!*. It is interesting that importance is not

given to the purchase, but to the health of its owner. There are variants to these solitudes in which the importance shifts towards the pleasure of wearing or using the item, *Să-l/o porți cu plăcere!* and *Să-l/o folosești cu plăcere!*. However daily usage shows a greater frequency of the first set containing the adjective *sănătos*. Both variants have thanking elements as replies. The most common reply strategy is thanking, but other phrases like *Să dea Domnul!* are also possible.

Difficulties of any type, including obstacles in one's work, may be harmful to people, so human or divine help is considered important. Both English and Romanian have solitudes reflecting this. Difficult situations, just like mishaps are to be overcome with the help of formulas mentioning God's help or protection. In this case there is great similarity in the use and the structure of the English *God bless!* and *God forbid!* and the Romanian formulas *Doamne ajută!* and *Doamne ferește!* (regionally *Ferească Dumnezeu!*.) However in contexts 13 and 14 the customary addresser-addressee exchange is modified. The dialogue with the divine holds one major particularity, one gets no answer, so sometimes the addresser coincides with the addressee, and furthermore the solitude and the reply are uttered by the same person. Great similarity is recorded at the level of the replies used for these formulas, which are thanking formulas: *Thank you God!* and *Doamne mulțumescu-ți!*

Working is one of human's greatest time and effort consuming activity, great accomplishments or daily chores have been marked as important in the Romanian culture by specialized solitudes. Even if there are no obstacles or difficulties expected, Romanian speakers make use of specific solitudes for a pleasant working time: e.g. *Servici ușor!* or quickly done e.g. *Spor la treabă!*; the replies come invariably as thanking formulas. English does not have equivalent formulas for context (15). In English, there are no equivalent expressions to the Romanian ones, but in connection to work English possesses in its inventory an opposite formula to those mentioned above. If Romanians have a formula to speed the working rhythm *Spor la treabă!*, the English have an expression that is meant to slow the rhythm down. *Take it easy!* is frequently used for someone who works too hard. It indicates that the speaker is concerned that the addressee's health may deteriorate as a consequence of overworking. However, this recommendation is not restricted to context 15; *Take it easy!* is also uttered with the purpose of calming down somebody.

Happy occasions with long term consequences, like weddings, also require special solicitudes. Both English and Romanian have specialized solicitudes for weddings, but in context 17, the short term projection of solicitude formulas are extended to a lifetime due to the supposedly long term duration of a marriage. Formulas refer to the fulfillment of the bride's and bridegroom's dreams as a couple *May all your dreams come true!*, a solicitude also used in other occasions, like birthdays or anniversaries, they may refer to happiness together *Să fiți fericiți!*, *Lots of happiness!*, *Be happy!*, to the stability of the marriage *Casă de piatră!*. Other Romanian formulas used in this context are usually expressed through abstract nouns like: *Fericire!* *Sănătate!* *Prosperitate!*. There are other utterances used at weddings, but they have a more personalized nature and a less fixed structure. However the elements they refer to are common both to the English and to the Romanian culture: children, health and wealth are given great importance.

A special formula that is also linked to living a long life is the Romanian expression *Mulți 'nainte!*. It is used only after an utterance that refers to somebody's age. It is an elliptic formula which automatically follows a statement about age in a casual conversation. The missing element is the noun *ani* which is understood from the situational context. The formula is used either directly, when the person whose age is mentioned is present and is one of the speakers, or indirectly, when the person whose age is mentioned is not present and is usually the addressee's child or grandchild. Another expression for the second situation is *Să-ți/ vă trăiască!*, which has a more specific usage. The degree of formality between speakers is reflected in the choice of the pronouns involved, *Să-ți trăiască!* indicates an informal relationship, while *Să vă trăiască!* signals formality.

Fun and entertainment also play an important part in the people's life, providing the relaxation one needs in order to function. Solicitudes in this area exist both in English and in Romanian, the most common formulas for context 16 being *Have fun!* and *Distrație plăcută!*. They are addressed to friends and acquaintances, when they are expected to go to a party or to a social event. The Romanian solicitude *Distrație plăcută!* is frequently used in its short form *Distrație!*, especially in a teenage environment. The English have a parallel solicitude for *Have fun!*, but with a slightly larger usage. *Enjoy yourself/selves!* or the short form *Enjoy!* may be used outside context 16, in various other situations like *Enjoy the film/ the book!*, *Enjoy the meal!*. *Enjoy!* is suitable for

any situation in which the addressee can take pleasure in doing something. For all the solicitudes above the reply is a thanking formula.

Shorter or longer separations imply a number of unexpected risks that may appear on the duration of the separation, calling for another set of solicitudes with a more general character, to cover a wide range of occurrences. Short term separations determine the association of leave-taking formulas with solicitudes like the English *Take care!* and *Watch yourself!*, and the Romanian *Ai grijă de tine!*. *Take care!* is one of the most frequently used solicitude; it accompanies the majority of parting elements that do not have other solicitudes involved; even when another solicitude has been uttered *Take care!* may be doubling it. *Watch yourself!* is a variant of *Take care!*, but it is used to an incomparably lesser degree. The reply *I will!* is an emphasizing element, that is meant to assure the interlocutor that his/her recommendation has been heard and will be observed. The Romanian equivalent expression is not used frequently in interaction; other formulas with a general meaning, like *Numai bine!*, or more specific orientation like *Sănătate!*, are used instead. The reply in Romanian consists either of short elements reciprocating the solicitude, like *Și tu!*, *Și tie!*, *Asemenea!* or of thanking phrases.

Permanent separations require life long projected solicitudes. In this case, English possesses a specialized expression, namely *Have a nice life!*, for which Romanian does not have an equivalent formula. However, Romanian formulas which refer to general well-being, like *Sănătate*, *Noroc*, *Numai bine* occur in this case. The English formula *Have a nice life!* is a frequent solicitude between occasional acquaintances, people that do not expect to see each other again in their lifetime. The replies to the formula are thanking and reciprocating elements. Rarely is the English expression also used with a sarcastic tone, the addresser indicating in this way that s/he wants to terminate his/her relationship with the addressee.

Another type of permanent separation is death, for which English and Romanian have similar solicitudes. However the idea of separation is overcome by the importance given to life after death, hence the reference made to eternal rest. Since the addressee is a dead person, second person reference as in *God rest your soul!* is frequently replaced by third person reference *God rest his/ her soul!* and *May he rest in peace!*. In Romanian, only third person reference is possible *Odihnească-se în pace! Să-i fie țărâna ușoară!*, *Dumnezeu să-l odihnească!*, *Dumnezeu să-l ierte și să-l odihnească!*. The formulas for context

20 are part of the funeral ritual, but are also used every time the name of the dead person is uttered.

According to the 20 situations presented in the table above there is great similarity between English and Romanian from a semantic point of view. The contexts that generate polite formulas in English and Romanian are almost identical. Out of 20 contexts, there are only 4 cases (5, 8, 11, 12) in which English does not have equivalent expressions for the Romanian elements, and only 1 situation (1) in which Romanian does not possess a matching formula for the English one. In addition, when there is no equivalent formula for one situation, the context is indirectly covered either by borrowed items (as the French borrowing for context 6) or by a non-equivalent item (as in situation 15). Semantically, both English and Romanian solicitudes are positive and thoughtful, they contain adjectives and adverbs like *nice, safe, sweet, good, easy, safely, carefully, well* in the English series and *plăcut, frumos, bun, ușor, bine, grabnic*, in the Romanian series. The nouns involved are abstract notions from the same semantic fields: *luck, happiness* in English, *success, baftă, noroc, sănătate, fericire* in Romanian. Another semantic similarity is the fact that both English and Romanian solicitudes ask the divine for help in the same contexts (10, 13, 14).

English and Romanian solicitudes in table above have been analyzed so far from a semantic point of view, but there are many similarities as well as differences from a structural point of view. Structural similarities of the English and Romanian solicitudes are given by the fact that in both languages the formulas are short and elliptic (one to three words structures are the most frequent). The shortness of the solicitudes create the same effect in English as in Romanian: it emphasizes the message contained by the formula, making the transfer of the message easier and its effect more powerful.

Another similarity between English and Romanian at the macro-structural level is the tendency to emphasize the content of the solicitude by using several formulas one after the other from the same series or from different series. For example, when taking leave of somebody who departs by car, one or several solicitudes may be uttered, namely those corresponding to contexts 1 and 18, *Drive safely! Take care!* and *Sănătate!, Drum bun! Numai bine! Ai grijă cum conduci!*. Another example of repeated solicitudes, this time from the same series are *Somn ușor! Vise plăcute!* and *Get some rest! Sleep well!* or *Succes! Baftă!* and *Good luck! Break a leg!*. Even if there is an enumeration of solicitudes, speakers do not perceive them as redundant. There are several

formulas for the same context, but their meaning is complementary rather than identical. In this way, the use of two or three solicitudes creates a more complex image about the speakers concern for the addressee's well being and not a schematic one.

If semantically and structurally one may find great similarity between English and Romanian, syntactically the differences are more significant, even if the structures are comparable syntactically. There are several syntactic patterns according to which the solicitudes are formed, some common to the two languages, some particular to each language. The English and the Romanian formulas mainly oscillate between verbal and nominal structures; in English however, the verbal structures are predominant (83,5 %), while in Romanian the nominal structures are more numerous (67,2 %).

The English verbal structures have different patterns:

- noun + verb (49,7 %): *God bless (you)!, God forbid!*. Although it is only these two formulas that have this structure, they are frequently present in daily interaction in various contexts.

- verb + adverb (19,4 %): *Drive safely/ carefully!, Get well (soon), Sleep well.*

- verb + adjective + noun: *Have a safe trip!, Have a nice life!*. This pattern is the most prolific in English and it covers 12 % of the 201 solicitudes. *Have a + a period of time* is one of the most frequent structures for the English solicitudes. *Have a nice day/ week/ evening/ weekend/ summer/ year/ life* etc. are frequent formulas in daily interaction; these elements have also been analyzed in association with greeting and leave-taking formulas. It is interesting that the English formulas built with *have a* do not have a rigid structure. Not only the divisions of time can be changed, but the use of adjectives is also variable, and one adjective may be replaced by others from the same semantic field. For example, in *Have a nice trip!* the adjective *nice* can be replaced with adjectives like *great* or *wonderful*, which generate a change of intensity and not of meaning. *Have fun!* also belongs to this pattern, but because the word *fun* is an abstract noun, the formula does not contain the indefinite article *a*. *Have fun!* may receive an adjective between the verb and the noun, like the rest of the series, for example *Have great fun!*. Optionally the *have a + noun* pattern may be preceded by the personal pronoun *you*, whose presence does not bring about a semantic change. The insertion of the personal pronoun *you* is also possible within other syntactic structures, like *You take care!*.

- phrasal verbs (12,9 %): *Take care!, Take it easy!, Break a leg!*

- verb + noun (6,5 %): *Get (some) rest!*
- verb + preposition + noun (4,9 %): *Rest in peace!*
- reflexive verb (3,9 %): *Watch yourself!*

May all your dreams come true! and *I'll keep my fingers crossed!* are more complex structures in comparison to those above, however they are not typical for English solicitudes, both holding a less than 4% of total of 201.

The English solicitudes made of nominal structures are simple and have an imperative force due to the fact that the missing element is the verb *to wish*, these are:

- adjective + (of) + noun: *Good luck!*, *Sweet dreams!*. Such nominal constructions are typical and cover 11,9 % of the total. A parallel structure for *Good luck!* is *Best of Luck!* which gives extra emphasis through the use of the superlative.

- *lots of* + noun: *Lots of happiness!*, *Lots of love!*, *Lots of fun!*. These formulas are not very frequent and since they cover less than 1 %, in my corpus they can be considered atypical.

By contrast, Romanian solicitudes have predominantly nominal structures. Just like the English nominal structures, Romanian constructions are short, simple, elliptic and charged with imperative force. The structural varieties are:

- noun + adjective (31,4 %): *Drum bun!*, *Călătorie sprâncenată!*, *Poftă bună!*, *Somn ușor*, *Odihnă plăcută!*, *Vise frumoase!*, *Însănătoșire grabnică!*, *Naștere ușoară!*, *Serviciu ușor!* *Distracție plăcută!*. This category is most diversified, these structures being present in various contexts.

- noun (21,2 %): *Success!*, *Baftă!*, *Noroc!*, *Sănătate!*. These one-word solicitudes are represented only by abstract nouns. There is a significant tendency in Romanian to adopt this pattern for the rest of the nominal solicitudes, frequently formulas made of noun + adjective are shortened in interaction to the use of the noun alone. Solicitudes like *Distracție plăcută!* or *Poftă bună!* in very familiar settings are reduced to *Distracție!* or *Poftă!*, the missing adjectives are implied.

- noun + preposition + noun (5,7 %): *Spor la treabă!*, *Casă de piatră!*

Atypical nominal structures are *Toate cele bune!* and *Mulți (ani) 'nainte!* covering together only 6,1%.

The verbal patterns can be grouped as follows:

- verbal structures whose verb is in the conjunctive mood (19 %): *Să ne/vă fie de bine!*, *Să-o/l porți sănătos(oasă)/ cu plăcere!*, *Să-o/l porți*

sănătos(oasă) cu plăcere!, Să fiți fericiți!, Să-i fie țărâna ușoară!. An important observation is that even if the structures are in the conjunctive mood, they have a powerful imperative value, given by the semantic meaning and by an appropriate intonation.

- verbal structures in the imperative mood (3,2 %): *Doamne ajută(-mă/ne)!, Doamne ferește(-mă/ne)!*.

- verbal structures in the indicative mood (9,1 %): *Îți țin pumnii!, Ai grijă de tine!, Odihnească-se în pace!*. This expression also possesses an imperative connotation implied by the meaning and by the intonation.

Both English and Romanian solicitudes have various patterns, but the typology differs not only structurally, but also from the point of view of their frequency. Verbal structures are more diversified and more numerous in English 83,5 %, by contrast with the Romanian verbal patterns which cover only 32,8 % of the solicitude structures. As far as the nominal constructions are concerned, the situation is reversed, the Romanian nominal structures cover 67,2 % of the total, while the English cover only 26,5 % of solicitudes. The similarity between the English and the Romanian syntactic patterns lies within the imperative force contained in the utterances. Uttered with appropriate intonation each phrase of the English and Romanian solicitude corpora may be considered a type of imperative form. However, we must be aware of the fact that solicitudes are not the classic imperatives grammarians define as verbs expressing a command, an order or a powerful request.

The imperative of the solicitudes is lacking directive force. Directives, according to Ervin-Tripp, Guo and Lampert (1990: 446) are 'control acts' that attempt to change other people's actions. The solicitudes' main function is to maintain an appropriate social relationship and not to tell people what to do; if they did so, that would probably ruin most of the people's relationships. Solicitudes cannot be mistaken for control acts since the addresser has very little control over the fulfillment of his/her recommendations or suggestions. The lack of directive force is easily noticed in usage: real directives are frequently associated with the element *please* in English and *te/vă rog* in Romanian; such association with solicitudes is never present. In addition, real directives never have a thanking formula as a reply, by contrast, 68,1 % of the English and 87,1 % of the Romanian solicitudes can be replied with thanks. Consequently, solicitudes are never what Brown & Levinson (1987) call Face Threatening Acts, because the imperative is not used to control or change the

actions of the speaker, but to show the speaker's concern for the addressee's well being, without imposing his/her will on him/her.

Similarities and differences in the use of solicitudes between English and Romanian have been discussed for each context, but a common element for all contexts in the two languages is the fact that each formula has a triggering element that calls for its use. This element does not belong to the linguistic sphere, it is an external element. The solicitude is triggered either by a piece of information (already known or one that surfaces in interaction) or more rarely it is a spontaneous action (like a sneeze). Furthermore, the linguistic mechanism triggered by the external element does not stop with the uttering of the polite formula. It is completed by a reply to the solicitude, a reply which in English and Romanian is mainly a thanking phrase.

Statistically, the dissimilarity between English and Romanian at the level of solicitude formulas is both qualitative and quantitative. Firstly, the number of the English formulas is surpassed by the number of Romanian solicitudes; secondly, there are situational contexts which do not have an equivalent in the two languages. Another difference is a greater use of double solicitudes in Romanian than in English; even if solicitudes belong to the same or to different contexts through their association or repetition, the frequency of their usage is increased.

An important conclusion to the three categories presented here, namely congratulations, wish-greetings and solicitudes, is that English and Romanian are greatly similar as far as the first two groups are concerned and partially distinct in the case of the solicitudes. The similarity is shared at various levels: semantic, pragmatic and syntactic. Congratulations are reduced in number, both in English and in Romanian, and have equivalent formulas and equivalent usage; a minor particularity of Romanian language is the negative connotation of one of the congratulating formulas. Wish-greetings have similar positions in conversation in English and Romanian, being recorded in initial, medial and final position; both languages have relatively similar expressions for the seasonal and the personal varieties. In addition, wish-greetings appear almost equally exchanged in formal and in informal relationships in the two languages. As far as solicitudes are concerned, certain non-equivalences between English and Romanian have been illustrated at the contextual and the syntactic levels. The English solicitude inventory is reduced in comparison with the Romanian one; in addition, there are some linguistic gaps in English in certain contextual situations. Syntactically, nominal constructions are specific to Romanian

solicitudes, while verbal structures are particular of English. Similarities within the solicitude category exist from the perspective of the speech act theory, as both English and Romanian formulas have a non-directive imperative form. Another similarity between English and Romanian, common to all three categories, is the frequent use of replies, in a majority of cases expressed with the help of a thanking strategy.

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**APPLICATION OF THE COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE
IN ELECTRONIC CHATTING
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1. Introduction

The cooperative principle is one of the main ways of regulating communication in which participants directly convey their thoughts and ideas, all under the assumption that the speaker has honest intentions towards the hearer, i.e. is not planning to lie and deceive them. The principle in question, formulated by Paul Grice, reads as follows: “Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs by the accepted purpose or direction of talk exchange in which you are engaged.” (Grice, 1975: 58). It is elaborated in four sub-principles called maxims, which are used to regulate different aspects of the communication process. The maxim of quality instructs the speakers to give truthful information during the process of communication, or at least the information they believe is truthful, i.e. not to deceive the hearer deliberately. The maxim of quantity regulates the amount of information that the speaker gives to the hearers and advises them to give neither more nor less than is necessary. The maxim of relation instructs the speaker that what they are saying should be connected with the topic of the dialogue, whereas the maxim of manner refers to the way the utterance is structured so that it is brief, orderly and unambiguous. I think that not all four maxims are equally important and valid in all communication situations and in all cultures. My statement is supported by the situation when the speaker does not want to hurt the hearer by telling the truth, so the flouting of the maxim of quality is justified.

In the situation of electronic chatting, all four maxims are not equally significant and therefore do not bear similar implications for the participants and the communication process itself. This has been partially investigated in Crystal (2001: 48-61), where the cooperative principle and its four maxims have been considered in the wider context of electronic communication, ranging from web pages to e-mail. The application of the cooperative principle in electronic chatting has been cursorily analyzed there, but it deserves a closer

look, especially if one has in mind all the features of this type of discourse and the circumstances under which it takes place. This paper will, therefore, consider in more detail the significance of each maxim in relation to the communication situation, participants, their identities, communicative intentions, etc.

The analysis was conducted on 4 original texts from electronic chatrooms in English (*#wormbaby*, *#wendy*, *#Asylum* and *#4-irc*) with the total of 7230 words communicated in 1975 turns. The samples were written by native speakers of English who come from different English-speaking countries (the USA, Australia, Great Britain), which can be inferred from what chatters say about themselves. The dialogues were recorded in public chatrooms with more than two participants. Their exact number was difficult to ascertain since the coming and going rate among chatters was very high. All of the samples were recorded in July 2005 at approximately the same time of day (midnight to 3 AM) in chatrooms which had no particular subject of discussion. The prior links between chatters are difficult to establish, especially having in mind that the identity change in electronic chatting is normal, even expected. All the examples in the paper are copied directly from the analyzed texts, with idiosyncrasies, typos and other mistakes.

2. The Maxim of Quality

The application of the maxim of quality in electronic chatrooms is closely connected with the question of the identity of chatters. Before joining the chatroom they want to communicate in, chatters have to choose a nick for themselves, which is the first step in defining a new identity for themselves. Some chatters may just change their real name, but behave in the same way as offline, while others, for various reasons, decide to masquerade their offline identity to a greater or lesser degree by changing their gender, appearance, occupation, age and area of residence online. The extent of these changes depends on the chatters themselves, their personality and reasons why they engage in electronic chatting in the first place. While some of them visit chatrooms to kill time, because they are bored or in order to keep contact with distant friends or relatives, others want to use a guise of a different identity to vent their fears, aggression, hidden desires or anxieties, being aware that there is no real punishment for any kind of online behaviour. Therefore, personal information given by others should not be taken for granted, especially since

there is no definite way of establishing its truthfulness. One of the rare pieces of information which can be established with some certainty is the chatter's location, but this is normally given in terms of a town or country where the chatter is located. All this said, it can be concluded that the maxim of quality is not of great importance in the synchronous electronic communication. In addition, during the process of communication no one really tries to establish what the truth is. Chatters are aware that anyone can say anything about themselves and that it may or may not be true, but no one cares. The stress here is on the social role of language. In the course of chatting, participants may and normally do ask questions which call for a truthful answer, or they may want to share some information with others. In these cases there is certainly a risk that the speaker may flout the maxim of quality, but other chatters know this and will probably have some reserve towards what is written in electronic chatrooms. In example (1) <Shania> is helping <Sphinx30> to change some parameters in the programme he is using to chat and both of them presume that the information exchanged will be true, i.e. that they will not flout the maxim of quality:

(1) <Sphinx30> ok then how do i change it
<Shania> ahaha
<Shania> you added it and not sure how...
<Shania> well options/then connect its there where you have your name info
<Shania> but you caNNOT change it
<Shania> unless you disconnect
<Sphinx30> then i won't
<Shania> are you aware that you can disconnect your mirc Sphinx30 but not shut it totally down ?
<Sphinx30> yes
<Shania> and are you aware if you disconnect your mirc but not close it right down and your receiving a file you still get the file ?
<Shania> ty
<Sphinx30> just go to the connect button

3. The Maxim of Quantity

The maxim of quantity, which regulates the amount of the information exchanged in the process of communication, is much more important in electronic chatrooms, because one of the main features of the discourse of electronic chatting is the brevity of language which helps to increase of the speed of communication. Therefore, a short and clear utterance is much appreciated, while chatters who flout the maxim in question are punished. In

other words, each individual utterance is relatively short and usually consists of a simple sentence (Radić-Bojanić, 2005: 109). In addition, some chatrooms have automatized punishments in cases when the utterance is too long: the chatter is, as a rule, kicked out of the chatroom and is banned for the next 60 seconds (see example 2).

(2) <spookie_ns>

```

aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa
aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa
aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa
aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa
aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa
aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa
aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa

```

**** spookie_ns was kicked by SrAfCiGeR (Length flood =Temp Ban=)*

The chatter called <spookie_ns> typed and sent an utterance which is not related to the dialogue (flouting the maxim of relation) and is too long (flouting the maxim of quantity), which has earned him a temporary 60 second ban from the chatroom.

There are also situations when a chatter sends several consecutive utterances, maybe even without the intention of flooding others. When that happens, the chatter is punished in the same way as in the previous case, i.e. s/he are automatically kicked out of the chatroom and banned for 60 seconds (see example 3).

(3) <Maz_the_Spaz> Oh.

<Maz_the_Spaz> Neither am I.

<Pope_on_a_Rope> But meeeeeeee.

<Maz_the_Spaz> So I'm safe!

<Maz_the_Spaz> Yes?

<Pope_on_a_Rope> I coulda been kicked!

<Maz_the_Spaz> You?

<Maz_the_Spaz> Oh!

** Maz_the_Spaz was kicked by wormbaby.sc.us.icechat.org (Flooding (Limit is 5 lines per 4 seconds))*

4. The Maxim of Relation

Like the maxim of quality, the maxim of relation is of great importance and applicability in electronic communication, although it may not seem so at first. As it has been said already, this maxim relates to sticking to the topic and the issue of topic in electronic chatting is a very elusive matter. Like any

everyday conversation, electronic chatting can be about anything and everything that is mentioned by one and accepted by other chatters. The structuring of the turn and exchange in this type of discourse may have three possible consequences: it may seem that each utterance stands independently of other utterances, that what one chatter is saying is not connected with what others are saying and that chaos rules. A more detailed analysis reveals the following: in chatrooms with a smaller number of participants, there is usually only one topic, while in larger and more popular chatrooms, there are usually several groups of chatters talking about different topics. For that reason it can be said that the maxim of relation plays an important role in structuring the dialogue in electronic chatrooms. It can also be concluded that flouting the maxim of relation comes with consequences, an example of which can be seen in example (4). While other chatters talk about the speed of their Internet connections, <Cutie^18> is trying to start a different topic and attract the attention of the others. Since this is not working, eventually she is begging others to talk to her.

(4) <Cutie^18> *so whats up??*
<AussieMale> *when you disconnected from Internode Shania*
<Shania> *AussieMale Arm\Away d/led off me ay 99 k/s*
<Shania> *can i send u a mp3 to see what speed u get it at AussieMale*
<Sphinx30> *20 is better tough no! shania*
<AussieMale> *sure can Shania, just have to turn on the DCC*
<Shania> *ok tell me when pls*
<Shania> *im sorry Sphinx30 :(*
<Sphinx30> *its ok*
<AussieMale> *it's on Shania*
<Sphinx30> *but its better then 16*
<Cutie^18> *Tiffany^18 LOVE Sphinx*
<Shania> *yes Sphinx30*
<Sphinx30> *nice Cutie^18*
<Shania> *sent AussieMale*
<Shania> *and im sending elsewhere at 27 k/s*
<Cutie^18> *heheh*
<AussieMale> *512 kbps*
<Shania> *yep*
<Romster> *fuck this I hate Shania for her fast isp*
<Romster> *I want it*
<Sphinx30> *i don't*
<Shania> *48.4 AussieMale got it at*
<Cutie^18> *ok?*
<Shania> *yep*
<Sphinx30> *but i will have too get my file in America*

<Sphinx30> too get faster speed
<Cutie^18> ohh
<Sphinx30> that annoy me a little
<Cutie^18> me?
<Sphinx30> the speed thing Cutie^18
<Cutie^18> sorry!!
<Cutie^18> sorry!!
<Sphinx30> ?
<Shania> Sphinx30
<Sphinx30> cool a bad gilr
<Shania> i wanna try soemthing
<Sphinx30> girl
<Shania> my shell is in USA
<Sphinx30> ok Shania
<Romster> I'd need to move 200Km to get to highspeed internet
<Cutie^18> who?
<Shania> I am going to put a mp3 on my site for u to d/l Sphinx30
<Sphinx30> ok
<Romster> some time s i just feel like pulling the plug and do something else
<Cutie^18> some one talk to me

5. The Maxim of Manner

The application of the maxim of manner in electronic chatrooms should also be understood somewhat differently than in other non-electronic communication situations, especially because this maxim heavily relies on turn and exchange. It has been implied in the previous section that utterances and topics which they are related to are intertwined, which means that part of the maxim which relates to orderliness cannot be applied. Besides that, utterances range from very clear ones and those whose connection to the topic and dialogue is difficult to establish to those which completely lack clarity. In the first two cases it is obvious that chatters are trying to make their conversational contribution not just connected with the topic, but also structured in such a way so as to be understandable to others. Some chatters, however, cannot accomplish this because of the lack of time needed for thinking, planning and typing. As for the totally unclear utterances, the chatters' motivation for typing and sending them is difficult or even impossible to determine and in most cases others do not pay attention to them.

(5) *<ArtZombie> There's a remix version*
<Goombah> yeh
<ArtZombie> Meh, I'll find something in the atari section

<ArtZombie> *Better yet, nes*
 <Goombah> *i remember NARCS on nes was fun*
 <DestyNova > *nwuhjhfgzhghwm,n*
 <Goombah> shoot people with rocket launchers in the subway KABOOOM
 <Goombah> *arms and legs would fly all over the place*

In example (5) it can be seen that <DestyNova> wrote an utterance which means nothing and which no one can understand, so everyone disregards it completely and the dialogue continues undisturbed.

6. Conclusion

Although the four maxims of the cooperative principle have been discussed separately and illustrated with the examples in which chatters adhered to them or flouted them, most frequently they are not applied separately and, therefore, are not flouted separately (see example 6).

(6) * *ElNick ofece a 6 Sphinx30 esta 1,15(0,4 Coca-Cola 1,15) bien fresquita*

```

<ElNick> 4,4 .....
<ElNick> 8,8 ..... 12 VIVA
<ElNick> 4,4 ..... 12 ESPAA !!
<ElNick> 12,12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*
4,4*****
<ElNick> 12,12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*
0,0***** 0,4 U 12,0nited
<ElNick> 12,12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*12*0*
4,4***** 0,4 S 12,0tates 10of
<ElNick> 0,0***** ** 0,4 A 12,0merica
<ElNick> 4,4***** **
<ElNick> 0,0***** **
<ElNick> 0,0 4,4 0,0 4,4 0,0YAKIU
MATRER 4,4 0,0 4,4 0,0
<ElNick> 0,0 4,4 15,15 0,0 4,4 15,15 0,0YAKIU
MATRER 4,4 15,15 0,0 4,4 15,15
<ElNick> 12,12 4,4 2,2 12,12YAKIU
MATRER 4,4 2,2 12,12
<ElNick> 0,0 4,4 15,15 5,5 15,15 YAKIU
MATRER 4,4 15,15 5,5 15,15
<ElNick> 0,0 4,4 15,15 0,0 4,4 15,15 1,0YAKIU
MATRER 0,0 4,4 15,15 0,0 4,4 15,15
<ElNick>
0,0 4,4 15,15 0,0 4,4 15,15 0,0 15,0YAKIU
MATRER 4,4 15,15 0,0 4,4 15,15

```

<EINick> □12,12 □12,12 □4,4 □2,2 □12,12YAKIU
 MATRER □4,4 □2,2 □12,12 □
 <EINick> □0,0 □15,15 □5,5 □15,15 □4,4 □15,15YAKIU
 MATRER □5,5 □15,15 □4,4 □15,15 □
 <EINick> □0,0 □4,4 □15,15 □0,0 □4,4 □15,15 □0,0YAKIU
 MATRER □4,4 □15,15 □0,0 □4,4 □15,15 □
 <Siren> `kick EINick
 * EINick was kicked by AusChan ([Siren] User kick requested□)

Here <EINick> has flouted the maxim of quantity because he sent too many consecutive utterances into the chatroom, then the maxim of relation because what he had written was not connected to the conversation in any way and the maxim of manner because his unclear text has disturbed turns and exchanges taking place in that chatroom.

Finally, it can be concluded that the cooperative principle and its four maxims certainly play an important role in regulating the communication in electronic chatrooms, but like in any other situation, their application must be adapted to the circumstances of communication and other extralinguistic factors which influence language.

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**STRATEGIC REALISATION OF PERSUASION
IN NEWS REPORTS
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Introduction

Objectivity, neutrality, detachment, balance, fairness, accuracy are fundamental values stressed by the codes of conduct established amongst professionals in the sphere of journalism.

These values represent in fact the parameters within which the journalistic communication exists and develops; it cannot be conceived outside these parameters. Press readers resort to newspapers to get informed objectively about the latest events affecting (in)directly their life. If these expectations weren't satisfied, the newspaper would lose its social function and disappear as a social reality.

Being well-aware of the journalistic dichotomy between news reports and editorials, two journalistic genres instantiating quite opposite discourses – informative, respectively persuasive -, one may find it particularly surprising that an article deals with persuasion in news reports; these are commonly regarded as belonging to a typical informative journalistic genre, whose basic function is to inform accurately newspaper readers about various issues concerning the social, economic, political and cultural life of their spatial and temporal proximity.

Is there a strategy that news writers resort to in order to get a particular message across or to persuade the news consumer of the plausibility and credibility of the news report? If the answer is affirmative, what does this strategy consist of and rely upon?

The present paper discusses the persuasive embedding of news reports, signalling its strategic realisation through content features and topic derivation. It departs from the traditional approach to persuasion from the perspective of Aristotle's Ethos-Logos-Pathos triad (2004), investigating news writers' strategic combination of content elements for persuasive purposes.

Content features as persuasive devices

Despite being regarded among the most informative discourses due to the author's low degree of intervention, a careful analysis of the news report content reveals what language analysts (Habermas, 1983:192-193; Van Dijk, 1988:83) and communication trainers (Dawson, 2004:159-165; Smith, 2004:210-215) call assertive persuasion. Unlike persuasion, assertive persuasion does not aim at changing opinions and inoculating new attitudes. Its primary goal is to make the addressee accept the discourse message as truthful and plausible. Assertive persuasion represents the first stage in the persuasion process, since one cannot change somebody's attitude unless one makes him/her believe what one asserts.

Van Dijk (1988:83) argues that news reports come under the form of global macrospeech acts of assertion. The news writer shapes the news item so as it is understood as an assertion, not as a warning, request, threat etc. His/her primary concern is to make the reader accept the news story as truthful and plausible. The persuasive strategy of news reports consists in convincing the reader that the news story reflects reality faithfully by bringing forward facts, evidence, testimonials, proofs, images, numerical information etc.

In analysing the rhetoric of news discourse, Van Dijk points out the simplicity, clarity, precision of the news style and draws attention to the importance of news content in achieving persuasion. He maintains that: "We do not expect fancy sound patterns, complex syntactic patterning, or artificial metaphorizing in regular news items. They are reserved, at most, for special background pieces and for editorials. Everyday reporting has no time for sophisticated, original, creative writing. Rather, emphasizing important content is accomplished fully by the various relevance structures of the news, such as hierarchical organization, ordering, schematic structure, and corresponding layout (headlines, leads, size, frequency, etc.)." (Van Dijk, 1988:84)

The assertive-persuasive dimension of news reports is sustained by a set of content-generating tools oriented to produce plausible and credible discourses, effortlessly comprehended and memorized and thus accepted as truthful. Van Dijk (1998:85) identifies three categories of content elements to which news writers resort to for persuasive purposes:

- 1) The first category comprises content features meant to increase and emphasize the factuality and truthfulness of events. Such elements include direct descriptions of events, evidence from eyewitnesses or from other reliable

sources (authorities, professionals, opinion leaders, etc.), quoting a multitude of opinions of various backgrounds, numerical details which echo precision and exactness in the addressee's mind (e.g. number of news actors, time and place of event occurrence, number of casualties, seriousness of consequences expressed in percentages, trends expressed in charts, etc.)

2) The second category includes emotional and attitudinal information, whose insertion is an effective strategy meant to reveal opinions indirectly through the voice of the individuals quoted and to make the story memorable, since it has been proved that, if facts arouse strong emotions, they are better memorized. However, if too strong emotions are involved, this may degenerate into disbelief of facts.

3) The third category consists of information bits, whose insertion and arrangement ensure a strong relational structure for the facts presented. This can be achieved by using familiar scripts and concepts in event description, by inserting facts into well-known situation models, thus making them relatively familiar even when they are new, by specifying previous events as conditions or causes and predicting next events as possible or real consequences.

In addition to the categories identified by Van Dijk, a fourth category is added here, that of lexical items which belong to specialized jargons, of which the most frequent are the economic, legal, technical and medical jargons. Their importance was underlined by Gotti (2005:9), who remarks that the presence of specialized terminology enhances persuasion, because it "makes the addressee attach greater objectivity and truthfulness to a given text."

Finally, the insertion of information generated through polls and surveys or of "poll sentences" (i.e. sentences which include a reference to a poll or survey) (Virtanen, 2005:155) is a common practice in news reports and editorials as well; it is a means of creating a manipulative context of reference for the addressee. Two keywords - *polls* and *surveys*- and their collocations (*according to the polls, according to recent surveys, in polls and surveys, polls show/indicate, based on a poll/survey, the latest surveys/polls etc.*) do not only articulate and voice public opinion in news discourse, with which readers easily identify because it is in the human nature to side with the majority not the minority, but they also provide background information for the interpretation of the issues under discussion, which is usually perceived as given information and thus taken for granted, without being questioned or reviewed.

The presence and the combination of these content features in a news report depend on the news writer's personal choice as well as on the topic of the

news story. A news item reporting on a natural disaster would most likely build its persuasive strategy by quoting opinions of news actors and authorities and by giving numerical information about casualties, damage, resources necessary to restore the situation. A financial news item, on the other hand, will definitely rely more on financial jargon and numerical information, whereas a news report on a controversial social issue will rely its assertiveness on numerical information generated through polls and surveys.

Topic derivation as persuasive device

In addition to the strategic selection and arrangement of the content features previously mentioned, news writers resort to topic derivation for persuasive purposes. We no longer deal with an assertive persuasion but with a manipulative one.

Topic derivation can be considered the essence of the news making process itself. News discourse displays a hierarchical organization of information, which Van Dijk (1988:49-59) describes in terms of topics, propositions, macropropositions and macrostructures. Topics or themes represent the most important information or the gist of a text, commonly expressed in the title. At the opposite pole are propositions which represent the lowest level in this hierarchy. They are subsumed within a higher-level, i.e. the level of macropropositions, which are further subsumed within a superior level - the level of macrostructures to the highest level represented by the main topics, which finally derive the main topic of the text. The derivation of topics is basically a process consisting of summarizing information.

Van Dijk points out that, in news discourse, topics are organized according to the relevance principle which states that the most important information comes first, followed by less important information expressed in the lower levels of the news text. In addition, topics are organized according to the conventional structure of news discourse, which features seven conventional categories or schemata: *Headline*, *Lead*, *Main Events*, *Background*, *Consequences*, *Verbal Reactions* and *Comments*.

The function of these standard categories is to establish where topics should be inserted. Thus the main topic of the news text is to be inserted in the *Headline*, while the main topics are to be inserted in the *Lead*, which acts as the summary of the news story. It introduces the main participants of the story,

describes briefly their actions or the situation they are faced with and provides some circumstances.

The rest of the news schemata performs the function of developing the topics expressed by the Lead. The category of Main Events details information about the main participants (their background, age, profession, family) and their actions, which were little or vaguely described in the Lead. The Background category describes the context and the circumstances in which the event happened, while the Consequence category presents the consequences of the events.

The category of Verbal Reactions is typical of news and introduces direct or indirect comments, impressions or evaluations of secondary participants such as eye-witnesses or potential opinion leaders (politicians, celebrities, representatives of the state institutions). The last category may contain comments, evaluations or predictions regarding the events described by the news item.

Given the fact that the underlying organizing principle is the relevance criterion, these categories do not have a well-established or strict order of occurrence, except for the Headline and Lead categories, which have a fixed order: first the Headline then the Lead. If the news writer assesses the Consequences as being more important than the Main Events, then they may follow right after the Lead. When the information inserted in the Verbal Reaction category enhances the plausibility or naturalness of a news item about an unexpected, rare event, such as a natural phenomenon, it may be placed immediately after the Main Events, before Consequences.

Topic derivation is a subjective process in which the journalist deliberately assigns degrees of importance to events by giving them a certain place in the hierarchical arrangement of the news story. Events acquire maximum importance when they occur in the Headline and Lead categories, since they are given out and taken in as the most important and relevant information. The importance of information is gradually scaled down as the news story unfolds itself. Events following right after the Lead are perceived as being less important than those occurring in the Headline and Lead, but more important than those expressed in the final paragraph of the story.

By way of illustration, I shall compare the topic derivation used in two news items treating the same event (the refusal of the German Constitutional Court to extradite al-Qaida suspect, ruling that the new EU arrest warrant is invalid under German law), but occurring in two different newspapers (*THE*

GUARDIAN and THE TIMES). For ease of reference, I provide below the main topics expressed in the Headline and Lead categories for each news report, while their full texts are given in annex 1.

1) GERMANY BLOCKS EXTRADITION OF AL-QAIDA SUSPECT
(*THE GUARDIAN*, July 19, 2005)

Headline: the most relevant topic - the blocking of extradition of al-Qaeda suspect

Lead: three main topics:

- 1) the blocking of extradition of al-Qaeda suspect (raised to the highest rank in the Headline)
- 2) a setback for the pan-European fight against terrorism
- 3) the rejection of the new EU arrest warrant

2) GERMAN COURT FREES 'TOP BIN LADEN AIDE'
(*THE TIMES*, July 19, 2005)

Headline: the most relevant topic - the release of al-Qaeda suspect

Lead: three main topics:

- 1) the release of al-Qaeda suspect (raised to the highest rank in the Headline)
- 2) the blocking of extradition of al-Qaeda suspect
- 3) the rejection of the new EU arrest warrant

We can notice that the two news items reshape the same real-life situation differently by signaling different bits of information as the most relevant topics. In *The Guardian* journalist's view, the blocking of the extradition of the al-Qaeda suspect is the most prominent information (expressed in the Headline category), while for *The Times* journalist, the same bit of information is expressed in the Lead level, which is a lower level assigning less prominence. In *The Times* journalist's view, the most relevant aspect of the situation described is the release of al-Qaeda suspect, which represents secondary level information for *The Guardian* journalist, since it does not occur in the Headline or Lead, but it is expressed as a sub-topic for the main topic 'rejection of the new EU arrest warrant' expressed only in the Lead.

Similarly, *the setback for the pan-European fight against terrorism* comes as a main topic expressed in the Lead category in the *The Guardian*, while in *The Times* it has the status of secondary information expressed in the lower levels of the Context category. The fact that the same bit of information

is the main topic in one news item and a secondary topic in another not only points to the difference in the two journalists' perceptions and intentions, but also demonstrates that the analysis of topic derivation is extremely useful in assessing the degree of bias embedded in a news story.

Conclusions

The persuasive strategy to which news writers resort to in the case of news reports aims, first and foremost, at increasing the assertiveness of the news text by selecting, combining and arranging specific content elements, such as attitudinal information, poll/survey-based information, numerical information, specialized jargon, etc., whose main function is to enhance the plausibility and credibility of the text.

Furthermore, the strategic realisation of persuasion is sustained by topic derivation, which allows news writers to advance specific low-level topics to the higher macrostructures of the news story and present them as the most important and relevant information of the text.

ANNEX 1

1) GERMANY BLOCKS EXTRADITION OF AL-QAIDA SUSPECT

(THE GUARDIAN, July 19, 2005)

The pan-European fight against terrorism was thrown into crisis yesterday when Germany's highest court blocked the extradition of a suspected al-Qaida financier to Spain after rejecting an EU arrest warrant.

Mamoun Darkazanli, who has been charged in Spain with belonging to al-Qaida, walked free after the federal constitutional court ruled that the warrant was incompatible with the German constitution.

The ruling immediately raised doubts about the controversial EU arrest warrant which is opposed by eurosceptics but valued by many governments in the fight against terrorism. The warrant, one of the main counter-terrorism measures introduced in the wake of the September 11 attacks, is intended to give EU member states the right to extradite citizens charged with serious offences.

Mr Darkazanli, who holds joint Syrian and German nationality, was freed after the court in Karlsruhe said that German citizens could only be extradited in exceptional circumstances. Article 16 of the German constitution declares that a German national cannot be extradited in all but the most

exceptional circumstances because the accused would be unfamiliar with the law and language of the other land and could therefore not sufficiently defend himself.

Brigitte Zypries, Germany's justice minister, described the ruling as "a further blow for the government in its fight against international terrorism". But the ruling does not mark the end of the warrant in Germany because the court said that it had been incorrectly implemented into domestic law, leaving the door open for Berlin to introduce fresh legislation.

The minister immediately pledged to revise the law within six weeks, though an expected German election in September could delay the process.

Ingo Friedrich, German vice president of the European parliament, made clear that a change in the law would be relatively straightforward. "It is not possible to change the constitution. But it is possible to change the law. One or two sentences of the law need to be edited to enable the extradition of certain people in certain cases."

Mr Darkazanli, a businessman who has been in custody in Hamburg since October at Spain's request, is one of 35 people charged by Judge Baltasar Garzon in 2003 with membership of al-Qaida. The charge sheet says that Mr Darkazanli, who appeared in a wedding video with two of the three September 11 suicide pilots, carried out "logistics support and financing activity" for al-Qaida, including the purchase of a cargo vessel that he and two others bought in December 1993 for Osama bin Laden.

His wife Brigitte yesterday protested her husband's innocent from their home in Hamburg. She said: "When one is sitting innocent in prison it's a terrible thing. I'm going to be glad to see him home."

She added that although he was acquainted with those involved in the September 11 attacks, he knew nothing of their plans. German police questioned Mr Darkazanli shortly after the September 11 attacks, but he was freed for lack of evidence.

2) GERMAN COURT FREES 'TOP BIN LADEN AIDE'

(THE TIMES, July 19, 2005)

A SUSPECTED al-Qaeda operative was released from jail in Germany yesterday after the country's highest court blocked his extradition to Spain on a new EU arrest warrant.

The Federal Constitutional Court ruled that Mamoun Darkazanli, a Syrian-German businessman, was entitled to protection under a law which says that German citizens cannot be extradited for trial abroad. The suspect's basic rights had to be guaranteed, even when the extradition request came from a fellow EU country, the court said.

Mr Darkazanli, 46, was released from custody in Hamburg a few hours later.

The ruling appears to deal a severe blow to pan-European efforts to coordinate the fight against terrorism. The whole architecture of the European arrest warrant — a key component in counter-terrorism strategy — was left looking distinctly shaky. An EU Commission spokesman said: “We appeal to Germany to remedy as quickly as possible the deficits in the enabling law.”

Brigitte Zypries, Germany's Justice Minister, said that she hoped to put forward an amended law within six weeks to allow the extradition to take place.

Spain accuses Mr Darkazanli of being Osama bin Laden's “permanent interlocutor and assistant” in Europe. Spanish authorities believe that he had close contact with the terrorists who organised the attacks on the Madrid trains on March 11 last year.

Mr Darkazanli is alleged to have been bin Laden's confidant since 1997 and to have conducted business deals for al-Qaeda in Germany, Spain and Kosovo. He appears in a wedding video with two of the three suicide pilots involved in the September 11 attacks, Marwan al-Shehhi and Ziad Jarrah, who lived and studied in Hamburg along with Mohammed Atta, the leading hijacker.

Mr Darkazanli denies any links to bin Laden. He has never been charged in Germany but has been under police observation in Hamburg for years; the police have not been able to establish that he committed any crime on German soil. Spain decided to use a European arrest warrant to bring him to trial in Madrid.

The Constitutional Court, which was split in the ruling, said the constitution made clear that the state was obliged to protect its citizens from judicial abuse abroad.

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A HIERARCHY OF PERFECTIVITY – THE CASE OF ROMANIAN

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1. Introduction

This paper investigates the behaviour of the Romanian complex past (*perfect compus*) in relation to its English counterpart (*the Present Perfect*) from a Discourse Representation Theory perspective (cf. Kamp and Reyle, 1993). The data we analyse come from a range of Romance and Germanic languages. Our hypothesis is that the Romanian *perfect compus* (henceforth PC) appears as semantically richer than other ‘perfects’ and is on the verge of becoming a preterite. We conclude by proposing a scale of perfectivity where the Romanian perfect ranks highest in terms of a [+ preterite] dimension.

2. A Monosemic Analysis for the Romanian Perfect Compus

One of the most puzzling problems is that, unlike its English counterpart, the Romanian PC appears as ambiguous between an ‘eventive’ and a ‘stative’ interpretation. (Călărașu, 1987, *inter alia*).

(1) a. Ion s-a uitat la televizor până acum. - a *completed action closely related to ST*

Ion has watched-PC at TV till now

‘Ion has been watching TV so far.’

b. Ion a plecat de la ora 5

Ion has left-PC since hour 5

‘Ion left at 5.’

(2) a. Ion a plecat ieri la ora 5. - a *completed action which is anterior to speech time*

Ion has left-PC yesterday at hour 5

‘Ion left yesterday at 5.’

b. Maria a mâncat acum o oră.

Maria has eaten-PC now an hour.

‘Maria ate an hour ago.’

According to the system of analysis we are employing here, the first set of examples have a clearly *aspectual, resultative dimension* and are interpretable as expressing an event resulting into a state (e >< s) within the DRT framework. These examples place PC in the same league with the English Present Perfect, itself analysed as introducing events resulting into states in the discourse. On the other hand, the second set of examples might be more of a problem if we consider the *past value* of the time adverbials combined with PC (i.e. *ieri la ora 5, acum o oră*). We must remember that the English Present Perfect excludes this kind of combination, a phenomenon known under the name of ‘the Present Perfect Puzzle’ (Klein, 1992):

(3) *She has arrived at 5.

We (Vişan, 2006) claim that *the interpretation of the Romanian perfect is unitary*, thus declaring ourselves in favour of an ‘extensional’, ‘monosemic’ approach to PC (see Caudal and Vetters, 2003 for further details for French). The arguments we brought in favour of this claim had to do with both historical data and data from modern Romanian (see Vişan, 2006).

Arguments:

a) a bare PC form, stripped of any contextual material, is always read as resultative:

(4) a. Am venit.

Have-1st pers.sg. come-past.part
‘I have come.’

b. S-a dus să mănânce.

Se-refl. have-3rd pers.sg. gone-past part to eat
‘He’s gone to eat.’

c. Maria a scris o scrisoare.

Maria have-3rd pers.sg. written-past.part. a letter
‘Maria has written a letter.’

(5) “A venit apa mare și ne-a luat iar puntea, lua-o-ar ciorile!(...) N-ai pe unde trece îmbrăcat?” (G. Topârceanu, *Minunile sfântului Sisoe*)

‘The flood has come and taken the bridge away, damn it. There’s no way you can cross it with your clothes on.’

b) ‘reverse order’ phenomena, unless placed in an explicitly narrative context.

(6) Ion căzu. Marin îl împinse.

‘Ion fell-PS. Marin pushed him-PS’
e₁.....e₂

(7) Ion a căzut. Marin l-a împins.

Ion fell-PC. Marin pushed –PC him.
e₂.....e₁

The Romanian *perfect simplu* behaves like a preterite, narrative tense, unlike PC, which exhibits ‘temporal inversion’ phenomena.

c) combination with time adverbials. (Vişan, 1996, Crainiceanu, 2004) that PC can combine with adverbial phrases that normally do not appear in combination with other Romance perfects (*de*-phrases, for example). This brings the Romanian PC closer in meaning to its English counterpart:

i. *Stative* PC sentences can be coupled with *de* – phrases, resulting in the Universal value of PC:

- (8) a. M-a iubit de mic copil.
Me-cl has loved DE little child
‘He has loved me ever since he was a child.’
b. “Urât mi-a fost mie de când lumea, frate Avacume, sfântul care umblă cu şiretlicuri la țăntar”. (G. Topârceanu, *Minunile sfântului Sisoie*)
‘Brother Avacum, I have always hated a saint who cheats at board games.’

Interestingly enough, the sentences under (8) have a Present parallel, which stands in favour of the interpretation of PC as a genuine “*present perfect*”.

- (9) a. Mă iubeşte de mic copil.
me-clitic has loved-PC ever since little child.
‘He has lived me since childhood.’
b. M-a minţit dintotdeauna.
me-clitic has lied-PC since always
‘He has lied to me all his life.’

ii. Another such puzzling example is supplied by the combination between *accomplishment* PC forms and *de*-phrases:

- (10) Am scris scrisoarea de trei zile.
have written-PC the letter DE three days.
‘It’s three days since I wrote the letter.’

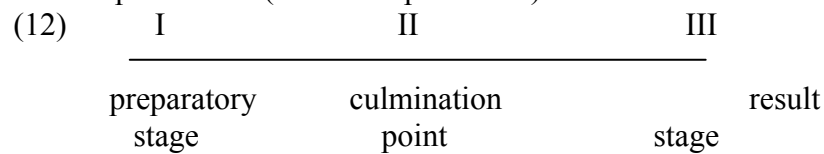
The example under (10) *combines an event with a durative adverbial*. Such examples are all the more puzzling as they are banned by other Romance languages. Even more, these examples have a clearly stative counterpart in the sentences under (11), which use the Present:

- (11) Scrisoarea e scrisă de trei zile.

the letter is written-PRES for three days
'It's three days since the letter was written.'

All the data presented above argue for treating PC sentences as stative, as expressing events resulting into states.

Taking all of the above into consideration, our proposal will look upon PC as a perfect that is 'semantically richer' than its English counterpart. Consider the diagram proposed by Kamp and Reyle (1993), which covers the stages of a complete event (i.e. accomplishment):



Kamp and Reyle (1993) show that the English perfect makes visible the last phase of the diagram, i.e. the result state. The difference between the English Present Perfect and the Romanian one (and the French one, for that matter, de Swart and Moledijk, 2002, Caudal and Vetters, 2003) is that the latter perfects make visible more than one phase of the diagram, thus appearing to be richer in meaning. This happens because the function of these two perfects (i.e. the Romanian and French one) is to locate some result stage but also some inner stage in the past. It is what makes these perfects compatible with either type of adverbial. This is why these perfects are semantically richer: they contribute a 'double time' inasmuch as they impose a double temporal constraint on the situation they describe, that of anteriority and of current relevance. Conversely, the English perfect contributes only a 'single time', focusing only on the result stage being related to speech time.

This explanation validates our treatment of PC as a 'perfect', a tense whose basic value is that of expressing *events resulting into states*. We thus lay stress on the *aspectual* dimension of this tense and on the fact that it is subject to the semantic effect of the perfect proposed under (12) by Kamp and Reyle (1993). Our proposal relies heavily of the fact that this tense is 'deictic', as opposed to the 'non-deictic' PS. The simple fact that the sentences under (2) do not have a PS equivalent pleads in favour of treating PC as stative, instead of eventive:

- (13) a. ? Ion mănă ieri la ora cinci.
 Ion eat-PS yesterday at hour five
 b. ? Maria plecă acum o oră.

Maria leave-PS now one hour

In both sets of examples under (1) and (2), there is a clear link with speech time. We insist therefore that PC is still a ‘perfect’, due to its ‘deictic’ character that it still possesses.

3. A Hierarchy of the Perfect

PC can therefore be integrated into the category of ‘non-Present Perfect Puzzle languages’ in the line of Giorgi and Pianesi (1998: 96):

(14)

[- PRESENT PERFECT PUZZLE]	[+ PRESENT PERFECT PUZZLE]
<i>Italian</i>	<i>English</i>
Gianni è partito alle quattro.	*John has left at four.
<i>German</i>	<i>Norwegian</i>
Ich bin um vier abgefahren.	*Jon har dratt kokken fire.
<i>Dutch</i>	<i>Danish</i>
Jon is om vier uur weggegaan.	*Jon er gaaet klokken fire.
<i>Icelandic</i>	<i>Swedish</i>
Jon hefur farið klukkan fjögur.	*Johan har slutat klockan fyra.
<i>Romanian</i>	
Ion a plecat la ora patru.	
<i>French</i>	
Jena est parti a 16 h.	
<i>Spanish</i>	
Juan ha salido a las 4.	

PC is still a perfect, since it has a ‘deictic’ dimension (it is clearly linked to speech time) and it is still used resultatively. If we were to make use of Lenci

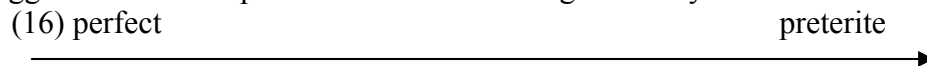
and Bertinetto's (2000) proposal, we would say that PC is definitely 'perfective', but that it evinces tendencies of turning from a 'perfect' into an 'aorist' (or preterite). Consider the diagram Lenci and Bertinetto (2000: 326) offer for Italian:

(15)

Italian Present and Past Tenses

IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	
	Event = completed, bounded entity	
Simple present (<i>parli</i>)	Perfect aspect (compound) result of event lasts up to RT	Aoristic aspect (simple) event is totally anterior to utterance time
Imperfect (<i>parlavi</i>)	1. Compound past with perfect meaning (<i>ho parlato</i>) 2. Pluperfect (<i>avevo parlato</i>) 3. Past Perfect (<i>ebbi parlato</i>)	1. Simple past (<i>parlasti</i>) 2. Compound past with aoristic meaning (<i>ho parlato</i>)

Ultimately, we place the Romanian PC in the same slot with its French counterpart, since both tenses have a permissive combinatory capacity: they are both non-Present Perfect Puzzle languages and can both be used narratively. This suggestion can be represented in the following hierarchy:



English > Spanish, Catalan > Dutch > Romanian, French

We have placed the English perfect in initial position since it has been shown that this tense exhibits all the features of a genuine 'perfect': it cannot combine with definite past adverbials (such as *yesterday*) and it can never be used narratively:

(17) a. * Mary has arrived at 5.

b. * Marry has arrived and has started to cook. She then has turned on the TV...

The Spanish/Catalan perfects come next due to the fact that they are subject to what Comrie (1981: 82) used to call ‘the hodiernal restriction’: a sentence like the one under (18) holds true only if a ‘24-hour rule’ restricts the temporal distance between the event described by the sentence and ‘now’:

- (18) a. Juan ha salido a las cinco. (Spanish)
b. En Juan ha sortit a les cinc. (Catalan)
‘John has left at five.’

The Dutch complex past comes next, since it can be combined with definite past adverbs but it can never be used in narration (Bogaart, 1999: 145):

- (19) * Toen Jan me heeft gezien (VTT) is hij bang geworden (VTT).
‘When John saw me, he got frightened.’

Ultimately, we place Romanian in the same line with French, since both perfects can combine with definite past adverbials and they can be even used narratively. However, as we will see in the next section, a more fine-grained distinction between these two perfects is in order.

4. PC – a Contextually Narrative Tense

This section investigates **the narrative use of PC**, which is problematic to our analysis since it comes against the perfective (i.e. stative) analysis suggested for this tense. Kamp and Reyle (1993), Parsons (1990) claim that *the semantic effect of the perfect is that of an event resulting into a state (e >< s)* - introducing *states* into discourse. This is to be placed in opposition to a so-called ‘eventive value’, i.e. the *tendency of this tense to become a preterite* (not only in the case of French, Romanian, but see Dutch, German – Klein, 1994). Compare:

- (20) Mi-ai spart capul! (PC) (resultative, stative value)
“You’ve cracked my skull!”
- (21) Marin și Ion au plecat de-acasă devreme și s-au întors seara târziu. După ce au intrat în casă, au făcut de mâncare, au luat cina și s-au culcat. Și a doua zi urmau să se scoale de dimineața. (narrative, eventive value of PC)

“Marin and Ion left (PC) home very early and came back (PC) very late in the evening. After they entered (PC) the house, they fixed (PC) dinner, ate (PC) and went (PC) to bed. They had (IMP) to wake up early the next day, too.”

This situation is perfectly in accordance with the diachronical explanation offered, among others, by Bybee et al. (1994), who explain that in many languages the perfect is grammaticalized into a perfective past tense when the accent *shifts* from the resulting state to the underlying event. Evidence for this claim is provided by evolutive stages in the history of Romanian, as shown in Manoliu Manea (1993), Cristina Călărășu (1987).

As we have already argued in the first section of this paper, this approach is supported by the fact that PC exhibits reverse order phenomena. However compare the sentence under (7) to the one under (22):

- (22) În acea zi a plouat mult. Cu toții eram iritați. Maria l-a lovit din greșeala pe Mihai. Ion a căzut. Marin l-a împins și a căzut și el. (PC)
‘That day it rained a lot. We were all out of sorts. Maria hit Mihai by mistake. Ion fell. Marin pushed him and then fell too.’

In (22) the ‘reverse order’ phenomenon is *undone by integration in a larger narrative context*. Note that no explicit time connectors are needed to force this reading upon the PC, which means that the natural temporal progress is offered by the sequence of tense forms themselves.

A similar process happens in French, as noticed by de Swart and Molendijk (2003). A noteworthy exception to the rules of written French is offered by the novel *L’etranger* by Camus, where PC is employed as a narrative, literary tense. In Camus’ novel, PC is thus consistently used to create stylistic contrast and has a decidedly marked value. De Swart and Molendijk (2003), de Swart and Corblin (2003), provide a SDRT account for the narrative use of PC, insisting upon the fact that this tense maintains its orientation towards S and has not developed into a full preterite. They analyse PC as contextually narrative, and demonstrate by performing a global analysis of the first chapters of Camus’ novel, that the sequential relation between PC forms is created through connectors, time adverbials. Thus, PC establishes a rhetorical relation of Elaboration upon ST (seen as the Topic of the DRS) and a weaker rhetorical relation of Continuation that makes possible for this tense to be placed in a sequence. (“Continuation merely records that all the constituents of a complex SDRS connected to a constituent by a subordinating relation are siblings. It has no temporal effects.” De Swart and Corblin, 2003)

However, as we will see, this proposal poses some problems:

a) One of the problems with this analysis is pointed out by the authors themselves: analyzing the translation of these chapters into English and Dutch, they notice that the time adverbials and connectors used by Camus in order to create narrative progression are translated in the English/Dutch versions, although these versions make use of inherently narrative tenses that would normally render the presence of explicit adverbials and connectors useless. The solution offered to this problem is that the English/Dutch translators opted for this version *to recapture the stylistic effect of the contextually narrative tense used in the original text*. However, the Romanian translation of the passages indicated by de Swart and Molendijk, (2003) yields similar results with both PC and PS: both versions are coherent even when temporal connectors/adverbials are left out. This situation argues against the implication that it is these structures that build narrative progression in a text in the absence of an inherently narrative tense:

(23) a. J'ai dit au concierge, sans me retourner vers lui: 'Il y a longtemps que vous êtes là? *Immédiatement* il a répondu: "Cinq ans" – comme s'il avait attendu depuis toujours ma demande. *Ensuite* il a beaucoup bavardé. On l'aurait bien étonné en lui disant qu'il finirait concierge à l'asile de Marengo. Il avait soixante-quatre ans et il était parisien. *A ce moment* je l'ai interrompu: "Ah! Vous n'êtes pas d'ici?" *Puis* je me suis souvenu qu'avant de me conduire chez le directeur, il m'avait parlé de maman. (quoted in de Swart and Molendijk, 2003)

Without turning around, I said (PC) to the caretaker. 'Have you been here long?' Straight away he answered (PC), 'Five years' – as if he'd been waiting (PQP) for me to ask all the time. After that he chatted (PC) a lot. He'd have been surprised if anyone had told him he'd end up as the caretaker of the Marengo home. He was (IMP) sixty-four and he came (IMP) from Paris. At that point I interrupted (PC) him. 'Oh, you're not from round here?' Then I remembered (PC) that he'd talked to me about mother.

b. Îi spusei (PS) portarului fără să mă întorc spre el: 'Sunteți de multă vreme aici?' Îmi răspunse(PS) 'De cinci ani' – de parcă se aștepta de mult să-i pun întrebarea. Vorbi (PC) vrute și nevrute. Ar fi fost surprins dacă cineva i-ar fi spus că va sfârși ca portar la azilul Marengo. Avea șaizeci și patru de ani și era din Paris. Îl întrerupsei (PS), "Deci nu sunteți de pe-aici?" Îmi amintii (PS) că discutasem cu el despre mama.

c. I-am spus (PC) portarului fără să mă întorc spre el: 'Sunteți de multă vreme aici?' Mi-a răspuns (PC): 'De cinci ani' – de parcă se aștepta de mult să-i pun întrebarea. A vorbit vrute și nevrute (PC). Ar fi fost surprins dacă cineva i-ar fi spus că va sfârși ca portar la azilul Marengo. Avea șaizeci și patru de ani și era din Paris. L-am întrerupt, "Deci nu sunteți de pe-aici?" Mi-am amintit (PC) că discutasem cu el despre mama.

b) A second problem is posed by the variety of examples offered by Romanian. While in certain pieces of text we encounter ‘well-behaved instances of PC’, which are easily perceived as elaboration examples (in this case PC appears as a perspective shifter and can be interpreted as deictic or evokative, and is frequently used in the 1st person), other instances are clearly narrative, easily reformulated by means of PS. Consider the examples below:

(24) ‘deictic’ use

“Când sosi (PS) Alexandru-vodă, sfânta slujbă începuse (PS) și boierii erau toți adunați. După ce a ascultat (PC) sfânta slujbă, s-a coborât (PC) din strană, s-a închinat (PC) pe la icoane, și apropiindu-se de racla sf. Ioan cel nou, s-a plecat (PC) cu mare smerenie și a sărutat (PC) moaștele sfântului. *Spun* (Present) că în minutul acela el era foarte galben la față și ca racla sfântului ar fi tresărit. După aceasta, suindu-se iarăși în strană, se înturnă (PS) către boieri și zise...” (C. Negruzzi, *Alexandru Lapușneanul*.)

(25) elaboration on ‘then’, ‘flashback’ PC (where the main story is told by means of PS)

“Odată, să fi avut atunci nu mai mult de trei ani (...) a sfârșit (PC) prin a se arunca de pe buza patului direct cu capul în jos în lada de lemne.” – paragraph goes on with PC. Main story line is done with PS (M. Preda, *Marele singuratic*).

Compare these examples to the ones below, where we notice a ‘sloppy’ concatenation of PC forms with PS ones (when they are supposed to be in complementary distribution). The relation is clearly one of succession, not of elaboration. Both PC and PS appear sometimes in the same passage with a similar value (although they normally are in complementary distribution). Compare (26) where narrative PS cannot be followed by a PC with a similar value to the next ones under (27) where both tenses are brought together in a striking combination:

(26) *Merse (PS) la școală și a primit (PC) nota zece pentru compunere.

“He went to school and got an A for his essay.”

(27) a. “Vorbind așa, au ajuns (PC) aproape de Tecuci, unde poposiră la o dumbravă.”

(C. Negruzzi, *Alexandru Lapușneanul*, 16th century)

Thus speaking they got (PC) close to Tecuci, where they stopped (PS) in a glen.

b. “Imediat ce termină povestirea se simți (PS) prost, era ceva făcut în istorisirea sa, prea indirect și prea simbolic, o pretenție și o falsitate care îl jigni (PS), și tăcu (PS) foarte jenat. Poate ar mai fi regretat dacă n-ar fi fost reacția celorlalți, după tăcerea penibilă. Andrei, primul, apoi aproape toți, unul după altul, au venit (PC) la el, l-au atins (PC) fals afectuos pe umeri, spunând [...] Se străduiau să alunge impresia produsă de povestirea lui, se păzeau de ea și tot Andrei fu (PS) singurul care dădu glas

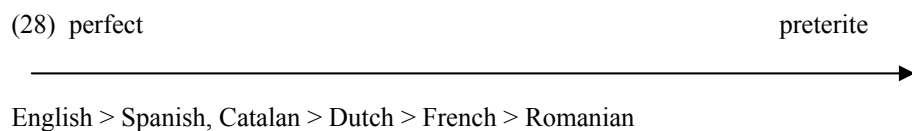
și unui gând mai larg explicativ: „E bine că ai povestit. Dar noi toți ne-am închipuit, am știut toate acestea, nu trebuie să le mai repeți, măcar în fața noastră. Iulia este altceva, ea te-a pus, ei i-ai povestit, poate că pe ea o interesează. Noi știm chiar dacă n-am auzit.” (Alexandru Ivăsiuc – *Păsările*)

c. “Eu, dar mai ales Mitrea, îi întreținuserăm iluziile până când s-a desprimăvărat (PC, e₁), când foștii locatari reveniră (PS, e₂) la vechiul sediu, iar Maria Baicului adusese (MMCP, e₃) noutăți despre isprăvile lui Sterian, fapt care mă cutremurase.” (A. Buzura – *Fețele tăcerii*)

“I, and especially Mitrea, tried to keep his illusions intact until spring *came* (PC), when the old tenants *came back* (PS) to the old building, and Maria Baicu *brought* (MMCP) news about Sterian, which terrified me.”

Our analysis of Romanian texts reveals that: *PC is frequently used in both spoken and written Romanian and the narrative value of PC alternates with the narrative PS without necessarily imposing a shift of perspective.* While we agree that PC is still a perfect and hence not inherently narrative, the data offered by Romanian prove that in narrative contexts the switch from PS to PC is almost imperceptible in many cases, which pleads in favour of a similar treatment of these tenses in narration.

If, according to Vet (1999), the French PC is half-way on the ‘preterite road’, *Romanian PC appears to be even more advanced towards becoming a preterite than its French counterpart.* The frequency of contexts where PC is used narratively gives us reason to believe that PC’s tendency to become a ‘perfective past’ (Vet, 1999) is much stronger in the case of Romanian. This means that solutions such as the one offered in de Swart and Corblin (2003), de Swart and Molendijk (2003) do not answer all the problems posed by the Romanian PC. Consequently, a reformulation of the hypothesis under (16) is in order:



4. Conclusions

The Romanian complex past is analysed as an aspectually sensitive tense, introducing events resulting into states into the discourse.

Our DR analysis for the Romanian PC relies on the premise that it is a ‘perfect’, therefore stative in its basic meaning, but a ‘perfect’ fast turning into a preterite. We analyse this tense as contextually narrative, in opposition to PS, which is inherently narrative. This analysis forces a reformulation of the hierarchy of ‘perfectivity’ proposed at the beginning of this paper.

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III LITERARY STUDIES

**SALMAN RUSHDIE'S AMERICA: CITIES AND POWER IN
*THE GROUND BENEATH HER FEET, FURY AND***

SHALIMAR THE CLOWN

MARIA-SABINA DRAGA ALEXANDRU

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In a public interview with Alastair Niven at the Barbican Theatre in London on the occasion of the Royal Shakespeare Company production of *Midnight's Children* (25th January, 2003), Salman Rushdie expressed his creed that it is the job of the intellectual to speak against power. His novels do this through characters whose existence in space is defined by movement between geographical and cultural spaces, in an increasing desire to avoid any belonging to place. One can argue that Rushdie's own personal itinerary was not that of a migrant – who moves from a country to another in search of a better life – but, rather, that of a critical nomad who moves from country to country, always looking for new controversial topics to write about, or to write against.

In an interview taken three years after the *Satanic Verses* affair Rushdie confessed to Christopher Bigsby that his political awakening occurred when he was a student at Cambridge – hence in a foreign environment, where one becomes aware of one's political convictions as a reaction to the opposition one meets with (Bigsby, 2000: 321). Being in an unfamiliar country is thus identified as a useful experience that sharpens criticism. As Rushdie followed his family to Pakistan after graduation he found he could not pursue his plans to become a writer in a country with so much censorship and repression. This was the reason behind his decision to return to England, where he settled and became a successful writer. England stood by him during the persecution following the *fatwa* – Ayatollah Khomeini's 1989 sentence to death after the publication of Rushdie's allegedly blasphemous novel *The Satanic Verses*. However, when the looming *fatwa* danger faded and he could appear publicly again, and after, presumably, all that he had to write about Britain had been written, Rushdie decided to move on to the United States in 2000. The official reason was his intention to marry the Indian actress Padma Lakshmi. The professional reason might have been – as his subsequent writings suggest – his need to widen up his perspective for critical analysis and ultimately his sources for writing. This move was accompanied by a rather controversial turn in his

career, unwelcomed by a lot of criticism: Rushdie's "American" novels *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* (1999), *Fury* (2001) and *Shalimar the Clown* (2005).

This paper will analyse the critical discourses embedded in a few precise cityscape descriptions in Rushdie's American novels and the ways in which they reflect his ideas and preoccupations as a nomadic intellectual – someone who will not belong to any prescribed value-systems, but is intent on keeping a critical eye on forms of abusive power-exertion around the world. As he follows his characters through cities and places that marked his own exilic itinerary, from Bombay via London to New York and Los Angeles, Rushdie sees cities through a lens that reveals the structures of power embedded in their geographies. The level of discursive constructedness, however, increases in the description of American cities, where the awareness of embedded power structures and the author's critical scrutiny become more visible. My reading will be derived from Deleuze and Guattari's and Rosi Braidotti's views on nomadic identities and will also attempt to interpret Rushdie's American cities through an urban studies lens.

If one looks at Rushdie's evolution with hindsight, many years after Ayatollah Khomeini's 1989 *fatwa* that made him famous well outside the boundaries of the literary world, it seems fair to say that his most accomplished pages are the ones of sarcastic protest against political power in its many guises. If one looks at his spectacular life and the many places he lived, one is justified in getting the impression that his choice of places was determined by his search for writing material. Whilst criticism has often been tempted to read abundant autobiographical detail in Rushdie's fiction, it may actually be the other way round: it may be that the author's life was shaped so as to pursue his intellectual questions and worries and to exploit possible topics. So it was that at one point, when he had done all he could do in Britain, Rushdie found it was time to move on to the New World. It was also then, I will try to argue, that he became more consciously interested in the relationship between spaces and power than he had been so far.

Since Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1975) it has been widely accepted that the organisation of space reflects the power structures that dominate that space. Foucault's theory basically refers to public institutions, starting from the model of the prison. By extension, it is possible to describe the whole western society system as a panoptical power grid where power has been internalised to such an extent that it no longer comes from above, but is produced at capillary level. The production of knowledge and the

internalisation of power are tightly connected to the space where power emerges. Within today's increasingly global world, spaces are inhabited by people who move between them, either in the sense of changing a place of origin for another place perceived as better – as a migrant does – or in the multiple sense of periodically changing one place for another and living a life on the move – as a nomad does. The ways in which the nomad relates to power structures is different from the ways of “settled” people, who are more permanently tied to a place.

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari differentiate the nomad from the migrant in the following terms:

The nomad is not at all the same as the migrant; for the migrant goes principally from one point to another, even if the second point is uncertain, unforeseen, or not well localized. But the nomad goes from point to point only as a consequence and as a factual necessity; in principle, points for him are relays along a trajectory. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1992: 380)

This emphasis on the journey rather than the fixed points on it escapes the binary motherland/otherland opposition, which is so problematic in stories of migration. If the migrant changes one place for another, therefore one structure of power for another, the nomad's continuous spatial repositioning should escape the conditionings to which the migrant is subjected.

In her 1994 work *Nomadic Subjects*, which creates a cartography of the nomadic (particularly female) self in terms derived and expanded from Deleuze and Guattari's thought, Rosi Braidotti defines nomadism as being ‘not fluidity without borders but rather an acute awareness of the nonfixity of boundaries’ (Braidotti, 1994:36). Movement in space, across spatial and identity borders, ensures the process of continual becoming of the self that characterises contemporaneity. Identity in the new millennium is a matter of becoming: ‘the point is not to know who we are, but rather what, at last, we want to become’ (Braidotti, 2002:2). In being ‘he who does not move’, Deleuze and Guattari's nomad actually carries, in a sense, his home with him on the journey. He annihilates the binary set of dichotomies according to which place is necessarily defined as ‘here’ and ‘there’. His journey is internal in that it contains, in a horizontal, rhizomatic simultaneity, all the past moments at which the nomad has been in various places along his trajectory. The map of the points covered in his journey is perpetually changing, it is a figuration, a living map (Braidotti, 2002:3), situated in a perpetual state of temporariness defined by movement.

Rosi Braidotti relates nomadism to an option for becoming which she positions 'at the top of the agenda for the new millennium'. Her focus is on 'how to represent mutations, changes and transformation, rather than Being in the classical sense' (Braidotti, 2002:2). Braidotti sees in this a new lifestyle, as connections to place are no longer possible, because people are continuously on the move.

In cities, the organisation of space is intrinsically connected to the practical logic of modernity, which has to take the population into account. This is so especially in America, where cities are much newer than in Europe or Asia and thus, being freer from the palimpsests of history, are more directly the spatial projection of a modern cast of mind. It is well known for example that most American cities have a grid street system, which facilitates orientation and driving and is thus largely adapted to an active, mobile life. This increased mobility, however, is not only a gain. Ernest W. Burgess (2005:158-163) notices that whilst the development of the modern city can be studied like that of an organism whose physical growth depends on metabolism, this growth is transferred on the level of the community in the form of mobility laws. This mobility, "the pulse of the community" (Burgess, 2005:162) implies a transition from a static to a hyperactive lifestyle which can become confusing and demoralising for the individual subject to increasing stimulation.

Cities have always been living organisms in Rushdie's novels. Bombay, his native, favourite city, is a model of multiculturalism that hosts a rich history of dislocation in *Midnight's Children*. In *The Satanic Verses*, London lacks Bombay's dynamic adaptability to change precisely because it is too obsessed with classifying and quantifying all experience: "Geographers' London, all the way from A to Z" (Rushdie, 1988:322). This is a clear reference to London's imperial rigidity which turns Gibreel Farishta's attempt to redeem the city into one more factor that triggers his own nervous breakdown. The modernist motif of the alienating city is thus used by Rushdie not as an intrinsically urban phenomenon – even though equally busy, Bombay is not alienating – but as evidence in his postcolonial critique of the West. However, postcolonial London has a life of its own, described in full awareness of the multiple sources of repressive power, but also of the "unrejected burden of the past":

The city's streets coiled around him, writhing like serpents. London had grown unstable once again, revealing its true, capricious, tormented nature, its anguish of a

city that had lost its sense of itself and wallowed, accordingly, in the impotence of its selfish, angry present of masks and parodies, stifled and twisted by the insupportable, unrejected burden of the past, staring into the bleakness of its impoverished future. (Rushdie, 1988:320)

Far from being locked within the postcolonial centre-margin dichotomy, however, the *Satanic Verses* London inaugurates an exploration of the interaction between power and space which Rushdie's American cities will later continue.

The Ground Beneath Her Feet, *Fury* and *Shalimar the Clown* all trace a nomadic itinerary of a kind of archetypal Rushdian hero in various guises and sharing different elements with the author's background from India via England to America. America is re-invented as a purely discursive space where the older Rushdian mission of "the empire writing back to the centre" no longer needs to be fulfilled. A former colony of the British Empire itself – even though this historical detail now tends to be forgotten – America is approached in terms of its own mirage, of the rhetoric of the American dream, which from the Indian protagonist's point of view is free from the postcolonial burden that went along with images of England:

But the land of Ormus's dreams was never England. No white mansion for him, but that other house, the place of light and horror, of speculation and danger and power and wonder, the place where the future was waiting to be born. America! America! It pulled him; it would have him; as it pulls so many of us, and like Pinocchio on Pleasure Island, like all the little donkeys, we laugh (as it devours us) for joy. (Rushdie, 2000:100)

As suggested in this excerpt, Rushdie's America is irresistibly attractive, but this attraction is not entirely beneficent. As a matter of fact, it is precisely America's unconscious, its danger, its horror and its power that command the attention of Rushdie's well-trained critical eye. Unfathomable structures of capillary power and pain create the pulse of life of the new continent from which rock'n'roll music is born in *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* as Ormus Cama takes America by storm. But this "America of loss, the America that's taken a beating and doesn't fully understand how, or what it's done to deserve this pain" (Rushdie, 2000:379) communicates with its newcomers through its cities, which become projections of their already existing structures of feeling to accommodate them. For Ormus, New York turns into a kind of welcoming facilitator, "a doorman, an express elevator and a view. You could say it was

Malabar Hill” (Rushdie, 2000:355). The city quickly acquires the features that Ormus, the Indian rock’n’roll star, already carries with him from Bombay, where Malabar Hill is a VIP residential area. Many other similar examples in the three novels considered here support the idea that Rushdie’s American cities are fluid projections of a nomadic mindset in its continuous movement and search for relocation. But they are also discursive sites that reveal the power structures behind politically exclusive cultural specificity. These power structures are embedded, in Rushdie’s view, in the geopolitical mapping of the cities. As the cities move, live and talk to the people who are trying to inhabit them, they also reflect the underlying currents of power that are brought to the surface in this organic interaction between the city and the people, from, we might say, under the ground beneath people’s feet.

An accomplished study of the rhizomatic city as an organism trying to resist oppression and to assert its own uncontrollable life is New York in *Fury*. This is a kind of third stage, emblematic of a new millennium form of migrancy which is actually closer to nomadism through its refusal to put down roots. The New York of Malik Solanka’s angry escape from European propriety is a city with an attitude, in whose display of fashion and money ‘America insulted the rest of the planet’ (Rushdie, 2002: 6). Rushdie goes even further in reading New York culture against its grain and mocking its stereotypes. The city is pictured as a grotesque theatre of politics, where repression from above mixes with emancipation movements, fake multiculturalism, virtual reality mistaken for reality and other variations around the ‘loneliness-in-the-middle-of-the crowd’ theme:

The season’s hit movie portrayed the decadence of Caesar Joaquin Phoenix’s imperial Rome, in which honour and dignity, not to mention life-and-death actions and distractions, were to be found only in the computer-regenerated illusions of the great gladiatorial arena, the Flavian amphitheatre or Colosseum. In New York, too, there were circuses as well as bread: a musical about lovable lions, a bike race on Fifth, Springsteen at the Garden with a song about the forty-one police gunshots that killed innocent Amadou Diallo, the police union’s threat to boycott the Boss’s concert, Hillary vs. Rudy, a cardinal’s funeral, a movie about lovable dinosaurs, the motorcades of two largely interchangeable and certainly unlovable presidential candidates (Gush, Bore), Hillary vs. Risk, the lightning storms that hit the Springsteen concert and Shea Stadium, a cardinal’s inauguration, a cartoon about lovable British chickens, and even a literary festival; plus a series of “exuberant” parades celebrating the city’s many ethnic, national and sexual subcultures and ending (sometimes) in knifings and assaults on (usually) women. Professor Solanka, who thought of himself as egalitarian in nature and a born-and-bred metropolitan of the countryside-is-for-cows persuasion,

on parade days strolled sweatily cheek by jowl among his fellow citizens. One Sunday he rubbed shoulders with slim-hipped gay-pride prancers, the next weekend he got jiggy beside a big-assed Puerto Rican girl wearing her national flag as a bra. He didn't feel intruded upon amid these multitudes; to the contrary. There was a satisfying anonymity in the crowds, an absence of intrusion. Nobody here was interested in his mysteries. Everyone was here to lose themselves. Such was the unarticulated magic of the masses, and these days losing himself was just about Professor Solanka's only purpose in life. This particular rainy weekend there was a calypso beat in the air, not the mere Harry Belafonte Jamaica-farewells and jackass-songs of Solanka's somewhat guiltily found memory ("*Now I tell you in a positive way / don't tie me donkey down dere / 'cause me donkey will jump and bray / don't tie me donkey down dere!*"), but the true satirical music of the Jamaican troubadour-polemicists, banana Bird, Cool Runnings, Yellowbelly, live in Bryant Park and on shoulder-high boomboxes up and down Broadway. (Rushdie, 2002:6-7).

This shows New York as a capital of an empire, as a kind of enacted fake Rome where Rushdie locates his sheer political criticism. The concentration of ideological power New York symbolically stands for corresponds to its radial structure as a modernist city with a distinguishable downtown, around which the city revolves and grows (Blumin, 1984:9).

The political power struggle between the presidential candidates is a kind of 'natural' outgrowth of this chaotic universe. City life is denounced as a spatial projection/enactment of the political tensions that shape individual lives. It is a mixture of the global and the local, the political and the personal one encounters in the street every day. *Fury* is very much about the Americanisation of the world, but this Americanisation is in fact a proliferation of the global that opens paths for a nomadic lifestyle and a keener scrutiny of worldwide power structures.

We can argue that the modern city more and more assumes the fluidity of modern lifestyle to a point where, in postmodernism, space becomes entirely a function of virtual and subjective stimuli. Los Angeles for example is analysed by Edward Soja as the postmodern city par excellence. It is not organised around one city-centre, but around many, its postmodern multiplicity thus being inscribed in its spatial planning. Burgess's principle of mobility underlying the modern city is here exacerbated into a motion of revolving around not just one, but multiple centres:

(...) its spatiality challenges orthodox analysis and interpretation, for it too seems limitless and constantly in motion, never still enough to encompass, too filled with 'other spaces' to be informatively described. Looking at Los Angeles from the inside,

introspectively, one tends to see only fragments and immediacies, fixed sites of myopic understanding impulsively generalized to represent the whole. To the more far-sighted outsider, the visible aggregate of the whole of Los Angeles churns so confusingly that it induces little more than illusionary stereotypes or self-serving caricatures – if its reality is ever seen at all. (Soja, 2005: 190)

This proliferation of the local whose specificity is lost in its faithful mirroring of the global seems to have caught Rushdie's eye in a very similar way in his description of the city of India's delusions at the beginning of *Shalimar the Clown*. As India, the murdered ambassador's daughter, lives through her nightmares of a gradually discovered traumatic family past, the city – which for a while remains unnamed, but of which we later learn it is Los Angeles – mirrors her torment in its own postmodern identity crisis of the loss of all essences:

In such a city there could be no grey areas, or so it seemed. Things were what they were and nothing else, unambiguous, lacking the subtleties of drizzle, shade and chill. Under the scrutiny of such a sun there was no place to hide. People were everywhere on display, their bodies shining in the sunlight, scantily clothed, reminding her of advertisements. No mystery here or depths; only surfaces and revelations. Yet to learn the city was to discover that this banal clarity was an illusion. The city was all treachery, all deception, a quick-change, quicksand metropolis, hiding its nature, guarded and secret in spite of all its apparent nakedness. In such a place even the forces of destruction no longer needed the shelter of the dark. They burned out of the morning's brightness, dazzling the eye, and stabbed at you with sharp and fatal light. (Rushdie, 2005:5)

Another beautiful day. The road where she lived, leafy, bohemian, moved through the indolent light, dawdling, taking its time. The city's greatest illusion was of sufficiency, of space, of time, of possibility. (Rushdie, 2005:38)

LA is described as a city of illusions which masquerades as a place of clarity. The straightforwardness of the American dream, of the land of "sufficiency" and "possibility" widely available to the enterprising and the brave, is however denounced as a matter of surface. As she walks down the street and interacts with the "silver-haired Filipino gentleman", India ponders on the irony of the American ideology of happiness, which mirrors the irony of her own life: "Still, in America, life was *la dolce vita*, wasn't it, even for the people for whom it wasn't" (Rushdie, 2005:38). The city, however, opposes the simplicity of such slogans and even has feelings of its own – "The city sang its love songs" – which open it up to human life. India's perceptions of LA, however, right after

she arrives from England where she grew up, miss on the human dimension of the city and are more aware of its constructed, postmodern, mass-mediated nature. When she first sets foot in her father's big house on Mulholland Drive she is scared by the tower which reminds her of Kim Novak falling from a similar tower in a film (Rushdie, 2005:351). The city itself scares her as she imagines violent Hollywood scenarios she might fall prey to. Ironically, the movie-type plot does become reality as her father does fall prey to one such mysterious murder – a proof, within Rushdie's narrative order of things, of make-believe becoming become reality. The city itself is made of such filmic imagery or of similarly media-type realities such as the one provided by the newspaper library or by British documentaries, in the hope to make even a career on writing nonfiction about what she thinks is "real life" (Rushdie, 2005:353). The degree of defamiliarisation of the real associated with Los Angeles goes so far as to replace reality in a way that is also critical of the constructed nature of American life and the ideology of the American dream.

As Rushdie experiments with the discursive constructedness of city descriptions, there is a growing interest in the analysis of power discourses as embedded in cityscapes. This goes hand in hand with the constructedness of character and supports the assumption that representations of the self, rather than given as such, are theatrical functions of the dynamic interaction with locations, but also with reality and invention. Negotiated between their original cultural backgrounds and those of their adopted countries, the identities of Rushdie's protagonists are fundamentally located in the discourse of cultural translation/relocation that the novelist performs. Along his literary trajectory Rushdie struggles to redefine the displaced condition of the migrant as a freer nomadic condition. As Deleuze and Guattari point out, whilst the migrant changes one place for another, the nomad carries his/her home with him/her and recreates it endlessly in every new location. This is doubtless a gain for the contemporary intellectual, who carries his critical baggage with him as he assumes the job of speaking against all oppressive power, wherever it is.

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BORDER CROSSING IN JOHN FOWLES' *THE MAGUS*

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But mankind is in the best of all possible situations for mankind. It may not be the best possible for you or for me, for this or that individual; for this or that age; for this or that world. It is the best possible for us because it is an infinite situation of finite hazard: that is, its fundamental principle will always be hazard, but a hazard within bounds. A hazard without bounds would be a universe without physical laws: that is, a perpetual and total chaos. (Fowles 1970: 17)

A turning point in the evolution of criticism and literary work production, the 1960s meant the awareness of polyvalence, of disseminated authority, of playful writings with a deliberately declined authority (texts are made of other texts and their meaning and value depend on the reader as their last *creator*). Although John Fowles declines any interest in poststructuralism as he declares in an interview (Fowles 1998:373), his writings and his way of thinking pursue the normal contemporary evolution into deep existential tensions, which are analysed in *The Aristos* (Fowles, 1970) based on the necessary coexistence of the opposites and transposed at different levels in the literary text.

Before writing and publishing *The Magus*, initially entitled *The Godgame*, Fowles attempted an initiation of the readers into his way of thinking in *The Aristos* where he clustered his principles indebted to existentialism and Nietzsche's philosophy, to psychology (Freud and Jung), literary theory and criticism, to politics, sociology and common sense. His ideas preach an almost necessary acceptance of the now and here, which is the best when it is in between extremes (God's government and absolute freedom – neither actually existing), a continuous game-like situation with limited unexpected choices:

Chess permits freedom of permutations within a framework of set rules and prescribed movements. Because a chess player cannot move absolutely as he likes, either in terms of the rules or in terms of the exigencies of the particular game, has he no freedom of move? The separate game of chess I play with existence has different rules from your and every other game; the only similarity is that each of our separate games always has rules. The gifts, inherited and acquired, that are special to me are the rules of the game; and the situation I am in at any given moment is the situation of the game. My freedom

is the choice of action and the power of enactment I have within the rules and situation of the game. (Fowles 1970: 68).

Eventually, Fowles implies the existence of sets of individual rules which interact with the set of situational rules forming a net where the individual can and/or sometimes considers he has to obey other rules, which are not his, making thus a choice against himself, against the set of rules defining his game, crossing the bounds of his identity and assuming the identity of the other(s). Freedom is relative and limited, determined by the movement(s) of the other player(s). By moving on, the individual accepts the other players' movements and faces a game with an unexpected evolution.

Aiming at enclosing the set of possibilities by introducing the concept of *hazard within bounds* (1970: 17) and by orienting the reader towards a spatial-temporal apprehension of the determining situation (*a universe with physical laws*), Fowles does not hesitate to defiantly offer a fictional alternative to this frail law-governed universal order as everything is relative, therefore differently perceived. Highly influenced by Freud's and Jung's works – which even made him introduce the fourth part of the human psyche: *nemo*, that is “the state of being nobody, nobodiness” (Fowles 1977: 47) – in *The Magus* Fowles playfully shows that man cannot distinguish between reality and fiction, not even when he deals with the so-called concrete elements applying to his visual and auditory senses, that human psyche can distort any perception crossing the borders imposed by physical laws.

The Magus is a novel built on contradictions and creating a feeling of discomfort to all those who read or are reading it. Its writing and re-writing was governed by authoritative awareness which was always undermined by a subversive feeling of loss of control. Fowles' effort to control the text which was intended to reflect the history of the novel's making showed his continuous oscillation between two opposite positions that were completing each other at the same time: writer – reader.

It is at this very point that Fowles implies a *double-crossing* of two apparently different levels: the level of the making of the work and the level of the reading. *Poietic* theories (Mavrodin 1982) fix the boundaries of these two levels for the sake of a “scientific” explanation, simply neglecting that art production goes beyond any scientific attempt. Yet, the critics who dedicated their work to explaining the making of the work of art agreed that the former level implies a writer–work cooperation in which the authority switches from

one to the other, or at least this is what authors say. In the *Foreword* of the book Fowles confesses:

‘The story appeared in 1965, after two other books, but in every way except that of mere publishing date, it is a first novel. I began writing it in the early 1950s, and both narrative and mood went through countless *transformations*. In its original form there was a clear *supernatural element* – an attempt at something along the lines of Henry James’s masterpiece, *The Turn of the Screw*. But I had no coherent idea at all of where I was going, in life and in the book. A more objective side of me did not then believe I should ever become a publishable writer; a subjective one could not abandon the myth it was trying, clumsily and laboriously, to bring into the world; and my strongest memory is of constantly having to abandon drafts because of an inability to describe what I wanted.’ (Fowles 1977:5)

Furthermore, critics and writers admitted that the latter had to act as ‘readers’ when the text imposed its authority on them and they had to accept the continuation it ‘required’, which might have undermined their so-called ‘intentional phallacy’.

With Fowles’ novel it is difficult to decide how much of the re-writing meant a failure and the admission of it, and how much of the publication was a success. I would rather consider the *Foreword* (1977) part of the fiction. The author’s declared uncertainties, frustrations, game-like decisions, slipping authority over the text bewilder a reader who expects a minimum self-confidence on behalf of the writer. But by pretending, or not, (his) undermined creative authority, Fowles performs the role of the ‘reader-writer’ whose power is diminished by the self-generative text. Instead of supporting his work with a God-like creator, the author induces the reader into sympathizing with him with regard to his restricted power of making decisions, to his being manipulated by an over- authoritative text.

The ambiguities in the novel which both bewilder and discourage the reader seem to make him/her understand how difficult it might have been for Fowles to write such a confusing, such an intricate work. If it is difficult to follow such a text, then it might have been awful to conceive it, then it must have been normal for the writer not to feel comfortable with the production of this work and to return to it over and over again for such a long period of time before publishing it.

Starting from a formalist idea that lack of form may be form since this is what the author might have aimed at, we can re-establish the idea of *intentional phallacy*. First of all this novel is a self-reflexive one in the spirit of the

common self-reflexive works of the twentieth century in which one of the characters acts as an *artist/maker/storyteller*. The storyteller, who is an aware narrator this time (Nicholas Urfe), is generally very close to the author's authoritative power that uses him to make his *voice* heard in the text. Yet, we know that in *The Magus* this authority lacks self-confidence and feels that its creation is endowed with a life of itself and can produce-reproduce itself in a sequential game, escaping initial authority /intentional phallacy. Following the same pattern, why shouldn't the storyteller lose his bearings while telling the story? Why shouldn't he be part of the game endeavouring to empower confusion and lack of control?

Thus, Fowles mirrors the external boundary-crossing (at the level of the author) in the novel, at the level of the narrator/storyteller who also acts as an actor in Maurice Conchis' play and as a 'reader' of the 'world's text' (his life on the island of Phraxos) and of his own performance inside Bourani. He acts on more levels whose boundaries he frequently crosses. The reader has to face the subtle sliding of the levels which should be generally perceived from Nicholas' perspective – as a narrator investigating the surroundings, the other characters' and his/hers. The transparency of the levels leading to a reading through them should be also considered within this palimpsest structure.

Nicholas Urfe's story builds its confusion and the storyteller's frustrations on another embedded story whose creator is Maurice Conchis, the owner of the villa of Bourani. While 'reader' of Maurice's performance in Fowles' novel, Nicholas becomes an actor in Maurice's play. That is a play in the process of creation, too, which is more or less self creation as the actors, Nicholas included, enjoy authoritative, yet determined and limited due to contextualization, power. How far is Conchis' play from the absurd/existentialist drama since he is a present-absent God/Godot of his creation? He provides his 'actors' with a 'fictional' setting and a continuous present time in which they have to move, express themselves, fill in that space and time and fictional existence as in a game of the other self or, as Fowles says in *The Aristos*:

Put the dice on the table and leave the room; but make it seem possible to the players that you were never in the room. The Divine Solution is to govern by not governing in any sense that the governed can call being governed; that is, to constitute a situation in which the governed must govern themselves.' (Fowles 1970:19)

Transgressing the boundaries of all these layers/levels/stories, the reader reaches the less authoritative level in Conchis' game, the actors who are not narrators (Lily/Julie) whose expressed thoughts are transmitted through Nicholas. They are more objects than subjects as they are observed and commented upon, unlike Nicholas who is also a 'director' of the whole story, as Conchis is the director of the play and Fowles of the novel. The participants in the embedded play have a double task as they act more or less independently and creatively and also comment upon their activity within a meta-theatre planned experience behind the curtains, which reminds me of Jung and his self investigation while building the tower of Bollingen (Cazenave 1997).

The last layer which Nicholas uses as a reality reference point is represented by the villagers who, although on the island, are not within the space of Bourani, therefore they escape Conchis' God-like authority. However, the last pages of the novel cast a shadow of uncertainty upon the position occupied by the villagers suggesting that everything might have been perceived differently, implying a bird's eye view, a reconstruction of the mosaic following another order and other relationships.

Why is Conchis considered the puppeteer /God in this novel? While Fowles pretends trying to put his narrative in order focusing on the creator – creation relationship and complaining about his limited authority, Conchis may be Fowles' reflection (the negative of the film) as he, in full awareness of his limited role he should have for the benefit of the readers/actors, deliberately gives authority to his actors pretending absence and/or non-involvement. This is how the confusion he creates in the play leads to the confusion in the storytelling which eventually determines the confusion Fowles confessed he had experienced while writing this novel, seeming not to know how much he was indebted to his talent/imagination and how much to the self-generative work.

The above mentioned interferences of authorities materialized in border-crossing(s) can be referred to within the spatial and temporal dimensions of the work which are submitted to the same interrelations. Simultaneity of spaces may imply coexistence of real and fictional places as well as coexistence of different real spaces and of different fictional spaces and characters transgressing these spaces.

While the author realizes a focalisation on the real space from a wider continental/European dimension to an island, then to a private property on the island and eventually a stage-like place where reality and fiction interfere, he

also implies an enlargement of the fictional space within the fictional space of the first narrative, taking the reader back to the European space. When Nicholas Urfe first meets Conchis, the latter tells him about his connection with Europe: 'I am proud now to have Greek and Italian and English blood and even some Celtic blood. One of my father's grandmothers was a Scotswoman. I am European. That is all that matters to me.' (Fowles 1977:116). By revealing his origins and fragments of his life, Conchis takes Nicholas out of the time and space where they both were (the fictional space of the first narrative) to a larger European space which implies a movement backwards in both space and time and downwards on the inner axis of the self. The conversations between the two turn into deliberate investigations of the self, of the unconscious side of the psyche responding to verbal stimuli by altering sensorial perception and in contrast with the surrounding reality:

At first hallucinatorily faint, impossible to pinpoint, it began. I thought it must be coming through the walls from a gramophone in Conchis's bedroom. [...] It was creeping down from outside, from somewhere far to the north, well up in the hills a mile or more away. [...] Only, so barely perceptible that it fringed the imagined, this faintest drone of men, a lot of men, singing. I thought: fishermen. But why should they be in the hills? (Fowles 1977:133).

The voices had become very dim, barely audible; but something else had grown penetratingly strong. It was the cesspool smell I had noticed earlier. Now it was an atrocious stench that infested the windless air, a nauseating compound of decomposing flesh and excrement, so revolting that I had to hold my nose and breathe through my mouth. [...] Soon it was as if I had imagined everything. [...] I had entered the domaine. (Fowles 1977:134).

The villa of Bourani seems to be an experimental space where fiction cannot exist without elements of reality. It is not art for art's sake that Conchis seems to aim at, but an initiation into the multiple possibilities of the individual, into relativity and ambiguity. *Reality*, memories and imagination intermingle and apparently alter physical laws and conventions leading to an inner spatial and temporal dimension. Thus, the real spatial enclosure of the island and of Bourani determines an enlargement of the mental spaciousness, an ever widening spiral into the possibilities of the self within suggested or induced temporal-spatial contexts.

While other spaces may claim independence, the stage appears to be a "syntopy", simultaneous spaces (Cotrău 1999:45), as the imagination of the director and of the characters leads to different spatial and temporal

associations with an internal-fictional time-space. This space is created and creative at the same time since although Nicholas knows or thinks that he has entered the *domaine* of a stage director, he cannot refrain from taking part in the play, assuming more roles simultaneously, and from analyzing the situation making reason and imagination, reality and fiction interfere. He also records the other characters' perception of the situation and changes his interpretation and analysis while plans and perspectives are sliding, which increases confusion and the feeling of being manipulated or governed. The dialogue is confusing and implies a ceaseless/continuous change of plans from real plans to imaginary ones.

'I should like you to see Anton.'

'I think I have seen him already.'

'No. Anton is dead. You have seen an actor who looks like him. But this is the real Anton.' (Fowles 1977: 417)

While spatial contingency is transformed into spatial simultaneity in a Bergsonian sense, time evolves from chronological sequential time to intuitive, durative present, which is individual synchronicity. With Fowles' novel time evolves to intentional interference of different intuitive times belonging to the actor-characters supposed to act more or less aware of their performance.

The change of spatial and temporal dimensions implies a continuous shift from one space to another, in different times always engulfed by a protean and overwhelming present that contradicts the sensorial perception (Fowles 1977:133), which is actually border-crossing not only at the level of the narrative strategies (creator-work-reader relationship) but also at the level of the human psyche implying border-crossing within spatial-temporal dimension.

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THE POSTMODERN WORK OF A MARXIST AUTHOR:

TERRY EAGLETON'S

SAINTS AND SCHOLARS

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Terry Eagleton is one of the most important academic literary critics in the English-speaking world; moreover, his obdurate commitment to Marxism makes him undisputedly the leading left-wing literary theorist. He is also a prolific writer, whose publications vary from academic to popular works, including a play, an autobiography and a novel. His detailed studies in literary and cultural theory often have a polemical or even belligerent undertone. Because of his trenchant and aggressive criticism towards postmodernism, he is considered to be among those modernist writers inimical to it. My argument in this paper is that though the neo-Marxist Eagleton (1991: 132) indicts postmodernism for being depthless, styleless and dehistoricized and even devoid of authenticity, he nevertheless uses and abuses postmodern techniques in his unique novel *Saints and Scholars* (1990). In this paper, first of all Eagleton's attitudes towards postmodernism will be briefly displayed and then his conflicting but skilful use of postmodern fictional techniques in his novel will be tried to be illustrated. With impartial consideration to the above points, the conclusive purpose will be to acquire an explanation for the author's aim of writing such a novel as *Saints and Scholars*.

In his article entitled 'Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism' (1991), a referential text for many critics of postmodernism (Hutcheon, 1988:18), Eagleton claims postmodernism to be "a sick joke at the expense of ...revolutionary avant-gardism" (1991:131). Furthermore, in his book *The Illusions of Postmodernism* (1996) he sees postmodernism as a kind of "straw-targeting" or "caricaturing its opponent's positions" (VIII) and accuses it of complicity with late consumer capitalism, thus lacking any real critical force (Booker, 1994: 204). This is a general view taken up by many neo-Marxists who accuse postmodernists of being "always already complicit in the system" they criticize (Sim, 2001: 166). Thus, Eagleton lays accusation on postmodernism, which he argues (1996: IX) is in agreement with the chaos of contemporary world. This is because this chaos was initiated by capitalism,

which he finds even more subversive than postmodernism. He defines capitalism as “the most pluralistic order history has ever known, restlessly transgressing boundaries and dismantling oppositions, pitching together diverse life-forms and continually overflowing the measure” (133).

In his polemical work *After Theory* (2003), he even goes further to claim that postmodernism is “politically catastrophic” because of “its prejudice against norms, unities and consensus” (16). In this work he also offers a broad definition for what he means by the term ‘postmodern’:

... the contemporary movement of thought which rejects totalities, universal values, grand historical narratives, solid foundations to human existence and the possibility of objective knowledge. Postmodernism is sceptical of truth, unity and progress, opposes what it sees as elitism in culture, tends toward cultural relativism, and celebrates pluralism, discontinuity and heterogeneity. (13)

Eagleton’s determined commitment to Marxism can be seen as one of the reasons for his hostile attitude towards postmodernism, which has declared the end of grand narratives and as such rejected Marx and socialism. Indeed, a common view among not only postmodernist but also revisionist Marxist thinkers is that Marxism has failed to move with the times and become an ‘authoritarian theory’ on its own because of being in a fervent attempt to impose its own theories and claiming that it alone possesses the truth (Sim, 2001: 12), a sort of grand narrative.

On the other hand, the general tendency towards postmodernism in the opposing camp is to see it as a kind of “an updated version of scepticism” which only attacks other theories related to truth and value though it alone does not “set up a positive theory of its own” (13). Since postmodernism rejects all encompassing truths and definitions and celebrates plurality and diversity, Eagleton in a somewhat dryly sense –yet not carrying any convention– announces the end of theory in *After Theory*. In his view (1996:97), plurality and diversity seem at first glance to be good since they give voice to the marginalized; however, the practice of attaching the same degree of importance to everything around renders the value assessment meaningless. In other words, postmodernism creates a realm in which theory bears no purpose anymore, a place where certain universal or trans-cultural values are not available and where *anything goes*. In this respect, postmodernism is often seen as a kind of anti-theory; nevertheless, an anti-theory after all is still a theory. All that shows

that to announce the end of theory with postmodernism, as Eagleton does, seems to be inappropriate.

Though Eagleton sees the postmodern condition as a rejection of universal values, he thinks that values like moral purpose, politics or truth can still be found in human life. Exposing his socialist attitude, he also sees value as a transitive term: it means whatever is valued by certain people in specific situations according to particular criteria and in the light of given purposes” (1985: 11). Consequently, he argues (16) that value judgments have “their roots in deeper structures of belief” and thus have “a close relation to social ideologies”. This approach also reveals his belief in the ‘individual self’ which stands against postmodernism’s claim that there are only ‘selves’ which are language-based social identities or constructions. If there were no ‘individual self’, then there would be no free will and choice, a notion also paradoxically stated in his novel *Saints and Scholars*.

In connection with their distinct attitudes to the notion of self, Marxism and postmodernism display an important difference in their appreciation of representation because of their differing perceptions of the reflexivity of language. While the text stands only for itself according to the postmodern thinkers, it has a deeper meaning for the Marxists who are in search for an underlying truth beneath the surface appearance. Eagleton himself does not believe that literature reflects reality but to him, texts can be used to represent and misrepresent other extra-textual realities (Millner and Browitt, 2002: 48). Therefore, he rejects that “a text has a value in itself, regardless of remarks about it” (Eagleton, 1985: 11) and puts forward that “Marxist criticism analyses literature in terms of the historical conditions which produce it; and it needs, similarly, to be aware of its own historical conditions” (1976:VI). In view of that, Eagleton’s literary criticism begins with the search for the historical factors which have produced the text and therefore aims at illustrating the function of ideology in/through that text because in his view:

...texts do not reflect historical reality but rather work upon ideology to produce an *effect* of the ‘real’. The text may appear to be free in its relation to reality (it can invent characters and situations at will), but it is not free in the use of ideology. ‘Ideology’ here refers not to formulated doctrines but to all those systems of representation (aesthetic, religious, judicial and others) which shape the individual’s mental picture of lived experience. (Selden and Widdowson, 1993: 92)

It is clear from his remarks that the approach to history also differs in both movements. Marxists see history and literature, the components of the superstructure, as the outcome and representation of social, historical and ideological conditions, which are the components of infrastructure, an approach postmodernism aggressively denies. The general Marxist approach to history is an evolutionary one based on class-struggle and aims at a socialist revolution after the diminution of society to only two classes (the proletariat and the bourgeoisie) followed by the rise of a classless society. On the contrary, postmodernism rejects an evolutionary history and accuses Marxism of being illusory, whereas Eagleton (1996: 51) claims that postmodernism believes in a discontinuous, wholly random history and therefore blames it on being ahistorical (Hutcheon, 1991: 59). From all these reciprocal rejections, an impasse, it is apparent that both movements are in great disagreement despite their intense concern with the past. History is vital to the Marxists in order to explain the development of societies from one material stage to the other, whereas postmodernists use it in order to offer alternative versions of it, an emphasis on plurality. Yet Eagleton believes it is nostalgia that is often why postmodernists turn to the past. However, Hutcheon (1991:4) emphasizes that postmodernism's involvement in history seems more to be 'political' rather than nostalgic and therefore should be seen as a 'critical revisiting' or 'reworking' of the past. Moreover, if 'nostalgia' is taken in its literary sense—as a feeling of longing for specific moments of the past—most of the postmodern historical fictions prove this accusation to be irrelevant. In his only novel *Saints and Scholars*, Eagleton illustrates that there is a history which initiated the general ideology responsible for the production of the text (Langland, 1984: 216). The novel, yet in the guise of a postmodern novel, offers Eagleton's Marxist approach to history.

Eagleton's novel opens with a real historical event: James Connolly, the Marxist revolutionary and one of the leaders of the Eastern Rising, is prepared for his execution on May 12th 1916 at Kilmainham prison, in Dublin. Nonetheless, his execution is delayed for more than hundred pages since he is temporarily rescued, by the intervention of the writer, from the bullets flying towards his breast. The purpose of the fiction in Connolly's abduction is to make him discuss philosophical topics such as history, language, truth and revolution with worldly historical figures like Ludwig Wittgenstein, Nikolai Bakhtin and also the fictional worldly figure Leopold Bloom from James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Additionally, the purpose of the writer in bringing together

these well-known figures–thinkers–is to justify Marxism. All this happens during the time of the bullet which lasts eleven chapters, of the overall twelve, until it hits Connolly and kills him, a close affinity with the bullet time in *Matrix* (1999) by the Wachowski Brothers. In this respect, historical reality and fictionality are merged in the same pot to create a literary mode of irony.

Emphasizing the correlation between historiography and fiction, postmodern writers see both history and fiction as inter-textual linguistic constructs (Hutcheon, 1988:105; Jenkins 2003:9). Thus, postmodern historical fiction sees history and historiography as a kind of discourse or even a language-game (39). Linda Hutcheon has derived the term ‘historiographic metafiction’ from this kind of postmodern historical fiction (1988:5), which according to her:

...implies that, like fiction, history constructs its object, that events named become facts and thus both do and do not retain their status outside language. This is the paradox of postmodernism. The past really did exist, but we can only know it today through its textual traces, its often complex and indirect representations in the present: documents, archives, but also photographs, paintings, architecture, films, and literature. (1991:78)

Postmodernism does not reject the existence of history but claims that history only reports salient or ‘noteworthy to tell’ information about major events. Consequently, there is only one past and since it is impossible to give a complete or total encompassing account of the past, there are various histories of the past available, but they are only subjective fragments of it. In other words, there are many facts about the past which are not reported in history; as a result, history is formed by the events to which we have given meaning (Hutcheon, 1991: 54). Brenda K. Marshall lists postmodernism’s concern with and questions on history as follows:

Whose history gets told? In whose name? For what purpose? Postmodernism is about histories not told, retold, untold. History as it never was. Histories forgotten, hidden, invisible, considered unimportant, changed, eradicated. It’s about the refusal to see history as linear, as leading straight up to today in some recognizable pattern-all set for us to make sense of it. It’s about chance. It’s about power. It’s about information. And more information. And more. And. And that’s just a little bit about what postmodernism [is]. (4)

There are many strategies in postmodern historical fiction which “reflect a vital novelistic imagination at work and reveal that novelistic reality can only

be fictive” (Opperman, 1993: 133). Therefore, postmodern historical novels try to ‘unmask’ the fictional formation of history (Wesseling, 1991: 5) by the use of irony, parody, self-reflexivity and other devices and point out that history is merely a construction. The narrator in *Saints and Scholars* informs the reader about what official history recorded about Connolly’s execution. By adding his comment on history that “history does not always get the facts in the most significant order, or arrange them in the most aesthetically pleasing pattern” (10), the reader is prepared to hear an alternative story. Through self-reflexivity, postmodern historical fictions intentionally emphasize that they are literary constructs. This is a strategy which also seeks to ‘relativize’ the distinction between fact and fiction (Wesseling, 1991: 82-3). The most significant self-reflexivity of *Saints and Scholars* is demonstrated with Wittgenstein’s early inquiries on language. Wittgenstein’s conception of language is as follows:

Language pictured how the world was, but it was impossible to picture how it did this, any more than the eye could represent itself in the field of vision. Like the eye, language was the limit of a field, not an object within it. You could think about the limits of language but you had to do so from within the language itself, and this was an absurd paradox. (38)

This comes to mean that the world’s limits are marked by the limits of our language and that everything is just what it represents, which can be considered as the postmodern approach towards language. Additionally, he emphasizes that nothing important is concealed, but towards the end of the novel Wittgenstein’s logic undergoes a radical change. Here the narrator paradoxically claims that with the execution of Connolly, he became not only a piece of language but also a mystified entity. Therefore, ‘Connolly’ had deeper meanings including some mythic implication. He must be seen not only as Connolly but as a philosopher, a “crank” which makes revolutions and the first cry of the new republic (144-145). This approach implies that important things are in fact concealed, just the opposite of what Wittgenstein previously claims.

The kind of self-reflexivity at the beginning of *Saints and Scholars* can be seen as the sort of historiographic metafiction which Elizabeth Wesseling sees as “the imposition of a plot on a plotless reality” (120). Thus, the narrator makes up a history and promptly asks the reader to participate in this process:

Seven bullets flew towards Connolly’s chest, but they did not reach it, at least not here they didn’t. Let us arrest those bullets in mid air, prise open a space in these close-packed

events through which Jimmy may scamper, blast him out of the dreary continuum of history into a different place altogether. (Eagleton, 1990: 10)

In this way, the epistemological reality of history is questioned throughout *Saints and Scholars* in many ways. Hutcheon's assertion, for instance, that events become fact is supported by the narrator's comment on Connolly's execution that it "was not historic, but would become so retrospectively" (9), a view which not only illustrates the selectivity of history, but also, conversely, emphasizes the Marxist notion of the text as the outcome of historical and ideological conditions. When Wittgenstein summarizes the history of humankind as a struggle or Connolly draws a picture of an oppressed Irish history, the response of Bakhtin to both sounds the same and echoes the postmodern jargon: "A brilliant narrative, though of course there's always another" (126; 85). This claim also suggests the multi-interpretability of history as well as Mikhail Bakhtin's 'dialogic' approach to it. The narrator's observation that the battlefield on which the rebellion took place was an 'unepical terrain' contrary to its impressive representation in myths and legends (89) calls up Hayden White's idea of history as "a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse" (1993:2) which is "attended by specifically determinable ideological implications" (1993:24;1992:IX). In other words, the general notion of postmodern historical fiction that representations do not or are not able to represent the world emphasizes the political potential of postmodernism, which Hutcheon (1991: 2) sees as 'inevitable bedfellows'. It can be inferred from here that ideology is important for both Marxism and postmodernism for the sake of different objectives. Another deconstructive approach to an all totalizing view of history can be seen in the approach of Wesseling, where she (126) asserts that historiography writes the history of the victors while the losers are quickly erased from our historical memory. *Saints and Scholars* not only depicts the involvement of ideological expediency in the construction of history but also emphasizes history as a construct of the dominant powers. The Irish are seen as "an illusion: an invention of the British" (103) or "a race bereft of history" (104) and therefore the revolutionary Connolly argues that the Irish must continue remembering their past since the English will otherwise "rewrite their history in order to make it continuous with the present" (124).

In this context, Eagleton's political opinion is occasionally revealed in the novel. Especially his charge of the English for their economic and political misrule in Ireland is embedded. For instance, the narrator's comment that

“Most of what went out went to Britain, and most of what came in came from Britain too” (47) emphasizes the economic exploitation of Ireland by the English as well as it accuses the Irish bourgeoisie of being in complicity with the English. English rule in Ireland throughout history has initiated waves of migrations, which is one of the answers to the question of why today so many Irish live all around the world (2000:109). Eagleton represents his view with the choice of his Irish characters. Ironically, neither Connolly (Scottish Irishman) nor Bloom (Irish Hungarian) is pure Irish to which Connolly humorously remarks: “If the Irish are an international race, we have the British to thank for it” (1990:131). Furthermore, the angry tone of Connolly while saying “Our people were forced down into destitution, barred from the vote and public office, and the price of five pounds on a priest’s head was the same as that for a wolf.”(125) can be seen as Eagleton’s own (2000:130).

As a Marxist, Eagleton’s treatment of history in *Saints and Scholars* is a very tricky one. For instance, he offers an account of history from the perspective of the victims, which is after all an approach advocated by the postmodern writers, but cleverly he uses this approach to give information about the economic and political conditions these people live in. Thus, not only does he give voice to a Jew (Wittgenstein) or a leader of an unsuccessful rising (Connolly) who are both on the run and hiding from history (84), but he also reserves the complete fourth chapter of his book for depicting the condition of the poor people in Dublin, the ‘capital of nothing’(47). The city is stricken by epidemics, infant deaths, malnutrition and poverty and since working facilities are limited, most of the young girls become prostitutes. Those who are lucky to find a job are working under worst conditions:

A fortunate adolescent might get himself apprenticed to one of the city’s traditional crafts, printing, bricklaying, silkweaving or plastering, having pledged not to waste the goods of his master, commit fornication or frequent alehouses. Employers herded their apprentices ten to a room and sometimes two to a bed, fined them for forgetting to address them as ‘sir’ and forbade them to marry. The odd batch of apprentices landed up in Glasnevin cemetery from time to time, victims of lax fire regulations. Girls who were neither indentured nor professionally penetrated might end up as one of the city’s thirteen thousand domestic servants, or swell the ranks of its seamstresses, milliners and charwomen. Most boys would join that half of Dublin’s male workforce who were general labourers, a class described by a foreign observer as ‘of no definite trade, ready for anything and good for nothing’. (46)

The chapter about the life of the poor Dubliners does not only offer a postmodern approach to history as a version of the losers, but it is also a text to which Eagleton cleverly mixes his attack on Capitalism. Though Dublin is pregnant with revolution in the Marxist sense and though the working class is aware of the situation, they do not take the initiative, an act which is criticized by Eagleton. The working class is portrayed only to be babbling about the sufferings, and drinking in order to forget them, two things which the narrator ironically calls 'dream machines' (104). Yet talking has a positive weight when seen as a discourse which can "gather ten thousand armed men on the streets" (105) and trigger a revolution.

Eagleton consciously pictures the increasing gap between the rich and the poor not only in Dublin but also in St. Petersburg to emphasize a class struggle and the necessity for revolution. Michael Bakhtin's carnivalesque and dialogic are generally adopted by the postmodern writers who intend to emphasize diversity and plurality; in contrast, they are immediately abused by Eagleton aiming to represent the class struggle. Thus, Bakhtin claims in the novel: "If there are bodies in torment there are bodies in ecstasy" (84). Applying this technique, Eagleton refers also to the increasingly wealthy bourgeoisie in Vienna, "a city of kitsch and self-delusion" which "had lost the meaning of truth" (35). By carefully juxtaposing the social and political conditions in all three cities, Eagleton makes a criticism of capitalism. Throughout the novel Wittgenstein and Connolly are constantly confronted with their views on revolution. Where Wittgenstein sees revolution and a total break in human life as the "dream of the metaphysician" (112), Connolly declares that he is a revolutionary because he is a realist and further claims Wittgenstein to be the product of the bourgeois revolution (100). In the belligerent dialogues between all the characters, Connolly also asserts that a pure continuity of social conditions is unthinkable and revolution is necessary to create some stability or peace out of disorder (100). His claim echoes the Marxist theory of revolution, which sees it as inevitable and necessary for the perfection of the society in the socialist sense of the word. Though the expected socialist revolution took place in Ireland and Russia, the condition in Vienna did not bring about a revolution in the Marxist sense. However, it initiated a revolution in Wittgenstein's philosophy (Peters and Marshall, 1999:28). Since he is fed up with the chaos in Vienna where "Everything was disguised as something else" (Eagleton, 1990: 35), he runs away in search for purity.

This carnivalesque emphasis does not operate only on the political but also on the ontological level. There is no pure world in *Saints and Scholars*, a novel in which the boundaries between fiction and reality, especially the ontological ones, are continuously transgressed. Wittgenstein, Bakhtin and Connolly are worldly personages taken from the real life, whereas Bloom is from the fictional world but they appear in the multi-layered world of the novel so as to launch an ontological questioning of being; in this respect, they can be considered as transworld identities. Umberto Eco calls a worldhistorical figure that appears in a fictional text as a transworld identity (McHale, 1996: 57), but Brian McHale (57) in asserting many definitions also sees it as a literary device which borrows a character from another text which in this respect comes close to intertextuality. Bloom's presence in the novel is more than intertextuality when the narrator and also the character himself speculate on his ontological state of being. The narrator mentions that Bloom, with his participation in the philosophical discussions, felt that the first time in his life "anything had really happened to him" (Eagleton, 1990:121). What Bloom felt is true in the sense that he meets more real characters in *Saints and Scholars* than in *Ulysses* from which he comes.

Ulysses itself is a modern version of Homer's epic poem *Odyssey* and Leopold Bloom stands for Odysseus but as the anti-hero of our time. Thus Joyce's *Ulysses* is a rewriting; a parody of the original *Odyssey* and therefore Bloom becomes a *fictional-fictional* character in the ontological multi-layered world of *Saints and Scholars*; which can be regarded as one of the most important ironies of the novel. This character can also be seen as the potentiality in the fictitious or utopic to become true – like Marxism. Bloom playfully makes incompatible remarks about his being. He first declares himself to be the only real person among the characters in the novel (135) which can be explained from his own point of view: when the world of the novel is considered as a fictional one, then Bloom is in the world he belongs to and as such, his claim to be more real than the others is justified. But when he later claims everything and himself to be fictional (136), his self-awareness of being a fictional character in a fictional world is revealed but all the borders between the real and the fictional are blown up, as well.

This approach is entirely ironically intended, yet according to Eagleton "what condemns postmodernism to triviality and kitsch" is irony (Hutcheon, 1991:18). The irony begins at the very beginning of the novel when in the introductory note Eagleton notifies the reader that the story, though mostly

invented, “is not entirely fantasy”. Nevertheless, *Saints and Scholars* is ironical from the beginning to the end. Thus after the Rising the whole city of Dublin is looted, on which the narrator ironically comments like that: “The revolution, as it had promised, had brought wealth and liberty to the people: the Dublin slums were awash that week with fur coats and jewellery, luxury foods and crates of whiskey” (91) or the ironic tone when the revolutionaries shot each other by mistake due to the lack of organization or were digging trenches which were overlooked by buildings occupied by the English (91). Detractors of postmodernism, including Eagleton, see irony as fundamentally “anti-serious” (Hutcheon, 1988: 39), whereas Hutcheon sees it as the only serious approach to the past through which “The reader is forced to acknowledge not only the inevitable textuality of our knowledge of the past, but also both the value and the limitation of the inescapably discursive form of that knowledge” (127).

It is very difficult to define whether a statement was intended ironically by its writer or whether it was only interpreted as one by the reader because some readers may see a statement as ironical while others may not. From a different approach, it can be argued that ideology plays an important role in determining the state of irony, which would explain Eagleton’s use of it in his novel. Indeed this approach can be validated by Marxism since “The only way to be sure that a statement was intended ironically is to have a detailed knowledge of the personal, linguistic, cultural and social references of the speaker and his audience” (Gaunt 1989: 25). The above mentioned events in Irish history were real occurrences which took place during the Rising but throughout the novel there are phrases which are really hard to be defined as ironical or not. As seen, postmodernism tends to use and abuse the modernist technique of irony just in the same way as Eagleton does.

Similarly parody, another significant modernist technique, has become a brand of postmodern fiction. Postmodern fictions often parody the other ones, events, characters etc. For example, to begin with, *Saints and Scholars* is a parody of the Eastern Rising and Connolly’s execution. But sometimes a text may also be a parody of another form. *Saints and Scholars*, faithful to this notion, resembles very much a drama in a novel’s disguise (Connor, 1998). Furthermore, it can be seen as a kind of historical novel, a biography, a novel of ideas as well as a Socratic dialogue. Most ironically, it is a Marxist work under the cloak of a postmodern work.

Dialogic and carnivalesque, other modernist techniques which affect postmodernist fiction, are also deliberately used/abused by Eagleton with the

purpose of juxtaposing the bourgeoisie and working class as well as the characters of a broad variety. The characters chosen for this purpose are Bakhtin, the symbol of capitalism in the novel; Wittgenstein, symbol of change; Connolly, symbol of the necessity of revolution and mystification, and Bloom, the *fictional-fictional* character, ironically the symbol of the “real” historical evolution; they all emphasize the dialogical and carnivalesque aspects of the work.

In rewriting the Eastern Rising and Connolly’s execution in *Saints and Scholars*, Eagleton underlines the socialist meaning in the text. *Saints and Scholars* is constructed in such a clever and skilful way as to reflect Eagleton’s own view that there is an ideology, though hidden and invisible, behind whatever takes place around us. Therefore, his work is skilfully constructed in plot and characterization to criticize postmodernism’s non- commitment that leads to purposelessness in general. Ironically enough he, as a Marxist writer opposed to postmodernism, makes use of the postmodernist techniques in his novel in a conscious attempt to justify Marxist theory of history that echoes Derrida’s deconstruction. He uses the techniques of postmodernism to deconstruct it. Not only does he attack postmodernism from outside as a Marxist but he also abuses it from inside under the cloak of a postmodernist writer.

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NIGRESCENCE: MAPPING THE JOURNEY IN MAYA ANGELOU'S *I KNOW WHY THE CAGED BIRD SINGS*

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The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife--this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging, he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. (Du Bois, *The Soul of Black Folk*)

Of the many categories that mark autobiographical identity, race has remained an ever-present lens through which the world is viewed, and has continued to be a primary force that determines the shifting nature of subject positioning. Though it has changed character several times, raceness has never been an arbitrary term. Expressions like “Black” or “African American” mirror particular human experience and mediate it in relatively consistent ways, which necessarily produce common understandings. Moreover, once constructed, such discursive systems tend to take on lives of their own, which may help to explain the persistence of “blackness” as a mechanism in American life. Nigrescence, as a speculative notion involves a “theory” without which we could not make sense of, or explain, a central feature of American society.

The specific positionality and perspective of African-Americans provide their self-fashioning with a characteristic and consistent mode of perceiving and behaving, largely generated by their construction of whites as alien and hostile others. Identity has always presented itself as an open problem to them, not only because “questions of identity are always questions about [negotiating] representation” or “exercises in selective memory”, but because Black Americans live “in a place where the centre is always somewhere else”, in other words, they are a divided selves (Hall 1995: 5). For African Americans, racial identity is bound up in both the historically specific politics of representation and experience and the effects of repression that occur upon entry into the symbolic structures of language and culture, the social and political relations of everyday life, and active involvement with the racial projects of American society. The system of racial stratification characteristic of the American society has deep roots in eighteenth century European classification schemes, in the eugenics movement and the racialized history of imperialism. Slavery exaggerated existing ideas of racial difference and the inferiority of color

people, serving as a rationalization of the exploitation of Africans in America. That same racist ideology continued, in metamorphosed form, after the emancipation of slaves, guaranteeing their subordinate status for generations. This particular experience has produced in time a number of competing representations of the Nigrescence.

The most resilient is the image of *the Negro as damaged*, described by Kardiner and Ovesey (1962) as “a psychologically tormented individual, whose entire identity was dictated by white racism” (qtd. in Mama, 1995: 49). Also captured by Black protest writers like Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, and Richard Wright, the Negro as ‘scarred’, was meant to demonstrate the injustice and viciousness of racism. The political mediation is clearly exposed by Malcolm X in *Malcolm X Speaks* (1966):

[The Whites] very skillfully make you and me hate our African identity, our African characteristics. You know yourself that we have been a people who hated our African characteristics. We hated our heads, we hated the shape of our nose, we wanted one of those long dog-like noses, you know; we hated the color of our skin, hated the blood of Africa that was in our veins. And in hating our features and our skin and our blood, why, we ended up hating ourselves. And we hated ourselves. (169)

Negromachy, the term that Thomas C. W. coined (in 1970) for *the Negro as self-hating*, which he describes as “being symphonized by confusion over self-worth, over-dependency on white society for self-definition, compliance, subservience and over-sensitivity to racial issues” (qtd. in Mama 1995: 58), draws on the earlier work of W.E.B. Du Bois on black alienation.

In the 1960s, against the backdrop of the intensifying struggle and suppression, when the pacifism of the Civil Rights Movement was superseded by the militancy of the Black Power Movement, a new image, i.e., of *the Negro as empowered*, emerged. Now, inquiry centered on the assertion of a black identity, as distinctively different and separate. Whiteness was rejected as corrupt and undesirable, and a philosophy that concentrated on the acquisition of power by black people was asserted. Black writers posited an alternative construction of Black “reality”, under the slogan “Black is beautiful” underpinning the ideological assumptions of Western constructions of African-American subjectivity.

In literature, through the appropriation of experiences of Black life, African-American writers challenged, deconstructed and dismantled dominant Western modes of representing Black reality, while also advancing new

definitions of Blackness. A problematic aspect of that the new Black discourse was its representation of (Black) women. Not only the rewriting of the racial narrative, but a significant reconceptualization of feminist discourse was needed to accommodate the new politics of race (Butler 1989: 40).

In this emancipatory struggle, autobiographical writing played an important role. Kenneth Mostern even insists that “African-American literary history begins with the self-consciously politicized autobiography” (7), because, John Paul Eakin convincingly argues, self-construction and empowerment relate to processes of narration:

When it comes to autobiography, *narrative* and *identity* are so intimately linked each constantly and properly gravitates into the central field of the other. Thus, narrative is not merely a literary form but a mode of phenomenological and cognitive self-experience, while self—the self of autobiographical discourse—does not necessarily precede its constitution in narrative. (1999:100)

Conflicting discourses therefore inscribe self-referential Black narratives, which are marked by violent ruptures and tensions, as black authors try to articulate their inner drive towards selfhood. However, while black male authors’ life writing tends to be “totalizing”, black women’s representation of it, constituted itself in opposition even with this model (cf. Peter Brooke, qtd. in Butler 1989:3). Against the divided female subjectivity, trying to resist the hegemonic impulses of race and gender, in their attempts to construct and narrate an identity, Black women writers pursue various approaches that attempt to resolve these conflicts.

Maya Angelou’s *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* directly addresses the relations among personal experience and racial construction. Significant in her narrative is the manner in which specific textual strategies construct a Black female subject torn by allegiances to race and gender politics and engaged in acts of self-assertion and affirmation.

Her autobiography opens with a passage in which a young, discomfited child dressed in a long cut-down faded purple, taffeta gown, stands anxiously before an Easter congregation in Stamps, Arkansas, asking, “What you looking at me for?” She can’t bring herself to remember the next lines. The minister’s wife whispers to her the forgotten lines eventually. She mumbles them into the congregation and then stumbles out of the watching church, “a green persimmon caught between [her] legs.” Unable to control the pressure of her physical response, she urinates, then laughs “from the knowledge that [she]

wouldn't die from a busted head.” But laughter, Sidonie Smith perceptively comments, does not silence the real pain that is this experience: her “diminished self-image”, distorted and mystified by the standards of a community (Black) adjusted to white standards of physical beauty (3). In her imagination, grows an ideal (white/med) self instead:

I was going to look like one of the sweet little white girls who were everybody's dream of what was right with the world. . . Wouldn't they be surprised when one day I woke out of my black ugly dream, and my real hair, which was long and blond, would take the place of the kinky mass that Momma wouldn't let me straighten? My light-blue eyes were going to hypnotize them, after all the things they said about "my daddy must of been a Chinaman" (I thought they meant made out of china, like a cup) because my eyes were so small and squinty. Then they would understand why I had never picked up a Southern accent, or spoke the common slang, and why I had to be forced to eat pigs' tails and snouts. Because I was really white and because a cruel fairy stepmother, who was understandably jealous of my beauty, had turned me into a too-big Negro girl, with nappy black hair, broad feet and a space between her teeth that would hold a number-two pencil. (2)

In this primal scene, the black child testifies to her imprisonment in her bodily and racial confinement. She *is* a “black ugly” reality, not a “whitened dream”:

Easter's early morning sun had shown the dress to be a plain ugly cut-down from a white woman's once-was-purple throwaway. It was old-lady-long too, but it didn't hide my skinny legs, which had been greased with Blue Seal Vaseline and powdered with the Arkansas red clay. The age-faded color made my skin look dirty like mud, and everyone in church was looking at my skinny legs. (2)

What makes this early experience particularly significant is that it suggests how the claim for self-worth will be clarified later in the autobiography, as well as the terms in which one's relationship with the community is going to be conceived. Angelou's choice of a narrative strategy,-- a linear narrative that reminds the typical design of a *Bildungsroman*--, is the result of the writer's attempt to reconcile her fragmented, split self, with racial and gender politics.

Our assessment of young Maya depends on how we interpret her growth throughout the autobiography, and how we define the relationship between her ability to understand and her emotional capacity to respond to her own location and to her own, or the Black community's traumatic experiences.

Only in the context of this expanded capacity can we understand the trajectory of the central argument that informs and organizes the narrative. As readers, we have to pay constant attention to the voice in the story, which frequently shifts, from the girl of limited experience and perspective but growing to consciousness of herself and the limits of her world, to that of the experienced, confident, and (occasionally) didactic writer who speaks with the authority of truths. The different voices of the narrator,—loving or loathing, forgiving or biting, vulnerable or confident—, suggest the complexity of coming to know oneself or the community, through sustained emotional labor.

There is an episode in the book when a few white girls come from the school to Momma's store, in Stamps. Maya begs her grandmother to go inside, and she will deal with the girls. Momma, however, insists on standing outside the door as they come; the girls mock her and are rude, and then one does a handstand, showing off the fact that she is not wearing any underwear. Maya is enraged at the girls' behavior, but Momma stands there and does not say anything; and when the girls leave, she even calls them "Miz," and says goodbye to them. Maya is confused and does not think her grandmother should have demeaned herself this way:

. . . I burst. A firecracker July-the-Fourth burst. How could Momma call them Miz? The mean nasty things. Why couldn't she have come inside the sweet, cool store when we saw them breasting the hill? What did she prove? And then if they wore dirty, mean and impudent, why did Momma have to call them Miz? (27)

Momma's situation reminds us that someone's humanity is itself measured in terms of personal ethics, and a capacity for self-determination, which the institution of slavery had denied the slave. Though totally mystified, young Maya seems to glimpse, somehow dimly and vaguely, this 'reality':

She stood another whole song through and then opened the screen door to look down on me crying in rage. She looked until I looked up. Her face was a brown moon that shone on me. She was beautiful. Something had happened out there, which I couldn't completely understand, but *I could see that she was happy* (27).

Maya's experience does not bring forth self-evident meanings, for they are in part mediated by social narratives. She cannot really claim herself morally until she has reconstructed her collective identity. This involves her making discoveries about what the Black community stands for, what its continuity consists in, that cultural meanings are in fact materially embodied

and fought for. Maya's initial rage at her people's complacency with their powerlessness and their shoring up with subdued hominess in fundamental faith, subsides in time, and makes room for a more congenial understanding. What she discovers intuitively or, better, feels, is that these too are a signs of here people's resilience and resistance. Stuart Hall aptly reminds us that

“the symbolic language for describing what suffering was like, it was a metaphor for where they were, as the metaphors of Moses and the metaphors of the train to the North, and the metaphors of freedom, and the metaphors of passing across to the promised land, have always been metaphors, a language with a double register, a literal and a symbolic register” (Hall 1995:13)

This reconciliation with her own people and with herself ultimately, is as much an intellectual growth as it is an emotional acknowledgment of her indebtedness to Momma, to her family, and to the Black community. Maya is forced to continuously redefine the contours of “her world”. Such experiences temporarily dislodge her from her old world-view, making her vulnerable to new interpretations of her own identity and condition. The girl comes to self-knowledge by discovering or understanding features of the social and cultural arrangements of her world that define her sense of self, the choices she is taught to have, the range of personal capacities she is expected to exploit and exercise.

The self-inquiry and self-knowing in autobiography is always relational, as Paul John Eakin (1999: 43-98) argues. Maya's story is bound up with that of many others, suggesting that the boundaries of an “I” are often shifting and flexible. Momma is one of those “significant others” (Smith 2001: 66) whose stories are deeply implicated in the narrator's, and through whom the narrator understands her own self-formation. Then, there is the delicate Mrs. Flowers, through whose intervention young Maya gradually develops a sense of self-worth and respectability after a long period of silence generated by tragic personal events. One gesture, however, is very much an expression of her growing acceptance of her own self-worth. For a short time Maya works in the house of Mrs. Viola Cullinan, who assaults her ego by calling her Mary rather than Maya. Against such a devastating sign of disrespect for her humanity, Maya rebels by deliberately breaking Mrs. Cullinan's most cherished dish. At this particular moment, the girl assumes the consciousness of rebellion as a stance necessary for preserving her individuality and affirming her self-esteem. Freed from the whites' values and stereotypes, Maya is then ready to confront their system. The Mexican adventure and the junkyard of abandoned cars where

she finds herself in a community of homeless, run-away children, signal the resolution of conflicts between the old and the new world-views characterized by self-confidence, psychological openness, pluralistic and non-racist perspectives:

After hunting down unbroken bottles and selling them with a white girl from Missouri, a Mexican girl from Los Angeles and a Black girl from Oklahoma, I was never again to sense myself so solidly outside the pale of the human race (247).

Needless to say, the remembering that is essential to Angelou's autobiography is never easy, nor is the moral growth that is tied with it irreversible. While making salient certain characteristics of existing racial models of identity, other qualities or experiences seem to have been excluded. Distinctly African ways hardly affect her portrayal of character, either individually and collectively. In *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* Angelou describes Momma's reluctance to be questioned or to tell all she knows as her "African bush secretiveness and suspiciousness" which has been only "compounded by slavery and confirmed by centuries of promises made and promises broken" (164). She relates the habits of address, calling neighbors "Uncle," "Sister," "Cousin" to a heritage of tribal belonging. In the economy of the book these however do not count too much.

The same collective experience seems responsible for the Black people's 'blindness' to another drama of marginality, very similar to their own—the forced relocation of Japanese from San Francisco in wartime, which Angelou explains as follows:

The Black newcomer had been recruited on the desiccated farm lands of Georgia and Mississippi by war-plant labor scouts. The chance to live in two- or three-story apartment buildings (which became instant slums), and to earn two- and even three-figured weekly checks, was blinding. For the first time he could think of himself as a Boss, a Spender. He was able to pay other people to work for him, i.e. the dry cleaners, taxi drivers, waitresses, etc. The shipyards and ammunition plants brought to booming life by the war let him know that he was needed and even appreciated. A completely alien, yet very pleasant position for him to experience. Who could expect this man to share his new and dizzying importance with concern for a race that he had never known to exist?

Another reason for his indifference to the Japanese removal was more subtle but was more profoundly felt. The Japanese were not white folks. Their eyes, language and customs belied the white skin and proved to their dark successors that since they

didn't have to be feared, neither did they have to be considered. All this was decided unconsciously. (178-179)

In *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, young Maya relates to a number of female characters that are particularly powerful: Momma, Vivian Baxter, or Grandmother Baxter. Yet, in portraying these models of female Black identity, the autobiographer remarks that she knew few expressions of tenderness. Momma was embarrassed to discuss any emotions not associated with her religious faith; the mother imparted power but not tenderness: "To describe my mother would be to write about a hurricane in its perfect power" (49). Critics (Gilbert 1998: 89) have also noted that absence of significant male figures in Angelou's autobiography.

From the conflicts of black and white worlds, Maya finally finds the strengths that lead her beyond them. Her 'story' thus comes to a sense of an ending: the Black American girl, now a sixteen-year old mother, frees herself from the natural and social bars imprisoning her in the cage of her own diminished self-image by assuming control of her life and fully accepting her Black legacy. In addition, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* seems to demonstrate that the very act of writing can hold in place a self (Black) that is otherwise existentially marked by an inner split.

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**RECEPTION OF THE POST-WAR ENGLISH NOVEL
IN SERBO-CROATIAN LITERARY CRITICISM
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Criticism ... must always profess an end in view, which roughly speaking, appears to be the elucidation of works of art and the correction of taste.

T.S. Eliot, 'The Function of Criticism' (1923)

1. Subject, scope, and method of research

The research presented in this paper was carried out in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the critical reception of the English post-war novel in the former Yugoslavia, within the period from 1945 until 1985. Its aim is to contribute to the studying of Anglo-Yugoslav cultural and literary relations, while the genre of novel was chosen not only because that form of literary creation has had the widest reading public in the modern age, but also because it is precisely in the domain of novel that "the most intensive exchange of experience within great literature has been going on in the contemporary conditions and on the imaginary level". (Ilić 1979: 246) The analysis of the reception of the English novel covers the presence of all the post-war works of fiction by English authors, mentioned in books, literary journals, and other periodical or daily publications issued in the Serbo-Croatian speaking territory during the defined period.

Comparative study of the contacts between literatures and cultures of the two nations has often been a subject discussed by Yugoslav authors, since the first notions of the works created by English writers reached us, as early as several centuries ago. After sporadic notes, short reviews and commentaries, the interest of our critics in the English literature resulted in the appearance of some more serious, in-depth scientific studies published either here or in England, already in the early thirties. Needless to say, it was only after World War Two that our literary public became interested more intensively and massively in both the translation and the critical assessment of English writings,

either those from earlier times or the modern ones. In the beginning, this spreading of the English literature into our environment was rather slow, because the conditions for the reception not only of the English, but also of all the other foreign literary works – and especially those coming from West European countries – were extremely unfavourable in our country, due to recent historic events which had ravaged the area and inflicted large losses to our culture. Apart from strict ideological censorship, the contacts were also hindered by the lack of knowledge of the English language, which started to be taught systematically in schools only about a decade after the war. Although the two countries had slightly enhanced their cultural relations during the inter-war years, the fact remained that they were linked neither by historic or geographic similarities, nor by any linguistic or cultural correspondences, while economic ties were also not at all significant, as they had been with some other great European nations, especially the French or the Russians.

However, the sudden development of science and technology in the post-war period, leading to a speedy progress in telecommunications and mass media, made it possible, by boosting the exchange of information, to step over all geographic, historic and cultural boundaries. This eventually resulted in the expansion of Anglo-Yugoslav cultural and literary relations, encouraging all kinds of comparative research. Therefore, the new insight into the English literature included the post-war novel, which conditioned an improvement in its reception, reaching its peak in mid-eighties. This occurred as the result of a wider political, cultural, and socio-economic process in Yugoslavia, primarily its opening towards the world during that period. On the other hand, the introduction of English as a foreign language in schools also played a major role, since it considerably increased the number of English-speaking specialists and, therefore, the number of literary works translated from English.

Of course, such a change of events led to a somewhat random choice of texts to be translated into Serbian and, automatically, of writings to be reviewed in literary periodicals. This was exactly the reason why, in addition to a lack of an adequate time distance, which would have allowed a proper selection to be made, the research presented here had to take into account all the commentaries found in the Yugoslav literary publications, even those dealing with the works of minor novelists. The sole condition was that they undoubtedly fall into the category of literature proper – what Cunningham calls *the serious novel* or *'literary' fiction* (2002: 155-156) while Lodge combines the two notions generating *the literary novel*, as opposed to what he names *light*

fiction. (2003: 101, 163) That excluded such sub-genres as science fiction, thrillers, historical and sentimental romances, autobiographies, and children's books.

During research, the scope of the Serbo-Croatian region included publications from Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, while those in Slovenian and Macedonian were not taken into account, not only owing to the ignorance of these two languages but also because they could not have had any major influence with our literary and reading public, due to the existing linguistic barrier. On these grounds were also critical commentaries of our authors written in English left out from the analysis, same as translations of excerpts by foreign critics and the texts conveying their opinions, since they did not reflect the flow of our critical thought.

As to the time framework, the starting chronological limit was determined conditionally at the year 1945, but the research also included the texts dealing with those few books published during World War Two, as well as the inter-war novels written by authors whose main works were created only after that war. Although the ending year of the research should obviously have been 1992 - since that is when the former Yugoslavia finally fell apart, causing the disintegration of the Serbo-Croatian speaking territory and the cultural isolation of newly-created national entities - because of the large number of bibliographical units, this period had to be shortened. Of the several factors pointing to 1985 as the ultimate boundary for the topic, the most important ones were: to allow a sufficiently long time distance until the beginning of the research; to round off the analysed period to exactly four decades; and last but not least, the fact that this was the very year in which the number of collected critical texts reached its peak.

Thus defined, the subject of research also conditioned certain methodological tasks in treating the formulated topic. Above all, a detailed and precise bibliography had to be compiled, of both translations of post-war novels and critical articles published in the Serbo-Croatian area during the specified period. It was to comprise all the texts related to the oeuvre of English post-war novelists - in other words, each and every essay, study, review, preface, afterword, even the briefest report, interview, or article in our press, which dealt with either one or more works by one author, or contained a comparative analysis of several writers. The very gathering and classification of that enormous critical material - dispersed over numerous anthologies, proceedings, literary and other journals or dailies, published during forty years throughout

the region, which had already, by now, been divided into three states - represented the utmost difficulty. The problem mainly stemmed from the fact that the few existing sources of such data are incomplete and frequently contain wrong information and large gaps. The truth of this allegation was subsequently verified by the so-called 'random sample checks', which revealed that the adopted method was the right one, as a large number of located texts was nowhere to be found in the published bibliographies. This is why the only possible solution was to collect the material by personal inspection, the result of which was that I literally *leafed through* 217 periodicals, and that process alone lasted for several years. However, data for dailies had to be taken over from the official sources – unfortunately, because it means they are full of omissions - but it would really have been next to impossible to try and browse single-handedly so many newspapers for such a long period and wide area. The corpus formed using this method was additionally supplemented by scrutinizing the subject and author catalogues of the largest libraries in Belgrade, more precisely: the University Library, the National Library of Serbia, the City Library, and department libraries at the Faculty of Philology. In this way, the obtained corpus turned out to be immeasurably more voluminous and complete than the one that would have been gathered by using the existing bibliographies alone.

Within the framework of the main aim set for this research, there emerged several distinct questions, which had to be answered during and after the implemented investigation. Above all, it was crucial to ascertain which were the novelists of the selected period whose works were most often in the focus of Serbian critics and other literary experts of academic thought. Two more issues were linked to this: whether or not those novelists were actually among the most important writers in their homeland, and what were the fluctuations - if any - in the reception of some of them, depending on literary factors, time distance, and socio-economic scene. Furthermore, the question came up regarding the originality of Serbian authors in evaluating the creative work of English literati, because it was noted that some of them essentially contributed to bringing to light the English post-war novel, while others mostly interpreted the already adopted thoughts by foreign critics. Another factor, which was also extremely important as concerns the results achieved by this research, was an attempt to point to the omissions and gaps in reviewing the works of some writers; to the reasons why information about certain authors and their works arrived to our country with a serious delay, of several decades at times; and

finally, to the path which our critics should follow in their future work, in order to inform the national public more adequately about the achievements of really relevant English novelists, and thus give a more significant contribution to the overall cultural life of the region. Naturally, no definite answers to these questions could be found, but the data gained during the investigation with regard to the entire problem of reception is on its own sufficiently noteworthy.

2. Results obtained by analysing the material

After the gathered material was processed, a corpus of 445 bibliographical units, dealing with the opus of 45 English post-war novelists, was formed. The analysed critical texts were logically classified into four visibly distinct, temporally limited sections. The first period, comprising the post-war era until the end of the fifties, is marked by the number of texts starting from zero, but also going back to it, with a slow though steady growth in the infiltration of new trends from the English literature into our criticism, which was at that time gradually leaving behind the tradition of social realism, so far well established in Yugoslavia and oriented almost exclusively towards the works originating from communist or socialist states. The second period, which includes the sixties – or, more precisely, which stretches from 1961 to 1969 - can be labeled ‘the golden age’ in the reception of the English post-war novel on our critical scene, since the number of texts is maintained from year to year at a rather high level, which will not be reached again before the end of the analysed period. During the seventies and early eighties, unfortunately, it seems as though a certain saturation regarding this topic took place, so the number of bibliographical units did not rise above twenty until 1984. It is only then that the Yugoslav critical reaction, which seemed to have been dormant for a longer time, was considerably boosted, so much so that the following year it reached its peak for the past forty years, and remained rather outstanding all the time until the disintegration of the Serbo-Croatian speaking territory.

We must, nonetheless, take into account the fact that the reception of works from foreign literatures depends to a great extent on wider historic, socio-political and cultural relations between the milieu from which they originate and the environment reacting to them. Consequently, there has to exist an objective justification for such unequal changes in the number of critical responses, as well as their relative uniformity within the defined four periods. However, since those factors are not exclusively literature-oriented reasons, this

paper is not the right place for their consideration. On the other hand, it must also be borne in mind that some of the novelists represented in the corpus started writing in the period between the wars, so the reception of their opus included in the analysed material is nothing but partial, as the critical texts dealing with their pre-war works had to be disregarded.

In the course of the first post-war period, lasting until 1960, there is no single year in which the number of bibliographical units exceeded twenty, while two years are marked by a complete absence of any texts regarding the relevant novelists or their works, which is not at all surprising, because the creation of such works was still under way. Moreover, there were few translated novels, which could provoke the reaction of Yugoslav critics who did not understand English – and those were in the majority. Therefore, the critical comments of that time were almost as a rule in response to the newly-published works in English, either by those few fluent in the language, or by way of using translations into other languages, as intermediaries. Naturally, there are many more texts about the works of novelists who began creating during the inter-war years - whose opus was already familiar to our critics, than those introducing into our milieu the works of the so far unknown writers, whose first novels were only just being published in the original. The first post-war review regarding the writings of English contemporary novelists was written by our famous woman of letters Isidora Sekulić, as early as in 1946. Over the following fifteen years, apart from ten writers already known to the Yugoslav literary public before the war, the attention of critics focused on nine more novelists just starting to appear on the English literary scene. As regards the structure of texts, those are mainly short reviews or commentaries, almost all of them of superficial and fragmentary nature, as well as lesser informative value, whilst longer units appear only in the case of general surveys comprising several authors, of which as many as seven were published during this period. Such brief articles, nonetheless, are also of great importance because they represented the initial steps in the process of introducing to the Yugoslav readership the novels that had aroused interest in the land of their creators. Thereby, the authors of these reports contributed, at the moment of their publication, to the widening of our modest views concerning the modern English literature.

Starting from 1961, all the way to 1969, not only did the number of texts grow considerably, but so did the number of received writers. In addition to information about novelists until then unheard of in our surroundings, owing

to the increasing number of translated novels by already renowned authors, the critical appraisals of their entire oeuvres were re-examined. A new generation of highly trained literary translators, in the atmosphere of flourishing Anglo-Yugoslav cultural relations, certainly played a vital role in that expansion of critical reception, but the main factor which led to the increased interest in English literature in general, was the already formed school of experts. In assessing numerous English novels, Yugoslav critics show extreme maturity and originality, while there are also many more surveys of entire oeuvres by certain writers - especially those belonging to the older generation. The opinions of English reviewers are taken into account, but some of the Yugoslav authors revise them critically or introduce certain creative amendments. A good example in this is set by late Professor Vida Marković, who excels in her articles in periodicals, and then in one of her course books, the subject of which is precisely the 20th century English novel. Free at last from ideological pressures, other Yugoslav critics who are not exclusively oriented towards the English-speaking region also contribute considerably to the studying of English novels published after the war, but previously neglected for certain non-literary reasons.

During the period from 1970 to 1983, the number of bibliographical units decreased significantly, but a great variety of writers - as many as thirty-three - was represented. This is partly explained by the fact that this period comprises the last, mostly marginal, responses to the opus of many of the authors of the older generation. Along with them, the Serbo-Croatian critical reactions also concerned the writers who only started creating after the war, as well as those who were not even born before it ended. Extremely poor reception of the English novel in this period is above all due to the orientation of our literary magazines primarily towards the critical follow-up of works by Yugoslav authors, while foreign literatures were neglected, except for those which were a novelty for our readership - such as, for instance, the writings from certain African or Asian countries. Furthermore, the appeal of works written by some novelists who already stopped creating, was reduced or had even vanished, while the infiltration of the novels by still not fully recognized authors will always take some time and an adequate distance. It can be said that the overall value of critical commentaries during this period - same as their number - is fairly low, because they are mostly purely informative notes and shorter reviews, not counting the extremely energetic reaction of our reviewers triggered by the awarding of the Nobel Prize for literature to William Golding.

Over the last two years of the analysed period, the reception of the English post-war novel flourished in the true sense of the word. Most of the interest of our critics during this period was aroused by the Serbian translation of D.M. Thomas's *The White Hotel*, and Orwell's *1984* – just in that year. According to preliminary investigation, such a trend continued all the way to 1992, when a sudden decrease in the number of gathered bibliographical units was caused both by the breakdown of the Serbo-Croatian speaking area, on one hand, and the discontinued flow of literary publications from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the other.

The results of analysing the collected corpus have shown that by far the greatest number of bibliographical units - 52 out of a total of 445, deals with the post-war opus of Graham Greene, although this author's early works also attracted numerous reactions of our reviewers. Greene's novels were continually discussed in our parts, starting from the early fifties until the end of the period selected for research, and the interest in his writings will continue after 1985, as well. This statement also applies to the response of our critics to the works of George Orwell, even if it was somewhat more modest, comprising only 30 units - not at all for literary reasons, but because his novels were not translated into our language until late sixties, with a delay of several decades. The same number of critical texts was devoted to William Golding's novels, though his reception was rather unsatisfactory before he won the Nobel Prize. Only a few articles less - 27, deal with the post-war oeuvre of Aldous Huxley, but it must also be borne in mind that he is one of the most renowned 20th century English authors in Yugoslavia, because the interest of our experts in his works lasted incessantly from as early as 1926, all the way until the nineties. (see Ignjačević 1978) An identical number of bibliographical units – 21 in each case, were found for Joyce Cary and Angus Wilson. The difference between them is that Cary's works were received during almost the entire selected period, while the texts about Wilson were mostly concentrated around the sixties. Similar situation regards the novels by Lawrence Durrell, with 19 units located in the same period and also all mainly devoted to his tetralogy, *The Alexandria Quartet*.

Three of the novelists: Somerset Maugham, Elizabeth Bowen, and Iris Murdoch, were each received in 17 texts, with the difference that the works written by the two ladies were continually assessed by our critics, while the interest in Maugham's novels, starting already in the period between the wars,

stopped abruptly in the mid-seventies. Exactly the same observation holds in the case of A.J. Cronin's works, with the almost equal number of 16 units. Although a numerically similar reaction - of 15 articles, applies to the writings of J.R.R. Tolkien, who was born - same as Maugham and Cronin - at the turn of the 20th century, and published his first novel as early as in the inter-war period, the difference is that Tolkien's works only reached our literary public, with an enormous delay, when its interest in those two writers was already abating. Same number of critical texts - 11 for each author, although at various points of time, were devoted to the following three writers: Robert Graves - who was present in the Yugoslav literary press starting from the thirties until the sixties; Kingsley Amis - whose novels were received by our critics exclusively in the period from 1962-1971, to be completely forgotten afterwards; and D.M. Thomas - out of whose oeuvre only *The White Hotel* attracted the attention of Yugoslav reviewers during the analysed period, ever since it was published in English.

Apart from Amis, two more representatives of the *angry young men* - John Braine with 10 and John Wain with 9 units, were introduced to our public within a similarly short period. Contrary to that, although the reception of Evelyn Waugh also consists of 9 texts, it was expanded over a much longer interval. The same goes for J.B. Priestley, whose post-war novels were the topic of only 8 articles, but dispersed from the end of the war until late sixties, alike the reception of his inter-war works, which lasted continually since the thirties. Response to the writings by Ian McEwan was extremely prompt, and although there were only 8 texts as well during the defined period, the number will afterwards increase significantly. The post-war novels of Ivy Compton-Burnett and Liam O'Flaherty were inadequately received in our criticism, with 7 and 6 published units, respectively, to continue the reception of their early works in the period between the two wars. The same kind of interest, with only 6 units, was aroused concerning the opus of Anthony Burgess, though in noticeably later years.

Poor reaction of our critics to Daphne du Maurier's early novels also continued regarding her post-war books - with only 5 bibliographical units. The same number of texts was devoted to the novels of C.P. Snow and John Fowles, but since the latter is considerably younger, his works were bound to come to the fore only after the investigated period. Both H.E. Bates and Colin Wilson were mentioned in 4 texts during the fifties; with the same number of units later on, as the reaction to the works by Malcolm Lowry and Salman Rushdie.

Insufficient attention was paid to the novels written by Pamela Hansford Johnson, Edna O'Brien, and David Lodge - in only 3 articles for each of them. Out of the novelists mentioned only twice, the name of Alan Sillitoe appeared in the sixties, while the works by Ann Quin and William Boyd were discussed much later. And finally, not more than a single text was dedicated to the following writers of the middle generation: Penelope Mortimer, Doris Lessing, Anita Brookner, Eva Figes, B.S. Johnson, and Margaret Drabble; same as to the novelists who were not even born until after the war, namely: Graham Swift, Julian Barnes, and Kazuo Ishiguro. Unfortunately, of all the authors who were not enough received in Serbo-Croatian literary criticism, only the last two novelists, plus Rushdie, will arouse more interest after 1985.

3. Conclusions

During the investigation of the reception of the English post-war novel in our parts, it was noticed that the contemporary English literary scene was not presented consistently by our authors. As the research took into consideration, without making any substantial differences, the entire Serbo-Croatian field of reviewing, regardless whether texts were found in academic periodicals or came from weekly journalism, the value of assessment was not, and could not, be uniform. Even though some of the contributors do not deserve to be called *serious critics*, they were still rather steady collaborators to various widely read magazines and dailies, and thus influenced considerably not only the well-educated public, but also the common reader. Among the distinguished Yugoslav critics who wrote about this topic, it is necessary to point out the names of several highly trained experts in the English language and literature, whose work has been extremely influential, out of whom Vida Marković and Gordana B. Todorović were also the most prolific ones, with 29 and 15 bibliographical units, respectively. There are no words which could justly describe the invaluable contribution of Professor Vida Marković, not only to the reception of the English novel in the former Yugoslavia, but also to the general knowledge of English literature in our midst. As for Ms Todorović, her beautifully poetic and inspired articles surpass by far the limits of ordinary art of criticism, thus making her undoubtedly the most important critical reviewer of the period. Along with them, the following Yugoslav authors greatly influenced our literary and reading public, since their work had a permanent critical value within our reception of the post-war English novel during those

forty years: Ivo Vidan, Svetozar Koljević, Matej Mužina, Sonia Bićanić, Tomislav Sabljak, Aleksandar V. Stefanović, Dušan Puhalo, and Mario Suško. Several more contributors – mostly magazine columnists, reviewers, and authors of short commentaries – also actively pursued the evaluation of works by English novelists, on a regular basis, and although their texts were rather informative than critical, those among them are certainly worth mentioning: Predrag Protić, Miodrag Maksimović, Stjepan Kastropil, Sreten Perović, and Nada Šoljan.

It was also noted that both the quality and the quantity of reception depended on the moment of assessment, so it frequently occurred that either favourable or unfavourable appraisals of a certain writer were refuted from a longer time distance. Likewise, the opinions of Yugoslav critics were more often than not mutually compatible, as well as similar to those expressed in England, apart from a number of exceptions. Anyway, it can be underlined that this very complementarity of approaches by various authors, into which their occasional disagreements can be included from the dialectical point of view, represents the widest possible perspective for the evaluation of the reception of the English post-war novel on our critical scene.

After the initial period, when mostly short reviews and commentaries were published in our periodicals, during later years, the articles about English novelists of the time became much longer and more exhaustive, still later turning into some really serious academic studies, which contained the right critical deductions of the Yugoslav authors. Nevertheless, it must also be underlined that a number of them were burdened by certain limitations and shortcomings, since their texts were at times inconsistent, arbitrary and unsubstantiated, marked by simplicity of tone, uncertainty of judgment or ambiguity. However, most of the authors expressed their original, personal opinion, and displayed meticulousness and sharpness, but still bearing in mind real literary values and established criteria in criticism. Their penetrating analysis and accurate appreciation of many English post-war novels, pointed to the correct place which those works should take up in the consciousness of our readers, and thus contributed to the improvement of the overall cultural awareness across the Serbo-Croatian speaking territory.

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Therefore, since the critical reception of the English post-war novel in the former Yugoslavia – in other words, the relevant articles published in Serbo-Croatian literary and other journals within the period from 1945 until

1985, covered a large number of novelists – as many as 45, while the total number of texts amounted to even 445 bibliographical units, it has been estimated as rather satisfactory. Finally, it can be concluded that the high-level individual responses and continual contributions of our literary critics and other authors opened up new ways of approach to English literature on the whole, as well as helped create a thought-provoking critical atmosphere.

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**THE ALEXANDRIAN TORTURE OF
THE POST-CARTESIAN BODY
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In *The Alexandria Quartet*, Alexandria, the mythological capital of Egypt, the site of ancient Pharaohs and queens, the city of hot torture, cultural variety and individual discrepancy is turned into a character by Lawrence Durrell, who gives the old *urbs* the features of a living being: its streets are “tormented” (Durrell 1968: 17) by dust, its trams shudder “in their mental veins” (Durrell 1968: 18), its shops fill and empty “like lungs” (Durrell 1968: 22); it is a city that “unwrinkles like an old tortoise and peers about it” (Durrell 1968: 22) or that basks “like some old reptile in the bronze Pharaonic light of the great lake” (Durrell 1968: 660).

Half animal, half human, this city has the capacity of slowly pouring its venomous honey on its busy inhabitants. As a result, they all become degraded, maimed, destroyed on the inside and need to fight in order to keep their post-Cartesian body intact. Some choose to stay and face its disasters, while others have had enough of this terrible city and decide to flee it.

Both the people living in the poor quarters of the town and those inhabiting the rich quarters are affected by (1) the Alexandrian *climate*: the hot temperature, dusty air, dry wind and weakening influence of the sea; (2) the *poor living conditions*, and (3) the Alexandrian *mentality*. These have a terrible effect on the foreign characters present in the book, such as, for instance, Mountolive, who loses his way in the Alexandrian slums and is pushed into a child-prostitute house, after which he generalises the situation of the city considering it typical for the whole of Egypt:

“He would waste no more time upon this Egypt of deceptions and squalor, this betraying landscape which turned emotions and memories to dust, which beggared friendship and destroyed love” (Durrell 1968: 631).

Durrell takes over Cavafy’s vision of the Egyptian city in order to build a three-plane image of the place, which in Cavafy’s poetry, according to E. Keeley (1977), is formed of the metaphoric city, the sensual city and the mythical city. To these, Durrell also adds the city of memory, which partly

coincides with the metaphoric city, that, as stated by Keeley, “is still what you make it in your soul: for those who can see around them only the black ruins of their lives, there is no escape from the small corner their psyches have created, while for those who keep their thoughts raised high and their spirit and body tuned for rare excitement, the city can become the impetus for a great voyage that will lead them through pleasure and knowledge to an understanding, among other things, of their city’s metaphoric significance – in this case the reflection of their elevated, adventurous spirit” (Keeley 1977: 39).

Durrell also uses Cavafy’s term “The City” (Cavafy 1992: 28) to refer to Alexandria and moulds his character pattern on “the characteristic citizen of Cavafy’s contemporary city (...) [who] is a drifter leading ‘a degrading, vulgar life’ in ‘horrible’ surroundings, generally on the move from one shabby setting to another, whether a low café, a cheap taverna, an iron-monger’s shop, or a room in some ‘shameless’ house” (Keeley 1977: 51). This is the description of most of Durrell’s *profligates* who are rarely caught during working hours but are seen much more often during parties, home visits by prostitutes or lethargic drinking hours.

Making use of Cavafy’s ambivalence in his attitude towards the city, Durrell describes it using antithetic terms, which point to its extremes that can be also easily grasped in its citizens’ way of being and that are also noticed by Balthazar when talking to Darley about the Alexandrian life:

“(...) to work here at all (...) one must try to reconcile two extremes of habit and behaviour which are not due to the intellectual disposition of the inhabitants, but to their soil, air, landscape. I mean extreme sensuality and intellectual asceticism” (Durrell 1968: 84).

Following the same train of thought, Darley states in *Justine*:

“We are the children of our landscape; it dictates behaviour and even thought in the measure to which we are responsive to it” (Durrell 1968: 39-40).

And they all seem to be responsive to it, so they cannot sleep very well (Durrell 1968: 24) because of the heat, they feel that their bodies are “chaffed by the harsh desiccated winds blowing up out of the deserts of Africa” (Durrell 1968: 38), they notice that sands invade everything and suffer because “the harsh sobbing air dries the membranes of throats and noses, and makes eyes raw with the configurations of conjunctivitis” (Durrell 1968: 121).

During the walk which Darley takes one night in Pursewarden's company, while there was a full moon, he notices that they are "overcome by the soft dazed air of the city" (Durrell 1968: 116), that there was "an aerial lunacy among the deserted trees of the dark squares" (Durrell 1968: 116) and that "the passing faces had become gem-like, tranced" (Durrell 1968: 116).

The Alexandrian *climate* with its hot dry atmosphere, its all-covering dust and sand and the over-soothing influence of the marine breeze has thus the effect of a drug upon Durrell's characters, making them tired, confused and dizzy and destroying their post-Cartesian bodies. As a result, the characters seem to float in a continuous stream of changing weather conditions which are all the more oppressive as the energy-draining power of the sea already affects their post-Cartesian bodies in a rather discomforting way. They all seem to be there for the climate to feed on them.

Although Durrell may have a lot to thank Cavafy for, in what concerns the manner in which he imagines his beloved city, there are also a number of differences between the two literary men, in what concerns the perspective from which they view the process of creation and the elements and techniques they decide to use in order to accomplish their work. Thus, while Cavafy translates his individuals into poetry starting from physical details that he noticed and going on into the mind's ruminations (Keeley 1977: 55), Durrell respects no particular order and acts according to a freedom of circumstances. He concentrates on whatever post-Cartesian bodily detail is relevant at the time in order to prove his point.

In *Justine*, Darley remembers the *poverty* in which the masses of people lived in his city of memory and is startled by the lack of hygiene and proper living conditions. He notices rows of rotten houses, with "shuttered balconies swarming with rats, and old women whose hair is full of the blood of ticks. Peeling walls leaning drunkenly to east and west of their centre of gravity. The black ribbon of flies attaching itself to the lips and eyes of the children. (...) The smell of sweat-lathered Berberinis, like that of some decomposing stair-carpet. And then the street noises: shriek and clang of the water-bearing Saidi, dashing his metal cups together as an advertisement, the unheeded shrieks which pierce the hubbub from time to time, as of some small delicately-organised animal being disembowelled. The sores like ponds – the incubation of a human misery of such proportions that one is aghast, and all one's feelings overflow into disgust and terror" (Durrell 1968: 26).

The poor private houses or blocks of flats in the impoverished neighbourhoods of the town are not alone in pointing to the post-Cartesian bodily degradation present in Alexandria. One can find brothels, houses of child prostitutes, male prostitutes who attest to the great financial need of the natives, but also to the degree of debasement that post-Cartesian bodies can reach. The situation is all the more serious as most of these prostitutes have no idea about where their families may be, they were kidnapped as children, abandoned or sold by their parents.

Looking for Justine, who lost a child many years before, while being married to Arnauti and has gone away in her search, Darley and Nessim enter a brothel in which children are put to work with customers that are looking for services forbidden in European places. They stumble upon a stupefying scene – on the mud floor strangely lit, so that one could see only eyebrows, lips and cheekbones, “clad in ludicrous biblical night-shirts, with rouged lips, arch bead fringes and cheap rings, stood a dozen fuzzy-haired girls who could not have been much above ten years of age” (Durrell 1968: 42). Justine’s hysteria in the middle of this is understandable, as she has expected to find her daughter here and still believes that she is probably to be found in a similar place.

This is, however, not the only touching image that involves children reduced to degrading conditions because of the lack of money. While walking with Melissa in the streets less frequented by their high-placed friends, Darley notices that “children dive for coins in the ooze” (Durrell 1968: 49) by the rotting canal. It is consequently a rough life that most Alexandrians have to live in order to survive and that sensibly affects the foreign eye used to the clean, organised, standard beauty of their surroundings and the educated, polished and civilised manner of behaving common back home.

The most striking image of catastrophic living conditions is presented in connection with Justine’s life before she met Arnauti. She used to inhabit a terrible neighbourhood, which left its mark on her personality and caused her psychological instability. She made notes of it all in one of her diaries which were given to Darley in order to help him give an authentic version of their lives and a truthful image of the complex city:

“Blows and curses and printed everywhere on the red mud walls (like the blows struck by conscience) the imprint of blue hands, fingers outstretched, that guarded us against the evil eye. With these blows we grew up, aching heads, flinching eyes. A house with an earthen floor alive with rats, dim with wicks floating upon oil. The old money-lender drunk and snoring, drawing in with every breath the compost-odours, soil,

excrement, the droppings of bats; gutters choked with leaves and breadcrumbs softened with piss; yellow wreaths of jasmine, heady, meretricious. And then add screams in the night behind other shutters in that crooked street: the bey beating his wives because he was impotent. The old herb-woman selling herself every night on the flat ground among the razed houses – a sulky mysterious whining. (...) Our room bulging with darkness and pestilence, and we Europeans in such disharmony with the fearful animal health of the blacks around us. (...) And everywhere the veils, the screaming, the mad giggle under the pepper-trees, the insanity and the lepers. Such things children see and store up to fortify or disorient their lives. A camel has collapsed from exhaustion in the street outside the house. It is too heavy to transport to the slaughter-house so a couple of men come with axes and cut it up there and then in the open street, alive” (Durrell 1968: 56).

It is only natural that after having lived there and having been raped as a child, Justine has psychological barriers she cannot overcome and cannot experience love to its fullest form. Having witnessed such scenes as she did as a child and having been compelled to live in the shadow of lurking danger, it is a miracle that she has not become mad altogether. Still, she does have a rather particular type of post-Cartesian body which is essentially different from what one would expect from a woman of her social status.

The third evil influence of the contradictory city is cast by the *mentality of its people*. Throughout the book one can find various references to the unusual manner in which Alexandrians judge people, situations and events. As J. A. Weigel (1965) points out, “Alexandrians are decadent and cynical” (1965: 97). They consider that true madness lies in not caring about gain, as in the case of Nessim who feels rather indifferent to his fortune and gives more attention to the improvement of his love life. Alexandrians are also characterised by deep resignation, so they cannot be shocked deeply. For them “tragedy exists only to flavour conversation” (Durrell 1968: 359).

In this “pitiless city” (Durrell 1968: 582), “princess and whore” (Durrell 1968: 700) at the same time, a local character like Nessim is ready to sentence his own brother to death in order to save his illicit affairs from being discovered. His post-Cartesian body, though unbalanced because of being rejected by his wife, is characterised by the worst features possible for an educated caring human being – he kills his brother indirectly and refuses to be a father for his own child (the one he has with Melissa and that Darley takes with him on the Greek island).

In *Clea*, Darley calls Alexandria a “grotesque mechanism” (Durrell 1968: 657), which works using people as its fuel, while in *Justine*, he, giving

Arnauti's descriptions, focuses on the *foreign communities*, where women are subjugated by fear and insecurity because of the black people coming from the African deserts and settling in the European quarters. He notices that "a sort of racial osmosis is going on" and that "to be happy one would have to be a Moslem, an Egyptian woman – absorbent, soft, lax, overblown; given to veneers; their waxen skins turn citron-yellow or melon-green in the naphtha-flares" (Durrell 1968: 59). He, then, goes on to describing the bodies and selfless characters of these people:

"Hard bodies like boxes. Breast apple-green and hard – a reptilian coldness of the outer flesh with its bony outposts of toes and fingers. Their feelings are buried in the pre-conscious. In love they give out nothing of themselves, having no self to give, but enclose themselves around you in an agonised reflexion" (Durrell 1968: 59).

He also ponders, again using Arnauti's words, on the *lost communities*, where women have desperate courage and "have explored the flesh to a degree which makes them true foreigners to us" (Durrell 1968: 60). The Alexandrian characters are as foreign as the level of profligacy to which they can stoop and it is only their harsh living conditions that are to blame for it.

The post-Cartesian bodies of the characters are thus highly influenced by the life of those around them and they cannot do much but fall into the habit of copying the practices, living manners and behaviour of the locals. As the saying goes: 'When in Rome, do as Romans do'. Besides their monkey instinct of copying and imitating, which is intrinsic to the human beings' character, Durrell's individuals are also gradually crushed by the heavy climate and the strange effect of the sea bordered by desert.

It is not easy to face so many challenges for both foreigners and natives and the only thing left for them is to make the most of their lives, surrendering their post-Cartesian bodies to forces sometimes difficult to understand. The African hot wind blowing from the desert wakes the animal instincts in them and erodes the civilised ones and the characters who cannot have their savage side surface in time are bound to come out losers.

The Alexandrian torture is written on their post-Cartesian bodies which cannot escape this obsessive city that denies absolute powers of comprehension. Living in Alexandria means falling from one extreme into the other, accepting them both and trying to find a mid way to one's own benefit.

All in all, one can notice that Durrell uses the environment in which he places his characters in order to shape them and give them a realistic and full-

blown contour. This can only prove the close relationship between one's environment and one's post-Cartesian body. They influence each other in the same manner in which the mind influences the body and vice versa. There cannot be one without the other, hence their interdependence which is so well mirrored in the literary works analysed here.

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**ROBERT BURNS –THE CORE AND KEY-TONE OF THE
SCOTTISH RENAISSANCE
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In the realm of cultural representation, Scotland has often been considered as exotic, but scarce, and this label has entailed a network of implications and effects as to the issues of nationality and identity. The Scottish Renaissance escapes a rigorously outlined definition, being perceived as an ongoing current acknowledged in close relationship with a rhythmic stimulus represented by instances of resistance to English rulers, whether by force or by principles. A divided nation by definition, swinging between the Celtic tradition of the ruling clans and the later feudal model of monarchy, the Scots saw themselves as a united people only when confronted with an instance of power higher than the two models they were familiar with. The first such moment was in the fourteenth century during the war of independence when the much celebrated Lowland poet of the time, John Barbour (1320?-95), dedicated a twenty-book historical poem, *The Bruce* (1374-75) to Robert Bruce. The poem had a vast impact on the nobility and scholars in the kingdom, as it has survived in manuscripts and is admirably mentioned fifty years later in Andrew of Wyntoun's *Orignyale Cronykil of Scotland* with quotations and comments (Watson, 1984:24).

The second important moment was the 18th century, with Robert Burns as one key figure that would transcend the centuries and borders to a renewed claim of national model.

In the 20th century, the 1920s and the entire interwar period were put under the sign of the third "Scottish Renaissance", marking a multidimensional endeavour to re-assert the national heritage in response to the treatment of the region as mere "North Britain".

The paradox of Scotland resides in its being an old and lasting nation, and an undecided one in spite of that, in the view of the twentieth century interwar writers and politicians. Their awareness comes from the status of the language and literature divided between the effort to preserve and perpetuate the Scottish features and the impossibility of doing so outside the English models. It had a reflection in the political activity of the Scottish National Party,

but the literary environment of the time was as supportive as it was controversial in its course.

In literature, the sense of nationality is assumed with reservations, since not too many writers are enthusiastic about the seemingly suicidal act of giving up English in favour of the resurrected cultural traditions of Scotland. The Scottish Renaissance of the 1920s is marked by a dramatic clash of spirit between writers assembled in literary clubs desperately dedicated to recovering Scots on the one hand, and, on the other, writers infused with a tragic sense of resignation in front of the impossible mission of ever bringing Scots language and literature into European modernity again. Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978) is one of the founders of the Lallans dialect that was meant to fill the historic gaps in the Scottish poetry in a heroic nationalistic demonstration against poets like Edwin Muir (1887-1959) whose literary verdict condemned the modern Scottish artist to alienation in his lost fatherland.

The arguments on both sides originate in the tradition of the early stages in the evolution of Scotland as a nation, and, as the modernist Scottish poets of the nation claim, in the very Burns tradition. The uniqueness of this progress, however, is given by the coexistence of two regions and two language patterns in a parallel course whose unity can be compared to the special relationship of non-identical twins. The language itself is the fruit of a dichotomy that the literature takes over to our days: modern Scots is regarded as formed within the tension of two languages, English and a Gaelic dialect, and it is unitary in that the speakers identify themselves as Scottish irrespective of the linguistic component they belong to, the region, and the cultural influences.

The facts converge on the historically recorded existence of a Scottish nation right before the War of Independence that William Wallace started in 1297 against the English King Edward I. This Scottish nation lived within two systems of authority (traditional Gaelic and feudal English), two language patterns but one literature.

The 15th and 16th centuries bear the sign of Scottishness in what separates it from the easily confounded English counterpart. The language of Barbour is classified as definitely “old early Scots” in the specialized terminology (Kinghorn, 1970:45). From Barbour onwards, the language was enriched with colloquial French words in their anglicized form along with Latin terms. These borrowings are operated for *literary purposes* rather than for every day linguistic needs, and occur approximately at the same time as Geoffrey Chaucer’s literary activity in England, with the vital difference in favour of the

originality and the European disposition of the Scottish trend, as Kinghorn (Kinghorn, 1970:45) remarks: "...whereas Chaucer's French borrowings tended to originate in central French and to reflect philosophical, academic and technical interests, those of the *makars* ('Lowland poets') drew far more exclusively on a literary vocabulary as employed by the writers of romances, strongly Anglo-Norman in origin". The explanation resides in two crucial facts of the time: the literature was written for an educated audience around King James IV and so the poetic vocabulary sprang from the classical Latin that characterized common knowledge of the educated man. Moreover, Gavin Douglas found his "Scottis" too poor to serve for the translation of Virgil, which accounted for the borrowings from Latin, French and English, and this was a common preoccupation among the Scottish literati of the Middle Ages. (Kinghorn, 1970:5)

This is evidence of the fact that Scots stands alone, an independent and self-sufficient language, capable of developing tools for literary expression that will be recognizable later in Robert Burns's poetry in the 18th century. Historically speaking, there are enough arguments to show the English influence on the various aspects of what is generically called Scottish civilization in the Lowlands, which is, in fact, one more reason for, and the trigger to, the effort of the modern poets (and they are still at it, though in a different key) of restoring a culture that, officially, had been irrevocably lost to England in the southern parts of Scotland, trying hard to prove that the Lowlands were just as much Scottish as the Highlands.

So, when Robert Burns published his poetry in Scots, the impact on the public was divided: critics agree that his verse was celebrated in Scotland as the genial creation of the Scots spirit, but it never got the complete understanding and appreciation of the contemporary English writers, being reduced to a matter of taste, which probably accounts for either the early emergence of Romanticism in Scotland, or, the other way round, the delaying of the romantic spirit in English literature (Speirs, 1990:106). This blindness to the importance of Burns's verse may come from the misunderstanding of its two essential features: the linguistic value of the Scots poetry written in 1785 (*Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, published a year later, the volume of 34 poems that ensured Burns's fame and the literary debates since), and the literary contribution in the spirit of the national identity.

The former feature stands in alignment with the peculiar character of the Scots literature and language in common medieval practice. The language itself,

both in 18th century daily life, and in Burns's verse, is not a reiteration of the English language in dialect, but a different one with its own phonetic, graphic, lexical and semantic norms that cannot be taken for manifestations of English homonymy or any kind of equivalence. It would be absurd to suggest a re-writing of the poems in a would-be more correct English, as they are not the tragic consequence of a lack of education from the part of their author, or the expression of a rough country ploughman's lyrical effusions, as they were so often labeled, unfortunately, even though they do spring from the spoken language and bear a colloquial register. Burns's language is pure Scottish, Broad Scots, to be more precise, a dialect specific to middle class natives, it is taken from everyday eighteenth century small talk, and his merit is to have recorded it forever.

Robert Heron, Burns's first biographer, and James Currie, his first editor, explain the literary exceptionality of the poet by the fortunate democratic schooling, stating that classical education might have had a very disappointing outcome, in which case Burns would never have become the "bard of nature" or a "noble savage" (Richardson, 1996:250). The lower-class poet was considered primitive and a representative of an archaic culture corresponding to childhood on a scale of maturity and sophistication. It was enough to be exotic in a time of classical standards and pretensions of nobility in art, it was a good laugh, but it would not do for proper literature. This would probably account for the moderate appreciation of the English-speaking literati of his time. However, Burns used both Scots and English. The *Poems* (1785) that consecrated him forever is written mostly in Scots, but he also wrote in English and, more important, he used English and Scots in the same poem, as in the case of the famous comic collection of poems and songs, *Love and Liberty – A Cantata*, also known as *The Jolly Beggars*. Too strong for the Edinburgh intellectual public, the collection was left to be published posthumously. The contrast between English and Scots goes beyond the purely linguistic level, it is a figure of style in itself (Watson, 1984:228): the parts in Scots are rich in meaning and sound, while the English lines cool down the tone. This brings forth an interesting question as to how to analyze such a poem, and it prevails today with modern Scottish poetry (McClure, 2003:230). There is more to interpreting a Scots poem than mere comprehension of the words. It has been a long tradition in publishing the collections in Scots with an accompanying glossary (Burns's volumes were no exception, and even Allan Ramsay had had his poems glossed before), which has been a valuable support in the study of

Scots and the making of dictionaries. But how can we be sure of the particular form of the word, its origin, dialect, register and stylistic function?

Another aspect of Burns's Scots is its renewing dimension: the critics who placed Burns on the same position as the genial inventors of language did him a disavour in that the statement implies an absolute originality in the sources of his language. With the risk of dismantling the poet's temple, it is more accurate and meritorious to say that Burns did not "invent" words, but rather brought them back into literary light. He was, in this sense, the true hero who saves the language from oblivion, as Hugh MacDiarmid will do in the 20th century. This brings us to the second feature of Burns's verse.

With the old words put in new poems, Burns also recovers the old tradition of the Scots verse since Robert Henryson (1425?-1505?) and William Dunbar (1460?-1520?) and, more recently, Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) whom Burns greatly admired. In fact, his poetry stands in a long and old row of Scots verse; it is not a fresh treasure of expression and meaning, but rather a development of old models (Speirs, 1990:105). He refined the traditional meter that would since bear his name, the Burns stanza (the Standard Habbie, in fact), to a heavier burden of feeling and attitude, using it not just as a formal instrument, but also for a witty effect.

He worked with matter that was both familiar and at hand in his environment. The conclusion emerges as a surprise: is Burns really a representative of the second great Scottish revival? He never took any interest in the past, legendary or historical (Wittig, 1958:219-220), he never made sublime characters, his world is populated with common people of the lower classes. Besides, he wrote in a quite narrow range of genres: comic and satiric verse, ballads and songs. However, the importance of the Burns moment on the timeline of the Scottish identity consists in the impact on the mind of the people. When the English public became aware of Burns's poetry, their attention was drawn to the songs more than the other productions. What signaled the new disposition for Romanticism about Burns came from the motif of the landscape and the presentation of personal feelings rather than the more comic perspective on human life, in the same vein as the medieval interest in linguistic borrowings to cover literary needs. Dunbar's poetry is comparable to the French troubadour verse in technique, which Burns inherits as his bardic legacy; Henryson brings the landscape before the eyes of the reader and invites to the contemplation of nature almost three hundred years before Burns (Kinghorn, 1970:9).

This, together with the controversially simple language (the dialect infused with words of the same construction and origin as those claimed by the medieval poets) and the subjects of rural inspiration or taken from the life of small towns and market, accounts for the celebrated popularity of his verse and for the huge potential for translation, which is the principle of the trans-national reverberation of Burns's poetry (Harding, 1990:63). Burns's works have known widespread recognition and appreciation through translations (in Romanian in 1925) and a wide range of events organized by Burns clubs and associations around the world. In fact, emigrants from Scotland took Burns with them to Canada, New Zealand and Australia and declared him the true symbol of Scotland.

The main elements, therefore: continuity of language, tradition of literary techniques, subjects, forms and images, simplicity of poetic expression, focus on feeling, rustic atmosphere and conviviality, and vast potential for intra-, and trans- national reception, all these make of Burns, equally, a national Scottish poet with a good right to European attention, and a worthy master to look up to, as Hugh MacDiarmid did two hundred years later, when he took Burns for a model in both poetry and nationalistic feeling. MacDiarmid is considered the greatest Scottish poet of the 20th century, but he had his share of controversy as to the inspiration from Burns and his attitude to his poetry and memory.

The author of the famous poem *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* bowed to Burns, but not to his followers, which brought him expulsion from the Burns Club (one of many!) (McIntyre, 1996:434-435). He believed that they were missing the meaning of Burns's genius; however much they embraced the nationalistic expression. The idea of creating a language for poetic purpose emerges for the third time with Hugh MacDiarmid, and he gave credit to Burns for it as the most recent greatest artist of Scotland. D. Murison (Daiches, 1993:300) explains the birth of *Lallans*, the collection of archaic words recovered under the slogan 'Back to Dunbar' and gathered in the same collection as other borrowings from other languages and even new creations, in order to revive what was considered to be an endangered tongue, Lowland Scots.

When it came to *Lallans*, MacDiarmid opposed his fellow poet, Edwin Muir, another great figure of the Scottish culture, born in Orkney and forever longing for his dear islands. In *Scott and Scotland* (1936) Muir mentions the topic of *Lallans* and the disagreement: while MacDiarmid insists that *Lallans*

maintains the Scottish culture alive, Muir manifests his disappointment in an invented language (Watson, 1984:367-373). He maintains his creed all his life and recommends a more European attitude from the part of the artists, namely, to write in English, for the Paradise of Scotland is lost anyway and lives in legend only.

In the 20th century the paradox continues with the dispute on whether there is such a thing as Scottish unity as a nation besides a Scottish *antiszygy* (in MacDiarmid's understanding – a combination of opposite attractions to domestic realism and excessive imagination) (Watson, 1984:3-4), and if there is, how best to preserve it, where, and how to make it known in Europe with the tools Robert Burns used and following the medieval model of translation or borrowing. Edwin Muir and Hugh MacDiarmid mark the third and most recent stage of the Scottish movement. They agree on placing Burns at the crossroads between the old and new directions of the Scottish literature, but they transmit contrasting views on whether to take literature up where Burns left it, with MacDiarmid, or to just put it in the chest of Scotland's treasures to keep untouched, as Muir would.

They gave a continuation to the controversy in poetry, fiction, journals and even politics. It hasn't stopped even today; it has received new focus in the study of the Scottish literature from the point of view of the non-Scottish readers. The production of Scottish literature bears the mark of MacDiarmid's dream of creating an image (even though evidently artificial) of Scottishness, whereas the spreading and acknowledging it raises the problem of translation, thus confirming Edwin Muir's choice of English as a carrier of the by now minority Scottish culture.

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METAFICTION AS FICTIONAL SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS
IN MALCOLM BRADBURY'S NOVELS
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Marc Currie defines metafiction 'as a borderline discourse, as a kind of writing which places itself on the border between fiction and criticism, and which takes that border as its subject' [1995: 2]. He specifies that far from being some marginal no-man's-land, this definition gives metafiction a central importance in the projects of literary modernity, postmodernity and theory which have taken this borderline as a primary source of energy. Retracing the history of metafiction he shows that there is a point of convergence between fiction and criticism where fiction and criticism have assimilated each other's insights, producing a self-conscious energy on both sides. In Currie's words:

For criticism this has meant an affirmation of literariness in its own language. An increased awareness of the extent to which critical insights are formulated within fiction, and a tendency towards immanence of critical approach which questions the ability of critical language to refer objectively and authoritatively to the literary text. For fiction it has meant the assimilation of critical perspective within fictional narrative, a self-consciousness of the artificiality of its constructions and a fixation with the relationship between language and the world. The reciprocity of this relationship indicates that metafiction is only half, the fictional half, of a process of challenging the boundary between fiction and criticism, and therefore that its explanation requires that it be articulated across the boundary, connecting it to the self-consciousness of criticism.[2]

Malcolm Bradbury was equally a writer and a literary critic. His fame in both domains was the result of numerous tomes of literary criticism, contemporary literature anthologies, novels, television scripts. All these activities made Blake Morrison notice that 'Bradbury the novelist sabotages Bradbury the critic, canceling out in comic fiction the causes solemnly espoused in academic prose: among them liberalism, American culture, sociology and linguistic criticism' [*The Times Literary Supplement*, 8 April 1983].

This unfair and superficial observation was corrected by Bradbury himself who specified that he had taken a different approach to this problem.

'My sense of myself as a writer depends on the belief that every novel is a new enquiry. If I were to think that I were using the genre in a simply traditional way, I would have no good reason for writing' he confessed in an interview with Haffenden [1985: 54]. Moreover, in the same interview he added:

There has always been a quarrel in me between the writer and the critic, as well as an intimacy. I find it harder and harder to write literary criticism, to pursue ideas which because they *are* abstract never quite engage me at a sufficient depth. I do feel that I'm performing important and interesting argumentative functions, saying things that are considered and even true, but the ultimate result of this as a mode of expression is a sense that – however invigorated I am by the practice of criticism – I am not really touching base. I can't drive away the critic when I write fiction, but nonetheless I find it pretty necessary to try to do so in order to begin as a novelist. [53]

We shall demonstrate in this paper that the presence of metafiction in Malcolm Bradbury's work is constant and much more complex than the writer himself ever stated.

As it has been defined, metafiction is fiction with self-consciousness, self-awareness, self-knowledge, ironical self-distance. As Marc Currie has noticed, in postmodernism, the writer/critic is 'a dialectical figure, embodying both the production and reception of fiction in the roles of author and reader in a way that is paradigmatic for metafiction' [3].

For Malcolm Bradbury the literary texts and the acts of interpretation represented a world of experience. The texture of his experience, the practice of writing and reading became his fictional object. In his first novel, *Eating People Is Wrong*, he did not explicitly highlight the artificiality of the fictional process. Later, in the introduction that he wrote for the novel's 1976 reissue, Bradbury, speaking as author-writing-after-the-fact, noted that he had written *Eating People Is Wrong* 'from the innocent, fascinated standpoint of the student, in fact the first-generation student, for whom universities were both a novelty and a social opportunity' [Morace: 41]. In the same introduction, Bradbury confessed that the character Treece 'was considerably based upon my twenty-year-old self, or was, rather, a projection of my own commitments about the liberal humanism' [41]. This idea of the liberal humanism will be analysed in Bradbury's other novels. For the time being, in this first novel, he depicted with ironical detachment the struggles of his character who was in some sort of conflict with his self-liberal humanism. Here is a brief example from the end of the novel, in which on many pages the character (sick and hospitalized) analyses his position towards his self and the world outside:

And Treece, to whom illness had always seemed a cruel and unfair chance that attacked randomly its victims, was now forced into taking the things of sickness into his consciousness for the first time. And it was a cruel, defeating thing, a betrayal of the human possibility, a canker in the self, that he saw – a betrayal, he came to feel, that was *internal*. It seemed to him as he surveyed his weakly self that for this he had only himself to blame. It was a facet of his own soul. It was a savage test to have to take, this one, worse than any driving test, and it showed up one's weakness mercilessly. [252]

The second novel, *Stepping Westward*, dramatizes the critic more explicitly. Here we could talk about an integrated criticism, either as 'illusion-breaking authorial intervention or as integrated dramatization of the external communication between author and reader' [Morace: 45]. James Walker, Bradbury's new hero is, as Morace has observed, 'like his creator, an English liberal and, like the author conjured by reviewers of *Eating People Is Wrong*, a not-so-angry-young-novelist, or, as Bradbury described his own late fifties' self, the one who traveled to the United States' [45]. In his book, Morace has emphasized the metafictional aspect of the character:

... there is no 'Walker', for Walker is plural, a multivoiced being that exists in the form(s) of internal dialogues and in the versions – subfictions in effect – conceived by the other characters. There is, for example, James Walker husband and father, and then, quite apart, there is James Walker the novelist known to others chiefly, or even exclusively, through his fiction, his iconoclastically titled novel *The Last of the Old Lords* in particular. But even this James Walker exists in different versions: as the subject of a Time Magazine article, of a piece in the university town's local newspaper, and of the verbal remarks made by Bernard Froelich, the man responsible for bringing Walker to the all-too-American town of Party. The different versions of Walker shed important though often contradictory light on his character and never do quite come together in the form of a single, well-focused image.[46]

In Currie's words, there is 'an internal boundary between art and life that the novel develops, the self-commentary that gives it critical self-consciousness' [4].

Bradbury's third novel, *The History Man*, was fully considered a parody. *The History Man* is Bradbury's most up-to-date, most parodic, and most richly ambiguous novel. In it he mocks and replenishes at the same time; he takes delight in his verbal inventiveness but also suggests his own degree of sadness and dismay over the contemporary human comedy' [Morace: 81]. *The History Man* is a parody, a challenge to innocent realism.

The novel aroused a lot of interest when it was published. It was amply reviewed and some people thought that they were the source of inspiration for the writer.

The novel is an example of 'the metafiction which depends upon intertextuality for its self-consciousness' [Currie: 5]. It is a narrative which signifies its artificiality by obtrusive reference to traditional forms. The form is apparently realistic. Nevertheless *The History Man* is not a realistic novel, but a parody in which Bradbury used details not so much in order to create a 'Jamesian solidity of specification' as to produce a 'numbing effect, a sense of reductive equivalence' [Morace: 79]. Bradbury provided a 'sharply angled prose' [80] that served both to reflect and to criticize contemporary mass culture. From this point of view, we must note the way in which Bradbury handled dialogues. On the one hand he tended to foreground his speakers by obsessively adding 'he/ she says' tag to every spoken line, and on the other hand the lines of dialogue are not recorded individually. They are grouped together in long paragraphs in which individual speakers are engulfed by the larger context. Moreover, what Bradbury recorded were never conversations as such, but merely one-sentence exchanges. The characters seem to be playing a 'form of verbal Ping-Pong' [80]. As Morace has observed, in *The History Man* there is a deeper intertextuality in which the author is 'nothing more and nothing less than the uncertain intersection of authorial-narrative voices' [70]. In Morace's words:

...he plays old against new, realistic liberal tradition against both the behaviorism which Kirk practices (even if he does not espouse it) and the postmodern play towards which Bradbury seems increasingly, but also reluctantly, drawn. The dialogic novel resists both the abstraction of dialectical thinking and the reductiveness of Manichaeic dichotomies. It is true, however, that *The History Man* does at times tease the reader with the possibility of simple oppositions, such as old versus new, or liberal versus behaviorist (or postmodernist). [71]

Bradbury's technique is parodic in this novel. Michael Ratcliffe described the present-tense narration as a perfect parodic device for a history of existentially humourless professionals for whom no other element of time is conceivable 'since they have murdered the Past to bring in the Future now' [Haffenden: 45].

In her book *A Poetics of Postmodernism*, Linda Hutcheon emphasizes that postmodern fiction manifests a certain introversion, a self-conscious

turning toward the form of the act of writing itself. She developed this idea in another book, *The Politics of Postmodernism*. Hutcheon states that parody (often called ironic quotation, pastiche, appropriation or intertextuality) is usually considered central to postmodernism. Parody signals how present representations come from past ones and what ideological consequences derive from both continuity and difference.

In some of Malcolm Bradbury's novels (such as *The History Man* or *Rates of Exchange*) parody uses irony to acknowledge the fact that we are inevitably separated from past today by time and by the subsequent history of those representations. There is continuum, but there is also ironic difference.

Compared to *The History Man*, the nine parodies included in *Who Do You Think You Are ?* (1976) are fun but obvious. They please but they do not bring about 'the kind of renegotiation of style and substance' as *The History Man* that is 'much subtler and much more effective' [Morace: 79].

Many literary critics have considered that parody is at the origins of postmodern sensibility. The most obvious example of parody is Malcolm Bradbury's book *My Strange Quest for Mensonge, Structuralism's Hidden Hero*. Published in *The Observer* on 1 April 1984, its title was initially *La Fornication comme acte culturel*, by Henri Mensonge and then it was published in a volume entitled *My Strange Quest for Mensonge, Structuralism's Hidden Hero*. With a Foreword / Afterword by Michel Tardieu (Professor of Structuralist Narratology, University of Paris), translated by David Lodge. The afterword written by David Lodge joins the outstanding ironic register of the book. The hero of the book, Henri Mensonge is the author of a work entitled *La Fornication comme acte culturel* which is 'the greatest unread book of our times'. The author is a 'totally absent absence' because he is practically 'non-existent'. He is an author who denies himself, an author hardly ever been seen or heard. He has not written, yet his book has been published and has vanished.

This jewel of Bradbury's wit represents an intertextual mode of writing with a clear critical function, as Bradbury himself emphasized in the interview with Haffenden:

Henri Mensonge was invented for April Fool's Day, and he is the logical outcome of deconstruction in my view. That piece was a parody, and parody usually serves for me the same sort of procedure as fiction: that is to say, it tends to allow me to come close to questions of authenticity and what people perceive to be real truth, while at the same time preserving that ironic,

questioning and sceptical protection. Deconstruction is fascinating precisely because it pushes this question of authenticity to the limit. It could be said that all deconstructionist writing is meta-parody, and that what is parody is discourse itself. [...] What is fascinating about deconstruction is that it has deconstructed itself: it has finalized all the possibilities, it has gone to the very limits of the refusal to authenticate. For a writer that leaves a crucial question, because the classic form of the novel has to do with the authentication of its matter. The great critics of deconstruction are *writers*, writers who have real signature – Derrida, Foucault, Barthes. For me the important thing is that deconstruction is conducted by such writers as a drama in which Roland Barthes, for instance, finally wants to retrieve Roland Barthes. The game in play is therefore a game of profoundly enquiring ambiguity. [33]

As Lidia Vianu highlights: 'Mensonge is a brilliant annihilation of Structuralism, of Deconstruction, of criticism that tends to outsmart the work. Nobody is involved with anybody else, and nothing leads to anything. The bushy plot, if it can be called that, kills suspense. Bradbury tries to write uneventfully, and to make us follow stripped of all expectation. He creates the uneventful text' [*The Desperado Age. British Literature at the Start of the Third Millennium*:138].

In *The Politics of Postmodernism*, Hutcheon explains that as form of ironic representation, parody is 'doubly coded in political terms: it both legitimizes and subverts that which it parodies' [97]:

This kind of authorized transgression is what makes it a ready vehicle for the political contradictions of postmodernism at large. Parody can be used as a self-reflexive technique that points to art as art, but also art as inescapably bound to its aesthetic and even social past. Its ironic reprise also offers an internalized sign of a certain self-consciousness about our culture's means of ideological legitimation. How do some representations get legitimized and authorized? And at the expense of which others? Parody can offer a way of investigating the history of that process.[97]

Bradbury achieved such a parodic incursion in the manifestation areas of Deconstruction not only throughout his book about Henri Mensonge but also at the end of the work where he invented a fanciful bibliography of Deconstruction. This bibliography is based on metafictional elements whereas the authors are heroes of Bradbury's novels previously written. Here are some examples: Henry Beamish, *Mensonge and Charisma*; Annie Callendar, *Mensonge and the Gallo-Scots Literary Imagination*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis; Howard Kirk, *Mensonge and the Technique of Seduction*; F. Plitplov (dr), '*A Matter of Whose Umbrella?*', Mensonge Newsletter. We find Mensonge

himself in the same range. He is the author of two books: *La Fornication comme acte culturel*, Luxembourg, Kouskous, 1965(?) and *'Pas moi'*, Quel Tel, XI, 3, mai, 1968. Mensonge's world is achieved by other works such as: *The Broken Typewriter of Henri Mensonge* (Felix Messmer), *Mensonge's Magic Kingdom* (Heide Ziegler), *La Mort de la fornication* (Pierre Vadim, Cahiers du Cinema), *En Songe, Mensonge: Oneiric Qualities of Trustworthy Things* (Laurent Souchu), *'J'existe, car je n'existe pas; je n'existe pas, car j'existe': le sens unique double de Henri Mensonge* (Marc Chénétier). This bibliography comprises many other titles of the same sort. Well-known authors are added to it: **Roland Barthes** (*Roland Barthes par Roland Barthes*), Jacques Derrida (*Signéponge/ Signesponge*, bi-lingual text, *La Carte postale de Socrate à Freud et au-delà*), Jacques Lacan (*'Lituraterre'*, *Littérature*, III, 1971), etc.

We should mention irony as a functional facet of these intertextual references. As Umberto Eco has noticed: "The postmodern reply to the modern consists of recognising that the past, since it cannot really be destroyed, because its deconstruction leads to silence, must be revisited: but with irony, not innocently"[17]. By no means innocent, Malcolm Bradbury's demonstration throughout this small book is accomplished against the postmodern trend of snobbish occultation of understanding. Because, Bradbury said, 'Structuralism and Deconstruction are and remain important because they have quite simply disestablished the entire basis of human discourse' [Haffenden: 81].

To conclude with the presence of fictional self-referentiality in Malcolm Bradbury's novels, our conviction is that for Bradbury, fiction is both a property of the primary text as well as a function of reading because his metafiction internalizes this relationship between art and life, fiction and criticism, author and readers.

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**ON LOOKING AND THE GAZE IN J. M. COETZEE'S
WAITING FOR THE BARBARIANS
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“in the night I took a lantern and
went to see for myself.”

Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* is a text saturated with optical metaphors, in which looking and the hiding of the eyes feature on the thematic level of the text from the beginning. In this paper, I want to look at instances of looking and manifestations of the gaze in the novel. Being primarily interested in the controversial relationship between the two major characters of the novel—the Magistrate and the barbarian girl, I want to look at how power and politics are involved in looking, in how looking is posited as a power game and as a definer of subjectivity in this novel.

The Girl (The Magistrate)

The controversial relationship between the girl and the Magistrate is determined in advance by his attitude to the barbarian prisoners on their arrival: “I spend hours watching them from the upstairs window [. . .]. I watch the women picking lice, combing and plaiting each other's long black hair. [. . .] [F]rom my window I stare down, invisible behind the glass” (Coetzee, 2004:20-21). Positing himself in the hierarchically defined power position of the panoptical gaze, the Magistrate hides in the “comfort” of invisibility eyeing the barbarians and, at the same time, objectifying them as animals. He uses his gaze as a medium of control over them and as a means of fascination “in the guise of the subject's gaze bewitched by the spectacle of power” (Salecl and Žižek, 1996:3).

Their relationship primarily being defined by looking, the Magistrate (ab)uses looking as something legitimizing his knowledge about the barbarian girl. Starting (the text) in the discourse of certainty as the story's narrator, he alludes to the trustworthiness and solidity of his seeing, confirming his being and his knowledge about the world by means of his sight. Seeing being a self-confirming act for him, the gaze is thus posited as “a force of power and control, of knowledge and capacity” (Fuery, 2000:27) for him. “To possess it is

much more than simply having the capacity to see—it is part of the legitimizing of the subject to itself and to the Other” (Fuery, 2000:27).

The power relation between him and the girl seems to be defined and sealed already at their first encounter: when he first takes notice of her she is kneeling. In the same way as his lantern metonymically represents the Magistrate—a tool that “lengthens,” improves, and sharpens his sight—similarly, the girl’s sticks and her stool are metonymically associated with her—tools that “prop her up,” complement and *complete* her, tools that point to her handicap and deformity: “I see her [. . .] walking slowly and awkwardly with two sticks. [. . .] I give orders; she is brought to my rooms, where she stands before me propped on her sticks” (Coetzee, 2004:27). The question that makes the reader move forward with the reading, that keeps the (necessary) desire—due to lack of knowledge and certainty—alive is precisely the one that interrogates after the nature of their relationship—a question which is constantly raised by the Magistrate himself, as well: “with surprise I see myself clutched to this stolid girl, unable to remember what I ever desired in her, angry with myself for wanting and not wanting her” (Coetzee, 2004:35). The Magistrate’s attraction to the girl goes beyond sexual fascination (which is, in fact, lacking, as he himself realizes): “I cease to comprehend what pleasure I can ever have found in her obstinate, phlegmatic body, and even discover in myself stirrings of outrage. [. . .] I cannot imagine what ever drew me to that alien body” (Coetzee, 2004:45). Examining the relation between the two of them, Derek Attridge reads their relationship as representing a “history of sexual exploitation (of women, of servants, of subordinate races)” (2004:44), furthermore arguing that “[t]he fascination with the body that characterizes erotic attachment cannot be separated from the fascination of the body evident in the torture chamber” (2004:43).

What is the nature of their attachment then? What is the force driving it? Is he any less of a torturer to her than Colonel Joll? As Attridge argues—and as the Magistrate himself realizes—“the distance between him and the girl’s torturers is anything but negligible” (Attridge, 2004:44). With the invitation “I can offer you work” (Coetzee, 2004:28), and with all the obligatory “props of seduction”—the curtain drawn, the fire, the lamp, the wash basin, the healing oils, and ointments—the Magistrate invites the woman into a hierarchically and sexually defined power game.¹

¹ Significantly, the Magistrate’s language/the discourse is sexually marked in his choice of words as well: “I can offer you work. I need someone to keep these rooms tidy, to see to my

Joll

Similarly to the Magistrate, Colonel Joll of the 3rd Bureau—the major representative of the Empire and, thus, the representative of power—exerts his power also by means of looking (the gaze). The Magistrate opens the narrative (the text opens) with Joll by positing looking (seeing) as problematical from the beginning: “I have never seen anything like it: two little discs of glass suspended in front of his eyes in loops of wire. Is he blind? I could understand it if he wanted to hide blind eyes. But he is not blind. The discs are dark, they look opaque from the outside, but he can see through them” (Coetzee, 2004:1). Spectacles are defamiliarised in this passage, so that, interestingly, they appear not as an aid/prosthesis of vision, but as a problem—a stain—in the field of vision.

While enabling *him* to see, Colonel Joll’s opaque glasses impede the other’s possibility of seeing him (his eyes) in return. Functioning as a symbolic screen, they are “passable” from one direction only: while they allow him to see, they, at the same time, inhibit the possibility of being seen (looked at). Impeding a two-way “passage” between the two parties—Colonel Joll and the barbarian prisoners he comes to inspect and interrogate,—Joll’s opaque glasses function as objects of violation and aggression against the other [spectacles (to) inspect].

The “automatic” identification of the barbarians as objects (victims) of the “colonizers” gaze, however, would render a simplifying reading of the text. While it is true that the barbarians are often objects of Joll’s, the Magistrate’s, the soldiers’, and the town dwellers’ gaze, they, at the same time, are also subjects of the gaze/gazing. We do not only find the prisoner women “eyeing” the Magistrate and the Colonel (Coetzee, 2004:4), at the same time, in the Magistrate and the girl’s relationship, looking and gazing belong as much to the girl (though she is blind) as to the Magistrate himself.

Yet another possible reading of the text would be to read the blindness of some of the prisoners as the Magistrate’s and Joll’s *fantasy*, as their

laundry. The woman who does it at present is not *satisfactory*” (Coetzee, 2004:28, italics mine). Also, “I feed her, shelter her, use her body [. . .]. She yields to everything [. . .]” (Coetzee, 2004:32). At the same time, however, the ritual of foot washing might be read as a reversed (mirror) version of the biblical scene of foot washing (in the novel man kneeling, washing woman’s legs; active/passive roles of man and woman reversed), thus, also subverting the “usual” power roles between the two of them.

“pushing” or inducing the prisoners into a blindness towards the Empire’s deeds—into a blindness to “history,”—thus lessening the burden of their deeds. The Magistrate, in fact, does adopt a sympathizing attitude toward the barbarians all through, and, significantly and ironically, by the end of the narrative he turns out to cast in his lot with the barbarians by literally partaking in their misery and blindness: “The wound on my cheek, never washed or dressed, is swollen and inflamed. A crust like a fat caterpillar has formed on it. My left eye is a mere slit, my nose a shapeless throbbing lump” (Coetzee, 2004:125).²

“*Let me look.*”

Further examining the nature of the relationship between the Magistrate and the girl, one could argue that what the Magistrate *wants* of the girl is partly her body—this want of his will, however, prove to be transient—, what he, however, *desires* of her is her gaze: to understand the nature and meaning of her gaze: “Between thumb and forefinger I part her eyelids. The caterpillar comes to an end, decapitated, at the pink inner rim of the eyelid. There is no other mark. The eye is whole. I look into the eye” (Coetzee, 2004:33). “Look at me,” he implores her; “I am looking. This is how I look,” (2004:28) she answers. It is the desire of looking that frames and primarily defines his attachment to her. “Let me look,” (2004:33) he, at the same time, implores her. The fact that their relation is primarily defined by looking, watching, and staring shows also through the abundance of verbs related to looking in the text. What captures the Magistrate’s sight for the first time is the nature of her gaze, her empty look, her “blind gaze” (Coetzee, 2004:33). In the beginning, his interest in her is aroused precisely because he is “overlooked,” unnoticed by her, because he means/is nothing to her: “the black eyes that look through and past me” (Coetzee, 2004:27).

The question arising then is whether looking/gazing means agency in the novel or, conversely, if it deprives one of agency and throws him/her at the mercy of the other (does it lay one open?). Or is looking embedded in a fantasy claiming power (in the sense that what is being looked at is being mastered, at the same time)?

² It is important to remark that in his description of his state at the end of the story, the Magistrate mirrors his description of the girl, the words “swollen,” “caterpillar,” and “shapeless” previously featuring in his portrayal of her (Coetzee, 2004:33, 31) at the end recur in his portrayal of himself.

It seems that the Magistrate's—and the text's—constant effort is to try to fill the girl and her gaze with content, while, at the same time, being perfectly aware of the fact that at the moment that this (finding her meaning) takes place their relationship will be over as (his) desire will cease. Significantly, the gaze—the word “gaze” itself, and verbs such as “stare” and “look”—feature (are used) as much in relation to her and are associated with her as often as with the Magistrate. The gaze (and the word “gaze”) “belongs” to both of them.

It is precisely her meaninglessness/“contentlessness,” manifesting in her empty gaze and in the deformity of her body that he wants to penetrate: “From her empty eyes there always seemed to be a haze spreading, a blankness that overtook all of her. [. . .] The feet lie before me in the dust, disembodied, monstrous, two stranded fish, two huge potatoes” (Coetzee, 2004:94-95).³ Or, looking at it from a different angle, one could argue that her meaning or content for him is precisely *meaninglessness*, and this is what “seduces” him, her being a riddle, unsolvable, untouchable, impenetrable: “of this one [the girl] there is nothing I can say with certainty,” “[w]here the girl should be, there is a space, a blankness” (Coetzee, 2004:46, 51). He finds her “staring eerily ahead of her,” and her feet and ankles “swaddled, shapeless” (2004:28, 31). He posits her as a mystery, a secret, or riddle to be solved: “Till the marks on this girl's body are deciphered and understood I cannot let go of her” (Coetzee, 2004:33). This assertion of his is a crucial one in his understanding of their relationship, of her meaning to him, knowledge that at the same time implies that as soon as she is deciphered (and thus demystified), there would be no need (want) of her any longer, she would cease as an Object for him; or, to put it differently, (his) desire (for her) would empty. As long as her meaning is not known, as long as her meaning is mystery (through her blindness and deformity), there is desire/desire is there.

He cannot help the urge to possess her (penetrate her meaning); he cannot help demanding (from the other) ““Let me look,”” ““Tell me,”” (Coetzee, 2004:33-34). Is the woman, then, perhaps, willfully resisting his efforts of

³ In her analysis of Michael Powell's *Peeping Tom* Elisabeth Bronfen differentiates between two ways of seeing in the film: the first, the pornographic gaze driven by masculine desire and deanimating the feminine body, and the second, which “precisely seeks what is ugly, what disfigures the beautiful surface of the image, so as to disrupt the aesthetic coherence of the film image” (Bronfen, 1996:69). Is this perhaps the driving force behind the Magistrate's desire? Does he *eroticise the deformity (distortion, ugliness)* of the feminine body?

interpretation aiming to give *shape* to her, knowing that unless she remains *shapeless*, she would lose her position as/of object to him (she'd be erased as object)?⁴ Significantly also, she does not have a name, that is her name is never inquired after; he constantly refers to her (and is known to the reader) as “the girl” (or by the pronoun “she”). Not having a proper name also deprives her of a certain definiteness; she is “floating” due to lacking a name that could “bind” her.⁵ In fact, this is the Magistrate’s—and the text’s—constant, though barren, effort: to fasten and fix her by means of finding her meaning (and the meaning of her gaze).

“*Look at me.*”

Or, offering a different reading to their relationship, can one look at the Magistrate’s attachment to the girl as narcissistic in its nature? In the “two glassy insect eyes [. . .] there comes no reciprocal gaze but only my double image cast back at me. I shake my head in fury and disbelief. *No! No! No!* I cry to myself. It is I who am seducing myself, out of vanity, into these meanings and correspondences” (Coetzee, 2004:47). Does he read *himself* as *her* content? Does he fill her (eyes’) contentlessness (“the dead centre of her eyes, from which twin reflections of myself stare solemnly back” [Coetzee, 2004:44]) precisely with his own image (finding satisfaction in his own image in her)? Is he absorbed in her empty gaze precisely because he sees in them a mirror reflection of himself? Is her gaze posited as a mere mirroring device for him? Furthermore, does he identify (his image) with the girl(’s) or, conversely, does he identify the girl’s image with his? Is his identification narcissistic in its nature (Bhabha, 1994:77)? For Bhabha the question of identification involves “the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image. [. . .] [T]o be *for* the other entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of otherness” (45). For Fanon and Lacan “the primary moments of such repetition of the self lie in the desire of the look” (Bhabha, 1994:45). Furthermore, does her “repetition” of him posit (en/force) the girl as a mimic (wo)man for him (the same but different)?

⁴ Accordingly, I offer two possible readings to the sentence “She gives no sign [that she has even heard me]” (Coetzee, 2004:34). Beside referring to her unwillingness to answer, I understand the statement as also referring to her resistance to offer clear(cut) signification (meaning, sense) of herself.

⁵ It is important to mention, however, that the Magistrate himself does not hold a proper name, either; he is known by his employment (magistrate) (and by the pronoun “I”).

The question arising, then, is what one's gaze does to the other. What happens to her under his gaze, and what happens to him under her gaze? Does his gaze fragment her body or, contrarily, is his interpretive effort an attempt to piece her fragmented body together?

I lie beside this healthy young body while it knits itself in sleep into ever sturdier health, working in silence even at the points of irremediable damage, *the eyes, the feet, to be whole again*. [. . .] These bodies of hers and mine are diffuse, gaseous, centreless, at one moment spinning about a vortex here, at another curdling, thickening elsewhere; but often also flat, *blank*. (Coetzee, 2004:36, italics mine)

His constant (inefficient) effort to find her meaning (meaning in her) shows in his (and the text's) attempts to metaphorically (by means of metaphorical identification) possess her: "I have not entered her. From the beginning my desire has not taken on that direction, that directedness. Lodging my dry old man's member in that blood-hot sheath makes me think of acid in milk, ashes in honey, chalk in bread" (Coetzee, 2004:36). There is a sense of "mystification" (exoticism) (and purification) in all the images that he likens her to: milk, honey, and bread (while, at the same time, debunking his own image, likening himself to acid, ashes, and chalk). The same "exotic reading" of her shows in his likening the girl to a wild animal: "'People will say I keep two wild animals in my rooms, a fox and a girl'" (Coetzee, 2004:37).⁶ Besides its overt meaning (I have not made love to her), the Magistrate's assertion "I have not entered her," at the same time, points at his abortive effort and inability to learn her: he has not solved her, he does not know her riddle. Interestingly, there is a sense of containment (inclusion) implied in all of the three images he compares themselves to, in all the cases he being contained in—absorbed into—the feminine body. Similarly, the following passage makes use of the same discourse of secrecy in relation to the girl's body, portraying the two of them in the "traditional casting:" woman/mystery, man/"philosopher" willing to gain knowledge:

⁶ This reading of her is backed up by a real hunting scene of the Magistrate's, which—significantly—follows (applies) the same discourse of gazing between hunter and game: "The ram's hooves touch ice with a click, his jaw stops in mid-motion, we gaze at each other. [. . .] With the buck before me suspended in immobility, there seems to be time for all things, time even to turn my gaze inward and see what it is that has robbed the hunt of its savour" (Coetzee 42), a savour which the Magistrate complains of missing in his relation to the girl, as well.

[. . .] to desire her has meant to enfold her and enter her, to pierce her surface and stir the quiet of her interior into an ecstatic storm; [. . .] But with this woman it is as if there is no interior, only a surface across which I hunt back and forth seeking entry. [. . .] how natural a mistake to believe that you can burn or tear or hack your way into the secret body of the other! (Coetzee, 2004:46)

The girl's namelessness and sightlessness is, at the same time, linked to [her] facelessness in the Magistrate's perception: "I cannot even recall [her] face. 'She is incomplete!' [. . .] I have a vision of her closed eyes and closed face filming over with skin. Blank, like a fist beneath a black wig, the face grows out of the throat and out of the blank body beneath it, without aperture, without entry" (Coetzee, 2004:45).⁷ In his portrayal of her the Magistrate (the text) seems to follow the already well-known discourse of indefiniteness and secrecy, which is also true of her eyes, which are referred to as "the dead center of her eyes" (2004:44), and "two black glassy insect eyes from which there comes no reciprocal gaze but only my double image cast back at me" (Coetzee, 2004:47). Significantly, indefiniteness (blankness), however, is not only the woman's "content" (under his gaze), but also that of the Magistrate under the girl's blind gaze: "When she looks at me I am *a blur*, a voice, a smell, a center of energy [. . .]" (Coetzee 31); "These bodies of hers and mine are diffuse, gaseous, centreless, at one moment spinning about a vortex here, at another curdling, thickening elsewhere; but often also flat, blank" (Coetzee 36). Patrick Fuary argues that "to have the gaze is to exist, or, to put it another way, to be recognized by the gaze of the Other is to have a sense of presence" (27). This is what the Magistrate searches for—and fails to find—in the girl's gaze.⁸ Bhabha argues that the "migrant woman can subvert the perverse satisfaction of the racist, masculinist gaze that disavowed her presence, by presenting it with an anxious absence, a counter-gaze that turns the discriminatory look, which denies her cultural and sexual difference, back on itself" (1994:47). Thus, it is

⁷ The Magistrate's perception of women as faceless is a recurring motif in the text; he perceives the prostitutes he has liaisons with and the little girl from his dreams as faceless, as well.

⁸ Lacking a definite (well-defined) content for him, the girl is also referred to as a "*form to which, it seems, I am in a measure enslaved*" (Coetzee 46, italics mine). Significantly, the Magistrate makes use of the word "enslaved" to define his relation to the girl. Fanon and Bhabha argue that the colonial identity is marked and defined by a sense of enslavement for both the black and the white man: "The Negro enslaved by his inferiority, the white man enslaved by his superiority alike behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation" (Fanon qtd. in Bhabha, 1994:43). Bhabha also claims that it is "always in relation to the place of the Other that colonial desire is articulated" (1994:44).

absence and invisibility that constitutes the subject (Bhabha, 1994:47). As the girl is blind, her empty gaze fails to reflect him back to himself and, thus, to give presence to him. Encountering the blankness of her gaze, the question arising is: what is being concealed from him (in her)? This question is posited as the primal question of the Lacanian theory of the gaze:

This point at which something appears to be invisible, this point at which something appears to be missing from representation, some meaning left unrevealed, is the point of the Lacanian gaze. It marks the *absence* of a signified; it is an *unoccupiable* point, the point at which the subject disappears. The image, the visual field, then takes on a terrifying alterity that prohibits the subject from seeing itself in the representation. That “belong to me” aspect is suddenly drained from representation as the mirror assumes the function of a screen. (Copjec, 2000:450)

Unlike in film theory, where the gaze is located in front of the image and the subject identifies with it and is the point that gives meaning (and the subject thus coincides with the gaze), the Lacanian gaze is located *behind* the image, thus it fails to appear and makes all meanings suspect, and the subject is rather cut off from the gaze (Copjec, 1994:36). Furthermore,

Lacan does not ask you to think of the gaze as belonging to an Other who cares about what or where you are, who pries, keeps tabs on your whereabouts, and takes note of all your steps and missteps, as the panoptic gaze is said to do. When you encounter the gaze of the Other you meet not a seeing eye but a blind one. The gaze is not clear or penetrating, not filled with knowledge or recognition; it is clouded over and turned back on itself, absorbed in its own enjoyment. The horrible truth, revealed to Lacan [. . .], is that *the gaze does not see you*. So, if you are looking for confirmation of the truth of your being or the clarity of your vision, you are on your own; the gaze of the Other is not confirming; it will not validate you. (Copjec, 1994:36)

As Zupančič also argues “paradoxically the ‘blind man’ comes to personify the very essence of seeing” (1996:33) and the gaze always turns out to be lacking, eluding our grasp, slipping, passing (1996:35). In his discussion of Lacan’s theory, Žižek similarly argues that while the object voice par excellence is silence, the object gaze is a blind spot (1996:92). Can one read the girl’s absent blind gaze as an “embodied” manifestation of the abstract Lacanian gaze? Does the Magistrate encounter this gaze in her gaze, failing to meet a seeing eye in the Other and finding a blind one instead (“not clear or penetrating, not filled with knowledge or recognition” [Copjec, 1994:36]). Seeking for self-confirmation, the Magistrate turns for self-validation and self-

legitimizing to the Other, which, he, however, fails to obtain, encountering instead the “impossibility of an ultimate confirmation from the Other. The subject emerges, as a result, as a desiring being [. . .]” (Copjec, 1994:36).

Thus, he finds himself—and will also end up as—a desiring being, desiring that which is not available, what is being concealed, the surplus: her gaze (her meaning). This is what makes of (transforms) her gaze (into) an *object petit a* in the Lacanian sense, functioning as the “paradoxical uncanny object that stands for what in the perceived positive, empirical object necessarily eludes my gaze and as such serves as a driving force of my desiring it [. . .]; [the] *plus-de-jouir*, the ‘surplus enjoyment’ that designates the excess over the satisfaction brought about by the positive, empirical properties of the object” (Žižek, 1996:105).⁹ Is her blindness posited as such an object for the Magistrate?

In Lacan’s theory the gaze belongs to the other, or as Žižek puts it, it is an object that “is not on the side of the looking/hearing subject but on the side of what the subject sees or hears,” (1996:91). Lacan furthermore argues that “where the subject sees himself...it is not from there that he looks at himself;” the gaze is the point from which the subject is seen (photo-graphed) (Lacan qtd. in Zupančič, 1996:35, 47), the resulting traumatic fact being that the gaze (of the Other) precedes our seeing and in order to become a looking subject, the gaze has to be expelled (Zupančič, 1996:47, 44). Can we look at the girl’s gaze as the expelled gaze of the Magistrate, *her* gaze as *his* gaze (that split from him)? Commenting on Lacan’s theory Zupančič argues that it is impossible to learn about one’s own identity unless one was able to put oneself in the very place from which one is being observed (1996:53). This loss is then incarnated into the privileged object—the object *a*, which embodies the lack and evokes it by its essentially elusive character (Zupančič, 1996:44). Does the girl’s gaze occupy the place of this privileged object in Coetzee’s text? Who is observing then who? To whom does blindness and seeing (looking) belong to in this novel?

Coetzee’s novel is a story in which both the “colonized” and the “colonizer” are similarly agents of the gaze/gazing. I argued that the power

⁹ Žižek talks about the voice and the gaze as love objects par excellence, “not in the sense that we fall in love with a voice or gaze, but rather in the sense that they are a medium, a catalyst that sets off love,” entities that create object (out of the other) (Salecl and Žižek, 1996:3-4).

relation between the Magistrate and the girl is primarily defined by looking, a power game in which the “meaninglessness” of the girl’s blind gaze is posited as the *object a* of the narrative. On the one hand, looking (seeing) has been seen as a self-confirming act for the Magistrate securing the certainty of his knowledge about the world and about himself, on the other hand, the girl’s gaze—understood as the “embodiment” of the Lacanian gaze and “representing” the Magistrate’s expelled gaze—denying and impeding his self-validation.

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IV ELT STUDIES

**LANGUAGE METAFUNCTIONS IN CLASSROOM
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The paper considers classroom discourse from a functional perspective. It analyses how Halliday's (1979) language metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual) are illustrated by specific teacher and pupil speech roles, how modality and the person system are used, and how thematic progression develops.

Halliday's systemic functional theory

Systemic functional theory grew out of a model ('scale and category grammar') proposed by Halliday in a collection of papers by Halliday (1976), in a volume by Halliday (1985), as well as that edited by Hasan and Martin (1989). In this paper, we will deal with only those aspects of the theory of significance for classroom discourse analysis.

Systemic functional linguistic theory is distinctive in at least three senses:

- in the claims it makes regarding the *metafunctional* organisation of all natural languages;
- in the uses and significance it attaches to the notion of 'system';
- in the claims it makes regarding the relationship of text/language and context.

The metafunctions

An innovative development that led to the emergence of systemic functional theory was the proposal that the grammatical organisation of all natural languages reflects the functions for which language has evolved. Thus any language use serves simultaneously (a) to construct some aspect of experience, (b) to negotiate relationship and (c) to organise the language itself into successful messages. Any natural language will serve these three broad functions, irrespective of the means of achieving them. The means vary with

every language used. These functions are pervasive in any natural language and extend across all language uses. Halliday and his followers, who identified the functions, named them as *metafunctions*.

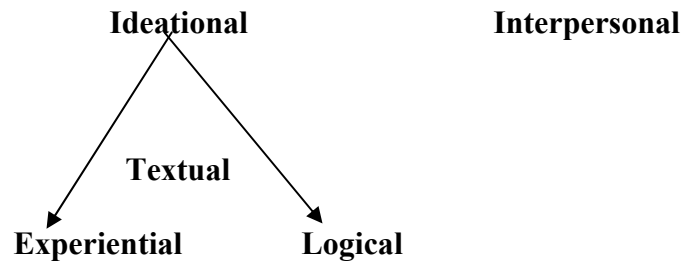
(a) The *ideational metafunction*, as Halliday discusses it, refers to those aspects of the grammar that are directly involved in the representation of the world and its experiences. These representations and experiences include both those of the 'outer world' of action, and those of the 'inner world' of consciousness, reflection and imagination. Consequently, the ideational metafunction actually consists of two metafunctions: *the experiential* and *the logical*.

Experience is typically represented by the resources of transitivity and of lexis. These are directly involved in realising the *experiential metafunction*.

The *logical metafunction* is involved indirectly in the building of the meanings within the clause; it contributes connectedness between the meanings of clauses. Connectedness is realized through two different sets of relationships: those to do with the interdependency between clauses; and those to do with the logico-semantic relations between clauses brought about by either projection or expansion (Halliday, 1994: 215-91).

(b) The *interpersonal metafunction* refers to those grammatical resources that include mood, modality and person, and which realise the relationship of the interlocutors.

(c) Finally, the *textual metafunction* refers to those aspects of the grammar that assist in organising language as a message: theme, information organisation and cohesion. Halliday (1979: 57) suggests a simple way to capture the metafunctions, demonstrating their relationship:



When we use this metafunctional model, we need to find the ways in which meanings - ideational, interpersonal and textual - are realized in

discourse, and ways of interpreting what role those meanings have in the overall organisation of the text.

The system

The second distinctive aspect is that of 'system'. A system is 'a set of options with an entry condition' (Halliday, 1976: 3). Language is a meaning system, which operates through choices or options. To construct an English clause for example, we need to make simultaneous choices with respect to theme (the point of departure for the message of the clause), mood (the speech function taken up) and transitivity (the type of process, associated participants and circumstances). The available sets of choices with respect to each of the systems (theme, mood and transitivity) are various, complex, and mostly unconscious (to the native speaker).

Transitivity choices involve selections from various *process types* that are realised in verbal groups; the associated participant roles are realised in nominal groups and the circumstances are realised in either prepositional phrases or adverbial groups.

Process types may be material (1), mental (2), behavioural (3), verbal (4), relational (5) or existential (6):

- (1) *We drew a house.*
- (2) *Just think about it.*
- (3) *We are writing a story about a past event.*
- (4) *Tells about what you did in the weekend.*
- (5) *France is a big country.*
- (6) *There is someone waiting for you outside.*

While not exhausting the possibilities, the six process types mentioned only suggest the range of process types. However, such functional labels used for the processes allow us to distinguish the types of processes that occur across a text, to notice the manner in which the types are deployed across the text, and to make judgements about the kinds of experiential meanings in construction.

The participants involved in the processes can also be given labels particular to the process types. Circumstances provide circumstantial information about what is involved in the process. Process types and their participant roles are important measures of the experiential content found in classroom discourse.

Classroom processes

In classroom discourse, there are two registers (or sets of language choices) at work: (a) those of the 'regulative' register, to do with types of behaviours in the classroom (as in 7 and 8 below), and (b) those of the 'instructional' register, to do with the content being taught and learned.

(7) right okay now we are going to start our new lesson

(8) you've got to follow the instructions

The instructional register frequently finds expression in parts of transitivity other than the process itself as in:

(9) build up your own examples following this model

In (9), the material process realises aspects of the pupils' behaviour that belong to the regulative register, while "your own examples" realises an aspect of the instructional register which is to do with the field of information being taught and learned. In all pedagogic activity, some language choices reflect the behaviours of the participants in the activity, while others reflect the 'content' or instructional field of information that is at issue.

The interpersonal metafunction

The interpersonal metafunction is realised in the mood choices made by the speaker in taking up particular speech roles vis-à-vis the listener (Halliday, 1994: 69). For example, teachers and pupils can offer information (10), demand information (11), offer a service (12), or demand a service (13):

10. today we'll read another story which is called 'First Time at a Festival'

11. what's a 'pilchard'?

12. do you need this pen?

13. give me this pen, please

The basic speech functions are augmented by various types of responses available (e.g., rejection or acceptance of an offer, acknowledgement of a statement, refusal to comply with a command, etc.). Teachers and pupils take up various roles vis-à-vis each other across a classroom session, and the

identification of their speech roles becomes an important measure of their relative roles and responsibilities. In practice, since the teacher-pupil relationship is asymmetric, it is the teacher who exercises particular power in offering information, in eliciting information and in directing the nature of activity. This is marked in the operation of the regulative register.

Other significant interpersonal resources are found in the uses of modality and of person. Thus, teachers often use modality to indicate the importance of a course of action to be pursued (14), though sometimes they use softer directions to make their demands more oblique (15):

14. *So you've got to pay more attention in class.*

15. *So it's probably best to move next to Irina.*

16.

The person system also has its significance in classrooms. Teachers tend to use the first person plural to build solidarity with their students in some enterprise to be undertaken (16), while elsewhere they use the first person singular as part of indicating their expectations of students (17). Finally, teachers use the second person when overtly directing pupils' behaviour (18):

16. *Today we'll read another story...*

17. *I want you to listen to this story again.*

18. *You need something to write with.*

The textual metafunction

The textual metafunction refers to the manner in which theme patterns assist in the unfolding of the directions taken in the discourse. Theme refers to 'the point of departure for the message' of the clause (Halliday, 1994: 37). It is what the message is about. Theme comes in first position in the English clause, though this does not actually define it. The clause is said to be organized in terms of its theme (its point of departure) and its rheme (whatever is not in theme).

The grammatical system of theme is complemented by the operation of the information unit. This is a feature of speech, and it refers to the pitch contour or tone produced in speaking. While information units do not correspond completely to any unit in the clause grammar, the nearest grammatical unit is the clause. As a general principle, what is expressed as given information falls towards the start of a clause, while what is termed new

information comes towards the end (Halliday, 1994: 292-307). What is new information falling in the rheme in one clause is often picked up and reinstated as given information in theme position in a new clause. In unmarked (or typical) situations, what is topical theme conflates with the subject of the clause.

The following school anecdote (19) demonstrates that topical theme progression is such that what appears as new information in the rheme of a clause often finds status as topical theme in a subsequent clause, thus helping to give connectedness and unity to the text.

19. *She had no **exercise book**/*
*because **she** left it at home/*
*and she thought **her dad** was going to bring it in the break/*
*and when **her dad** didn't bring it/*
*the teacher rang **her dad**/*
*but **he** didn't answer/*
*so her brother brought **her exercise book**/*
*and then **her dad** rang the teacher...*

We can also come across instances of marked topical themes which occur when a circumstance is put in theme position (20) or of a marked topical theme being created by placing a dependent clause first, thus giving it thematic status (21):

20. ***Today** we're going to start a new unit.*
21. ***Before you start**, let's make sure you know what to do.*

Topical themes are often found in association with textual themes and interpersonal themes. Where all three appear, it is the textual theme that comes first, followed by the interpersonal, and then the topical theme as in (22):

22. *We'll see how that works* (topical theme)
as we go through (a textual and a topical theme)
so you're following the given model... (a textual, an interpersonal and a topical theme, respectively)

In classroom talk, thematic progression is often expressed primarily in teacher talk, particularly at the start of lessons, as in the following teacher

monologue (textual themes are marked with a bold and underlining, and topical themes with a single underlining):

23. **Well now** everyone is here,
I want you to listen to this story like the one we had last week.
You know we discussed about the Beatles
and then we did our projects.
Well today we've got another story
which is called 'First Time at a Festival'
And I want you to listen to it...

If we turn to a dialogue involving a group of pupils working together, one finds the theme choices are of a different order:

24. A: You want some help?
B: I can't find it.
A: I know. Can you do it?
B: You do it.
A: Aren't we using the other one? (refers to another...)
B: Okay you know where it is? (hands the... to A).

Both textually and interpersonally such a passage of text is quite different from the passage of teacher monologue. The pupils indicate that they are directing the course the discourse takes, which is in this case very intimately linked to the activity they are performing. This explains the extensive uses of exophoric references to matters out of the text and in the context.

Patterns of theme distribution in classroom talk are very revealing, for the discourse is developed and carried forward through the theme choices. Who controls theme, to what ends, and at what points in the lesson, tells a lot about the overall organisation of the classroom text and about the relative responsibilities assumed by participants. Thematic patterns tend to be distributed rather differently across the different stages of a curriculum genre, reflecting, but also enabling, the various shifts that occur with respect to the operation of the regulative and second instructional processes.

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ON TA IN FICTION (SCRIPT PROCESS ANALYSIS)

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When people approach a piece of fiction writing, they expect to read a story of some kind. This story usually narrates events that follow what *transactional analysis (TA)*, - a theory of personal development, of communication and of psychotherapy, created by Eric Berne, - calls the *life course*: “*what actually happens in the individual’s life*”. (Definitions, given in italics/inverted commas in this argumentation, focused on applying TA concepts to literary analysis, come from Stewart, J., Joines, V., *TA Today*, 1999: Glossary). TA considers the life course as a *result of 4 interacting factors* - a. *heredity*, b. *unforeseeable external events*, c. *autonomous decisions*, d. *life script*, “*an unconscious life plan*”:

- a. “But the old man thinks I’ve a bad strain running in me. Devil’s blood he calls it”
“He has the same kind...” (Jakes 1976: 419)
- b. “the two boys had died as teenagers, before Ruth was born”. (Irving 1998: 4)
- c. “Many people encounter moments in their lives that convince them to change”. (Irving, 1998: 530)

Bestsellers make use of mixtures of various *life scripts* (d) spiced with unexpected *external events*, as if their respective authors had basic knowledge of TA. From this point of view, the story in a typical detective novel (*An Unsuitable Job for a Woman*, by P. D. James) is centred on the *life course* of a character with a *winning-script*. When the story begins, he is dead, having been murdered (*external event*):

“Mark was 21... He was at Cambridge ... in his final year. (33)...Mr. Bottley ... he received an adequate allowance... his academic work was satisfactory (34)... Mark Callender had created a little oasis of order and beauty out of chaos and neglect (48)... Mark... was intelligent without being clever. He was very kind: he cared about people, but without inflicting them with his concern. ... He was sweet (77)... Mark was capable of extraordinarily good and original work (100)... We were all fond of Mark in our different ways”. (138) (James, 1972)

The content of attention-catching external events that can be piled up in a story to make it successful, depends mainly on the basic TA concept of *life script*, be it losing or winning, but with a high interest-arousing potential:

“In stories, you must make the best thing that can happen happen (or the worst, if that is your aim), but it still has to ring true... (Irving, 1994: 22)

The life script is a plan, a scenario, a story, “written” in early childhood, by a child whose frame of reference, life position, analysis of the surrounding reality, influence its early decisions regarding how it chooses to live its life. (See Chevereşan, C., Chevereşan, L. 2003, 2004(a), 2004(b), 2005). The script represents the infant’s *response to reality and its best strategy for survival* in a world often perceived as hostile:

“...Dotty would be safe: an area of potential future hurt averted” (Connolly 1999: 25)

Thus, the life story has its *beginning* in early childhood (a decision, say, of not being loved and/or not being worthy of it) and, like any other story, it has also a *middle*, showing how the script is *reinforced by the parents* and “*justified*” by *subsequent events*. *The Script* is replayed unconsciously *in adulthood* whenever the person encounters *a stressful situation* similar to those encountered in childhood, when entering the script was the only protection against disaster. The *end of the story* is represented by *the payoff* (“*the closing scene towards which the script is directed*”).

TA never fails to stress that *life scripts are changeable and decisional*, so that payoffs are ultimately the result of a *chosen alternative*. That implies that if people are uncomfortable with their script, they *can step out of it*, beginning by *establishing what their main process patterns* are, then taking Adult control and behaving in ways that break the path:

In *Family Matters*, Jal Contractor, 45, leads a frustrating life, controlled by his authoritative sister Coomy. He keeps trying to dissuade her from actions “so deceitful, so destructive, so extreme” (175). But he *does not actually do anything*. Then, suddenly, in midlife, he becomes aware of the fact that his wishes depend only on his getting out of script by making a correct decision: “At that moment, the initial helplessness that had gripped him slowly released its hold. He felt calm, felt he knew exactly the things that would have to happen now, one after the other, all the inevitable tasks he would be required to perform. He would have to reflect, make decisions, act.” (396). He actually makes the respective decision and breaks out of his script: “I’m fed

up with listening to her 30-years old anger...” (316). From a non-winner, or a first-degree loser, Jal has turned into a winner by his own decision to step out of the no-longer adequate script, or better said, Adult re-decision: “Jal ...seemed to know how to sort things out” (Mistry, 2002: 452)

Such a decisional stepping out of script, unexpected but perfectly explainable, accounts for otherwise implausible happy endings in fiction, offering a valid way of working out success stories. The TA ideas about script open endless opportunities for writing challenging stories, original enough to never repeat themselves. TA states that *most people have their own life script (story) and these stories are as unique as fingerprints:*

“Funny thing is, in the end, all our stories... are the same... no matter where you go in the world, there is only one important story: of youth, and loss and yearning for redemption. So, we tell the same story, over and over. Just the details are different”. (Mistry 220: 228)

Stories are so different because the basic TA ingredients for shaping life script (early decision, frame of reference, life position) can enter an endless number of possible combinations with various other elements, for instance the *environment:*

“It’s the environment that carves the character high or low”. “Sir, I don’t agree with you because by environment you mean the background, the family life, like. Well, our lot was brought up decent, but one of us had to end up in the clink... and he was living in the same environment...” (Cookson, 2000: 213)

However different scripts are, SCRIPT PROCESSES can be grouped into a limited number of *basic patterns*. TA suggests that *parental modelling* explains the small number of patterns and their repetitiveness. The few existing patterns appear with small variations but vital similitude in stories placed in different settings.

Richard Wallingham (*House Divided*), models for his son, Robert, how to be deprived of the love of his parents and deeply resent the situation. The details are different, but the story is the same. Richard wasn’t loved by his parents after their elder sons, “Two wonderful, wonderful boys...died” (266). He models a *Never script process* for Robert. Grandmother summarizes the situation: “He’s suffering from the same handicap as his father. He has been not exactly ignored, but outshone by his handsome brothers” (268). (Cookson 2000)

Ruth Cole’s story, (*Widow for One Year*), reiterates a script process similar to the one of Richard and Robert. Ruth “was conceived in a...passionless act” (6), after her two

brothers “had died as teenagers, before Ruth was born” (4). Her mother, “had *never* wanted Ruth (85) and the girl grew “up not only with the overwhelming presence of her dead brothers, but also with the unparalleled importance of their absence” (85). (Irving, 1998)

TA theory is indebted to E. Berne and Taybi Kahler for the identification of 6 MAIN PATTERNS OF SCRIPT PROCESSES, non-related to age, sex, education, nationality, culture: the *Until, After, Never, Always, Almost, and Open-ended scripts*. Each has a *theme*, illustrated by Berne with a Greek myth, a *motto* and a *specific sentence pattern*. It can be lived out *long or short term* and it can be *abandoned* in specific ways. The following argumentation broadly uses the classification of script processes made by J. Stewart/V. Joines in *TA Today* (Chapter 15).

1. UNTIL

Theme (Myth): Hercules - Before he could become a demi-god he had to complete a set of tasks, like cleaning the king’s stables. Winning-characters in fairy-tales all over the world, have to prove courage and other virtues, or to provide some rare thing – be it the Holy Grail or a golden apple - before they are granted an ardent wish. Princes must kill dangerous creatures and princesses must kiss frogs before they can marry the idols of their dreams.

Motto: “I can’t be satisfied/have fun before/until X happens”.

A) *Lived out long term:* People often live in terms of “When/After I X, I’ll have time to do Y”, thinking about what they are going to do after they graduate (1), retire (2), fulfil a life-long desire or ambition (3), marry (4).

1. “I had no intention of marrying till I had completed my research and obtained a satisfactory post”. (Lodge 1984: 43).

2. “What do you want to *do* now that you’re retired?” (546) “Harry told Eddie that ...he hadn’t retired to look for another job. He wanted to read more, he wanted to travel... Harry was looking forward to doing a lot of things with Graham”. (Irving 1998: 570)

3. “I had always assumed that we would move back to London when my ‘mission’ was completed and that I would pick up my research on the justly neglected 18th century antiquarian and bibliographer whom I chose as my thesis topic”. (Lodge 1984: 210)

4. Most women think in terms of “I can’t be happy until I marry” since “...in those days if you weren’t married you might as well go and shoot yourself...” (Cookson 2000: 42)

B) Lived out short term: In daily life, the pattern is also “I’ll do X but wait until I’ve finished Y”, “I can’t be satisfied before X happens”:

“Sometimes he came close to believing that if by the end of a ...day he had failed to reach his own self-imposed targets then he would quite literally expire” (Connolly 1999: 84)

“I’m the goal oriented type. I’ll keep at this until it’s done”. (Trevanian, 1973: 90)

Sentence pattern/structure: Persons with an Until script interrupt themselves in mid-sentence, to put in extra thought, using *parentheses, dashes, commas* that reflect the Until belief “I have to cover everything before I finish”:

“He was at Cambridge reading history - at my old college - and was in his final year” (James 1972: 33)

“Did you know - before you were told – that he was down there?” (Gregorich, 1988: 66)

Breaking out: People can break an Until script pattern by having fun before they have finished all their work.

The girl in the example above (Trevanian 1973: 90), who does not want to interrupt her painting, steps out by accepting Jonathan’s invitation before she finishes. The quotation continues as follows: “ ‘I was going to suggest lunch’. ‘Sold’. She dropped the brush...”

2. AFTER

Theme (Myth): Damocles, who lived in constant dread, with a sword suspended on one horsehair above his head. Once he looked up and saw it, he could never be happy again.

Motto: “*I can have fun today, but I’ll have to pay for it tomorrow/later*”.

A) Lived out long term:

“I considered the matter coolly. I had more or less decided that I would marry Pauline... and I was slightly hesitant about the *have now-pay-later principle* to her virginity... I had no intention of marrying ...at least two years from now. It seemed unlikely that our self-control would stretch over such a long period; and if it had to give way, would not our holiday in Palma be an appropriate time and place?” (Lodge, 1984: 43)

B) *Lived out short term*: The same motto is applied to day-to-day actions:

“Instead of returning to committee session, he turned in at the first available ale shop and lost himself in the airless gloom”. Jud always drinks first and suffers after. (Jakes, 1976:197)

Sentence patterns: Statements begin *high* and are followed by a *fulcrum* (“*The position on which an object balances or turns*” - Macmillan 2002: 571) often represented by the word *but*, the rest of the sentence being *low*:

“Mr. Callender finished at the university and got a job teaching. He wanted to stay on at college to be a don... *but* they wouldn't have him... He used to say it was because he hadn't influence, *but* I think he may not have been quite clever enough”. (James 1972:116)

Breaking out: One can break out an After script by deciding to “seize the day *and* the day after”. TA therapy recommends people to do things wisely, for their enjoyment, avoiding exaggerations that could create problems later.

3. NEVER

Theme (Myth): *Tantalus* – condemned to stand eternally hungry and thirsty in the middle of a pool of water, with food out of reach to one side and water to the other, not realizing that he could get hold of what he wanted by taking one step, which he doesn't take.

Motto: “*I can never get what I (most) want*”.

A) *Lived out long term*: People complain they want something but they do not get it because, in fact, they have never even tried to. They desire a fulfilling relationship or recognition but they never do anything towards it, they unconsciously avoid doing something that could bring it, etc.

Matthew Halland in *City of the Mind* pretends he wants to mend his love-life ruined after a disastrous marriage by starting a new, satisfactory relationship, but although “In youth he had approached women with ease and without compunction” (147), at present – probably fearing the “sour taste of anticlimax.” (171) - he avoids meeting women (on holiday “ He will stay in London, catch up with a backlog of work... He will go to the pictures, look about the place; read books” -143), avoids commitment (hearing that Alice Cook wanted a baby “He felt horror, embarrassment and a searing compassion”- 103), and unconsciously sabotages his promising emerging relationship with Sarah Bridges, hesitating to contact her: “Each day he sat in front of the telephone, considered dialling Sarah Bridges... and did not do so.... He feared that she might have accepted”. (182) (Lively, 1992)

B) Lived out short term: People with a Never script process pattern play it out on a reduced, day-to-day, scale as well, not getting what they want in different moments of their life, failing at different attempts.

John Sewal, a journalist in *Summer Things*, “hates his job” (187), he cannot write successful articles, so we see him “lighting a log fire in the middle of a heat wave” (316) to burn his rejected manuscript, “then he knelt down and he was picking off the black bits of paper” (316). He desperately wants his wife’s love, but suffering of manic jealousy, he doesn’t act according to his wish, he only writes her threatening letters (“You have been caught out in your vile betrayal and you will pay for it...” 233) or pesters her with absurd accusations.

There is *no distinctive sentence pattern*. People often talk about *negative content in a repetitive manner*, they tell their troubles again and again, always *complaining*:

John Sewal: “bloody job, bloody articles, bloody editor” (56), “She’s a nymphomaniac” (343), “The bastard’s only just gone and had it [a novel] *accepted*.” (344) (Connolly 1999)

Robert Wallingham: “He never asks, he commands. He’s belittled me all my life. He’s a high head, a vain, conceited big-head... he makes the best of his infirmity and has caused nothing but trouble” (339), “It’s not fair. I don’t deserve this”. (390) (Cookson, 2000)

Breaking out: It implies deciding what you want, making a list of specific things you can do to attain what you want, and doing these things every day:

“Every Sunday evening, she set out her goals for the week ahead. These were modest, achievable tasks” (McEwan, 1982: 19)

4. ALWAYS

Theme/myth: *Arachne* - a girl who challenged the goddess Minerva to an embroidery contest, turned by the outraged deity into a spider and condemned to spin her web for eternity.

Motto: “*I must always stay with this unsatisfactory situation*”, “*Why does this always happen to me?*”

“*Why do I always have such rotten luck?*” (James, 1994: 36)

“*Why does this always have to happen?*” (Harris, 2000:56)

A) Lived out long term:

Variant Always 1. People repeat the same mistakes/ unsatisfactory pattern: they marry/divorce several times, because, though not satisfied with the initial partner, they keep developing similar inappropriate relationships:

Scarlett O'Hara, in *Gone with the Wind*, marries three times, without love. (Mitchell)
Robbie, the little boy in *The Master Fiddler*, "has the painful habit of forming passionately intense attachments to people, especially strangers. He expects them to feel the same. When they leave...he finds it impossible to understand why he's been rejected" (57). *Short term*, he falls again in love with a blonde, who reminds him of his dead mother. (Dailey, 1989: 57)

Ted Cole in *Widow for One Year* "frequently drank too much", was a "womaniser every minute" (7) and a "sexual predator" (69). "Ted's sexual *pattern* was behaviourally messy". (69) *Short term*, he starts again a messy relationship that causes his final fight with Ruth.

Ruth, his frustrated daughter: "her attraction to confident, aggressive men had led her into some questionable relationships" (195). Ruth's former college-mate characterizes the script-confirming situation: "I thought you picked them because you knew they were bad. I thought you picked them because you knew they'd go away" (287). *Short term*, Ruth deliberately has a new painful experience with a bad boy friend, in revenge for the shock her father had provoked her when she found him with her best friend: (320). (Irving, 1998)

People may *break out* this pattern by leaving an unsatisfactory relationship, job, locality, and finding another.

Ruth does this, by writing a book with cathartic function, "My Last Boyfriend", and by settling into a satisfactory marriage to a kind and compassionate man, Allan.
Architect Matthew Halland "parted company... with the first ... firm for which he worked, feeling his ideas to be insufficiently appreciated (39). (Lively, 1992)
Josephine Muscat in *Chocolat* leaves her brutal husband, moves house with Vianne Rochet and starts working with her: "You told me I was free" (Harris 2000: 186)

Variant Always 2: People tend to stick to the original decision/choices and stay on in the unsatisfactory situation, instead of moving on to a better one.

Several characters in *Family Matters* stay on in the same unsatisfactory situation, which associates with a *losing script and a negative payoff*. Lucy stays for 11 years in the painful situation of forbidden fiancée, and, when, under his family pressure, Narriman agrees to marry Yasmin, she stays on, refusing to accept their separation: "She telephoned him at work, at home, wrote letters, even waited at the college gate for him ... standing motionless, her face turned towards the window". (66) Yasmin does the same, and so does Narriman. He never reacts, never takes steps. His

daughter, stays on in the situation created by her husband's religious crisis: "Mummy... is pleased to see him at prayer, happy to arrange her routine around his requirements. ... But there are times when I've noticed her wringing her hands, looking worried when he prays on and on". (465) (Mistry, 2002)

Breaking out: In Variant Always 1 breaking out depends on people realizing that they do not have to keep repeating the same mistakes. In Variant Always 2, people ought to realize that they don't have to persist when things are awful and that they can leave an unsatisfactory situation for something new, if they want to. Breaking out of set script patterns is likely to change a character's life for better, directing it toward a positive payoff. We found illustrative examples in the real David Pelzer's success story:

David, in *The Lost Boy*, spent a happy period in his agitated life in a pleasant house: "My times at Dunmore were the best in my teenage life" (284). When his foster parents start quarrelling violently, he decides he does not want to stay on in that embarrassing situation and "finally, after an explosive argument, I called... my probation officer, and begged her to move me ... Leaving Dunsmore was one of the hardest decisions I had to make" (284). He also breaks out of the painful permanent disappointment with his father's weakness and continuous waiting for never-coming love from his emotionally handicapped mother ("I suddenly realized that my lifelong search for love and acceptance had finally ended in the arms of a foster parent" –303), thus making ready for a new life, in a new family, with new objectives: "I pray for the wisdom to become a better, stronger person" (303). (Pelzer, 2000)

Sentence pattern: People *begin a sentence*, then *go off at a tangent*, then *at another and so on*, their discourse being rather difficult to follow:

"If I didn't lie to myself – and it's extremely difficult not to lie to yourself - I had to recognize that some of my hostility toward her – and I recognized I was beginning to feel a certain hostility, because she knew – well, some of this was because I was a man and she was a woman". (Sanders, 1982: 320)

5. ALMOST

Theme/myth: *Sisyphus*, condemned to spending eternity pushing a huge rock up a hill. Every time he almost gets to the top, the rock rolls to the bottom again. Direct reference to the myth of Sisyphus is made in *Family Matters*:

"Murad said it reminded him of another story...about a king named Sisyphus who was punished in Hades. 'I think Mr. E is like Sisyphus'...'How?... Mr E didn't have to push a big rock up the hill over and over'. 'It feels like that' insisted Murad... 'the basket going down ..., then going up and poor Mr. E with no money, standing there to

steal his egg - it's just like a punishment, day after day... in a way we are all like Sisyphus'...Jehangir, nodding gravely, said he understood: 'It's like homework. Everyday I finish my lessons, and next day there is more homework. It never ends'. (Mistry, 2002: 116)

Motto: "I almost made it (this time), but not quite".

Almost Type 1:

A) Lived out long-term: A person who has almost been promoted at work but has got only *near* the boss's chair, not in it, lives out an Almost 1 script.

"Poor Hugo. He suffers from a sense of inferiority. Not quite handsome enough, not quite clever enough... not quite rich enough. No wonder he had to rely on sex to give him confidence... And even there, not quite...". (James 1972: 96)

B) Lived out short term: A student who reads a book but the last chapter or subject for the examination or little Jehangir above, who gives a charming fresh interpretation to the myth of Sisyphus applied to...homework, live out a short-term Almost 1 script pattern.

People *can break out* of this script process by making sure they *complete* what they do, however insignificant an action.

"The aim in any job of work is to get to the finish, right. Then you pack up your tackle and call it a day" (Connolly, 1999:287)

A person with Almost 1 uses a *sentence pattern* starting with a *statement* followed by a *tangent* on which the speaker goes off and then finishes:

"Dottie had said she wanted... a proper old-fashioned, seaside holiday - just like Harold and Elisabeth". (Connolly, 1999:13)

Almost Type 2: People actually *do* make it to the top of the hill, but instead of settling down with relief, they hardly even notice they got to the top, they look around for an *ever higher* hill to push the rock up and they start again.

"She knew him well. *When that task was finished he would start another*". (Cox, 2000: 4)

A) Lived out long term: Persons with Almost 2 are often material achievers:

Maggie Donnevan, an Irish girl, wants at the beginning to "survive another winter of starvation" (8). Then she wants to be able to pay for her family's passage to America, then "some gainful employment or some business" (51). She and her brothers settle in

Port Townsend and she wishes to work in logging. Soon the Donnevans develop their logging business, all under the urge of Maggie. Her next “rocks to push up the hill” are to “build a skid road” (227), to obtain a large loan, to build a circular sawmill, to find a ship to transport her logs, to build a chute for the logs. After they become prominent in the logging business, Maggie sets her eyes on a still higher target to attain: “I have this dream of making the Donnevan timber barons to be reckoned with” (413). (Matthews, 1978)

An Almost 2 script process is characteristic of people pursuing academic careers. They sail through examinations at school, win scholarships, graduate, begin Ph. D studies, defend their theses, get a fellowship, become fellows, get their eyes on a professorship and so on: more and more hard work and less and less time to socialize or to start a family. Examples are to be found in narratives about people with academic careers (*Changing Places*–D. Lodge, *Lucky Jim*–K. Amis, *The Doctors*–E. Segal). The pattern could be applied even to animal characters, the rabbits in *Watership Down*:

“One dim moonlit night, a small band of rabbits ...set out on a long and dangerous journey. Not one of them knows where they are heading... But if they leave one terrible danger behind them, they lay themselves *open to others*... in their search for a new warren where they can live in peace. And once they have gained the longed-for place, they must embark on a search for does who will help them form a dynasty” (Adams, 1988: title page)

B) Lived out short term, this script process pattern also emphasises the idea that there is always something else, something more to be done, even if it is a trivial succession of minor actions:

“It seemed important to him to have a written record of what he had done... He worked steadily, stopping twice just long enough to get bottles of cold beer from the kitchen... He wrote... swiftly ... his neat manila file folders grew... Late in the afternoon... Mary departed... He locked the door behind her, went back to his report” (Sanders, 1982: 271)

Sentence pattern: A string of positives is followed by a single negative or phrase with negative connotation.

“I remember him well, a... good-looking lad... Oh, he was clever! He got a scholarship to the grammar school and did very well... In Harrogate we thought he was the cleverest boy in grammar school. But then Cambridge is full of clever men” (James, 1972: 116)

TA recommends people to *break out* of an Almost 2 pattern by recognising each of their own successes as they achieve them, by keeping a list of their aims, and by striking off items on the list each time they fulfil one.

“Every Sunday ... she set out her goals for the week ahead. These were modest, achievable tasks, and it comforted her to tick them off as the week progressed”.
(McEwan, 1982: 19)

6. OPEN ENDED

Theme/Myth: Philemon and Baucis, an elderly couple who welcomed in their house exhausted travelling strangers, gods under disguise. As a reward, the gods turned them into immortal trees, with their branches entwined.

Motto: “Once I get to a certain point, I won’t know what to do afterward”.

A) Lived out long-term: The time after the critical point is a void, as if the script had disappeared. A person just retired, after years of service, feeling strangely uneasy, instead of enjoying the leisure he/she had been looking forward to for years on end, is a person with an open-ended script process.

Jonathan Browne in *Ginger, You Are Barmy* (Lodge), does not know what to do with himself and his long-dreamt-of free time, after finally finishing his service in the army: “I had looked forward with pleasurable expectation to my last days at Badmore” . (196) He is released and goes on holiday, but... “I tried to will myself into enjoying the long-awaited holiday by reminding myself that I was free; but I felt less at ease in the glaring, gaudy, hedonistic resort than I had been in the Army. The duty offices at Badmore, the gloomy huts at Catterick, tugged at my thoughts with a strength like nostalgia ... “ (207)

This type of process appears frequently in fiction, applied to diverse situations. People are confused after the death of a close relative/friend, like:

“The months since he’d come ... had been confused... without Ann to share it, his life was nothing more than a succession of tiresome days and fretful nights”. (Jakes 1976: 496)
“I fell apart. After that, I let things go... I lost my work and my senses”. (Cox 2000: 7).
“What would I do without you?” mourns Guillaume the death of his dog. (Harris 2000: 200)

Characters with open-ended scripts will be disoriented after the loss of a close relative, even if their life together had not been the happiest one:

The “Colonel’s Daughters” in Katherine Mansfield’s short story of the same title, had spent all their life looking after the needs of their father and fearing him at the same time. Still, when he dies, all they can think can be summed up as “*And now?*”

Confusion after the death of a relative is further aggravated in situations when the departed one is the breadwinner of the family. (*Cranford* etc).

The critical point can be represented by incredibly different situations, which makes characters with an open-ended script very “productive” for the storyteller. Examples:

Divorce or separation: Matthew Halland in *Cities of the Mind*, after his divorce, can only think of his failed marriage: “He went over what had happened, again and again. He tried to pinpoint his transgressions, her mistakes. He tried to see who had done what, and why. He tried to isolate moments at which it might have been possible to halt the process.... He set about charting the way in which their marriage had begun to die”. (71) (Lively 1992)

A stressful, dreaded situation: Chris in *The Lost Boy* (Pelzer) simply cannot think beyond the moment when he is 18 and out of protective foster care. Similarly, Simon in *The Hide* (Unsworth), living on his sister’s estate, is terrified by his insecure future: “Where could I go if I was forced from here? What could I do? ” (Unsworth, 1996: 51).

An open-ended process associates with a losing script, in case the specific point or situation represents the only option the characters have in view for their future. If things go wrong, they are unable to find an alternative solution to the situation and that is how they surely become and stay losers:

Sarah and Vance Overmeer in *The Blind Years* have been constantly manipulating their ward, Bridget, into agreeing to marry their son, considering her money as the only solution for avoiding ruin. The marriage becomes impossible and they are lost and cannot think of anything else: “The suave... man of the world was gone. She was looking at an old man, who seemed to be ... deranged, for he looked dull, even stupid”. (Cookson 1998:187)

B) Lived out short term –once people have completed their short-term goals they flounder, not knowing what to do until something else comes along:

“I’m not so much looking forward to Lizzie’s summer party as *living* for it: it’s the only good thing on the horizon...” (Connolly, 1999: 282)

No specific sentence pattern has been identified.

Breaking out: Both TA specialists and fiction writers consider an open-ended script as a kind of gift - since the last pages are missing, people or authors are free to write the end according to their own wish. A god-sent idea for fiction writers, since it opens infinite possibilities for creating unexpected endings, plausible enough for credibility and narrative success.

In spite of the limited number of script processes, different *combinations* are possible, accounting for a much wider “pattern” of interwoven elements: most people manifest all processes, one or two being predominant at times. We shall illustrate some frequent combinations.

Persons with Almost Type 2 + Until think they cannot rest until they have made it to the top. They never really make it there, because there’s always an even higher top somewhere. Therefore they can never rest. Maggie Donnevan, mentioned before, and Laura Castellano (Segal), the paediatrician who will never rest before she finds other and other ways of curing ailing children, are examples for this combination.

Persons with an Until + Never combination follow the belief “I can’t have fun until I have finished my work. I can’t finish. Therefore I can never have fun”. Characters in Segal’s *The Doctors* illustrate the combination: Seth Lazarus, the future pathologist, who never rests or stops learning, but who, being a strong character and, ultimately, a winner, resists, and Alison Redmond, the eminent student, for whom the obsession with always being the best is fatal, driving her to psychic instability and suicide.

Other frequent combinations are After + Almost Type 1 (+ Never), with the complex character of Jud Fletcher (*The Rebels*) as representative.

A *Never+ Always 2 combination* could be illustrated with Percy Higgins in *Ginger, You Are Barmy*, (Lodge 1984), who *never* can get what he wants and who leads a miserable life in the army. The same novel suggests a combination of *Always 1 + Never* in the character of Mike Brady, who repeats the same mistakes over and over and also never gets what he wants:

In school he doesn’t do “a stroke of work!” (162) and he only gets “a Gamma minus” (162). In the army, “He passed... but only just” (161). His girl friend prefers Jonathan, his friend: “Pauline wanted me, not Mike. And one could not blame her. Mike was no hero, he was barmy, and there was no place for him” (205). “He would never find rest or peace”. (209) In the same line, Jonathan knowingly diagnoses the patient: “When he comes out [of prison] he’ll start all over again”. (161) (Lodge, 1984)

As a conclusion to this presentation of a literary interpretation of some typical TA ideas about script processes, the authors propose the readers to try their hand at performing a similar analysis on *the frame story of Bernard Gilbert* in the novel *The First Deadly Sin* (Sanders 1982: 202-205, passim), deciding whether the title character is a winner, a loser or a non-winner, and what combination of script processes he shows. It is a practical *application*, meant at clarifying and reinforcing the use of TA terminology (regarding *script content and script processes*) in literary analysis and at offering the analyst embarking upon this attempt the possibility of drawing personal aesthetic delight from that fresh approach.

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TEACHING WRITING ONLINE: USING A PROCESS-GENRE APPROACH

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Introduction

Teaching students to write effectively can be a difficult and time-consuming process even in their first language. The difficulty of the task is compounded when the instruction is attempted in a second language. The limitations of in-class instruction time and the time demands of writing instruction can cause some teachers to devote insufficient time to developing writing skills, preferring to focus on other skills where progress can be more easily identified. With limited time, teachers may be tempted to focus solely on problems that are easy to fix, such as correcting grammar mistakes, while neglecting larger, more demanding problems, such as structure. Writing may be seen as an individual task, and students may be asked to write only on their own, often at home. The lack of a guide could cause students to feel lost. The increasing availability of the Internet and advances in e-learning give teachers new tools to cultivate writing skills outside the classroom. This paper will look at different ways to use these tools to best help students gain the skills that they need. To do this, we first need to look at how to approach writing instruction.

A History of Approaches to Writing Instruction

The oldest, and simplest, approach to teaching writing is known as the product approach. This approach focuses on producing texts that are free of language errors, mainly through mastering small, fixed structures of sentences and only later combining them into larger pieces (Pincas, 1982, cited in Kaur & Chun, 2005). As Kaur and Chun (2005) state, "in short, learning to write [is] viewed as just another way [of] mastering grammar items". The focus on sentence combining and the correction of grammar mistakes means that the student is generally a passive receptor whose feedback consists mainly of negative statements coming from a single source: the teacher. Students are not

asked to be creative outside of a grammar context. With this approach, students are essentially only involved in learning grammar, and not writing.

Another problem with the product approach is that it involves a linear approach to writing; first an idea is selected, then the paper is written, perhaps revised once or twice (where the revision generally only involves correcting language mistakes), and then turned in as a finished work. This ignores the fact that writing is often not a linear process. As Bruton (2005:2-3) states, "the evidence shows that most (extended) natural writing is the outcome of processes that are not completely linear, but rather cyclical and recursive, and that the process of composing itself generates new thoughts (Arndt, 1987; Zamel, 1983)". As students begin to communicate their thoughts in writing, what they are expressing may change slightly or even significantly. They need to find a way to implement these changes, and a linear approach to writing does not allow them to take advantage of their natural thinking process.

(It should be noted that there is not universal agreement on the existence of the product approach as a contrast to the process-genre approach, as some (e.g., Grabe and Kaplan, 1996) do not see any existent support for it. Even if it does not have actual methodological justifications in the literature, the product approach as described here does exist in practice and so can be used as the basis of comparison.)

In the 1970's, as a response to the product approach, the process approach was developed to attempt to focus on the recursive nature of writing. It focused on the basic stages that a writer naturally goes through: pre-writing or brainstorming, composing or drafting, revising, and editing (Tribble, 1996, cited in Yan, 2005:19). In addition, the proponents highlighted the interaction between the various stages, with, for example, the pre-writing stage being revisited during the revising stage to change or refine the ideas. There is also an emphasis on feedback from others, usually a variety of sources including peers and teachers. The feedback in the beginning stages generally focuses on the ideas, with little to no emphasis placed on language problems (Yan, 2005:19). This approach stresses the process of writing, rather than the product. It gives students the feeling of a more direct connection to their readers. The peer-to-peer approach gives the students a better understanding of how others perceive their writing and how they can improve their expressions to be better understood. Additionally, providing peer-to-peer feedback provides students with the opportunity to understand the writing process from the point of view of

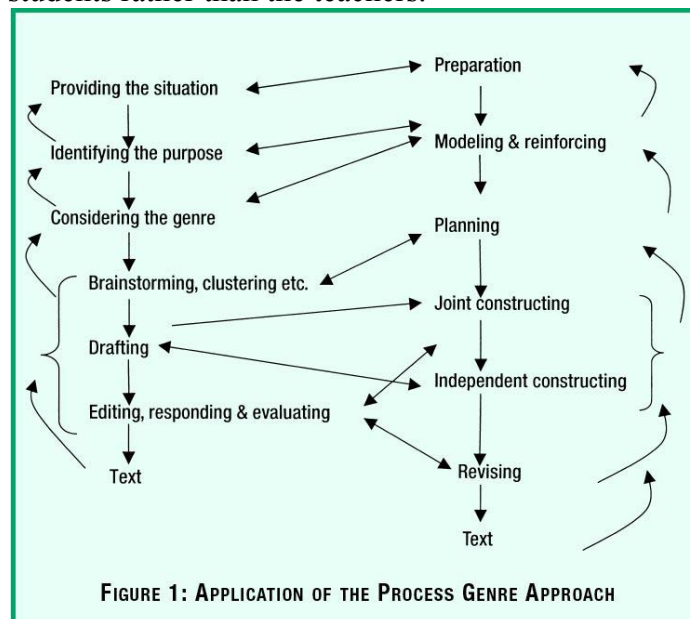
an observer. It also creates a feeling of camaraderie and shared experience among the students.

The process approach is not without its limitations. One of the problems with the process approach is that it generally views the process as the same for all writers (even those writing in their second language) in all situations. As Kaur and Chun (2005) state, "the main criticism directed against it is that it does not adequately address the issue of the reader, especially when the form of the text expected is convention and content-specific". Readers generally have certain expectations for what writing should contain in each genre. Despite the clarity of these expectations for those familiar with the genre, there are generally accepted forms for English writing that second language students will not be prepared to replicate.

In response to this problem, the genre approach was created in the 1980's. This approach focuses on the situation in which the writing is taking place in an attempt to give the writing context and real-world application. Yan (2005:20) states that "according to Cope and Kalantzis (1993), the genre approach to writing consists of three phases: (1) the target genre is modeled for the students, (2) a text is jointly constructed by the teacher and students, and (3) a text is independently constructed by each student". The students thus gain exposure to the typical features of English writing as well as a chance to reproduce these features under guidance. The problem with the genre approach is that, taken alone, it ignores the process of writing and views the students as passive mimics, with no stake in their own writing (Badger and White, 2000). The focus on form alone gives the students no chance to be creative, leaving them only to imitate what they are shown.

Recent thinkers have attempted to move beyond the restrictions of a single approach. Badger and White (2000) proposed a combination of the process and genre approaches into the process genre approach. The idea is to combine the recursive nature of the process approach with the understanding of purpose and form that comes from the genre approach. (An example of how this recursive process can work can be seen in Figure 1, taken from Yan, 2005:21.) The key, as Johns (1997, cited in Paltridge, 2004) explains, is to teach students to "act as researchers". The teacher must teach the students how to approach a text as a writer and how to understand what is expected of them so that they can "produce a text that fits in with these expectations, or . . . write a text which challenges, or indeed resists, what is expected of them" (Paltridge, 2004). To truly teach students how to write, it is necessary to teach them how to

produce and compose ideas on their own. It is important that students receive guidance, especially at the beginning stages of writing when they are most likely to get lost or develop bad habits. In order for the goal of independent writers to be achieved, however, it is also important that the instruction become focused less on the teacher as the main, or even only, source of information and more on the students discovering their own sources and learning for themselves how to use these sources effectively. The teaching must be decentralized and focus on the students rather than the teachers.



Teaching Online

The Internet has become a great force for decentralization in many contexts, from shopping to politics. Its rapid expansion has led to the availability of a wide variety of programs to aid teachers (such as Moodle, an open-source program available at www.moodle.org). These programs have allowed teachers to easily create interactive activities for their students that require little-to-no teacher supervision during the activity. Many teachers have used these opportunities to produce activities that focus on teaching students proper grammar. Teachers are now able to design tasks where students can independently study grammar rules and then complete exercises to evaluate

understanding. The computer presents a teacher-designed lesson and corrects the work using the teacher-approved answers. This development means that the skills that were once the focus of the product approach, such as sentence combining and common sentence structures, can be effectively taught separately from writing. Teachers can still use these activities in the broader approach to instruction, with the understanding that the activities themselves are not effective in teaching coherence and expression in writing. Online instruction can then be added that focuses on the process genre approach. With this combined approach, writing instruction can use the Internet to strengthen students in basic writing skills; this frees the class and teacher time to focus on the creative process of writing as a whole.

There are some dangers associated with this tactic, including the danger of decentralizing too much and not providing enough guidance to navigate the vast waters of the online world. There is the additional danger of students emulating online texts that are not always appropriate or well written. If, however, care is taken to provide guidance to students at important moments in the process, these dangers can be greatly reduced. Ideally, teachers and students will work together to make optimal use of the available materials. To that end, we will now look at different possible uses of the Internet in teaching writing.

Models

The Internet is a vast source of models of texts in all possible genres; it is a virtual treasure trove of writing in various styles by authors of many different cultures and approaches. The variety allows students to study many different writing devices. Through this study, they will begin to learn what might work best from their own perspective. They can see how other writers, both native speakers and second language learners, have addressed their subjects and tried to express themselves. The examples of writing on the Internet, however, are largely finished products; merely looking at thousands of completed works will not necessarily give the students a good idea of how to begin the process of writing for themselves. How, then, are students and teachers best to make use of these examples?

The first question we must ask is: How can we judge the efficacy of models in writing instruction? It certainly is not necessarily true that merely providing students with models to read on their own will improve their abilities to create effective pieces of writing. Indeed, it may be true that relying too

heavily on models will dampen students' creative instincts, teaching them only to model and not generate. (Supplying models alone may also reinforce tendencies to plagiarize, especially given the nature of some texts on the Internet.) As Stolark (1997, cited in Bruton, 2005:9) states, "too often, pedagogical applications of prose modeling are formulaic and doctrinaire rather than creative and generative". If students lack the ability to conduct research and are unable to proceed independently as researchers, they can easily become overwhelmed by complete models and may be unable to discover how to distill the essence of the model into something they themselves can use. Model texts alone are incomplete; in order to function as instructional models they need to be incorporated into the process.

There are two competing theories on how best to make use of models. The first, advocated by Yan (2005:21), suggests using them in the pre-writing stage as part of laying the foundation for the writing activity, usually before students brainstorm their own ideas. This method involves a teacher-led discussion on the purpose of the text and "how its organization develops to accomplish its purpose" (Yan, 2005:21). This strategy works when online-learning is used to supplement in-class activities; the models can be given to the students as homework to be discussed in the next meeting. It is important when utilizing this strategy to allow students to generate their own ideas about the texts, although students should not be allowed to overlook important facets of the models. Initial structured guidance and behavior modeling from the teacher will help students to understand the process. (An example of this is the teacher talking through their thoughts when approaching a new text, revealing to students "a process that is usually invisible" (Collins, 2006).) As their mastery of the required skills increases, the teacher guidance can be relaxed and in some cases even removed.

The other theory on using models, as advocated and demonstrated by White (1987:vii), is to introduce the models after the students have attempted a piece of writing on their own. "The model text then becomes a resource against which to compare their own version and from which they can improve what they have written" (White, 1987:vii). This strategy is more useful when the writing instruction takes place primarily or solely online; students can be asked to submit work and then provided with links to models. It is still useful for the teacher to provide guidance regarding the models and their structure; this guidance can be provided online and be supplemented by or replaced with descriptions and analysis of the text provided by the teacher.

Whichever strategy is used, it is important that the models be placed in a context that shows them only as jumping-off points. Their purpose is to help students brainstorm different ways of expressing themselves, and students should be encouraged to view the models as inspirations, rather than destinations.

Journals

The Internet can also be a tool in writing skills development through the use of online journals. Journals have been used in classes for many years for various purposes. One of the main uses of journals in writing instruction is to get students into the habit of expressing themselves in writing. In many cases, students are asked to respond to a specific topic or question and are often given a limited time to produce a short response. The idea is to accustom students to writing without pause, to get them to set aside questions of grammar and instead focus primarily on the ideas. These habits then become useful in the first stages of writing larger texts; students are more familiar with getting their ideas on paper, and so brainstorming sessions are not hampered by language concerns.

The easiest way to incorporate journals into online instruction is to simply replicate the existing process in an online format. E-learning programs such as Moodle have a journal function built in. Teachers provide the writing prompt and then are presented with each student's entry to which they can respond. This process can also be done through e-mail, with students e-mailing journal entries to the teacher and the teacher responding directly. The questions selected as prompts can be varied so that the students will be required to respond using different genres (e.g., "Describe a memory from your childhood," or "Do you think smoking should be banned in public areas?").

A possible problem with this approach is the time-demands on the teacher of responding to each student. One way of addressing this problem is to make the journals more public by placing them in open online journals (known as blogs). These blogs can be set up for free (on sites such as blogger.com) and then the teacher can provide a central list of all students' blogs. This allows students to read each other's entries and comment on them, giving them access to a variety of readers and ideas. This enables peer review, an important component in understanding audience and feedback.

Strever and Newman (1997) describe another possible way to use journals. Students are divided into pairs ("E-partners") to exchange journal entries. Students first individually compose journal entries (either from a teacher-created prompt or from a list of student-generated topics) and e-mail the entries to both the partner and the teacher. They then read their partner's entry and summarize it, e-mailing their summary and any general comments to both the partner and the teacher. The teacher can provide comments and suggestions for improvement in both the entries and the summaries. The authors point out that "these audience/summary journals also serve to decentralize the role of the teacher, as students create and direct their own discourse communities". The authors provided more guidance at the beginning when students were unfamiliar with the activity, gradually scaling back their involvement as students began to make the process their own.

Working Together

One of the apparent disadvantages of teaching online is the lack of classroom community and the resulting inability to work cooperatively. One way to overcome this disadvantage is through the use of forums, where students can post messages and respond to one another, either individually or openly. These forums can be useful in place of classroom discussions in such areas as pre-writing brainstorming tasks and consideration of strategies, as well as building a sense of community among students. The format of the forums is unlimited: they may be chat rooms, discussion boards, or whatever works best for the students within their educational community.

Another method of promoting group activities is through the use of wikis, which are web pages that are hosted in one place but can be written and edited by multiple people. (The most well-known example of wikis in use is wikipedia.org, an online encyclopedia.) By using wikis, students can collaborate on writing larger texts, either by delegating parts to members of a group or by combining each of their versions into one coherent text. Wikis store the history of changes to a page as well as its current version, allowing teachers, if they wish, to keep track of the work of individual students. Teachers can also edit the page themselves, working directly with the students to guide them through the process.

Feedback

One intrinsic challenge of the product approach is its focus on the composition of texts for a single purpose: to be handed in to the teacher. As Kim and Kim (2005:4) state, "students write for the teacher, not for themselves, and as a result, teachers are the only audience for whom students gain experience writing for. . . . Consequently, the teacher-led assessment . . . makes writing meaningless and unproductive". In order to take the more active role that is necessary for students to become autonomous writers, they need to have access to different kinds of feedback that emphasize different audiences.

One way of introducing a different audience, as mentioned above, is through the use of peer response. Kim and Kim (2005:11) point out that "peer response (process-oriented feedback) is said to provide a means of both improving writers' drafts and developing readers' understandings of good writing (Hyland, 2003)". In the summary journals, for example, seeing the summaries of their own work helped the students understand how well they were communicating their own ideas, while writing the summaries helped them to strengthen their abilities to distill and summarize the main ideas of a text, as well as to develop their writing skills through the summary writing itself. Strever and Newman (1997) found that the inclusion of peer response helped to engage the students, as they were often quite excited to genuinely communicate and see the responses, helping to build confidence in their writing.

The same process can be used in larger works as well. Moodle, for example, has a feature called Workshop, where students can submit assignments to be evaluated by their peers. The teacher can provide different rubrics for student assessments as well as examples of suitable assessments. The ability to effectively assess a work is not innate; as Leki (1990, cited in Kim and Kim, 2005:11) points out, students begin by focusing on small problems rather than ideas or structures, and they often do not know how to offer constructive criticism. The skill of assessing writing is an important stage in process writing, as students need to learn how to assess and revise their own writing. Practicing this skill on the writing of their peers, in addition to being helpful to the peers themselves, can help the students develop the objectivity needed to appraise their own work. The students thus learn to take a more active role in the process of writing.

It is also important for the feedback to incorporate various kinds of responses. As Kim and Kim (2005:12) state, "Song (1998) shows an integrated written feedback, which focuses more on meaning without excluding

corrections on linguistic errors, is more effective than either surface-error correction alone or just meaning-based feedback alone in terms of improving students' writing skills". The kinds of feedback employed clearly must depend on the assignment. In responding to journal entries, for example, the teacher should focus mostly on questions of content (e.g., did the student answer the question) and not on questions of grammar. If desired, mistakes in grammar can be addressed by modeling the correct structures in replies (e.g., responding to "I not understand" by saying "I am sorry that you do not understand") (Collins, 2006). The nature of the Internet also allows the teacher (or peers) to easily link to a clear explanation of the structure in question, rather than provide a rushed or unexplained correction. Thus, students can learn the proper structures in context and learn how to edit their own work by finding and correcting mistakes.

Conclusion

Teaching writing will always be an intensive task, perhaps the most difficult of the four major language skills. While it has become generally accepted that skills such as speaking require active learners, too often writing has been looked at as a passive skill, one that students will develop merely by following a set of instructions or by reading enough. Although good instruction and good reading skills are critical to developing good writers, these need to be seen as part of a larger whole, linked together in the process of writing. A successful teacher understands that education is an integrated and interconnected process and works on linking together the various steps in the process. The Internet, itself a vast web of interconnected links, is a tool with which teachers can help students understand how to forge these important links themselves. If teachers use this tool to guide students through the process of developing a piece of writing, the students can learn to make it their own.

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LEARNER AUTONOMY THROUGH FREE WRITING

EXERCISES

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Learner autonomy is a term discussed a lot nowadays in the literature of language teaching methodology. Researchers and experts give different definitions of the notion. One of the most widespread definitions says that learner autonomy denotes ‘the ability to take charge of one’s learning’ (Holec, 1981, cited in Thanasoulas, 2000). According to Leni Dam (1990) autonomy is ‘the learner’s willingness and capacity to control or oversee her own learning’ (referred to in Thanasoulas, 2000). But what does an autonomous learner do having this capacity? Based on the experts mentioned Thanasoulas (2000) claims that ‘he independently chooses aims and purposes and sets goals; chooses materials, methods and tasks; exercises choice and purpose in organising and carrying out the chosen tasks; and chooses criteria for evaluation.’

There is another important characteristic that should be mentioned when talking about learner autonomy. As we have seen it combines a whole range of abilities and techniques that a learner may apply in his/her own learning. Of course, these abilities and techniques cannot be acquired and mastered in a moment. Therefore autonomy is not a static situation or a product. It is rather a process, which means that learners ‘work towards autonomy’ (Thanasoulas, 2000) and teachers should help their students on their way by giving them opportunities to experience and develop their autonomy and independence.

I think, different courses provide different opportunities for both the teachers and the learners to practise autonomy and independence. In the present paper, I will discuss the series of writing exercises that I first did with my third year English major teacher trainee students at college in the year of 2004 and 2005.

The exercise that we did at the beginning of each lesson was the so called free writing exercise. The rules we applied were the following. I asked my students to choose a topic, any topic for themselves. (The topics were never public in the group.) Then I asked them to write about their topic for a short

period of time without stopping. If by any chance they had been unable to go on with their writing, I asked them to repeat the last word they wrote until a new idea came. When we started this free writing exercise in September I asked my students to write for three minutes, later I gave more and more time. At the end of the year my students were able to write for ten minutes without any problem. (As I have claimed the topics were always free, that is, chosen by my students. However, sometimes I gave a word like 'yesterday' or a phrase like 'I wish I could' to start their passage with.)

The aim of this series of exercises was to put my students in a situation in which they are supposed to use their English fluently for thinking and writing. In other words, they had the opportunity to communicate with themselves. Doing so they did not need to worry about their vocabulary, grammar or accuracy. They wrote for themselves in a separate notebook, which they were not supposed to give me for inspection. And, of course, they were not asked to read out their writings to the rest of the class. In this way this series of writing exercises was not just free but also private. My idea was that the students would have the opportunity to write freely during the lessons and work on their writings at home in their free time if they were interested.

The course in which I included the series of free writing exercises was a two-term translation course in the third year of a four-year teacher training course at college. In each term the students were supposed to write two tests in class and the tests were graded. They were also supposed to regularly hand in their notebooks in which they did their translations during the year. It means I gave written feedback regularly to my students by assessing their written work.

And one more note concerning the idea of writing without stopping and the students' freedom to choose what to write about. It may happen that they run out of ideas even if they are writing about something they have chosen for themselves. Because continuous writing is a key requirement of the exercise students are allowed to repeat the word they have stuck on until a new idea comes to their mind. It may result in the fact that they digress from their original topic. I think it is not a problem since the aim of this exercise is to write fluently in English rather than to stick to one particular topic by all means. As a matter of fact, I think it is very human and natural to change topics during thinking and communication. Why could it not happen during writing?

Sometimes after doing the exercise I asked my students, especially at the beginning of the first term, how they found writing. Some of them said that they were worried whether or not they would be able to write without stopping

for the time set. It may be explained by the fact that this sort of exercise was totally new to them, they had never done anything like that before. They were also surprised that I did not want to check their writings. Although we never discussed who wrote about what they let me know that most of the time they wrote about things that were happening to them around the time of the lesson. This last remark is very easy to understand since it is most straightforward to write about something that one is working on or thinking about at the moment. I admit that I had the same experience with myself when I was doing the same exercise with my students at the beginning of each lesson.

Before starting the series of exercises I decided to conduct a written survey with my students at the end of the second term. By that time they had a considerable amount of experience with free writing exercises. I asked the following questions:

- (1) Do you find your writing and thinking in English more fluent after having done the series of free writing exercises? What changes can you see in the way you use your English?
- (2) Did you return to your writings? Did you read them or work on them at home?
- (3) Did you do similar exercises on your own? Do you use English for writing down some of your ideas?
- (4) Would you like to do free writing exercises in the future (with or without a starting word or expression given by the teacher)? Why/Why not?

My students answered the above questions in the last lesson of the second term. I did this semi-structured written interview (Thanasoulas, 2000) with my students in order to get information about their experience, impressions and feelings, on the one hand, and on the other, to get ideas whether or not I should make any changes in the exercises in the future.

There were sixteen students in my translation group. They all answered my questions. Let me now present the questions one by one and the answers given to them.

- (1) Do you find your writing and thinking in English more fluent after having done the series of free writing exercises? What changes can you see in the way you use your English?

Most of my students mentioned several things in their answers. In sum, eight students found their thinking and writing more fluent by the end of the year than before. Eight students (only partly the same people) thought that the

exercises help them develop their vocabulary. One of them said ‘words came more and more easily towards the end of the year and I did not have to stop to think so often.’ Four of the students reported that they were able to write longer and longer passages in the same time. Two students admitted that sometimes they were not certain about the accuracy of their language use and there was only one student who would have liked to get feedback on her writing from me. One student argued that it would be rather beneficial for them to do similar writing exercises regularly at home. Finally, two students claimed that the exercise was easy for them because they were allowed to choose what to write about.

(2) Did you return to your writings? Did you read them or work on them at home?

There were two students who never returned to their writings. The rest of the group, that is fourteen students, occasionally read their work at home. Eight of the latter students noticed mistakes in their writings, five of them corrected the mistakes, whereas the other three were not interested in error correction. Four students found interesting or funny to read their previously written passages because by doing so they could see their life and problems in retrospect.

(3) Did you do similar exercises on your own? Do you use English for writing down some of your ideas?

There were twelve students in the group who said that they did not write in English without a particular reason. However, four of them wrote out words and expressions from song lyrics and also looked them up in the dictionary. Two students had pen friends abroad and corresponded with them in English. Two other students wrote out useful expressions from different sources, like newspaper articles or brochures. One student said she sometimes thought in English or translated her own Hungarian thoughts into English. Another student sometimes had the opportunity to talk to foreigners in English. Four of my students occasionally took notes in English for themselves. One of them found it a good way of practising English, another wrote her diary in English. And a third did some writing in English when she was very angry about something. It was a good way for her to hide her feelings and thoughts because her family did not understand English at all.

- (4) Would you like to do free writing exercises in the future (with or without a starting word or expression given by the teacher)? Why/Why not?

All the sixteen students answered yes to this question, however, their comments varied a lot. Seven of them would like to get a starting word or expression from the teacher, whereas two would prefer to write without a starting word or expression. Five students would be happy to write about a topic set by the teacher. Six students would prefer to write about topics chosen by them. Three people would happily alternate the two forms from time to time. Those who would prefer to do the exercise absolutely freely claim that in this way they can find what to write about more easily. Those who would be happy to write about a set topic said that they would find it challenging both in terms of contents and in terms of vocabulary. Set topics, they say, 'would make their mind work more.' One of my students also told in her answer sheet that she liked the exercise very much because for her it was a way to tune in on the translation lesson. Another found it an opportunity to complain about the previous lessons so for her it was a way of letting the steam off.

Reading my students' answer sheets at the end of the second term gave me a lot of ideas in connection with free writing exercises. In this way I have a better understanding of what students think about the benefits of writing regularly in English for themselves.

As a teacher what I find the most significant thing is that students consider free writing exercises as a good way of improving their writing and thinking skills and they would happily do similar exercises in the future. They think that these exercises help them by way of activating their vocabulary. They prefer writing about a freely chosen topic because then they do not feel limited in any way. I think it is because no student will choose a topic that he/she is not interested in or does not have the necessary linguistic devices (especially vocabulary). Consequently, students may feel secure and practise their skills without serious problems. In this way doing the exercise does not result in a stressful situation which might be counterproductive on their performance. However, it turned out that there are students who would happily write about topics set by their teacher, I think they must be the ones who are ready to take risks in their language lessons.

I also find it important that most of the students do not return to their writings, they do not read or try to improve them. On the other hand, there are only a few students who sometimes do some writing to pass the time away or in order to practise. Although there were several students who were worried about

their grammatical or vocabulary mistakes, only a few of them would find and correct them in their writings. (Moreover, there was a student who was happy that she was not asked to hand in her work since she would have been ashamed of her mistakes.)

Being language teachers we all know that one needs not only a good working vocabulary, which all my students agree with, but also a reliable knowledge of grammar which enables the language user to build meaningful sentences out of words. I think that this idea is covertly present in some of my students' reports telling about the mistakes they made in their writings. The reason that only a part of my students notices them may be that their language awareness is not yet very well-developed and the contents of their passages are more important than the quality of their linguistic performance. I find the latter absolutely natural since as long as the message of communication is understandable we do not normally bother about linguistic inaccuracy. I think the following of my observations seems to prove it.

A few of those who reread their earlier writings found them interesting because it was surprising for them to learn something about their earlier selves, troubles, joys and thoughts. I have practically no information about the contents of my students' writings. However, rereading my own writings I noticed that I would not remember certain details of my life unless I had these passages written at the beginning of my translation lessons. In other words, it seems to me that writing regularly may easily transform into writing a diary. (Campbell claims that writing a diary on the internet, that is blogging, can be used as a technique towards learner autonomy.) Bearing this in mind it is very easy to understand why students reported that often they complained about their problems and worries, let the steam off, arranged their ideas and prepared for a task that they had to do, that is, they communicated with themselves about their lives.

And indeed what I find the most important benefit of this series of exercises is regular communication with oneself. I think keeping in touch with the world around us and the happenings in our souls, opinion and decision making, understanding our feelings and other people's emotions, keeping track of one's own and other people's actions, articulating one's aims and objectives are all necessary for one to develop an independent and autonomous character, which is crucial if one is determined to be an autonomous learner and later an autonomous teacher. My aim with the series of free writing exercises done regularly with my translation group was to support my students in the process

of being more and more self-confident, independent and autonomous. Based on my students' reports I think I managed to do so.

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CAMBRIDGE ESOL EXAMINATIONS: A LOCAL PERSPECTIVE

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1. Introduction

This paper sets out to overview the most important issues pertaining to the administration of Cambridge ESOL examinations in the Timișoara sub-centre of British Council Romania. Secondly it presents and discusses the results of a mini-survey on how these exams are viewed.

2. General issues

2.1 What are Cambridge ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) exams

According to Cambridge ESOL's website (<http://www.cambridgeesol.org>) they are examinations and tests for non-native speakers of English. Cambridge ESOL offers the world's leading range of [exams](#) for learners of English. Each year they are taken by around 1.75 million candidates in over 135 countries. The exams are characterized by:

- a total commitment to assessment of the highest [quality](#)
- [recognition](#) by universities, employers and official bodies throughout the world
- excellent [support for teachers and test takers](#).

People take Cambridge ESOL exams for many reasons:

- to gain entrance to a university or college
- to improve their job prospects
- to measure progress in English.

2.2 Range of exams offered by Cambridge ESOL

2.2.1 General English Exams

- **KET** (Key English Test)

An elementary level exam, testing your ability to deal with basic written and spoken communications.

- **PET** (Preliminary English Test)

An intermediate level exam, testing your ability to cope with everyday written and spoken communications.

- **FCE** (First Certificate in English)

An upper intermediate level exam - ideal if you can deal confidently with a range of written and spoken communications.

- **CAE** (Certificate in Advanced English)

An advanced exam - if you can communicate with confidence in English for work or study purposes, this is the exam for you.

- **CPE** (Certificate of Proficiency in English)

A very advanced level exam - perfect if you have achieved a high level of language skills and are able to function effectively in almost any English-speaking context.

Skills-based assessment

- **CELS** (Certificates in English Language Skills)

These certificates provide modular assessment of English language skills and are ideal if you don't need to achieve the same level across all four skills (listening, reading, writing, speaking).

- **Certificates in ESOL Skills for Life** (not available in Romania)

These certificates provide flexible assessment of ESOL learners in England, Wales and Northern Ireland and are fully based on the Adult ESOL Core Curriculum.

2.2.2 Business English

- **BEC** (Business English Certificates)

A suite of three exams designed to test English language ability used in the context of business. They are ideal if you are preparing for a career in business.

- **BULATS** (Business Language Testing Service) (on special request from Cambridge ESOL)

A multilingual assessment service for companies that require a rapid, accurate means of assessing language skills in English, French, German and Spanish.

2.2.3 Academic English

- **IELTS** (International English Language Testing System)

The ideal test if you need to study or work where English is the language of communication. IELTS scores are recognized by universities and colleges, employers, immigration authorities and professional bodies.

2.2.4 Other exams

- **YLE** (Young Learners of English)

An enjoyable and non-threatening way of assessing the English of children between the ages of 7 and 12.

- **ILEC** (International Legal English Certificates) (available in Romania soon)

English is an essential tool for any lawyer working with international matters. It is the lingua franca of the legal profession, of business and international affairs. Employers need to know that the legal staff they appoint have a sufficient level of English to be able to communicate with clients and professionals in other countries, and to handle information written in English.

At the same time, law students and newly-qualified lawyers need to be able to show employers that they have these skills. The new Cambridge ILEC - International Legal English Certificate - was created to meet these needs.

- High-level language qualification for lawyers
- Internationally recognized

(More Information: www.LegalEnglishTest.org)

- **TKT** (Teaching Knowledge Test) (available in Romania soon)

It is a new test about teaching English to speakers of other languages. It aims to increase teachers' confidence and enhance job prospects by focusing on the core teaching knowledge needed by teachers of primary, secondary or adult learners, anywhere in the world. This flexible and accessible award will help you to understand:

- different methodologies for teaching
- the 'language of teaching'
- the ways in which resources can be used
- the key aspects of lesson planning
- classroom management methods for different needs.

Who is TKT for?

TKT gives teachers a strong foundation in the core areas of teaching knowledge needed in the English language teaching classroom. It is ideal for all teachers, whatever your background and teaching experience, and is also suitable for people who would like to teach English but do not yet have a teaching position.

There are no formal entry requirements. However, anyone wishing to take TKT is strongly advised to have **at least** an intermediate level of English - level B1 of the *Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* - eg PET, IELTS band score of 4.

After taking TKT, teachers who want to develop their knowledge further can progress to Cambridge ESOL's well-established teaching awards, such as ICALT (In-service Certificate in English Language Teaching) and CELTA (Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults).

What does TKT involve?

Most teachers are likely to follow a preparation course before taking the test but you can also prepare yourself through your own reading and study, if you prefer.

TKT has three core modules. These can be taken together in one exam session or separately, in any order, over three sessions. Each module consists of a test of 80 objective questions, lasting 80 minutes, which require you to select the correct answer and mark this on a computerized answer sheet.

Module 1 - Language and background to language learning and teaching

- Describing language and language skills.
- Background to language learning.
- Background to language teaching.

Module 2 - Planning lessons and use of resources for language teaching

- Planning and preparing a lesson or sequence of lessons.
- Selection and use of resources and materials.

Module 3 - Managing the teaching and learning process

- Teachers' and learners' language in the classroom.
- Classroom management.

2.3 Grading and certification

Written papers will be marked in the UK, by Cambridge ESOL examiners. Test results are normally reported within six weeks of the test date. There is a range of passing and failing grades to distinguish levels of

performance.

All candidates receive a statement of results showing their performance on each of the four papers and an overall grade, and candidates who achieve passing grades will receive an official certificate awarded by University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations.

2.4 Recognition

The Cambridge ESOL examinations are recognized by thousands of employers, universities and colleges, professional bodies and ministry and government organizations throughout the world. They can open doors to higher education, improve job prospects and, because the qualifications are so well known globally, increase mobility.

Cambridge ESOL qualifications are recognised at different levels by Ministry and Government organisations for many purposes, such as the recruitment of government officials and for training teachers in the State School sector.

Employers and Professional Bodies like Siemens, Sony, GlaxoSmithKline, Nestlé, Microsoft, Adidas and Coca-Cola are among some of the international organizations who have used Cambridge ESOL examinations as a benchmark to establish the English language abilities of their staff and for training purposes. More than 2,500 employers around the world are using Cambridge ESOL qualifications.

Professional bodies, such as the General Medical Council (GMC) in the UK and the American Association of Veterinary State Boards (AAVSB), require an IELTS band-score for entrance purposes.

Over 200 universities & colleges in the UK recognize the English language ability demonstrated by the award of a Certificate in Advanced English (CAE), Certificate of Proficiency in English (CPE) or IELTS 6.0, 6.5.

The Cambridge ESOL examinations are linked to the Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE) levels and to the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages and are the only certificated examinations referred to in the framework document as specifically linked to it by a long-term research program.

(www.cambridgeesol.org/recognition)

2.5 Common European Framework of Reference (CEF) and Cambridge ESOL Examinations

Developed through a process of scientific research and wide consultation, the Common European Framework for Languages (CEF) provides a practical tool for setting clear standards to be attained at successive stages of learning and for evaluating outcomes in an internationally comparable manner.

The framework provides a basis for the mutual recognition of language qualifications, thus facilitating educational and occupational mobility. It is increasingly used in the reform of national curricula and by international consortia for the comparison of language certificates.

All the Cambridge ESOL exams are linked to the CEF published by the Council of Europe.

Tabel 1. Equivalence of most largely taken exams in Romania

Common European Framework Levels	General Examinations	English Examinations	Business English Examinations
Upper advanced	C2 Mastery	CPE	-
Advanced	C1 Effective Proficiency	CAE	BEC Higher
Upper intermediate	B2 Vantage	FCE	BEC Vantage
Intermediate	B1 Threshold	PET	BEC Preliminary
Elementary	A2 Waystage	KET & YLE Flyers	-
Beginner	A1 Breakthrough	YLE Movers & Starters	

3. Cambridge ESOL examinations in Romania

British Council Romania is the only centre in Romania approved by University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations. It organizes the exams in 4 sub-centers as follows:

Centre network

- 1 Centre (Bucharest)
- 4 Sub-Centres (Brasov, Cluj, Iasi Timisoara)
- Closed-Centres (schools)

Sessions

- PET and BEC – 6 sessions a year
- FCE and CAE – March, June and December
- CAE for bilingual classes (Project of British Council, Cambridge ESOL and Ministry of Education, approved 8.10.99)
- CPE - June and December
- YLE - only in closed centres, any time during the year
- IELTS - pre-established sessions (on a monthly basis in Bucharest, November and May in Timisoara)

Registration

- 3 months before the exam date - Main Suite and BEC
- 6 weeks before the exam – YLE, IELTS

Pass rates: Romania is among the top countries in the world by pass rate.

- No. 1 in the world for FCE, CAE and CPE in 1997 and 1998 (over 90% pass rates)
- In the top 10 for FCE, CAE and CPE since 1999 to date (over 80 % pass rates)

Results and Certificates

- 3 months after the exam date – Main Suite and BEC
- 2 weeks after the exam date – YLE and IELTS

4. Cambridge ESOL in the region

In the **Timisoara sub-centre**, Cambridge ESOL exams were first organized in 1995 for the following levels FCE (15 candidates), CAE (20 candidates), CPE (10 candidates). The venue was a classroom in ‘W. Shakespeare’ Highschool, Timisoara. The staff contained a local coordinator and two oral examiners, native speakers from Bucharest.

In 2006 the whole logistics changed. The whole organization implies now a very complex teamwork since the levels and number of candidates have constantly increased. Thus in the June session there were for FCE – 56 candidates, CAE – 199 candidates, CPE - 20 candidates and BEC -20.

Now we use in Timisoara 3 examination venues: UVT, Hotel Timisoara and University 'Dimitrie Cantemir'. Consequently staff extension and serious venue staff training became necessary. Now the sub-center has:

- 1 Sub-Centre coordinator
- 1 deputy Sub-Centre coordinator
- 8 trained local oral examiners
- 20 trained supervisors and invigilators
- 1 Cambridge local presenter (promotional presentations and training workshops for teachers)

In the region there are also 4 closed centres: 'Moise Nicoara' in Arad, 'Gojdu' in Oradea, Colegiul National Banatan, 'W. Shakespeare' and Univ. 'D. Cantemir' in Timisoara.

We could notice lately an increasing popularity of YLE: (Timisoara: "Colegiul Natioanl Banatean" and "William Shakespeare" highscools have approximately 300 candidates, Oradea 250 candidates, Arad 100 candidates) and PET ("Colegiul Natioanl Banatean": 50 candidates)

5. The mini-survey

As mentioned previously, we designed a min-survey in order to see how Cambridge ESOL examinations are viewed by potential test takers. The mini-survey was based on a self-completion questionnaire. The questionnaire can be seen in the Appendix.

When designing the mini-survey, we took into account its two main characteristics put forward by Robson (1993:124):

- the collection of a small amount of data in standardized form from a relatively large number of individuals and
- the selection of sample of individuals from known populations.

In what follows, we will discuss the population, administrative, and analysis issues which were taken into account in this mini research process.

5.1 The Population and Questionnaire Administration

We tried to identify the potentially 'most familiar' respondents and ask their opinions about Cambridge ESOL Examinations. The most appropriate respondents in this respect were considered to be the graduating English majors in our university. They were viewed as such for two main reasons: an

internationally recognized certificate should be crucial in their career, and, secondly, in their curriculum they have a Practical Course for the whole third year which is dedicated to preparing for the CPE. More than that, as seen previously in this paper, Universitatea de Vest Timisoara is one of the venues used to organize the Upper Main Suite examinations. Thus, these students should, at least in theory, be very well informed about the range of Cambridge ESOL examinations offered in the region and their main features.

Our target population was constituted of 98 students majoring in English in their final year of study in the academic year 2006-2007. Our initial intention was to include the entire population frame in the survey. However, what we finally managed to do is to use what is generally known as a non-probability sample (see for example May: 1997: 87, where no generalization is possible), due to practical reasons explained in more detail later in this section.

The questionnaire was piloted on ten third year majors in English, as we tried to choose respondents with similar characteristics as those of the population, as recommended in the literature (see, for example, Cohen and Manion: 2000, Dunsmuir and Williams: 1991 May: 1997). After the pilot, some modifications were made both in the content and the structure of the questionnaire in order to clarify the questions and make it more user-friendly.

We intended to administer the questionnaire for self-completion during one of the courses supposedly attended by all the 98 students. However, only 45 students attended the course on that particular day. As we did want to avoid the 'captive audience' syndrome, we told the students that they should fill-in the questionnaire only if they wanted to. Consequently, we ended up with 42 returned questionnaires.

The respondents were 40 females and two males.

5.2 The analysis

After collecting the questionnaire, we processed the data by counting the answers to the close-ended questions and by categorizing the qualitative data provided by the open-ended questions.

A summary of the most important findings will be presented as follows.

- As expected, none of the respondents said they were not at all familiar with Cambridge ESOL examinations. It is nevertheless a bit surprising that only 10 respondents said they were very familiar while 6 said that

they were only vaguely familiar. The majority of the answers (26) showed that the respondents believed to be fairly familiar with Cambridge exams. Considering that these students were exposed to Practical Courses whose stated aim was to prepare them for CPE, and they belonged to an institution where Upper Main suite exams are organized three times a year, they should have seen themselves as being more knowledgeable as far as these exams are concerned. Not surprisingly, the respondents stated that they were most familiar with CPE (29 cases) and CAE (18 cases) while BEC, YLE, and TKT were not recognized by any of the respondents.

- The majority of the respondents indicate as their primary source of information about these exams a human factor (38 their university teachers, 24 their high-school teachers and 14 colleagues or friends). Just a small number obtained information from British Council (6 cases) or the internet (8 cases).
- 10 respondents have a certificate in English issued by Cambridge ESOL, a surprising fact, considering that their main field of study is English which consequently should play a major role in their future life especially in the context of Romania joining the European Union. The most popular exam with our population was CPE (6 cases). One respondent chose to sit all the three exams of the Upper Main Suite (FCE, CAE and CPE). The majority of the respondents said that they chose to sit a Cambridge exam for its usefulness (6 cases). Other reasons that were mentioned were *to check my English* or peer pressure (1 case: *I was influenced by my numerous high-school colleagues who had sat such an examination*). All the 10 respondents who have a Cambridge certificate would recommend other people to sit one mainly for further development and career. One respondent also mentioned that these exams are worth sitting because *they are objective and valid*.
- 21 out of the 32 remaining respondents who had never sat a Cambridge exam responded that they would like to sit one mainly for their usefulness in terms of career and language development. 5 respondents said they would not choose to sit one, the most frequently given reason was cost-related (3 people said *it is too expensive*), one person said it was not useful (*I study English at the university and I will have a diploma in English*) and one person said s/he was *not prepared for it*.

- Q9. might seem a bit silly and redundant since it asks the respondents if they ever prepared for a Cambridge exam. Under the given circumstances, (they had a practical course class especially designed for this) they should all have given a positive answer. Though the question was asked mainly for validation purposes, surprisingly in 6 cases the respondents either said that they had never prepared for one (5 cases) or that they had only prepared for one individually (1 case: *with a private teacher*). The remaining of the respondents (37) acknowledged that they had a course at the university, some of them also having had a course in high-school, too (5 cases).
- Almost all the respondents consider Cambridge ESOL examinations both relevant and useful. The majority of the respondents consider them relevant because they test all four skills and reflect the true level of English. They find them useful mainly because of their international recognition and for their future careers. 4 respondents also referred to the positive washback effects of these exams (*the preparation for the exam is complex and it improves your knowledge of English*). Only one person directly stated that s/he did not consider these exams relevant because *I haven't sat one so I don't know*, while 2 said they did not know.
- As far as the respondents' familiarity with the administration of Cambridge ESOL examinations in the Timisoara region is concerned, only 7 respondents believe they are very familiar, 21 consider themselves fairly familiar while 14 feel they are only vaguely or not at all familiar.
- It is interesting to note that when it comes to the selection role of Cambridge exams among other ways, the findings were more balanced. Only 16 of the respondents believe that a FCE or higher Cambridge exam should be used for selecting future students of English. Nevertheless, other 8 respondents would also choose a Cambridge exam but in combination with the English component of the Bacalureat. 5 respondents would rather have a university designed entrance exam while only 4 would go for the English component of the Bacalaureat. 6 respondents said that they did not know (which is strange, as you would expect from a graduating student of English to at least have an opinion in this respect). What is also worth stressing is the fact that the majority of the respondents who said that they would go for Cambridge exam as

a selection procedure, said that they considered them *far more complex, objective and reliable* than the English component of the Bacalaureat.

6. Concluding remarks

Our paper has tried to present briefly the status of Cambridge ESOL examinations in the Timisoara sub-centre of British Council Romania and then to present the results of a mini-survey among the graduating students of English in our university. This min-survey was meant to elicit their views concerning these exams.

The survey showed that, even though these students were exposed to special preparatory classes for CPE, they do not appear as being very familiar with the range or the administrative issues of Cambridge ESOL examinations in the region. Moreover, only a small number of respondents have a Cambridge certificate, though the overwhelming majority considers them as being reliable and useful for their careers or development. There may be several possible explanations for this situation, such as the very high costs of these exams or insufficient information provided to them, especially first-hand information given by their university teachers (more so since our students do seem to expect this, rather than resort to other sources such as the internet or British Council).

In conclusion, there is more to be done to raise awareness and thoroughly inform the potential candidates as to the usefulness and the chances they have to obtain a certificate that will enable them to demonstrate their English language knowledge in the context of European mobility, triggered by Romania becoming a member of the European Union.

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TRANSLATION AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

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“A hundred years ago, the majority of translated texts were religious, literary, scientific and philosophical. Apart from the religious texts in Protestant-only areas, translations were mainly read by an educated elite in each country. In this century, translation has become a force and an instrument of democracy. (...) The subject matter translated has extended to the whole range of human knowledge, with particular emphasis on the most important technological innovations and on political and commercial relations between nations as well as on creative literature. Further, the range of languages translated has increased continuously as more countries become independent (...) and more languages achieve national status within each country.” (Newmark, 1993: 16) As there is no sign that this activity will ever decrease, or that the learning of an international language like Esperanto and/ or the development of machine translation will make the existence of good human translators redundant, we should give translation proper importance in the language class as well (since this is where everything starts). But do we really do that?

Alan Duff (1990) states that today, translation is ignored as a valid activity for language teaching and is used almost only for testing. This has happened because in most schools it became from a challenging discipline a routine exercise.

Translation has not been much used because it was considered:

1. unsuitable for classroom work, time-consuming and boring;
2. a non-communicative activity, involving only reading and writing;
3. an activity that requires the use of the mother tongue, which is not desirable.

Still, he also considers that we should use it in the classroom because:

1. it helps us understand the influence of one language on the other, correct errors of habit and explore the potential of languages;
2. it is necessary and natural, being used all the time outside the classroom;
3. it is suited for practicing communication both from and into the foreign language;
4. it uses authentic material, bringing the learner in touch with the whole language, and not just with those parts isolated by the textbooks;

5. it invites speculation and discussion; it can be done in groups; the texts can serve as material both for reading and for discussion;
6. it develops accuracy, clarity and flexibility;
7. by it, the students can see the link between language (grammar) and usage.

The place of translation in foreign language teaching will always depend on the role that the native language will be given in the learning process. At one extreme there is the grammar-translation method, in which students learn by translating from one language into the other and by memorizing grammar rules and applying them to examples. As in this case the native language provides the key to meaning in the target language, it is used freely in class. At the other extreme, there is the direct method, which excludes the mother tongue, thus automatically excluding translation. In this case, students are taught the new words by means of realia, pictures and pantomime, and grammar rules are learnt inductively, i.e. by generalizing from examples. Both methods are successful when taught by good teachers. But there are teachers who use an eclectic method. They use translation into the native language for communication purposes, as it is the easiest way of making themselves understood. Translation into the foreign language is used as a form of control and to some extent also of consolidation, being a quick, efficient and relatively objective method of testing the grammar and the vocabulary that should be. So, in the didactic process, translation is used either as an acquisition method, revealing the mechanism involved in the production of correct sentences and in their combination in larger units or as a means of testing the students' competence. Thus, translation can also be viewed as the purpose of teaching. At the end of a course or of a stage of a course, the students should be able to understand various texts, which means that they should be able to make at least a mental word-for-word translation of them. But the distance from the original text to a good translated version of it (whether we speak of translations from the foreign language into our mother tongue or vice versa) is huge and full of dangers.

At this point, a distinction should be made: between pedagogic or academic translations on the one hand, and professional translations on the other hand. Pedagogic or academic translations are those intended to help students learn a foreign language. The target texts obtained as a result of such translations are not used for real communication and are not intended for real communication. They are usually fragments of larger texts and require mostly linguistic skills. They give "only a measure of how closely to the source text the

students have managed to find equivalents in the target language.” (Superceanu, 2004: 15). Professional translations are meant to assist communication. Some of them convey vital messages, therefore translating for professional purposes involves great responsibility on the part of the translator. Professional translators translate complete texts and need to have complex translation skills. Ideally, we should begin with the former category and gradually get to the latter. Unfortunately, this does not happen all the time. While we nevertheless start with pedagogic translations, since this is one of the ways in which the students learn the foreign language, we sometimes never get to the professional translations, since some of the students have a problem with understanding what they really are.

At pre-university level, at least to my knowledge, texts are translated especially with the purpose of helping the students understand their meaning or of checking that they know the meaning of each and every word in the text. Consequently, the form that the translation takes is not important. There are also teachers who do not use text translation at all, the result being that their students just read the texts aloud without really understanding everything that they are reading. While this practice has the above-mentioned disadvantage, it also has an incontestable advantage: that by ignoring translation, it reduces interference with the mother tongue, therefore contributing to the development of language habits directly in the foreign language.

At university level (and I am referring to the faculties of letters, that train their students to be both language teachers and translators), translation should be taken (at least) one step further, as at this level there should be special classes devoted to this type of activity. As far as our university is concerned, students are offered plenty of practice in translation. They have practical courses in grammatical translations (2nd year), literary translations (3rd year) and ESP translations (4th year), paralleled by a theoretical course in translation studies (4th year). The result should be a huge development of their translation skills, but unfortunately it is not. A first reason for this is that by always comparing the two texts (the one in the foreign language and the one in Romanian), the students have their sense of the language distorted. To this there also contributes the fact that they do not read enough in any of the languages, the fault being both their own lack of interest in this activity and the library's lack of books. The second reason for the students' failure to translate appropriately is tightly connected to the first. Since they have no sense of the language, they find it very difficult to understand what it is that they have to do

in order to produce free translations, which should read as pieces of literature not only in the source language, but also in the target language. There is also a third reason for the bad results of our translation activity, which I think is the most important: the students' attitude to evaluation. Error correction is a very important part of the learning process, and our evolution as a species of intelligent and rational beings is basically connected to our ability to learn from our own mistakes. Unfortunately, most of our students do not admit that they make mistakes, especially when it comes to the written test papers and examinations. Apart from the obvious grammatical ones, what we call "their mistakes" are considered to be the result of the teacher's subjectivity. The students constantly complain that their variant is never taken into consideration and we never leave any room for interpretation. They are still far from understanding that, when translating, one should not only render the denotative meaning of a text, but also preserve its genre, register, style, metaphors, connotations, modality, coherence, focus and emphasis, even paragraph structure. In order to do this, one should sometimes make use of translation strategies and procedures and even find creative solutions for translation problems. A good translator takes care, therefore, to avoid recasting the translation into a shape which might convey only something close to the basic meaning of the text. S/he should not assume that s/he could safely ignore some of the above-mentioned factors just because s/he considers that these are not the main points and, therefore, they are unimportant. Even when our students admit that they made a mistake, usually when their translations are discussed orally, during classes, another problem appears. They are in such a hurry to finish correcting the translation that they do not wait for any explanation of why the correct variant is another one than their own. All they are interested in is putting down the correct variant, disregarding the fact that the only way in which they can improve their English (or Romanian for that matter) by doing this activity is to find why another solution would be more appropriate.

Difficult as it may be to admit it, probably part of the blame for all these is of the teachers' as well. Peter Newmark (1993) states that the success of any translation course depends 65% on the personality of the teacher, 20% on the course design and 15% on the course materials. Those who teach translation should be, first of all, organized in their class procedures. Secondly, they should be familiar with the names and locations of all the main relevant up-to-date reference books (such as dictionaries, thesauruses, glossaries, books about translation etc.) and offer this information to their students. More than that, they

should draw their students' attention to the fact that the reference books have limitations and that the language develops beyond their boundaries (therefore, just because a word/ meaning is not listed in the dictionary, it does not mean that it does not exist). Thirdly, they should have a strong, but attractive personality. The translation teachers need to be confident that they have enough experience and expertise to impart to their students, even to the ones that are more gifted than themselves. But they also need to have a warm manner that invites participation, because the translations should be discussed in class and the students should be encouraged to express their opinions so that they can be commented upon. The teacher should be able to explain why s/he considers that a certain variant is not correct and should encourage students to make notes about the various problems encountered while translating. Last, but not least, the translation teacher should have the skills of the professional translator, i. e. s/he should "be a competent linguist, an expert reader and an expert writer in two languages", who needs also translational expertise, some innate abilities such as "the ability to concentrate, flexibility of mind, imagination, curiosity, patience, creativity", and some qualities that can be acquired, like "a taste for linguistic matters, a sure critical sense, rigor and motivation." (Superceanu, 2004: 44).

What remains to be discussed is what can be done to improve the current state of things. First, I should think that translation should be given much more importance at pre-university level, where it is desirable and helpful in conveying meaning, and in ensuring and checking comprehension. As far as the university level is concerned, students should be made aware of the fact that an enormous responsibility lies on the translator's shoulders, therefore they should make the most of the translation practice they are offered if they want to choose this career. This means that they have to take their time to discuss the translation of a text and that they have to be open to suggestions. As for the exam assessment of a translation, Newmark (1993) recommends that it should be done both by the teacher and by another person, and that it should take into account both the paper's accuracy and its readability, provided that it is made clear to everyone that a paper may be readable without being accurate and vice versa. Needless to say that the students have to be offered for translation in class texts that are as close as possible to what the market will require them to translate as professionals.

There is no such thing as a perfect translation. Still, we should try hard to improve our translation skills in order to get as close as possible to the ideal.

The consequences of wrong translations can be catastrophic and certain mistakes made in the performance of this activity can be irreparable. It is quite clear that a poor translation cannot only lead to hilarity or to minor confusion, but it can also be a matter of life and death (especially in areas like medicine, law or technology). Therefore, since translation has such an important role outside the class, we should do our best to give it the place it deserves in the class as well.

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MODERN VERSUS TRADITIONAL: COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING AND THE GRAMMAR TRANSLATION METHOD

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Theoretical data

My paper focuses on two different teaching methods: a modern one, communicative language teaching and a traditional one, very controversial, the grammar translation method, apparently rarely used nowadays. I am interested in determining which of the two is mostly used today, how teachers view grammar translation and if they still apply it.

The communicative method is a modern approach to language teaching, which has appeared as an alternative to the traditional way of teaching (the grammar translation). Its main purpose is to involve students in “real or realistic communication” (Harmer, 2004:85), in order to acquire communicative competence, fluency, thus language acquisition being more important than conscious learning. As Littlewood remarks: “A communicative approach opens up a wider perspective on language. In particular, it makes us consider language not only in terms of its structures (grammar and vocabulary), but also in terms of the communicative functions that it performs. In other words, we begin to look not only at language forms, but also at what people do with these forms when they want to communicate with each other” (1995:x).

The characteristics of the communicative approach are well synthesised by Diane-Larsen Freeman (1986) and Jeremy Harmer (2004). The method aims at developing speaking and listening skills, but reading and writing are not ignored, either. A variety of language is used, as the focus is on language functions, the objective of the teacher who adopts this method being students’ fluency. Therefore, grammar explanations are not considered essential, students learning grammar through practice.

The students’ native language does not have an important role in this approach, being used only in cases in which something needs to be explained and it can not be clearly understood otherwise. Communicating in English – this is the method used and also the main objective of the teacher. Culture and civilisation are fundamental elements in the learning process: students are

taught about the culture of the people, referring to everyday lifestyle, customs and traditions. They have the opportunity to learn about a different culture and this type of information would prove useful in a real life situation.

The techniques employed for practicing communication are: discussions, debates, role plays, “reaching a consensus” activities, written communicative activities, drama, games etc. These activities involve the use of authentic and interesting materials and thus students become involved in learning and are highly motivated.

Students are evaluated both orally and in writing, all the four skills being assessed. Assessment is seen as a learning opportunity for the students; errors are tolerated, especially during oral activities which aim at fluency. The teacher has renounced the traditional authoritative role, being the facilitator of students’ learning, the manager of the activities, initiating them, advising the students and sometimes being their partner. As the teacher is no longer the authority, interaction takes place mostly between the students, as pair and group work are frequently used.

Communicative language teaching represents, therefore, the modern way of teaching, “promoting a methodology which is based around group and pair work, with teacher intervention kept to a minimum [...] CLT has sometimes been seen as having eroded the explicit teaching of grammar with a consequent loss among students in accuracy in the pursuit of fluency” (Harmer, 2004:86).

Opposed to communicative language teaching, the grammar translation method, the traditional approach, is the oldest of its kind, very controversial at the moment. It has been used since old times to teach Latin and Greek and it became popular in the 18th century, as it was considered “active, simple, effective” (Stern, 1996:453). Its decay began in the 19th century, when it was attacked because it was believed to be too formal. As Stern remarks, “The majority of language teaching reforms in the late 19th century and throughout the first half of the 20th developed in opposition to grammar translation” (1996:454). So, it has played a very important role and, in spite of many controversies, the method is still largely used.

Translation is an important, inevitable part of the learning process. Wilga M. Rivers and Mary S. Temperley (1987) notice that students use this technique at early stages, even when they are taught through direct methods, but it disappears when students become more secure, when they have learnt the language. Anyway, translations should not become a habit, because they may

influence students negatively, not allowing them to become fluent in the foreign language they are learning.

The main objective of the method is linguistic competence, which is achieved by studying especially grammar and vocabulary. This approach is a deductive one, as the focus is on conscious learning: the teacher presents the grammar rules, this stage being followed by practice which consists mainly in exercises and translations.

The students' native language is frequently used for the explanation of the rules, impeding the communication in English. Reading and writing are the skills mostly practiced, to the detriment of speaking and listening. Therefore, the techniques used by teachers who employ this method are translation exercises, reading texts, grammar and vocabulary exercises.

Literature and culture play an important role in the students' learning, especially because the translations exercises based on literary texts. The learner is taught not only the language, but also the literature of the people.

As this is a traditional method, so is the role of the teacher who is the authority in the classroom, the manager, coordinator and evaluator of the students. The interaction in the classroom takes place mostly between the teacher and the students, the frontal approach and individual work being used. Assessment and correcting students are very important aspects of this method: mistakes are not tolerated, the focus being on accuracy.

The first language and the use of grammar are very important for some learners who want to learn the language consciously. The problem with translations is that they "have slipped into disfavour in recent years. This is not because translation itself is reprehensible. In fact, it is a natural process with many practical uses. Unfortunately, for many teachers it became an end, rather than a means for improving the student's control of the structure of the language. As a result many translation exercises became tortuous puzzles, in which four or five complicated structural features would be carefully intertwined within one sentence" (Rivers, Temperley, 1987:146).

Case study

These theoretical data are the starting point of a mini research, which is also based on my observations during seminars and during practice, when I noticed that students were still very keen on the grammar-translation method.

Even during their practice, after they had studied different modern methods, they were still in favour of this traditional approach.

My research aims at finding out which of the two methods is preferred by students and teachers, the modern or the traditional one, and which the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches are. I discussed this topic with seven teachers (secondary school and high-school) and two groups of students in the 3rd year, University of the West, Timișoara. I used qualitative methods: interviews, questionnaires and observations.

The results of the study were surprising. Only one of the teachers said she did not use the grammar translation method, whereas the others admitted that they used it, especially in the case of teaching grammar. All of them were in favour of the communicative approach, but they did not reject the other.

The students were also in favour of both methods, stating that they would use a combination of the two, as teachers. There was another group of students who had a different opinion: they preferred the communicative method because their teachers used only the grammar translation method, the classes being boring and with no opportunities to communicate.

Here are some of the students' and teachers' opinions:

- "I use the communicative method because it helps the students improve their fluency and it develops their imagination and creativity."
- "I prefer the communicative method both as a teacher and as a possible learner of a new foreign language."
- "I think I will concentrate more on the communicative method because pupils have to be encouraged to speak freely."
- "A combination of the two methods seems to be ideal. But the communicative one should be the dominant method to use."
- "From my point of view each of them has its efficiency, so I will probably try to combine them."
- "Personally I would use the communicative method for developing speaking skills and the traditional method for teaching grammar."

In conclusion, teachers and students prefer both the traditional and the modern method, considering that a combination of the two is most suitable for teaching English, for the development of different skills and language areas. Both methods have advantages and the disadvantages which we have also discussed.

Communicative language teaching

Advantages

It improves communication, developing speaking skills and leading to fluency. This is the most important feature of this approach as the main objective when teaching a foreign language is to make the students speak that language. Therefore, it fosters acquisition which is longer lasting than conscious learning. It also encourages students to be bold, to express their opinions, to be creative and imaginative.

Students enjoy communicative activities because they do not realise they are learning; they have the impression they are playing. This increases their motivation and confidence. It is a very realistic and helpful method, as teachers create real life situations and use authentic materials.

There is more interaction teacher – student and student – student. The role of the teacher is more relaxed, the teacher becoming a partner in the learning process. There are more learning opportunities and the techniques, types of interaction and materials are diversified.

Disadvantages

Students do not practice enough grammar and thus accuracy is not achieved, so students may speak fluently, but not correctly. Writing skills are not well developed, the focus being on speaking.

As English is mainly used, there may be some students who do not understand the task. Students may switch to their mother tongue during pair and group work activities. Noise and indiscipline are a very important issue, one of the interviewed students said: “you may end up with just a noisy class and not much work done”. The consequence is that the teacher could lose control.

Grammar translation method

Advantages

It fosters conscious learning, with a focus on grammar, leading to accuracy. The students may see the differences and similarities between their mother tongue and English, as Romanian is frequently used. Grammar and vocabulary are well developed, accuracy being considered more important than

fluency. The focus is on reading and writing skills which are well developed, students learning about literature and culture.

The teacher can control the class better by using this method. There is no noise, no indiscipline and the teacher can check the activity of each student.

Disadvantages

The grammar translation method is too boring, monotonous, less imaginative and creative, not stimulating, leading to lack of motivation. Speaking and listening skills are not practiced enough and, therefore, students do not achieve fluency. The lack of authentic materials and real life situations sometimes leads to artificial language and does not offer many learning opportunities.

There is no interaction between the students, the teacher being in total control of the class, so students' opportunities to practice speaking are few. The method is also considered to be too mechanical; one of the teachers said that the students might "stick too much on rules and become afraid to talk for fear not to make mistakes."

Conclusions

Communicative language teaching is the most frequently employed method and it has the most important advantages, having proved to be a very effective teaching procedure. Although grammar translation is considered out of date, it is still often used, being considered effective in teaching grammar and still used by teachers nowadays.

Nevertheless, the communicative method should be the one mostly used, along with other modern approaches, because it leads to communicative competence. This should be the teachers' main objective since students will have to use the language in real life.

Even though grammar translation is old fashioned and not appropriate for teaching a foreign language, we must agree with Stern who states that: "In spite of virulent attacks that reformers made, the grammar-translation or traditional method has maintained itself remarkably well." (Stern, 1996:455) And the results of this study prove this statement.

There are cases in which it is inevitable to use it, as in the case of teaching grammar, but it should be limited to that and adapted, used along other

modern techniques. Accuracy and fluency are essential in language learning, therefore different methods should be used to achieve these aims.

Both methods have certain advantages and disadvantages. We should try to adapt and to combine them, according to the topic, the level of the students, their learning styles. A combination of methods, “the eclectic approach”, as Chastain calls it, is the most appropriate. “This individualization of approach is desirable in one sense because teaching is a personal activity and each teacher has a particular style” (Chastain, 1998: 110).

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METACOGNITION IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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The paper investigates the importance of metacognition in second language acquisition, focusing particularly on the metacognitive strategies in the context of BEC (Business English Certificate) Higher. In addition to the theoretical background, the paper includes a longitudinal experiment, which is concerned with the importance of self evaluation as an element of metacognition while addressing a BEC Higher reading task.

Theoretical background

First and foremost, we will look at some theoretical aspects of metacognition and its use in second language acquisition so that later we can analyze its applicability to the restricted field of preparation for the BEC exam.

We define metacognition as the process of becoming aware of declarative and procedural knowledge about cognition and applying these types of knowledge in order to regulate cognitive mechanisms with a view to improving their function (one can thus talk about metaattention, metamemory or metacomprehension).

Flavell (1979) makes the distinction between two components of metacognition: metacognitive knowledge and metacognitive processes.

Metacognitive knowledge can be defined as the declarative knowledge about cognitive processes. This type of knowledge can be used to regulate and control cognitive processes. Metacognitive knowledge may refer to:

- the subject (i.e. the student or candidate): general knowledge about learning, such as means of processing information that is directly related to the subject's specific context.
- the task: knowledge about the specific requirements of different types of tasks and the way in which they involve the cognitive processes.
- the strategies: knowledge about cognitive and metacognitive strategies and about the instances in which these strategies may be applied.
- the interactions among any of the above: knowledge about the way in which any of the above mentioned items interact and thus influence the result of cognitive processing.

Metacognitive processes imply procedural knowledge referring to the application of cognitive strategies. Metacognitive strategies are sequential processes that regulate the cognitive processes with a view to reaching a cognitive objective (Livingstone, 1997). The main metacognitive strategies that we have in mind are *planning*, *monitoring* and *self evaluation*. Planning obviously takes place before the task, monitoring occurs in parallel with the task, whereas self evaluation occurs after the task has been completed. Chamot et. A (1999) adds problem solving to the three metacognitive strategies. However, it is our stance that problem solving is not a metacognitive strategy, but a cognitive one, as its purpose is to fulfill a task, not to regulate or better learning.

Brown (1983, in Yussen, 1985) adds prediction to the above list of metacognitive strategies, which can be defined as the estimation of the quantitative result of the cognitive activity, e.g. the amount of information that the subject will acquire after the completion of the task. In addition, guessing the answer to a task before its completion is another metacognitive strategy the researcher considers. However, he does not make reference to self evaluation. We believe that prediction and guessing may just as well be considered as sub-elements of planning.

Confusion or overlap as far as cognition and metacognition are concerned is not at all infrequent, the above example of categorizing problem solving as a metacognitive strategy being only one example. One cannot stress enough the fact that metacognitive strategies precede (planning), follow (self evaluation) or occur simultaneously (monitoring) with the cognitive ones. Furthermore, metacognitive strategies have a different purpose than cognitive ones. While cognitive strategies are applied in order to help a certain subject reach a certain objective (e.g. completing a task that requires the subject to reorganize a text in order to make it coherent), metacognitive strategies are used by a subject who wants to ENSURE that a certain goal will be reached. Thus, it is obvious that subjects having metacognitive skills usually perform better in tasks that involve cognitive processes.

Linguistic applicability

The BEC (Business English Certificate) Higher examination tests the candidates' ability to use English within the context of business at an advanced level, the same level as that of CAE (Certificate in Advanced English). All the

four skills are tested, our focus here being reading, particularly the second reading task (the jumbled text).

When preparing for this examination students can choose from two different ways of preparation, which may also be combined: focusing on tasks that are similar in content, structure and level to the examination tasks and/ or starting with tasks that are identical in structure and level with the BEC Higher tasks. Our point of view is that the second variant is more advantageous, particularly for those students whose current level is at least upper intermediate, for two reasons:

- The improvement of declarative and procedural knowledge. By focusing on tasks that are identical in structure and level with the examination tasks, the students can improve their procedural knowledge (by applying certain cognitive and metacognitive strategies) more effectively. Moreover, they get the opportunity to enrich their declarative knowledge at the same time, by learning new vocabulary items and grammar structures from those very tasks.
- Effective monitoring. By focusing on such tasks the students can evaluate their performance correctly and thus have the chance to concentrate particularly on those that require more practice. On the contrary, if the students only focus on less demanding tasks that are only similar to the examination tasks, it may make preparation a lot easier and they may get the wrong impression that they are doing well and expect the same to happen in the examination.

Metacognitive strategies involved in the second reading task of the BEC Higher examination

The reading test lasts for 60 minutes in which the candidates are required to complete six tasks, the second task being the jumbled text.

By and large, *planning* implies both setting objectives, which involves knowledge of the task and understanding of instructions, and time management, having in mind that time could become a real stress factor in the entire exam.

As far as the second reading task is concerned, the subjects should decide upon not spending more than 10 minutes on this task. The subjects should also direct their attention to the text and read it while ignoring the gaps to ensure a general understanding of it.

Monitoring, as it has already been pointed out, occurs in parallel with the completion of the task and it implies analyzing the attention given to the task and the level of comprehension while it takes place. The direct result of monitoring is self evaluation, the two being interconnected in the sense that if the evaluation is unfavorable, one can resort to further planning and monitoring by employing additional cognitive resources.

Monitoring as a metacognitive strategy ensures that the subject employs enough cognitive resources and strategies in order to achieve his/ her goal. The cognitive strategies subjects may decide to apply with a view to achieving the goal are the following:

- Read the text up to the first gap and the sentence following it.
- Underline key words in the sentence that precedes and in the one that follows the first gap.
- Read all the seven sentences that have been taken out of the text and choose one (or several if the subject realizes after appropriate monitoring that he/ she does not know the answer; in this case he/ she must return to the gap later and eliminate the unnecessary sentences). The answer should be chosen on the basis of the information gathered from the sentences around the gap and after reading all the possible answers.
- Do the same for all the gaps in text.

The *self evaluation* of comprehension after it has taken place usually involves the following stages:

- Every time a sentence has been chosen for a certain gap, all the other sentences are analyzed as well, even if they have already been selected for other items, in order to avoid mistakes.
- The subject explains to him/ herself the reason(s) for choosing each sentence, by evaluating the connections with the text.
- After filling in all the gaps, the subject reads the entire text again in order to check whether it makes sense.

It can be argued that any learning involves restructuring information. Therefore, learning to apply such metacognitive strategies step by step involves restructuring some skills (Rost, 1990).

First of all, subjects must be ready *to accept ambiguity*. Acceptance of ambiguity can be applied to both planning and monitoring. As far as planning is concerned, the subject must read the text ignoring the missing information in

the gaps, which is a cause of ambiguity. Regarding monitoring, the subject must be able to focus his/ her attention on texts that more often than not lack coherence and/ or cohesion and can thus be ambiguous.

Related to the acceptance of ambiguity, being able *to detect sources of ambiguity* is another necessary skill. Ambiguity may be a result of the way the task is structured (as in task two of the reading test) as well as of the subjects misunderstanding or lack of understanding some parts. While beginners have the tendency to extend sources of ambiguity to larger linguistic sequences, more proficient subjects are able to restrict and eliminate them by using inferences.

The flexibility of evaluating risks is another skill that may be applied to both planning and self evaluation. Underestimating or overestimating the importance of risks may lead to either a superficial or a time consuming approach to the task. Thus, flexibility is the key word.

All the above mentioned metacognitive strategies and their implications are options that candidates have when either preparing for the BEC examination or taking it. There are candidates that chose to apply other strategies and, we must admit, there are candidates who succeed in the examination without applying any metacognitive strategy. What we suggest, however, is that applying some metacognitive strategies improves one's performance.

The experiment we have made looks into the option that subjects have when it comes to self evaluation of their performance in the second reading task. Self evaluation can be undertaken not only at the end of the task, but also at the end of each stage within the task, in this case after choosing each particular answer.

The experiment

The objective of this experiment is the analysis of the relationship between the moment in which self evaluation as a metacognitive strategy takes place, performance and the quality of the self evaluation in the case of the jumbled text type of task.

The hypothesis is that subjects that evaluate themselves immediately after the completion of each item do so more precisely and have a better performance in the long term than subjects who evaluate their performance at the end of the task, after completing all the items.

The method

The subjects were 60 2nd year students at the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, from Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj- Napoca. The average level of the students was upper intermediate, as it has been ascertained by taking into account their performance in the English classes and tests in the previous two semesters. The 60 subjects were randomly divided into two groups: the experimental group and the control group.

The design. An experimental design with two factors was used (the moment of self evaluation and the verbal instruction – the experimental group had been told to apply the metacognitive strategy, while the control group had not been told about it before the completion of the task). The independent variable was represented by the moment of the self evaluation (either after the completion of each single item for the experimental group, or at the end of the task for the control group). The dependent variable was represented by the accuracy of the self evaluation and the number of correct answers.

The materials. Both the experiment and the control group subjects were given a jumbled text type of task (see annex), namely an authentic text of approximately 450- 500 words, with six gaps out of which six sentences had been taken out and seven randomly mixed sentences (the six sentences plus a distracter).

The procedure. The subjects had been divided in two groups of 30 and each group was tested collectively. Both the subjects in the experimental group and the ones in the control group were familiar with the metacognitive strategies they had to apply (as a result of previous training). They were all instructed to apply all the planning, monitoring and self evaluation strategies, with the exception of the last evaluation strategy in the case of the experimental group.

The subjects in the experimental group were told that they would get a jumbled text type of task (they were familiar with this type of task). They were told that after each answer they gave they should evaluate it as follows: if they were sure about the answer they should encircle the letter corresponding to the correct answer and if they were not they should underline it. We only chose two variants for this condition so as not to complicate the subjects' task and in order to avoid subjectivity. The subjects were also told not to think about their answers once they have evaluated them and to hand in their question paper as soon as they finished evaluating their last answer. An invigilator made sure that this happened. The subjects had 15 minutes for this task.

The subjects in the control group were also told that they would get a jumbled text type of task, with which they were also familiar. They were told to address the task as usual, by applying the above mentioned strategies. After 15 minutes they were told to take a red pen and evaluate their answers just like the subjects in the experimental group (by encircling the letters they were sure about and by underlining those that they were not confident about). They were told that they were not allowed to change their answers at this stage and an invigilator made sure that was the case.

After a semester the experiment was repeated with another jumbled text in order to see whether there were any significant differences in the subjects' performance and self evaluation quality.

Results and discussion

The results of this experiment are partly consistent with the hypothesis.

1. The relationship within the experimental group between the quality of the self evaluation at the beginning and at the end of the longitudinal experiment

The difference between the two sets of results was not significant.

2. The relationship within the experimental group between the performance at the beginning and at the end of the longitudinal experiment

The performance of the experimental group at the end of the longitudinal experiment increased significantly in comparison with the initial moment ($p < 0.02$).

3. The relationship within the control group between the quality of the self evaluation at the beginning and at the end of the experiment

The quality of self evaluation improved significantly for the control group ($p < 0.01$).

4. The relationship within the control group between the performance at the beginning and at the end of the experiment

The performance of the control group did not increase significantly.

5. The relationship between the initial quality of self evaluation for the control group and the experimental group

The performance of the experimental group was significantly better than that of the control group from this point of view ($p = 0.02$).

6. The relationship between the initial performance for the control and the experimental group

The difference was not significant.

7. The relationship between the quality of self evaluation at the end of the experiment for the control and the experimental group

The experimental group performed better than the control group in this respect (p= 0.06)

8. The relationship between the final performance for the control and the experimental group

The difference was not significant. A possible explanation would be the insufficient number of subjects that took part in this experiment.

Conclusions

Self evaluation is much more accurate when it immediately follows each item of the task that is being evaluated, instead of having it done at the end of the task, both in the short and in the long term. However, the subjects' ability of evaluating themselves immediately after the completion of each item does not significantly increase in time. Moreover, their self evaluation significantly improves, even though it remains less accurate than in the case of the subjects who evaluate themselves immediately after each item.

As far as performance is concerned, the results are less confusing. For the subjects that evaluate themselves after the completion of each item performance improves in the long term, but for the control group it remains at the same level, despite the fact that, as stated above, there is significant improvement in the control group's self evaluation.

However, there has not been a significant difference between the performance of the experimental and the control group, regardless of the moment in which this was measured. This may be due to the insufficient number of subjects (60) and also to other variables related to planning and monitoring as metacognitive strategies which have not been taken into account in this experiment.

Annex

Reading test part two

Questions 9 – 14

- Read this text taken from an article about how companies' decision-making can go wrong.
- Choose the best sentence from the opposite page to fill each of the gaps.
- For each gap 9 – 14, mark one letter (A – H) on your Answer Sheet.
- Do not use any letter more than once.
- There is an example at the beginning, (0).

Bad business decisions are

easy to make

Example: 0 - H

Those who make disastrous business decisions generally exhibit two characteristic types of behaviour. First they make a selective interpretation of the evidence when deciding to go ahead with a project. **(0)**...**H**...

How do such bad decisions come about? One reason is that the people in control are determined to make their mark by doing something dramatic. **(9)**..... . Once the leader has decided to put his or her name to a project, many in the organisation believe it politic to support it too, whatever their private doubts. **(10)**..... . These doubters know that such a perception will cloud their future careers. The desire to agree with the boss is typical of committees, with group members often taking collective decisions that they would not have taken individually. They look around the table, see their colleagues nodding in agreement and suppress their own doubts. If all these intelligent people believe this is the right thing to do, they think to themselves, perhaps it is. It rarely occurs to committee members that all their colleagues have made the same dubious calculation.

Responsible managers usually ask to see the evidence before reaching a decision. **(11)**..... . Even those who consider all the evidence, good and bad, fail to take account of the fact that expert predictions are often wrong. The reason for this is that feedback is only effective if it is received quickly and often; and senior executives rarely become the experts they claim to be, because they make too few big decisions to learn much from them. So when it becomes clear that disaster looms, many executives insist on pressing ahead regardless. **(12)**..... . The repercussions of doing so can be daunting.

So what can be done to prevent companies making bad decisions? **(13)**..... . Another is to delegate the decision on whether or not to continue to people who are not in the thick of the decisionmaking, such as the non-executive directors. **(14)**..... . But they shouldn't expect any gratitude: people who have made huge mistakes are not going to say 'Thank you, we should have paid attention to you in the first place.'

A It would be far better, though, if dissidents in the organisation raised their doubts beforehand, and were listened to.

B They want to be recognised as having changed the company in a way that history will remember.

C This is not to argue that companies should never attempt anything brave or risky.

D Too much money has been spent and too many reputations are at stake to think about stopping at this stage.

E One solution is to set targets for a project and to agree in advance to abandon it if these are not met.

F After all, people who persistently point to potential pitfalls are seen as negative and disloyal.

G But they often rely only on those parts of it that support their case.

H Coupled with this, they insist that the failure was someone else's fault.

Answer key

9B

10F

11G
12D
13E
14A

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PROVERBS BETWEEN COGNITIVE MODELS AND FORMAL PATTERNS

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1. What makes a proverb a proverb? Such a question as well as the research that has been conducted in the paremiological domain have sometimes favoured the formal characteristics of proverbial utterances. The so called "working definitions" represented spontaneous reactions that went from:

- a short sentence which contains a general piece of wisdom.
- a common , repeated and generally known phrase which expresses a general idea taken to be true.
- a metaphorical statement that illustrates a lesson of behaviour to :
- certain principles and conditions of everyday life that help people to understand the world.

Statistics established at the level of a word analysis that nouns like *wisdom , phrase , saying , statement , folk , situation , expression , life , truth , moral , people , generation , experience , advice , lesson , word , language , generalization , attitude , message , opinion , picture , comment , thought , comparison , tradition , rule , newpoint , origin , idea , occurrence , philosophy , knowledge , conclusion , prejudice , folklore , paradigm , threat , form , norm , nature , value , ideal , image , poetry , author , rhyme , alliteration , witticism , brevity , profundity , clarity , precision , culture , condition , concern* have been used in different definitions that targeted the proverb. All these terms led to a general definition like : "A proverb is wisdom expressed in a sentence".

There are, no doubt, modifying verbs, adjectives and adverbs that contributed to what we can call a general definition of the proverb. What may appear as a surprise is that there is a considerable difference between scholarly definition attempts and the common view of proverbs held by the folk. That is why the following general definition seems to be accepted by people of an industrialized and progressive society : " A proverb is a short , generally known , truth , morals and traditional views in a metaphorical , fixed and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation " [Mieder: 1985 p.119]¹ . The fact that a proverb 'might' be a short sentence of wisdom is not

far from the real everyday use but such a reality should not ban the other possible characteristics of proverbs :

- never quite true , though always plausible
- the wit of one and the wisdom of many
- artistic in form , formulating universal ideas
- a condensed allegory
- a little drama expressing its meaning in metaphor .

Many people love proverbs and perhaps even more use them. They are treasured for their vividness or earthiness of their imagery . But there is one subject researchers are even more impressed with : its verbal economy. They are for their majority spare and austere in expression and some are marvels of compactness. That is why I have tried in this paper to prove that a cognitive theory in the form of epistemic grounding may match the pattern of a proverb, especially if “ it is seen as a kind of subjectification that relates a process to the situation of its use : speaker / hearer knowledge and time and place of utterance “[Pelyvas , p. 2005]²

2. Proverbs, seen as the expression of a natural language , might claim the return of semantics to the sphere of linguistic interest.

*La tot răul este și un bine
Nothing so bad in which there is not something of good.*

If p does not imply $not-p$, it means that :

Nothing is so bad

cannot lead to :

Nothing is good.

Formal linguists have shown their interest in formal systems and their conclusions applied to natural languages viewed as systems.

The grounding predication seems to solve the link between the linguistic expression of a process to the situation of its use.

Proverbs can illustrate Langacker’s grounding theory in its narrow sense, either through the judgement of the speaker:

Ascultă to , dar nu crede tot.

Believe not all that you **see** not half what you hear

or the modals:

Cine n-are vara minte iarna nu mănâncă plăcinte

*They **must** hunger in frost that will not work in heat;*

The modal *must* may disappear and the cognitive predicate *believe* [*I believe that they must hunger in frost that will not work in heat*] facilitates the constructions:

An idle youth, a needy age

Having selected the cognitive predicates *possible* and *believe* we can agree to Pelyvas' demonstration on their behaviour as clause members. They are not easy clause members (being disjuncts):

*When an ass climbs a ladder, we **may** find wisdom in women*

and the meaning is not changed in English. The corresponding probability scale is transferred to the flora in Romanian:

Când măracinii vor scoate rodii, atunci și muierile cuvinte de ispravă.

3. The suggestion for an Idealized Cognitive Model can be analyzed in alternative constructions in Romanian that are rendered in English by the same structure:

First think , and then speak

The above construction is found in:

- a) *Cugetă bine înainte de a vorbi*
- b) *Cuvîntul întâi să-l cioplești , apoi să-l arăți*
- c) *Întâi capul sa gândească ș-apoi gura să vorbească*

where the difference between *think* and *speak* is shown through nouns and verbs. The probability scale should include

think	cugetă	
speak	gândi	cap
	ciopli	gură
	arată	

Independent clauses as

The tongue talks at the head's cost

or

No man is wise all the time

find their corresponding Romanian structures :

- independent sentences:

Chiar și înțelepții smintesc cateodată

- relative subordinate clauses

Cine-și păzește limba își păzește capul

The difference between two English versions of one Romanian saying - *Orice s-aude , pururea cu îndoială , până nu se dă de față* – may not be found in the *grounding* of the whole structure (if by *grounding* we still understand that an entity‘ is specified relative to the speaker and hearer and their spheres of knowledge‘)³ but in the subordinate clause (a time clause):

Everyone is held to be innocent until he is proved guilty
All are presumed good, till they are found in a fault.

The type of the subordinate clause in Romanian proverbs may vary from an object clause:

Mai bine să-ți pară rău că ai tăcut decât că ai zis

to a conditional one

Mintea e bună dacă e soră și cu norocul

or an adverbial clause of place

Unde e învățătură multă , e și nebunie multă

Still, what seems to characterize the Romanian proverb is either the pattern of an independent se

*Cuvântul e de argin , tăcerea e de aur
De vorbă bună nu te doare gura
Gura ucide mai mult decât sabia*

or of an elliptic construction:

*Lesne din gură , anevoie din mână
Vorba sus și treaba jos*

Their corresponding English versions may have the same pattern like in:

*Speech is silver , silence is golden
Civility costs nothing*

On the other hand, there are differences between the Romanian pattern and the English one. To an independent Romanian sentence like:

Între mulți nebuni și cel înțelept se pierde

may correspond a conditional system:

If you had all the wit in the world fools would fell yo

u

a subordinate relative clause:

*Înțeleptul învață din pățania altora , nesocotitul nici din a sa
He is happy whom other man's perls make wa ;*

or a comparison:

*Învățătura dată rău se sparge în capul tău
Better untaught than ill taught*

Within the ethnofield *wisdom* that has been the common denominator of the 55 Romanian and English paremic units, there is definitely a variety of pattern among which the adverbial subordinate clauses of time and place are

probably the fewest ones. The relative subordinate clause is very much used in Romanian while the English version prefers the independent pattern or the same relative one. The elliptic construction in Romanian may be rendered by subject subordinate clause:

Gură spartă , râie curată
He that is a blab is a scab

The tense as a grounding predication which is considered to be absolute in English (relating a situation to the time of utterance) is definitely preserved on the axis of the present both in Romanian and English version of the paremic units. The variation appears the level of the mood that is used. The indicative has the largest platform, followed by the injunctive. The use of Romanian <conjunctiv> vs an indicative in English displaying the present perfect might allow a possible acceptance of an Idealized Cognitive Model

Mai bine să-ți pară rău că ai tăcut decât că ai zis
*More **have repented** speech than silence*

The 'raising' construction where the subject is seen as a reference point is not very much used but it cannot be denied either in Romanian or English paremia:

Puține cuvinte și ispravă mai multă
Few words and many deeds
More matter , less art

4. The above analysis wants to prove that proverbs have been and will be used for practical , pragmatical purposes in various circumstances . Proverbs can display a variety of speech functions like :

- expressing doubts
- making excuses
- mocking
- comforting
- warning
- advising

Paremiologists recognised on the other hand the lack of a notable unity in the terminology used by different authors who have written about proverbial

functions . There has been an accepted set of three degrees of a proverbial scale⁴

statement -----> evaluation -----> prescription

which can operate with concepts that are universal (or at least general enough) and allows to consider the set of its subfunctions as a unified system . Sometimes it is questionable whether a proverb ought to be interpreted as a statement about real facts or as an epistemic sentence. People have to judge whether ,is really’ , ,is known that...’, or rather , ‘there is the opinion that...’ , ‘it seems that’ , ‘it feels that...’, or whether the proverb may allow both kinds of interpretation. That is why a *cognitive model* (be it an idealized one) might bring a deeper insight into the participants roles and the relationships among them.

Irrespective of any model , proverbs remain :

- context – bound , so is their wisdom
- a discursive form of social interaction
- process – oriented , expressing observations , that are to various degrees, common to human experience

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**A CENTRAL EUROPEAN BUSINESS ENGLISH COURSE: TOWARD
A SET OF CRITERIA
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1. Introduction

Of the various specialist areas in English for Specific Purposes (ESP), English for Economics and Business Studies, or simply Business English (BE), enjoys particular currency today. It has seen phenomenal growth since the early 1990s, if only judging by the number of BE books published in that decade. A total of 23 coursebooks and dozens more supplementary materials are recommended by Brieger in his teachers' handbook (1997:156-159), and surveys published since then make it clear that these numbers have grown exponentially for both print and electronic materials alike (Flinders, 2001, 2005). With globalisation and the ever-increasing need for business people to communicate transnationally this boom shows no signs of subsiding.

It is within this context—and that of my own experience of teaching pre- and in-service BE over the last thirteen years in Hungary—that I have chosen to compare and contrast two such coursebooks and consider what they have to say about developing a pre-service Central European BE course. The books are commonly used in Hungary and Central Europe and therefore familiar to teachers there: they are *Business Class* by David Cotton and Sue Robbins (1993) and *English for Business Studies* by Ian MacKenzie (1997). My approach to assessing these two will be based on (a) my own experience of using them in the classroom as well as (b) theoretical considerations in ESP. I will thus first evaluate their main features and methodology types and then draw on this evaluation toward establishing a set of criteria for the course.

2. The main features of the two coursebooks compared

Both *Business Class* and *English for Business Studies* can be classified as Western published materials, using Serena Yeo's term (1997:152)—although perhaps obvious, this is significant for BE trainers in Central and Eastern

Europe (and surely elsewhere) in terms of her discussion of the dilemma of deciding between in-house vs. imported materials.

I would parenthetically add to this choice two more options. There is a third option of domestically published materials, which may represent a compromise between the creaky Grammar-Translation approach and rough-hewn feel of the former and the relative expense and occasional thematic irrelevance of the latter. There is also a fourth option of collaboratively produced, needs-based materials such as those created within Romania's PROSPER initiative for teaching EFL, which has seen strong results (see Enyedi and Medgyes, 1998).

Typical of materials put out by major Western publishers, the two books I will examine are visually appealing, featuring bright, attractive covers, high-quality paper, professional layouts and full-colour photographs and illustrations. These first eye-catching qualities certainly lend them an initial face validity.

2.1 Authenticity of materials

A central notion in ESP is that of the importance of authentic materials. Overall, both books adhere to this principle both in the reading passages and listening texts. I will focus on each of these two areas in turn.

2.1.1 Reading materials

Many of the reading passages in *English for Business Studies* are drawn from the works of significant business writers and thus reflect key developments in the business world. Most of the passages, which are intended to introduce a great deal of terms and concepts in a short space, have been handily written by the author. As the style and organisation of these passages are like those of a business studies coursebook, they—like the excerpted passages—may satisfy the 'script', or educational expectations, of many business students (Tonkyn, 1997:B37).

In contrast, *Business Class* makes sole use of more easily accessible articles from newspapers and magazines, such as *The Guardian* and *The Economist*, and may thus strike some students as less serious. However, I believe overall it is to the credit of both books that, aside from the instructional texts in *English for Business Studies*, the reading materials are authentic.

2.1.2 Listening materials

The same appears to hold true for the recordings on the accompanying audiocassettes. These often contain the fillers, inelegant sentence structure and other features common to unplanned spoken discourse. Both reading and listening materials thus adhere to the ESP priority to “remain loyal to collected rather than invented data” noted by Candlin in his preface to MacKay and Mountford’s *English for Specific Purposes* (1978) as cited in Tudor (1997:90).

In *English for Business Studies* the recordings have the added advantage of featuring more than one variety of English—AmE, BrE, several regional British accents and, most importantly, several non-native varieties. It is increasingly important for future businesspeople in an expanding European Union and a globalising economy to be familiar not only with a number of different native-speaker English accents but also with non-native talk. I have observed that, despite the fact that (a) a listening text with a speaker of Pakistani English may put smiles on the faces of Hungarian business students (perhaps because of the novelty of it for them) and (b) many of them may even harbour a bias in favour of native-speaker, and more specifically British, English, the majority of them have come to see that they tend to use English more commonly to communicate with, say, a French visiting professor or a Czech exchange student, rather than with a native speaker and that the number of such encounters in their educational and professional careers is only likely to increase.

In contrast, *Business Class* offers much less of a variety of accents and lacks non-native English speakers although the recordings do feature elements of unplanned discourse. These are important for learners at least to become familiar with if not to try to incorporate into their own repertoires.

2.2 A variety of exercises and tasks

Both *Business Class* and *English for Business Studies* consist of useful and motivating exercises and tasks. However, perhaps precisely because of the sheer density of the specialist area content and terminology—indeed, most topics specific to Western institutions may pose a challenge for pre-service learners from Central and Eastern Europe who are unfamiliar with them in their own language while topics like ‘Futures and derivatives’ will pose a challenge

for pre-service learners anywhere for their sheer abstraction—the latter coursebook appears to offer a much greater variety of exercises and tasks than the former. This may also be due to the difference in the organising principles of their syllabi. Given a skills-based syllabus (as that of the former book) with a set number of specialist skills determined by the designer as necessary for most BE learners to master through repeated practice, some variety may need to be forsaken. In contrast, a coursebook with a topic-based syllabus (as that of the latter book) with an eye to imparting information would require variety if it is to maintain learner interest—and if it is to remain viable in the competitive BE materials market noted in the Introduction.

I present evidence of the variety in *English for Business Studies* of types of exercises and tasks in the figure below. In addition to these, the book also makes use of more conventional comprehension exercises, such as short-answer questions after reading and listening, multiple-choice questions after listening and true-false statements as well as multiple-choice find-the-one-true-statement exercises after reading passages. (It should be noted that my classifications in the figure may lead to some overlap; for example, is the ‘match up expressions and definitions’ exercise in the Listening category primarily a listening comprehension or a vocabulary-building exercise? Similarly, is the ‘find words in text with given definitions’ exercise in the Language category primarily a reading comprehension or (another) vocabulary-building exercise? Perhaps, in each case, they can be said to be both.)

Warm-up
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identify relevant elements in picture • debate importance of given qualities for good manager • relate topic to personal experience • match vocabulary to definitions • identify illustrations of various advertising media
Reading
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • put concepts, statements etc. in given categories and discuss • explain excerpted sentences in own words • label diagrams based on terms in text • tick most appropriate summary and explain why • underline criticisms in text • summarise by completing sentences • create appropriate headings for paragraphs • complete diagram

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tick diagram that best illustrates description in text
Listening
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tick items on list based on text • create own list based on text • group sets of phrases/clauses based on text then make full sentences out of them • tick appropriate column if prices of given item have risen, fallen or stayed the same
Language
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • put terms in blanks in contextualised sentences (individual or in paragraphs) • match words to create collocations • find words in text with given definitions • determine subtle differences in meaning of words based on context • find odd word/phrase and explain why it does not fit
Writing
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • compare and contrast two opinions (one from listening text, other from reading) • describe given organisational chart or business organisation you know using given verbal phrases • discuss own criteria in choice of job • give advice to foreigner interested in doing business in your country
Speaking
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • relate topic to personal experience • give own opinion on topic • prioritise given features of a job in own opinion; add others • assess validity of general statements on topic • do marketing case study and role play • script a radio commercial • role play request for bank loan

Figure: Sampling of exercises and tasks used in English for Business Studies

In contrast, *Business Class* tends to use more conventional exercises, such as short-answer questions, multiple-choice questions and note-taking to develop listening and reading comprehension skills. Certain activities are more interesting, however; for example, completing a product fact file based on a listening text or matching brands and their makers and discussing other familiar brands/makers as a warm-up to the unit on brand management.

2.3 Additional materials

Both *Business Class* and *English for Business Studies* include a variety of useful additional materials which would tend to increase face validity as well. They share some of these features but diverge in most. An exhaustive list of these features follows: a language reference section, a glossary, a bibliography, listening cassettes, tapescripts, complementary materials for tasks, resource materials for later reference, answer keys, tests and teacher's notes.

2.3.1 Language reference section and glossary

Useful additional features found in the *English for Business Studies* student's book—but not in *Business Class*—include a specialised language reference with exercises and a glossary, both of which are seen as important in ESP by Pauline Robinson, especially for learners during and after in-service courses (1999:F19). The language reference section devotes five pages of explanations and business-oriented example sentences and exercises to the grammatical problem of infinitive vs. gerund (or participle, *pace* Greenbaum and Quirk 1990, secs. 15.10n and 17.23n), which may indeed be valued by certain kinds of learners.

This same language reference section contains an extremely helpful two-page listing of various ways to express values going down (plunge), going up (skyrocket) or staying the same (stagnate), including relevant collocations: certainly of great use to anyone attempting to understand a daily stock market digest or write a financial report.

As good a foundation as the glossary of business terms may lay, the five languages represented—English, French, German, Italian and Spanish—clearly illustrate the Western European bias of this and most books published in that part of the world. Similarly, the teacher's book abounds with notes on linguistic traps especially French speakers may fall into; for example, on p. 36, "*Location* in English, meaning place, is of course not the same as *location* in French, meaning rental". While this aspect of such materials certainly reflects both the valuable teaching experience of the writer(s) and the lucrative target market for the materials, it should come as no surprise that Yeo noted it as a drawback for Slovak language trainers that these books "deal with general/Western European linguistic problems"—relevant neither to them nor to their learners (Yeo,

1997:152). In all fairness, however, this lack of relevance could also be used as a justification to initiate local action. For example, it could form a worthwhile project for non-Western European pre-service BE learners to expand this glossary with a list of terms in the relevant language, which could then be proofread by a subject specialist as one example of three-sided team teaching (discussed in Hutchinson and Waters (1987:164) and Dudley-Evans (1997:60-61)).

2.3.2 Bibliography

I also see an advantage to the bibliography in the *English for Business Studies* student's book. It lends the course an academic flavour and thus satisfies the script that tends to be held by Hungarian university students. It also draws the learner's—and language trainer's—attention to the fact that it is primarily from books and not newspaper and magazine articles that one learns the fundamental concepts and nomenclature of a given field. Furthermore, it illustrates that it is primarily by reading originally English-language books that one gains access to the latest developments in business studies and economics.

2.3.3 Other additional materials

Finally, each book includes two listening cassettes—a feature perhaps only cost-effective for major publishing houses which may enjoy the advantages of economies of scale. Furthermore, at the end of the *Business Class* coursebook—which is a self-contained teacher's-cum-student's book—one can find sections for (a) complementary materials such as role cards for role playing tasks, (b) resource materials such as a model for a standard business letter and an outline for a business report, as well as (c) tapescripts for listening activities and (d) the answer key.

All of these elements are also included in *English for Business Studies*; however, they are interspersed throughout the teacher's book only and are, therefore, less convenient—and, at least in the case of the answer keys, presumably illegal—for the teacher to photocopy for learners. The former book enjoys an advantage with regard to the tapescripts as they represent a particularly important, easily accessible resource. Indeed, Sheerin (1987:128) urges language trainers to provide learners with the tapescript after initial

listening and task completion so that they can link the written and spoken language. This is much easier to do with *Business Class*.

On the other hand, the *English for Business Studies* teacher's book does have the user-friendly advantage of having photocopiable written tests along with oral test questions as well as useful notes to assist the trainer in approaching the units and teacher-friendly background information on content—this latter feature is particularly salient because, unlike *Business Class*, this coursebook abounds with business information.

Finally, each of these features facilitates some aspect of BE learning. In *English for Business Studies*, the language reference section and glossary provide grammar and vocabulary; the bibliography supplies salient information for further learning; and even the tests provide an incentive to learn the terms and content in the body of the coursebook. The teacher's notes assist the learning process indirectly. In *Business Class*, the resource materials provide annotated models for business writing (much like the lists of performance dos and don'ts and functional language in the units on business speaking skills). The other features (listening cassettes, tapescripts, complementary materials and answer keys), which in one form or another are ultimately shared by both, also serve the learning process in various ways. I would suggest that the presence or absence of these materials relates to the philosophy of teaching that undergirds each book, e.g. a glossary, bibliography etc. relates to an emphasis on gaining specialised language and content in *English for Business Studies* whereas the resource materials in *Business Class* relate to the regular performance of certain skills. I will discuss these respective philosophies and emphases within the context of methodology types in the following section.

3. Methodology

Both *Business Class* and *English for Business Studies* can be said to use the methodology of the relevant field of study, as recommended by McConnell (1981) and Crocker (1982) in Robinson (1999:F6-F7). As touched upon earlier, *Business Class* makes liberal use of case studies, as is common for students of management. Furthermore, according to Ellis and Johnson (1994:12), BE may use tasks found in management training which involve such processes as decision-making, problem-solving and team-building. These too are essential to that book. *English for Business Studies* also contains case studies and tasks although it relies on them far less.

As also noted earlier, this book's identification with the business studies classroom is expressed in the informative coursebook style in a large proportion of the reading passages, replete with the introduction of new terms and concepts. This identification is reinforced by extracts from oft-quoted classics in the field, such as the works of John Maynard Keynes, Peter Drucker and John Kenneth Galbraith. Furthermore, the book's exercises and, more saliently, tests, which are designed to ensure that terms and concepts have been learned, also tend to tie in with the test-oriented methodology of the teachers of economics and business studies I know.

3.1 Differences in approaches to speaking and writing

The methodology of *Business Class* has also been informed by discourse analysis and genre analysis. As mentioned above, elements of certain key kinds of talk common to the business world are introduced and ample opportunities are provided for practice. The book also focusses attention on written genres of the specialised field, a key aspect of ESP (cf. Dudley-Evans, 1997:62), and provides ample practice in writing such business genres as the promotional leaflet and the follow-up letter. In contrast, the speaking and writing activities in *English for Business Studies* tend to be primarily topical/situational (e.g. role play a request for a bank loan) and/or designed to activate the vocabulary learned in the unit (e.g. describe an organisational chart).

3.2 Differences in approach to language

Finally, the two coursebooks differ in their fundamental approach to linguistic form. Both devote several exercises to collocations relevant to business. Beyond that common ground, *Business Class* units contain a great deal of work on morphology and other aspects of grammar while the *English for Business Studies* units—the book's 15-page language reference section notwithstanding—focus exclusively on the sort of lexical items found throughout business and industry which Badger (1994:10) calls core Business English (in contrast to semi-technical or highly specific language) as well as on their meanings in context. Examples of the former coursebook's grammar focus include numerous word transformation, verb tense and phrasal verb exercises as well as work with connectors. Examples of the latter book's emphasis on vocabulary can be found in the Language column in the figure above.

3.3 The question of grammatical accuracy

A comparative evaluation of these differing approaches to grammar relate to considerations of grammatical accuracy in BE. Perhaps this objective should be of secondary importance in the light of investigations in two areas. The first area is a simplified form of non-native English identified by Bartlett and Johnson as International Business English. These writers conclude that “it may not be worthwhile for language trainers to pay too much attention to correcting non-standard usages provided that they cause no problems with communication” (Bartlett and Johnson, 1998:6). The second area is that of tolerance testing investigated by van der Walt (1999) and Louhiala-Salminen (1999) as described in Robinson (1999:I16-I17): these studies found that business people were a great deal more tolerant of errors in business writing than language trainers were. In other words, the message is the key—not the form. Thus, with its emphasis on grammar exercises, *Business Class* would appear to reflect a more traditional view of accuracy. The approach to grammar in the *English for Business Studies* units is tied to the conclusions of the studies described above, with the grammar (at the back of the student’s book) not so much reflecting methodological considerations but rather addressing the wants of the market.

4. Toward a set of criteria

Drawing on two coursebooks that not only reflect the teaching experience of their authors, but also suggest—based on their general use by BE teachers in Hungary—a certain viability in the Central European context, I will attempt to establish a set of criteria for a pre-service BE course within this context. At the same time, I will consider qualities of familiar domestic materials.

The coursebook should, first of all, be interesting. This is perhaps obvious, but neither the texts, topics nor activities of some in-house materials (and even some domestically published coursebooks) which I have surveyed would meet this criterion. The texts are often dry, the topics may not even be relevant—does everybody who goes into business really need to learn the Incoterms?—and the activities are uninspired (e.g. “Translate this page”). However, students and teachers in Hungary who have used the two

coursebooks generally say they find them interesting. They may thus serve as springboards for Central European coursebook writers.

Second, the coursebook should be consistent yet varied. Some books I have encountered have chapters of uneven length, texts of varying difficulty and style, and terms of inconsistent number and level of generality (i.e. some chapters with fewer terms of Badger's core type, others in the same book with more, often almost technical or overly specific terms (1994:10)). At the same time, the activities lack variety. The coursebooks I examine in detail in this paper are solid examples of this balance of consistency and variety.

Third, the coursebook should truly be communicative in its approach. Books I have seen tend to offer speaking activities such as "Find a partner and talk to him about foreign trade". Aside from the issue of motivation, this prompt, such as it is, does not encourage a learner to lose himself in the interaction and negotiate his own and his interlocutor's meaning, the way research suggests is most conducive to developing speaking skills (for an overview of this paradigm as part of an evolving field, see Kumaravadivelu, 2006). One needs communicative tasks to interact and negotiate meaning, as both books I examine provide.

Fourth, the coursebook should include regionally relevant topics and should cover topics of a universal appeal from a regional perspective. Certainly, topics such as emerging markets, mass privatisation and Western investment would be salient, but even topics of a more universal appeal, such as multinationals, could be brought closer to home with regional examples. Specifically, with the expansion of the Hungarian economy large domestic firms such as MOL (oil and gas) and OTP (banking) have outgrown the local market and become multinationals themselves. These might be fresher, more relevant examples in a discussion of international companies than the standard Coca-Cola and McDonald's. Inclusion of such regional elements would be an important factor of a Central European BE coursebook—in contrast to the topics and treatments of them in the two coursebooks I examine.

Certainly, the list of criteria could go on. I merely recommend these four items as an impetus for others to add to the list or to create their own. The coursebook I propose ought to be eclectic, embracing the most effective aspects of coursebooks that have proved themselves in the classroom and the most salient areas of business and economics in the region.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have compared and contrasted two BE coursebooks, *Business Class* by Cotton and Robbins and *English for Business Studies* by MacKenzie. I have discussed their main features and underlying methodologies, and I have used these considerations in an attempt to start on a set of criteria for a pre-service Central European BE course.

Of the two books I have examined, the more appropriate of the two for the Central European pre-service BE classroom I have referred to is the former as it is best suited to the educational and cultural environment, yet, if we consider the issue of specifically Central European topics, even this book fails to deliver the goods. Clearly, then, what is called for is a coursebook of this calibre with a greater emphasis on topics and terms—as well as skills and tasks—which will be of relevance to other regions of Europe as well, not just the Western part.

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